

**New York University SPS  
M.S. in Global Affairs**

GLOB1-GC2390.001

Gender, Politics, and the State in Development

**Fall 2017**

**Instructor: Dr. Anne Marie Goetz**

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**Class Schedule:** Wednesdays, 3:30 – 6:10pm (WW, Rm. 312), 14 sessions

**Office Hours:** Wednesdays, 10am-3pm; Thursdays, 10am-12pm; 3:15-6:15pm (WW, Rm. 442)

**Pre-requisites:** none specified

**Course Structure:** On-site lecture/seminar

## **COURSE DESCRIPTION**

A 2016 report by UN Women says that men make up 77% of parliamentarians, 82% of government ministers, 93% of heads of government and 94% of heads of state. Every time a woman makes it to the top, it makes global headlines. You can name all current female leaders of countries in less than 30 seconds.

Does it matter? Does the gender (or for that matter sexuality) of our representatives make a difference to the types of policies they pursue, the public spending patterns that result, and to overall gender equality? Is gender parity in decision-making important for reaching international goals of poverty reduction, peace, and a sustainable relationship between people and the planet? 2016 had been heralded as the year of women in power, but today, a year later, we are looking at rising misogyny linked to populist movements of the right, as well as to religious extremism. Are women finally shattering the great glass ceiling in the institutions that manage public affairs? Or are they taking up positions on a ‘glass cliff’ – as the last hopes put in impossible positions that no male politicians want to take in the context of the complex and multiple crises of our day?

The question of whether and how women come to power at all has been important in feminist political science, but equally important is the question of what they do once in office. When there are more women in public office, are there better chances that gender equality policy will be promoted and implemented? Will these policies improve the quality of governance from a gender perspective? These questions are important to ask in any context, but this course focusses primarily on gender-responsive governance in developing and fragile state contexts. The reason for this focus is the urgent need to address gender-based injustices and the asymmetries in the distribution of rights and resources between women and men in poor country contexts. These inequalities compound and prolong poverty, and recent research shows that they 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 have made explicit that their plans for state-building require women’s social, economic, political, and sexual subordination.

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. 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. Understand gender-specific obstacles to participation in public decision-making around the world and the consequences of under-representation for the types of decisions taken.
2. Understand analytical frameworks to distinguish between challenges of participation and influence, between practical and strategic gender equality issues, between issues that affect women's relative class standing (differences between women/intersectionality) versus their status vis a vis men in the same or across different social groups.
3. Have a grasp of current governance reform policies in low-income countries and an understanding of their impacts on women and girls;
4. Understand feminist political analysis of governance and politics in low-income countries as well as comparative politics methods used to analyze varying governance reforms from a gender perspective;
5. 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.

## AT A GLANCE:

1	Sept 6	<b>Women's power and development – what are the links to development (and peace?) and what are the obstacles? Overview of Course</b>
2	Sept 13	<b>Conditions for women's political effectiveness – institutions, ideologies, policy preconditions</b>
3	Sept 20	<b>What is 'The State'? Is it gendered and if so, how did it get that way?</b>
4	Sept 27	<b>Gender in the developmental state – basic governance for development concepts</b>
5	Oct 4	<b>Gender Quotas: 'Fiddling with Democracy'? Confronting Patriarchy?</b>
6	Oct 11	<b>Women's political interests and civil society mobilization</b>
7	Oct 18	<b>Gender-Sensitive Constitutions</b>
8	Oct 25	<b>Religion and Women's Mobilization</b>
9	Nov 1	<b>The mainstream international development approach to good governance</b>
10	Nov 8	<b>Gender-sensitive Public Sector Reforms</b>
11	Nov 15	<b>Gender responsive budgeting and public expenditure analysis</b>
12	Nov 22	<b>NO CLASS (THANKSGIVING)</b>
13	Nov 29	<b>Decentralization – does government 'closeness' bring results for women?</b>

14	Dec 6	<b>Anti-corruption initiatives – the right to information</b>
15	Dec 13	<b>Review</b>

### Core text and other readings:

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*

### Recommended references

The following books will be useful, depending on your region and thematic area of interest:

1. Mona Lena Krook, QUOTAS FOR WOMEN IN POLITICS: GENDER AND CANDIDATE SELECTION REFORM WORLDWIDE, (Oxford University Press 2010) – **(New: \$26.13, Used: \$15.29)**
2. 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)**
3. 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, Rent: \$14.16)**
4. Jane Jaquette, ed., FEMINIST AGENDAS AND DEMOCRACY IN LATIN AMERICA (Duke University Press 2009) – **(New: \$25.03, Used: \$10.84, Kindle: \$14.37)**
5. 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)**
6. Georgina Waylen, ENGENDERING TRANSITIONS: WOMEN’S MOBILIZATION, INSTITUTIONS, AND GENDER OUTCOMES (Oxford University Press 2007) – **(New: \$48.70, Used: ~\$7.00, Kindle: 46.26)**
7. Amy Mazur and Gary Goertz (eds). Politics, Gender, and Concepts: Theory and Methodology. (Cambridge University Press. 2008) – **(New: \$39.57, Used: \$21.54, Kindle: \$36.00)**
8. Nivedita Menon, Recovering Subversion: Feminist Politics Beyond the Law, (University of Illinois Press, Chicago 2004). – **(New: \$27.04, Used: \$22.76)**
9. Georgina Waylen (ed) 2016, Gender, Institutions and Change in Bachelet’s Chile (Palgrave Macmillan) – **(New: \$110.50, Used: \$80.54)**

**All prices shown are from Amazon as of 08/07/2017**

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

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

<http://www.ipu.org/iss-e/women.htm>

**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>

**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](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 do states respond to women's claims?

