**New York University SPS**

**M.S. in Global Affairs**

GLOB1-GC2390.001

**Women, Genders, and Politics in Development  
Spring 2021**

**Wednesday  6:30 pm – 9:10 pm, 14 sessions**

**3 Credits**

**Online**

**Instructor: Dr. Anne Marie Goetz  
E-mail:** [**amg22@nyu.edu**](mailto:amg22@nyu.edu)

**Office Hours: Wednesday, 10am-6pm; Thursdays, 10am-12pm (WW, Rm. 442)  
Pre-requisites: none specified**

**Course Structure: Online, lecture-based**

**COURSE DESCRIPTION**

As of October 2020, according to the Inter Parliamentary Union (IPU), men make up 74.9% of parliamentarians. Men are 90.2% of heads of state/heads of government, and 81.7% of government ministers.  Only one fifth or 20.5% of the total filled posts of Presiding Officers of Parliament or of one of its Houses (eg Speaker of the House) are filled by women. Every time a woman makes it to the top, it makes global headlines. You can name all current female leaders of countries (there are 21) in about a minute. Fourteen countries have national cabinets with 50% or more women, and just 4 countries have national legislatures with women holding 50% or more seats. Rare as women are in politics, gay men and women, and trans men and women, are even more rare, and racial and ethnic minorities across all genders and sexualities are also scarce.

Does it matter? Does the gender or the sexuality of elected representatives make a difference to the types of policies they pursue, the public spending patterns that result, and to overall gender equality and inclusiveness? Is gender parity in decision-making important for reaching important goals of poverty reduction, peace, and a sustainable relationship between people and the planet?

Feminist and gay rights social mobilizations the world over have raised these questions for many years, but they have become particularly acute in the COVID-19 crisis because of the ways pandemic responses have exacerbated women’s social marginality and because of the unanticipated and impressive responses of some women national leaders (New Zealand, Taiwan, Denmark, Norway, Germany) in controlling the virus and minimizing the socially destructive effects of lockdowns. According to a 2020 [UN Women report](https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2020/policy-brief-covid-19-and-womens-leadership-en.pdf?la=en&vs=409) (the leadership styles of women leaders in the COVID-19 response have been described as more collective than individual, more collaborative than competitive and more coaching than commanding. The report notes that prior to the pandemic 47% of the world’s population believed that men made better political leaders than women. Today, lower COVID-19 death rates and effective virus containment policies in countries led by women are disproving the discriminatory social norms driving these beliefs. Yet women have been relatively marginalized from COVID-19 Task Forces, with [85% of them containing mostly men](https://covid5050.org/).

This is far from unusual, but the elite male domination of public decision-making can create asymmetries in the distribution of rights and resources between women and men that compound and prolong poverty, and can also undermine peace and security – within and beyond countries. Connections between women’s disempowerment and insecurity are becoming more visible and salient in politics than ever before, now that violent extremists as well as some nationalist neo-populists have made explicit that their plans for state-building come with persecution of non-gender-conforming individuals and require the social, economic, political, and sexual subordination of women.

This course explores how gender and sexuality shapes access to political power and influence, and what this means for the prospects of gender equality policies.

The course will explore gender as non-binary, socially produced, self-identified and complex, but notes that colloquial binary terms such as ‘men’ and ‘women’ have often been used in the literature to denote gender. Gender intersects with additional factors that act as significant barriers to political voice and influence – these include inequalities across ability, race, income, ethnicity, class, religion, geography, and sexuality. The course intentionally takes an intersectional, inclusive perspective.

A focus not only on routes into power but also on what women and sexual minorities do once in power requires attention to some of the daily operational features of good governance like civil service reform, anti-corruption measures, and reforms addressing rule of law.

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| **Learning Objectives** |

By the end of this course the students should:

1. Understand gender- and sexuality-specific obstacles to participation in public decision-making around the world.
2. Be able to analyze the consequences of the under-representation of women, LGBTQI, and gender equality advocates for the types of decisions taken.
3. Understand conceptual distinctions between political participation and influence, or descriptive versus strategic representation.
4. Understand analytical frameworks to distinguish between practical and strategic gender equality issues, between issues that affect women’s relative class standing, race, ethnicity (differences between women/intersectionality) versus their status vis a vis men in the same or across different social groups.
5. Have a grasp of current governance reform policies in low-income countries and an understanding of their gendered impacts.
6. Articulate an evidence-based policy position in relation to the gendered impact of governance reforms and present an argument succinctly and precisely in oral and written form.

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| **AT A GLANCE:** |

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| 1 | Feb 3 | **Gender and power in the politics of development policy: Why study women, sexuality and gender orientation in politics? What are the links to development (and peace)? Overview of Course** |
| 2 | Feb 10 | **What are the Conditions for the political effectiveness of women and LGBTQI – institutions, ideologies, policy preconditions** |
| 3 | Feb 17 | **What is ‘The State’? Is it gendered and if so, how did it get that way? What is governance?** |
| 4 | Feb 24 | **Political interests and civil society mobilization – social/political activism of women and LGBTIQ groups** |
| 5 | March 3 | **Gender Quotas: ‘Fiddling with Democracy’? Or transforming politics?** |
| 6 | March 10 | **Violence against women and LGBTIQ groups in politics** |
| 7 | March 17 | **Political regimes: Democracy and Populism of the left and right** |
| 8 | March 24 | **Political parties and genders** |
| 9 | March 31 | **Gender-Sensitive Constitutions** |
| 10 | April 7 | **What is ‘good governance’? Mainstream approaches** |
| 11 | April 14 | **Gender-sensitive Public Sector Reforms, including gender budgeting** |
| 12 | April 21 | **Multi-Level governance: Federalism and Decentralization – does government ‘closeness’ bring results for women?** |
| 13 | April 28 | **Anti-corruption initiatives – the right to information** |
| 14 | May 5 | **Review** |

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| **Core readings:** |

***Recommended references***

There is no core text. The following books will be useful, depending on your region and thematic area of interest:

1. Htun, M and Weldon, L. (2018) *The Logics of Gender Justice: State Action on Women’s Rights around the World*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (Paperback: $25.57).
2. Anne Marie Goetz (ed), 2009, Governing Women: Women's Political Effectiveness in Contexts of Democratization and Governance Reform (Routledge, New York 2009) *(Amazon: ~$40)*

*The full text is available for free in e-version from the NYU Bobst Library*

1. Mimi Marinucci, **2010, Feminism is Queer: The Intimate Connection Between Queer and Feminist Theory, Zed books**
2. Mona Lena Krook, QUOTAS FOR WOMEN IN POLITICS: GENDER AND CANDIDATE SELECTION REFORM WORLDWIDE, (Oxford University Press 2010) – **(New: $26.13, Used: $15.29)**
3. Aili Mari Tripp, Isabel Casimiro, Joy Kweiseiga, Alice Mungwa, AFRICAN WOMEN’S MOVEMENT: CHANGING POLITICAL LANDSCAPES (Cambridge University Press 2009) – **(New: $45.99, Used: $26.24)**
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) – **(New: $46.80, Used: $27.22)**
5. Jane Jaquette, ed., FEMINIST AGENDAS AND DEMOCRACY IN LATIN AMERICA (Duke University Press 2009) – **(New: $25.03, Used: $10.84, Kindle: $14.37)**
6. S. Laurel Weldon, PROTEST, POLICY, AND THE PROBLEM OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN: A CROSS-NATIONAL COMPARISON (University of Pittsburgh Press 2002) – **(New: $27.94, Used:  ~$9.00)**
7. Georgina Waylen, ENGENDERING TRANSITIONS: WOMEN’S MOBILIZATION, INSTITUTIONS, AND GENDER OUTCOMES (Oxford University Press 2007) – **(New: $48.70, Used: ~$7.00)**
8. Nivedita Menon, Recovering Subversion: Feminist Politics Beyond the Law, (University of Illinois Press, Chicago 2004). – **(New: $27.04, Used: $22.76)**

**All prices shown are from Amazon**

If you have never studied gender issues before, you might find the following slim volume of practical use:

Mary Evans. (2017) The Persistence of Gender inequality. Cambridge: Polity Press. ISBN-10: 0745689922

$21.80 on Amazon.

