<u>INTL4780H: Special Topics in Comparative Politics (Honors) – Women & World Politics</u>

University of Georgia – Fall 2018 TuTh 11am-12:15pm, Candler 214

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Office Hours: Weds 2:30-4:30pm & Ths 9:30-10:30am by appointment



Course Overview:

The purpose of this course is to examine the agency of women in shaping world politics, and the influence of international relations on the lives of women around the world. In the first half we will focus on women's representation and elected leadership. We will look in-depth at the reasons why women have historically been excluded from politics, as well as the structural challenges and institutional changes that have been made to increase women's representation. We will then move beyond elected office to consider women's participation in politics through social movements. We will examine how international norms regarding gender equality have been enshrined in the operations of international organizations and what effects these norms have had on women's rights and political participation in various contexts.

A significant portion of your grade in this course will be based on completion of an original research project. While I will help guide you through the theoretical development and empirical analysis, this project will require extensive research beyond class readings. The purpose of this project is to: (1) improve your research, critical thinking, and writing skills; (2) allow you to develop a base of knowledge regarding a subject of interest related to international affairs that you may be able to continue to work on in future courses; (3) provide you with substantial research experience that may be of use in applying to post-graduate programs.

Two notes on what this course is *not*: While we will regularly draw upon feminist theories of international relations this is not a course on gender and IR or feminist international relations. The focus of our inquiry will be examining *women's presence* in world politics. Second, this will not be a survey course. There is always a choice to be made between breadth and depth in constructing a course; in this course we will delve deeply into two main issues with respect to women – participation in political institutions and women's rights. There are many other issues that could be considered under the umbrella of women and world politics, including the vast literature on women and/in development, conflict/security, global public health, immigration, labor, multinational corporations, social movements, and human rights (to name a few). I encourage you to pursue research for your final paper on an issue related to women and world politics that most interests you and to come see me for resource suggestions.

Course Requirements:

- Readings: You are expected to complete the readings listed on the syllabus <u>prior</u> to coming to class. Failure to do so will be evident in your lack of participation during class discussions. Occasionally an article relevant to the topic we are covering will be published and I will assign it on short notice. In that case I will post the article to the "ANNOUCMENTS" section of the class ELC page. **PLEASE REGISTER FOR ANNOUCMENT NOTIFICATIONS**
- I may administer reading quizzes as part of your participation grade if it becomes apparent that students are not completing the readings.

There are 2 **required** texts:

Jenny Nordberg. 2015. The Underground Girls of Kabul: In Search of a Hidden Resistance in Afghanistan. Broadway Books. ISBN: 978-0307952509

Cynthia Enloe. 2014. *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. Second Edition. University of California Press.

ISBN: 978-0-520-27999-5

- **All other readings can be found on ELC, unless otherwise noted.
- **You are also required to keep up with current events see below**
 - Grading:

Midterm Essay - 20%

3 Short reflections – 15%

Participation – 15%

Leading Discussion – 5%

Final Paper – 45% (Proposal and Annotated Bib. 5%, Outline 3%, First Draft 5%, Peer Responses 2%, Presentation 5%, Final Paper 25%)

Letter grades correspond to the following 0-100 scale:

94-100) A	74-76	C
90-93	A-	70-73	C-
87-89	B+	67-69	D+
84-86	В	64-66	D
80-83	B-	60-63	D-
77-79	C+	00-59	F

- Written Assignments: All assignments are to be typed and handed in at the START of class on the due date (unless otherwise noted). Late assignments will be penalized 1% of your overall grade for each day late. All written assignments should meet the following formatting requirements: 12-point font, double spaced, 1" margins, and page number in bottom right hand corner.
- **Essay:** Each student will submit a midterm essay (3 full page MAX following the formatting guidelines above). The purpose of this essay is to develop a dialogue among the authors that allows you to analyze and critique some aspect of the literature. Do not summarize your reader is familiar with the readings. You are free to choose the focus of

