Substantive Focus

This is a course that takes a feminist perspective on gender relations. I define feminism as an orientation to women’s empowerment, particularly by challenging and changing those relations that subordinate women to men. It focuses on politics in the sense of social policies that secure or challenge subordination. How many policies there are, which ones do have this effect or not, and if and how they should change are always a subject of debate. I welcome such debate, and the course encourages you to actively debate policy issues relating to gender.

This semester will focus particularly on the ways that discourse matters for gender politics, and look at the debates that frame the meaning of terms like gender, women, men, equality, feminism etc. I will also emphasize the intersectionality of gender with other forms of social inequality. My approach to such questions is comparative and international. We will consider theory (terms like the highlighted ones above) as a way of understanding concrete struggles over gender, power and politics, in the US and around the world.

Skills and Abilities

This is a writing intensive course. My intention is to help you to develop your ability to read, compare, contrast and present sociological research on contemporary political issues of gender. Over the course of the semester, we will work together to build skills in critical reading individual articles, synthesizing multiple studies, and writing an effective, original research paper that presents your understanding of the evidence on a particular topic. The skills involved include (1) identifying and evaluating sociological arguments and evidence in other people’s work; (2) judiciously using library and internet sources of information; (3) organizing and presenting a summary of evidence; (4) developing an evidence-based sociological argument about the significance of what the research you reviewed reveals.

This is also not a lecture, but a discussion-based course. Politics is always contentious, but regardless of what disagreements you may have with other students or with me about interpretations of policies and practices, I expect our discussions always to be respectful of our differences while engaging critically and passionately with the evidence. Everyone is entitled to his or her personal opinion but not to her or his facts! Both orally and in our writing, we should all strive to neither give nor take personal offense in challenging our own and others’ preconceptions about gender, and to be reflexive in considering how our own experiences with economic inequalities, cultural values, and national history inform our views.

Finally, this course also takes advantage of the unique assets of this campus in connecting you with cutting-edge research and on-going debates among first-rate scholars. The support of the Mellon Foundation for a year-long seminar on “globalization and women’s rights” enables us to bring a number of important researchers and policy-makers to campus, and you can select presentations to attend.
Course Organization and Requirements

Class format: This course is a discussion-and-debate based examination of selected readings (in the style of a seminar), and class preparation and class participation is absolutely crucial. In addition to substantive discussions, there will be skill-building workshops and presentations, and opportunities to attend lectures by some of the scholars whose work we will be reading. You are only expected to buy one book, Millie Thayer’s *Making Transnational Feminism* (Routledge, 2009) and it has been ordered at A Room of One’s Own (Johnson St).

Requirements:

1. Attendance, participation in class discussions, and engagement with the reading on an ongoing basis (15 points). Reading should be completed before the first class every week. You will have difficulty in this class if you are not regularly prepared and willing to discuss, participate actively in debates, and/or volunteer to present your arguments to the rest of the class in class. This participation includes on-line suggestions, insights, ideas, questions, etc. I will assign 10 of these points; your peers will assign 5 of them based on your sharing of ideas, insights, cooperation on group tasks and the like.

2. Reading skills: Written work showing your mastery of assigned material (26 points)
   a) For the weeks designated (weeks 4 & 5 and your choice of 8, 10, 11, 12) you need to turn in a written summary (no more than 150 words) of ONE of the assigned articles. This summary should include your answer to three questions: what is the research question that the authors sought to answer? What is the nature of the evidence they used to answer this question? What is the argument they offer about how this evidence should be interpreted? This is a preparation for in-class discussion! (You turn in 4 such short summaries BEFORE class, present the summaries in class, and each will be graded very good, good, fair, poor for 4, 3, 2 or 1 point respectively, for a total of 16 possible points; one summary can be discarded and replaced by a re-do)
   b) For two of the weeks when you are doing a summary, you also need to prepare a critical assessment (in an additional 250 words) of the quality of the article chosen. This evaluation should also answer three (additional) questions: Are there alternative interpretations of the evidence that you think might be plausible, and if so, what are they? Is there additional evidence you would like to see that would help you decide if the author’s argument is correct, and if so, what is it? On the whole, is the author’s argument well supported by the evidence and generally persuasive to you, and if so, what is most compelling about it? This will form the basis of in-class-discussion! (you turn in 2 such assessments BEFORE class, each of which is graded excellent, good, good/fair, fair or poor for 5, 4, 3, 2 or 1 point respectively, for a total of 10 possible points)

