

National Feminisms, Transnational Arenas, Universal Human Rights
Spring 2003
Sociology 924/Political Science 960

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(office hours – Wednesday 9-12)

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Feminism in the 21st century has unmistakably global dimensions but is also ever less obviously one, single movement. Diversity and differences, not only by race and class but also in national culture and policy, shape the interests that women define as their own and the demands that they raise. The questions we address in this seminar include:

- a) How does the social history and contemporary politics of nation-states shape what feminism is defined as being about? How do feminist definitions of what is good for women change national policies as well as reflect the political circumstances of their individual countries?
- b) Since national feminisms vary, how do feminists come together in the context of increasingly important transnational arenas such as the European Union and the United Nations to form common agendas and work cooperatively to deal with issues that cross national boundaries? How have the EU and the UN been spurs for women=s international consciousness and collective action B and how have they been sources of conflict and obstacles?
- c) How has the language of universal human rights been used by feminists in a variety of national and transnational contexts to make gains for women, and at what cost? If Awomen=s rights are human rights@ makes a good slogan, what are the processes behind picking up this phrasing and circulating it globally?

The focus on these questions will be aided by interaction of seminar participants with the variety of perspectives on feminism brought to the course by an outstanding roster of international scholars and activists. These visiting scholars will contribute to the course via public lectures, assigned readings and intensive discussion within the seminar itself. Thus students enrolled in the course are expected to attend the lectures as part of their preparation for active seminar participation, as well as to take part in the seminar and develop their own research project on some one of these issues.

The research project pursued by students enrolled in the seminar may take one of three forms: 1) a comprehensive literature review on a particular issue in a specific context that would help to establish the student's base of knowledge for a later research proposal; 2) a research proposal that designs a specific study and places it in the context of what we know and what we need to know about a particular, focused question; 3) an empirical research study using data already available to address a question already clearly posed.

Schedule of speakers, topics and readings (*= available on the Havens Center Website)

January 22 Introduction to course, discussion of research interests and backgrounds, how we will proceed.

Read (for background):

Carol Bacchi, Women, Policy and Politics, pp. 17-71 (Ch 1-3, preamble)

Jan. 29 What are women's movements? (Ferree)

Read:

* "Feminism and the Women's Movement: A Global Perspective" Myra Marx Ferree and Carol McClurg Mueller (forthcoming).

Molyneux, Maxine 1998 "Analyzing women's movements" *Development and Change*, 29: 219-245.

Mansbridge, Jane. 1996. "What is the Feminist Movement? In *Feminist Organizations: Harvest of the New Women's Movement*. Myra Marx Ferree & Beth B. Hess. Ed. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 270-33

Beckwith, Karen. 2000. "Beyond Compare? Women's Movements in Comparative Perspective." *European Journal of Political Research*. 37: 431-468.

Tyysk , Vappu "Western feminism? Problems of categorizing women's movements in cross-national research" Pp 252-266 in Alena Heitlinger,  migr  Feminism: transnational perspectives (Toronto, 1999)

Optional but recommended:

Molyneux, Maxine. 1985 "Mobilization without emancipation? Women's interests, the state and revolution in Nicaragua." *Feminist Studies*, 11: 225-254.

Moghadam, Valentine 2002. "Islamic feminism and its discontents: toward a resolution of the debate." *Signs*, 27 (4): 1135-1171.

Feb 5 YAKIN ERT RK *Sociology and Gender & Women's Studies, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey*

PARADOXICAL IDENTITIES: STATUS OF WOMEN IN TURKEY

"Identity Politics: Secularist and Islamist Discourses"

Monday February 3, 12:00 noon, 8417 Social Science

"Can International Regimes Help Transcend Dichotomies? The United Nations and Turkey's Candidacy to the European Union"

Wednesday, February 5, 3:30 pm. Ingraham 206

Linking paradigm / praxis / policy: towards an integrated discourse for feminist research and teaching in a globalized world.

Read:

UN Division for the Advancement of Women: 2002. *Women Go Global: the UN and the International Women's Movement 1945-2000*. Multimedia, interactive CD Rom. NY: UN.

