New York University SCPS
M.S. in Global Affairs

GLOB1-GC2390
Gender, Politics, and the State in Development

Tuesdays 12:30-3:10
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Office Hours: By appointment
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Fall 2015

Course Description

When there are more women in public office, are there stronger chances that gender equality policy will be promoted and implemented? Will these policies improve the quality of governance from a gender perspective? Definitions of 'governance' range from a restricted view focusing on sound management of the economy, and a more expansive one that aims for political liberalization and addresses problems of social inequality.   Governance is rarely analyzed from a gendered perspective, but the way public resources are managed, the way public policy is developed, have implications for the distribution of resources and public power between women and men. In addition, gendered power relations shape approaches to governance.   This course develops an understanding of governance reforms in low-income contexts from a gender-sensitive and feminist political science perspective. 'Good governance' is central-stage as the essential condition for growth in low-income countries, and for human development as well. A number of the country assistance programs of bilateral and multilateral development agencies are predicated on a minimum set of successful governance reforms including anti-corruption measures and efforts to improve public administration efficiency. 'Good governance' was missing from the Millennium Development Goals, and its inclusion in the post-2015 development framework is likely to be confirmed in September 2015, although it is a contested area, resented by G77 countries that see governance conditions for aid as an unwarranted imposition on domestic affairs.

Feminist policy analysts and activists have tended to concentrate on the human rights and democracy face of governance reforms, and have neglected civil service reform, anti-corruption measures, and reforms addressing rule of law (with the exception of land titling programs). This course will address these gaps and provide opportunities for reflection in the following areas:

a) **Political legitimacy.** When examining the legitimacy of elected governments, it is fair to ask whether they represent the needs and priorities of women in the country. There are next to no statistics available on women's voting patterns -- or even the proportion of voters who are female – in many low-income countries. To what extent do elected governments reflect women's interests and respond to their needs? We will review key issues of interest formation and aggregation amongst women in low-income countries through an analysis of their engagement in civil society, as candidates for elections, and their actions as politicians.

b) **'Rule of law' reforms**. 'Rule of law' is a major component of governance reform (and indeed is used as a euphemism for governance more broadly currently in the post-2015 sustainable development goals debates). We will explore how legal pluralism (the retention of customary, traditional or religious family law) affects gender relations and women's rights, and we will examine the politics of recent initiatives by traditional authorities to re-invigorate customary law around the world. In addition we will examine the implications for gender relations in reforms that address security of property and contract, financial sector regulation, and business regulation.

c) **Public sector reform**. Another core element of governance reforms is the construction of efficient public sectors that collect and dispense public revenue in a fair and productive way for the economy and society. Women's participation in, and benefit from, these reforms has not been a major concern. Yet women and girls rely greatly upon public services in order to overcome some of the barriers they face in access to education, health care, and economic opportunities.   Through the lens of reforms to public service delivery we will examine key features of governance reforms that need to be gender-sensitive.

d) **Accountability reforms**. Anti-corruption measures and institutions tend not to be scrutinized for their gender-specific operating assumptions and their gendered effects. At the moment, gender has come into discussions of accountability and corruption largely through the assertion – based on public opinion surveys – that women are less corrupt than men. This means their gender itself is assumed to bring a quality of good governance – to the point that in some contexts women are being prioritized for jobs in customs services and traffic policing. Serious work is needed in this area to consider the ways in which women are affected by public-sector corruption, and the ways in which they can participate in anti-corruption measures.

e) **Decentralization**. Women are considered 'natural' local politicians because participation in local government enables them to overcome the mobility and expertise constraints that tend to keep them out of higher-level politics. But elite and patriarchal tyrannies can be more intense at local than at higher levels of government, and the few very positive case studies about women's impact on local government have tended to swamp the more sober accounts of women being squeezed out by traditional authorities working through informal institutions.

Learning Objectives

By the end of this course the students should:

1. Have a grasp of current governance reform policies in low-income countries and an understanding of their impacts on women and girls;

2. Understand feminist political analysis of governance and politics in low-income countries as well as comparative politics methods used to analyse varying governance reforms from a gender perspective;

3. Articulate an evidence-based policy position in relation to the impact of governance reforms on women and present an argument succinctly and precisely in oral and written form.

Core Required Text

Anne Marie Goetz (ed), 2009, Governing Women: Women's Political Effectiveness in Contexts of Democratization and Governance Reform (Routledge, New York 2009) *(Amazon: ~$40)*

Recommended references

1. Mona Lena Krook, QUOTAS FOR WOMEN IN POLITICS: GENDER AND CANDIDATE SELECTION REFORM WORLDWIDE, (Oxford University Press 2010)
2. Aili Mari Tripp, Isabel Casimiro, Joy Kweiseiga, Alice Mungwa, AFRICAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT: CHANGING POLITICAL LANDSCAPES (Cambridge University Press 2009)
3. Victoria Rodríguez, 1998, WOMEN AND POLITICS IN LATIN AMERICA
4. Amrita Basu, ed. WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS IN THE GLOBAL ERA: THE POWER OF LOCAL FEMINISMS (Westview 2010) (1st version, with different country case studies, published in 1995)
5. Jane Jaquette, ed., FEMINIST AGENDAS AND DEMOCRACY IN LATIN AMERICA (Duke University Press 2009)
6. Paul Collier, 2007, The Bottom Billion, Oxford University Press.
7. S. Laurel Weldon, PROTEST, POLICY, AND THE PROBLEM OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN: A CROSS-

