Fall 2007

Sociology 623
Gender, Society and Politics
Special Focus: Europe and the US

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Course Description

In this course, we examine the interaction of gender relations and politics, looking specifically at how these relations in the US differ from those in Europe. As a result, most of the reading for this course is European and American in focus, though I am open to final papers that bring in comparisons with other countries as well. The course counts for a European Studies Certificate, there are special funding opportunities for students who want to study in the EU, and there will be the option of a German FLAC section (one extra credit for reading and discussing relevant German material).

Some notes about the focus of the course: This is a course that takes a feminist perspective on gender relations. I define feminism as an orientation to challenging and changing those relations that subordinate women to men. How many such policies there are, which ones do have this effect or not, and how they should change are always a subject of debate. Since we will be looking at states and people who are (or claim to be) doing feminist politics, if you decide a priori that all such efforts are pointless or inherently misguided OR automatically correct and valuable, you may find it hard to be constructively critical about their goals or strategies. Regardless of what disagreements you may have with other students or with me about general politics or specific policies, I expect our discussions always to be respectful of our differences while engaging critically and passionately with the evidence. We should all strive to neither give nor take personal offense in discussing even the most controversial issues and in challenging our own and others’ preconceptions about gender and how it intersects with economic inequalities, cultural values, and social structures organizing daily life.

Course Organization and Requirements

Class format: This course is a discussion-based examination of the readings (in that sense, seminar-like), and class preparation and class participation is absolutely crucial. In addition, we will be working through an extensive simulation exercise (role-playing negotiations), taking advantage of films and speakers, and attending one intensive Friday conference with outstanding speakers on “Cultures of Democracy?” I am therefore RE-SCHEDULING THREE CLASSES to reflect these time demands. Mark your calendars now to take these unusual scheduling demands into account, especially for the simulation!

Requirements:
1. Attendance, participation in class discussions, and engagement with the reading on an ongoing basis (50% of grade). Reading should be completed before the first class every week. You will have great difficulty in this class if you are not regularly prepared.
a) **EACH week you are expected to post at least 250 words of questions/comments to Learn@UW.**

Original postings done BEFORE the first class meeting and responses to other students’ postings that substantively add insights into the issues raised count MOST. Timely comments and questions based on class discussion, personal anecdotes that don’t fit in the framework of class discussion but relate to the readings, ideas you thought would get discussed but weren’t, ideas you had walking to or from class or that we just didn’t get to in time – all of these types of on-line participation count too. Postings are treated as an extension of in-class discussion (and graded therefore by both quantity and quality at the end of the semester); along with active in-class participation this “active engagement with ideas” counts for 10% of the final grade.

b) For **any 3 weeks** (of your choice) you need to turn in **short papers (about 1000 words each)** about the week’s readings by **5 pm of the FRIDAY BEFORE that week’s readings** are to be discussed. These papers should be placed in the appropriate “drop box” in Learn@UW and they are “real papers” in the sense that they should be organized, have an argument and conclusion, and use topic sentences and good grammar. They do NOT require any library research but should show your attention and thought to the ideas in the assigned readings. Your paper should (a) compare and contrast one reading with another or (b) use a reading to discuss/analyze some personal experience you’ve had or (c) connect a reading with something you learned in some other course or context, (d) compare and contrast some aspect of the assigned week’s reading with issues already discussed in previous classes or in prior readings (e) apply a reading to analyze a film, photos, ads or a news article relevant to the course. Each will be graded on the usual scale and count 10% each (30% of total). I do not allow rewrites, but if you are dissatisfied with your grade on one or more short papers you may do additional ones to be averaged into your grade, so it is very much to your advantage to do these papers as early in the semester as possible. **AT LEAST one paper MUST be completed by October 12 and a minimum of two papers must be done by November 9 and all three by December 10.**

c) Finally, we are using **role-playing** as a way of figuring out how policy works from the point of view of a policy-maker (at the national level and in the EU). You need to both participate in the role-playing exercise itself (& the in- and out-of-class work it entails), but also to turn in **(to the drop-box) a discussion paper** on the issues of equality and difference (among women, among nations, and between genders) as addressed by policy-making as you “experienced” in these roles. This reflection on nations, negotiations, gender equality principles, and social change is **DUE the Monday after the EU simulation – November 12,** in the appropriate dropbox (this should be about 750-1200 words and counts 10%)

2. The **midsemester exam** is a take-home essay exam in which you will have considerable choice. You will get the questions on OCTOBER 22 and the answer-essays are due in the appropriate dropbox OCTOBER 29. The questions will be broad and integrative, not tests of memorization. Think of it as two short papers (about 750 words each). This exam counts 20% (10% for each essay). The response papers are good practice for this (another reason to do them early).