- your essay but it **must draw upon at least 3 class readings, not including newspaper articles, blogs, or video/audio clips**. You may include additional sources beyond the readings on the syllabus. All essays should include a separate bibliography page.
- **Short Reflections:** Each student will upload 3 short (250-350 word) reflections to the relevant ELC discussion forum. Each reflection assignment's grade will be based on content (did you follow instructions?) and quality of the writing.
 - o #1 Media Coverage of Female Candidates: Find a newspaper article or broadcast addressing a female candidate (I encourage you to look for races and candidates outside the US). Write a reflection that considers the reporting in light of the readings on media coverage of female candidates. Be sure to include a link to the article in your reflection.
 - #2 Women and Social Media: Reflect on the role of social media as a forum for women's political participation by finding a hashtag, twitter account, a Facebook page, or a blog that is relevant to women and world politics. Look through some recent posts/tweets. Write a reflection which addresses how your finding fits into our understanding of (global) women's political participations/rights.
 - o #3 You have been tapped by President Trump to advise his administration on adopting a "feminist" foreign policy. Pick one policy change that you would present to him. Explain the current policy of the U.S. (you'll have to do research for this), the change you're advocating for, and why this constitutes a pivot toward a feminist foreign policy.
- **Leading Discussion:** Each student will be responsible for leading the discussion of one reading during the semester. Assigned readings and guidelines will be given during the third week of classes.
- Final Papers: each student will write a research paper that investigates an issue related to women and world politics. You are not limited to topics covered in class. Each paper should begin with a question or puzzle, followed by a literature review, a theory to answer the question (includes your thesis or primary hypothesis), and in most cases an empirical analysis of the question involving one to two case studies. Papers should be 20-23 pages in length, meet the formatting requirements described above, and contain at least 15 academic sources (of which, at least 10 not from the syllabus). All students are strongly encouraged to see me during office hours to discuss their project, especially before submitting your initial proposal. Please be aware of the following deadlines and their related contribution to your final paper grade:
 - o 9/22 **Topic Proposal & Annotated Bibliography** (5%): 1-2 paragraphs describing your primary question, why this question is important/relevant, your primary hypothesis and supporting arguments, and likely case selection. The bibliography must include **at least 6 academic sources beyond class readings** with 2-3 sentences below each citation explaining how/why it is relevant to your paper. Upload to ELC.
 - o 10/13 **Revised Proposal and Outline** (3%): Revised proposal at top followed by a detailed outline of final paper, minimum 4 pages, demonstrating structure, organization, specific arguments, and quotes. Upload to ELC.
 - o 11/21 **First Draft of Paper** (5%): Draft of approximately 2/3 of paper (12-14 pages) with outline of remaining parts. Uploaded to ELC as a word doc.

- o 11/26 2 **Peer responses** (2%): 1 page response to each of the two drafts of your colleagues that you are responsible for reading. Uploaded to ELC.
- o 11/29 **Presentations** (5%): 5-6 minute presentation of your research project.
- o 12/11 **Final Paper** (25%): due by noon
- Participation: This course will be run as a seminar and will require a great deal of discussion and active listening. <u>Simply showing up to class does not constitute</u> <u>participation</u>. Your participation grade will be evaluated based on your <u>ability to draw upon insights from the readings</u>, the <u>depth of the thoughtfulness</u> of your questions/comments, and your <u>activeness</u> in class, on discussion boards, and/or on twitter using #WomenWP
 - o The nature of the topics we will discuss may often be contentious. Everyone is expected to be respectful of others' perspectives and experiences.
 - O Some topics may be emotionally challenging. Please know that you are always free to step outside the classroom if you need a break (please be sure to get the notes you missed from our discussion).
- **Attendance:** I will take attendance every class and I expect you to be present. You are allowed **two** absences without penalty. You can use these as you like (e.g. illness, sports travel, interviews, sleep, conferences). Each absence beyond these two will result in a **1-point deduction from your final overall average**.

Other important information:

• Current Events: Students are required to stay up to date on world politics. I suggest that you browse the world news sections of the *New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, The Guardian* (UK), or the *Washington Post* on a regular basis. You can subscribe to various daily world news briefs and have them emailed to you (e.g. FP, CFR, The Economist). CFR has a monthly bulletin on Women & Foreign Policy. It will be clear from your (lack of) participation in our discussions whether you are keeping up with world politics and this will be factored into your participation grade.

