UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
POL 450/2316H WOMEN AND POLITICS, FALL 2013

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Office hours: Mondays 1:30 – 3 pm or by appointment

Themes: This course asks students to participate in a seminar-based evaluation of women as foreign policy decision-makers, notably with reference to (a) the willingness and ability of female leaders to use force in international politics; (b) self-constructions of gender identity; and (c) linkages between women elites and feminist activism at the global level. The course is designed to stimulate the preparation of high-quality student research papers. Given this highly structured emphasis on seminar participation and cross-fertilization across student projects, no other research or writing assignments will be admitted as substitutes for the course requirements outlined below.

Course requirements: One two-hour seminar per week. Regular attendance is essential in order to fulfill the course requirements. Given the strong case study research component of the course, seminar attendance and participation are crucial in order for students to complete the core assignment. Students are expected to present two seminars during fall term and to submit one draft and one finished paper. Students are urged to prepare written comments on weekly readings as a basis for discussion, including when they are not scheduled to make formal presentations.

Seminar assignments will be made at the beginning of the term. Presentations should focus on critical questions and integrative points linking the readings, not on descriptive summaries of texts. Responsibility for presentations rests with students; the instructor must be notified in advance if for any reason you will not be making your presentation on the given materials at a specified class. Given enrolment numbers, there is no guarantee that missed seminar presentations will be rescheduled. All students will be required to make at least one seminar presentation on or before Oct. 29, in order for the instructor to grade at least one significant piece of work before the drop deadline of Nov. 4.

Grading scheme: No tests or exams. Emphasis is placed on extensive reading, weekly seminar participation, and well-developed research, writing and seminar presentation skills. Final mark is based on attendance, participation and major paper.

Class participation	15% (based on quality of in-class engagement)
Presentations	30% (two each @ 15%)
First draft paper	20%, due 19 November
Final paper	35%, due 3 December

Essay assignment: Instructions follow this outline. Note strictly enforced late penalty. Essays are organized in sequential order: Students must in all cases submit assignment #1 as a prerequisite

for the completion of assignment #2. Grading regulations are clearly delineated in the Faculty of Arts and Science calendar.

Plagiarism is a serious academic offence and will be dealt with accordingly. For further clarification and information on plagiarism, please see the website of Writing at the University of Toronto: *www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources*

Back up your work: Students are strongly advised to keep rough and draft work, and to make hard copies of their essays before handing them in to the instructor. These should be retained until the marked assignments have been returned and the grades posted on ROSI.

Late penalty for papers: A late penalty of 3 percentage points per day including Saturdays and Sundays will be assessed for both assignments. Only in rare circumstances will a full or partial waiver of the late penalty be considered, and no extensions will be granted in advance of essay assignment deadlines. Papers not submitted in person to the instructor at the beginning of class on the due date must be submitted in person to the Department of Political Science staff in Sidney Smith room 3018 during regular business hours, usually between 9 AM and 5 PM on weekdays only. The instructor assumes no responsibility for papers otherwise submitted. No fax or e-mail essay submissions will be accepted.

Texts: Course readings will be available on the portal site for POL 450F/2316F.

COURSE SCHEDULE
10 September – Introduction to course syllabus, organization of seminar presentations

17 September – Conceptual beginnings
Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Women and War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995, Introduction, chap. 5.

Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989, chap. 5.

J. Anne Tickner, *Gendering World Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001, chap. 2.

Christine Sylvester, *Feminist International Relations: An Unfinished Journey*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, chap. 2.

24 September – Applying an empirical lens
Sylvia Bashevkin, "Numerical and policy representation on the international stage: Women foreign policy elites in Western industrialized systems," PDF manuscript, August 2013.

Carol Cohn and Ruth Jacobson, “Women and Political Activism in the Face of War and Militarization,” in Carol Cohn, ed., *Women and Wars* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2013), chap. 5.

Joshua S. Goldstein, *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, chaps. 1, 2.

Michael T. Koch and Sarah A. Fulton, “In the Defense of Women: Gender, Office Holding, and National Security Policy in Established Democracies,” *Journal of Politics* 73:1 (January 2011), 1-16.

1 October – Women as foreign policy decision-makers

Nancy E. McGlen and Meredith Reid Sarkees, “Foreign Policy Decision Makers: The Impact of Gender,” in Susan J. Carroll, ed., *The Impact of Women in Public Office* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 117-48.

Madeleine Albright with Bill Woodward, *Madam Secretary: A Memoir* (New York: Hyperion, 2003), 273-97.

Jacqui True, "Mainstreaming Gender in Global Public Policy," *International Journal of Feminist Politics* 5:3 (2003), 368-396.

Glenn Kessler, *The Confidante: Condoleezza Rice and the Creation of the Bush Legacy* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2007), 1-19.

8 October – Iraq/Afghanistan case study

Michaele Ferguson, "W Stands for Women: Feminism and Security Rhetoric in the Post-9/11 Bush Administration," *Politics & Gender* 1 (2005), 9-38.

Mary Hawkesworth, “Feminists versus Feminization: Confronting the War Logics of the George W. Bush Administration,” in Michaele L. Ferguson and Lori Jo Marso, eds., *W Stands for Women: How the Bush Presidency Shaped a New Politics of Gender* (Durham: Duke University Presss, 2007), 163-87.

Deniz Kandiyoti, "Between the Hammer and the Anvil: Post-Conflict Reconstruction, Islam, and Women's Rights," *Third World Quarterly* 28:3 (2007), 503-517.

Janie Leatherman, “Gender and U.S. Foreign Policy: Hegemonic Masculinity, the War in Iraq, and the UN-Doing of World Order,” in Sue Tolleson-Rinehart and Jyl. J. Josephson, eds., *Gender and American Politics* (Armonk, NY: Sharpe, 2005), 103-26.

