

POL 17: Politics & Gender

Part IIB HSPS Tripos 2023/2024

Course Co-ordinator: Lauren Wilcox

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Outline:

Human security, liberty, political voice, economic status, education, health, freedom of expression, access to markets and public spaces as well as institutional behaviour are all fundamentally shaped by gender. This paper aims to introduce students to the various ways in which different understandings of gender (broadly conceived) impact on recent political debates. Rather than presenting holistic theoretical overviews, these lectures will discuss a range of key concepts and debates in relation to current empirical examples. Lectures will be structured by seven themes: Power and the Body, Inequality, Rights, Development and Humanitarianism, Conflict and Violence, Social Movements and Radical Politics, and Climate and the Environment.

Lectures:

Lectures take place in two-hour blocks, with a break, in weeks 1-6 in Michaelmas and 1-7 in Lent. Please check the Timetable for updated lecture times. Lectures will not be recorded, and recording is not permitted without permission of the lecturer.

Supervisions:

Supervision for this paper will be centrally organised across Michaelmas and Lent terms. Students will be able to sign up for six supervisions (all categories except Gender, Climate, and the Environment which may be addressed along with essays in Social Movements and Radical Politics and/or Humanitarianism and Development). Due to student feedback on workload issues, students may choose to do a presentation of 5 minutes instead of an essay for ONE of their supervisions EACH TERM. Students must indicate WHICH supervisions they will do a presentation form on the sign up sheet (a Google Doc linked to the Moodle). That is, the presentation option should be chosen ahead of time based on the student's interests and work schedule, not be used at the last minute when one has failed to meet the deadline for an essay. We will also organize revision supervisions in Easter.

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Assessment:

As of 16 August we are still waiting to hear about final examination arrangements for Easter 2024. There will be three questions to answer out of around 10-12 to pick from.

Lectures Michaelmas Term:

Gender and the Political Subject. Introduction I.	Dr Lauren Wilcox
Gender and the Political Subject. Introduction II.	Dr Lauren Wilcox
Gender, Power, and the Body I.	Dr Lauren Wilcox
Gender, Power, and the Body II.	Dr Lauren Wilcox
Gender, Power, and the Body III	Dr Lauren Wilcox
Gender, Power, and the Body IV.	Dr Lauren Wilcox
Gender and Inequality I.	Ms Anna Forringer-Beal
Gender and Inequality II.	Ms Anna Forringer-Beal
Gender and Rights I.	Ms Anna Forringer-Beal
Gender and Rights II.	Ms Anna Forringer-Beal

Lectures Lent Term:

Gender, Development, and Humanitarianism I.	Dr Holly Porter
Gender, Development, and Humanitarianism II.	Dr Holly Porter
Gender, Development, and Humanitarianism III.	Dr Holly Porter
Gender, Development, and Humanitarianism IV.	Dr Holly Porter
Gender, Conflict, and Violence I.	Dr Holly Porter
Gender, Conflict, and Violence II.	Dr Holly Porter
Gender, Conflict, and Violence III.	Dr Holly Porter
Gender, Conflict, and Violence IV.	Dr Holly Porter
Gender, Radical Politics, and Social Movements I.	Dr Lauren Wilcox
Gender, Radical Politics, and Social Movements II.	Dr Lauren Wilcox
Gender, Radical Politics, and Social Movements III.	Dr Lauren Wilcox
Gender, Radical Politics, and Social Movements IV.	Dr Lauren Wilcox
Gender, Climate, and the Environment I.	Ms Jenny Carla Moran
Gender, Climate, and the Environment II.	Ms Jenny Carla Moran

Course Content:

1-2. Gender and the Political Subject: An Introduction

These two introductory lectures will provide students with useful key concepts and ideas relating to a range of perspectives on critical gender debates in politics relevant to the lecture series.

[No reading required but handouts will give refs to lectures]

3-6. Gender, Power and the Body

Key themes: embodiment, discipline, desire, sexuality, transgender politics, performativity, technology

Suggested supervision question: How does the politicization of the body shape the politics of gender/sexuality?

Core Reading:

Butler, J. (2001) 'The Question of Social Transformation', *Counterpoints*, 242 'women & social transformation', pp. 1-28

Butler, J. (2004) *Undoing Gender*. New York: Routledge. (The 'gender regulations' chapter is a good summary of Butler's influential thought). A clear summary of 'performativity' can be found in Butler's (2015) *Notes Toward a Performative Theory of Assembly*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. (both available online at UL)

Clough, P. (2003) 'Affect and Control: Rethinking the Body Beyond "Sex and Gender"', *Feminist Theory*, 4(3), pp. 359–364.

Disch, L. (1999) 'Judith Butler and the Politics of the Performative', *Political Theory*, 27(4), pp. 545–59.

Halberstam, J. (2017) *Trans*: A Quick and Quirky Account of Gender Variability*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press, pick whichever chapters you are interested in (available online at UL)

Lugones, M. (2007) 'Heterosexualism and the Colonial/Modern Gender System', *Hypatia*, 22(1), pp. 186-209.

Sharpe, A. (2020) 'Will Gender Self-Declaration Undermine Women's Rights and Lead to an Increase in Harms?' *Modern Law Review*, 83(3), pp. 539-557.