Also this recent publication is fun to read and eye-opening, revealing the way the data we use to make sense of the world is gender-blind:

Caroline Criado-Perez, 2019, *Invisible Women: Data Bias in a World Designed for Men*, Harry N. Abrams press, London. ($17.00 Amazon)

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

**Council on Foreign Relation**s (CFR), Women’s Power Index: https://www.cfr.org/article/womens-power-index

**Inter-Parliamentary Union** – especially the Women in Politics Page:

<https://www.ipu.org/our-impact/gender-equality>

**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 2019, 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>

**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 site for original research, posting questions that are answered by women politicians)

The **Varieties of Democracy** project has a women’s political empowerment index (Coppedge et al. 2020). The measure ranges from zero to one and incorporates the dimensions of women’s fundamental civil liberties, open discussion of political issues and participation in civil society organizations, and the descriptive representation of women in formal political positions.

Women’s access to digital technology is followed by this group:

‘Connected Women The Mobile Gender Gap Report’ 2020

GSMA

<https://www.gsma.com/mobilefordevelopment/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/GSMA-The-Mobile-Gender-Gap-Report-2020.pdf>

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 do 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/>. This multi-year project examines *when, how and why*states adopt policies that empowerment women and promote gender equality.

Keep an eye on this rolling list of women heads of state and heads of government:

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_elected_and_appointed_female_heads_of_state_and_government>

You could sign up for feminist list serves and blogs if you have not already, such as this one by the feminist Guardian writer Jessica Valenti ‘This Week in Patriarchy’: <https://www.theguardian.com/info/2017/jan/19/this-week-in-the-patriarchy-jessica-valenti-email>

Or this list-serve that addresses gender and development and peace issues, usually with a strong link to UN processes: Women UN Report Network (WUNRN) WUNRN

[http://www.wunrn.com](http://www.wunrn.com/)

**Other good online resources:**

* A global database on violence against women: <http://evaw-global-database.unwomen.org/en>
* Attacks on women journalists and human rights defenders: <https://cpj.org/2016/04/attacks-on-the-press.php>
* A global database on gender equality content in constitutions: <http://constitutions.unwomen.org/en>
* Global fund for women : politics resources: <https://www.globalfundforwomen.org/top-8-women-and-politics-around-world/#.WCCOHOErJPP>
* Women in EU parliament: <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/publications/2017/0001/P8_PUB(2017)0001_EN.pdf>

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| **Student Assessment** |

The final grade is based on several components.

**1. Critical Book or article review**

Please submit a 1500 word critical book review or article review of a resource used for this course. You will have plenty of opportunity to practice (see description of the ‘author/critic’ exercise below). You may write a review of any of the resources used for this course (if you wish to use something external to the course just please check beforehand with Prof. Goetz). You will be expected to ‘engage critically’ with the reading and either point out applications of the argument (for instance useful policy applications not anticipated by the author), limitations of the argument, or inconsistencies in the evidence or methodology. It is fine to be totally appreciative of the reading but you must add something to the reading experience in the form of observations about its utility or relevance. Your book review will be expected to demonstrate knowledge of the subject area gained from reading other relevant texts. Full referencing (footnotes, other sources) is expected.

**DUE: March 3**

**Worth 20% of the final mark**

**2. Op Ed**

Please write an 800-word op-ed or speech of publishable quality on a current issue relevant the course. You could write about gender issues in a current or recent election, about feminist foreign policy, about whether the push for more women in politics will result in stronger gender-equality policy. You could write about huge issues that divide women (abortion, sex work, economic solutions). You could write about the neo-nationalist populist right wing racist backlash politics and their impact on same-sex rights or transgender people or women. You could reflect on women’s engagement in religious fundamentalism. You could write about the relationship between women’s’ rights movements and same-sex rights movements in a country of your choice. Etc.

The topic choice is yours. Please clear your topic with Professor Goetz by the beginning of March. Please indicate in your heading the imagined/intended publication for the blog (NYT; Le Monde; Washington Post; Financial Times; BBC Global News; The Guardian; Huffington Post; Open Democracy; Institute for War and Peace; International Crisis Group; etc). **Your Op Ed should not be descriptive**. It should try to look at an event, process, or issue from a new angle and encourage the reader to see things in a new way or recognize a gendered pattern to a process that has not been portrayed as gendered. It can be provocative.. It should indicate a grasp of the issues in the area that you are addressing. Therefore it MUST include footnotes and references, even though normally that is not part of an Op Ed.

**DUE: March 31**

**Worth 20% of the final mark**

**3. Final Project: Analytical Paper**

For your final project you are asked to write an analytical paper to a maximum of 4000 words length (excluding bibliography, Annexes and footnotes/endnotes).

My expectations about quality and structure of an analytical paper are spelled out in the Annex to this syllabus.

Your paper should address an issue relevant to the course and should contain a clear expression of the problem or dilemma or contradiction that you are investigating. You could write a full essay related to the topic of your country-specific investigation and presentation for the class. Full referencing (footnotes, other sources) is expected.

**Essay topics and brief outline must be submitted to Prof. Goetz by: March 17; the final paper is due: April 30.**

**Worth 40% of the final mark**

**4. Class participation**

Class participation is a key element of the course and can take several forms: making informed comments, asking or responding to questions, and generally showing that you have thought about a topic or a case. During every class students will be asked to mention current events in the past week that are of relevance for the course and you are invited to post links to articles or your own commentary on the NYU Classes Forum page for the class. It is a good idea to read a major international newspaper daily (NYT, The Guardian, Le Monde or similar) and I expect everyone to listen to a global news podcast once a day (Al Jazeera and BBC offer excellent daily news summaries that you can listen to on your phone).

**Class participation is assessed and constitutes 10% of the final grade**

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| 1. **Country Presentation** |

You will research a specific country situation to understand the dynamics of women’s or LGBTQI political participation or engagement in governance reform there. Proposed countries and topics will be announced in the first class.

The presentation should be no more than 15 minutes long. You will be expected to research your country situation deeply. You can decide to address a recent political event with relevance to women’s or LGBTQI rights in the country, or you can examine the career of an important politician, or new obstacles to the political effectiveness of movements for gender equality. At a minimum, you will need to cover at least some of the guiding questions below – it is not expected that you will be able to answer them all. You should use quantitative data (eg the national GDI and GEM ranking) where you can to save space and to provide the gender equality/rights context.

