

Gender and Sexuality Studies 490 & Political Science 490
Gender, Power, Politics
Thursdays, 2:30 pm – 5:00 pm Central Time
Ripton Room, Scott Hall 201
Spring 2022

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and Board of Lady Managers of the Columbian Exposition Chair
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Land Acknowledgement: The Northwestern campus sits on the traditional homelands of the people of the Council of Three Fires, the Ojibwe, Potawatomi, and Odawa as well as the Menominee, Miami and Ho-Chunk nations. It is still home to a vibrant and thriving Native community.

Course Description and Objectives: This seminar will investigate how gender shapes politics, and how politics in turn shapes gender, with gender conceptualized as a set of relations, identities and cultural schema, co-constituted with other dimensions of power, difference and inequality (e.g., race, class, sexuality, religion, citizenship status). We aim to understand gendered politics and policy from both "top down" and "bottom up" perspectives. What do states do, via institutions of political participation and representation, citizenship rights and policies, and official categorization to shape gender relations? How do gender relations influence the nature of policy, classification systems, and citizenship? How have movements and counter-movements around the transformation of gender developed, and how have gendered divides influenced politics of all sorts? We expand on conventional conceptions of political participation and citizenship rights to include grassroots democratic activism, the creation of alternative visions of democracy, social provision and economic participation, as well as examining formal politics and policies. We will read and discuss scholars drawing on diverse theoretical and methodological traditions, and we engage with analyses of a variety of contexts across the world (the US, other rich capitalist democracies, postcolonial states and beyond), striving to situate states and political mobilization in global contexts. Because this course is interdisciplinary, students will gain greater understanding of the diverse disciplinary approaches to gendered politics of political science, sociology and gender and sexuality studies.

GSS 490/Poli Sci 490 is organized as a seminar, in which students are active participants in discussions of readings. Seminar discussions will constitute the heart of the course. Students will help to shape the agenda for class discussions by writing lead entries and replies on a class discussion/blog site on Canvas. At the beginning of class, lead bloggers will offer a brief introduction – no more than 10 minutes – and propose an agenda for discussion, to which we can add or modify. Our first order of business will be to clarify what is the argument being presented, answer questions of fact about the topic and get clear on our definitions. Then we move into an evaluative phase of discussion, in which we will both appreciate and criticize the works we have read. Finally, we will try to summarize what we think about the particular topic under discussion.

This seminar fulfills one of the requirements for the Graduate Certificate and cluster in Gender & Sexuality Studies. For further information on the Graduate Certificate and cluster, see <https://www.gendersexuality.northwestern.edu/graduate/certificate-cluster-requirements.html>

Course Requirements:

(1) Participation in seminar discussions: Regular attendance and active engagement in discussions on the part of all members of the seminar is crucial to the success of the enterprise. Please come into each seminar prepared to express your opinions and voice your views in acts of comradely contention with each other on all aspects of our intellectual endeavors.

20% of your grade

(2) Participation in class discussion forum/blog and contributing two lead blog entries addressed to readings of the relevant week (for weeks 2 through 9), to be **posted by 9 am (Central Time) Wednesday**. All the other students should **post replies by 9 am (Central Time) Thursday**. Everyone should read all posts before class Thursday.

Instructions for discussion board engagement:

Lead bloggers: Each week, selected students will serve as lead bloggers. Lead bloggers will write a blog entry for that week's readings, to be posted by **9 am (Central Time) Wednesday**. The lead bloggers will engage with the required pieces, briefly re-expressing the authors' argument and saying what you learned. Then, you can discuss at least one thing you think the author got wrong or underplayed or ignored; say what difference this makes to their argument and to our understanding of the phenomenon in question. Finally, what is your own opinion about the topic or argument? Your comments should be about 1-2 pp. long. Try to include at least one carefully constructed discussion question in your entry, that is, a question with which your peers can easily engage. **Other seminar members** are asked to respond to at least one of the questions or claims of the lead blog, and post this to the discussion board by **9 am (Central Time) Thursday**.