Benjamin, R. (2019) *Race After Technology: Abolitionist Tools for the New Jim Code*. Cambridge: Polity. (available online at UL)

Further Reading:

(Note: some productive overlap with Gender, Environment, and Climate)

Alaimo, S. and Hekman, S. J. (eds.) (2008) *Material Feminisms*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Barad, K. (2003) 'Posthumanist Performativity: Toward an Understanding of How Matter Comes to Matter', *Signs*, 28(3), pp. 801–831.

Bettcher, T. M. (2007) 'Evil Deceivers and Make-Believers: On Transphobic Violence and the Politics of Illusion', *Hypatia*, 22(3), pp. 43-65.

Bordo, S. (1993) *Unbearable Weight: Feminism, Western Culture, and the Body*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

- Braidotti, R. (2022). *Posthuman Feminism*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Butler, J. (1990) *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge.
- Butler, J. (1993) *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"*. New York: Routledge.
- Chambers, S. A. (2007) "'Sex' and the Problem of the Body: Reconstructing Judith Butler's Theory of Sex/Gender', *Body and Society*, 13(3), pp. 47–75.
- Faye, S. (2021) *The Transgender Issue: An Argument for Justice*. London: Penguin.
- Federici, S. (2004) *Caliban and the Witch: Women, the Body, and Primitive Accumulation*. New York: Autonomedia.
- Foucault, M. (2019[1977]) *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Translated by Alan Sheridan. London: Penguin Books. CW graphic violence
- Foucault, M. (1978) *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1: An Introduction*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Fausto-Sterling, A. (2000) *Sexing the Body: Gender Politics and the Construction of Sexuality*. New York: Basic Books. Updated Second Edition
- Haraway, D. (1990) 'A Cyborg Manifesto: Science, Technology, and Socialist-Feminism in the Late Twentieth Century', in *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*. New York: Routledge, pp. 149–181. (Also widely available online.)
- Hartman, S. V. (1997) *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (CW racial violence, sexual violence)
- Hines, S. (2020) 'Sex Wars and (Trans) Gender Panics: Identity and Body Politics in Contemporary UK Feminism', *The Sociological Review*, 68(4), pp. 699–717.
- Malatino, H. (2019). *Queer Embodiment: Monstrosity, Medical Violence, and Intersex Experience*. University of Nebraska.
- Manderson, L. (2016) *Surface Tensions: Surgery, Bodily Boundaries, and the Social Self*. New York: Routledge.
- McKinnon, S. (2005) *Neo-liberal Genetics: The Myths and Moral Tales of Evolutionary Psychology*. Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press.
- Murphy, M. (2012) *Seizing the Means of Reproduction: Entanglements of Feminism, Health, and Technoscience*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. (See also endocrinedisruptorsaction.org/about)
- Najmabadi, A. (2005) *Women with Moustaches and Men without Beards: Gender and Sexual Anxieties of Iranian Modernity*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Oyěwùmí, O. (1997) *The Invention of Women: Making an African Sense of Western Gender Discourses*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Povinelli, E. A. (2015) 'Transgender Creeks and the Three Figures of Power in Late Liberalism', *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies*, 26(1), pp. 168–187.
- Preciado, P. B. (2013) *Testo Junkie: Sex, Drugs, and Biopolitics in the Pharmacopornographic Era*. New York: The Feminist Press at the City University of New York.
- Puar, J. K. (2005) 'Queer Times, Queer Assemblages', *Social Text*, 84–85(3–4), pp. 121–139.
- Puar, J. K. (2015) 'Bodies with New Organs: Becoming Trans, Becoming Disabled', *Social Text*, 33(3), pp. 45–73.

- Repo, J. (2016) *The Biopolitics of Gender*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Snorton, C. R. (2017) *Black on Both Sides: A Racial History of Trans Identity*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press. (CW racial violence, sexual violence)
- Spade, D. (2011) *Normal Life: Administrative Violence, Critical Trans Politics, and the Limits of Law*. New York: South End Press.
- Spillers, H. J. (1987) 'Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe: An American Grammar Book', *Diacritics*, 17(2), pp. 64-81.
- Stoler, A. L. (2002) *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Stoler, A. L. (1995) *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. Chapters I, II, and VI recommended. (available online at UL)
- Stone, S. (1996) 'The Empire Strikes Back: A Posttranssexualist Manifesto', in Straub, K. and Epstein, J. (eds.) *Body Guards: The Cultural Politics of Sexual Ambiguity*. New York: Routledge. (Also widely anthologised, available online etc.)
- Wilcox, L. (2015) *Bodies of Violence: Theorizing Embodied Subjects in International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wiley, A. (2016) *Undoing Monogamy: The Politics of Science and the Possibilities of Biology*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Signs Journals's blog on "Exploring Transgender Law and Politics" (US/UK focused):
- <https://signsjournal.org/exploring-transgender-law-and-politics/?fbclid=IwAR3AikufAFMbqvH9LssbzzhJSSU3NQE9JdVzm3TWQOktpc95Sn0o8ewhImk>

7-8. Gender and Inequality

Key Themes: global gender gaps, lack of representation, identities shaping inequality, structural injustice, the familial, political economy

Suggested supervision question: What would gender parity look like?

