

## International Relations/Political Science

Academic year 2020-2021

## Gender and International Relations

### RI-SP025 - Printemps - 6 ECTS

Tuesday 10h15 - 12h00

## Course Description

This seminar focuses on feminist theories and gender studies in the disciplines of International Relations and Political Science. Its goal is to present the main feminist IR approaches, as well as to show how they connect with and constitute a critique of mainstream IR. It discusses some major research questions and agendas developed in the field, around three main domains: comparative politics/international governance; international security; comparative/global political economy.

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### > PROFESSOR

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## Syllabus

This seminar focuses on feminist theories and gender studies in the disciplines of International Relations and Political Science. Women- and gender-related issues have become highly salient in international relations since the beginning of the 1990s, but remain contested both in the mainstream and *within* feminist IR. This course's goal is to present the main feminist IR approaches, as well as to show how they connect with and constitute a critique of mainstream scholarships. It then discusses some major research questions and agendas developed in the field, around three main core domains: comparative/international politics (governing gender); international security; comparative/global political economy.

This course is a reading seminar and requires active participation in class. Given the particular pedagogical conditions related to Covid-19 and in order to alleviate some of the difficulties encountered by students, I adapted both the course's organization (readings, synchronous and asynchronous work) and grading. These adaptations aim to reduce the amount of work at the same time as to make collective discussions possible despite the current conditions.

## Evaluation and grading

Students will be evaluated on the basis of different exercises.

### 1° Participation:

- Synchronous participation and involvement in class (if possible)
- Answering the weekly questions and uploading your answers at least twice in the semester. Depending on the sessions, I will provide some questions on the readings (in class or afterwards). While not compulsory, answering these questions on a regular basis is helpful to check what you understood and took away from a session >> only compulsory twice in the semester

Participation is evaluated on the basis of a scale: fail / ok / bonus.

- Fail = means that you failed at sending your answers to the weekly questions twice. It will give you a 0 in participation, which will account for 15% of your final grade (see below)
- Ok = you have sent your answers to the weekly questions twice and you may or may not have participated in class; overall, the quality of the interventions goes from insufficient to average; in that scenario, participation is not counted, so as to not negatively weigh on your final grade
- Bonus = you have sent in your answers twice and you participate in class; overall, your participation is good or excellent; in that scenario, well done, this is counted in your grade.

### 2° Class presentation: 15 min max

Class presentations are a collective exercise. They either address (complement) the session's topic or focus on a connected topic, through the analysis of two readings. Presenters are expected to:

- First introduce the topic(s) of the two texts, how they connect to the session (other texts)
- Analyse each text:
  - o Research question
  - o Main thesis and arguments/steps in the demonstration
  - o Situating the author/approach
  - o Methodology and data
  - o Critical appraisal: pros&cons
- Quick conclusion that binds together your main remarks on the two texts and that presents how these texts question the session's theme

Presenters are not expected to present/discuss the texts read by the whole group ("essential readings") in their presentation but should be familiar with them. The goal is to help foster discussions about both the specifics of the presenters' texts and the texts read by the whole group.

No written material is required for presentations. They can be done online synchronously or pre-recorded. Synchronous online attendance is required nonetheless. If students encounter difficulties attending, they should contact the instructor and teaching assistant prior to the session.

### 3° Debate:

We will engage in a collective discussion (debate) on session #6. Students will prepare their statements and arguments in groups prior to the session. More details given in class.

### 4° Final review paper:

The final paper consists in reviewing and assessing the feminist scholarship on a particular topic. Students are expected to map the literature, identify the various approaches, their differences and commonalities, assess their strengths and shortcomings (theoretical, empirical, methodological and data-related dimensions can be looked at, as much as their meaning and relevance as regards to the "politics" of feminist approaches) and finally, possibly identify alternative research agendas. Students will choose the topic on which they want to write their review paper by March 16. Students are encouraged to choose a topic associated with the session of their class presentation, but it is not compulsory. Review papers should be uploaded on Moodle on a date to be discussed and decided together (between June 2 and June 14). Requirements: between 4000 and 5000 words, bibliography

excluded. The student's name should appear at the top of the first page *and* in the file name. The word count should be included after the title; the text should be 1,5-spaced and justified. The document should be sent in both pdf and MS word format (you can use other (free) softwares but save your document in .docx). It should use footnotes (as opposed to endnotes) and have the bibliography at the end. Papers should conform to one major referencing style (Harvard, Chicago, etc).

