

**UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO**  
**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE**  
**POL 450/2316H WOMEN AND POLITICS, FALL 2015**

Instructor: Professor S. Bashevkin  
Office: Room E102, University College  
Telephone: 416 978-3289  
E-mail: sbashev@chass.utoronto.ca  
Office hours: Tuesdays 1 to 2 pm or by appointment

Themes: This course offers a seminar-based evaluation of women as foreign policy decision-makers in Western industrialized systems, notably with reference to (a) the use of force by female leaders in international politics; and (b) 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 a 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 and participation in the classroom as well as frequent one-on-one meetings with the course instructor are essential in order to fulfill the course requirements. No make-up seminars will be organized for students who miss class. Online communications alternatives will not be provided for seminar presentations or for seminar participation. Students are expected to present two seminars during fall term and to submit one draft and one final paper.

Seminar presentation schedule will be organized at the beginning of the term. Students are urged to prepare written comments on weekly readings as a basis for discussion, including when they are not scheduled to make a formal presentation. *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 at least three hours before the start of class 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 Nov. 2, in order for the instructor to grade at least one significant piece of work before the drop deadline of Nov. 8.

Grading scheme: No tests or exams. Emphasis is placed on insightful reading, weekly seminar participation, and well-developed research, writing and seminar presentation skills. Final mark is calculated as follows:

Class participation	15% (based on quality of in-class engagement, not attendance)
Presentations	30% (two each @ 15%)
First draft paper	20%, due 16 November
Final paper	35%, due 14 December

Essay assignment: Instructions follow this outline. Students are strongly urged to consult with the course instructor well in advance of the first draft essay deadline in order to select an appropriate topic and research strategy for the assignment. First draft essays should be submitted in person to the instructor at the beginning of class on the due date. Draft 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 receptionist in Sidney Smith room 3018. Final essays should be handed in to the Department of Political Science receptionist 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. 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](http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources)

Back up your work: Students are strongly advised to keep electronic versions of all 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.

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

## **COURSE SCHEDULE**

### **14 September – No class meeting**

### **21 September – Introduction to course syllabus, organization of seminar presentations**

### **28 September – Conceptual beginnings**

Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Women and War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995, 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.

### **5 October – Applying an empirical lens**

Sylvia Bashevkin, “Numerical and policy representation on the international stage: Women foreign policy leaders in Western industrialised systems,” *International Political Science Review* 35:4 (September 2014), 409-29.

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, chap. 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.

### **12 October – Thanksgiving holiday, no class meeting**

### **19 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.

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.

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

### **26 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 Press, 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.

## **2 November – Representation theory and its application**

**\*\*students must offer a seminar presentation on this date or before\*\***

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.

Karen Celis and Sarah Childs. 2012. "The Substantive Representation of Women: What to Do with Conservative Claims?" *Political Studies* 60: 213-225.

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

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.

## **9 November \*\*November pause, no class meeting\*\***

### **16 November -- Gendering international institutions \*\*first draft papers due\*\***

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.

### **23 November – Feminist interventions in international politics**

Karen Garner, "Global Gender Policy in the 1990s: Incorporating the 'Vital Voices' of Women," *Journal of Women's Studies* 24:4 (Winter 2012), 121-48.

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.

Jennifer Lawless, "Women, War and Winning Elections: Gender Stereotyping in the Post-September 11<sup>th</sup> Era," *Political Research Quarterly* 57:3 (September 2004), 479-90.

### **30 November – Drawing conclusions & overviews of student research papers**

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), 296-312.

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.

**14 December \*\*final papers due\*\***

## **Course Assignment Information**

### **1. First draft paper, due 16 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 use of force by female leaders in Western industrialized systems in international politics; or (b) linkages between women elites in Western industrialized systems and feminist activism at the global level. For example, if you select theme (b), you may choose to focus on one individual's track record with respect to a given substantive policy area, such as reproductive politics or rape as a weapon of war. 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 14 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.