Core Reading:

- Ahmed, S. (2012) *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. (available online at UL)
- Browne, J. (ed.). (2021) *Why Gender?* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. (available online at UL)
- Butler, J. (1998) 'Subjects of Sex/Gender/Desire', in Phillips, A. (ed.) *Feminism and Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 273-293. (available online at UL)
- Hill Collins, P. (2017) 'The Difference That Power Makes: Intersectionality and Participatory Democracy', *Investigaciones Feministas*, 8(1), pp. 19-39.
- Phillips, A. (2012) 'Representation and Inclusion', *Politics & Gender*, 8(4), pp. 512-518.

Wright, M. W. (2006) *Disposable Women and Other Myths of Global Capitalism*. New York: Routledge, pp. 1-22. CW: violence against women (available online at UL)

Further Reading:

Agustín, L. (2007) *Sex at the Margins: Migration, Labour Markets and the Rescue Industry*. London: Zed Books.

Ahmed, Sara. (2019) 'Use and the University', in *What's the Use? On the Uses of Use*. Durham: Duke University Press, pp. 141-196.

Bhattacharyya, G. (2018) *Rethinking Racial Capitalism: Questions of Reproduction and Survival*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Butler, J. (1990) *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. Routledge.

Browne, J. (2013) 'The Default Model: Gender Equality, Fatherhood, and Structural Constraint', *Politics & Gender*, 9(2), pp. 152-173.

Childs, S. and Lovenduski, J. (2013) 'Political Representation', in Waylen, G., Celis, K., Kantola, J. and Weldon, S.L. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, p. 489-513. (available online at UL)

[Podcast] Drage, E., and McInerney, K. (27 June 2023). 'Hot Take: Can AI De-Bias Hiring?' on *The Good Robot*. Available at: <https://www.thegoodrobot.co.uk/podcast/episode/7955f62a/hot-take-can-ai-de-bias-hiring>

Fraser, N. (2013) *Fortunes of Feminism: From State-Managed Capitalism to Neoliberal Crisis*. London: Verso Books. (available online at UL).

Fraser, N. and Gordon, L. (1994) 'A Genealogy of Dependency: Tracing a Keyword of the U.S. Welfare State', *Signs*, 19(2), pp. 309–336.

Hill Collins, P. (2000). Gender, Black Feminism, and Black Political Economy. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 568, 13.

Kim, J.B. (2021) 'Crippling the welfare queen. The radical potential of disability politics,' *Social text*, 39(3), pp. 79–101.

Krizsán, A., Skjeie, H., and Squires, J. (eds.) (2012) *Institutionalizing Intersectionality: The Changing Nature of European Equality Regimes*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave MacMillan.

Lewis, S. (2022). *Abolish the family: A manifesto for care and liberation*. Verso.

Peterson, V. S. (2002) 'Rewriting (Global) Political Economy as Reproductive, Productive and Virtual (Foucauldian) Economies', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 4(1), pp. 1-30. With commentaries by Elisabeth Prügl (31-36) and Roger Tooze (37-42).

Phillips, A. (2011) 'Cultural Skepticism and "Group Representation"', in Mahajan, G. (ed.) *Accommodating Diversity: Ideas and Institutional Practices*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 60-73.

Phipps, A. (2017) 'Sex Wars Revisited: A Rhetorical Economy of Sex Industry Opposition', *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 18(4), 306-320.

Reynolds, A. (2013) 'Representation and Rights: The Impact of LGBT Legislators in Comparative Perspective', *American Political Science Review*, 102(2), pp. 259-274.

True, J. (2012) *The Political Economy of Violence Against Women*. New York: Oxford University Press. CW: sexual violence. (available online at UL)

Squires, J., Lovenduski, J. & Krook, M. L. (2009) 'Gender Quotas and Models of Political Citizenship', *British Journal of Political Science*, 39, pp. 781–803.

Young, I. M. (2000) *Inclusion and Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (available online at UL)

9-10. Gender and Rights

Key Themes: human rights, gender-specific rights, political framework for rights, counter-imaginaries, defining rights

Suggested supervision question: Who are rights for?

Core Reading:

Abu-Lughod, L. (2013) *Do Muslim Women Need Saving?* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. (available online at UL)

Brown, W. (2004) "The Most We Can Hope For...": Human Rights and the Politics of Fatalism', *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 103(2-3), pp.451-463.

Butler, J. (2014) 'Regulation', in Stimpson, C. R. and Herdt, G. (eds.) *Critical Terms for the Study of Gender*. University of Chicago Press, pp.411-427.

Luibhéid, E. and Chávez, K.R. (eds.) (2020) *Queer and trans migrations: dynamics of illegalization, detention, and deportation*. Urbana, Ill: University of Illinois Press (Dissident feminisms). (available online at UL)

Spade, D. (2015) 'What's Wrong with Rights?', in *Normal life: administrative violence, critical trans politics, and the limits of law*. Revised and expanded edition. Durham, [North Carolina]: Duke University Press, pp. 38–49. (available online at UL)

Further Reading:

Appiah, K. A. (2011) *The Honor Code: How Moral Revolutions Happen*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co.