#### *Grading:*

Participating in class, while being at the core of such a reading seminar, has become more difficult because of COVID-19. For that reason, I will not sanction anyone who cannot or does not wish to participate in class. However, I also want to promote participation and reward those who can and wish to participate. I therefore built a grading system allowing to do both by adapting to each student's participation:

1. Worst case scenario: You have not sent your answers to the weekly questions twice (fail):
  - o Final paper: 40%
  - o Class presentation: 35%
  - o Debate: 25%
  - o Class participation: 15% = 0>> Here, participation is counted: your final average grade is rounded to the closest 0.25 pt; not respecting this minimal commitment standard is the only scenario when not participating weighs in negatively on your grade
2. Your participation was "ok":
  - o Final paper: 40%
  - o Class presentation: 35%
  - o Debate: 25%
  - o Class participation: 0%>> Here, participation is basically not counted; your final average grade will be rounded to the closest 0.25 pt.
3. You received a bonus for participation:
  - o Final paper: 40%
  - o Class presentation: 35%
  - o Debate: 25%
  - o Class participation: 0% / ++>> Here, participation is rewarded: your final average grade will be rounded up.

>> This way, students are assured that their grades will not be negatively impacted by difficulties to participate. Should any student encounter problems of any kind, they should not hesitate to contact me and/or the TA. I can adapt the requirements depending on individual situations.

*Intellectual dishonesty and plagiarism:* Academic writing is hard and it can sometimes be difficult to draw a line between being inspired by, quoting and plagiarizing an author. But intellectual dishonesty and plagiarizing have serious consequences. Students are encouraged to seek guidance and can find information here: [http://libguides.graduateinstitute.ch/academic\\_writing/plagiarism](http://libguides.graduateinstitute.ch/academic_writing/plagiarism). If I detect plagiarism, I will report it and it will lead to a failing grade for the particular exercise.

## **Sessions' organization and readings**

Attending the seminar requires the student to have thoroughly read the texts in advance. Students are encouraged to participate and get involved in class discussions. I encourage students to read the weekly "essential readings" in the order they are presented in (see syllabus, not moodle). The number of readings per session may be adjusted throughout the semester (if speakers are invited for instance). Another adaptation to diminish the students' workload is to split the readings into two groups: group A (students with family names starting with a

to m, for instance) reads text (A), while group B (students with family names starting with n to z, in this example) reads text (B). I will adjust throughout the semester.

You will find in the general bibliography at the end of this document with some useful readings that can help you get introduced to Feminist and Gender studies in social sciences. For many sessions I also added an introductory reading marked by a \* within the "Further readings": while we will not discuss these texts, they can be helpful for students as an introduction to our sessions.

## Outline

### #1 Introduction. Gender and feminism in International Relations

Presentation of the course.

Recommended readings:

1. Enloe, Cynthia H. 2004. 'Introduction. Being Curious about Our Lack of Feminist Curiosity' & 'Chapter 1. The surprised feminist'. In *The Curious Feminist: Searching for Women in a New Age of Empire*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1–18.

### *Section 1. Feminist theories, concepts and methodologies*

### 2/3 #2 Feminist theories: A gendered critique of IR

Essential readings and material:

As an introduction: Ann Tickner, "What Feminism has done for International Relations":  
[https://youtu.be/B33FkDx4\\_\\_k](https://youtu.be/B33FkDx4__k)

Enloe, Cynthia H. 2014. *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. Second edition. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. (Preface to 1st edition and conclusion)

Cohn, Carol. 1987. 'Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals'. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 12(4):687–718. doi: 10.1086/494362.

Tickner, J. Ann. 2014. *A Feminist Voyage through International Relations*. Oxford University Press. Chapter 1.  
<https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199951246.001.0001>

Further readings:

Fukuyama, Francis. 1998. 'Women and the Evolution of World Politics'. *Foreign Affairs* 77(5):24. doi: 10.2307/20049048.

