

## Gender Studies and International Relations

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### Course description

Women- and gender-related issues have become highly salient on the international stage since a few years. The development of gender mainstreaming strategies in each and every international organizations, ranging from the European Union to the World Bank, and the creation of UN Women in 2010 testify to it. Gender equality shows an unprecedented level of diffusion within national politics. Taken together, these examples suggest that gender issues have become institutionalized in international organizations and that these may well have a significant impact on nation states' policies.

Still, these developments cannot be taken for granted and many questions remain unanswered. This seminar deals with the analysis of the internationalization of gender-related issues, their institutionalization in the global governance structures and processes, and the limits thereof. For instance, what is the real impact of these gender-sensitive policies? How can we account for a successful and legitimate gender mainstreamed approach? What are the consequences of these policies?

### Pedagogical format

The seminar takes place once a week (12 1,5-hour sessions, for a total of 18 hours). Attending the seminar requires the student to have thoroughly read the compulsory texts in preparation. Students are encouraged to participate and get involved in the discussion. You will find in the general bibliography at the end of this document some useful readings that can help you get introduced to gender studies and feminist approaches in social sciences.

### Course requirements

Students will be graded on the basis of :

- Participation during the seminar (ie. Having read the texts, discussing them in class) for 30%
- Oral presentation for 20%: one oral presentation on one suggested theme per semester; the presentation should last 20 minutes and should be accompanied by a document including the presentation outline with its main arguments, data and bibliography (about 4/5 pages); the document should be sent by email two days prior to the oral presentation (ie. on the Wednesday before the Friday class, for instance) to the whole group and the instructor. Failing to provide the class with the written material will unfortunately result in the student/group having a penalty of 3 points.

- An advocacy paper for 25%: instructions will be given during the first session
- A final test for 25% : questions to answer, instructions will be given during the first session

## **Outline**

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### **Session 1: Introduction. Gender and feminism in International Relations**

#### Topics discussed :

- What does gender have to do with IR?
- Course logistics

### **Session 2. Gender and feminism in International Relations Theories**

#### Topics discussed :

- Let's talk about gender
- Feminism and gender approaches in IR
- Empowerment: a tool for action, from the local to the global level

#### Oral presentation:

ENLOE, C., *Bananas, Beaches and Bases. Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*, University of California Press, 1989. > Present and discuss

#### Compulsory readings:

BLANCHARD, E. M., "Gender, International Relations, and the Development of Feminist Security Theory", *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 28, no. 4, pp. 1289-1312, 2003.

TICKNER, A.J., "Troubled Encounters: Feminism Meets IR", *Gendering World Politics*, New York, Columbia Univ. Press, 2001, p.9-35.

#### Optional readings:

KANTOLA, J., "The Gendered Reproduction of the State in International Relations", *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 9, 2007, pp. 270–83.

MEAD, M., *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*, New York, Harpers Collins Pub, 2001 (1935).

SHEPHERD, L. J., (ed.), *Gender Matters in Global Politics: a Feminist Introduction to International Relations*, London and New York: Routledge, 2014.

TICKNER, A. J., "You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements between Feminist and IR Theorists", *International Studies Quarterly*, 41, 1997, pp. 611-632.

### Session 3: The institutionalization of gender on the international agenda

#### Topics discussed :

- Why do IOs care about gender?
- UN Women Conferences
- Gender Mainstreaming in various IOs : origins, paths and limits

#### Compulsory reading:

TRUE, J., MINTROM, M., "Transnational Networks and Policy Diffusion: The Case of Gender Mainstreaming", *International Studies Quarterly*, 45, 2001, pp. 27-57.

#### Oral presentation (choose one):

- Gender mainstreaming in the EU: dynamics and tensions
- What success of gender mainstreaming strategies' implementation at the national levels?
- The UN and the Politics of Gender identity and Sexual Orientation

#### Optional readings:

BADEN, S., GOETZ, A. M., « Who needs [sex] when you can have [gender]? Conflicting discourses on gender at Beijing", in K .Staudt, ed., *Women, International development and politics; the bureaucratic mire*, Philadelphia: Temple University, 1997.

FRIEDMAN, J. E., "Gendering the Agenda: The Impact of the Transnational Women's Rights Movement at the UN Conferences of the 1990s", *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 26, No. 4, 2003, pp. 313-331.

GOETZ, A.-M., "The Politics of Integrating Gender to State Development Processes: Trends, Opportunities and Constraints in Bangladesh, Chile, Jamaica, Mali, Morocco and Uganda", New York, UNRISD, 1995.

HUDSON, N. F., GOETZ, A M., 'Too Much that Can't be Said: Anne Marie Goetz in Conversation with Natalie Florea Hudson', *International Feminist Politics*, 16:2, 2014, pp. 336-4.