NATIONAL COMPARISON (University of Pittsburgh Press 2002) *(Amazon: ~$22)*
8. Georgina Waylen, ENGENDERING TRANSITIONS: WOMEN'S MOBILIZATION, INSTITUTIONS, AND GENDER OUTCOMES (Oxford University Press 2007)
9. Amy Mazur and Gary Goertz (eds). Politics, Gender, and Concepts: Theory and Methodology. (Cambridge University Press. 2008)

You can easily access analytical documents and data on women in politics from international organizations with work programmes relevant to the course, for instance:

World Bank. 2012. World Development Report: Gender Equality and Development, Washington. http://econ.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTDEC/EXTRESEARCH/EXTWDRS/EXTWDR2012/0,,contentMDK:23004468~pagePK:64167689~piPK:64167673~theSitePK:7778063,00.html

World Bank: Worldwide Governance Indicators. The most recent report looks at 215 countries from 1996 to 2001, measuring voice and accountability, political stability and absence of violence, government effectiveness, regulatory quality, rule of law, and control of corruption. The WGI compiles information from 31 existing data sources that report views of citizens, NGO's, public sector organizations, and business organizations. http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/index.aspx#home

Economist Intelligence Unit, The Democracy Index, categorizes governments under certain types of regimes. It uses 60 indicators grouped in five different categories: electoral process and pluralism, civil liberties, functioning of government, political participation, and political culture. It also gives more weight to public opinions and attitudes than other democratic indices like Freedom in the World. http://pages.eiu.com/rs/eiu2/images/Democracy-Index-2012.pdf

Inter-Parliamentary Union – especially the Women in Politics Page: http://www.ipu.org/iss-e/women.htm

UNIFEM, 2008, 'Who Answers to Women? Gender and Accountability', *Progress of the World's Women*, New York http://www.unifem.org/progress/2008/index-2.html

UN Women 2015, Transforming Economies, Realizing Rights, http://progress.unwomen.org/en/2015/pdf/UNW_progressreport.pdf

International Knowledge Network of Women in Politics: http://iknowpolitics.org/en
(you can even use this last site for original research, posting questions that are answered by women politicians)

In addition there are some on-going research projects tracking issues of women's political influence or the conditions under which states respond to women's demands. See for example:

UNRISD: When and Why to states respond to women's claims?
http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BB128/(httpProjects)/FFDCCF9EE4F2F9C6C1257BEF004FB03E?OpenDocument

University of Manchester, Effective States and Inclusive Development, gender page: http://www.effective-states.org/issue-gender/

Student Assessment

The final grade is based on four components.

- **Class participation** and preparation in advance through careful review not only of assigned readings but of relevant current events is essential for learning in any class but in particular in relation to this highly topical subject. Every week we will begin class with a discussion of topics relevant to the course that are featured in the week's news. It is a good idea to read a major international newspaper daily (NYT, The Guardian, Le Monde or similar). IN ADDITION, there is a weekly 'author/critic' debate in which students will prepare and present summaries of a key reading and a critique of that reading. Each week a different pair of students will take this role, one as author, one as critic. Every student in the class will have a role once as the author and once as the critic. During the first class there will be a 'trial run' of this process.
  - *Roles/Process*: One student will be the author, and give a five to ten minute summary of her/his article/chapter/report (doing his/her best to "sell" the document's key arguments). The other student is the (friendly, collegial, but still incisive) critic, and gets five minutes to critique some portion of the author's work. The author then gets five minutes to rebut the charges. The rest of the class, which should have been taking notes (and will have read the article/chapter anyway), will then join in the debate on the merits of the reading(s) under discussion.
  - *Partnership*: The nature of the assignment requires the two students to coordinate in advance. Begin communicating with your presentation collaborator as soon as possible. Get email addresses from one another in class. The two students should agree early whom will play which role, and the timeline for getting the outline document completed. An important planning consideration is that the author cannot develop a rebuttal until s/he discusses the critique with the critic.

  Class participation will be worth **20**% of the final grade.

- A **class presentation** on a topic related to the student's final paper will demonstrate students' ability to conduct research and to develop briefings with a policy or operational change objective. Topics could include engaging women in anti-corruption efforts, alerting policy-makers to a gender-specific funding deficit in a specific area of governance reform, an analysis of the effectiveness of women politicians in a particular context, an analysis of the impact of increased recruitment of women to areas of public service delivery in a particular context, etc. Ideally these presentations should address contemporary policy dilemmas. The presentations will be worth **20**% of the final grade.

- Students will each produce a **short written pr**oduct early in the course, either an Op Ed, speech, policy brief, etc. These will be worth **20**% of the final grade.

- Finally, students will be asked to write a **term paper** on an aspect of the subject matter of the course. This will make up **40**% of the final grade.

AT A GLANCE:

1	Sept 8	**Overview of course, terminology, geographical focus**
2	Sept 15	**State Formation in the Developing World – Gendered legacies of colonialism and liberation**
3	Sept 22	**Gender in the developmental state – basic governance for development concepts**
4	Sept 29	**Women's political interests and civil society mobilization**
5	Oct 6	**Women in Politics -- Numeric versus Strategic representation**
6	Oct 13	**NO CLASS**

7	Oct 20	**Understanding quotas and other temporary special measures**
8	Oct 27	**Decentralization – does government 'closeness' bring results for women?**
9	Nov 3	**The mainstream international development approach to good governance**
10	Nov 10	**Gender-sensitive Public sector reforms**
11	Nov 17	**When and Why do states respond to women's needs and advance their interests?**
12	Nov 24	**Rule of Law reforms – Plural legal systems and the special case of gender and land title**
13	Dec 1	**Gender Equality in International Governance**
14	Dec 8	**Anti-corruption initiatives – the right to information**
15	Dec 15	**Review**

Minimum required reading is indicated for each class, and additional reading is supplied for further learning and to support term paper preparation.