3. Research skills: Exploring a topic outside of the assigned material and organizing the presentation of your findings. (25 points)
   a) Using the library effectively to identify additional relevant articles on one of the topics we are discussing and summarize and assess the argument and evidence from this article (400 words as above) DUE OCTOBER 13 in class, also post to L@UW.
b) **Combining** library and internet research skills to locate at least one piece of relevant **evidence** for an argument you wish to make on your chosen paper topic. The argument is yours, but you have to find your evidence: in reports, data tables, articles, books, whatever (we’ll talk about this). Post the evidence on-line (L@UW) as a link or attachment for your brief (50-100 word) **statement of what this is evidence FOR** (what is the question/argument and how does this data help answer or support it?) (2-10 points as above). Must be done anytime before NOVEMBER 1 (I encourage you to do it early!).

c) **Attending one scholarly presentation** (either in the Sawyer Seminar or other gender, state and society lecture on campus) and summarizing the argument being offered in an approximately 150 word post on line (L@UW) for the class. (1-5 points). Must be done by December 8.

4. **Writing skills:** using critical reading and research skills to assemble a well-supported argument and presenting this argument in a well-organized and effectively written paper. (35 points, divided into 3 stages)

   a) **stage 1. Overview of Topic.** What is it you want to research? What is the question you want to answer or argument you want to make and what sorts of evidence do you think you will need to advance this? Requires one meeting with me, sending one page outline of what you want to do at least 2 days before our meeting, and writing up a memo summarizing what we have agreed about the limits to and nature of your topic afterward. (5 points; MUST be done by October 21)

   b) **stage 2. Preliminary Bibliography:** list of articles and other evidence that you have located that seems most relevant to your topic (a minimum of 5 well-chosen materials), a selection of at least 3 class readings that you see as useful (with a sentence on each explaining why) and the (possibly revised) outline of your argument or research question. (10 points; must be done by November 11)

   c) **stage 3. Final Paper** (FULL draft due to Writing Center/peer tutor December 2; final paper due to me December 19). This paper will summarize and assess the research evidence to answer a question or present a specific argument about the global politics of gender and draw a conclusion based on your own evaluation of the research you have done. Papers will be evaluated for organization, grammar and substantive quality of research (20 points, due December 19, no extensions.)

There is **NO Final Exam** for this course: your appropriate use of the assigned readings in developing and carrying out your projects is how I assess your knowledge of the material.

**Additional issues:**

All students are encouraged to use the resources of the Writing Lab (located in Helen C. White), especially if you have not previously done this sort of writing. They offer both group classes and individual tutoring. In addition, they have a collection of books on how to write good papers, including *A Guide to Writing Sociology Papers*, by the Sociology Writing Group (St. Martin's, 1994 [third edition]) and *A Writer's Reference*, by Diana Hacker (St. Martin's, 1995 [third edition]). I personally recommend *Writing for Social Scientists* by Howard Becker (Univ. of Chicago). Start exploring topics
for your project early and take time to get feedback from the Writing Center and to talk with me about your plans.

I have set aside class time for working together on using the library effectively for researching gender politics; in my experience even graduate students can learn a few more good tricks; in addition there is a class in which you will be presenting your project ideas and can develop research teams on related topics (although the final paper must be written individually).

All students are also reminded of the university’s rules on academic honesty and plagiarism. **Knowledge of these rules is your responsibility, and lack of familiarity with the rules does not excuse misconduct.** A clear definition of plagiarism as well as information about disciplinary sanctions for academic misconduct may be found at the Dean of Students web site: http://www.wisc.edu/students/UWS14.htm. In addition, note that I reserve the right to enter any work submitted for this class into the anti-plagiarism database maintained by the department where it can be checked against a huge multi-source inventory of past papers and will be kept on record so that it cannot be plagiarized from in future semesters. I deeply regret that the actions of a few require such safeguards to protect the rights of the many.

