

**Political Science 2024/432:
Feminist Theory: Challenges to Legal and Political Thought**
Fall 2019
Thursdays 10-12, Sidney Smith 1078

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Office Hours: Sidney Smith 3118
Time: Thursdays 1-3

Course Description

Feminist political thought challenges the core concepts of political theory, but its history is intertwined with the major strains of political thought, including liberal, republican, Marxist and radical traditions. Feminist political thought thus provides an important vantage point from which to think critically about the nature and limitations of key political concepts such as rights, equality, identity, and agency as well as the nature of politics itself. Feminism, however, is not unified nor are its intellectual contributions short-lived. The tradition of feminist political thought continually raises questions with regard to the boundaries, agendas and subjects of exclusionary political ideologies and practices. In turn, it poses these questions to its own identity and power relations. This course will explore the variety of feminisms emerging out of women's struggles for political inclusion as well as more recent feminist theoretical challenges to the category of woman, identity politics, and rights-centered political discourse. Feminist politics and theory will also provide a lens for analyzing political action as it is taken up in grassroots, indigenous, national, and global contexts.

Required Texts

The following books are required for this course and are available at the University Bookstore. Print copies of books will be on reserve in library and/or available in electronic form through the library catalogue. Confirm access in advance of the week the book is assigned if you use the e-book version. Electronic Library Resources (pdfs, e-books, etc) are available through Quercus.

- Mary Wollstonecraft, *The Vindications* (Broadview Press, 1997)
- John Stuart Mill, *The Subjection of Women* (Broadview Press, 2000)
- Joan Scott, *Parité* (University of Chicago Press, 2005)
- Kathi Weeks, *The Problem with Work* (Duke University Press, 2011)
- Audra Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus* (Duke University Press, 2014)
- Manuela Picq, *Vernacular Sovereignties* (University of Arizona/UBC Press, 2018)

Course Requirements

This course will run as a research seminar, which requires that students read carefully and take responsibility for class discussion. All students will develop their own topic, complete a final research paper, and actively participate *every week* by listening and contributing to discussion. You will submit five response papers that raise questions for class discussion. You will sign up in advance for the days these papers are due and submit them the day before class. To receive full credit for your response paper, you must attend class that week to share your ideas and questions in discussion. You must keep an electronic copy of all submitted work and copies of drafts of work in progress.

Consider carefully if you will have the time and background to complete this course. Some familiarity with the major texts of political theory is assumed. To be prepared for class discussion, you must read all assigned texts very carefully, take notes, and select passages for discussion. Arrive in class on time and prepared to comment, raise questions and respond to other students. Final papers will be submitted through Turnitin.com, accessed through Quercus (see course policies below for more information).

Response Papers (25%): Five 1-2 page papers (approximately 300-500 words) on some important aspect of the week's assigned reading. The purpose of a response paper is to raise questions for class discussion. Do not summarize the readings. You may ask questions about a single text, or portion of a text, on its own or you may relate some aspect or passage in the text to previous readings or recurring issues in the course. You are encouraged to focus on select topics rather than the readings as a whole. **To receive full credit for your response paper, you must submit it on the day before class by 1:00 electronically to torrey.shanks@utoronto.ca and attend class that week to share your questions.** Response papers will be graded.

Participation (25%) Regular attendance and thoughtful contributions to class discussions are vital to the success of the seminar. Seminar discussion should be student-driven. Therefore, any absence will be keenly felt. You must keep up with the reading and come to class with questions and comments. An 'A' grade assumes, at minimum, that you have consistently played an active role in shaping seminar discussions.

Final Paper – 35%; Proposal – 10%; Presentation – 5%

You will write a research paper that develops an interesting question from the themes of the course readings and discussions. You should expect to conduct additional research on the specific topic of your choosing. You must meet with me to discuss paper topics and additional related readings. You will formalize your topic into a proposal that poses the question, sets out a plan for research, and lists relevant sources you will consult. At the end of the term, you will present your question and findings to other students in the class and respond to their questions and suggestions.

Graduates: 20 page paper; Undergraduates: 12-15 page paper

Deadlines for all students enrolled in the class:

Proposal (approx.. 3 pages including references): Monday, October 28

Paper: Thursday, December 5

Important Dates

September 18: Last day to add course

October 28: Paper Proposals due by email to torrey.shanks@utoronto.ca

November 4: Last day to drop course without academic penalty

November 21 and November 28: Research presentations (schedule TBA)

December 5: Final Paper due; Last day to request late withdrawal at college registrar

January 10: Last day to file a petition regarding term work

Resources for Further Reading

In addition to the recommendations listed below assigned readings, the following titles may be useful as you propose and research your final paper:

- *Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory*, edited by Lisa Disch and Mary Hawkworth (Oxford University Press, 2016). See also Linda Zerilli's essay, "Feminist Theory and the Canon of Political Thought," in the *Oxford Handbook of Political Theory*, edited by John S. Dryzek, Bonnie Honig, and Anne Phillips (Oxford University Press, 2008); *Fifty-one Key Feminist Thinkers*, edited by Lori Marso (Routledge, 2016).
- Classic and groundbreaking work in feminist interpretations of the canon: Susan Okin, *Women in Western Political Thought* (Princeton University Press, 2013 [1979]), Carole Pateman, *The Disorder of Women* (Stanford University Press, 1990), *Feminists Theorize the Political*, edited by Judith Butler and Joan W. Scott (Routledge, 1992).
- Classic and groundbreaking work in women of colour feminism: *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*, edited by Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa (Kitchen Table/Women of Color Press, 1984), *Home Girls: A Black Feminist Anthology*, edited by Barbara Smith (Rutgers University Press, 2000)
- "Re-Reading the Canon" Series from Pennsylvania State University Press (a series of volumes entitled *Feminist Interpretations of...* for canonical figures in philosophy and political theory, contemporary and historical.

Schedule of Readings, Topics, and Assignments

Week 1 (Sept 5): Introduction and Syllabus

Recommended films:

- *She's Beautiful When She's Angry* (2014) (Media Commons, Robarts)
- *Status Quo? The Unfinished Business of Feminism in Canada* (2012):
https://www.nfb.ca/film/status_quo_the_unfinished_business_of_feminism/

I. Feminism and the Subject of Rights

Week 2 (Sept 12): Feminist Beginnings

- Olympe de Gouges, *Declaration of the Rights of Woman and Citizen(ess)* (pdf)
- Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *Declaration of Sentiments* (Seneca Fall Convention):
<https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/mod/senecafalls.asp>
- Sojourner Truth, "Aren't I a Woman?":
<https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/mod/sojtruth-woman.asp>
- Sara Evans, *Tidal Wave*, chs. 1-3 (pdf)
- Joan Scott, "Rereading the History of Feminism," *Only Paradoxes to Offer: French Feminists and the Rights of Man* (pdf)

Recommended:

- *Declaration of the Rights of Man* (1789):
http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/rightsof.asp
- *Declaration of Independence* (1777):
http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/declare.asp
- Evans, *Tidal Wave*, ch. 4**
- Lori Marso ed., *51 Key Feminist Thinkers* (Routledge, 2016)
- Penny Weiss ed., *Feminist Manifestos: A Global Documentary Reader*
- Nancy Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism*

Week 3 (Sept 19): Rights, Reason, and Sex

- Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* in *The Vindications*

Recommended:

- Wendy Gunther-Canada, *Rebel Writer: Mary Wollstonecraft and Enlightenment Politics* (Northern Illinois University Press, 2001)
- Elizabeth Wingrove, "Getting Intimate with Wollstonecraft: In the Republic of Letters," *Political Theory* 33, 3 (June 2005): 344-369
- Mary Wollstonecraft, *Vindication of the Rights of Men*

Week 4 (Sept 26): Universalism and the Politics of Difference

- Joan Scott, *Parité: Sexual Equality and the Crisis of French Universalism*

Recommended:

- Joan Scott, *Only Paradoxes to Offer: French Feminists and the Rights of Man* (Harvard University Press, 1997)
- Joan Scott, *The Politics of the Veil* (Princeton University Press, 2010)

II. The Politics of Work and Home

Week 5 (Oct 3): Feminism's Ideological Divides

- John Stuart Mill, *The Subjection of Women*
- Friedrich Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* (pdf)
- Barbara Taylor, *Eve and the New Jerusalem* (selections)

Week 6 (Oct 10): Feminism Against the State

- Kathy Ferguson, *Emma Goldman: Political Thinking in the Streets*, chs. 1, 3, 6 (pdf)
- Emma Goldman, "Woman Suffrage":
<https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/goldman/works/1911/woman-suffrage.htm>
- Emma Goldman, "The Traffic in Women":
<https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/goldman/works/1910/traffic-women.htm>
- Emma Goldman, "A New Declaration of Independence"
http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/goldman/pdfs/PublishedEssaysandPamphlets_ANewDeclarationofIndependence.pdf
- Silvia Federici, "Wages Against Housework" (pdf)
Recommended:
 - Emma Goldman Papers, UC Berkeley: <http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/Goldman/>
 - Kathy Ferguson, Discourses of Danger: Locating Emma Goldman," *Political Theory* 36, 5 (October 2008): 735-61
 - Lori Marso, "A Feminist Search for Love," *Feminist Interpretations of Emma Goldman***
 - Don Herzog, "Romantic Anarchism and Pedestrian Liberalism" *Political Theory* 35, 3 (313-333); Response from Marso (Feb 2008)

Week 7 (Oct 17): Imagining the End of Work

- Kathi Weeks, *The Problem with Work*
Recommended:
 - New York Wages for Housework (1975) in *Feminist Manifestos*
 - Heidi Hartmann, "The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: Toward a More Progressive Union,"

III. Identity and Scale in Feminist Politics: Grassroots, Indigenous, National, Global

Week 8 (Oct 24): 'Seventies Feminism' or Feminisms of the Seventies?