Individual students will be designated at the beginning of the course responsibility for preparing a brief oral presentation on the key reading and another student will offer a critique (see above for more details).

SCPS Statement on Academic Integrity and Plagiarism

"*Plagiarism is presenting someone else's work as though it were one's own. More specifically, plagiarism is to present as one's own a sequence of words quoted without quotation marks from another writer; a paraphrased passage from another writer's work; creative images, artwork, or design; or facts or ideas gathered, organized, and reported by someone else, orally and/or in writing and not providing proper attribution. Since plagiarism is a matter of fact, not of the student's intention, it is crucial that acknowledgement of the sources be accurate and complete. Even where there is no conscious intention to deceive, the failure to make appropriate acknowledgment constitutes plagiarism. Penalties for plagiarism range from failure for a paper or course to dismissal from the University."*

NYU Classes

All written work must be submitted via the Assignment Tool on NYU Classes to be scanned through Turnitin.

CGA Attendance and Lateness Policy

All students must attend class regularly. Your contribution to classroom learning is essential to the success of the course. Any more than two (2) absences (with an explanation or not) will likely lead to a need to withdraw from the course or a failing grade.

Incomplete Policy

Incompletes are only granted in extreme cases such as illness or other family emergency and only where almost all work for the semester has been successfully completed. A student's procrastination in completing his/her paper is not a basis for an Incomplete.

Evaluation Criteria

- *Research Paper:* Clear evidence of wide and relevant research and critical thinking about the data and sources; a strong thesis or problem to address; effective analysis that leads to a compelling conclusion; good, accurate and persuasive writing.

- **Policy Memo:** Clear evidence of wide and relevant research and critical thinking about the data and sources; a strong thesis or problem to address; effective analysis that leads to a compelling conclusion; good, accurate and persuasive writing.
- **In-Class Exercises:** Contributions of insight to the analysis; raising questions showing insight into the implications of the analysis; accurate work.
- **Quizzes and Exams:** Mastery of the facts and scholarship involved; accurate answers; drawing insightful conclusions based on analysis.
- **Group Project:** Addressing the questions asked and drawing relevant and useful conclusions based on research and analysis; working together effectively as a team.
- **Presentation:** Clear understanding of the issues at hand; ability to present them in an interesting, lucid and professional manner appropriate to the audience.
- **Class Participation:** Active, respectful and collegial engagement in class discussion; evidence of reading and preparation.

SCPS Grading Scale

Grade	Meaning	GPA Conversion
A	Exceptional; superior effort	4.0
A-	Excellent	3.7
B+	Very good	3.3
B	Good; meets program standards	3.0
B-	Meets program standards in most respects	2.7
C+	Requires moderate improvement	2.3
C	Requires significant improvement	2.0
C-	Requires extensive improvement	1.7
F	Fail – Did not meet minimal course requirements	0

Week 1, September 8 2015
Overview of Course

Why does women's political voice and engagement in public decision-making matter for development? In this session we conduct a very brief overview of the gender and development field, and of the reasons why gender-responsive governance is so crucial not just for the realization of women's rights but for development and social justice as well. We brainstorm about the conditions under which governments respond to women's needs and advance gender equality.

Required reading:

A.M. Goetz, 2009, Chapter 1: 'Will New Public Space for some Women make a Difference for all Women?', in Anne Marie Goetz (ed), 2009, Governing Women: Women's Political Effectiveness in Contexts of Democratization and Governance Reform (Routledge, New York 2009)

Amy Mazur and Gary Goertz, 2007, 'Mapping gender and politics concepts: ten guidelines ', in Amy G. Mazur and G. Goertz, (eds), Politics, Gender and Concepts, Cambridge University Press.

Recommended:
Chapter 1: 'Gender and Politics'   in Georgina Waylen, ENGENDERING TRANSITIONS: WOMEN'S MOBILIZATION, INSTITUTIONS, AND GENDER OUTCOMES (Oxford University Press 2007)

Mansbridge, Jane, 1998, 'Feminism and Democracy', in Anne Philips (ed) Feminism and Politics, Oxford University press, Oxford.

Razavi, S. (2001) 'Women in Contemporary Democratization', *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, Vol. 15, No. 1: 201-224.

Week 2, September 15:
State Formation in the Developing World – Gendered legacies of colonialism and liberation

In this session we take a historical perspective on the state to consider the ways in which women's relative exclusion from the public sphere may have been institutionalised at moments of state formation. We examine colonial experiences to understand the foundations of contemporary states in some developing countries and consider whether and how certain kinds of gender relations are codified in the process of state formation. To do this we will consider how certain social interests have been favoured in some countries during the consolidation of colonial and post-colonial states. We will also look at liberation movements and consider how women's participation in these struggles can be betrayed by a return to traditional gender relations during political consolidations post-liberation.

Required:
Staudt, K (1987) "Women, Politics, the State, and Capitalist Transformation in Africa", in Irving L Markovitz (ed), Studies in Power and Class in Africa, Oxford University Press, New York

For author-critic debate:
Georgina Waylen, "Colonialism," ch. 3 in Waylen, *Gender in Third World Politics* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1996) pp. 46-69.

Recommended:

Kabeer, Naila, 2002, 'Citizenship and the Boundaries of the Acknowledged Community: Identity, Affiliation and Exclusion', IDS Working Paper No. 171.

Jane Bennet, "Circles and circles": Notes on African feminist debates around gender and violence in the c21 Feminist Africa, 14. http://agi.ac.za/sites/agi.ac.za/files/circles_and_circles-_notes_on_african_feminist_debates_around_gender_and_violence_in_the_c21__jane_bennett_0.pdf

Lata Mani "Contentious Traditions: the Debate on Sati in Colonial India," in Sangari and Vaid, Recasting Women. Essays in Indian Colonial History, pp.88-126.