Keohane, Robert O. 1989. 'International Relations Theory: Contributions of a Feminist Standpoint'. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 18(2):245–53. doi: 10.1177/03058298890180021001.

Steans, Jill. 2003. 'Engaging from the Margins: Feminist Encounters with the "Mainstream" of International Relations'. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 5(3):428–54. doi: 10.1111/1467-856X.00114.

Tickner, J. Ann. 2016. 'Still Engaging from the Margins?' Pp. 5–12 in *Handbook on Gender in World Politics*, edited by J. Steans and D. Tepe. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Tickner, J. Ann. 1999. 'Why Women Can't Run the World: International Politics According to Francis Fukuyama'. *International Studies Review* 1(3):3–11. doi: 10.1111/1521-9488.00162.

Weber, Cynthia. 1994. 'Good Girls, Little Girls, and Bad Girls: Male Paranoia in Robert Keohane's Critique of Feminist International Relations'. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 23(2):337–49. doi: 10.1177/03058298940230021401.

### **9/3 #3 Gender & Feminist IR**

#### Essential readings:

Enloe, Cynthia H. 2014. *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. Second edition. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. Chapter 1. 'Gender Makes the World Go Round: Where are the Women?' pp.1-36.

Butler, Judith. 1990. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge. Pp. 1-34

Connell, R. W., and James W. Messerschmidt. 2005. 'Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept'. *Gender & Society* 19(6):829–59. doi: 10.1177/0891243205278639.

#### Further readings:

Beasley, Chris. 2005. *Gender & Sexuality: Critical Theories, Critical Thinkers*. London; Thousand Oaks, Calif: SAGE.

Butler, Judith. 2004. *Undoing Gender*. New York; London: Routledge.

Carver, Terrell, Molly Cochran, and Judith Squires. 1998. 'Gendering Jones: Feminisms, IRs, Masculinities'. *Review of International Studies* 24(2):283–97. doi: 10.1017/S0260210598002836.

Carver, Terrell. 2016. 'Sex, Gender and Sexuality'. Pp. 58–76 in *Handbook on Gender in World Politics*, edited by J. Steans and D. Tepe. Edward Elgar Publishing (\*)

Jones, Adam. 1998. 'Engendering Debate'. *Review of International Studies* 24(2):299–303.

Sjoberg, Laura. 2012. 'Toward Trans-Gendering International Relations?' *International Political Sociology* 6(4):337–54. doi: 10.1111/ips.12005.

West, Candace, and Don H. Zimmerman. 1987. 'Doing Gender'. *Gender & Society* 1(2):125–51. doi: 10.1177/0891243287001002002.

### **16/3 #4 Looking at gender through its intersections: Queer and Postcolonial Feminist IR**

#### Essential readings:

The Combahee River Collective. 2014. 'A Black Feminist Statement'. *Women's Studies Quarterly* 42(3/4):271–80. (originally published in 1978)

Richter-Montpetit, Melanie. 2018. 'Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Sex (in IR) But Were Afraid to Ask: The "Queer Turn" in International Relations'. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 46(2):220–40. doi: 10.1177/0305829817733131.

Rao, Rahul. 2020. *Out of Time: The Queer Politics of Postcoloniality*. 1st ed. Oxford University Press. Chapters 1&2

#### Presentation:

Bilge, Sirma. 2013. 'Intersectionality Undone: Saving Intersectionality from Feminist Intersectionality Studies'. *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 10(2):405–24. doi: 10.1017/S1742058X13000283.

Davis, K. 2008. 'Intersectionality as Buzzword: A Sociology of Science Perspective on What Makes a Feminist Theory Successful'. *Feminist Theory* 9(1):67–85. doi: 10.1177/1464700108086364.

#### Further readings:

Choo, Hae Yeon, and Myra Marx Ferree. 2010. 'Practicing Intersectionality in Sociological Research: A Critical Analysis of Inclusions, Interactions, and Institutions in the Study of Inequalities'. *Sociological Theory* 28(2):129–49. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9558.2010.01370.x.