[http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BB128/\(httpProjects\)/FFDCCF9EE4F2F9C6C1257BEF004FB03E?OpenDocument](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/>

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](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:

<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>

### **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](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/publications/2017/0001/P8_PUB(2017)0001_EN.pdf)

## **Student Assessment**

The final grade is based on several components.

### **1. 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 nativist 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 third week of class (ie September 20). 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: October 5**

**Worth 15% of the final mark**

## **2. 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: November 4**

**Worth 15% 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 mystery or contradiction that you are investigating. You could write a full essay related to the topic of your country-specific group 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: November 9; the final paper is due: December 10.**

**Worth 40% of the final mark**

## **4. Class participation / author/critic exercise**

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).

**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.

- *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 several 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. An important planning consideration is that the author cannot develop a rebuttal until s/he discusses the critique with the critic.

**Class participation is assessed and constitutes 15% of the final grade**

### **5. Country Presentation and Country Brief**

You will work in groups of three to research a specific country situation to understand the dynamics of women’s political participation there. Each team will take one case study country to be announced in the first class.

The presentation should be no more than 15 minutes long but can be as short as your group likes. You will be expected to research your country situation deeply. You can decide to address a recent political event with relevance to women’s rights in the country, or you can examine the career of an important women politician, or new obstacles to the political effectiveness of the women’s movement. 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 will be expected to hand in a country brief on women and/or gender in politics and you can cover many points in that brief. It should be no more than 2 pages long. You should use quantitative data (eg the national GDI and GEM ranking) where you can to save space.

- What is the history of women’s participation in politics in this country?
- 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 civil society mobilization – on what issues do they mobilize, and how unified or divided is the women’s movement?
- 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 women’s rights activists engaging with those threats?

Your briefing note and country presentation will be marked and you will be awarded a joint mark with your partner or presenting team.

**15% of the grade.**

**Assignments - Summary**

Assignment	% of grade	Due date
<b>1. Op-ed (800 words)</b>	<b>15%</b>	<b>October 5</b>
<b>2. Analytical book/article review (1500 words)</b>	<b>15%</b>	<b>November 4</b>
<b>3. Term Paper (4000 words)</b>	<b>40%</b>	<b>December 10</b>
<b>4. Class participation</b>	<b>15%</b>	<b>Throughout course</b>
<b>5. Country presentation plus 2-page briefing note</b>	<b>15%</b>	<b>Date to be assigned at beginning of semester</b>

**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 team presentations on corruption patterns and anti-corruption efforts in specific contexts, 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 the nature and scale of the corruption problem, and stories about anti-corruption efforts – by this I mean please use quantitative as well as qualitative data. Use images and videos if you can find relevant ones. 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 full 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).

### **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.

### **NYU SPS Policies:**

“NYUSPS policies regarding the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA), Academic Integrity and Plagiarism, Students with Disabilities Statement, and Standards of Classroom Behavior among others can be found on the NYU Classes Academic Policies tab for all course sites as well as on the University and NYUSPS websites. Every student is responsible for reading, understanding, and complying with all of these policies.”

The full list of policies can be found at the web links below:

- University: <http://www.nyu.edu/about/policies-guidelines-compliance.html>
- NYUSPS: <http://sps.nyu.edu/academics/academic-policies-and-procedures.html>

### **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](http://www.nyu.edu/csd)).
- **Student Resources:** <http://www.nyu.edu/life/resources-and-services.html>
- **Virtual Computer Lab:** <https://vcl.nyu.edu/vpn/index.html>

### **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.

**SPS 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

**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 Tuesdays (10 am to 6 pm) and Wednesdays (12 pm to 3 pm), and am also available by appointment at other times that might be more convenient to you. I will also 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.