Chadhuri, N. and M. Strobel, 1992 Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance (Indiana U Press).

Chanock, Martin, 1985, Law, Custom, and the Social Order: The Colonial Experience in Malawi and Zambia, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge

Coomaraswamy, R.M 1994, 'To bellow like a cow: women, ethnicity, and the discourse of rights', in Rebecca Cook, ed, Human Rights of Women.

Hunt, N. 1997. "Introduction." In Hunt, N, Liu, T. and Quataert, J, eds. Gendered Colonialisms in African History. Oxford/Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell.

Week 3, September 22:
 Gender in the developmental state – basic governance for development concepts

What is the role of the state in providing incentives for growth, and in obliging redistribution? How far should public power and authority develop commerce and industry and trade, and create the financial conditions for these? How far should public power intervene in patterns of wealth distribution? How does POLITICS – the competition for power, affect these decisions and processes? In all of this, how do state actions, policies and spending patterns affect women and men differently? How does exercise of state power contribute to the governance of gender or support male dominance?

In this session we also examine the importance of good governance for the effective implementation of the emergent post-2015 sustainable development agenda. Amongst the many proposed goals for the post-2015 international development framework (such as reducing poverty, ending hunger, protecting the oceans and forests, gender equality, limiting climate change), the one on good governance is one of the most contentious. It is widely considered likely to be dropped. A number of emerging powerful countries (Brazil, India, China and others) object to the idea that the quality of their governance could be subject to scrutiny. Yet a small sub-set of the G77 -- the countries that have signed up to the 'New Deal for Fragile States' have accepted the centrality of inclusive and accountable governance to their capacity to recover from and prevent conflict. Striking in both of these contemporary policy debates is the lack of attention to gendered aspects of governance

Required:

Moore, H. (1988) "Women and the State" in Feminism and Anthropology, Polity Press, Cambridge.

And

Anne Marie Goetz and Shieen Hassim, 2003, 'Women in Power in Uganda and South Africa', in Goetz and Hassim (eds) No Shortcuts to Power: African Women in politics and Policy-Making, Zed Books London.

For author-critic debate:
Zerai, Worku, 1994, 'Organizing Women within a National Liberation Struggle: case of Eritrea', Economic and Political Weekly, October 29.

Saferworld, 2014, Governance and the Post-2015 Framework: A Civil Society proposal -- download the PDF from: http://www.saferworld.org.uk/resources/view-resource/786-governance-and-the-post-2015-development-framework-a-civil-society-proposal

Recommended:

Aili Mari Tripp, 2008, 'Women in movement: transformations in African political landscapes', in Anna G.

Jonasdottir and Kathleen B. Jones, the Political Interests of Gender revisited, Blackwell, London.

Shireen Hassim: *'A conspiracy of Women' the Women's Movement in South Africa's Transition to Democracy*, Social Research 2002;Vol 69, Issue 3 p693-732, 40p
http://ezproxy.library.nyu.edu:15304/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=1&sid=b0dbbffc-d730-454d-ad71-809082076906%40sessionmgr4003&hid=4105

Gordon, Linda, (ed),1990, Introduction to: Women, the State, and Welfare, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison.

Rai, Shirin, 1996, 'Women and the state in the Third World: Some Issues for Debate', in Women and the State: International Perspectives, Shirin Rai and Geraldine Lievesley (eds), Taylor and Francis, London.

Wilson, Fiona, and Bodil Folke Frederiksen, 1995, 'Introduction: Ethnicity, Gender, and the Subversion of Nationalism', in a book edited by these authors, of the same title, Frank Cass, London.

Waylen, Georgina, 1998, 'Gender, feminism and the state: an overview', V. Randall and G. Waylen, (eds), Gender, Politics, and the State, Routledge, London.

Steans, Jill, 1998, 'States, Nationalisms, and Gendered Identities', in J Steans, Gender and International Relations: An Introduction, Polity Press, Cambridge.

White, Gordon, 1998, 'Constructing a Democratic Developmental State", in G. White and M. Robinson (eds), The Democratic Development State, Oxford University Press, Oxford. (White considers the capacity of democracy to contribute to growth by looking at the compatibility between the prerequisites for an effective state and a democratic polity.)

UN Women 2012, 'Gender and Post-Conflict Governance: Understanding the Challenges'
http://www.unwomen.org/~/media/Headquarters/Media/Publications/en/05CGenderandPostConflictGovernance.pdf

Cordaid, 2013, Integrating Gender Into the New Deal,
https://www.cordaid.org/media/publications/Cordaid-7247-02-PP-Gender_into_the_New_Deal-DEFHR-web.pdf

Week 4, September 29:
Women's political interests and civil society mobilization

'*What women have learned from history is that their needs and interests – and their rights – are neither automatically recognized nor guaranteed unless they articulate them and fight for them*' (Katerina Tomasevski, 1993:2)

Do women share political interests on the basis of their gender or their experiences of discrimination? This is a hotly contested issue, nowhere more so than between women's groups in civil society. Women's organisations have been the key associational form in which women seek to articulate their interests and aggregate them in ways that will have an impact on society and on politics. How effectively do women's organisations represent women's needs and interests, and how effectively do they promote them in politics? How do women organise on the basis of shared experiences of gender-based discrimination yet also address intergroup differences such as class and race? What are the obstacles to the effective mobilisation of women in civil society? What patterns of relations typically exist between women's organisations and the state?