* What is the current number of women in politics, what proportion of total legislators (at national and other levels) are they and how has that changed over time?
* What made a major difference to their level of political engagement?  
  What is the nature of women’s /LGBTQI’s civil society mobilization – on what issues do they mobilize, and how unified or divided is the movement for gender equality?
* How has the women’s movement engaged with same-sex rights and transgender issues?
* What are the main political parties that support and oppose gender equality and what are the main points of political contestation on gender issues (abortion/reproductive rights? Same-sex rights? Employment rights?)
* What is the main threat to gender equality and how are rights activists engaging with those threats?

**10% of the grade.**

**Assignments - Summary**

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| **Assignment** | **% of grade** | **Due date** |
| 1. **Analytical book/article review (1500 words)** | **20%** | **March 3** |
| 1. **Op-ed (800 words)** | **20%** | **March 31** |
| 1. **Term Paper (4000 words)** | **40%** | **April 29** |
| 1. **Class participation** | **10%** | **Throughout course** |
| 1. **Country presentation** | **10%** | **Date to be assigned at beginning of semester** |

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| **Assessment criteria/expectations** |

**Class participation:**

Students are expected to attend every class and if you have to miss a class please notify me in advance in writing. More than two absences require a doctor’s note or other documentation if they are not to result in a disqualification/fail.

For the presentations, I expect the following: use of power point or other visual display media in a way that is NOT text-heavy but rather gets to the main points in a concise manner. Effort should be made to find other ways besides text to communicate (images etc) and please use quantitative as well as qualitative data. Presentations should never last longer than 15 minutes. Responses the questions should be to the point and brief.

**Assignments:**

**Deadlines** are **firm**. If the assignment is a week late, a half grade mark will be deducted.

There is a strong emphasis on research and analytical writing. You are expected to investigate every topic, whether it is a response to an article or book (book review assignment) or the Op Ed, or the term paper. By ‘investigate’ I mean read as much as you can on the topic, assemble data – both quantitative and qualitative, and develop responses to your main question by finding evidence to back up your position. Scholarship is not just about reporting what others say. Yes, you need to set the scene and tell a story but you also need to articulate your own point of view and justify your position with evidence or else a compelling argument.

Good, persuasive, well-founded **written argument** is one of the main skills you will bring to whatever you do next in life. I will grade you on the soundness of your evidence or argumentation and the plausibility of your conclusions. I will also note the breadth of your reading on the topic and will appreciate efforts you make to bring in sources that are ‘not the usual suspects’ – i.e. that shine a new or unexpected and useful light on the subject. I will also appreciate care taken in the ‘technicalities’ or mechanics of writing and presentation. Good grammar, accurate spelling, good editing (avoid repetition, structure your piece clearly) will all be taken into account.

**Academic referencing** is needed in ALL assignments – i.e. not hyperlinks but in-text references to show where quotes or ideas or data come from (author, date: page) and a bibliography at the end to flesh out the details of the publication in question.

Always include a **bibliography** so that I can see your sources – even those from which no direct citation was drawn.

**Grades**: grades send signals. I consider a ‘B’ to be perfectly good work, that meets the standards of a graduate course. Above a B, I am looking for quality, investment of energy, commitment and innovation/flair. You might find it useful to look at the grade scale and explanations that are used at CGA for assessing theses and capstones to see the specific achievements we look for in distinguishing between grade levels.

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).

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| **SPS 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.

**NYUSPS Policies**

**NYU SPS Policies:** 

**Additional Resources:**

* **Accommodations for Disabilities**: **Any student who needs a reasonable accommodation based on a qualified disability is required to register with the Moses Center for Student Disabilities for assistance (**[www.nyu.edu/csd](about:blank)**).**
* **Student Resources:** <http://www.nyu.edu/life/resources-and-services.html>
* **Virtual Computer Lab**: <https://vcl.nyu.edu/vpn/index.html>
* **Health and Wellness:** *To access the University's extensive health and mental health resources, contact the NYU Wellness Exchange. You can call its private hotline (212-443-9999), available 24 hours a day, seven days a week, to reach out to a professional who can help to address day-to-day challenges as well as other health-related concerns.*

**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:*** 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.

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| **SPS Grading Scale** |

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| **Letter** | **%** | **Quality Points** | **Descriptions** | **Definitions** |
| A | 95-100 | 4.000 | Exceptional | Demonstrates exceptional mastery of all learning outcomes of the course and thorough and complete understanding of all concepts. |
| A- | 90-94 | 3.667 | Excellent | Demonstrates highly competent mastery of all learning outcomes of the course and strong understanding of all concepts. |
| B+ | 87-89 | 3.333 | Very Good; exceeds course standards | Demonstrates mastery of all learning outcomes of the course and understanding of core concepts. |
| B | 83-86 | 3.000 | Good; meets course standards | Demonstrates mastery of some learning outcomes; understanding of some core concepts could be improved. |
| B- | 80-82 | 2.667 | Somewhat Satisfactory; meets some course standards and requires improvement | Demonstrates basic understanding of some learning outcomes; improved understanding of all core concepts is needed. |
| C+ | 77-79 | 2.333 | Less than Satisfactory; requires significant improvement | Demonstrates partial understanding of all learning outcomes and core concepts; requires significant improvement. |
| C | 73-76 | 2.000 | Unsatisfactory; requires substantial improvement | Demonstrates partial understanding of some learning outcomes and core concepts; requires substantial improvement. |
| C- | 70-72 | 1.667 | Unsatisfactory; requires extensive improvement | Demonstrates poor understanding of all learning outcomes and core concepts; requires extensive improvement. |
| F | Below 70 |  | Fail | Demonstrates minimal to no understanding of all key learning outcomes and core concepts; work is unworthy of course credit towards the degree. |

http://www.scps.nyu.edu/academics/academic-policies-and-procedures/graduate-academic-policies-and-procedures.html#Grades

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| **Communications Policy** |

**Communication Policy:**

The first element of my communication policy is my expectation that you will come and consult with me at least twice, ideally more often, during the semester to tell me about your own particular subject interests in the course (whether geographic or thematic) and also to discuss assignments. I have office hours on Wednesdays (10 am to 6 pm) and Thursdays (10 am to 12 pm), and am also available by appointment at other times that might be more convenient to you. Students must use the NYU email to communicate. NYU Classes course-mail supports student privacy and FERPA guidelines. I will respond to emails within 24 hours of receiving them, unless for some reason it is physically impossible to do so i.e. when travelling.

**My expectations:**

I expect students to communicate to me either in person or via email, text, or phone, any challenges they may be facing that need my attention. By this I mean any difficulties you face in accessing course materials, understanding course content, or researching a topic for an assignment. I expect that when I ask students to submit proposed topics for the term paper and a proposed outline that they will take advantage of this opportunity for support through reflection on the topic and ways to develop it.

I expect that communications in both directions will be respectful and constructive.