- Chowdhry, Geeta, and Sheila Nair. 2004. *Power, Postcolonialism and International Relations: Reading Race, Gender and Class*. Abingdon; New York: Routledge. Introduction\*
- Crenshaw, Kimberlé Williams. 1991. 'Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color'. *Stanford Law Review* 43(6):1241–1300.
- Crenshaw, Kimberlé Williams. 1989. 'Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics'. *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 139–68.
- Mohanty, Chandra. 1988. 'Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses'. *Feminist Review* 30(1):61–88. doi: [10.1057/fr.1988.42](https://doi.org/10.1057/fr.1988.42).
- Richter-Montpetit, Melanie, and Cynthia Weber. 2017. 'Queer International Relations'. in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. Oxford University Press.\*
- Weber, Cynthia. 2016. *Queer International Relations: Sovereignty, Sexuality and the Will to Knowledge*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Weber, Cynthia. 2014. 'From Queer to Queer IR'. *International Studies Review* 16(4):596–601. doi: [10.1111/misr.12160](https://doi.org/10.1111/misr.12160).

### **23/3 #5 Feminist epistemologies and methodologies**

#### Essential readings:

- Tickner, J. Ann. 2005. 'What Is Your Research Program? Some Feminist Answers to International Relations Methodological Questions'. *International Studies Quarterly* 49(1):1–22. doi: 10.1111/j.0020-8833.2005.00332.x.
- SPLIT-READING:* Reiter, Dan. 2015. 'The Positivist Study of Gender and International Relations'. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59(7):1301–26. doi: 10.1177/0022002714560351. (for group A) OR Sjoberg, Laura, Kelly Kadera, and Cameron G. Thies. 2018. 'Reevaluating Gender and IR Scholarship: Moving beyond Reiter's Dichotomies toward Effective Synergies'. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62(4):848–70. doi: 10.1177/0022002716669207. (for group B)
- Jacoby, Tami. 2016. 'From the Trenches: Dilemmas of Feminists IR Fieldwork'. Pp. 153–73 in Ackerly, Brooke A., Maria Stern, and Jacqui True, eds. 2006. *Feminist Methodologies for International Relations*. 1st ed. Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Carpenter, R. Charli. 2002. 'Gender Theory in World Politics: Contributions of a Nonfeminist Standpoint?' edited by J. A. Tickner, F. C. Clark, Caroline O. N. Moser, and J. Goldstein. *International Studies Review* 4(3):153–65. (optional but useful for session 6)

- No presentation: collective discussion -

#### Further readings:

- Ackerly, Brooke A., Maria Stern, and Jacqui True, eds. 2006. *Feminist Methodologies for International Relations*. 1st ed. Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Caprioli, Mary. 2004. 'Feminist IR Theory and Quantitative Methodology: A Critical Analysis'. *International Studies Review* 6(2):253–69. doi: 10.1111/j.1521-9488.2004.00398.x.
- Hansen, Lene. 2010. 'Ontologies, Epistemologies, Methodologies'. Pp. 14–23 in *Gender matters in global politics: a feminist introduction to international relations*, edited by L. J. Shepherd. New York: Routledge. (\*)
- Keohane, Robert O. 1998. 'Beyond Dichotomy: Conversations Between International Relations and Feminist Theory'. *International Studies Quarterly* 42(1):193–97. doi: 10.1111/0020-8833.00076.
- Tickner, J. Ann. 1997. 'You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements Between Feminists and IR Theorists'. *International Studies Quarterly* 41(4):611–32. doi: 10.1111/1468-2478.00060. (also chapter in *Feminist voyage*).

### **30/3 #6 Collective debate in class (more details later)**

**6/4 – no class**

## *Section 2. Governing gender: states and international governance*

### **13/4 #7 Gendered States**

#### Essential readings:

- Evangelista, Matthew. 2011. 'Virginia Woolf's Purse'. Pp. 1–24 in *Gender, nationalism, and war: conflict on the movie screen*. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Enloe, Cynthia H. 2014. *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. Second edition. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. Chapter 3 Nationalism and Masculinity: The Nationalist Story Is Not Over—and It Is Not a Simple Story”.
- Puar, Jasbir K. 2017. *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*. Second edition. Durham: Duke University Press. Introduction

#### Presentation:

- Aggestam, Karin, and Annika Bergman Rosamond. 2019. 'Re-Politicising the Gender-Security Nexus: Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy'. *ERIS – European Review of International Studies* (3–2018):30–48. doi: 10.3224/eris.v5i3.02.
- Scheyer, Victoria, and Marina Kumskova. 2019. 'Feminist Foreign Policy: A Fine Line between “Adding Women” and Pursuing a Feminist Agenda'. *Journal of International Affairs* 72(2):57–76.