In addition to considering these questions, we will look at the growing strength of women's movements internationally. It has been said that there is now an international 'regime' in women's rights, and its existence

owes much to the success of women's and feminist movements around the world in politicising inequalities between the sexes. This international women's movement has been important in supporting women's struggles within countries. At the same time, however, its association with western conceptions of women's rights and feminism can sometimes discredit domestic women's groups because they are seen to be responding to an external agenda.

Required:

Chapter 4 'Democratization, Civil Society and Social Movements' in Georgina Waylen 2007

Anna G. Jonasdottir, 1990, 'On the concept of interest, women's interests, and the limitations of interest theory', in Anna G. Jonasdottir and Kathleen B Jones (eds), The Political Interests of Gender, Sage.

Kimberle Crenshaw, 1993, 'Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color', Stanford Law Review, Vol 43, pp 1241 – 1299.

For author-critic debate:
Tinker, Irene, 2003, 'Many Paths to Power: Women in Contemporary Asia', in C.Huefeldt. J. Troutner, P. Smith, (eds) Building New Societies: Women in Asia and Latin America, Rowland and Littlefield. (review of the successes of the women's movement in South Asia, Korea, Japan and China).

Lisa Baldez, 2002, 'Chapter 1: Tipping, Timing, Framing' in Baldez, Why Women Protest: Women's Movements in Chile, Cambridge University Press.

Recommended:
S. Laurel Weldon, 'Social Movements and Policies to Address Violence Against Women', Chapter 3 of Weldon S. Laurel Weldon, PROTEST, POLICY, AND THE PROBLEM OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN: A CROSS-NATIONAL COMPARISON (University of Pittsburgh Press 2002)

Virginia Bouvier, 'Crossing the Lines: Women and Social Mobilization in Latin America', Chapter 2 in the Goetz reader

Einhorn, Barbara, 1993, 'An Allergy to Feminism: Women's Movements before and after 1989', in: B. Einhorn, Cinderella Goes to Market: Citizenship, Gender and Women's Movements in East Central Europe, Verso, London, pp. 182-215.

Week 5, October 6:
Women in Politics -- Numeric versus Strategic representation
Women's relative absence from formal arenas of political competition and decision-making is virtually institutionalized in the sense that it is such a common feature of politics that we hardly even notice it. Regardless of political system, the percentage of women in national parliaments around the world is low, and growing slowly -- from 9 per cent in 1995 to about 20 per cent today.   Does it matter that there are so few women in prominent decision-making roles? Would it make a difference if there were? A central concern of the Beijing Platform for Action was to improve women's representation in decision-making forums, particularly in politics, but also in state bureaucracies and in market institutions. There have clearly been obstacles to women's participation in these arenas. Formal politics has been particularly resistant to women's participation, even in supposedly democratic states.   Clearly a key to promoting women's interests in development and in other policy spheres is an enhanced role for them in policy-making, and an enhanced exercise of leadership *in women's interests*. We shall examine

how 'temporary special measures' including gender quotas work and look into whether more women in public office produce more gender-sensitive policy-making.

Required:
S. Laurel Weldon, 'The Effect of Women in Government on Policies on Violence Against Women', Chapter 4 of S. Laurel Weldon, <u>PROTEST, POLICY, AND THE PROBLEM OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN: A CROSS-NATIONAL COMPARISON</u> (University of Pittsburgh Press 2002)

For author-critic debate:

Amrita Basu, 'Women, Political Parties, and Social Movements in South Asia', Chapter 5 in the Goetz reader

Eva Fodor, 'Women's Political Engagement in East Central Europe', Chapter 6 of the Goetz reader

Onalena Doo Selolwane, 'From Political Sidecars to Legislatures: Women and Party Politics in Southern Africa', Chapter 7 in the Goetz reader

Teresa Sacchet, 'Political Parties and Gender in Latin America' – Chapter 8 of the Goetz reader

Recommended:
Chapters by Virginia Bouvier and Marnia Lazreg in the Goetz reader

Chapter 1, 'Upholding Male Parliamentary Dominance' in Elin Bjarnegård <u>, 2013, Gender, Informal Institutions and Political Recruitment: Explaining Male Dominance in parliamentary Representation</u>, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke

Okeke-Ihejirika, Philomina E., and Susan Franceshet, 2002, 'Democratisation and State Feminism: Gender and Politics in Africa and Latin America', <u>Development and Change</u>, 33 (3): 439 – 467.

Mansbridge, J. (1998) *The Many Faces of Representation*, Kennedy School of Government Politics Research Group Working Paper, Harvard University, Cambridge Massachusetts.

Kathlene, Lyn, 1994, 'Position Power versus Gender Power: Who holds the Floor?' in Georgia Duerst-Lahti and Rita Mae Kelly (eds) *Gender, Power, Leadership, and Governance*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Goetz, Anne Marie, 1998, 'Fiddling with Democracy: Translating women's democratic presence into development practice in Uganda and South Africa', in Mark Robinson and Gordon White (eds), <u>The Democratic Developmental State</u>, Oxford University Press, Oxford. (also in <u>Review of African Political Economy</u>, mid-1998).

Week 6, October 13:   NO CLASS

Week 7, October 20:
Understanding quotas and other temporary special measures
Special lecturer: Julie Ballington, Senior Policy Advisor, Governance, UN Women

This session will look in-depth at institutional changes which account for rises of numbers of women in politics, such as electoral systems based on proportional representation, reservations and quota systems, multi-member and large District magnitude, voluntary quotas in political parties. We will look at the application of one particular principle – that of group-based representational systems – in India and Uganda, where women now must, according to the constitution, make up at least 30% of local government councils.

