

POL 17: Politics & Gender

Part IIB HSPS Tripos 2022/2023

Course Co-ordinator: Lauren Wilcox

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Associate Professor Holly Porter: hep44@cam.ac.uk

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: Political Representation, Rights, Inequality, Power and the Body, Development and Humanitarianism, Conflict and Violence, and Social Movements and Radical Politics.

Supervisions:

Supervision for this paper will be centrally organised across Michaelmas and Lent terms. Students will be able to sign up for six supervisions of their choosing from the seven key themes.

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Additional PhD student supervisors TBA.

Assessment:

There will be a one three-hour written examination. Candidates must answer three questions. Example exam papers are available on Moodle. (Please note that the paper was previously called POL 18.) Revision will be organised in the Easter Term.

Lectures Michaelmas Term:

Gender and the Political Subject. Introduction I.	Prof Jude Browne
Gender and the Political Subject. Introduction II.	Prof Jude Browne
Gender and Representation I.	Prof Jude Browne
Gender and Representation II.	Prof Jude Browne
Gender and Rights I.	Prof Jude Browne
Gender and Rights II.	Prof Jude Browne
Gender and Inequality I.	Prof Jude Browne

Gender and Inequality II.	Prof Jude Browne	2
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	

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

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]

3-4. Gender and Political Representation

Key Themes: representation, democracy, identity, culture, political dialogue and justice.

Suggested supervision question: Can gender be represented in political assemblies?

Core Reading:

Allen, D. S. (2016) 'Toward a Connected Society', in Lewis, E. and Cantor, N. (eds.) *Our Compelling Interests: the Value of Diversity for Democracy and a Prosperous Society*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 71-105. (available online at UL)

Browne, J. (ed.) (2013) *Dialogue, Politics and Gender*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. (available online at UL)

Browne, J. (ed.). (2021) *Why Gender?* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press

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)

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)

Hill Collins, P. (2017) 'The Difference That Power Makes: Intersectionality and Participatory Democracy', *Investigaciones Feministas*, 8(1), pp. 19-39.

Krook, M. L. and Norris, P. (2014) 'Beyond Quotas: Strategies to Promote Gender Equality in Elected Office', *Political Studies*, 62(1), pp. 2-20.

Pitkin, H. (1967) *The Concept of Representation*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. (available online at UL)

Phillips, A. (2012) 'Representation and Inclusion', *Politics & Gender*, 8(4), pp. 512-518.

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

Further Reading:

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

Brito-Viera, M. A., and Runciman, D. (2008) *Representation*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Browne, J. (2014) 'The Critical Mass Marker Approach: Female Quotas and Social Justice', *Political Studies*, 62(4), pp. 862-877.

Boix, C. (2015) *Political Order and Inequality: Their Foundations and their Consequences for Human Welfare*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Dovi, S. (2012) *The Good Representative*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Government and Opposition: An International Journal of Comparative Politics. (2016) Special Collection including articles on Candidate Selection: Parties & Legislatures in a New Era, 51(3), July 2016. Available at: <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/government-and-opposition/information/gender-and-political-representation>

Htun, M. (2004) 'Is Gender like Ethnicity? The Political Representation of Identity Groups', *Perspectives on Politics*, 2(3), pp. 439-458.

Mansbridge, J. (2011) 'Clarifying the Concept of Representation', *American Political Science Review*, 105(3), pp. 621-30.

Murray, R. (2013) 'Quotas, Citizens, and Norms of Representation', *Politics & Gender*, 9(3), pp. 304-309.