• Technology:

- o **Laptops** are <u>not</u> welcome in class, unless I instruct you to bring one. Should you need to use a laptop please provide proper documentation from UGA's DRC.
- o All **phones**, etc. should be **shut off** or set to **silent** NOT VIBRATE before arriving to class. The use or interruption of these devices during regular class time will result in a **reduction of your participation grade**.
- Communication and Email: I will keep you updated about the course and any changes to the syllabus through the "ANNOUCEMENTS" board on the class ELC page PLEASE REGISTER FOR NOTIFICATIONS!
 - O When emailing me please use your UGA email account and include your course number in the subject line. In most cases I will respond to emails within 24 hours. Importantly, before you email me **please check the syllabus** and the **news page** of the ELC site to be sure that your question has not been previously addressed.
 - o *A note on etiquette*: please use appropriate **salutations**, including my name in the opening and your name in the closing. (Hint: you can't go wrong with "Hi Professor Gallagher"). For further guidance see http://www.wikihow.com/Emaila-Professor.

- Office Hours I will be available to meet with students during the office hours listed above, however the only way to guarantee that we will have time to meet is for you to sign up for an appointment using the following link (also posted to the ELC page): https://docs.google.com/document/d/11V8ETwJbmKJ8ah9eIUtH0YRyf0B7wFSLWYWUS3i4GTc/edit).
- Academic Dishonesty As a University of Georgia student, you have agreed to abide by the University's academic honesty policy, "A Culture of Honesty," and the Student Honor Code. All academic work must meet the standards described in "A Culture of Honesty" found at: http://www.uga.edu/honesty. Lack of knowledge of the academic honesty policy is not a reasonable explanation for a violation. Any student caught cheating or plagiarizing will be referred to Judicial Affairs, as required by university policy. The most common issue of academic dishonesty I have come across is plagiarism. To be clear, plagiarism is copying from any source material (direct or paraphrasing of ideas), published or unpublished (this includes wikipedia!), without giving proper credit. I will post a link to the Chicago Manual of Style citation format on ELC.
- Students with Disabilities: UGA is committed to providing equal access to academic programs and university-administered activities and reasonable modifications to students with disabilities. Students in need of special accommodations need to request such services from the Disability Resource Center located at 114 Clark Howell Hall (for more information visit www.drc.uga.edu) and should make an appointment to see me with their appropriate paperwork from DRC within the **first two weeks** of classes.
- UGA's code of conduct protects student privacy and intellectual property and thus prohibits recording and digital release of classroom lectures and conversations unless a student has an accommodation from the DRC. If this is your situation, please let me know and we will devise an accommodation that protects your right to privacy, that of your classmates, and everyone's intellectual property.
- This syllabus is subject to changes throughout the semester.

Class and Reading Schedule

WEEK 1: Women & Power

Tues., August 14 (class 1) – Introduction

• Read syllabus

Thurs., August 16 (class 2) – Why Study Women in World Politics? Where are the Women?

- Paxton and Hughes Ch. 1 p. 1-30
- Valerie Hudson. 2012. "What Sex Means for World Peace." Foreign Policy.
- Valerie Hudson and Andrea Den Boer. 2015. "When a Boy's Life is Worth More Than His Sister's." *Foreign Policy*.
- Enloe *BBB* Preface to 2nd Edition p. xiii-xvii & Chapter 1
- Laura Sjoberg "'Mansplaining' International Politics" Available at: http://relationsinternational.com/mansplaining-international-relations-walt/

WEEK 2: Women's Representation

Tues., August 21 (class 3) - Overview of women's representation worldwide & Women's Executive Leadership

- Kelly Dittmar. A Different Measure of Success for Women Running in 2018. Gender Watch 2018. Available: https://www.genderwatch2018.org/success/
- Gwynn Thomas and Melinda Adams. 2010. Breaking the Final Glass Ceiling: The Influence of Gender in the Elections of Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf and Michelle Bachelet. *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy*. 105-131
- Scroll through entire data viz on US and UK, paying attention to differences in speeches. https://pudding.cool/2018/07/women-in-congress/

Thurs., August 23 (class 4) – Substantive Representation vs. Descriptive Representation

• Franceschet and Piscopo. 2008. Gender Quotas and Women's Substantive Representation: Lessons from Argentina. *Politics & Gender*.