Bernstein, E. (2010) 'Militarized Humanitarianism Meets Carceral Feminism: The Politics of Sex, Rights, and Freedom in Contemporary Antitrafficking Campaigns', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 36(1), pp. 45–71. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1086/652918>.

Browne, J. (2013) 'O'Neill and the Political Turn Against Human Rights', *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, 26(4), pp. 291-304.

Davis, A.Y. et al. (2021) *Abolition. Feminism. Now*. La Vergne: Haymarket Books (Abolitionist Papers). (available online at UL)

Eddo-Lodge, R. (2017) *Why I'm no longer talking to white people about race*. London, UK: Bloomsbury Circus. (available online at UL)

Farrior, S. (2009) 'Human Rights Advocacy on Gender Issues: Challenges and Opportunities', *Journal of Human Rights Practice*, 1(1), pp. 83-100.

- Htun, M., and Weldon, S. L. (2012) 'The Civic Origins of Progressive Policy Change: Combating Violence against Women in Global Perspective, 1975-2005', *American Political Science Review*, 106(3), pp. 548-569.
- Ignatieff, M. (2001) *Human Rights as Politics and Idolatry*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Kempadoo, K. (2015) 'The Modern-Day White (Wo)Man's Burden: Trends in Anti-Trafficking and Anti-Slavery Campaigns', *Journal of Human Trafficking*, pp. 8–20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23322705.2015.1006120>
- MacKinnon, C. (2007) *Are Women Human?: And Other International Dialogues*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. (available online at UL)
- Mottier, V. (2013) 'Reproductive Rights', in Waylen, G., Celis, K., Kantola, J., and Weldon, S. L. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, pp. 214-235.
- Nash, K. (2002) 'Human Rights for Women: An Argument for "Deconstructive Equality"', *Economy and Society*, 31(3), pp. 414-433.
- O'Neill, O. (1999) 'Women's Rights: Whose Obligations?', in Jeffries, A. (ed.) *Women's Voices, Women's Rights: Oxford Amnesty Lectures 1996*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Rubio-Marín, R. (2009) *The Gender of Reparations: Unsettling Sexual Hierarchies while Redressing Human Rights Violations*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Sikkink, K. (2020) *The Hidden Face of Rights: Toward a Politics of Responsibilities*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. (available online at UL)
- United Nations (2014) *Women's Rights are Human Rights*. United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. HR/PUB/14/2. New York and Geneva: United Nations. Available at <http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Events/WHRD/WomenRightsAreHR.pdf>

LENT TERM

13-16. Gender, Development & Humanitarianism

Key Themes: global responses to poverty & war, forced migration, the 'household', feminization of poverty, empowerment, vulnerability, NGOs, measuring 'progress', Women Peace and Security Agenda

Suggested supervision question: Should we speak more or less about sex in development/humanitarianism? (select one).

Core Reading:

- Adams, V. and S. L. Pigg (eds.) (2005) *Sex in Development: Science, Sexuality, and Morality in Global Perspective*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. [Introduction pp. 1-28]. (available online at UL)
- Hagen, J. (2016) 'Queering women, peace and security', *International Affairs*, 92(2), pp. 313–332.
- Hilhorst, D., Porter, H. and Gordon, R. (2017) 'Gender, Sexuality and Violence in Humanitarian Crises', *Disasters* 42(S1), pp. S3-S16.
- Kabeer, N. (2015) 'Gender, poverty, and inequality: a brief history of feminist contributions in the field of international development', *Gender and Development*, 23(2), pp. 189-205.

Kabeer, N. (1999) 'Resources, Agency, Achievements: Reflections on the Measurement of Women's Empowerment', *Development and Change*, 30(3), pp. 435-64.

Kandiyoti, D. (1998) 'Gender, Power and Contestation: "Rethinking bargaining with patriarchy"', in Jackson, C. and Pearson, R. (eds.) *Feminist Visions of Development: Gender Analysis and Policy*. New York: Routledge, pp. 135-152. (available online at UL)

Kirby, P., and Shepherd, L. (2016) 'The Futures Past of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda', *International Affairs*, 92(2), pp. 373-392

Merry, S. E. (2016) *The Seductions of Quantification: Measuring Human Rights, Gender Violence and Sex Trafficking*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. [Ch 1: A World of Quantification] (available online at UL)

Mohanty, C. (2003) *Feminism Without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. [Chapter 1: 'Under Western Eyes'] (available online at UL)

Sen, A. (1999) *Development as Freedom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [Chapter 8: 'Women's Agency and Social Change']

Nussbaum, M. C. (2000) *Women and Human Development: The Capabilities Approach*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. [Introduction, pp. 1-33] (available online at UL)

Further Reading:

Agarwal, B., Humphries, J. and Robeyns, I. (eds.) (2005) *Amartya Sen's Work and Ideas: A Gender Perspective*. New York: Routledge.

Bajaj, M., and Pathmarajah, M. (2011). 'Engendering Agency: The Differentiated Impact of Educational Initiatives in Zambia and India', *Feminist Formations*, 23(3), pp. 48-67.

Bradshaw, S., Chant, S. and Linneker, B. (2017) 'Gender and poverty: what we know, don't know, and need to know for Agenda 2030', *Gender, Place & Culture*, 24(12), pp. 1667-1688.