3. **Final project – a case study of gender politics anywhere in the world.** You need to pick a political issue or organization that is relevant for studying gender relations and focus on analyzing how
the concepts of the course apply to your chosen case. It may be American, European, non-Western, or comparative in focus. It could be a social movement (like pacifism in the US, or feminism in France), a policy (like affirmative action in Germany, welfare reform in the US), an organization (like the European Women’s Lobby or DAWN), a campaign (for a policy change like legalizing prostitution, stopping sex trafficking, or increasing the number of women on corporate boards). The paper has to be done in stages, each of which carries points toward the final grade, and it has to make real, appropriate use of at least THREE of the books or articles of the assigned (including honors) reading list as well as whatever outside research sources you need (a MINIMUM of three additional books or articles). This paper counts for 30% of your final grade.

**Stage 1.** Pick a topic and find one book or article that deals directly with it. Write a short (300 word or so) review that summarizes what you now know about the topic and ends with a question that you want to do some more research/reading to answer. **Stage 1 DUE November 16 (12 points)**

**Stage 2.** Do a search in the library and on the web for additional information on your topic and put together a one-page bibliography that includes at least 5 possible scholarly sources (to use in addition to class readings). **Stage 2 DUE November 28. (12 points)**

**Stage 3.** Write a 500 word thematic statement describing your current take on your topic, what has changed in your thinking about it as you have been reading, and what you want the thesis/argument of your paper to be. Include the revised bibliography you have put together and are using, and make sure your project has some argument to make about the case. **Stage 3 DUE December 7 (12 points)**

**Stage 4.** The final paper, approximately 10-15 double-spaced pages or 2500-3000 words. The final paper will be judged on thoughtful use of concepts from the course (showing that you understand and can apply them) as well as on the quality of outside research done on the particular case you have chosen to look at in more detail. You are expected to quote appropriately from both the assigned readings and the additional research you did. **FINAL PAPERS DUE December 20. (64 points).**

The whole final project (all 100 points) is worth 30% of your grade but the first three stages together contribute more than a third of the value of that grade. Any early stage work that is turned in late loses a point for each day that it is late. Any of the stages can be turned in early. Late final papers will only be accepted by prior arrangement and with a grade penalty.

There is NO Final Exam for this course: your appropriate use of the assigned readings in developing and carrying out your final project is how I will test your knowledge of the material.

**Additional issues:**

All students are encouraged to use the resources of the Writing Lab (located in Helen C. White), especially if you have not previously done this sort of writing. They offer both group classes and individual tutoring. In addition, they have a collection of books on how to write good papers, including *A Guide to Writing Sociology Papers*, by the Sociology Writing Group (St. Martin's, 1994 [third edition]) and *A Writer's Reference*, by Diana Hacker (St. Martin's, 1995 [third edition]). I personally recommend *Writing for Social Scientists* by Howard Becker (Univ. of Chicago). Start exploring topics for your project early and take time to get feedback from the Writing Center and to talk with me about your plans. I do NOT read advance drafts.
I have set aside a class for working together on using the library effectively for researching gender politics; in my experience even graduate students can learn a few more good tricks; in addition there is a class in which you will be presenting your project ideas and can develop research teams on related topics (although the final paper must be written individually).

All students are also reminded of the university’s rules on academic honesty and plagiarism. **Knowledge of these rules is your responsibility, and lack of familiarity with the rules does not excuse misconduct.** A clear definition of plagiarism as well as information about disciplinary sanctions for academic misconduct may be found at the Dean of Students web site: [http://www.wisc.edu/students/UWS14.htm](http://www.wisc.edu/students/UWS14.htm). In addition, note that I reserve the right to enter any work submitted for this class into the anti-plagiarism database maintained by the department where it can be checked against a huge multi-source inventory of past papers and will be kept on record so that it cannot be plagiarized from in future semesters. I deeply regret that the actions of a few require such safeguards to protect the rights of the many.

**Extra credit – Honors and FLAC (foreign language across the curriculum)**
This is a special program funded by the Center for European Studies that will allow you to enroll for one extra credit in a special section in which you read some related articles written in a European language and discuss them in that language and/or work on improving your reading comprehension with a TA. It allows for small work groups in which you have an extra chance to talk about the issues and work on developing a paper (written in English) that would use appropriate foreign language material as sources. I will offer one such **FLAC section (in German)**. Honors students are invited to register for 3 credits with honors or to add a fourth credit. For 3 credits with honors, you are expected to read one of the week’s supplemental readings, and write an extra short paper on it. For four credits you are expected to do three of the weeks’ supplemental readings and at least two extra short papers on these readings (five total). You should also be prepared to talk about the supplemental readings in class when appropriate. Graduate students are expected to do the supplemental readings for each week, and comment on them in Learn@UW for all to read every week.