20% of your grade

(3): *Final Papers:* Students will have wide latitude with their final papers. Papers could be scholarly interrogative essays that address particular debates related to seminar readings. Students could also choose to write a paper combining engagement with seminar materials and your own ongoing research. Students should discuss ideas with me early in the quarter. The paper is due on Canvas by **June 7, 2022**.

60% of your grade.

Seminar Readings

Regular attendance and active engagement in discussions on the part of all members of the seminar is crucial to the success of the enterprise. A core principle of feminist approaches to knowledge is that multiple situated perspectives can together produce more "objective" knowledge than can a single perspective; Indigenous ways of knowing suggest that knowledge is created by groups, not

individuals.¹ Together our wisdom is more than the sum of its parts. Each week, we will discuss possible readings for the next class, and decide on which areas we wish to focus. The list of readings is one set of possibilities, but it will change, contract, and expand, based on our communal goals. **In short, the schedule of readings is open to revision by seminar participants.**

We will read articles and excerpts from several books. Almost all materials are available through NU Libraries; all else will be available on the course Canvas website under the “Modules” tab and are noted with an asterisk [*] on the syllabus.

Academic integrity: Students in this course are required to comply with the policies found in the booklet, "Academic Integrity at Northwestern University: A Basic Guide". All papers submitted for credit in this course must be submitted electronically unless otherwise instructed by the professor. Your written work may be tested for plagiarized content. For details regarding academic integrity at Northwestern or to download the guide, visit <https://www.northwestern.edu/provost/policies-procedures/academic-integrity/index.html>

Accessibility: Northwestern University is committed to providing the most accessible learning environment as possible for students with disabilities. Should you anticipate or experience disability-related barriers in the academic setting, please contact AccessibleNU to move forward with the university’s established accommodation process (e: accessiblenu@northwestern.edu; p: 847-467-5530). If you already have established accommodations with AccessibleNU, please let me know as soon as possible, preferably within the first two weeks of the term, so we can work together to implement your disability accommodations. Disability information, including academic accommodations, is confidential under the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act.

Communication: This course will use the Canvas course management system (<http://www.it.northwestern.edu/education/learning-management/login.html>). You are responsible for logging in, checking regularly for posted announcements, and obtaining readings and assignments from the site. You will receive course announcements that will be sent to the students’ registered campus email address. In addition, we usually communicate with you by email, so please check every weekday. You are responsible for checking your registered email accounts regularly.

The easiest way to reach me – besides in class and during office hours – is via email at a-orloff@northwestern.edu

I generally respond to emails within 48 hours (excepting weekends and university holidays/vacations). I would be grateful if you would put the name or number of the course in the subject line of your email; this helps me identify and respond to your emails more quickly.

¹ Donna Haraway, “Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective,” pp.183-201 in *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* (New York: Routledge, 1991).

COVID-19 Classroom Expectations Statement

Students, faculty, and staff must comply with University expectations regarding appropriate classroom behavior, including those outlined below and in the [COVID-19 Code of Conduct](#). With respect to classroom procedures, this includes:

- Policies regarding masking and social distancing evolve as the public health situation changes. Students are responsible for understanding and complying with current masking, testing, Symptom Tracking, and social distancing requirements.
- In some classes, masking and/or social distancing may be required as a result of an Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) accommodation for the instructor or a student in the class even when not generally required on campus. In such cases, the instructor will notify the class.
- No food is allowed inside classrooms. Drinks are permitted, but please keep your face covering on and use a straw.

If a student fails to comply with the [COVID-19 Code of Conduct](#) or other University expectations related to COVID-19, the instructor may ask the student to leave the class. The instructor is asked to report the incident to the Office of Community Standards for additional follow-up.

To protect the health of our community, Northwestern University requires unvaccinated students who are in on-campus programs to be tested for COVID-19 twice per week. Students who fail to comply with current or future COVID-19 testing protocols will be referred to the Office of Community standards to face disciplinary action, including escalation up to restriction from campus and suspension.

Gender Pronouns

This course affirms all gender expressions and gender identities. I welcome you to correct me on your name or gender pronoun if a mistake is made. If you have concerns, please contact me in person or by email, whichever is most comfortable for you.