Carrasco-Miró, G. (2020) 'Decolonizing Feminist Economics: Interrogating the Women's Economic Empowerment and Gender Equality Development Framework', *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/sp/jxaa033>

Chant, S. and Guttman, C. (2002) "'Men-streaming" gender? Questions for gender and development policy in the 21st century', *Progress in Development Studies*, 2(4), pp. 269-282.

Chant, S. and Sweetman, C. (2012) 'Fixing women or fixing the world? "Smart economics", efficiency approaches, and gender equality in development', *Gender and Development*, 20(3), pp. 517-529.

Cornwall, A., Edstrom, J., and Greig, A. (eds.) (2011) *Men and Development: Politicizing Masculinities*. London: Zed Books.

Elson, D. (1995). *Male Bias in the Development Process*, 2nd ed. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Haddad, L.J., Hoddinott, J., and Alderman, H. (1997) *Intrahousehold Resource Allocation in Developing Countries: Models, Methods, and Policy*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Hunter, M. (2010) *Love in the Time of AIDS: Inequality, Gender, and Rights in South Africa*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

- Jolly, S. (2000). “‘Queering’ Development: Exploring the Links between Same-Sex Sexualities, Gender, and Development’, *Gender and Development*, 8(1): 78-88.
- Kabeer, N. (2005) ‘Gender equality and women’s empowerment: a critical analysis of the third millennium development goal 1’, *Gender and Development*, 13(1), pp. 13-24.
- Kabeer, N., Stark, A., and Magnus, E., (eds.) (2008) *Global Perspectives on Gender Equality: Reversing the Gaze*. New York: Routledge.
- Madhok, S. (2013) *Rethinking Agency: Developmentalism, Gender and Rights*. New Delhi: Routledge.
- Mawdsley, E. (2019) ‘Queering Development? The Unsettling Geographies of South-South Cooperation’, *Antipode*, 52(1), pp. 227-245.
- Molyneux, M. (2006) ‘Mothers at the Service of the New Poverty Agenda: Progres/Oportunidades, Mexico’s Conditional Transfer Programme’, *Social Policy and Administration*, 40(4), pp. 425–449.
- Orford, A. (1999) ‘Muscular Humanitarianism: Reading the Narratives of the New Interventionism’, *European Journal of International Law*, 10(4), pp. 679-711.
- Parashar, S. (2018) ‘The WPS Agenda: A Postcolonial Critique’, in Davies, S. E. and True, J. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Women, Peace, and Security*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 829-839.
- Porter, H. (2017) ‘Mango trees, offices and altars: The role of relatives, NGOs and churches after rape in northern Uganda’, Chapter 5 in *After Rape: Violence, Justice and Social Harmony in Uganda*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. (CW: sexual violence) (available online at UL)
- Radcliffe, S.A. (2015) *Dilemmas of Difference: Indigenous Women and the Limits of Postcolonial Development Policy*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Meintjes, S., Turshen, M. and Pillay, A. (2002) *The Aftermath: Women in Post-Conflict Transformation*. London: Zed Books.
- The Global Gender Gap Report 2020*. Davos. World Economic Forum. Available at http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2020.pdf

17-20. Gender, Conflict and Violence

Key Themes:, gendered dynamics of war, continuums of violence, militarization, ‘conflict-related’ sexual violence, militarized women, ‘violent’ masculinities, gender and displacement

Suggested supervision question: How does a feminist and/or queer perspective help to understand war?

Core Reading:

- Chinkin, C. and M. Kaldor (2013) ‘Gender and New Wars’, *Journal of International Affairs*, 67(1), pp. 167-187.
- Cockburn, C. (2004) ‘The Continuum of Violence: A Gender Perspective on War and Peace’, in Giles, W. and Hyndman, J. (eds.) *Sites of Violence: Gender and Conflict Zones*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, pp. 24–44. (CW: sexual violence) (available online at UL)
- Cohn, C. (1987) ‘Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals’, *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 12(4), pp. 687-718.

Baaz, M. E. and Stern, M. (2009) 'Why Do Soldiers Rape? Masculinity, Violence, and Sexuality in the Armed Forces in the Congo (DRC)', *International Studies Quarterly*, 53(2), pp. 495-518.

Enloe, C. (2014) *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* [Updated Edition]. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Goldstein, J. (2001) *War and Gender*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. (CW: sexual violence discussed in chapter 6).

Myrttinen, H., Khattab, L., and Naujoks, J. (2017) 'Re-thinking hegemonic masculinities in conflict-affected contexts', *Critical Military Studies*, 3(2), pp. 103-119.

Nordstrom, C. (1999) 'Wars and Invisible Girls, Shadow Industries and the Politics of Not-Knowing', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, (1)1, pp. 14-33. (CW: sexual and domestic violence involving minors)

Puar, J. K. (2013) 'Rethinking Homonationalism', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 45(2), pp. 336-339.

Sjoberg, L. (2013) *Gendering Global Conflict: Toward a Feminist Theory of War*. New York: Columbia University Press. (available online at UL)

Utas, M. (2005) 'Victimcy, Girlfriending, Soldiering: Tactic Agency in a Young Woman's Social Navigation of the Liberian War Zone', *Anthropological Quarterly*, 78(2), pp. 403-30. (CW: sexual violence)

Further Reading:

Alison, M. (2007) 'Wartime Sexual Violence: women's human rights and questions of masculinity', *Review of International Studies*, 33(1), pp. 75-90.