MOSER, C., MOSER, A. "Gender mainstreaming since Beijing: A review of success and limitations in international institutions", *Gender & Development*, 13:2, 2005, pp.11-22.

OLSSON, L., "Gender Mainstreaming in practice: The United Nations transitional assistance in Namibia", *International Peacekeeping*, 8:2, 2001, pp. 97-110.

RAZAVI, S. MILLER, C., "From WID to GAD: Conceptual Shifts in the Women and Development Discourse", *Occasional Paper*, New York, UNRISD, 1995.

SANDLER, J., RAO, A., "Strategies of Feminist Bureaucrats: United Nations Experiences", *IDS WORKING PAPER*, Volume 2012, No 397, July 2012.

SHEILL, K., "Human Rights, Sexual Orientation, and Gender Identity at the UN General Assembly", *Journal of Human Rights Practice*, Vol. 1 Issue 2, 2009, pp.315-319.

TINKER, I., "NGOs: An Alternative Power Base for Women ?", In M. K. Meyer and E. Prugl, *Gender Politics and Global Governance*, New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999, pp. 88-106.

VAN DER MOLEN, I., NOVIKOVA, I., "Mainstreaming gender in the EU-accession process: the case of the Baltic Republics", *Journal of European Social Policy*, 5, 15:2, 2005, pp.139-156.

#### **Session 4: Gender and development (1): why care about gender?**

##### Topics discussed :

- The historical process of institutionalization of gender into development policies & IOs
- Poverty and gender

##### Compulsory reading:

DUFLO, E., "Women Empowerment and Economic Development", *Journal of Economic Literature*, 2012, 50, (4), 2012, pp.1051–1079.

##### Oral presentation (choose one):

- Did development aid policy use to be gender neutral?
- Gendering poverty
- Do gendered inequalities require gendered policies?

##### Optional readings:

BACQUE, M. H., BIEWENER, C., *L'empowerment, une pratique émancipatrice*, La découverte, 2013

BEDFORD, K., "Imperatives of Male inclusion : how institutional context influences World Bank Gender Policy ", *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 9:3, 2007, pp 289-311.

HAYES, C., "Out of the margins: The MDGs through a CEDAW lens", *Gender & Development*, 13:1, 2005, pp.67-78.

KABEER. N., *Reversed Realities: Gender Hierarchies in Development*, London: Verso, 1994.

OSMAN, A. M. K., "Challenges for integrating gender into poverty alleviation programmes: Lessons from Sudan", *Gender & Development*, 2002, 10:3, pp 22-30.

RAZAVI, S., "Fitting Gender into Development Institutions", *World Development*, 25 (7), 1997, pp 1111–25.

REEVES, H., BADEN, S., « Gender and Development : Concepts and Definitions », IDS, 2000.

#### **Session 5: Gender and development (2): How is gender integrated and with what impact?**

##### Topics discussed :

- Gender-sensitive development policies and men
- Gender in IOs (UN with MDGs/SDGs; WTO; EU)

Compulsory reading:

FERGUSON, L., "Interrogating 'Gender' in Development Policy and Practice", *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 12:1, 2010, p. 3-24.

Oral presentation (choose one):

- Smart Economics : Women Empowerment and the World Bank
- Who is economic empowerment empowering?
- Women Empowerment in EU's development aid policies

Optional readings:

BACQUE, M. H., BIEWENER, C., *L'empowerment, une pratique émancipatrice*, La découverte, 2013

BEDFORD, K., "Imperatives of Male inclusion : how institutional context influences World Bank Gender Policy ", *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 9:3, 2007, pp 289-311.

HAYES, C., "Out of the margins: The MDGs through a CEDAW lens", *Gender & Development*, 13:1, 2005, pp.67-78.

KABEER. N., *Reversed Realities: Gender Hierarchies in Development*, London: Verso, 1994.

OSMAN, A. M. K., "Challenges for integrating gender into poverty alleviation programmes: Lessons from Sudan", *Gender & Development*, 2002, 10:3, pp 22-30.

RAZAVI, S., "Fitting Gender into Development Institutions", *World Development*, 25 (7), 1997, pp 1111–25.

REEVES, H., BADEN, S., « Gender and Development : Concepts and Definitions », IDS, 2000.

**Session 6: Gender and the Global Economy**

Topics discussed :

- Feminism and IPE
- Gendered economic institutions

Compulsory reading:

VAN STAVEREN, I., "Gender Norms as Asymmetric Institutions: A Case Study of Yoruba Women in Nigeria", *Journal of Economic Issues*, 61 (4), 2007, pp.903-925.

Oral presentation:

- Is Austerity gender-neutral?
- Is globalization a "a rising tide lifts all boats"?

Optional readings:

COLLIER, P., *The Bottom Billion*, Oxford University Press, 2007.