**Reading assignments.**
All books have been ordered at *A Room of One's Own* Bookstore, 317 West Johnson St. (257-7888).
Books ordered for everyone are:
We will be reading all or nearly all of these books. I have requested copies also be put on reserve at HC White and in Sewell, but I strongly recommend buying them.

Articles are available in a print-on-demand course pack from the Social Science Copy Center (6th floor of Sewell) and on electronic reserve via MadCat and as links on Learn@UW.
In addition, there are links, visual materials and other assignments (including all material for the EU simulation) that are ONLY available on Learn@UW. Supplemental/honors readings can be found there, as well as news articles relevant to our topics. I invite you also to send links to articles to be shared.

**Outline of topics and readings by week**

**WEEK 1: Sept 5 (Wed) Organizational meeting and overview of the course.**
Focus: Introductions, discussion of requirements and syllabus, overview of “feminism” as a principle and gender as a political relationship.
**Assigned:** R.W. Connell, *Gender*. Chapter 1
**Guiding questions:** What is your own definition of feminism? How are women’s rights secured politically and how might this need improvement (i.e. where and how do you see women’s subordination still evidenced?) How does the US look in a global perspective, and how do you explain why it does well/poorly for women in the ways you note?

**WEEK 2: Sept 10-12 - Thinking about gender in relation to states, movements and politics**
**Focus:** Developing a theoretical vocabulary with which to talk about gender politics as something both changing and contested.
**Assigned:** R.W. Connell, *Gender* – Chapters 4, 6, 7.
**Guiding questions:** What is a gender order? A gender regime? Why does thinking of “regimes” encourage looking comparatively and historically at gender? Is there a difference between thinking of states as “gendered” versus “being patriarchal”? How do physical bodies matter for gender politics? How does Connell distinguish between gendered social structures and symbolic gendering in culture, and how are they also connected?

**WEEK 3: Sept 17 (Sept 19 is rescheduled) – How states steer the gender order**
Focus: Thinking about gender policies as institutionalized choices about what ways people can or should lead gendered lives. What gender projects would you support and/or are you engaged in now?
**Assigned:** R.W. Connell, Chapter 8
O’Connor, Orloff and Shaver, *States, Markets and Families*, Chapter 1
**Guiding questions:** How do state choices shape individual choices? What are the policies that states make that steer women and men toward or away from putting time into families? Into paid work? Into running for office? When might people experience their choices being ‘steered’ by policy or policy change and when would they take “steering” for granted?
WEEK 4: Sept 24-26 – Comparing gender orders: how are states differently good for women?

Focus: Thinking about how states differ systematically from each other and what aspects of state policy are better or worse and for which women or men. Some dimensions of differences among states (liberal vs. socialist vs. Christian-conservative; strong or weak “single breadwinner” preference for families; strong or weak state centralization and capacity) are introduced for making comparisons.

Assigned: O’Connor, Orloff and Shaver, Chapters 2, 3, 4 PLUS “role play card”


Guiding questions: How are liberal, socialist and Christian-conservative policies different in their assumptions about people, families and work? How do specific states differ in regard to such policies, and how do state policies get “lived” and “felt” by people in these states? When would people have children or avoid it? Which state would your “role play” person chose to live in?

WEEK 5: Oct 1- 3 Responding to the state – gender politics from below

Focus: Gender politics and gender mobilizations – how do women themselves engage in steering the gender order? Comparing women’s collective action strategies and goals across different state contexts, using sexual harassment as a case study.

Assigned: O’Connor, Orloff and Shaver, Chapter 6 (Liberalism, gendered policy logics and mobilization)
Zippel, The Politics of Sexual Harassment, Ch 1, 2, 3 and 6

(Honors supplement: Zippel, chapters 4 & 5: Implementation and effectiveness)

Guiding questions: What explains feminist efforts to make sexual harassment into a political issue? How do factors that OOS discuss as shaping mobilizations around gender issues help to explain the differences in how sexual harassment has been treated in the US, Germany and the EU? In what sense is change made “from below” and to what extent does it require “allies” within the state? What different kinds of resources do feminists draw upon when trying to steer the gender order in a different direction?


Focus: Cultural values and symbolic meanings of gender shape national identities and national differences in gender politics, therefore people struggle over gender even when they don’t realize that the gender order is what they are fighting about. Struggles over inclusion and exclusion (racism, nationalism, fundamentalism) have gendered texts and subtexts that we will try to identify.