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| **Week 1: February 3** |
| **Gender, Power, and Development: Overview of Course** |

After a detailed discussion of the syllabus, learning objectives, expectations, and readings, we will begin to explore the issue of gender in politics and ask whether the elite cis-gendered male dominance of politics and public decision-making matters for development. We speculate on 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 will clarify terminology regarding ‘gender’, ‘intersectionality’ and ‘development’. And we will also get up to speed on important current developments and achievements related to women in national and international politics.

***Required reading:***

Please read these articles as well as the Goetz reading:

Leonhardt, D. and L. Leatherby. 2020. “Where the Virus is Growing Most: Countries with ‘Illiberal Populist Leaders’.” The New York Times. 2 June.

Taub, A. 2020. “Why Are Women-led Nations Doing Better with Covid-19? A New Leadership Style Offers Promise for a New Era of Global Threats.” The New York Times, 18 May.

Reni Eddo-Lodge, 2017, ‘Why I’m no longer talking to white people about race’, *The Guardian*, May 30, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/may/30/why-im-no-longer-talking-to-white-people-about-race

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)

Jerrica Escoto, Rhianna Maras, Damien Sutton, Esther Rothblum & Adriana Martinez-Noriega (2014) **Feminism is queer: the intimate connection between queer and feminist theory**, by Mimi Marinucci, Psychology & Sexuality, 5:3, 287-289

**Video:**

Julia Gillard’s Misogyny speech 2012:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SOPsxpMzYw4>

on male privilege

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0KGJS0IhSoE>

Global 50/50 day 20 minute film on women in power – ‘Let it Ripple’ <http://www.letitripple.org/character-day/>

**Recommended**:

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

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.

Annabelle Timsit, 2016, ‘Women in Charge: A New Record? Merkel, May, Clinton: A Hillary presidency would add to a worldwide shift in what power looks like.’ July 30, 2016, Politico Magazine, http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2016/07/hillary-clinton-2016-theresa-may-angela-merkel-women-leaders-214100

Michelle K. Ryan, S. Alexander Haslam, 2005, ‘The Glass Cliff: Evidence that Women are Over-Represented in Precarious Leadership Positions’, British Journal of Management, http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-8551.2005.00433.x/abstract

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| **Week 2, February 10:** |
| **What are the Conditions for the political effectiveness of women and LGBTQI – institutions, ideologies, policy preconditions** |

What variations in state type, history, women’s movement strength, types of issues advanced, etc, produce good policy outcomes for women? What, the first place, constitutes a good policy outcome for women? When and why are women effective in advancing gender equality policy claims? Does it depend on the type of state, the ideology of the dominant political parties, the strength of the religious establishment, the levels of corruption, the extent of patronage and clan loyalties in politics, the depth of democracy, the influence of the private sector? Do women’s movements tactics and strategies have any impact on these variables?

The Women Political Leaders Global Forum (WPL), the Gender and Development Unit of the World Bank, and Yale University, conducted a study on ‘The Female Political Career’. It analyses survey responses from 617 politicians, female and male, from 84 countries. It is designed to understand the non-legal barriers that women face in different phases of the political lifecycle.

The findings tell the same old story – one that applies globally. Women politicians tend to start their careers later, have fewer children, spend more time caring for their families, and arrange their lives to have shorter commuting times than their male counterparts. It appears that only females with supportive families run for office, whereas men are more likely to run without consulting with their families. Family commitments still constitute a major source of concern for women. A member of the WPL advisory board said “three Ms stand in the way of women: money, media and men”.

Women and men have systematically different levels and types of political support networks. On average female politicians receive fewer private donations than their male counterparts. They rely more heavily on party sponsorship and support. Media portrayal and voter perceptions of ‘a woman’s place’ seem to cast a longer shadow over female politicians’ decisions about whether to run for office and their decisions to pursue higher office.  In this session we review deep structural obstacles to women’s political influence that range from unpaid care work, gender-based violence, to socialization, mansplaining and interruptions, and much more!

**Required:**

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.

**Author/critic:**

James Damore 2017 memo to google discussion board: ‘Google’s Ideological Echo Chamber: How bias clouds our thinking about diversity and inclusion https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/3914586-Googles-Ideological-Echo-Chamber.html

Ezra Klein, 2017, ‘Behind the Google diversity memo furor is fear of Google’s vast, opaque power’ <https://www.vox.com/new-money/2017/8/10/16119338/google-diversity-memo-damore-gender-sexist>

**Recommended:**

Baskaran, T., S. Bhalotra, B. Min, Y. Uppal. 2018. Women Legislators and Economic Performance. IZA Discussion Paper 11596, Bonn.

 Bhalotra, S.R., Clarke, D., Gomes, J. and Venkataramani, A., 2018. Maternal mortality and women’s political participation.

Shair-Rosenfield, Sarah, and Reed M. Wood. 2017. “Governing Well after War: How Improving Female Representation Prolongs Post-Conflict Peace.” Journal of Politics 79 (3): 995–1009.

Annesley, Claire, Isabelle Engeli, Francesca Gains (2013) ‘Finding Gender on the Agenda: Using comparative agendas data to research gender equality policy change’. Paper presented to the PSA Annual Conference Cardiff, 25–27 March 2013.

Annesley, C., I. Engeli and Fr. Gains (2015) ‘The Profile of Gender Equality Issue Attention in Western Europe’, *European Journal of Political Research* 54(3): 525–42.

Annesley, Claire, Engeli, Isabelle, Gains, Francesca and Resodihardjo, Sandra L (2014) ‘Policy advocacy in hard times: the impact of economic performance on gendering executive attention’*.*  West European Politics. 37(5): 886-902

Diana Z. O'Brien, Matthew Mendez, Jordan Carr Peterson and Jihyun Shin, 2015, ‘Letting Down the Ladder or Shutting the Door: Female Prime Ministers, Party Leaders, and Cabinet Ministers’, Politics and Gender Vol 11 issue 4, pp 689-717

http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=10064966

Amy Mazur, 2015, ‘Towards the Systematic Study of Feminist Policy in Practice: An Essential First Step ‘, in

Journal of Women, Politics and Policy

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

Anne Marie Goetz and Rob Jenkins 2016, ‘Feminist Activism and the Politics of reform: When and why do states respond to demands for gender-equality policies?’, UNRISD Working Paper, Geneva.

Miki Caul Kittilson, 2010, ‘Women, parties and platforms in post-industrial democracies’, Party Politics, vol. 17 no. 1 66-92

On interruptions: Nevertheless she persisted

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/powerpost/wp/2017/02/07/republicans-vote-to-rebuke-elizabeth-warren-for-impugning-sessionss-character/?hpid=hp_rhp-top-table-main_no-name%3Ahomepage%2Fstory&tid=a_inl&utm_term=.810752f95cdb>

Australian senator breast-feeds in parliament

<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/11/world/australia/breastfeed-australia-senator-larissa-waters.html>

Kamala Harris; <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/13/us/politics/kamala-harris-interrupted-jeff-sessions.html>

Swiss, Liam, Kathleen M, Fallon, and Giovani, Burgos. "Does critical mass matter?

Women's political representation and child health in developing countries". Social

Forces 91, no.2 (2012): 531–558.

Beaman, Lori, Esther, Duflo, Rohini, Pande, and Petia, Topalova. "Female leadership

raises aspirations and educational attainment for girls: A policy experiment in India".