- Paxton, P., Hughes, M. M., and Painter, M. A. (2010) 'Growth in women's political representation: A longitudinal exploration of democracy, electoral system and gender quotas', *European Journal of Political Research*, 49(1), pp. 25–52.
- Phillips, A. (1995) *The Politics of Presence*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- 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.
- Pojman, L. P. (1998) 'The Case Against Affirmative Action', *International Journal of Applied Philosophy*, 12(1), pp. 97-115.
- Rehfeld, A. (2011) 'The Concepts of Representation', *American Political Science Review*, 105(3), pp. 631-641.
- Reynolds, A. (2013) 'Representation and Rights: The Impact of LGBT Legislators in Comparative Perspective', *American Political Science Review*, 102(2), pp. 259-274.
- Runciman, D. (2007) 'The Paradox of Political Representation,' *Journal of Political Philosophy*, 15(1), pp. 93–114.
- Shapiro, I., Stokes, S. C., Wood, E. J., and Kirshner, A. S. (eds.) (2009) *Political Representation*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Squires, J., Lovenduski, J. & Krook, M. L. (2009) 'Gender Quotas and Models of Political Citizenship', *British Journal of Political Science*, 39, pp. 781–803.
- Strolovitch, D. Z. (2007) *Affirmative Advocacy: Race, Class, and Gender in Interest Group Politics*. Chicago University Press.
- Williams, M. S. (2000) 'The Uneasy Alliance of Group Representation and Deliberative Democracy', in Kymlicka, W. and Norman, W. (eds.) *Citizenship in Diverse Societies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 124–153.
- Young, I. M. (2004) 'Five Faces of Oppression', in Heldke, L. M. and O'Connor, P. (eds.) *Oppression, Privilege & Resistance: Theoretical Perspectives on Racism, Sexism, and Heterosexism*. Boston, MA: McGraw-Hill Press, pp.37-63.
- Waylen, G., Celis, K., Kantola, J., and Weldon, S. L. (eds.) (2013) *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

5-6. Gender and Rights

Key Themes: human rights, gender-specific rights, minimalist and expansionist models of rights.

Suggested supervision question: Does it make sense to have gender-specific rights?

Core Reading:

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

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

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.

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

5

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.

Deveaux, M. (2009) 'Normative liberal theory and the bifurcation of human rights', *Ethics and Global Politics*, 2(3), pp. 171–191.

Gilreath, S. (2014) *The End of Straight Supremacy: Realizing Gay Liberation*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. (available online at UL)

MacKinnon, C. (2007) *Are Women Human?: And Other International Dialogues*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. (available online at UL)

Sikkink, K. (2020) *The Hidden Face of Rights: Toward a Politics of Responsibilities*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. (available online at UL)

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.

Further Reading:

Bedi, S. (2009) *Rejecting Rights*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

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

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

Hepple, B. (2011) *Equality: The New Legal Framework*. London: Hart Publishing.

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.

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.

Mouffe, C. (2008) 'Which World Order? Cosmopolitan or Multipolar?', *Ethical Perspectives*, 15(4), pp. 453- 467.

Nash, K. (2002) 'Human Rights for Women: An Argument for "Deconstructive Equality"', *Economy and Society*, 31(3), pp. 414-433.

Phillips, A. (2015) *The Politics of the Human*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Redhead, R. (2015) *Exercising Human Rights: Gender, Agency and Practice*. New York: Routledge.

Rubio-Marín, R. (2009) *The Gender of Reparations: Unsettling Sexual Hierarchies while Redressing Human Rights Violations*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Satterthwaite, M. L. and Huckerby, J. C. (2013) *Gender, National Security, and Counter-Terrorism: Human Rights Perspectives*. New York: Routledge.

Sen, A. (2004) 'Elements of a Theory of Human Rights', *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 32(4), pp. 315- 356.

Shue, H. (1980) *Basic Rights: Subsistence, Affluence, and U.S. Foreign Policy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

6

United Nations (2011) *Discriminatory laws and practices and acts of violence against individuals based on their sexual orientation and gender identity*. United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. 17th November. A/HRC/19/41. New York and Geneva: United Nations. Available at http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrcouncil/docs/19session/A.HRC.19.41_English.pdf

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>

Walsh, D. M. (2014) *Women's Rights in Democratizing States: Just Debate and Gender Justice in the Public Sphere*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

7-8. Gender and Inequality

Key Themes: global gender gaps, labour market inequality, the family, causal theories of inequality, poverty, political economy.