Nitza Berkovich, From Motherhood to Citizenship, Ch 1, 2 & 5

*Ertürk, Yakin. 1991. "Convergence and Divergence in the Status of Moslem Women: Cases of Turkey and Saudi Arabia." *International Sociology*. Vol. 6, No: 3, Sept. 1991: 307-320.

*Kardam, Nüket and Y. Ertürk. 1999. "Expanding Gender Accountability? Women's Organizations and the State in Turkey", *International Journal of Organization Theory and Behavior*, 1999/2 (1&2): 167-197.

*Keskin, Burçak. 2002. "Confronting Double Patriarchy: Islamist Women in Turkey." In P. Bacchetta and M. Power (Eds.). *Right-Wing Women*. New York: Routledge: 245-257.

*Saktanber, Ayşe. 2002. "Whose Virtue Is This? The Virtue Party and Women in Islamist Politics in Turkey." In P. Bacchetta and M. Power (Eds.). *Right-Wing Women*. New York: Routledge: 71-84.

Optional, but recommended:

United Nations, 1996. *The United Nations and the Advancement of Women: 1945-1996*. New York: United Nations. (sold out, on reserve in the library)

Saktanber, Ayşe. 2002. *Living Islam: Women, Religion & The Politization of Culture in Turkey*. London: I.B. Tauris Publishers (particularly pages 18-57).

Yakin Ertürk has been on the faculty of the Department of Sociology and the Gender and Women's Studies Programme at the Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey and 2002 became the head of the latter. She also taught at the Centre for Girls, at King Saud University in Riyadh (1979-1982) and from 1979 to 1981 served as its Chair. Between 1997 and 2001 she took leave from her university post and joined the United Nations, serving first as Director of the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic (Oct.1997- Feb.1999), then as Director of The Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW) at UN Headquarters in New York (March 1999 – Oct. 2001).

Feb 12 Women's rights and human rights (Stanlie James)

Read: Keck and Sikkink, Activists Beyond Borders, Ch 1, 2 and 5
& tba

William Felice, The Global New Deal (Ch 1 & 5)??

Feb 19 NIRA YUVAL-DAVIS, *Gender & Ethnic Studies, University of Greenwich, London*
ENGENDERING THE POLITICS OF BELONGING

"Gender, Nation, and the Notion of 'Human Security'"

Monday, February 17, 12:00 noon, 8417 Social Science

"Boundaries, Borders and the Situated Imagination"

Wednesday, February 19, 3:30 pm, 8417 Social Science

Read:

Nira Yuval Davis, Gender & Nation (Sage, 1997)

The introduction to the Human Security Commission [website: www.humansecurity-chs.org/intro/index.html]

* M. Stoetzler & N. Yuval-Davis, 'Standpoint theory, situated knowledge and the situated imagination' in Feminist Theory, 3(3): 333-351 [Nov-Dec 2002]

Nira Yuval-Davis is Professor of Gender & Ethnic Studies at the University of Greenwich, London and Visiting Professor at the Department of Cultural Studies at the University of East London. Professor Yuval-Davis has written extensively on theoretical and empirical aspects of women, nationalism, racism, fundamentalism and citizenship in Europe, Israel and elsewhere. She is the author or co-author of ten books, including *Gender and Nation*, which has been translated into six languages.

Feb 26 Aili Mari Tripp – Culture, multiculturalism and difference

Read:

Tripp, Aili Mari, 2000. "Rethinking difference: Comparative perspectives from Africa" Signs 25(3): 649-675.

Susan Moller Okin, "Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?" In Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women? Susan Moller Okin, edited by Joshua Cohen, Matthew Howard, and Martha C. Nussbaum. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1999, pp. 9-24.

* Tripp, Aili Mari, Forthcoming 2003 "Conflicting Visions of Community and Citizenship: Women's Rights and Cultural Diversity in Uganda." In Gender Justice, Democracy and Rights. Eds. Maxine Molyneux and Shahra Razavi. Oxford University Press. 413-440.

* Phillips, Anne 2003 "Multiculturalism, Universalism and the Claims of Democracy" In Gender Justice, Democracy and Rights. Eds. Maxine Molyneux and Shahra Razavi. Oxford University Press.