Inclusivity

This course strives to be an inclusive learning community, respecting those of differing backgrounds and beliefs. As a community, we aim to be respectful to all students in this class, regardless of race, ethnicity, socio-economic status, religion, gender identity or sexual orientation.

Support for health and wellness

Northwestern University is committed to supporting the wellness of our students. Student Affairs has multiple resources to support student wellness and mental health. If you are feeling distressed or overwhelmed, please reach out for help. Students can access confidential resources through the Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS), Religious and Spiritual Life (RSL) and the Center for Awareness, Response and Education (CARE). Additional information on all of the resources mentioned above can be found here:

<https://www.northwestern.edu/counseling/>

<https://www.northwestern.edu/religious-life/>

<https://www.northwestern.edu/care/>

Seminar Schedule of Readings

Each week, we will discuss possible readings for the next class, and decide on which areas we wish to focus. The list of readings – generally too much for one week -- is a set of possibilities, but it will change, contract, and expand, based on our communal goals. **In short, the schedule of readings is open to revision by seminar participants.** Please note: almost everything is available through the NU libraries. On the Canvas website, I post only those pieces not available online.

Part 1: Key Concepts for Studying Gender, Power and Politics

Week 1

Thursday, March 31, 2022 **Introduction, part 1: Gender, Power and Politics**

The idea this week is to sample some of the large array of approaches to defining gender in the context of multiple inequalities. Poke around, skim some, read some. In class Thursday, I will give an introductory lecture on competing definitions of and approaches to gender.

Rogers Brubaker, "Difference and Inequality," ch.1 in *Grounds for Difference* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015).

Judith Butler, "Subjects of Sex/Gender/Desire," *Gender Trouble* (Routledge, 1990), pp.1-34.

Raewyn Connell, "Rethinking gender from the South," *Feminist Studies* 40, no. 3 (2014): 518-539.

Combahee River Collective, "A Black Feminist Statement" (originally published in 1977), in Keeanga-Yamahatta Taylor, editor, *How We Get Free: Black Feminism and the Combahee River Collective* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2017).

Kimberle Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: a black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory, and antiracist politics," *University of Chicago Legal Forum* (1989):139-67.

*Anne Fausto-Sterling, *Sex/Gender: Biology in a Social World* (New York: Routledge, 2012), excerpt.

*Donna J. Haraway, "'Gender' for a Marxist dictionary: the sexual politics of a word," in *Simians, Cyborgs and Women* (New York: Routledge, 1991).

*Toril Moi, "What is a Woman? Sex, Gender, and the Body in Feminist Theory," pp.3-120 (concentrate on pp.45-83, skim the rest) in *What is a Woman? And Other Essays* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

*Gayle Rubin, "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex," pp.157-210 in *Toward an Anthropology of Women*, edited by Rayna Reiter (New York: Monthly Review, 1975).

Joan Wallach Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Analysis," *American Historical Review* 91 (December 1986): 1053-75.

Laurel Westbrook and Kristen Schilt, "Doing gender, determining gender: Transgender people, gender panics, and the maintenance of the sex/gender/sexuality system," *Gender & society* 28, no. 1 (2014): 32-57.

Week 2

Thursday, April 7, 2022

Introduction, part 2: Gender, Power, Politics

Linda Zerilli, "Politics," pp.632-50 in [*The Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory*](#), edited by Lisa Disch and Mary Hawkesworth (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018) [NU online resource].

Shatema Threadcraft, "North American necropolitics and gender: On# blacklivesmatter and black femicide," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 116, no. 3 (2017): 553-579.

Ann Orloff, "Remaking Power and Politics," *Social Science History* (2012) 36(1): 1-21.

Saidiya Hartman, "The belly of the world: A note on Black women's labors." *Souls* 18, no. 1 (2016): 166-173.

Nancy Fraser, "Mapping the Feminist Imagination: From Redistribution to Recognition to Representation," *Constellations* 12(2005):295-307.

*Pierre Bourdieu, "Masculine Domination Revisited," *Berkeley Journal of Sociology* 41(1996-97):189-203.