Science 335, no.6068 (2012): 582–586

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| |  | | --- | | **Week 3: February 17**  **What is ‘The State’? Is it gendered and if so, how did it get that way? What is Governance?** | |

In this session we take a historical perspective on the state to consider the ways in which the exclusion of non-conforming genders and women 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 also track the imprint of the gendered construction of public institutions in contemporary neo-patrimonial states.

***Required:***

Anne Marie Goetz, 2003, ‘Women’s Political Effectiveness: A conceptual Framework’ -- Chapter 2 of Goetz and Hassim (eds) No Shortcuts to Power: African Women in politics and Policy-Making, Zed Books London.

**Author/critic:**

Drude Dahlerup, 2018, Has Democracy Failed Women? Chapter 1 – in NYU Classes Week 3 resources.

Anne Marie Goetz: review of Dahlerup, also in NYU Classes

***Recommended:***

Joyce Outshoorn and Johanna Kantola, 2007 (eds*), Changing State Feminism*, Palgrave, New York.

***Documentary about the foundation of the egalitarian state in the Kurdish region Rojava:***

[***https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fKhjJfH0ra4***](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fKhjJfH0ra4)

***Also:***

[***https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BDBeBYiJ-ts***](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BDBeBYiJ-ts)

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

Georgina Waylen, “Colonialism,” Ch. 3 in Waylen, *Gender in Third World Politics* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1996) pp. 46-69.

*Nira Yuval-Davis 2011 ,* Chapter 2: "The Citizenship Question: Of the State and beyond" , *The Politics of Belonging: Intersectional Contestations,* SAGE, London. http://sk.sagepub.com/books/the-politics-of-belonging/n2.xml

Chappell, L and Waylen, G. 2013. ‘Gender and the Hidden Life of Institutions’, *Public Administration*, 91, 3:599-615.

Annesley, Claire and Gains, Francesca (2010) ‘[The core executive: gender power and change’.](http://sro.sussex.ac.uk/53476/)*Political Studies*, 58 (5): 909-929.

Jane Bennet, “Circles and circles”: Notes on African feminist debatesaround 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 Satiin Colonial India," in Sangari and Vaid, Recasting Women. Essays in Indian Colonial History, pp.88-126.

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

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

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| **Week 4, February 24**  **Political interests and civil society mobilization – social/political activism of women and LGBTIQ groups** |

‘*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? To what extent have women’s organizations and collective action efforts represented the interests of LGBTI+ groups, and acknowleged intersectionality?

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:***

Anna G. Jónasdóttir and Kathleen B. Jones. (2009) ‘The political interests of gender revisited: reconstructing feminist theory and political research’. In A. G. Jonasdottir and K.B. Jones (eds.). *The political interests of gender revisited: Redoing theory and research with a feminist face*, Manchester University Press.

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

**Author/Critic:**

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

***Recommended:***

Amitabh Pal, 2011, Review of **How Nonviolence Succeeds** by [Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan](https://progressive.org/topics/erica-chenoweth-maria-j.-stephan/), , in The Progressive, https://progressive.org/dispatches/nonviolence-succeeds/

Shaaftenaar, Suzanne. 2017. “How Women Rebel: Exploring the Effect of Gender Equality on Nonviolent and Armed Conflict Onset.” Journal of Peace Research 54 (6): 762–776.

Tripp, Aili Mari, 2019. “Women Are Deeply Involved in the Algerian Protests—on International Women’s Day, and All the Time.” Washington Post, March 8, https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/03/08/women-are-deeply-involved-algerian-protests-international-womens-day-all-time/?utm\_term=.93aa777d160b.

Middleton-Detzner, Althea M., Jillian M. Slutzker, Samuel F. Chapple-Sokol, and Sana A. Mahmood. 2015. “Women and the Egyptian Revolution: A Dream Deferred?” In Women, War and Violence: Typography, Resistance and Hope, vol. 1, ed. Mariam M. Kurtz and Lester R. Kurtz. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger

Caprioli, Mary. 2005. “Primed for Violence: The Role of Gender Inequality in Predicting Internal Conflict.” International Studies Quarterly 49 (2): 161–178.

Asal, Victor, Richard Legault, Ora Szekely, and Jonathan Wilkenfeld. 2013. “Gender Ideologies and Forms of Contentious Mobilization in the Middle East.” Journal of Peace Research 50 (3): 305–318.

Jill Vickers, 2018, ‘The Problem with Interests: Making polotocal claims for ‘women’’, in Louise Chappell and Lisa Hill, *The Politics of Women’s Interests: New Comparative Perspectrives*, Routledge.

Shireen Hassim: ‘A conspiracy of Women’ – the Women’s Movement in South Africa’s transition to Democracy’, Social Research 2002, vol 69, Issue 3

<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/558529/summary>

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

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.

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

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.

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).

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>

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.

Amanda Bullough, K.Galen Kroeck, William Newburry, Sumit K.Kundu, Kevin B. Lowe, 2012, ‘Women's political leadership participation around the world: An institutional analysis’ *The Leadership Quarterly* 23 (2012) 398–411

Amina Mama, 1995, ‘Feminism or Femocracy? State feminism and democratisation in Nigeria’, Africa Democracy Vol 20, 37 – 85.

Zerai, Worku, 1994, ‘Organizing Women within a National Liberation Struggle: case of Eritrea’, Economic and Political Weekly, October 29.

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| **Week 5, March 3:**  **Gender Quotas: ‘Fiddling with Democracy’? Transforming politics?** |

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, including variations depending on electoral systems based on proportional representation, 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.

**Video:**

<http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/upfront/2016/07/hillary-clinton-politics-women-160729131135479.html>

***Required reading:***

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

Drude Dahlerup, ‘About Quotas’, The Quota Project, International IDEA

http://www.quotaproject.org/aboutQuotas.cfm

have a look at this website:

**Electoral Integrity project:**

https://sites.google.com/site/electoralintegrityproject4/projects/expert-survey-2/the-year-in-elections-2015

**author/critic:**

Chapter 1, ‘Upholding Male Parliamentary Dominance’ in Elin Bjarnegård , 2013, Gender, Informal Institutions and Political Recruitment: Explaining Male Dominance in Parliamentary Representation, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke

Htun, Mala, ‘Is Gender like Ethnicity? The Political Representation of Identity Groups’, American Political Science Review, Vol 2, No. 3, September 2004

***Recommended:***

Timothy Besley, Olle Folke, Torsten Persson, and Johanna Rickne. 2017. ‘Gender Quotas and the Crisis of the Mediocre Man: Theory and Evidence from Sweden’. American Economic Review, 107(8): 2204–2242 https://doi.org/10.1257/aer.20160080

Amanda B. Edgell (2017) Foreign aid, democracy, and gender quota laws, Democratization, 24:6, 1103-1141.