Suggested:

• Childs, Sarah and Mona Lena Krook. 2009. "Analyzing Women's Substantive Representation: From Critical Mass to Critical Actors." Government and Opposition 44 (2): 125-145.

WEEK 3: Influences on Women's Representation

Tues., August 28 (class 5) - Do Quotas Work?

- Bauer and Burnet. 2013. Gender Quotas, democracy, and Women's Representation in Africa: Some insights from democratic Botswana and autocratic Rwanda. *Women's International Forum*. 103-112.
- Magda Hinojoasa and Jennifer Piscopo. 2018. "Women Won Big in Mexico's Election
 Taking Nearly Half the Legislature's Seats. Here's Why." Monkey Cage WaPo.
 Available: <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/07/11/women-won-big-in-mexicos-elections-taking-nearly-half-the-legislatures-seats-heres-why/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.8255a0bd6182&wpisrc=nl_cage&wpmm=1

Suggested:

• Bush, Sarah Sunn, and Eleanor Gao. "Small Tribes, Big Gains: The Strategic Uses of Gender Quotas in the Middle East." *Comparative Politics*.

Thurs., August 30 (class 6) – Library Resources Visit with Elizabeth White

• No Reading (but start thinking about your final paper)

WEEK 4: International Influences on Women's Representation

Tues., September 4 (class 6) - International Influences on Women's Representation

- Neil Englehart and Melissa Miller. 2014. The CEDAW Effect: International Law's Impact on Women's Rights. *Journal of Human Rights*.
- Krook and True. 2010. Rethinking the life cycles of international norms: The United Nations and Global Promotion of Gender Equality. *European Journal of International Relations*. 103-127
- UNSCR 1325 **BRING COPY TO CLASS**: http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1325(2000

Thurs., September 6 (class 7) – Surrogate Representation

- Sara Angevine. 2016. Representing All Women: An Analysis of Congress, Foreign Policy, and the Boundaries of Women's Surrogate Representation. *Political Research Quarterly*. 1-13
- "USAID Announces Aid Program for Afghan Women." *WaPo*. Available at: https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/usaid-announces-aid-program-for-afghan-women/2013/07/18/ecb715f2-efd4-11e2-9008-61e94a7ea20d_story.html

WEEK 5: Behavior of Women in Office

Tues., September 11 (class 8) – Does "Difference" Make a Difference?

- Paxtong & Hughes Ch. 8 "Do Women Make a Difference?"
- Sarah Kliff. 2016. "The Research is Clear: Electing More Women Changes How Government Works." Vox. Available at: http://www.vox.com/2016/7/27/12266378/electing-women-congress-hillary-clinton

Thurs., September 13 (class 9) – Discussing the Final Paper

• TBD

WEEK 6: Women & The Media

**Short Reflection 1 Uploaded to ELC by 9am Tues. 9/18

Tues., September 18 (class 10) – Challenging Media portrayals of female candidates

- Carlin and Winfrey. 2009. Have You Come a Long Way, Baby? Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, and Sexism in the 2008 Campaign Coverage. *Communication Studies*.
- Celina Van Dembroucke. 2014. Exploring media representations of Argentina's president Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner. *Feminist Media Studies*

Thurs., September 20 (class 11) – Expertise & Intersectionality

- Sarah Allen Gershon. 2012. Media Coverage of Minority Congresswomen and Voter Evaluations: Evidence from and Online Experimental Study. *Political Research Quarterly*.
- Gail Baitinger. 2015. Meet the Press or Meet the Men? Examining Women's Presence in American News Media. *Political Research Quarterly*.