#### Further readings:

- Enloe, Cynthia H. 2004. 'Chapter 9. Masculinity as a Foreign Policy Issue'. in *The curious feminist: searching for women in a new age of empire*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hansen, Lene (2001) 'Gender, nation, rape: Bosnia and the construction of security,' *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 3(1): 55-75
- Kantola, Johanna 'The Gendered Reproduction of the State in International Relations', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 9, 2 (2007), 270–83.
- Peterson, V. Spike. 2018. *Revisiting Gendered States*. Vol. 1. edited by S. Parashar, J. A. Tickner, and J. True. Oxford University Press.
- Peterson, V. Spike (1999) 'Sexing political identities: Nationalism as heterosexism,' *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 1(1): 34-65
- Peterson, V. Spike (1992) 'Security and sovereign states: What is at stake in taking feminism seriously?' in V. Spike Peterson, ed., *Gendered States: Feminist (Re)Visions of International Relations Theory*, Boulder, CO, and London: Lynne Rienner, pp. 31-64.

### **20/4 #8 Gender and Global Governance**

#### Essential readings:

- True, Jacqui, and Michael Mintrom. 2001. 'Transnational Networks and Policy Diffusion: The Case of Gender Mainstreaming'. *International Studies Quarterly* 45(1):27–57. doi: 10.1111/0020-8833.00181.

- Kreft, Anne-Kathrin. 2017. 'The Gender Mainstreaming Gap: Security Council Resolution 1325 and UN Peacekeeping Mandates'. *International Peacekeeping* 24(1):132–58. doi: 10.1080/13533312.2016.1195267.
- Kunz, Rahel. 2020. 'Messy Feminist Knowledge Politics: A Double Reading of Post-Conflict Gender Mainstreaming in Liberia'. *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 22(1):63–85. doi: 10.1080/14616742.2019.1669476.

Presentation:

- Altan-Olcay, Özlem. 2020. 'Politics of Engagement: Gender Expertise and International Governance'. *Development and Change* 51(5):1271–95. doi: [10.1111/dech.12609](https://doi.org/10.1111/dech.12609).
- Ferguson, Lucy. 2015. "'This Is Our Gender Person": The Messy Business of Working as a Gender Expert in International Development'. *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 17(3):380–97. doi: [10.1080/14616742.2014.918787](https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2014.918787).

Further readings:

- Ackerly, Brooke A., Elisabeth Jay Friedman, Krishna Menon, and Marysia Zalewski. 2019. 'From Iron Cages to Blurred Binaries: Feminist and Gendered Institutional Interventions'. *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 21(5):669–71. doi: [10.1080/14616742.2019.1687180](https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2019.1687180).
- Bedford, Kate. 2013. 'Gender, Institutions, and Multilevel Governance'. in *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*, edited by G. Waylen, K. Celis, J. Kantola, and S. L. Weldon. Oxford University Press. (\*)
- Clisby, Suzanne, and Athena-Maria Enderstein. 2017. 'Caught between the Orientalist–Occidental Polemic: Gender Mainstreaming as Feminist Transformation or Neocolonial Subversion?' *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 19(2):231–46. doi: [10.1080/14616742.2016.1258262](https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2016.1258262).
- Hurley, Matthew. 2017. 'Gender Mainstreaming and Integration in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation'. Pp. 403–17 in *The Palgrave International Handbook of Gender and the Military*, edited by R. Woodward and C. Duncanson. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK.
- Jacquot, Sophie. 2010. 'The Paradox of Gender Mainstreaming: Unanticipated Effects of New Modes of Governance in the Gender Equality Domain'. *West European Politics* 33:118–35. doi: [10.1080/01402380903354163](https://doi.org/10.1080/01402380903354163).

