## Sociology 904 Topics in the Sociology of Gender

Gender, Intersectionality and Politics

Myra Marx Ferree Wednesdays, 2:25-5:25 mferree@ssc.wisc.edu office hours: Wednesday 9-12 7103 Sewell Social Sciences

#### Overview

This seminar offers an opportunity for students to explore theoretical developments in gender analysis that have been taking shape in recent years. Most notably, gender theorists have embraced intersectional analysis, placing gender explicitly in relation to other forms of contested social inequalities such as race/ethnicity, nation, class, sexuality and generation and making gender relations more amenable to analysis in political terms. As focus has shifted to multiple forms of struggle in which gender is just one part, critical analyses of social injustice have also been more willing to approach gender, race, class and sexuality as ongoing processes rather than fixed categories, opening up more room for considering how alliances and conflicting interests are actively constructed out of the variously understood intersections. This seminar explores these developments, encouraging student research that considers political discourses as ways of understanding the processes of intersectional social change at a global level, historically and in the present moment. Emphasis is on recent studies that push the boundaries of gender theory.

### Assignments

This seminar combines theoretical texts in gender analysis and empirical case studies of gender as a contested issue of social change in order to consider the implications of intersectionality around the world. Students will be expected to lead class discussion in pairs, prepare written book (or article-set) reports for class discussion and to conduct their own research on gender through an analysis of intersectionality. Seminar grades will rest on class participation (including on-line discussion as well as in-class discussion, book reports, presentations of your own work and overall engagement) and the final research paper, due at the end of the semester. All students are expected to meet with me at least twice in the course of the semester: in the first month to discuss ideas for the research paper and at some later point before finalizing the research plan.

Discussion leaders are expected to distribute a list of questions for class consideration ONE WEEK BEFORE the class will be engaging with those readings. Book reports are due the week of the discussion and should consist of a 1500 word review of the main issues presented in the book as well as a 10 minute presentation in class. Final papers are expected to represent your own research projects in the area of gender, intersectionality and/or political discourse. They may represent work done at any stage of a larger project: a literature review and question framing ("pre-proposal"), a specific research proposal (with both literature and methods), the collection of data and earliest stages of an

analysis, or a (re-)analysis of data already collected. All final paper plans must be discussed and approved before March 21.

## Plan of reading

Articles (both required and recommended) are generally available on L@UW and directly by downloading from the library (the latter is recommended); books are up to you to purchase or get from the library.

## Week 1 January 19: Introduction to the sociology of gender:

Raewyn Connell, Gender (1st or 2nd edition). – (most available as used book)

This is most recommended, but alternative preparation for this class could be Connell's original formulation in **Gender and Power (1987)**, which offers additional insights into theorizing gender as a historical process and future-oriented political project or Joan Scott, "Gender: a useful category for historical analysis" *American Historical Review*, Dec. 1986, pp. 1053-1075.

### Week 2 January 26: overview: gender, intersectionality, and social change

Classic: (required to read, if you have not read it before!) Kimberlé Crenshaw, 1991, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color": *Stanford Law Review*, 43 (6):1241-1299.

- Evelyn Nakano Glenn, "The social construction and institutionalization of gender and race" Pp. 3-43 in Ferree, Lorber and Hess, *Revisioning Gender*
- Raewyn (RW) Connell 2005, "Change among the Gatekeepers: Men, masculinities and gender equality in the global arena" Signs 30 (3): 1801-1825.
- Susan McDaniel, "Generationing gender: Justice and the division of welfare." *Journal of Aging Studies* 18 (2004) 27-44
- Tey Meadow, 2010. "'A Rose is a Rose' On Producing Legal Gender Classifications" *Gender & Society*, 24 (6): 814-837.

# Week 3 February 2: Unpacking intersectionality: What different meanings can the concept carry? Why might the differences matter in empirical research?

- Leslie McCall, 2005, "The Complexity of Intersectionality" [Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society 30 (3): 1771-1798.
- Ange-Marie Hancock 2007 "Intersectionality as a normative and empirical paradigm" Politics & Gender 3(2):248-254.
- Hae Yeon Choo & Myra Marx Ferree, 2010. "Practicing Intersectionality in Sociological Research: A Critical Analysis of Inclusions, Interactions, and Institutions in the Study of Inequalities" *Sociological Theory*, 28(2): 129-149.