Required:

Drude Dahlerup, 'About Quotas', The Quota Project, International IDEA
http://www.quotaproject.org/aboutQuotas.cfm

For author-critic debate:
Htun, Mala, 'Is Gender like Ethnicity? The **Political** Representation of Identity Groups', American Political Science Review, Vol 2, No. 3, September 2004

Recommended:

Introduction to: Mona Lena Krook, QUOTAS FOR WOMEN IN POLITICS: GENDER AND CANDIDATE SELECTION REFORM WORLDWIDE, (Oxford University Press 2010) (and if there is time please read especially chapters 6 and 7)

Shirin Rai, 2002 'Political representation, democratic institutions and women's empowerment: the quota debate in India',   in Jane Parpart, Shirin Rai, and Kathleen Staudt (eds), Rethinking Empowerment: Gender and development in a local/global world, Routledge, London.

Week 8, October 27:
Decentralization – does government 'closeness' bring results for women?

It is often assumed that women are more effective at advancing gender interests when they engage with local government because it is assumed they face fewer constraints to political office at the local level (weaker impact of national political parties, fewer time and mobility constraints etc.). Yet from another perspective, power at the local level tends to be more concentrated and personally targeted than at higher levels of government – and tradition often exerts a stronger hold on people's lives. We examine recent studies of women's engagement with local government and pay particular attention to whether this results in changes in local spending patterns.

Required:
Raghabendra Chattopadhyay and Esther Duflo , 'The Impact of Reservation in the Panchayati Raj: Evidence from a Nationwide Randomized Experiment', November 2003, https://poverty-action.org/sites/default/files/panchayati.pdf

Please look at the report from the World Bank: "How Close Is Your Government to Its People? Worldwide Indicators on Localization and Decentralization". This dataset includes 182 countries in mid 2000's and composes an index on Decentralization (DI) and then a Government Closeness Index (GCI) by adjusting the DI for differences in size of countries and the particular preferences of people and their government's subsequent responsiveness and accountability. Higher rates on both indices are associated with higher human development and lower corruption.   Does the index of government 'closeness' reflect government responsiveness to women?
http://elibrary.worldbank.org/doi/pdf/10.1596/1813-9450-6138

Josephine Ahikire, 'Who Speaks for Whom? Women and the politics of Presence n Uganda's Local Governance', Chapter 11 in the Goetz reader

Recommended:

Schanke, L. and Lange, S. (eds.), 2008, 'Decentralization and Gender. Coordination and Cooperation on Maternal Health
Issues in Selected District Councils in Tanzania', Chr. Michelsen Institute, Bergen
One-page summary:
http://www.gsdrc.org/go/display&type=Document&id=2782

Chapters by Jo Beall (South Africa), Josephine Ahikire (Uganda) and Jana Everett (India) in the Goetz reader.

Week 9: November 3:
The mainstream international development approach to good governance
Since the 1990s, international development institutions have stressed that 'getting institutions right' is as important as 'getting prices right' was considered to be during the 1980s. In other words, politics is recognised to be as important as economics to the sound functioning of public institutions, and to national stability. Development agencies differ in how they interpret good governance. In general, it is understood in one or both of the following ways:

- As meaning multi-party democracy, with all that flows with it in terms of public transparency, accountability, open and fair competition for power;
- As efficient administration, implying institutional capacity-building, civil service reform, attacks on corruption, and so on.

In this session we will study some current good governance documents to consider if and how gender concerns are brought in, and what could be done to improve them.

Required:
World Bank, 2003, Economic Reforms and Growth Experiences: Lessons from the 1990s, read: Chapter 10: 'Improving Public Sector Governance: The Grand Challenge?' World Bank, Washington DC.

Recommended:

McCourt, W. (2013) *Models of public service reform: A problem-solving approach*, Washington DC: World Bank, Policy Research Working Paper No. 6428
http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/reading-packs/public-service-reform/mccourt-2013.pdf

Halleröd, B. B. Rothstein and A. Daoud (2013) 'Bad governance and poor children: A comparative analysis of government efficiency and severe child deprivation in 68 low- and middle-income countries', *World Development,* 48: 19–31

http://www.qog.pol.gu.se/digitalAssets/1380/1380730_2012_9_haller--d_rothstein_daoud_nandy.pdf

Nunnenkamp, Peter, 1995, 'What donors mean by Good Governance: Heroic Ends, limited Means, and Traditional Dilemmas of Development Cooperation', IDS Bulletin, Vol 26 no. 2, April.

Week 10, November 10:
Gender-sensitive Public sector reforms

Public service provision is, as we have seen, one of the main methods through which states shape gender relations. Public authorities interpret women's needs and in doing so they can reinforce or undermine gender role stereotypes. Recent Public Service Reform initiatives emphasize empowering end-users as agents of accountability, but generic notions of end-users of public services hide the constraints women face when accessing services, which can limit their efficacy as agents of accountability.

Reformers need to consider gender power relations when designing service delivery reforms. Gender-responsive budget analysis has been helpful in demonstrating where pubic authorities under-invest in women's needs when allocating resources for public services.

In this session we examine some initiatives to redesign the public sector and public services in order to expand women's choices.

Required:
Chapter 12 of the Goetz reader: 'Governing Women or Enabling Women to Govern: Gender and the Good Governance Agenda'

Judith Tendler and Sarah Freidheim, 1994, 'Trust in a rent-seeking world: Health and government transformed in Northeast Brazil' , World Development, Vol 22 (12) pages *1771-1791*.