### **Section 3. Feminist Security Studies**

#### **27/4 #9 Sexual and Gender-Based Violence**

Essential readings:

- Alison, Miranda. 2007. 'Wartime Sexual Violence: Women's Human Rights and Questions of Masculinity'. *Review of International Studies* 33(01):75–90. doi: 10.1017/S0260210507007310.
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2017. *Women as Wartime Rapists: Beyond Sensation and Stereotyping*. New York: New York University Press. Chapters 1 & 4

Presentation:

- Baaz, Maria Eriksson, and Maria Stern. 2018. 'Curious Erasures: The Sexual in Wartime Sexual Violence'. *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 20(3):295–314. doi: 10.1080/14616742.2018.1459197.
- Davies, Sara E., and Jacqui True. 2015. 'Reframing Conflict-Related Sexual and Gender-Based Violence: Bringing Gender Analysis Back In'. *Security Dialogue* 46(6):495–512. doi: 10.1177/0967010615601389.

Further readings:

- Cohen, Dara Kay. 2013. 'Explaining Rape during Civil War: Cross-National Evidence (1980–2009)'. *American Political Science Review* 107(3):461–77. doi: 10.1017/S0003055413000221.



- Dolan, Chris, Maria Eriksson Baaz, and Maria Stern. 2020. 'What Is Sexual about Conflict-Related Sexual Violence? Stories from Men and Women Survivors'. *International Affairs* 96(5):1151–68. doi: 10.1093/ia/iiaa095.
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2015. 'Seeing Sex, Gender, and Sexuality in International Security'. *International Journal: Canada's Journal of Global Policy Analysis* 70(3):434–53. doi: 10.1177/0020702015584590. (\*)
- Wood, Elisabeth Jean. 2018. 'Rape as a Practice of War: Toward a Typology of Political Violence'. *Politics & Society* 46(4):513–37. doi: 10.1177/0032329218773710.

#### **4/5 #10 Gendering international security governance**

Talking with policymakers: meeting with Renata Hessmann Dalaqua, Programme Lead for Gender and Disarmament, United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research

##### Essential readings and material (if meeting not maintained):

- Duncanson, Claire. 2009. 'Forces for Good? Narratives of Military Masculinity in Peacekeeping Operations'. *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 11(1):63–80. doi: 10.1080/14616740802567808.
- Hardt, Heidi, and Stéfanie von Hlatky. 2020. 'NATO's About-Face: Adaptation to Gender Mainstreaming in an Alliance Setting'. *Journal of Global Security Studies* 5(1):136–59. doi: 10.1093/jogss/ogz048.
- Stern, Maria. 2011. 'Gender and Race in the European Security Strategy: Europe as a "Force for Good"?' *Journal of International Relations and Development* 14(1):28–59. doi: 10.1057/jird.2010.7.
- + Optional: Enloe on gender and militarization: <https://youtu.be/EdMPcJspzXk>

##### Presentation:

- Pratt, Nicola. 2013. 'Reconceptualizing Gender, Reinscribing Racial-Sexual Boundaries in International Security: The Case of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on "Women, Peace and Security"'. *International Studies Quarterly* 57(4):772–83. doi: [10.1111/isqu.12032](https://doi.org/10.1111/isqu.12032).
- Shepherd, Laura J. 2016. 'Making War Safe for Women? National Action Plans and the Militarisation of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda'. *International Political Science Review* 37(3):324–35

##### Further readings:

- Cockburn, Cynthia. 2010. 'Gender Relations as Causal in Militarization and War: A Feminist Standpoint'. *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 12(2):139–57. doi: [10.1080/14616741003665169](https://doi.org/10.1080/14616741003665169).
- Peterson, Spike V. 2010. 'Gendered Identities, Ideologies, and Practices in the Context of War and Militarism'. in *Gender, war, and militarism: feminist perspectives, Praeger security international*, edited by L. Sjoberg and S. Via. Santa Barbara, Calif: Praeger.
- Hoijtink, Marijn, and Hanna L. Muehlenhoff. 2020. 'The European Union as a Masculine Military Power: European Union Security and Defence Policy in "Times of Crisis"'. *Political Studies Review* 18(3):362–77. doi: [10.1177/1478929919884876](https://doi.org/10.1177/1478929919884876).
- Hurley, Matthew. 2018. 'The "Genderman": (Re)Negotiating Militarized Masculinities When "Doing Gender" at NATO'. *Critical Military Studies* 4(1):72–91. doi: [10.1080/23337486.2016.1264108](https://doi.org/10.1080/23337486.2016.1264108).