**Reading assignments.**

Articles are available on electronic reserve via MadCat and as links on Learn@UW. In addition, there are links, visual materials and thought-questions that are ONLY available on Learn@UW. I will also post timely news to L@UW (announcements of talks on campus, news stories about groups or events, etc), and most of your work is to be posted there too. Class participation includes posting links to articles or websites with interesting arguments to be shared, posting evidence you’ve found, and making arguments yourself.

**Outline of topics and readings by week**

**WEEK 1: Sept 6-8 Organizational meeting, overview of the course and concepts.**
Focus: Introductions, discussion of requirements and syllabus, conceptual overview of “feminism” as a principle and gender as a political relationship.

**Guiding questions:** What is your own definition of feminism? How are women’s rights secured politically and how might this need improvement (i.e. where and how do you see women’s subordination still evidenced?) How does the US look in a global perspective, and how do you explain why it does well/poorly for women in the ways you note?

Skills: looking at evidence (see tables on L@UW) for and against arguments

**WEEK 2: Sept 13-15 - Thinking about gender, women, inequalities**
**Focus:** Developing a theoretical vocabulary with which to talk about gender politics as something both changing and contested. Concepts: gender, neoliberal, institutions, regime, intersectionality.
Skills: collaboratively discussing the research questions, arguments and evidence in Scott and in Peterson.

Assigned:
Evelyn Nakano Glenn, “The social construction and institutionalization of gender and race” Pp. 3-43 in Ferree, Lorber and Hess, Revisioning Gender

Guiding questions: THEORY: What does Peterson say is the difference between “women” and “gender” as the object of politics? What does Scott mean by “woman” and “feminine” having a symbolic value apart from actual “women”? How does she (and how do you) see this as contested and changing? How does Glenn argue that the intersection of gender with other social inequalities (especially race and class) affect the potential meaning of “women” in more or less inclusive ways? APPLICATION: How do Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Nancy Pelosi, Michelle Bachman, George W. Bush, John Boehner and Barack Obama function as political symbols in the US understanding of gender? Can they provoke change and/or reflect change, or does discourse about them only provoke/reflect stereotyping?

WEEK 3: Sept 20-22 – The political discourses of motherhood and citizenship
Focus: Nation, citizenship, reproduction, pronatalism, biopower, and discourse as concepts. Political discourse often targets women-as-mothers, and this discourse often has to do with the meaning of the nation, membership in the national community (and exclusions from this) and the state’s interest in encouraging (or discouraging) women to reproduce (or not). But each national context offers its own types of discourse and struggles.

Assigned:

Assignment 1: in class on Tuesday we will collectively construct article summaries for each of the three articles -- so come prepared to make your suggestions in class.

Guiding Questions: THEORY: what do these authors mean by a discourse and how do they identify particular discourses to study empirically? How are their arguments about the uses of motherhood as nation-constructing similar and how are they different? How does each discourse
exclude women as well as target women? APPLICATION: How would you describe the national discourse around motherhood in the US today? How does it contribute to our national identity as “American” and whom does it include and exclude? How might a researcher study it?

WEEK 4: Sept 27-29 – The political discourse of war and peace

Focus: The concepts of honor, masculinities, authority, power/empowerment, globalization. Associating men and masculinity with war and being warriors is as pervasive a discourse as that which frames women through motherhood. Speaking about men and machismo can serve to justify violence or to criticize it. The conflicting ideas about national honor and male violence that are used in these debates can shape reactions to specific actions or policies but also to nations imagined in terms of gender relations as weak or strong, feminine or masculine.

Assigned (choose ONE to do your first summary, due in class Tuesday):


Bush as Cowboy, Women Warrior Images (L@UW)

Guiding Questions: THEORY: What is the specific use of masculinity as a discourse in each article? Is masculinity one unified concept to the authors --or many? (with what differences, if any, among them?). Who uses masculinity and for what? In the authors’ views, is it the direct or indirect use of masculinity discourse that primarily shapes perceptions of a nation, a conflict, a policy or a strategy? APPLICATION: Can you imagine ways to talk about war and peace that do NOT use images of masculinity in either positive or negative ways? How is Barack Obama’s masculinity at stake (or not) in current war debates?