- Nira Yuval-Davis, 2006. "Intersectionality and Feminist Politics." *European Journal of Women's Studies* 13:193–209.
- Kimberlé Crenshaw, 2010, "Intersectionality Travels" (paper presented at femsem, fall 2010).

### **Recommended:**

- Kathy Davis, 2008. "Intersectionality as buzzword: A sociology of science perspective on what makes a feminist theory successful" *Feminist Theory*, 9(1): 67-85.
- Myra Marx Ferree 2010. "Filling the glass: Gender and family studies" *Journal of Marriage and Family*
- Michele Tracy Berger and Kathleen Guidroz, 2009. *The Intersectional Approach* University of North Carolina Press. (a reader of diverse cases)
- **Report:** (1) Celine-Marie Pascale, *Making sense of race, class and gender:* Commonsense, power and privilege in the US.

## Week 4 February 9: Sex and the state: intersectional dependency and danger

- Ann Shona Orloff, 2009. "Gendering the comparative analysis of welfare states: an unfinished agenda" *Sociological Theory* 27(3): 317-343.
- Julia Adams and Tasleem Padamsee 2001 "Signs and Regimes: Rereading Feminist Work on Welfare States." *Social Politics* 8(1): 1-23
- Lisa Brush, 2002. "Changing the subject: Gender and welfare regime studies" *Social Politics*,
- Wanda Pillow, 2003 "Bodies are dangerous: using feminist genealogy as policy studies methodology" *Journal of Education Policy*, 18 (2): 145-159.
- Colin Danby, 2007.. "Political economy and the closet: heteronormativity in feminist economics," *Feminist Economics*, 13(2): 29 -53.
- Classics you should know: Fraser, need definition; Fraser & Gordon, genealogy of dependency; Haney, Homeboys & men in suits (on-line in L@UW)
- Reports: (1) Sylvia Walby, 2009, Globalization and inequalities: intersectionality and contested modernities. Sage
  - (2) Leslie McCall, 2001. *Complex Inequality: Gender, race and class in the new economy.* Routledge.

## Week 5 February 16: Nationalisms, reproduction and gender

- Nicola Beisel & Tamara Kay, 2004. "Abortion, race, and gender in 19<sup>th</sup> century America" *American Sociological Review*, 69: 498-516.
- Booth, Karen 2010 "A magic bullet for the 'African' mother? Neo-imperial reproductive futurism and the pharmacological solution to the HIV/AIDs crisis" *Social Politics*, 17(3): 349-378.
- Jacobsen, Christine and Dag Stenvoll, 2010 "Muslim women and foreign prostitutes: victim discourse, subjectivity and governance" *Social Politics* 17(3): 270-294.

Collins, Patricia Hill, 2001. 'Like one of the family: race, ethnicity, and the paradox of US national identity', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 24: 1, 3-28

### **Recommended:**

- Dagmar Herzog, 2009. "Syncopated sex: transforming European cultures" *American Historical Review*.
- Chowdhury, Elora Halim(2010) 'Feminism and its 'other': representing the 'new woman' of Bangladesh', *Gender, Place & Culture*, 17(3): 301-318
- Rostock, Petra & Sabine Berghahn 2008 "The ambivalent role of gender in redefining the German nation" *Ethnicities* 8(3): 345-364.
- Brown, Jessica & MM Ferree 2005 "Close your eyes and think of England: Pronatalism in the British print media" *Gender & Society* 19(1): 5-24.

## **Reports:**

- (1) Nira Yuval-Davis, Gender and Nation
- (2) Mary Layoun, Wedded to the Land: Gender, Boundaries and Nationalism in Crisis

# Week 6 February 23 (Nancy Folbre February 22 & 23, Havens Ctr): Rethinking care from intersectional perspectives

- Albiston, Catherine 2007 "Institutional perspectives on law, work and family" *Annual Review of Law & Social Science* 3:397–426
- Macdonald, Cameron 2009. What's culture got to do with it? Mothering ideologies as barriers to gender equality. In Janet Gornick and Marcia Meyers, *Gender Equality*. Polity Press.
- Nick Watson, Linda McKie, Bill Hughes, Debra Hopkins and Sue Gregory, 2004. "(Inter)Dependence, Needs and Care: The Potential for Disability and Feminist Theorists to Develop an Emancipatory Model" *Sociology* 38 (2); 331-350.
- Barbara Hobson and Susanne Fahlen 2009 "Competing Scenarios for European Fathers: Applying Sen's Capabilities and Agency Framework to Work-Family Balance" *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 624:214-33.