* Paidar, Parvin "Gender of Democracy: The Encounter between Feminism and Reformism in Contemporary Iran" In Gender Justice, Democracy and Rights. Eds. Maxine Molyneux and Shahra Razavi. Oxford University Press.

March 5 The transnational arena and encounters among feminisms (Ferree)

Read:

Sperling, Ferree and Risman 2001. "Constructing global feminism: transnational advocacy networks and Russian women's activism" Signs 26(4): 1155-87.

Acosta-Belen, Edna and Christine Bose 2000. "U.S. Latina and Latin American feminism: hemispheric encounters" Signs, 25(4): 1113-1120.

* Gal, Susan 2003. "Movements of Feminism: The Circulation of Discourses about Women in East-Central Europe" (forthcoming)

Ezekiel, Judith and Mieke Verloo, "The Traffic in Feminism: Contemporary Women's Movements in Europe." European Journal of Women's Studies 9:3 (August 2002).

Thayer, Millie. 2000. "Traveling Feminisms: From Embodied Women to Gendered Citizenship." In *Global Ethnography: Forces, Connections, and Imaginations in a Postmodern World*, ed. Michael Burawoy. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Optional, but recommended:

Karpinski, Eva "Choosing feminism, choosing exile: Towards the development of a transnational feminist consciousness" Pp 17-29 in Alena Heitlinger, Émigré Feminism: transnational perspectives (Toronto, 1999)

Ferree, "Patriarchies and feminisms: The two women's movements of unified Germany." Social Politics, 1995, 2(1): 10-24.

March 12 AMRITA BASU, *Political Science/ Women's & Gender Studies, Amherst College*
THE MANY FACES OF WOMEN'S ACTIVISM

"Women's Purity, Women's Violence: The Case of Hindu Nationalism"

Tuesday, March 11, 3:30 pm, 206 Ingraham

"Negotiating the Space between the Local and the Global: Women's Movements Transnationally"

Wednesday, March 12, 3:30 pm, 8417 Social Science

Read:

Amrita Basu, ed., The Challenge of Local Feminisms: Women's Movements in Global Perspective (Westview, 1995), Introduction, pp. 1-21.

* Amrita Basu, "Introduction" and "Hindu Women's Activism and the Questions that it Raises," in Appropriating Gender: Women's Activism and Politicized Religion in South Asia (NY: Routledge 1997, New Delhi: Kali for Women, 1998).

* Amrita Basu, "Globalization of the Local/Localization of the Global: Mapping Transnational Women's Movements", Meridians, Vol. 1, No. 1, Autumn 2000.

Amrita Basu is Professor of Political Science and Women's and Gender Studies at Amherst College and Director of the Five College Women's Studies Research Center. Her main areas of interest are social movements, religious nationalism, and women's activism in India. She is the author of *Two Faces of Protest: Contrasting Codes of Women's Activism in India* and the editor or co-editor of four books, including *The Challenge of Local Feminism: Women's Movements in Global Perspective* and *Appropriating Gender: Women's Activism and Politicized Religion in South Asia*.

Spring Break

March 26 JULIA SZALAI, *Social Policy, ELTE University, Budapest, Hungary*
ISSUES OF CLASS, GENDER AND RACE AFTER THE COLLAPSE OF COMMUNISM

"Conflicts of Class, Gender and Race in Hungary's Post-1990 Welfare Policy"

Monday, March 24, 12:00 noon, 8417 Social Science

"Hungary's EU-Accession from a Gender Perspective: Will Women's Post-1990 Gains Wither Away?"

Wednesday, March 26, 3:30 pm, 8417 Social Science

Read:

*Isabel Fonesca: Bury Me Standing: The Gypsies and Their Journey. Vintage Books, 1996 pp. 173-220

* Jane S. Jaquette & Sharon L. Wolchik (eds.), 1998 Women and Democratization in Latin America and in Central and Eastern Europe. Johns Hopkins University Press, chapter 1, Women and Democracy, pp. 1-29.