Baaz, M. E. and Stern, M. (2018) 'Curious erasures: the sexual in wartime sexual violence', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 20(3), pp. 295-314. (CW: sexual violence)

Baaz, M. E. and Stern, M. (2013) *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* London: Zed Books. (CW: sexual violence)

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Gentry, C. and Sjoberg, L. (2015) *Beyond Mothers, Monsters, Whores: Thinking about Women's Violence in Global Politics*. London: Zed Books

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Hansen, L. (2001) 'Gender, Nation, Rape: Bosnia and the Construction of Security', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 3(1), pp. 55–75. (CW: sexual violence)

Henry, M. (2012) 'Peacexploitation? Interrogating Labor Hierarchies and Global Sisterhood Among Indian and Uruguayan Female Peacekeepers', *Globalizations*, 9(1), pp. 15–33.

Hudson, V. M. et. al. (2014) *Sex and World Peace*. New York: Columbia University Press. (CW: sporadic discussion of sexual violence throughout)

Khalili, L. (2011) 'Gendered Practices of Counterinsurgency', *Review of International Studies*, 37(4), pp. 1471–1491.

Kirby, P. (2013) 'Refusing to be a Man? Men's Responsibility for War Rape and the Problem of Social Structures in Feminist and Gender Theory', *Men and Masculinities*, 16(1), pp. 93–114. (CW: sexual violence)

MacKinnon, C. (1993) 'Crimes of War, Crimes of Peace', *UCLA Women's Law Journal*, 4(1), pp. 59–86. (CW: sexual violence)

MacKenzie, M. (2015) *Beyond the Band of Brothers: The US Military and the Myth that Women Can't Fight*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. (CW: occasional discussion of military sexual violence)

McClintock, A. (1993) 'Family Feuds: Gender, Nationalism and the Family', *Feminist Review*, 44, pp. 61–80.

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Suerbaum, M. (2018) 'Becoming and "Unbecoming" Refugees: Making Sense of Masculinity and Refugeeess Among Syrian Refugee Men in Egypt', *Men and Masculinities*, 21(3), pp. 363–382).

Sylvester, C. (2012) *War as Experience*. London: Routledge.

- Tripp, M.A. (2015) *Women and Power in Postconflict Africa*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Wilcox, L. (2017) 'Embodying Algorithmic War: Gender, Race, and the Posthuman in Drone Warfare', *Security Dialogue*, 48(1), pp. 11–28. (CW: graphic depictions of violence)
- Wood, E. (2018) 'Rape as Practice of War: Toward a Typology of Political Violence', *Politics & Society*, 46(4), pp. 513–537. (CW: sexual violence)
- Wood, E. (2006) 'Variation in Sexual Violence During War', *Politics & Society*, 34(3), pp. 307–342.
- Young, I. M. (2003) 'The Logic of Masculinist Protection: Reflections on the Current Security State', *Signs: Journal of Women, Culture and Society*, 29(2), pp. 15–35.
- Zarkov, D. (2007) *The Body of War: Media, Ethnicity, and Gender in the Break-up of Yugoslavia*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. (CW: sexual violence)

21-24. Gender, Social Movements and Radical Politics

Key Themes: sexuality, queer theory, radical politics, transnational feminist movements, anti-racist feminisms, identity politics, globalization and LGBTQ+ politics.

Suggested supervision question: To what extent is political mobilization around the concept of 'gender' capable of meeting the challenges of the contemporary political condition(s)?

Core Reading:

- Brown, W. (1995) *States of Injury: Power and Freedom in Late Modernity*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. [Especially the introduction, 'Freedom and the Plastic Cage' and chapter 3, 'Wounded Attachments'.] (available online at UL)
- Butler, J. (2019) 'Gender in Translation: Beyond Monolingualism', *PhiloSOPHIA*, 9(1), pp. 1–25.
- Combahee River Collective (1977) 'The Combahee River Collective Statement'. Available at <http://historyisaweapon.com/defcon1/combrivercoll.html> and also widely online.
- Corredor, E. (2019) 'Unpacking "Gender Ideology" and the Global Right's Antigender Countermovement', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 44(3), pp. 613–638. (See also the other articles in this special issue on gender and the far-right.)
- Ferguson, R. A. (2018) *One-Dimensional Queer*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press. (available online at UL)
- Hill Collins, P. and Bilge, S. (2020) *Intersectionality*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press. (2016 first edition available online at UL). Especially chapters 3, 4, 5, and 6.
- Rao, R. (2020) *Out of Time: The Queer Politics of Postcoloniality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (available online at UL) Especially the introduction, 'The Queer Politics of Postcoloniality', chapter 2, 'The Location of Homophobia', chapter 4, 'Spectres of Colonialism', and chapter 6, 'The Nation and its Queers'.