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

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

Mona Lena Krook and Pippa Norris, 2012, Beyond Quotas: Strategies to Promote Gender

Equality in Elected Office

Htun, Mala, ‘Is Gender like Ethnicity? The Political Representation of Identity Groups’, American Political Science Review, Vol 2, No. 3, September 2004

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)

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| **Week 6: March 10** |
| **Violence against women and LGBTIQ groups in politics** |

Women and gender+ groups engaging in politics have always encountered significant opposition and outright violence, often sexual violence, aimed at ‘correcting’ the deviations from traditional gendered roles that political power in the hands of women or gender+ groups represent. In independence and anti-authoritarian movements, women have often been leaders when male opposition leaders are exiled or jailed. For this they have sometimes faced extreme violence. November 25th, the international day on ending violence against women, was designated because that was the day, in 1960, that three sisters – Minerva, Maria Teresa, and Patria Mirabel -- in the Dominican Republic, were assassinated because of their open leadership of the opposition to the dictatorship of Rafael Trujillo. Outrage at this atrocity galvanized the resistance and the Trujillo regime toppled within a year. Populism and hyper-nationalism seem in fact to experience non-conforming genders as a particularly existential threat and target them for extreme punishment, violence, and exclusion.

***Required reading:***

Roudabeh Kishi, Melissa Pavlik, and Milary Matfess, 2019, ‘Terribly and Terrifyingly Normal: Political violence targeting women’, May 2019, Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED), <https://www.acleddata.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/ACLED_Report_PoliticalViolenceTargetingWomen_5.2019.pdf>

***Recommended reading:***

Mona Lena Krook, 2020, Violence Against Women in Politics, Oxford University Press

Mona Lee Krook, 2017: ‘Rising violence against women in politics threatens democracy itself’

<http://www.democraticaudit.com/2017/08/08/rising-violence-against-women-in-politics-threatens-democracy-itself/>

**UNESCO report 2018:** GLOBAL REPORT 2017/2018 World Trends in Freedom of and Expression Media Development

**http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0026/002610/261065e.pdf**

Gender equality is a key crosscutting issue that is addressed in discussions of media freedom, pluralism, independence and safety.

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| **Week 7, March 17: Political regimes: Democracy and Populisms of Right and Left** |
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Democracies, in spite of the promise to represent ‘all men’, are manifestly biased against a wide rangre of social groups. Feminist historical analysis has revealed the foundational gender bias embedded in democratic systems, and this, along with racial and class biases have contributed to patriarchal governance. Democratic inclusion, nevertheless, has remained the major focus of feminist political mobilization. The rise of ‘illiberal democracies’ since 2008, in the neo-nationalist, xenophobic populist regimes of right and left in all parts of the world, has constituted one of the most serious threats to feminist political ambitions for decades, because of the explicit misogynism, and anti-gender equality framing of social and economic policies. This is particularly so when governing regimes have pro-natalist agendas. This session examines feminist critiques of liberal democracy and the emergence of misogynistic populism.

***Required:***

Andrea Peto and Krizstian Simon, 2017, “Resistance Alone Is Not Enough” – Women’s Rights and Illiberal Democracies”, “Green European Journal August 29, https://www.greeneuropeanjournal.eu/resistance-alone-is-not-enough-womens-rights-and-illiberal-democracies/

***Recommended:***

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

Larson, Anna, 2012, ‘Institutions, Security and Statebuilding in Afghanistan’, in Susan Franceschet et al (eds) The Impact of Gender Quotas, Oxford University Press.

Mansbridge, Jane, 1998, ‘Feminism and Democracy’, in Anne Philips (ed) Feminism and Politics, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Varieties of democracy project 2019 – 2020 report:

<https://www.v-dem.net/media/filer_public/99/de/99dedd73-f8bc-484c-8b91-44ba601b6e6b/v-dem_democracy_report_2019.pdf>

Jasmin Lorch and Bettina Bunk, 2016, ‘Gender Politics, Authoritarian Regime Resilience, and the Role of Civil Society in Algeria and Mozambique’, GIGA Research Programme: Accountability and Participation, No 292 October 2016

https://www.giga-hamburg.de/de/system/files/publications/wp292\_lorch-bunk.pdf

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| **Week 8: March 24: Political Parties and Genders** |
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Political parties are the main vehicles for interest articulation and representation. Yet they have been elite and male-dominated the world over. This session explores feminist critiques of political parties, and the efforts of gender+ equality advocates to reform them.

***Required***:

Saskia Brechenmacher, Caroline Hubbard, 2020, ‘Breaking the Cycle of Gender Exclusion in Political Party Development’, Carnegie Endowment, march 24,

https://carnegieendowment.org/2020/03/24/breaking-cycle-of-gender-exclusion-in-political-party-development-pub-81345

***Recommended***:

International IDEA, May 2019 ‘Gender in Political Parties’ Strategic Plans’,

https://www.idea.int/sites/default/files/publications/gender-in-political-parties-strategic-plans-14-05-19.pdf

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| **Week 9: March 31: Gender-responsive Constitutions** |
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**Gender-Sensitive Constitutions**

Constitutions set out the core principles governing the law of a nation, including the rules regarding who can be a citizen, who decides how the government is formed and how, what are the systems of accountability (checks and balances) on the highest authorities in the land. These rules profoundly shape women’s rights – for instance, if citizenship is deemed to be passed down through the male, then women married to foreigners cannot endow their citizenship to their children – something which can mean they are actually stateless. In this session we will analyze gender biases in constitutions, particularly around definitions of citizenship, and we will study principles of gender-sensitive constitutional changes and look at several good examples.

***Required Reading:***

Nanako Tamaru and Marie O’Reilly. 2018. *How Women Influence Constitution Making After Conflict and Unrest*. Institute for Inclusive Security. Washignton D.C.

have a look at this:

**http://constitutions.unwomen.org/en**

**Author/critic:**

Laura E. Lucas 2009, ‘ Does Gender Specificity in Constitutions Matter?’

http://scholarship.law.duke.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1055&context=djcil

Institute for Inclusive Security. 2018. *A Women’s Guide to Constitution-Making*. IIS Washington D.C.

Alexandra Dobrowolsky and Vivien Hart eds., Women Making Constitutions

(Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003), Introduction, and any chapters of interest

Vivien Hart, Democratic Constitution Making Special Report 107

(Washington DC: USIP, 2003) http://www.usip.org/publications/democratic-constitution-making

J. Erikson and C. Faria, 2011 ‘We want empowerment for our women: Transitional feminism, Neoliberal Citizenship and the gendering of women’s political subjectivity in post-conflict South Sudan’, Sings NO. 36 (3):627-62.

<http://ezproxy.library.nyu.edu:15490/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=40809c6f-4cad-4c7b-824c-eb4f738ef22c%40sessionmgr115&vid=3&hid=112>

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

Peace agreements are a form of political settlement that can mimic or indeed BE constitutions. For an interesting review of a recent (and sadly failed) peace accord with many quasi-constitutional components see:

https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/08/19/the-colombian-peace-agreement-gives-gender-issues-a-central-role-heres-why-this-is-so-important/

Beverly Baines and Ruth Rubio-Marin eds., The Gender of Constitutional

Jurisprudence (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005),

Introduction, and any of the essays.

Vivien Hart, ‘Constitution-Making and the Transformation of Conflict’, Peace and Conflict, Vol 26 No. 2, <http://www.constitutionnet.org/files/Hart%20Constitution%20Making%20and%20the%20Transformation%20of%20Conflict.pdf>

Clare Castillejo, 2010, ‘Building a state that works for women: integrating gender into post-conflict state-building’, FRIDE.