## Section 4. Feminist (International/Comparative) Political economy

### 11/5 #11 Feminism, Sex and Capitalism

#### Essential readings and material:

Federici, Silvia. 1978. 'Wages against Housework'.

Federici, Silvia. n.d. 'Notes on Gender in Marx's Capital'. *Continental Thought & Theory* 1(4):19–37.

Nancy Folbre, Interview: The Economics of Care, 2016: <https://youtu.be/vZEJV3kBQH0>

Arslan, Ayşe. 2021. 'Relations of Production and Social Reproduction, the State and the Everyday: Women's Labour in Turkey'. *Review of International Political Economy* 1–23. doi: [10.1080/09692290.2020.1864756](https://doi.org/10.1080/09692290.2020.1864756).

#### Presentation:

Smith, Nicola J. 2020. *Capitalism's Sexual History*. 1st ed. Oxford University Press. Chapter 4: Buying Love in the Twentieth Century.

Vertommen, Sigrid, and Camille Barbagallo. 2021. 'The in/Visible Wombs of the Market: The Dialectics of Waged and Unwaged Reproductive Labour in the Global Surrogacy Industry'. *Review of International Political Economy* 1–41. doi: [10.1080/09692290.2020.1866642](https://doi.org/10.1080/09692290.2020.1866642).

#### Further readings:

Elias, Juanita, and Adrienne Roberts. 2016. 'Feminist Global Political Economies of the Everyday: From Bananas to Bingo'. *Globalizations* 13(6):787–800. doi: 10.1080/14747731.2016.1155797.

Enloe, Cynthia H. 2014. *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. Second edition, Completely Revised and Updated. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. Chapters 6, 7, 8

Hussein, Shereen, and Karen Christensen. 2017. 'Migration, Gender and Low-Paid Work: On Migrant Men's Entry Dynamics into the Feminised Social Care Work in the UK'. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 43(5):749–65. doi: 10.1080/1369183X.2016.1202751.

LeBaron, Genevieve. 2010. 'The Political Economy of the Household: Neoliberal Restructuring, Enclosures, and Daily Life'. *Review of International Political Economy* 17(5):889–912. doi: 10.1080/09692290903573914.

Mezzadri, Alessandra. 2019. 'On the Value of Social Reproduction.' *Radical Philosophy* 2(4):33–41.

van Staveren, Irene, and Olusunbo Odebode. 2007. 'Gender Norms as Asymmetric Institutions: A Case Study of Yoruba Women in Nigeria'. *Journal of Economic Issues* 41(4):903–25.

### 18/5 #12 Feminism, neoliberalism and the Global Economy: "Gender Equality as Smart Economics"

#### Essential readings:

Thompson, Lindsay J. 2007. 'Gender Equity and Corporate Social Responsibility in a Post-Feminist Era'. *Business Ethics: A European Review* 17(1):87–106. doi: [10.1111/j.1467-8608.2008.00523.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8608.2008.00523.x)

Prügl, Elisabeth, and Jacqui True. 2014. 'Equality Means Business? Governing Gender through Transnational Public-Private Partnerships'. *Review of International Political Economy* 21(6):1137–69. doi: [10.1080/09692290.2013.849277](https://doi.org/10.1080/09692290.2013.849277).

Calkin, Sydney. 2016. 'Globalizing "Girl Power": Corporate Social Responsibility and Transnational Business Initiatives for Gender Equality'. *Globalizations* 13(2):158–72. doi: [10.1080/14747731.2015.1064678](https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2015.1064678).

#### Presentation:

Ferguson, Lucy. 2010. 'Interrogating "Gender" in Development Policy and Practice: The World Bank, Tourism And Microenterprise In Honduras'. *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 12(1):3–24. doi: [10.1080/14616740903429080](https://doi.org/10.1080/14616740903429080).

Jolly, Susie. 2000. "'Queering" Development: Exploring the Links between Same-Sex Sexualities, Gender, and Development'. *Gender & Development* 8(1):78–88. doi: [10.1080/741923414](https://doi.org/10.1080/741923414).