Further Reading:

- Arruzza, C. (2017) 'From Social Reproduction Feminism to the Women's Strike', in Bhattacharya, T. (ed.) *Social Reproduction Theory: Remapping Class, Recentering Oppression*. London: Pluto Press, pp. 192–196.
- Bhandar, B and R. Ziadah. (eds.) (2020). *Revolutionary Feminisms: Conversations on Collective Action and Radical Thought*. London: Verso.

- Bilge, S. (2013) 'Intersectionality Undone: Saving Intersectionality from Feminist Intersectionality Studies', *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 10(2), pp. 405-424.
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- Davis, A. Y., Dent, G., Richie, B., and Meiners, E. (2021) *Abolition. Feminism. Now.* Chicago: Haymarket Books.
- Davis, A. Y. (2016) *Freedom is a Constant Struggle: Ferguson, Palestine, and the Foundations of a Movement.* Chicago: Haymarket Books.
- Delap, L. (2020) *Feminisms: A Global History.* London: Pelican.
- Duggan, L. (2003) *The Twilight of Equality? Neoliberalism, Cultural Politics, and the Attack on Democracy.* Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- Emejulu, A. and Sobande, F. (eds.) (2019) *To Exist is to Resist: Black Feminism in Europe.* London: Pluto Press.
- Firestone, S. (1970) *The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution.* New York: William Morrow and Co.
- Forrester, K. (2022) 'Feminist Demands and the Problem of Housework'. *American Political Science Review*, 1-15.
- Gago, V. (2020) *Feminist International: How to Change Everything.* London ; New York: Verso.
- Gibson-Graham, J. K. (1996) *The End of Capitalism (As We Knew It): A Feminist Critique of Political Economy.* Oxford: Blackwell.
- Goldman, E. (1910) *Anarchism and Other Essays.* Mother Earth Publishing.
- Graff, A. and Korolczuk, E. (eds.) (2021) *Anti-Gender Politics in the Populist Moment.* London: Routledge.
- Hanhardt, C. (2013) *Safe Space: Gay Neighborhood History and the Politics of Violence.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Hemmings, C. (2011) *Why Stories Matter: The Political Grammar of Feminist Theory.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Hill Collins, P. (2019) *Intersectionality as Critical Social Theory.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence (eds.) (2016 [2006]) *Color of Violence: The INCITE! Anthology.* (Especially essays 'Gender Violence and the Prison-Industrial Complex,' and Sudbury, 'Rethinking Antiviolence Strategies: Lessons from the Black Women's Movement in Britain'.)
- Liu, P (2020). "Queer Theory and the Specter of Materialism." *Social Text* 38(4): 25-47.
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- McRuer, R. (2006) *Crip Theory: Cultural Signs of Queerness and Disability.* New York: New York University Press.
- McCall, L. (2005) 'The Complexity of Intersectionality', *Signs: Journal of Women and Culture and Society*, 30(3), pp. 1771-1800.
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- Muñoz, J. E. (1999) *Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics.* Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

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- Scott, J. W. (2017) *Sex and Secularism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Smith, N. (2020) *Capitalism’s Sexual History*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Spivak, G. (1994) ‘Can the Subaltern Speak?’ in Williams, P. and Chrisman, L. (eds.) *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*. London: Routledge, pp. 66–111. (Also widely available online.)
- Srinivasan, A. (2022) *The Right to Sex*. London: Bloomsbury
- Sudbury, J. (2005) ‘Celling Black Bodies: Black Women in the Global Prison Industrial Complex’, *Feminist Review*, 80, pp. 162–179.
- Swaby, N. (2014) “‘Disparate in Voice, Sympathetic in Direction’: Gendered Political Blackness and the Politics of Solidarity’, *Feminist Review*, 108(1), pp. 11–25.
- Taylor, K.-Y. (ed.) (2017) *How We Get Free: Black Feminism and the Combahee River Collective*. Chicago: Haymarket Books. (Includes ‘The Combahee River Collective Statement’.)
- Thuma, E. (2015) ‘Lessons in Self-Defense: Gender Violence, Racial Criminalization, and Anticarceral Feminism’, *WSQ: Women’s Studies Quarterly*, 43(3&4), pp. 52–71.
- Thopin, L. (2018) *Wages for Housework: A History of an International Feminist Movement, 1972–1977*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Vergès, F. (2020) *The Wombs of Women: Race, Capital, Feminism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. (discusses decolonizing French feminism). See also Vergès, F. (2021) *A Decolonial Feminism*. London: Pluto Press.
- Warner, M. (1999) *The Trouble with Normal: Sex, Politics, and the Ethics of Queer Life*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Weeks, K. (2011) *The Problem with Work: Feminism, Marxism, Antiwork Politics, and Postwork Imaginaries*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Young, I. M. (1990) *Justice and the Politics of Difference*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Video: Judith Butler, “Who is Afraid of Gender?” University of Cambridge, 26 April 2022.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yD6UukSbAMs>

17-18 Gender, Climate, and the Environment:

Key Themes: bodies, coloniality, environment, nature, science and industry, toxicity, pollution.

Suggested supervision question: What light can 'gender' analysis shed on the origins and possible solutions of the climate/ environmental crisis?