Suggested supervision question: What causes gender inequality?

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

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

Lombardo, E., Meier, P., and Verloo, M. (eds.) (2009) *The Discursive Politics of Gender Equality: Stretching, Bending and Policy-Making*. London: Routledge.

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).

Powers, M. and Faden, R. R. (2019) *Structural Injustice: Power, Advantage, and Human Rights*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (available online at UL)

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

Wright, M. W. (2006) *Disposable Women and Other Myths of Global Capitalism*. New York: Routledge. 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.

- Bowman, J. R. and Cole, A. M. (2009) 'Do Working Mothers Oppress Other Women? The Swedish "Maid Debate" and the Welfare State Politics of Gender Equality', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 35(1), pp. 157-184.
- Browne, J. (2007) *Sex Segregation and Inequality in the Modern Labour Market*. Bristol, UK: Policy Press.
- Browne, J. (ed.) (2007) *The Future of Gender*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Caraway, T. L. (2007) *Assembling Women: The Feminization of Global Manufacturing*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Fine, C. (2010) *Delusions of Gender: The Real Science Behind Sex Differences*. London: Icon Press.
- Guy, M. E. and Newman, M. A. (2004) 'Women's Jobs, Men's Jobs: Sex Segregation and Emotional Labor', *Public Administration Review*, 64(3), pp. 289–298.
- Hochschild, A. R. (2000) 'Global Care Chains and Emotional Surplus Value', in Hutton, W. and Giddens, A. (eds.) *On The Edge: Living with Global Capitalism*. London: Jonathan Cape.
- Hozic, A. A. and True, J. (2016) 'Making Feminist Sense of the Global Financial Crisis', in Hozic, A. A. and True, J. (eds.) *Scandalous Economics: Gender and the Politics of Financial Crises*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 3-20.
- Krizsán, A., Skjeie, H., and Squires, J. (eds.) (2012) *Institutionalizing Intersectionality: The Changing Nature of European Equality Regimes*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Moore, H. L. (2011) *Still Life: Hopes, Desires and Satisfaction*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Peterson, V. S. (2003) *A Critical Rewriting of Global Political Economy: Integrating Reproductive, Productive, and Virtual Economies*. New York: Routledge.
- Peterson, V. S. (2005) 'How (the Meaning of) Gender Matters in Political Economy', *New Political Economy*, 10(4), pp. 499–521.
- Sainsbury, D. (2013) 'Gender, Care and Welfare', 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. 313-336.
- Squires, J. (2007) *The New Politics of Gender Equality*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Roberts, A. (2016) 'Finance, Financialization, and the Production of Gender', in Hozic, A. A. and True, J. (eds.) *Scandalous Economics: Gender and the Politics of Financial Crises*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 57–76.
- The Global Gender Gap Report 2021*. Davos. World Economic Forum. Available at <https://www.weforum.org/reports/global-gender-gap-report-2021/>

9-12. Gender, Power and the Body

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

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.
- Foucault, M. (1978) *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1: An Introduction*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Halberstam, J. (2017) *Trans*: A Quick and Quirky Account of Gender Variability*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press. (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.
- 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)
- Further Reading:**
- 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.
- Benjamin, R. (2019) *Race After Technology: Abolitionist Tools for the New Jim Code*. Cambridge: Polity.
- 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.
- Comaroff, J. (1993) 'The Diseased Heart of Africa: Medicine, Colonialism, and the Black Body', in Lindenbaum, S. and Lock, M. (eds.) *Knowledge, Power, and Practice: The Anthropology of Medicine and Everyday Life*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, pp. 305–329.
- 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

9

Fausto-Sterling, A. (2000) *Sexing the Body: Gender Politics and the Construction of Sexuality*. New York: Basic Books.]

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.

Scott, J. W. (1991) 'The Evidence of Experience', *Critical Inquiry*, 17(4), pp. 773–797.

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.

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.

Willey, A. (2016) *Undoing Monogamy: The Politics of Science and the Possibilities of Biology*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

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:

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.