- * J.van Doorzne-Huiskes, Jaques Van Hoof, and Ellice Roelofs (eds.), 1995. Women in the European Labour Markets. Chapman, Paul Publishing, Chapter 4: The Labour-Market Position of Women from Ethnic Minorities, pp. 53-72.
- Julia Szalai, "From informal labor to paid occupations: Marketization from below in Hungarian women's work" pp. 200-224 in Gal and Kligman, Reproducing Gender
- * Georg Vobruba, "The Enlargement Crisis of the European Union: Limits of the dialectics of integration and expansion" forthcoming, Spring, 2003 issue of the European Journal of Social Policy.
- Lynn Haney, Inventing the Needy, Introduction (pp 1-22) and Conclusion (pp 206-248)
- Emigh, Fodor and Szelenyi, "The racialization and feminization of poverty?" Pp 1-32 in Poverty, Ethnicity and Gender in Eastern Europe during the Market Transition (Praeger, 2001).

Optional but recommended:

- Susan Gal & Gail Kligman, The Politics of Gender after Socialism (Princeton, 2000)
- Valerie Bunce, 1999. *Subversive Institutions: The Design and thw Destruction of Socialism and the State*. Cambridge Univ. Press, Chapter 7: Institutions and Opportunities: Constructing and Deconstructing Regimes and State, pp. 127-165
- J.van Doorzne-Huiskes, Jaques Van Hoof, and Ellice Roelofs (eds.) : *Women in the European Labour Markets*. Chapman, Paul Publishing, Chapter 5: The Careers of Men and Women, pp. 72-90

Julia Szalai is Head of the Department of Social Policy and Social History at the Institute of Sociology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and Professor of Sociology and Social Policy at ELTE University, Budapest. She is the Editor of *East Central Europe/l'Europe du Centre-Est: Eine Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift* (ECE/ECE), a trilingual journal of the social sciences and humanities. She is also Chair of the Max Weber Foundation of the Study of Social Initiative (Budapest-Glasgow), and advisor to the Hungarian Ministry of Welfare. Her main research interests are: the history of social policy in East Central Europe; 'old' and 'new' poverty in Central Europe; women's changing situation on the labour market in post-1989 Hungary; 'recognition struggles' of the Gypsy; symptoms of social disintegration in Central European societies, and the 'Gypsy question'. Currently, she is writing a book on the deficiencies of the post-communist embourgeoisement process and their consequences for new class and ethnic relations in Hungary.

April 2 **AMY MAZUR**, *Political Science and Criminal Justice, Washington State University* and **DOROTHY STETSON**, *Political Science, Florida Atlantic University*

WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS IN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA: POLITICAL CHALLENGES AND STATE RESPONSES

"Are Women's Movements Feminist?," Dorothy Stetson
 Tuesday, April 1, 3:30 pm, 206 Ingraham
"The Varieties of State Feminism," Amy G. Mazur
 Wednesday, April 2, 3:30 pm, 8417 Social Science

Read:

- * Mazur, Amy G. ed. 2001a *State Feminism, Women's Movements, and Job Training: Making Democracies Work in a Global Economy*. New York and London: Routledge. "Introduction" and "Comparative Conclusions".

- Stetson, Dorothy McBride and Amy G. Mazur. Ed. 1995. *Comparative State Feminism*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage. "Introduction" "Conclusion: the Case for State Feminism."
- * Stetson, Dorothy McBride. Ed. 2001. *Abortion Politics, Women's Movements and the Democratic State: A Comparative Study of State Feminism*. London: Oxford University Press. "Introduction: Abortion, Women's Movements and Democratic Politics." "Conclusion: Abortion Politics and the Case for State Feminism."
- * Pringle, Rosemary and S. Watson. 1992. "Women's Interests and the Post-Structuralist State." In *Destabilizing theory: Contemporary Feminist Debates*. M. Barrett and A. Phillips. Ed. Cambridge: Policy Press. Pp. 53-73.
- * Weldon, S. Laurel. 2002. *Protest, Policy and the Problem of Violence Against Women: A Cross National Comparison*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. Ch. 5

Amy Mazur is Associate Professor of Political Science and Criminal Justice at Washington State University and co-convenor of the Research Network on Gender Politics and the State. Professor Mazur is the author or editor of four books, including *Gender Bias and the State* and most recently, *Theorizing Feminist Policy*. She has published articles in *Political Research Quarterly*, *French Politics and Society*, *Policy Studies Journal*, *West European Politics*, *European Journal of Political Research*, and *Contemporary French Civilization*. Dorothy Stetson is Professor of Political Science at Florida Atlantic University and co-convenor of the Research Network on Gender and the State. Professor Stetson's research interests include women, politics and policy in advanced industrial states. She is the author or co-editor of several books, including *Abortion: Public Policy in Comparative Perspective*, *Comparative State Feminism*, and *Women's Rights in the U.S.A.: Policy Debates and Gender Roles*.

