

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO  
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE  
POL 450/2316H WOMEN AND POLITICS, FALL 2018

Instructor: Professor S. Bashevkin

Office: Room E102, University College

Telephone: 416 978-3289

E-mail: sbashevkin@chass.utoronto.ca (please allow one full day for response time during the week during the academic term)

Class meets: Wednesdays 2 to 4 pm

Office hours: Mondays 1:15 to 2:15 pm or by appointment

Themes: This course offers a seminar-based evaluation of **women as foreign policy decision-makers in Western industrialized systems with established liberal democratic norms**, notably with reference to (a) linkages between women elites and feminist activism at the global level and (b) the use of force by female leaders in international politics. The course is designed to stimulate the preparation of high-quality student research papers about decision-makers in the US, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Japan or countries of Western Europe. 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 the 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 pressures for seminar courses, there is no guarantee that missed presentations will be rescheduled. All students will be required to make at least one

seminar presentation on or before Oct. 31, in order for the instructor to grade at least one significant piece of work before the drop deadline of Nov. 5.

Grading scheme: No tests or exams. Emphasis is placed on insightful reading that is communicated clearly via weekly seminar participation as well as strong 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 14 November
Final paper	35%, due 12 December

Late penalty for written work: A late penalty of 3 percentage points per day including Saturdays and Sundays will be assessed for both the first draft and final paper assignments. Only in rare circumstances will a full or partial waiver of the late penalty be considered, and waivers will only be considered on the basis of documentation submitted to Accessibility Services or your college registrar. 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 staff in Sidney Smith room 3018 during regular business hours, usually between 9 AM and 5 PM on weekdays only. Final papers must be submitted to Sidney Smith room 3018. There is a drop-off box for students who arrive after 5 PM, and papers will be date stamped the next business day. The instructor assumes no responsibility for papers otherwise submitted. No fax, e-mail or portal-based submissions of written work will be accepted.

Re-marking practices are consistent with standard policies of the Department of Political Science.

Essay assignment: Instructions follow this outline. Students are strongly urged to consult with the course instructor well in advance of the draft essay deadline in order to select an appropriate topic and research strategy for the assignment. Note strictly enforced late penalty. Essays are organized in sequential order: Students must in all cases submit assignment #1 (draft paper) as a prerequisite for the completion of assignment #2 (final paper). Grading regulations are clearly delineated in the Faculty of Arts and Science calendar.

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 ACORN.

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)

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

## **COURSE SCHEDULE**

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

**19 September – No class meeting**

**26 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.

**3 October – Applying an empirical lens**

Sylvia Bashevkin, "Gender," in Michael Cox and Doug Stokes, eds., *US Foreign Policy*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018, 322-33, 436-38.

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.

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.

Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training. 2015. "A More Representative Foreign Service." *U.S. Diplomacy: An Online Exploration of Diplomatic History and Foreign Affairs*. <http://www.usdiplomacy.org/history/service/representative.php>

### **10 October – Women as foreign policy decision-makers**

Sylvia Bashevkin, "Chapter 1, Introduction" to Bashevkin, *Women as Foreign Policy Leaders: National Security and Gender Politics in Superpower America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1-30.

Glenda Sluga, "Women, Diplomacy and International Politics, before and after the Congress of Vienna." In *Women, Diplomacy and International Politics since 1500*, ed. Glenda Sluga and Carolyn James, 120–136. London: Routledge, 2016.

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.

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.

### **17 October – Leaders in the United States**

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

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

Valerie M. Hudson and Patricia Leidl, *The Hillary Doctrine: Sex & American Foreign Policy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), chap. 5.

Kim Ghattas, *The Secretary: A Journey with Hillary Clinton from Beirut to the Heart of American Power* (New York: Henry Holt, 2013), 247-73.

Jeffrey Goldberg, "The Obama Doctrine," *The Atlantic*, April 2016, available at <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2016/04/the-obama-doctrine/471525/>

### **24 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.

### **31 October – Representation theory and its application**

**\*\*all 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.

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

### **14 November – Gendering international institutions \*\*first draft papers due\*\***

Thania Paffenholz, "Women in Peace Negotiations." In *Gendering Diplomacy and International Negotiation*, ed. Karin Aggestam and Ann E. Towns., 161-192. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.

Elisabeth Prügl, "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.

### **21 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.

### **28 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.

**5 December – no class meeting**

**12 December \*\*final papers due\*\***

## Essay Assignment Information

### **1. First draft paper, due 14 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 one or possibly two women decision-makers in the US, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Japan or a country located in Western Europe. Evaluate either (a) approaches to international conflict and the use of force by one or possibly two female leaders in Western industrialized systems; or (b) linkages between women elites in Western industrialized systems and feminist activism at the global level. If you select theme (a), be sure to embed your study in the context of debates over gender and international leadership that are addressed in course readings. If you select theme (b), focus on one or possibly two track records with respect to a well-defined substantive policy area such as reproductive politics in the global South, the use of rape as a weapon of war, efforts to include women in peace negotiations and settlements, feminist demands for the reform of international institutions, or foreign aid directed toward women and girls in the global South – again relying on course readings as a starting point. What conceptual framework best explains your results? What consequences do your findings hold for the study of women elites?

### **2. Research paper, due 12 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, clarify 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.