**Final Paper Proposal and Annotated Bibliography uploaded to ELC by 11pm Sat., 9/22

WEEK 7 – Increasing Women's Presence and Voice in Politics

Tues., September 25 (class 12) – Closing the Ambition Gap: "Leaning in" vs. "Having it All"

- Lawless and Fox. 2008. Why Are Women Still Not Running for Public Office? *Brookings: Studies in Governance*.
- Sheryl Sandberg. "Why we have too few women leaders." TED Talks. Available at: http://www.ted.com/talks/sheryl_sandberg_why_we_have_too_few_women_leaders
- Anne-Marie Slaughter. 2012. Why Women Still Can't Have it All. *The Atlantic*.
- To Rescue Economy, Japan Turns to Supermom. Jan. 1, 2015. *NYT*. http://www.nytimes.com/2015/01/02/business/international/in-economic-revival-effort-

<u>japan-turns-to-its-women.html?hp&action=click&pgtype=Homepage&module=photo-spot-region®ion=top-news&WT.nav=top-news&_r=0</u>

**Short Reflection 2 Uploaded to ELC by 9am Thurs. 9/27

Thurs., September 27 (class 13)- Social Media and Women's Empowerment

- Radsch and Khamis. 2013. "In their own voice: Technologically mediated empowerment and the transformation among young Arab women." *Feminist Media Studies*.
- Krook & Norris. 2014. Beyond Quotas: Strategies to Promote Gender Equality in Elected Office. *Political Studies*, 2-20.

Week 8: Where are the Women in International Affairs?

Tues., October 2 (class 14) – The Absence of Women in International Affairs

- Carol Cohn. 1987. "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals." Signs.
- Zenko and Wolfe. Sept. 24, 2015. "Leaning from Behind." *Foreign Policy*. Available at: http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/09/24/leaning-from-behind-women-foreign-policy-media/
- Enloe BBB Ch. 5 "Diplomatic and Undiplomatic Wives"
- Hani Zainulbhai. 2016. Few American Women Have Broken the Glass Ceiling of Diplomacy. Pew Research Center. Available: <a href="http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/07/22/few-american-women-have-broken-the-glass-ceiling-of-diplomacy/?utm_campaign=buffer&utm_content=buffer00b7a&utm_medium=social&utm_source=twitter.com

**Short Reflection 3 Uploaded to ELC by 9am, Thurs. 10/4

Thurs., October 4 (class 15) – A Feminist Foreign Policy?

- Speech by Margot Wallstrom, Sweden's Minister of Foreign Affairs. http://www.government.se/speeches/2015/03/speech-by-margot-wallstrom-at-helsinki-university/
- Jenny Nordberg. Who's Afraid of a Feminist Foreign Policy? The New Yorker. April 15, 2015. Available at: http://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/swedens-feminist-foreign-minister

WEEK 9 - How Did We Get Here? The Women's Movement

Tues., October 9 (class 16) - Women's Rights (Part I: She's Beautiful When She's Angry)

- No reading
- **Midterm Essay Due in Class 10/9

Thurs., October 11 (class 17) – The Women's Movement in the U.S. (Part II: *She's Beautiful When She's Angry*)

• Rhoda Howard-Hassmann. 2011. Universal Women's Rights Since 1970: The Centrality of Autonomy and Agency. *Journal of Human Rights*. 433-449.

WEEK 10 - Agency (or Exploitation)?

Tues., October 16 (class 18) - Unraveling the connections between sex work and trafficking

- Brysk. 2011. Sex as Slavery? Understanding Private Wrongs. Human Rights Review.
- Joyce Outshoorn. 2005. The Political Debates on Prostitution and Trafficking of Women. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society*. 141-155.
- "In a Queens Court, Women in Prostitution Cases are Seen As Victims." *NYT*. http://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/23/nyregion/in-a-queens-court-women-arrested-for-prostitution-are-seen-as-victims.html?_r=0
- "Law Helps Those Who Escape Sex Trafficking Erase Their Criminal Record." NYT. http://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/24/nyregion/law-helps-those-who-escape-sex-trafficking-shed-its-stigma-too.html
- Ira Trivedi. 2015. The Lady and the Tramp. *Foreign Affairs*. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/india/2015-08-07/lady-and-tramp *Suggested*:
 - Listen to NPR's *On the Media* interview with the editors of "The \$pread" http://www.onthemedia.org/story/spread/