Recommended:
Intro/overview to, then focus on one of the country cases in: World Bank, 2010, 'Gender and Governance in Rural Services: Insights from India, Ghana, and Ethiopia ,
The World Bank, International Food Policy Research Institute,
 https://publications.worldbank.org/index.php?main_page=product_info&cPath=0&products_id=22997

Corner, L. and Repucci, S., 2009, 'A User's Guide to Measuring Gender-Sensitive Basic Service Delivery', United Nations Development Programme and United Nations Development Fund for Women, Oslo
One-page summary:
 http://www.gsdrc.org/go/display&type=Document&id=3810

Unsworth, S., 2010, 'Mobilizing for Better Public Services', in An Upside Down View of Governance, Centre for the Future State, Institute of Development Studies, Brighton, ch. 4; One-page summary:
http://www.gsdrc.org/go/display&type=Document&id=3007

Joshi, A., 2008, 'Producing Social Accountability? The Impact of Service Delivery Reforms', IDS Bulletin, vol. 38, no. 6, pp. 10-17

One-page summary: http://www.gsdrc.org/go/display/document/legacyid/1270

MacPherson, E., 2008, 'Invisible Agents: Women in Service Delivery Reforms', IDS Bulletin, vol. 38, no. 6, pp. 38-46
One-page summary: http://www.gsdrc.org/go/display&type=Document&id=3015

One aspect of gender-responsive public policy is gender-sensitive spending. Gender-Responsive Budget analysis is a technique that has been developed to help anticipate the impact on women and men, girls and boys, of national spending plans. See:

D. Budlender et al. (2002), Gender Budgets Make Cents, CommSec, IDRC, UNIFEM.

Cristina Bloj, 2009 'The budgeting process and the implications on social policies and poverty reduction: Alternatives to traditional models', background paper for UNRISD Flagship report on poverty, **http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/%28httpAuxPages%29/D8B6BCCC8E330C50C12575FB00375576/$file/draftBloj.pdf**

Week 11, November 17:
When and Why do states respond to women's needs and advance their interests?

Under what conditions do states respond to women's demands for security, property, rights? This is perhaps the most important question in gender-equality policy analysis today. Are states more responsive when more women are in representative office, when the public administration and local government is feminized, when states are more democratic and less authoritarian, when there is no official state religion?

The 1995 Beijing Platform for Action urged countries to set up standalone administrations charged with advancing women's rights – such as gender equality commissions or ministries of women's rights. Like many approaches to bureaucratizing or institutionalizing gender equality, many of these initiatives resulted in 'gender ghettos' -- tiny and underfunded gender entities with massive and un-implementable social change mandates. On the other hand, in some cases, women's rights commissions have been endowed with investigative power and policy oversight roles that have enabled them to either highlight and demand redress for abuses of women's rights, or to generate significant policy reforms with important implications for women's' rights. Are they a waste of public space or an important foothold inside the public administration from which significant reforms can flow?

Required:
Sonia E Alvarez, 1990, 'Contradictions of 'Women's Space' in a Male-Dominant State: The Political role of the Commissions on the status of women in postauthoriarian Brazil', in Kathleen Staudt (ed), Women, International Development, and Politics: The Bureaucratic Mire, Temple University Press.

Amy Mazur, 2015, 'Towards the Systematic Study of Feminist Policy in Practice: An Essential First Step ', in Journal of Women, Politics and Policy

Recommended:

Amy G. Mazur and Dorothy E. McBride, 2007, 'State Feminism', in Gary Goertz and Amy Mazur, (eds), Politics, Gender and Concepts, Cambridge University press.

Goetz, Anne Marie 1995, 'The Politics of Integrating Gender to State Development Processes: Trends,

Opportunities and Constraints in Bangladesh, Chile, Jamaica, Mali, Morocco and Uganda' UNRISD working paper, May, Geneva.
http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9%2F(httpAuxPages)%2F8856EC9F7738F32A80256B67005B6AD5%2F$file%2Fopb2.pdf

Htun, Mala and Laurel S. Weldon, 2010, 'When and Why do Governments Promote Sex Equality? Violence Against Women, Reproductive Rights, and Parental Leave in Cross-National Perspective', work in progress, mimeo, on NYU Classes site.

Week 12, November 24:

Rule of Law reforms – Plural legal systems and the special case of gender and land title
When laws are codified (written down) and institutions are established for promoting and protecting these laws (the courts, legal training, police, Human Rights or Equal Opportunities commissions), prevailing social relations can be crystallized or, sometimes, challenged. Laws represent authoritative interpretations of the rights of citizens (their freedoms and restrictions on their freedoms). Laws also establish the range of legitimate activities for public institutions and market institutions. Over the last two centuries, two processes of codification of laws have been critical for women: the codification of personal or family law, and the writing of constitutions.

The constitution of a nation-state specifies political goals and institutions, and defines relationships between individuals and the state. In the twentieth century, writing a constitution is part of the founding process of every new state. Almost all such texts have tried to combine western liberal ideas of human rights with the recognition of local values, customary laws and traditions, and these may be contradictory or uncomfortable partners. We will discuss some typical constitutional provisions and consider their specific references to gender and hidden gendered meanings, the problems they may create for women and also the political opportunities that women have found in their texts.

Required reading:

Chapter by Celestine Nyamu Musembi in the Goetz reader

Vivien Hart, Democratic Constitution Making Special Report 107
(Washington DC: USIP, 2003) http://www.usip.org/publications/democratic-constitution-making

Beverly Baines and Ruth Rubio-Marin eds., The Gender of Constitutional Jurisprudence (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005),
Introduction, and any of the essays.

For the author-critic debate:
Tripp, Aili Mari, 2002, 'The Politics of women's Rights and Cultural Diversity in Uganda', in Maxine Molyneux and Shahra Razavi (eds), Gender Justice, Development, and Rights, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Recommended:
Alexandra Dobrowolsky and Vivien Hart eds., Women Making Constitutions
(Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003), Introduction, and any chapters of interest

Rangan, Haripriya and Mary Gilmartin, 2002, 'Gender, Traditional Authority, and the Politics of Rural Reform in South Africa', in Development and Change, 33 (4): 633 -658.