#### **Recommended:**

- Morgan, Kimberly and Kathrin Zippel 2003. Paid to care: The origins and effects of care leave policies in Western Europe. *Social Politics* 10(1): 49-85.
- Paula England, Michelle Budig and Nancy Folbre 2002. "The wages of virtue: carework and pay" Social Problems, Vol. 49 (4): 455-473
- Jill Weigt 2010 ""I Feel Like It's a Heavier Burden. . . ": The gendered contours of heterosexual partnering after welfare reform" *Gender & Society*. 24(5): 565-590
- Elizabeth Rudd, 2000. "Reconceptualizing Gender in Postsocialist Transformation" Gender & Society, 14 (4): 517-539.

#### **Reports:**

- (1) Raka Ray, Cultures of Servitude: Modernity, Domesticity and Class in India
- (2) Evelyn Nakano Glenn, 2010 Forced to Care: Coercion and Caregiving in America

## Week 7 March 2 (Dana Cloud March 1 & 2 – Havens Ctr). Border-crossing masculinities

- Cloud, Dana L.(2004) "To veil the threat of terror": Afghan women and the (clash of civilizations) in the imagery of the U.S. war on terrorism', *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 90: 3, 285 306
- Fowler, Bridget, 2003. 'Reading Pierre Bourdieu's Masculine Domination: Notes towards an Intersectional Analysis of Gender, Culture and Class', *Cultural Studies*, 17: 3, 468-494
- Connell, Raewyn 2008. "Men, Masculinity and Gender Justice" pp. 51-68 in Lenz, Ilse, Charlotte Ullrich and Barbara Fersch (eds) 2008. *Gender Orders Unbound: Globalization, Restructuring and Reciprocity*. Farmington Hills MI: Barbara Budrich.
- McIlwaine, Cathy 2010. 'Migrant machismos: exploring gender ideologies and practices among Latin American migrants in London from a multi-scalar perspective', *Gender, Place & Culture*, 17: 3, 281-300

#### **Recommended:**

- Erin Murphy, 2009. Women's Anti-Imperialism, "The White Man's Burden," And The Philippine-American War: Theorizing Masculinist Ambivalence in Protest. GENDER & SOCIETY, 23(2):244-270
- Kristen Hoganson, 1998. Fighting for American manhood: How gender politics provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Anna Korteweg and Goekce Yurdakul, 2006. Islam, gender, and immigrant integration: boundary drawing in discourses on honour killing in the Netherlands and Germany. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 32 (2): 218 -238
- Wendy Christensen & MM Ferree, Cowboy of the World? Gendered Discourse in the Iraq War Debate" *Qualitative Sociology*, 2008, 31(3): 287-306.
- **Reports:** (1) Uma Narayan, *Dislocating Cultures* 
  - (2) Pierre Bourdieu, Masculine Domination

## Week 8 March 9: Political culture and reframing moral discourse

- Haney, Lynne, & March, M. 2003. "Married fathers and caring daddies: Welfare reform and the discursive politics of paternity." *Social Problems*, 50, 461-481.
- Mayer, Victoria 2008. Crafting a new conservative consensus on welfare reform: Redefining citizenship, social provision, and the public/private divide. *Social Politics*, 15 (2): 154-181
- Stryker and Wald 2010 "Redefining compassion to reform welfare: how supporters of the 1990s US federal reform aimed for the moral high ground. *Social Politics* 16(4):
- Elaine Weiner, 2010 "Morality, biology and the free market: (De)Naturalizing the EU's gender equality agenda in the Czech Republic." *Women's Studies International Forum* 33: 13–20
- Gill Jagger and Caroline Wright 1999 "End of century, end of family? Shifting discourses of family crisis" Pp. 17-37 in *Changing Family Values*, Routledge.

#### Recommended:

Soss, Joe and Sanford Schramm 2001. Success Stories: Welfare reform, policy discourse and the politics of research. *The ANNALS*, 577(1): 49-65.