Recommended:

Center for Women and Politics, Rutgers University:

<http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/current-numbers>

Center for Women's Global Leadership, Rutgers University

<http://www.cwgl.rutgers.edu/>

International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA), Stockholm, Sweden

<https://www.idea.int/publications/catalogue/political-gender-equality-and-global-state-democracy-indices>

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)

<http://www.oecd.org/gender/>

United Nations Women (UNWomen)

<http://www.unwomen.org/>

Part 2: Gender and States in Global Context

Week 3

April 14, 2022 States, Empires, Settler Colonialism, Capitalism

Julia Adams and Steve Pincus, "Imperial States in the Age of Discovery," pp. 333-348 in *The Many Hands of the State: Theorizing Political Authority and Social Control*, edited by Kimberly Morgan and Ann Shola Orloff (Cambridge University Press, 2017).

Paisley Currah, "The State," *Transgender Studies Quarterly* 1(1-2) (2014): 197–200.
doi: <https://doi-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/10.1215/23289252-2400010>

Evelyn Nakano Glenn, "Settler colonialism as structure: A framework for comparative studies of US race and gender formation," *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 1, no. 1 (2015): 52-72.

María Lugones, "Heterosexualism and the Colonial/Modern Gender System," *Hypatia* 22 (2007): 186-209.

Jennifer L. Morgan, *Laboring women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), chapter 1 (pp.12-49).

Kimberly Morgan and Ann Shola Orloff, editors, "Introduction," *The Many Hands of the State: Theorizing Political Authority and Social Control* (Cambridge University Press, 2017).

Carole Pateman, "Sexual contract," *The Wiley Blackwell encyclopedia of gender and sexuality studies* (2016) (3pp.). <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1002/9781118663219.wbegss468>

Mrinalini Sinha, 2000. "Mapping the imperial social formation: a modest proposal for feminist history." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 25(4): 1077-1082.

Recommended:

James V. Fenelon, 2016. "Critique of Glenn on settler colonialism and Bonilla-Silva on critical race analysis from indigenous perspectives." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 2(2): 237-242.

Rita Dhamoon, 2015. "A Feminist Approach to Decolonizing Anti-racism: Rethinking Transnationalism, Intersectionality, and Settler Colonialism." *Feral Feminisms* 4(Summer):20-37.

Wendy Brown, "Finding the Man in the State," *Feminist Studies* 18(1992):7-34.

*Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands, La Frontera: The New Mestiza* [1987] 2012 [fourth edition] Aunt Lute, chapters 1, 4, 5: "The Homeland: Aztlan," "The Coatlicue State," and "How to Tame a Wild Tongue."

Week 4

April 21, 2022

Social Provision, Regulation, Violence in the Rich Capitalist Democracies

Sylvia Walby, "Violence and society: Introduction to an emerging field of sociology " *Current sociology* 61, no. 2 (2013): 95-111.

Paige L. Sweet, "The sociology of gaslighting." *American Sociological Review* 84/5 (2019): 851-875.

Beth Richie, *Arrested justice: Black women, violence, and America's prison nation* (NYU Press, 2012), excerpt.

Walter Korpi, Tommy Ferrarini, and Stefan Englund. "Women's opportunities under different family policy constellations: Gender, class, and inequality tradeoffs in western countries re-examined." *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society* 20, no. 1 (2013): 1-40.

Lynne Allison Haney, "Feminist state theory: Applications to jurisprudence, criminology, and the welfare state," *Annual Review of Sociology* 26, no. 1 (2000): 641-666.

Lynne Allison Haney, *Offending women: Power, punishment, and the regulation of desire* (University of California Press, 2010), excerpt.

Nancy Fraser, "Contradictions of Capital and Care," *New Left Review* 100(2016):99-117.

Margot Canaday, *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton University Press, 2009), excerpt.

Recommended:

Ann Shola Orloff, "Gender and the social rights of citizenship: The comparative analysis of gender relations and welfare states." *American sociological review* (1993): 303-328.