- National Organization for Women State of Purpose (1966)
<http://now.org/about/history/statement-of-purpose/>
- National Action Committee Herstory
http://web.archive.org/web/20070820010546/http://www.nac-ca.ca/about/his_e.htm
- Shulamith Firestone, *The Dialectic of Sex* (pdf)
The following are available at <https://www.cwluherstory.org/classic-feminist-writings/>

- The Women’s Collective, “Consciousness-Raising”
 - Redstockings Manifesto (1969)
 - Radicalesbians, “The Woman Identified Woman” (1970)
 - Frances Beale, “Double Jeopardy: To Be Black and Female” (1969)
- Recommended:
- From *Feminist Manifestos*:
 - Manifesto of Rivolte Femminile (1970)
 - Young Lords Party Position Paper on Women (1970)
 - Women of *La Raza* Unite! (1971)
 - Chicago Women’s Liberation Union Statement of Purpose (1972)
 - Radicalqueens (1973)
 - Kristen Swinth, *Feminism’s Forgotten Fight: The Unfinished Struggle for Work and Family* (Harvard University Press, 2018)
 - Nancy Fraser, “Feminism’s Two Legacies: A Tale of Ambivalence,” *South Atlantic Quarterly* 114:4 (October 2015): 699-712

Monday, October 28: Research Proposals due by noon by email: torrey.shanks@utoronto.ca

Week 9 (Oct 31): Feminist Identities: Intersections and Contentions

- Combahee River Collective: A Black Feminist Statement (pdf)
- Dorothy Roberts, *Killing the Black Body: Race, Reproduction and the Meaning of Liberty* (pdf)
- Gloria Anzaldúa, “La Conciencia de La Mestiza: Towards a New Consciousness,” *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (Aunt Lute Books, 1987), pp. 77- 91, 96-98
- Monique Wittig, “One is Not Born a Woman,” *The Straight Mind and Other Essays* (pdf)

Recommended:

- Statement of Purpose, National Black Feminist Organization (1973)
- Kimberlé Crenshaw, “Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color,” *Stanford Law Review* 43, 6 (July 1991): 1241-1299.
- Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor, *How We Get Free: Black Feminism and the Combahee River Collective* (Haymarket Books, 2017)
- Patricia Williams, *The Alchemy of Race and Rights* (Harvard University Press, 1991)
- Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought* (Routledge 2008 [1990])
- Sandra Harding, “The Instability of the Analytic Categories of Feminist Theory,” *Signs* 11, 4 (Summer 1986): 645-664.
- Susan Hekman, “Truth and Method: Feminist Standpoint Theory Revisited” *Signs* 22, 2 (Winter 1997): 341-365
- Cheshire Calhoun, *Feminism, the Family, and the Politics of the Closet* (Oxford University Press, 2000)
- Himani Bannerji, *The Dark Side of the Nation: Essays on Multiculturalism, Nationalism, and Gender* (Canadian Scholars’ Press, 2000)

November 7: No class, Reading Week

Week 10 (Nov 14): Indigenous Feminisms I: Refusal and Negotiation

- Audra Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus*

Recommended:

- *South Atlantic Quarterly* 114:4 (October 2015): Special issue: Idle No More
- Cherokee Women's Councils, Petitions to the Cherokee National Council (1817, 1818, and 1821) in *Feminist Manifestos*

Week 11 (Nov 21): Indigenous Feminisms II: Glocalist Politics

- Manuela Lavinias Picq, *Vernacular Sovereignties* (University of Arizona Press, 2018), selections
- **Presentations**

Week 12 (Nov 28): Presentations

Thursday, December 5: Research Paper due electronically to torrey.shanks@utoronto.ca

Course Policies

Quercus: Quercus will be used for course announcements, readings and other materials. Check it at least once a week for new information or announcements.

Accessibility:

The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility. If you require accommodation or have any accessibility concerns, visit <http://www.studentlife.utoronto.ca/as> as soon as possible.

Academic Integrity and Turnitin.com

“Plagiarism is a serious academic offence and will be dealt with accordingly. For further clarification and information on plagiarism please see Writing at the University of Toronto <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources>”. More information about plagiarism can be found at <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources/how-not-to-plagiarize>.

“Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University’s use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com web site.”

Video, Audio, or Photo Recording of Lectures

No recording, using video, audio, or photography of lecture or tutorials is allowed without consent of the professor and, in the case of tutorials, the teaching assistants. Note-takers for POLB72 working in conjunction with the accessibility services should notify the professor of their role and any recording needs in advance.

Disruptive Behavior

No student may engage in conduct that disrupts or impedes the ability of the instructors to teach and/or students to learn. This includes, but is not limited to making loud or distracting noise, visually distracting students or instructors, repeatedly leaving and entering the classroom, persisting in speaking without being recognized, or resorting to physical threats or personal insults.

Late or Missed Assignments

Late response papers will not be accepted. Presentations cannot be rescheduled. Late final papers will be penalized 5% for every day (24 hours) after the deadline they are received; no papers will be accepted more than one week late. If there are extenuating circumstances such as illness, death of a close family member, or other unforeseeable emergency, backed up by documented evidence, speak with me as soon as possible about alternative arrangements regarding deadlines and assignments. You may also need to consult these resources: www.illnessverification.utoronto.ca