Assigned: Nira Yuval-Davis, Gender and Nation, Ch 1-4, 6;
German national cartoon, other images of gender & nation (L@UW)


Guiding questions: in what way is nationhood itself a “social construction”? What are the three
different ways that women are held to be responsible for “reproducing the nation”? How do fights over citizenship involve gender, social inclusion and exclusion? How are issues about immigration and about the birth rate related? How do ideas about national essences, purity and race relate to the social control of women – their clothing/appearance, their behavior, their reproductive capacities?

**WEEK 7: Oct 15-Oct 17-Oct 19 (NOTE FRIDAY CLASS):** “Cultures of Democracy? Germany and the US at Home and Abroad”: SHORT PAPER for this week on “gender messages” in one or more Marshall films at your choice; attendance at Marshall Fund Film Series REQUIRED for at least ONE film showing Oct 13, 14, 15, 16)  
Monday: tricks to effective library searching; projects and issues to research; also discussion of weekend films.  
**Focus (Wed & Friday):** How struggles about power and social inclusion are often about gender even when they don’t necessarily say that’s what they are about. The gendered meanings of racism, nationalism, imperialism and exclusion as played out in the “Global War on Terror” and other wars, past and present.  
**Assigned:** Yuval-Davis, Chapter 5 (gender, war and militaries)  
Bush as Cowboy, Women Warrior Images (L@UW)  
Hoganson, Kristin. Fighting for American Manhood, Intro &Ch 1 (pp. 1-42)  
(Honors supplement: Hoganson, Ch 4, pp.88-106 AND Yuval-Davis and Imam, “Contesting Fundamentalisms, Introduction,” Women Living Under Muslim Law on L@UW)  
**Guiding Questions:** Why does Islam bring the issues of universal human rights and democracy as a majority preference to such a fevered debate? What relation do these authors see between the concepts of “fundamentalism,” “tradition,” “patriarchy” “universalism” “human rights” and the drive toward military power to “spread democracy” whether today or in past episodes of national mobilization?

**MIDSEMESTER HANDOUT OCT 22 (DUE in dropbox OCT 29)**

**WEEK 8: Oct 22-Oct 24: East(s) and West(s): Post-cold-war gender politics.**  
**Focus:** The “new Europe” has a very different history than the “old” (western) Europe, and different gender regimes then still affect their gender politics as both enter the EU. Think about the way countries’ histories and current needs (material and symbolic) affect how they steer gender politics. How does “discourse” come to shape politics (as well as the reverse)?  
Fractals explained, cornrow fractals, famous fractals (L@UW)  
(Honors supplement: Ingrid Miethe 2008 “From “Strange Sisters” to “Europe’s Daughters”? European Enlargements as a Chance for Women's Movement in East and West Germany.” In Silke Roth, ed, Gender Issues and Women's Movements in the Enlarged European Union, NY: Berghahn.  
**Guiding questions:** How does G&K’s approach to national reproduction and the control over women’s bodies compare to that of Yuval-Davis? How do they see reproduction as symbolic? As nationalist? How do state-socialist systems differ from the social democratic and liberal ones we have looked at earlier? Why does the division of public and private (a “liberal” idea) figure so strongly in their book and what do they mean by calling it “fractal”?  

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(NOTE FRIDAY CLASS: Preparing for the EU simulation- role assignments and review of the computer materials you need, the way to “play the game”)

Focus (mon & wed): Framing issues as “good for women” and/or as “good for gender equality” can mean that (some) women’s interests are being symbolically captured in the definition of the “common good” but how do these frames get constructed and how do they vary across and within countries?


EQ: Sensitizing questions for the analysis, formulation and evaluation of equality policies


Guiding questions: Women themselves take different political positions and may or may not be seen as good “for women” of different groups, and mixed gender parties and men may also make policies that are seen as “women-friendly.” What standards would you choose to decide if a policy is “feminist” or not? What standards are used by social scientists and/or policy makers in different contexts?

WEEK 10: Nov 5-7-9: (NOTE FRIDAY CLASS)
EU SIMULATION ON PARENTAL LEAVE

Assigned: European Commission “Roadmap for Gender Equality 2006” (L@UW) and “US Rank in work-family policies” (L@UW)


AND BE SURE TO HAVE READ AND PREPARED YOUR ROLE with EU simulation materials

This is a role-playing exercise that will demand both your reading material about “your” county and engaging in negotiations with other country teams about good parental leave policies as a “minimum standard” and an “aspirational goal” within the EU. In addition to the class meetings to run the simulation itself, you should allow extra time (scheduled yourselves with your team members) to meet to discuss your own country, compare it to others and develop “your” negotiating position. How “feminist” can you make your country and still defend its “national” interests? What policies about work and family do you personally want to advance, and what policies seem to reflect other interests you represent?