Taylor, VanDyke and Anderson 2009 ASR "culture and mobilization: same sex weddings" *American Sociological Review* 

Kenney, Sally 2010 "Mobilizing emotions to elect women: the symbolic meaning of Minnesota's first woman Supreme Court justice" *Mobilization* 15(2) 135-158.

## **Reports:**

- (1) Joan Scott, 2005. Parité: Sexual Equality and the Crisis of French Universalism
- (2) Mala Htun, Sex and the State: Abortion, Divorce and Family in Latin American Dictatorships and Democracies

#### **SPRING BREAK**

# Week 9 March 23: (Nicola Beisel 3/21 in R&E) Feminism and neo-liberalism: allies or opponents?

- Spike Peterson, 2005. "How (the meaning of) gender matters in political economy." *New Political Economy*, 10 (4): 499-521.
- Jennifer Bair, 2010 "On difference and capital: gender and the globalization of production" *Signs*, 36 (1)
- Maliha Safri and Julie Graham 2010 "The global household: toward a feminist postcapitalist international political economy, *Signs*, 36 (1): 99-125.
- Julie Nelson, 2006. "Can we talk? Feminist economists in dialogue with social theorists." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 31(4): 1051-74.
- Anna Vander Vleuten & Mieke Verloo 2006 "Disappointing pioneers and surprising laggards". Understanding the politics of ranking and reputation"

#### **Recommended:**

- Jenson, Jane 2010 "Lost in Translation: the social investment perspective and gender equality" *Social Politics*
- Stratigaki, Maria. 2004. "The Cooptation of Gender Concepts in EU Policies: The Case of 'Reconciliation of Work and Family'." *Social Politics*, 11 (1): 30–56.
- Jenson, J. 2008, Writing women out, folding gender in: The European Union "modernizes" social policy. *Social Politics*, 15, 131 153.
- Ramey & Ramey "The rug-rat race" National Bureau of Economic Research working paper 15284 (L@UW).
- Claudia Goldin, 2004. "The long road to the fast track: career and family" *The ANNALS* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 596: 20-34.
- Heike Kahlert and Waltraud Ernst, 2010. *Reframing Demographic Change in Europe:*Perspectives on Gender and Welfare State Transitions. Transaction Publishers.

### **Report:**

Hester Eisenstein, Feminism Seduced: How global elites use women's labor and ideas to exploit the world

## Week 10 March 30 – (Kristen Bumiller March 28 in R&E) Neoliberalism and intersectional approaches to violence against women

- Bernstein, Elizabeth 2010 "Militarized humanitarianism meets carceral feminism: the politics of sex, rights and freedom in contemporary anti-trafficking debates" *Signs*, 36(1): 45-71.
- Nixon, Jennifer and Cathy Humphreys, 2010 "Marshalling the evidence: using intersectionality in the domestic violence frame" *Social Politics* 17(2): 137-158.
- Kinsella, Helen, 2006 "Gendering Grotius: sex and sex difference in the laws of war" *Political Theory*, 34 (2): 161-191.
- Haney, Lynne 2004. "Introduction: Gender, Welfare and States of Punishment." *Social Politics*, 11(3): 331-362.

#### **Recommended:**

- Haney, Lynne 2000 "Feminist state theory: Applications to Criminology, Jurisprudence and the Welfare State" *Annual Review of Sociology*. 26:641–66
- Ann Ferguson, 2001 *Bad Boys: Public Schools in the Making of Black Masculinity*. University of Michigan Press
- Jeanne Flavin, 2009 Our Bodies, Our Crimes: The policing of women's reproduction in America. NYU Press

### **Reports:**

- (1) Kristin Bumiller, 2008 In an abusive state: How Neoliberalism appropriated the feminist movement against sexual violence
- (2) Lisa Alfredson, 2008. *Creating Human Rights: How Non-citizens made Sex Persecution Matter to the World.* University of Pennsylvania Press.