15 October – Post-structural contributions

Nikol Alexander-Floyd,"Framing Condi(licious): Condoleezza Rice and the Storyline of 'Closeness' in U.S. National Community Formation." *Politics and Gender* 4:3 (September 2008), 427-49.

Dorit Naaman, "Brides of Palestine/Angels of Death: Media, Gender, and Performance in the Case of the Palestinian Suicide Bombers," in Karen Alexander and Mary E. Hawkesworth, eds., *War and Terror: Feminist Perspectives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 113-35.

Orna Sasson-Levy, "Constructing Identities at the Margins: Masculinities and Citizenship in the Israeli Army." *Sociological Quarterly* 43:3 (summer 2002), 357-83.

22 October -- Representation theory and its application
Suzanne Dovi, "Theorizing Women's Representation in the United States," *Politics and Gender* 3 (2007): 297-319. Reprinted in Christina Wolbrecht, Karen Beckwith and Lisa Baldez, eds., *Political Women and American Democracy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 148-66.

Jane Mansbridge, "Rethinking Representation," *American Political Science Review* 97: 4 (Nov. 2003), 515-28.

Manon Tremblay, "Do Female MPs Substantively Represent Women? A Study of Legislative Behaviour in Canada's 35th Parliament," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 31:3 (1998), 435-465.

Sylvia Bashevkin, "Party Talk: Assessing the Feminist Rhetoric of Women Leadership Candidates in Canada," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 42:2 (June 2009), 345-62.

29 October **students must make a seminar presentation on this date or before**
Assessing representation in legislative politics
Janet Clark, "Women at the National Level: An Update on Roll Call Voting Behavior," in Sue Thomas and Clyde Wilcox, eds., *Women and Elective Office* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 118-29.

Debra L. Dodson, "Representing Women's Interests in the U.S. House of Representatives," in Sue Thomas and Clyde Wilcox, eds., *Women and Elective Office* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 130-49.

Michele L. Swers, "Transforming the Agenda: Analyzing Gender Differences in Women's Issue Bill Sponsorship," in Cindy Simon Rosenthal, ed., *Women Transforming Congress* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), 260-83.

Beth Reingold, "Women as Officeholders: Linking Descriptive and Substantive Representation," in Christina Wolbrecht, Karen Beckwith and Lisa Baldez, eds., *Political Women and American Democracy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 128-147.

5 November -- Gendering international institutions
Hilary Charlesworth, “Transforming the United Men’s Club: Feminist Futures for the United Nations,” *Transnational Law and Contemporary Problems* 4:2 (Fall 1994), 421-54.

Elisabeth Prugl, "International Institutions and Feminist Politics," *Brown Journal of World Affairs* 10:2 (2004), 69-84.

Sandi E. Cooper. "Peace as a Human Right: The Invasion of Women into the World of High International Politics," *Journal of Women's History* 14: 2 (Summer 2002), 9-25.

Mary Caprioli, "Democracy and Human Rights versus Women's Security: A Contradiction," *Security Dialogue* 35: 4 (2004), 411-428.

12 November **November pause, no class meeting**

19 November **first draft papers due**
Feminist interventions in international politics
Margaret K. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), chap. 5.

Jutta M. Joachim, *Agenda Setting, the UN and NGOs: Gender Violence and Reproductive Rights* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2007), chap. 5.

Myra Marx Ferree, "Globalization and Feminism: Opportunities and Obstacles for Activism in the Global Arena," in Myra Marx Ferree and Aili Mari Tripp, eds., *Global Feminism: Transnational Women's Activism, Organizing and Human Rights* (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 3-23.

Aili Mari Tripp, "The Evolution of Transnational Feminism: Consensus, Conflicts, and New Dynamics," in Myra Marx Ferree and Aili Mari Tripp, eds., *Global Feminism: Transnational Women's Activism, Organizing and Human Rights* (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 51-78.

26 November -- Drawing conclusions
Aili Mari Tripp, "Challenges in Transnational Feminist Mobilization,” in Myra Marx Ferree and Aili Mari Tripp, eds., *Global Feminism: Transnational Women's Activism, Organizing and Human Rights* (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 275-95.

Anuradha M. Chenoy. "Gender and International Politics: The Intersections of Patriarchy and Militarisation," *Indian Journal of Gender Studies* 11: 1 (2004), 27-42.

Hagar Kotef, "Baking at the Front Line, Sleeping with the Enemy: Reflections on Gender and Women's Peace Activism in Israel," *Politics and Gender* 7: 4 (December 2011), 551-72.

3 December **final papers due**
Presentation of student research papers

Course Assignment Information

1. First draft paper, due 19 November
Suggested length is 1000 to 1500 words in total (4 to 6 typed, double-spaced pages)
In light of course readings, develop the core of an original piece of empirical research that evaluates either (a) the willingness and ability of female leaders to use force in international politics; (b) self-constructions of gender identity by women foreign policy leaders; or (c) linkages between women elites and feminist activism at the global level. For example, if you select theme (c), you may choose to focus on one individual's track record with respect to a given substantive policy area (for example, reproductive politics or rape as a weapon of war) or on her interventions with respect to the conduct of international organizations (for example, reform of the UN). In light of course readings, what conceptual frameworks best explain your results? What consequences do your findings hold for the study of women elites?

2. Research paper, due 3 December
Suggested length is 2500-3000 words in total (10 to 12 typed, double-spaced pages)
In light of comments received on your first draft paper, flesh out the main lines of your argument, refine your empirical data and discussion, and draw some key conclusions that are relevant to women elites. Be sure to use course readings to help guide your own writing, argumentation and research toward a level of publishable quality.