### **Week 1: September 6**

### **Women's power and development – what are the links to development (and peace?) and what are the obstacles?: Overview of Course**

After a detailed discussion of the syllabus, learning objectives, expectations, and readings, we will ask whether women's political voice and engagement in 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. 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 recent articles (I may add more before September 6) as well as the Goetz reading:

1. When Women Win, Men Win, Too—[\*New York Times\*](#)
2. Number of women leaders around the world has grown, but they're still a small group, [Pew Research](http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/03/08/women-leaders-around-the-world/) Group, <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/03/08/women-leaders-around-the-world/>
3. A Closer Look at the Gender Gap in Presidential Voting—[\*Pew Research\*](#)
4. The Research is Clear: Electing More Women Changes How Government Works—[\*Vox\*](#)
5. Why We Need More Women Leaders—[\*CNN\*](#)
6. Japan's reluctant Feminist – [\*Foreign Policy\*](#)
7. Maryl Kenny, 2016, 'From Merkel to May and Beyond: Are Women Running the World?', IPI Global Observatory, <https://theglobalobservatory.org/2016/07/theresa-may-merkel-clinton-brexit/>

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)

**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.

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

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>

**Week 2, September 13:**

**Conditions for women’s political effectiveness – 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:**

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>

**Recommended:**

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.

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-sessions-character/?hpid=hp\\_rhp-top-table-main\\_no-name%3Ahomepage%2Fstory&tid=a\\_inl&utm\\_term=.810752f95cdb](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/powerpost/wp/2017/02/07/republicans-vote-to-rebuke-elizabeth-warren-for-impugning-sessions-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>

### **Week 3: September 20**

#### **What is 'The State'? Is it gendered and if so, how did it get that way**

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 also track the imprint of the gendered construction of public institutions in contemporary neo-patrimonial states.

**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

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

**Author/critic:**

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

**Recommended:**

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

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fKhjJfH0ra4>

**Also:**

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BDBeBYiJ-ts>

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'. *Political Studies*, 58 (5): 909-929.

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](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 4, September 27:**

**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? These questions are part of a longstanding debate about whether states or markets drive development, justice, peace. But the questions about the drivers of change and the types of states that work best for development have rarely been addressed from a gender perspective. How do state actions, policies (including regulation of the market), and funding allocations affect women and men differently? How does exercise of state power contribute to the governance of gender or support male dominance?

***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.

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>

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

**Author/critic:**

Joane Nagel, 1998, Masculinity and nationalism: gender and sexuality in the making of nations  
Ethnic and Racial Studies Volume 21 Number 2 March 1998

[https://biblioteca-alternativa.noblogs.org/files/2012/11/nagel\\_masculinity-and-gender.pdf](https://biblioteca-alternativa.noblogs.org/files/2012/11/nagel_masculinity-and-gender.pdf)

Arlene Elowe MacLeod , 1992, 'Hegemonic Relations and Gender Resistance: The New Veiling as Accommodating Protest in Cairo' Signs, Vol. 17, No. 3 (Spring, 1992), pp. 533-557

**Recommended:**

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.

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

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

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

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.

Stears, Jill, 1998, 'States, Nationalisms, and Gendered Identities', in J Stears, 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](https://www.cordaid.org/media/publications/Cordaid-7247-02-PP-Gender%20into%20the%20New%20Deal-DEFHR-web.pdf)

#### **Week 5, October 4:**

#### **Gender Quotas: 'Fiddling with Democracy'? Confronting Patriarchy?**

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

**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.

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), The Democratic Developmental State, Oxford University Press, Oxford. (also in Review of African Political Economy, mid-1998).

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)

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 6:October 11**

#### **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.

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:**

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.

**Week 7, October 18:**  
**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:***

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>

have a look at this:

<http://constitutions.unwomen.org/en>

***Author/critic:***

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.

***Recommended:***

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/>

### **Week 8: October 25**

#### **Religion and women's mobilization**

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 an ideology of women's seclusion and secondary roles.

#### **Required:**

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

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;**

**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>

**Recommended:**

[Nira Yuval-Davis, 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/n4.xml>](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/>

**Week 9: November 1:**

**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. 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.

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>

***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.gsdr.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](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.

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](http://www.govindicators.org)

**Week 10, November 8:**

**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.

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:***

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

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

Judith Tandler 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 R 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](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.gsdr.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.gsdr.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.gsdr.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.gsdr.org/go/display&type=Document&id=3015>

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](http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9%2F(httpAuxPages)%2F8856EC9F7738F32A80256B67005B6AD5%2F$file%2Fopb2.pdf)

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.

Buzzfeed video on ERA

[https://www.buzzfeed.com/alisonvingiano/era?utm\\_term=.gsYMGYgbG#.dkarW1KDW](https://www.buzzfeed.com/alisonvingiano/era?utm_term=.gsYMGYgbG#.dkarW1KDW)

### **Week 11, November 15:**

#### **Gender responsive budgeting and public expenditure analysis**

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. Gender-responsive budget analysis has been helpful in demonstrating where public authorities under-invest in women's needs when allocating resources for public services.

#### ***Required Reading:***

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)

#### ***Recommended:***

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

### **Week 12: November 22**

## NO CLASS: THANKSGIVING BREAK

### Week 13: November 29

#### 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:**

Raghavendra 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 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>

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.gsdr.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.

**Week 14, December 6:**  
**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](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](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 13:**  
**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 and we will by now know whether the new UN Secretary-General is a woman. 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/>

**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* (Routledge).

**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 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)