# Week 11 April 6 – (Susan Gal April 7 in femsem) – Postsocialism and the liberal project

- Maria Bucur 2005 "Archipelago of stories: gender history in Eastern Europe" *American Historical Review*. 1362-75.
- Peggy Leavitt & Sally Merry 2009. Vernacularization on the ground: local uses of global women's rights in Peru, China, India and the United States *Global Networks* 9 (4): 441-461.
- Elaine Weiner, 2009. "Eastern houses, western bricks? (Re)constructing Gender Sensibilities in the EU Eastern Enlargement" *Social Politics*
- Andrea Krizsan and Popa 2010, "The EU and domestic violence in Eastern Europe" *Social Politics* 17(3): 379-406.

#### **Recommended:**

Mary Runte & Alfred Mills, Cold war, chilly climate: Exploring the roots of gendered discourses in organizational and management theory. *Human Relations*. 59(5): 695–720

## Reports

- (1) Susan Gal and Gail Kligman, The Politics of Gender after Socialism
- (2) Katja Guenther, Making Their Place: Feminism after Socialism in Eastern Germany

## Week 12 April 13 (Kathrin for Femsem)–Intersectional perspectives on law & policy change

- Padamsee, Tasleem 2009 "Culture in connection: recontextualizing ideational processes in the analysis of policy development" *Social Politics* 16 (4): 413-445.
- Smith, Miriam 2010 "Gender politics and the same-sex marriage debate in the US" *Social Politics*, 17(1): 1-28.
- Pedriana, Nicholas 2006. "From protective to equal treatment: legal framing processes and the transformation of the women's movement of the 1960s" *American Journal of Sociology* 111: 1718-61.
- Sally Merry et al. 2010. "Law from below: Women's human rights and social movements in New York" *Law & Society Review*, 44 (1): 101-128.

#### **Recommended:**

- John Skrentny, 2006. "Policy-Elite Perceptions and Social Movement Success:

  Understanding Variations in Group Inclusion in Affirmative Action" *American Journal of Sociology* 111(6): 1762–1815
- Tyson Smith and Michael Kimmel 2005, "The hidden discourse of masculinity in gender discrimination law" *Signs* 30 (3): 1827-1849.
- Albiston, Catherine 2005. Bargaining in the shadow of social institutions: competing discourses and social change in workplace mobilization of civil rights. *Law and Society Review* 39:11–50
- Kornbluh, Felicia 2007. *The battle for welfare rights: Politics and poverty in modern America*. Philadelphia PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

## **Reports:**

- (1) Kathrin Zippel, The Politics of Sexual Harassment in the US, Germany and the EU
- (2) Dana Strolovitch, Affirmative Advocacy: Race Class and Gender in Interest Group Politics

# Week 13 April 20 – Taking a long view: intersectional conflicts and transformation struggles

- Peterson, V. Spike 2010 "A long view of globalization and crisis" *Globalizations* 7(1) Brooke Ackerley & Jacqui True, 2010. "Back to the future: Feminist theory, activism, and doing feminist research in an age of globalization" *Women's Studies International Forum* 33: 464–472
- Jyoti Lal et al, 2010 "Recasting Global Feminisms: Toward a comparative historical approach to women's activism and feminist scholarship" *Feminist Studies* 36(1): 13-39.

Bennett, Lance 2005 "Social Movements beyond borders: understanding two eras of transnational activism" Pp. 203-226 in Donatella Della Porta and Sidney Tarrow, *Transnational Protest and Global Activism*, Rowman and Littlefield.

Peg Snyder, 2006 Unlikely Godmother: The UN and the global women's movement" Pp 24-50 in Ferree and Tripp, *Global Feminism*, NYU Press.

#### **Recommended:**

Stamatov, Peter 2010 "Activist religion, empire and the emergence of long-distance advocacy networks" ASR 75(4): 607-628.

Aili Mari Tripp, 2006 "Challenges in transnational feminist mobilizations" Pp. 296-312 in Ferree and Tripp, *Global Feminism* 

Keck & Sikkink, Activists Beyond Borders, especially Ch 5 (a classic)

Dongxiao Liu 2006 When Do National Movements Adopt or Reject International Agendas? A Comparative Analysis of the Chinese and Indian Women's Movements. *American Sociological Review* 71: 921-942

## **Reports:**

- (1) Millie Thayer, Making Transnational Feminism
- (2) Buss and Herman, Globalizing Family Values

Week 14 April 27 Discussion of final projects (Group 1)

Week 15 May 4 Discussion of final projects (Group 2)