Thurs., October 18 (class 19) – Women's Voices & Women's Bodies

- Lihi Ben Shitrit. 2013. Women, Freedom and Agency in Religious Political Movements. *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*.
- Enloe, BBB Ch. 8: Scrubbing the Globalized Tub
- Sarah Maslin Nir. May 7, 2015. "The Price of Nice Nails." NYT. Available: https://www.nytimes.com/2015/05/10/nyregion/at-nail-salons-in-nyc-manicurists-are-underpaid-and-unprotected.html

WEEK 11 - Women & Conflict

Tues., October 23 (class 20) – Women Serving in Combat

- "Putting Women in Combat is a Disastrous Decision." Available at: http://www.usnews.com/debate-club/should-women-be-allowed-to-fight-in-combat/putting-women-in-combat-is-a-disastrous-decision
- Dardent and Szekely. 2015. "Warfare Isn't Just a Man's Game Anymore." *WaPo*. Available at: http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2015/02/09/warfare-isnt-just-a-mans-game-anymore/
- Nina Wilen and Lindy Heinecken. 2018. "Women Now Make Up Almost 24 Percent of South Africa's Military. Why Aren't They Treated Equally?" WaPo. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/08/01/women-now-make-up-24-percent-of-south-africas-military-why-arent-they-treated-equally/?utm_term=.6ada4f57ea03

^{**}Withdrawal Deadline - October 17**

- Ellen Haring and Megan MacKenzie. "Exclusive Access to Marine Corps Study Show it Misses the Mark." http://meganhmackenzie.com/2015/10/14/exclusive-access-to-marine-corps-study-shows-it-misses-the-mark/?preview_id=456
- "For 3 Women, Combat Option Came a Bit Late." 1/26/13. NYT. Available at: http://www.nytimes.com/2013/01/27/us/for-3-women-combat-option-came-a-bit-late.html?ref=jamesdao&_r=1

Thurs., October 25 (class 21) - Women as Agents and Subjects of Conflict

- Enloe *BBB* Ch. 4: Base Women
- Michael T. Koch and Sara A. Fulton. 2011. "In the Defense of Women: Gender, Office Holding, and National Security Policy in Established Democracies." *Journal of Politics*.

WEEK 12: Women & Conflict

Tues., October 28 (class 22) – Women and the Peace Process

• Jana Krause, Werner Krause, and Piia Bransfors. 2018. Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and Durability of Peace. International Interactions. P 1-32.

Thurs., October 30 (class 23) – Conflict and Gender Norms

• R. Charli Carpenter. 2003. 'Women and Children First': Gender, Norms, and Humanitarian Evacuation in the Balkans 1991-95. *International Organization*.

WEEKS 13 & 14: The Underground Girls of Kabul

Tues., November 6 (class 24) – The Underground Girls of Kabul (hereafter TUGK)

• Nordberg – pgs. 1-62

Thurs., November 8 (class 25) – TUGK

• Nordberg – pgs. 63-160

Tues., November 13 (class 26) – TUGK

- Nordberg pgs. 163-223
- "US Soldiers Told to Ignore Sexual Abuse of Boys by Afghan Allies." 9/20/15. *NYT* http://www.nytimes.com/2015/09/21/world/asia/us-soldiers-told-to-ignore-afghan-allies-abuse-of-boys.html?_r=0

Thurs., November 15 (class 27) – TUGK

• Nordberg – pgs. 224-311

November 19-23: NO CLASS – THANKSGIVING BREAK

** First Drafts to be uploaded by 11pm, Wed. 11/21

**Peer Reviews to be uploaded by 11pm, Mon. 11/26

Weeks 15

Mon., November 27 (class 28) – Peer-workshop papers

Wed., November 29 (class 29) – Presentations & Wrap Up • Enloe, Conclusion pp. 343-359

**Final Papers Due by Noon, December 11