Semanta Dahal, 2008, ‘Post conflict constitution making in Nepal: Toward ‘inclusiveness’ in democracy’, in Working paper series: National Law School of India University (MLSIU).

Kyle Knight, 2015, ‘How Nepal’s constitution got Queered’, Los Angeles Review of Books, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2015/10/14/how-nepals-constitution-got-queered>

‘Nepal’s New Constitution’, 2015, Wall Street Journal

http://blogs.wsj.com/briefly/2015/09/23/nepals-new-constitution-at-a-glance/

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| **Week 10: April 7:**  **What is Good governance? Mainstream approaches** |
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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. 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. But 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 the recently-developed Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), there is a ‘good governance Goal (Goal 16) ‘Good governance’ was missing from the Millennium Development Goals, and its inclusion in the post-2015 development framework was resented by G77 countries that see governance conditions for aid as an unwarranted imposition on domestic affairs. Goal 16 has important gender components, and we will assess if they are adequate to support gender-responsive governance.

***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.

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>

***Recommended:***

2015 OECD Recommendation of the Council on Gender Equality in Public Life:

Direct Link to Full 14-Page OECD Publication: <http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/docserver/download/4216081e.pdf?expires=1468835071&id=id&accname=guest&checksum=9D65BD2B9E9FB7DDFD9C317AA6F17BFA>

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>

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>

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.

The Worldwide Governance Indicators: Methodology and Analytical Issues Daniel Kaufmann, Brookings Institution Aart Kraay and Massimo Mastruzzi, World Bank September, 2010 Access the WGI data at www.govindicators.org

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| **Week 11: April 14**  **Gender-Sensitive Public Administration** |
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*‘Don’t tell me what you value. Show me your budget, and I will tell you what you* value’ – Joe

Biden

Public service provision is, as we have seen, one of the main methods through which states shape gender relations. Public authorities interpret 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.

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?

In some parts of the word, national women’s bureaucracies have expanded into aquality administrations that address the inequalities attached to non-binary gender identities and non-normative sexualities. While rare in the developing world, there are emerging exampels of this – for instance the Argentinian Ministry of Women, Genders and Diversity, established in late 2019.

How governments design and execute their budget is a critical and highly political process. These budget decisions demonstrate government priorities and determine where progress can be made and which areas will be constrained. Most recently the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development demonstrated global commitment to achieve gender equality and women’s empowerment with the inclusion of an ambitious stand-alone goal and mainstreaming of gender equality across the framework. However, this political commitment is not matched – at global or national level - with the robust resources required for action. Gender-Responsive Budgeting (GRB) is about applying gender analysis across the planning and budgeting cycle. This analysis builds understanding of the differential impact of budgetary decisions on women and men and the necessity of costing national action plans on gender equality to support evidence-based planning and budgeting. When done well, it can improve government budgeting by increasing awareness, transparency, accountability and resource allocation changes in relation to gender.

There are least five categories of feminist governance - (1) feminist institutions consciously designed in accordance with non-hierarchical feminist values, like women's services in the 1970s onwards (2) the operationalising of these values in feminist networks engaging with public policy, including both domestic and transnational advocacy networks (3) feminist institution-building within broader political institutions such as bureaucracies and parliaments (4) the expression of feminist values through the adoption and implementation by broader political institutions of policies directed towards achieving gender equality or gender+ equality (5) the soft regulation involved in transnational monitoring, reporting and ranking of gender equality policy implementation.

***Required:***

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

***Recommended:***

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/$file/draftBloj.pdf**](http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/%28httpAuxPages%29/D8B6BCCC8E330C50C12575FB00375576/$file/draftBloj.pdf)

Annamaria Milazzo, Markus Goldstein, 2017, ‘Governance and Women's Economic and Political Participation: Power Inequalities, Formal Constraints and Norms’

[**http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/506661497953688370/pdf/WDR17-BP-Governance-and-Womens-Participation-Milazzo-Goldstein.pdf**](http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/506661497953688370/pdf/WDR17-BP-Governance-and-Womens-Participation-Milazzo-Goldstein.pdf)

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 post-authoriarian Brazil’, in Kathleen Staudt (ed), Women, International Development, and Politics: The Bureaucratic Mire, Temple University Press.

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.*

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| **Week 12, April 21:** |
| **Multi-Level governance: Federalism and Decentralization – does government ‘closeness’ bring gender-sensitive results?** |

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>

**The findings of this article are summarized in this video:**

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gXKJP2vxL_0>

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 puts together 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>

UN Women, 2017, “Advancing Gender Equality within a Federal Governance Model in Myanmar”, mimeo, Yangon

**Recommended:**

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

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.

Vijaylakshmi, V. and B. K. Chandrasekhar (2001) Authority, Powerlessness and Dependence: Women and Local Governance in Karnataka, Bangalore: Institute of Social and Economic Change.

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| **Week 13, April 28:**  **Anti-corruption initiatives – the right to information** |
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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](https://muse.jhu.edu/journals/social_forces),  [Volume 82, Number 2, December 2003](https://muse.jhu.edu/journals/social_forces/toc/sof82.2.html)  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,](http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/dech.2007.38.issue-1/issuetoc) 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

***Required Reading:***

***Recommended:***

*Financing for Gender Equality: How to Budget in Compliance with Human Rights Standards. Diane Elson. “Financing for Gender Equality: Realising Women’s Rights Through Gender Responsive Budgeting. Edited by Zohra Khan and Nalini Burn. 2017 Palgrave Macmillan*

*Politics, Policies and Money: Delivering the Sustainable Development Goals for Women. Zohra Khan. “Financing for Gender Equality: Realising Women’s Rights Through Gender Responsive Budgeting. Edited by Zohra Khan and Nalini Burn. 2017 Palgrave Macmillan*

*J. Stotsky (2016), Gender Budgeting: Fiscal Context and Current Outcomes., IMF* <https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/2016/wp16149.pdf>

*UNIFEM (2008), Budgeting for Women’s Rights: Monitoring Government Budgets for Compliance with CEDAW.*

<http://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/media/publications/unifem/budgetingforwomensrightssummaryguideen.pdf?la=en&vs=1006>

Video: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mquOclPJYPs

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

***Recommended:***

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| 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>

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| **Week 14, May 5** |
| **Review** |

We will look back at the course and review key concepts in the good governance policy debate. We will also examine the process of institutionalizing gender equality at the UN, including via the UN secretary-general’s gender parity strategy. This last class is also an opportunity to review any areas that are unclear.

***Reading:***

Kathy Gilsinan, 2016, ‘The Myth of the 'Female' Foreign Policy: As more women become heads of state, will the world actually change?’ **The Atlantic**, August 25

http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2016/08/-foreign-policy-clinton-may-thatcher-women-leadership/497288/

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| **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, 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).

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| **ANNEX** |

**Final assignment: Analytical paper**

Please submit a paper on a research question you have discussed and cleared with Dr Goetz on a subject relevant to the course.  The paper should be an analytical exploration of an issue that interests you. If you like you can link this to the presentation project that you have pursued this semester.  The paper should be between 3,500 - 5000 words (15 - 25 pages) and must of course conform to academic standards regarding ethical use of sources.  Papers that will exceed the word length are not advised and must be cleared with Dr. Goetz at least a week prior to the due date.