Honors: Kristin Hoganson, Fighting for American Manhood, Intro &Ch 1 (pp. 1-42)

WEEK 5 – October 4-6 – Aliens among us? The gendered political discourse of immigration

Focus: Concepts of care-work, trafficking, belonging, community, containment. Political questions often carry a gendered text or subtext in which the visibility or invisibility of women and men as the causes of or solutions to problems will vary. Here we explore migration and immigrants from a gendered perspective of who speaks and who is spoken about, especially looking at migrant domestic workers.

Assigned (choose one for your second summary):

SKILLS: looking at library search techniques to find “relevant articles” to summarize and present.

Guiding Questions:
THEORY: Why and when is gender made visible in for migrants? How do actors with different political interests understand immigrant women: as victims in need of protection? As reproductive threats? As national heroes? As essential providers of labor and services in the global economy? APPLICATION: What are some of the ways that migrant women are discussed in the US in heated debates about immigration? When do they become more visible or invisible? Do they get to speak?


WEEK 6 October 11-13 – - Islam and racialized gender politics

Focus: Key concepts are modernity and tradition, identity, subject position. In Europe, the veil symbolizes a complex of supposedly traditional practices of patriarchy (arranged marriages, honor killings, purdah, etc) and is part of a discourse constructing Europe as modern and thus gender egalitarian. Here we look at the construction of Muslims as a threat and the struggle over control of women’s bodies as a response.

Assigned (possible to choose one as a summary):

Guiding Questions: THEORY: How do the different authors characterize the types of discourses being used to frame veiling as a threat? What consequences do discourses like modern/traditional, forced/free, secular/religious, us/them have for Muslim communities and for the non-Muslim communities around them? Who gets to speak (and who listens) about the implications of veiling or arranged marriage? APPLICATIONS: How is “our” emancipation exaggerated by focusing on “their” gender oppression (whatever form it may take – genital cutting, honor killing, etc)? In your experience, how are Americans similar to/different from Europeans in politicizing women’s bodies?

DUE: October 13: Turn in citations and outlines for class presentations of “outside articles” researched on any of the weekly topics. Presentations in class also begin on Thursday, organized by topic.

WEEK 7 – October 18-20 - race and gender in making and remaking the US welfare system
Focus: Key concepts are carework, welfare state, dependency, racialization, poverty, surveillance. While "poverty" is supposed to be the target of welfare policy, in many ways women, especially Black women in the US are the practical targets. Here we look at a discourse about race, gender, mothers/fathers and families that usually assume dependency is women's and bad.

Assigned (possible to choose one for a summary):

Guiding Questions: THEORY: How are the discourses of dependency gendered even if not explicitly so? How does "dependency" frame what "reform" should accomplish? What makes "dependency" so negative in American framing? How does dependency relate to thinking of all women and men as citizens with rights? What is the relationship between motherhood and dependency in this discourse? APPLICATIONS: Does it matter for most people how Americans talk about welfare and “welfare mothers”? Why might debates about welfare matter for how American social policy treats YOU?


PAPER TOPIC DUE ON L@UW BY 5pm OCTOBER 21

WEEK 8 - October 25-27 - Gender and social change: preserving or remaking masculinity(ies)?
Focus: Concepts of discrimination, inequality, patriarchal bargain. While most scholars and people at large are in agreement that “women’s roles” have been changing, the question of whether men are changing is more hotly debated. If there is change, who or what is changing masculinity, why and how? What is the role of law in changing or preserving gender relations for both men and women?

Assigned:

http://jss.sagepub.com.ezproxy.library.wisc.edu/content/31/2/162.full.pdf+html

Guiding Questions: THEORY: How does the law understand both men and women in defining discrimination? which men get left out in these laws? which women? How does gender become discursively equated only with women? what are the effects of this (in)visibility on policy and politics? APPLICATIONS: How can men be drawn in to the struggle for gender equality? How about the men YOU know? are their lives shaped by gender in ways they themselves might want to change?


One “piece of evidence” on your chosen topic to be posted no later than 9 am Nov 1.

Week 9 - November 1-3 What makes gender politics radical? Transnational discourses and global change struggles

Focus: We take a single case study of transnational women’s organizing in Brazil and consider how US gender politics are similar/different, related/separate, integrated in other movements/autonomous to what we see there.