HAYS-MITCHELL, M., "Resisting austerity: A gendered perspective on neo-liberal restructuring in Peru", *Gender & Development*, 10:3, 2002, pp 71-81.

TICKNER, A. J., *A Feminist Voyage through International Relations*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2014: chapters 3 & 5.

WÖHL, S., "The state and gender relations in international political economy: A state-theoretical approach to varieties of capitalism in crisis", *Capital & Class*, 38:1, 2014, pp. 87-99.

## **Session 7: Gender and Migrations**

### Topics discussed :

- Women in economic migrations
- Care work and migrations

### Compulsory reading:

HUSSEIN, S., CHRISTENSEN, K., "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, 2017, pp. 749-765.

### Oral presentation:

- The global burden-sharing of care
- Does international market dynamics change gender roles?
- The fight for recognition of illegal care work

### Optional readings:

LAN, P., "Maid or Madam? Filipina Migrant Workers and the Continuity of Domestic Labor", *Gender and Society*, 17(2), 2003, pp.187-208.

KOFMAN, E., "Gendered Global Migrations", *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 6:4, 2004, pp. 643-665

PIPER, N., "The Gendered Political Economy of Migration", *IMDS Working Paper Series*, Working Paper n°17, 2009.

## **Session 8: Gender and War**

### Topics discussed :

- Women in armed conflicts: roles and representations
- « Be a man » : the invention of masculinity through combat ; a gendered conception of war ; war and gender transgression
- Violence against women and gendered-base violence in the context of war

### Compulsory reading:

ALISON, M., "Wartime sexual violence: women's human rights and questions of masculinity", *Review of International Studies*, 33, 2007, pp.75–90.

### Oral presentation:

- Is wartime sexual violence an inevitable by-product of war?
- The gendered narrative of war and militarized identities: the transformation and diversity of women's roles in conflict (a case study will be welcomed)

### Optional readings:

ALISON, M. H., *Women and Political Violence: Female Combatants in Ethno-National Conflict*, London and New York: Routledge, 2009.

COCKBURN, C., 'Militarism and War', in L. J. Shepherd (ed.), *Gender Matters in Global Politics: a Feminist Introduction to International Relations*, London and New York: Routledge, 2010, pp. 105-115.

ENLOE, C., *Maneuvers: the International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000.

GOLDSTEIN, J. S., *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

MICHEL, S. (1993), 'Danger on the Home Front: Motherhood, Sexuality, and Disabled Veterans in American Postwar Films', in M. Cooke and A. Wollacott (eds.), *Gendering War Talk*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993, pp. 260-279.

SJOBERG, L., VIA, S. (eds.), *Gender, War, and Militarism: Feminist Perspectives*, Santa Barbara, California: Praeger, 2010.

## **Session 9: Gender and Peace**

### Topics discussed :

- The « Women, Peace and Security » (WPS) agenda: adoption, evolution and diffusion from and within the UN system
- Implementing, monitoring and evaluating an international policy: the controversial development and the tricky use of WPS indicators
- Women in peace-making and conflict resolution processes
- Gender and transitional justice

### Compulsory reading:

SHEPHERD, L., "Power and Authority in the Production of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325", *International Studies Quarterly*, 52, 2008, pp. 383-404.

### Oral presentation:

- Women's presence in peace negotiations : effects and influence (a case study will be welcomed)
- Sexual Exploitation and Abuse: Is peacekeeping still worth it?

### Optional readings:

ANDERLINI, S. N., *Women Building Peace: What They Do, Why It Matters*, Lynne Rienner Publishers: Colorado, 2007.

HEATHCOTE, G., "Naming and Shaming: Human Rights Accountability in Security Council Resolution 1960 (2010) on Women, Peace and Security", *Journal of Human Rights Practice*, Vol. 04, Issue 01, 2012.

JENKINS, R., GOETZ, A.M., "Addressing Sexual Violence in Internationally Mediated Peace Negotiations", *International Peacekeeping*, 17:2, 2010, pp. 2161-277.

PUECHIGUIRBAL, N., "Discourses on Gender, Patriarchy and Resolution 1325: A Textual Analysis of UN Documents", *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 17, Issue 2, April 2010, pp. 172-187.

REHN, E., SIRLEAF, E. J., "Women, War and Peace", UNIFEM: New York, 2002.

SAIGET, M., *L'ONU face aux violences sexuelles de son personnel : crise de crédibilité et changement en organisation internationale*, Paris : L'Harmattan, 2012.

SUDHAKAR, N., KUEHNAST, K. "The Other Side of Gender: Including Masculinity Concerns in Conflict and Peacebuilding", *United States Institute of Peace Peace, Brief* , No. 75 (14 January), 2011.

UN WOMEN, *Collection of Resources on Women, Peace and Security*, New York, 2010.