**Structuring an Analytical Paper**

This is an analytical paper, which means that it is more academic than the two writing exercises so far. ‘More academic’ not only means correct use of citations and resources (in fact this is the least of the elements of relevance); it means that what is expected is a structured argument that does the following:

**Introduction**: Establishes what you are discussing and why it matters (matters politically, philosophically, legally, practically etc).

I.e.: what is the problem you want to address (can include a gap in the literature, gap in knowledge, unexplained phenomenon, a hypocrisy, a neglected area of policy, etc.)

It is useful to either outright state or hint at conclusion – in a tantalizing way, a ‘hook’ indicating something exciting, unexpected, controversial, or disturbing.

You can also provide a brief ‘roadmap’ to the structure and progression of the argument covered in the paper.

**Context-setting**: Show you know what you are talking about – where does your discussion fit in the context of literature in this area, or in the context of current policy debates or current political developments. This is to help your audience understand what you are talking about in case they do not know already

**Methodology**: This **is rarely needed for a term paper** but do include this if you would like to point out anything specific about how you have generated or gathered evidence (ie: your sources).

*Hypothesis*: what is your postulated explanation for the problem or issue you are analyzing?

Who and what did you study?

Where and when?

Why did you pick that sample?

What tools did you use to collect data, and why? (include tools like an interview questionnaire in appendix)

Carefully describe how you used the tools.

Describe the analytical procedures (your own judgment? Double blind analysis? Initial simple coding and aggregation of similar responses? Coding and statistical analysis?)

**(If you have developed an investigation, generated evidence then you should have a section on):**

**Findings/results:**

Do not present raw data. Present a distilled version but by ALL MEANS DO use data if relevant, aggregated and assembled in charts/tables/graphs.

If you have used hypotheses – this is where you review and accept or reject/revise them

Bring in analysis to help sort/classify findings and lead towards broader observations/analysis in the next section.

**Discussion/ policy implications**

Do not repeat what is the in the findings

Offer principles, generalizations, broad patterns, relationships

Show how your findings or analysis is confirmed by or is contradicted by other studies

Discuss impact of your thoughts/analysis on theory or policy or practice

*Answer the question: so what?*

Identify points that cannot be explained and need more research

**Conclusion**

Re-state very briefly: How did you address the ‘problem’, knowledge gap, data gap, contradiction, legal issue, etc.?

Are there remaining gaps in knowledge?

What were the limitations of your study?

What can be done with the ideas you have offered?

(remember to check back with the introduction – and it is even good practice to re-write it – when you get to this stage)

Some of the most determined opponents of women’s voting rights in Western European countries decades ago were liberals. They assumed that women would be social conservatives and more than men, governed by traditional religion. Voting patterns have not borne this out, particularly in the last 20 years in advanced democracies. But what about in the developing world? Are women more socially conservative than men and in particular, what is their relation to religious mobilisations? Many socially conservative religious groups rely on women as their mass base. Violent extremists call for women’s engagement in social change even while they preach and ideology of women’s seclusion and secondary roles.

**Required:**

Shahra Razavi and Anne Jenichen, 2010, ‘The Unhappy Marriage of Religion and politics: Problems and pitfalls for gender equality’, Third World Quarterly, Vol 31, issue 6.

<http://ezproxy.library.nyu.edu:2239/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=2&sid=b332eaea-c217-421e-89eb-41d16d1154d4%40sessionmgr120&hid=128>

Srilatha Batliwala and Deepa Dhanraj (n.d.), ‘Gender Myths that Instrumentalise Women: A View from the Indian Frontline’ (esp the second half of the paper), <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.619.7341&rep=rep1&type=pdf>

**Author/critic:**

Azza Karam, 2014, ‘Religion, Women and peaceful revolutions: Perspectives from the Arab Middle East’, Chapter 9 of Yasmin a Saikia and Chad Haines (eds), *Women and Peace in the Islamic World: Gender, Agency and Influence, I.B. Tauris*

**Recommended:**

Chloé White , 2015, PROTECTION FOR WHOM? Violations of International Law in Myanmar’s New ‘Race and Religion Protection’ Laws , georegtown Instittue for Women, peace and Security, https://giwps.georgetown.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Violations-of-International-Law-in-Myanmar-2.pdf

(shorter account is in: 2015, The truth About Myanmar’s New Discrimminatory laws’, The Diplomat, <https://thediplomat.com/2015/08/the-truth-about-myanmars-new-discriminatory-laws/>)

[**Nira Yuval-Davis**](about:blank)**, 2012, Chapter 4: The Religious Question: The Sacred, the Cultural and the Political, in** [**The Politics of Belonging: Intersectional Contestations**](http://sk.sagepub.com/books/the-politics-of-belonging)**, http://sk.sagepub.com/books/the-politics-of-belonging/n4.xml**

Also have a look at this blog:

https://urvashisingh.wordpress.com/2013/07/13/the-unceremonious-wedlock-of-right-wing-hindu-fundamentalism-and-gender-in-contemporary-india/

## **TECHNICAL REQUIREMENTS**

### **Computer Hardware**

Recommended Requirements

* Computer with at least 4GB of memory or more (RAM)
* Windows 8.0 or Mac OS X 10.9 (Mavericks) or higher
* Broadband (high-speed) internet access (direct connection or Wifi)
* Webcam and microphone (for online meetings)

### **Student Technical Skills**

You are expected to be proficient with installing and using basic computer applications and have the ability to send and receive email attachments.

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### **Software**

* Google [Chrome](https://support.google.com/chrome/answer/95346?hl=en) (recommended browser for viewing online course materials)
* Mozilla’s [Firefox](http://www.getfirefox.com/) (latest version; Macintosh or Windows)
* Adobe’s [Flash Player and Reader](http://www.adobe.com/downloads/) plug-in (latest version).
* Apple’s [QuickTime](http://www.apple.com/quicktime/download/) plug-in (latest version).
* [Microsoft Office Suite](https://www.microsoft.com/en-us/education/products/office/default.aspx) (free for NYU Students).
* [Zoom](https://www.nyu.edu/life/information-technology/communication-and-conferencing/meetings-chat-conferencing/nyu-zoom.html) web conferencing tool
* ***Link to any additional software required.***

### **NYU Classes Orientation and Training**

To actively participate in this course, you will need to get familiar with the course environment. If you are not familiar with how to navigate this environment as a student or use any of these tools, please visit [NYU’s Getting Started with NYU Classes](https://www.nyu.edu/life/information-technology/instructional-technology-support/instructional-technology-tools-and-services/nyu-classes/student-training.html) page for a full tutorial on using NYU Classes.

### **NYU Classes Support**

To receive 24/7 live support or deliver NYU Classes feedback, contact the IT Service Desk:

* Phone: 1-212-998-3333
* Email: [AskIT@nyu.edu](mailto:AskIT@nyu.edu)
* In-Person: Visit the IT Service Desk at 10 Astor Place, 4th Floor (M-F 9 am-6 pm EST)
* For support at NYU’s global locations visit [www.nyu.edu/it/servicedesk](http://www.nyu.edu/it/servicedesk).