Ann Shola Orloff, "Social provision and regulation: Theories of states, social policies and modernity." *Remaking modernity: politics, history, and sociology* (2005): 190-224.

Ann Shola Orloff, "Gendered States Made and Remade: Gendered Labor Policies in the U.S. and Sweden, 1960s – 2010s," in *The Many Hands of the State: Theorizing Political Authority and Social Control* (Cambridge University Press, 2017).

Week 5

April 28, 2022 Gender Justice and States

Mala Htun and Laurel Weldon, *States and Gender Justice: State Action on Women's Rights around the World* (Cambridge University Press, 2018).

Forum on *States and Gender Justice: State Action on Women's Rights around the World* in *Social Politics*, 26/4(2019):501-534, articles by Shirin Rai, Sumi Madhok, Mary Daly, Philip Ayoub, Georgina Waylen.

Week 6

May 5, 2022 Gender, States, Violence

Poulami Roychowdhury, [*Capable Women, Incapable States: Negotiating Violence and Rights in India*](#) (Oxford University Press), excerpts.

Audra Simpson, "The State is a Man: Theresa Spence, Loretta Saunders and the Gender of Settler Sovereignty," *Theory & Event* 19(4) (2016).
muse.jhu.edu/article/633280.

Sally Engle Merry, "Transnational human rights and local activism: Mapping the middle," *American Anthropologist* 108, no. 1 (2006): 38-51.

Part 3: Gender, Politics, Movements

Week 7

May 12, 2022 Political Agency, Political Subjects: citizenship, interests, ideology, identification

Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own* (Hogarth Press, 1929).

Saba Mahmood, *The Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject* (Princeton University Press, 2004), excerpt.

Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, "Beyond 'identity'," *Theory and society* 29/1(2000):1-47.

Bettcher, Talia Mae. "Trapped in the Wrong Theory: Rethinking Trans Oppression and Resistance." *Signs* 39, no. 2 (2014): 383-406. <https://doi.org/10.1086/673088>.

Recommended:

Julia Adams and Tasleem Padamsee, "Signs and Regimes: Rereading Feminist Work on Welfare States," *Social Politics* 8 (2001):1-23.

Week 8

May 19, 2022 Gendered social movements and political participation

Myra Marx Ferree, *Varieties of feminism: German gender politics in global perspective* (Stanford University Press, 2012), introduction.

Nancy Fraser, "Feminism, Capitalism and the Cunning of History," *New Left Review* 56(2009):97-117.

María Lugones, "Toward a decolonial feminism," *Hypatia* 25, no. 4 (2010): 742-759.

*David Paternotte and Roman Kuhar, "The anti-gender movement in comparative perspective," pp. 253-276 in *Anti-gender campaigns in Europe: Mobilizing against equality*, edited by Roman Kuhar and David Paternotte (Rowman and Littlefield, 2017).

Raka Ray, "Women's movements and political fields: A comparison of two Indian cities." *Social Problems* 45, no. 1 (1998): 21-36.

Laurel Westbrook, *Unlivable lives: Violence and identity in transgender activism* (University of California Press, 2020), excerpt.

Recommended:

Pamela Marie Paxton, Melanie M. Hughes, and Tiffany Barnes, *Women, politics, and power: A global perspective* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2020).

Jeff Hearn and Barbara Hobson, "Gender, State, and Citizenships: Challenges and Dilemmas in Feminist Theorizing," in *The New Handbook of Political Sociology*, edited by in Thomas Janoski, Cedric de Leon, and Joya Misra (Cambridge University Press, 2020) [NU online resource].

Week 9

May 26, 2022 How Do We Get Free?

Linda Zerilli, *Feminism and the Abyss of Freedom* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor, editor, *How We Get Free: Black Feminism and the Combahee River Collective* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2017); online e-book available at NU Library; permalink: <http://search.ebscohost.com.turing.library.northwestern.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=1700622&site=ehost-live>

Recommended:

Symposium on *Feminism and the Abyss of Freedom*, with essays by Myra Marx Ferree, Andreas Glaeser, George Steinmetz, and Linda Zerilli, *Sociological Theory* 27(2009): 74-95.