Lisa Baldez, 2014, <u>Defying Convention: U.S. Resistance to the UN Treaty on Women's Rights</u>, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Johanna E. Bond, 2007, 'Constitutional Exclusion and Gender in Commonwealth Africa, <u>Fordham International Law Journal</u>, Vol 31(2) article 1.

Week 13, December 1:
Gender Equality in International Governance

Hilary Charlesworth: '*Women, so often on the margins of the international arena, are more likely to drown in, than wave from, the mainstream, unless they swim with the current.'*

Grand commitments to gender equality in international organisations like the World Bank and the UN are rarely matched by financial and human resource commitments. For the insider 'femocrats', challenges remain intense, as they have to struggle to raise gender issues in every new policy development. The creation of UN Women (United Nations Entity for gender Equality and Women's Empowerment) in mid-2010 was designed precisely to combat the marginalisation and trivialization and dilution of the gender equality agenda that accompanies gender mainstreaming in international organisations. Has UN Women achieved this goal? How is gender 'mainstreamed' in other global governance institutions?

Required reading:
Hilary Charlesworth and Christine Chinkin, 2013, 'The Creation of UN Women', Australian National University, REGNET Research Paper, No 2013/7.

Recommended:
Jane Parpart, 1995, 'Deconstructing the Development 'Expert': Gender, Development and the 'vulnerable groups'. In *Feminism, Postmodernism Development*, Marianne Marchand and Jane Parpart (eds), Routledge, London. NYU Classes resources page

Torild Skard, 2008, 'Getting our History Right: How were the equal rights of women and men included in the Charter of the United Nations?' <u>Forum for Development Studies,</u> no. 1, 37-60.

Goetz, Anne Marie, 2000, 'Lobbying for Economic Justice: Women's Movements and the World Bank', in Robert O'Brien (ed), Contesting Global Governance: Multilateral Economic Institutions and Global Social Movements, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. NYU Classes Resource page

A.M. Goetz and Sally Baden, 'Who Needs [Sex] when you can have [Gender]? Conflicting Discourses on Gender at Beijing', in Kathleen Staudt (ed.), 1997, *Women, International Development, and Politics: The Bureaucratic Mire*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2nd Edition. NYU Classes Resource Page.

John McMahon (CUNY Graduate center), 2013, 'Depoliticization, Essentialization, or Transformation? UN Women's Representations of Men and Masculinity', Prepared for (and winner of best graduate student paper 2013 in) *International Studies Association Annual Convention*, San Francisco.

Week 14, December 8:

Anti-corruption initiatives – the right to information
A rare flurry of aid-agency interest in women's leadership was spurred after 2000 by several statistical reviews demonstrating that there is less corruption when there are more women in public office. In this session we examine those claims and we also look into women's engagement in anti-corruption struggles in developing countries.

Required:

Hung-En Sung, 2003, 'Fairer Sex or Fairer System? Gender and Corruption Revisited'
Social Forces,   Volume 82, Number 2, December 2003   pp. 703-723,
http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/social_forces/v082/82.2sung.html

Dollar, David, Sandra Fisman, and Roberta Gatti. 2001. "Are Women Really the "Fairer" Sex? Corruption and Women in Government." Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization, 46:423-29.

Also please look at Policy Brief 01/2014 on the Transparency International website: 'gender, Equality and Corruption: What are the Linkages?':
http://www.transparency.org/whatwedo/pub/policy_position_01_2014_gender_equality_and_corruption_what_are_the_linkage

Recommended:
Anne Marie Goetz, 'Political Cleaners: Are women the New Anti-corruption Force?', Development and Change, Volume 38, Issue 1, pages 87–105, January 2007

R. Jenkins and A.M. Goetz, 1999, 'Accounts and accountability: theoretical implications of the right-to-information movement in India', Third World Quarterly, Vol. 20, No. 3, pp.
Swamy, Anand, Steve Knack, Young Lee, and Omar Azfar. 2001. "Gender and Corruption." *Journal of Development Economics* 64:25-55.603-622

Week 15, December 15:
Review

We will look back at the course and review key concepts in the good governance policy debate.   We will also get an update on the status of the 'governance' issue in the post-2015 framework. This last class is also an opportunity to review any areas that are unclear.

Instructor

Dr. Anne Marie Goetz, who joined CGA in January 2014, previously served at the United Nations since 2005 as Chief Advisor on Governance, Peace and Security, for UNIFEM and then UN Women. Prior to joining UNIFEM in 2005, she was a Professor of Political Science at the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex where she worked since 1991.   She also served the United Nations Development Programme in Chad and Guinea in the mid-1980s. While at the UN over the past decade Dr. Goetz spearheaded initiatives to promote women's empowerment in the UN's peace building work in post-conflict situations, to build peacekeepers' capacities to detect and prevent sexual violence in conflict, and to support women's organizations' efforts to participate in peace talks and post-conflict decision-making.

Dr. Goetz is a political scientist who specializes in research on development policies in fragile states to promote the interests of marginalized social groups, particularly poor women. She also researches conditions for

democratization and good governance in South Asia and East Africa. This has included research on pro-poor and gender-sensitive approaches to public sector reforms, anti-corruption initiatives, decentralization, and state building in fragile states and post-conflict situations.

Professor Goetz is the author of eight books on the subjects of gender, politics and policy in developing countries, and on accountability reforms - the latest is a 2009 edited volume: *Governing Women*: *Women in Politics and Governance in Developing Countries* (Routlegde).