Assigned: Millie Thayer, Making Transnational Feminism

Guest for discussion Thursday November 3: Millie Thayer

Preparation: Tuesday we will discuss the book with a goal of formulating good, challenging questions for Prof. Thayer.

Week 10 – Nov 8-10 Struggles over non-normative sexualities

Focus: Concepts are autonomy, choice, freedom, embodiment, regulation. Like race and class, sexuality and age intersect with gender to define some women and men as more entitled to autonomy, sexual freedoms and citizenship rights. Homosexuality and non-marital sex are particularly controversial in the US and can lead to denial of rights. We consider this domain “intimate citizenship” as it relates to the embodied individual and their rights to relationships.

Assigned (possible to choose one for a summary):

Guiding Questions: THEORY: Citizenship as a relationship to the state may be in tension with other relationships because the state has the authority to decide what relationships count and for what. How do states do this? Do these authors think states should be as involved in surveillance and regulation as they are? Why or why not? APPLICATION: Is marriage a good thing (not just for same-sex couples but for anyone) or would we all be better off with civil unions or no ceremony at all? What should marriage be like and what role do YOU think the state should have in it?


NOVEMBER 11 – PRELIMINARY BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR FINAL PAPER DUE ON L@UW BY 5pm

Week 11 – November 15-17 – Gender, work and family: challenges for equity in a context of class competition

Focus: Concepts are ideology, agency, commodification, de-institutionalization. While the notion of the two-earner family is increasingly normalized, how feminist is it in its effects? Here we look at the pressures to make children successful and the institutional obstacles to taking time off and continuing a career trajectory as cultural constraints on gender equality.

Assigned (possible choice for summary):

Guiding Questions:
THEORY: Work-family-gender relations have changed, but have they improved? Has the US made what you would consider progress in absolute terms? How about relative to other industrial democracies? How does class inequality and class politics affect the work-family balancing act in general? APPLICATION: What are the realistic constraints on and idealistic norms for gender balanced relationships (same or opposite sex) that are being considered among your friends? How would you envision them changing by the time your children are your age? What would it take to change either of those trajectories?

Week 12 & 13 - Nov 22 (Thanksgiving 11/24), 29 and Dec 1 – Gender in the world polity – how women’s rights are made to matter

Focus: Concepts of human rights, world polity, normative conflict, advocacy networks. World polity theory claims that there are links among nation states that enable and constrain the flow of discourse reframe the significance of “women” and “rights” over time. Here we consider the big shifts in women’s position on the world stage, and to what this may relate.

Assigned:
Pamela Paxton, Melanie Hughes and Jennifer Green, 2006 “The international women’s movement and women’s political representation, 1893-2003” American Sociological Review, 17: 898-
http://asr.sagepub.com.ezproxy.library.wisc.edu/content/71/6/898.full.pdf+html

Guiding Questions: THEORY: Think about changes over time without making “time” the social actor responsible for these shifts: what are the forces that lead to change? How does change spread over space and time? How do earlier changes relate to later ones? APPLICATION: Where are the boundaries today for women’s political inclusion? How are they being contested and by whom?


THANKSGIVING

December 2: first draft of your final paper due to peer tutor/reader. Copy also to be placed in dropbox on L@UW.

WEEK 14 – December 6-8 – Social movements, radical discourse and political transformations

Focus: Concepts are coalition, solidarity, transnationalism, agenda-formation. We consider where an intersectional feminism may go in the future, including the obstacles to and strategies for coalitions for social justice across differences.

Assigned:
Guiding Questions: THEORY: what makes coalitions difficult and how and when are such difficulties being overcome? Where are struggles to create a more inclusive feminism more successful and how do the movement actors deal with the challenges they face? APPLICATIONS: How do you see US feminists coping with these challenges? How does global discourse impact the local feminist discourses you hear? How might feminist activists in the US learn from history or from struggles in other places and what would they learn?

WEEK 15 – Dec 13-14

Gendered citizenship: creating subjects and drawing boundaries
Overview and review

Focus: what do we mean when we talk about gender? who are the women and men, the types of relationships, and the changes in society and politics that we

Also discussion of final papers in process (theoretical contributions of in-class readings taken as a whole and how the assigned readings contribute to your argument)

December 19 FINAL, REVISED PAPER DUE (in dropbox of L@UW).