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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)
- Blanchard, E. (2003) 'Gender, International Relations and the Development of Feminist Security Theory', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 28(3), pp. 1289-1312.
- Butler, J. (2009) *Frames of War: When is Life Grievable?* London: Verso Books.
- Caprioli, M. (2005) 'Primed for Violence: The Role of Gender Inequality in Predicting Internal Conflict', *International Studies Quarterly*, 49(2), pp. 161-178.
- Charlesworth, H. (2008) 'Are Women Peaceful? Reflections on the Role of Women in Peace-Building', *Feminist Legal Studies*, 16, pp. 347-361.
- Cohen, D.K. (2013) 'Explaining Rape during Civil War: Cross-National Evidence (1980-2009)', *American Political Science Review*, 107(3), pp. 461-477. (CW: sexual violence)
- Dolan, C. (2002) 'Collapsing Masculinities and Weak States: A Case Study of Northern Uganda', in Cleaver, F. (ed.) *Masculinities Matter!: Men, Gender, and Development*. London: Zed Books.
- Duzel, E. (2018) 'Fragile goddesses: moral subjectivity and militarized agencies in female guerrilla diaries and memoirs', *International Journal of Politics*, 20(2), pp. 14-33.
- Enloe, C. (2000) *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. (CW: sexual violence in some chapters)
- Gentry, C. and Sjoberg, L. (2015) *Beyond Mothers, Monsters, Whores: Thinking about Women's Violence in Global Politics*. London: Zed Books
- Halley, J. (2008) 'Rape in Berlin: Reconsidering the criminalisation of rape in the international law of armed conflict', *Melbourne Journal of International Law*, 9(1), pp. 78-124. (CW: sexual violence)
- 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.
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- 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.

- Mahmood, S. (2009) 'Feminism, Democracy, and Empire: Islam and the War on Terror', in Herzog, H. and Braude, A. (eds.) *Gendering Religion and Politics: Untangling Modernities*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 193–215.
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- Porter, H. (2018) 'Moral Spaces and Sexual Transgression: Understanding Rape in War and Post Conflict', *Development and Change*, 50(4), pp. 1-24. (CW: sexual violence).
- Puar, J. K. (2007) *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. (CW: sexual violence, racial violence.)
- Riley, R.L, Mohanty, C., and Pratt, M. B. (eds.) (2008) *Feminism and War: Confronting US Imperialism*. London: Zed Books.
- Schulz, P. (2018) 'Displacement from Gendered Personhood: Sexual Violence and Masculinities in Northern Uganda', *International Affairs*, 94(5), pp. 1101-1119. (CW: sexual violence)
- Shepherd, L. (2008) *Gender, Violence and Security*. London: Zed Books.
- Sjoberg, L. (2014) *Gender, War, and Conflict*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press. (CW: sexual violence mentioned sporadically throughout) (available online at UL)
- Suerbaum, M. (2018) 'Becoming and "Unbecoming" Refugees: Making Sense of Masculinity and Refugeeness 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

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

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.

Cohen, C. J. (1997) 'Punks, Bulldaggers, and Welfare Queens: The Radical Potential of Queer Politics?' *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, 3, pp. 437–465.

Crenshaw, K. (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*, 1989(1), pp. 139-167.

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.

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. 16
- 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’.)
- Mahmood, S. (2001) ‘Feminist Theory, Embodiment, and the Docile Agent: Some Reflections on the Egyptian Islamic Revival’, *Cultural Anthropology*, 16(2), pp. 202–236.
- Massad, J. (2002) ‘Re-Orienting Desire: The Gay International and the Arab World’, *Public Culture*, 14(2), pp. 361–385.
- 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.
- Mirza, H. S. (1997) *Black British Feminism: A Reader*. London: Routledge.
- Muñoz, J. E. (1999) *Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Nash, J. (2018) *Black Feminism Reimagined: After Intersectionality*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
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- Rofel, L. (1999) *Other Modernities: Gendered Yearnings in China after Socialism*. Berkeley, CA: University of California 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’.)

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17

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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.

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

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