Core Reading:

Alaimo, S. (2010) 'Bodily Natures,' in Alaimo, S. (ed.) *Bodily Natures: Science, Environment, and the Material Self*. Indiana: Indiana University Press, pp. 1-26. (available online at UL)

Daggett, C. (2018) 'Petro-Masculinity: Fossil Fuels and Authoritarian Desire,' *Millennium*, 47(1), pp. 25–44. (available online at UL)

Mies, M. (1986) 'Colonization and Housewifization,' in Mies, M. (ed.) *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale: Women in the International Division of Labour*. London: Bloomsbury, pp. 74-111. (available online at UL)

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Ray, S. J., and Sibara, J. (2017) 'Introduction,' in Ray, S. J., and Sibara, J. (eds.) *Disability Studies and the Environmental Humanities: Toward an Eco-Crip Theory*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, pp. 1-26. (available online at UL)

Tuck, E., and Yang, K. W. (2012) 'Decolonization is not a metaphor,' *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, 1(1), pp.1-40. Available at <https://clas.osu.edu/sites/clas.osu.edu/files/Tuck%20and%20Yang%202012%20Decolonization%20is%20not%20a%20metaphor.pdf>

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[Podcast] *The Climate Brides Podcast* (2022), Episode 3. Climate Brides. Available at <https://open.spotify.com/episode/6S6zIdAVauqQJp6cdgXcJT?si=mJqIIQFIQYOOaZQqDiQH-Q> (Created by UCCGS PhD student Reetika Subramanian!)

[Poem] Farrokhzad, F. (2004) 'I Pity the Garden,' in Wolpé, S. (ed. and trans.) *Sin: Selected Poems of Forugh Farrokhzad*. Available at <https://wordswithoutborders.org/read/article/2004-05/i-pity-the-garden> (text) / <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kjl3GA-GVKg> (recital)

Further Reading:

Adams, C. J. (1990) *The Sexual Politics of Meat: A Feminist-Vegetarian Critical Theory*. New York: Continuum.

Allewaert, M. (2013) *Ariel's Ecology: Plantations, Personhood, and Colonialism in the American Tropics*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Ansfield, B. (2015) 'Still Submerged: The Uninhabitability of Urban Redevelopment,' in McKittrick, K. (ed.) *Sylvia Wynter: On Being Human as Praxis*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Chatterjee, S., and Subramaniam, B. (2021) *Meat! A Transnational Analysis*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Chen, M. (2011) 'Toxic Animacies, Inanimate Affections,' *GLQ*, 17(2-3), pp. 265–286. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1215/10642684-1163400>

- Davis, J., Moulton, A. A., Van Sant, L., Williams, B. (2019) 'Anthropocene, Capitalocene, ... Plantationocene?: A Manifesto for Ecological Justice in an Age of Global Crises.' *Geography Compass*, 13(5), pp. 1-15. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1111/gec3.12438>
- Federici, S. (2004) *Caliban and the Witch*. Williamsburg, Brooklyn: Autonomedia.
- Gómez-Barris, M. (2017) *The Extractive Zone: Social Ecologies and Decolonial Perspectives*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Gruslin, R. (ed.) 2017) *Anthropocene Feminism*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Halberstam, J. (2021) *Wild Things: The Disorder of Desire*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Hans, A., Rao, N., Prakash, A., and Patel, A. (2021) *Engendering Climate Change: Lessons from South Asia*. New York: Routledge.
- Haraway, D. J. (1991) *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*. London: Free Association Books.
- Haritaworn, J. (2015) 'Decolonizing the Nonhuman', *GLQ*, 21(2/3), pp. 210-213. Available at <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/582030/summary>
- King, T. L. (2019) *The Black Shoals: Offshore Formations of Black and Native Studies*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
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- Nixon, R. (2011) 'Slow Violence, Gender, and the Environmentalism of the Poor,' in Nixon, R. (ed.) *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, pp. 128-149. Available at <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt2jbsgw.8>
- Roy, A. (2014) *Capitalism: A Ghost Story*. London: Verso.
- Salleh, A. (1997) *Ecofeminism as Politics: Nature, Marx and the Postmodern*. London: Zed Books.
- Schmelzer, M., Vetter, A., and Vansintjan, A. (2022) *The Future is Degrowth: A Guide to a World Beyond Capitalism*. London: Verso.
- Simpson, L. B. (2014) 'Land as pedagogy: Nishnaabeg intelligence and rebellious transformation,' *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, 3(3), pp. 1-25. Available at <https://jps.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/des/article/view/22170/17985>
- Thuy Linh Nguyen, T. (2021) *Experiments in Skin: Race and Beauty in the Shadows of Vietnam*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1215/9781478013136-002>
- Waldron, I. R. G. (2018) *There's Something in the Water: Environmental Racism in Indigenous and Black Communities*. Winnipeg, MB: Fernwood Publishing.

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[Podcast] *The Dark Laboratory* (2023) Dark Laboratory. Available at <https://player.captivate.fm/episode/365a28e9-5508-4a61-9d56-b15406d3be95>

[Podcast] *What is Gaelic Re-Existence?* (2023) Jimmy Ó Briain Billings. Available at: <https://gaelicreexistence.substack.com/p/what-is-gaelic-re-existence-part-1>

[Also see Moodle for past exam papers and Examiners' Reports

NB: a previous title of this paper was POL 18]