WILLETT, S., « Introduction: Security Council Resolution 1325: Assessing the Impact on Women, Peace and Security », *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 17, Issue 2, April 2010, pp. 142-158.

## **Session 10: Gender and Democracy Promotion**

### Topics discussed :

- Social movements and political transitions
- Women in political transitions: quotas and elections
- Gender and institution building

### Compulsory reading:

BUSH, S., "International Politics and the Spread of Quotas in Legislatures," *International Organization*, 65, 2011, pp. 103-137.

### Oral presentation:

- Has the Arab spring contributed to the advancement of women's rights?
- Do electoral quotas promote long-term women's empowerment?



- Is corruption gender-neutral?

Optional readings:

BASU, A. (ed.), *Women's Movements in the Global Era: The Power of Local Feminisms*, Boulder, Westview Press, 2010.

GOETZ, A. M. (ed), *Governing Women: Women's Political Effectiveness in Contexts of Democratization and Governance Reform*, Routledge, New York, 2009.

JAQUETTE, J. (ed.), *Feminist Agendas and Democracy in Latin America*, Duke University Press 2009.

KROOK, M. L., *Quotas for women in politics: gender and candidate selection reform worldwide*, Oxford University Press 2010

TRIPP, A. M., CASIMIRO, I., KWEISEIGA, J., MUNGWA, A., *African Women's Movement: Changing Political Landscapes*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009.

WAYLEN, G., *Engendering Transitions: Women's Mobilization, Institutions and Gender Outcomes*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007.

**Session 11: Gender and the Environment**

Topics discussed :

- Gender practices in environmental studies
- Gender roles in environmental policies
- Ecofeminism
- Feminist approaches to resistance and resilience

Compulsory reading:

CARNEY, J., *Converting the Wetlands, Engendering the Environment: The Intersection of Gender with Agrarian Change in The Gambia*, *Economic Geography*, 69:4, 1993, pp. 329-348

Oral presentation:

- Anthropocene and Gender
- Is climate change gender neutral?
- Gender and sustainability

Optional readings:

TICKNER, A. J., *A Feminist Voyage through International Relations*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2014: chapter 4

AGARWAL, B., "The Gender and Environment Debate: Lessons from India.", *Feminist Studies*, vol. 18, no. 1, 1992, pp. 119–158.

HOPWOOD, B., MELLOR, M., O'BRIEN, G. "Sustainable Development: mapping different approaches", *Sustainable Development*, 13, 2005, pp. 38-52

DANKELMAN, I., "Climate change: Learning from gender analysis and women's experiences of organising for sustainable development, *Gender & Development*, 10:2, 2002, pp.21-29.

## **Session 12 : Advocacy in practice**

Presentations and discussions

### **General bibliography**

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These references are useful to get a general overview of the topics discussed in the seminar.

BADEN, S., GOETZ, A. M., « Who needs [sex] when you can have [gender]? Conflicting discourses on gender at Beijing”, in K .Staudt, ed., *Women, International development and politics; the bureaucratic mire*, Philadelphia: Temple University, 1997.

BLANCHARD, E. M., “Gender, International Relations, and the Development of Feminist Security Theory”, *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 28, no. 4, 2003.

BUTLER, M., MADER, K., KEAN, R., « Women, Peace and Security Handbook. Compilation and Analysis of United Nations Security Council Resolution Language (2000-2010) », Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom, New York, October 2010.

FRIEDMAN, Jay, E., “Gendering the Agenda: The Impact of the Transnational Women’s Rights Movement at the UN Conferences of the 1990s”, *Women’s Studies International Forum*, Vol. 26, No. 4, pp. 313-331, 2003.

GOETZ, A. M., *Getting institutions right for women in development*, Zed Books, 1997.

HEATHCOTE, G., « Naming and Shaming: Human Rights Accountability in Security Council Resolution 1960 (2010) on Women, Peace and Security », *Journal of Human Rights Practice*, Vol. 04, Issue 01, March 2012.

KABEER. N., *Reversed Realities: Gender Hierarchies in Development Thought*, London: Verso, 1994.

KECK, M., SIKKINK, K., *Activists beyond borders: Advocacy networks in international politics*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998.

MAZUR, A., GOERTZ, G. (eds). *Politics, Gender, and Concepts: Theory and Methodology*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008.

PUECHIGUIRBAL, N., « Discourses on Gender, Patriarchy and Resolution 1325: A Textual Analysis of UN Documents », *International Peacekeeping*, 17: 2, 2010, pp. 172-187.

SANDLER, J., RAO, A., *Strategies of Feminist Bureaucrats: United Nations Experiences*, IDS WORKING PAPER, Volume 2012, No 397, July 2012.

TICKNER, A., *Gender in International Relations; Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1992.

UN WOMEN, *Collection of Resources on Women, Peace and Security*, New York, 2010