For your paper: Reflect on what interests you had and represented, what you felt you succeeded in
doing and what you failed to accomplish. Why did this happen? How much did your view of what “your” people already wanted constrain you? How much did you advance policies that you thought would “steer” their interests into different paths? How does the US compare to the EU as a whole and to your country in particular in “gender-aware” and/or “woman-friendly” policy? Has your experience in “being” a member state of the EU influenced your own view of what parental leave policies you want in the US? Why or why not? DUE NOV 12.

WEEK 11: Nov 12-14: Women leaders in politics: do they make a difference?
Focus: The concepts of “gender representation” and “gender democracy” are calls for women to play an increased role in political decision-making, but how might this matter? The increased numbers and legitimacy of women in positions of political power is a global trend but it is not clear where this is leading in terms of the policies women make.

Assigned: Phillips, Anne “Dealing with difference: A politics of ideas or a politics of presence?” Pp 475-496 in Landes, Feminism, the public and the private

“Is the glass ceiling gone?” “Women in EU top jobs” “Women politicians’ images”
(Honors supplement: Ferrée, “Angela Merkel: What does it mean to run as a woman?” German Politics and Society, find news articles on Michele Bachelet, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Hillary Clinton)

Guiding questions: How do you evaluate women leaders? To what extent are they using the gender stereotypes of their culture and to what extent are they working against them?

Remember: Case-study paper Stage 1 DUE in dropbox Nov 16

WEEK 12: Nov 19 (Nov 21 rescheduled above): Discussion of your posted “cases” of women-in-politics material, discussion of final projects and possible formation of project groups, defining research questions, feedback on project proposals, how to develop your initial ideas in the next stages.

THANKSGIVING BREAK

WEEK 13: Nov 26-28: The rationale and the struggle for gender representation in France
Focus: Case study of the shifting reasons given for why women are needed in political office and hopes for what changes might follow from that in France.
Assigned: Joan Wallach Scott, Parité: Sexual Equality and the Crisis of French Universalism

Guiding questions: How did the French feminists leading the parity campaign distinguish their claims for women’s representation from those claiming rights for immigrants and non-white French citizens? What made their campaign resonant and effective? Consider how their ideas got co-opted into a claim for normative heterosexuality - would you consider their policy intervention a successful change in the French gender regime? Why or why not?

Remember Stage 2 of case study paper DUE in dropbox November 28
WEEK 14: December 3-5: Gender mobilization dealing with violence against women
Focus: Case study of feminist efforts to institutionalize woman-friendly anti-rape procedures. Looking at how organizations have their own interests and inertia, how the gender of individuals doing “rape work” on/w ith victims does not necessarily predict the outcomes for women. Some ideas for how institutional restructuring can help – partly by acknowledging institutional constraints, partly by shifting the structures in which individual choices are made.

Assigned: Martin, 2005. Rape Work, Ch.1, 3, 5, 6, 8
(Honors supplement: Martin, chapters 2, 4, 7)
Guiding questions: How successful (or not) has the anti-rape movement in the US been in becoming institutionalized? How much difference does it make, and for what, to increase women’s participation in the various state systems (law enforcement, public prosecution, medical care, law making) that deal with rape? How does gender enter into these systems in practice? In the discourses about the work being done and the people doing it? How is gender representation inside the system different from gender representation in the form of feminist movements outside the system?

Remember Stage 3 of case study papers due in dropbox December 7

WEEK 15: December 10 (December 12 rescheduled above)
Focus: Integrating the issues of policy, politics and representation from a gender perspective, discussion of final projects and the arguments you will make with them.
Read and report on ONE of the following articles (to be assigned by group):
Susan Gal, 2004 “Movements of feminism” in Hobson, Recognition Struggles and Social Movements
Valentine Moghadam, 2005. Globalizing Women, Ch. 3 “Female labor, regional crises and feminist responses” pp. 50-77 AND Ch 5, “From structural adjustment to the global trade agenda” Pp. 105-141. (HONORS)
Guiding Questions: Return to the ideas with which you began the class. What would you now call “feminist” policy: Is it gender-aware? Woman-friendly? Pro-family? Anti-nationalist? Or? How do you see the challenges for US feminists in this global era – how are they similar or different than those facing European feminists? What “gender projects” unite women from the global south and north and which divide them? What do you see as feminist possibilities for “steering” future changes in gender regimes?

Final papers due DECEMBER 20 at 5 pm in L@UW dropbox.