Further readings:

Duflo, Esther. 2012. 'Women Empowerment and Economic Development'. *Journal of Economic Literature* 50(4):1051–79. doi: [10.1257/jel.50.4.1051](https://doi.org/10.1257/jel.50.4.1051).

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Roberts, Adrienne. 2015. 'The Political Economy of "Transnational Business Feminism": Problematizing the Corporate-Led Gender Equality Agenda'. *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 17(2):209–31. doi: [10.1080/14616742.2013.849968](https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2013.849968).

Peterson, Spike V. 2005. 'How (the Meaning of) Gender Matters in Political Economy'. *New Political Economy* 10(4):499–521. doi: [10.1080/13563460500344468](https://doi.org/10.1080/13563460500344468).

Wilson, Kalpana. 2015. 'Towards a Radical Re-Appropriation: Gender, Development and Neoliberal Feminism: Debate: Gender, Development and Neoliberal Feminism'. *Development and Change* 46(4):803–32. doi: [10.1111/dech.12176](https://doi.org/10.1111/dech.12176).

## ***Section 5. Feminism, Gender and Contemporary International Politics***

### **25/5 #13 Gendering Covid-19**

Presentation or in class collective discussion based on prior group work (TBC).

Readings:

Al-Ali, Nadje. 2020. 'Covid-19 and Feminism in the Global South: Challenges, Initiatives and Dilemmas'. *European Journal of Women's Studies* 27(4):333–47. doi: [10.1177/1350506820943617](https://doi.org/10.1177/1350506820943617).

Branicki, Layla J. 2020. 'COVID-19, Ethics of Care and Feminist Crisis Management'. *Gender, Work & Organization* 27(5):872–83. doi: [10.1111/gwao.12491](https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12491).

Cullen, Pauline, and Mary P. Murphy. 2020. 'Responses to the COVID-19 Crisis in Ireland: From Feminized to Feminist'. *Gender, Work & Organization* gwao.12596. doi: [10.1111/gwao.12596](https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12596).

Döring, Nicola. 2020. 'How Is the COVID-19 Pandemic Affecting Our Sexualities? An Overview of the Current Media Narratives and Research Hypotheses'. *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 49(8):2765–78. doi: [10.1007/s10508-020-01790-z](https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-020-01790-z).

Lokot, Michelle, and Amiya Bhatia. 2020. 'Unequal and Invisible: A Feminist Political Economy Approach to Valuing Women's Care Labor in the COVID-19 Response'. *Frontiers in Sociology* 5:588279. doi: [10.3389/fsoc.2020.588279](https://doi.org/10.3389/fsoc.2020.588279).

Oxfam International. 2020. *Care in the Time of Coronavirus. Why Care Work Needs to Be at the Centre of a Post-COVID-19 Feminist Future*. Oxfam Briefing Paper.

Reyes, Emilia. 2020. 'Body Politics in the COVID-19 Era from a Feminist Lens'. *Development* 63(2):262–69. doi: [10.1057/s41301-020-00266-w](https://doi.org/10.1057/s41301-020-00266-w).

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- Towns, Ann E., Katarzyna Jezierska, Anne-Kathrin Kreft, and Birgitta Niklasson. 2020. 'COVID-19 and Gender: A Necessary Connection in Diplomatic Studies'. *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 15(4):636–47. doi: [10.1163/1871191X-BJA10037](https://doi.org/10.1163/1871191X-BJA10037).
- Viswanath, Shilpa, and Lauren Bock Mullins. 2020. 'Gender Responsive Budgeting and the COVID-19 Pandemic Response: A Feminist Standpoint'. *Administrative Theory & Praxis* 1–15. doi: [10.1080/10841806.2020.1814080](https://doi.org/10.1080/10841806.2020.1814080).
- Wenham, Clare, Julia Smith, and Rosemary Morgan. 2020. 'COVID-19: The Gendered Impacts of the Outbreak'. *The Lancet* 395(10227):846–48. doi: [10.1016/S0140-6736\(20\)30526-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(20)30526-2).

## 1/6 #14 Conclusion. Feminism and International Politics: Successes and/or Backlashes?

Different discussion themes available:

- "They went too far": Antifeminist, anti-gender backlashes
- Feminism and governance: co-optation and/or resistance?
- Other suggestions?

>> To be discussed together

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