April 9 SONIA ALVAREZ, *Department of Politics, University of California, Santa Cruz*
LATIN AMERICAN FEMINISMS' MOVEMENTS INTO THE 21ST CENTURY

"Beyond the Boom? NGOs in Latin American Feminisms' Past, Present, and Possible Futures"

Tuesday, April 8, 3:30 pm, 206 Ingraham

"Encountering Latin American Feminisms," Sonia Alvarez and Marcela Rios

Wednesday, April 9, 3:30 pm, 8417 Social Science

Read:

Alvarez, Sonia E. "Advocating Feminism: The Latin American Feminist NGO 'Boom'." *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1999.

Ewig, Christina. 1999. The Strengths and Limits of the NGO Women's Movement Model: Shaping Nicaragua's Democratic Institutions. *Latin American Research Review* 34, 3: 75-102.

Lang, Sabine. 1997. The NGOization of Feminism. In *Transitions, Environments, Translations: Feminisms in International Politics*, ed. Joan W. Scott, Cora Kaplan, and Debra Keates, PP. New York: Routledge.

Lebon, Nathalie. 1996. "Professionalization of Women's Health Groups in São Paulo—The Troublesome Road towards Organizational Diversity." *Organization* 3, 4 (November): 588-609.

Silliman, Jael. 1999. Expanding Civil Society: Shrinking Political Spaces: The Case of Women's Nongovernmental Organizations. *Social Politics* (Spring): 23-53.

Optional:

- Barrig, Maruja. 2001. "Latin American Feminism: Gains, Losses, and Hard Times." *NACLA Report on the Americas*, 34, 5 (March/April): 29-31.
- Castro, Mary García. 2001. "Engendering Powers in Neoliberal Times in Latin America: Reflections from the Left on Feminism and Feminisms." *Latin American Perspectives* 28, 6 (November): 17-37.
- Schild, Verónica. 1998. New Subjects of Rights? Women's Movements and the Construction of Citizenship in the 'New Democracies.' In *Cultures of Politics/Politics of Cultures: Re-visioning Latin American Social Movements*, ed. Sonia E. Alvarez, Evelina Dagnino, and Arturo Escobar, PP. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- * Alvarez, Sonia E., Evelina Dagnino and Arturo Escobar. "Introduction: The Cultural and the Political in Latin American Social Movements." In *Cultures of Politics/Politics of Cultures: Re-visioning Latin American Social Movements*, edited by Sonia E. Alvarez, Evelina Dagnino and Arturo Escobar. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998.
- * Alvarez, Sonia E. "Latin American Feminisms 'Go Global': Trends of the 1990s, Challenges for the New Millennium." In *Cultures of Politics/Politics of Cultures: Re-visioning Latin American Social Movements*, edited by Sonia E. Alvarez, Evelina Dagnino and Arturo Escobar. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998.
- * Alvarez, Sonia E. "Translating the Global: Effects of Transnational Organizing on Latin American Feminist Discourses and Practices." *Meridians: A Journal of Feminisms, Race, Transnationalism*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2000.
- * Alvarez, Sonia E, Elisabeth Jay Friedman, Ericka Beckman, Maylei Blackwell, Norma Chinchilla, Nathalie Lebon, Marysa Navarro, and Marcela Rios-Tobar. "Encountering Latin Feminisms." *Signs: A Journal of Women in Culture and Society* Vol. 28, No. 2 (Winter 2003).

Sonia E. Alvarez is Associate Professor of Politics at the University of California at Santa Cruz. She is the author or co-author of four books, including *Engendering Democracy in Brazil*, *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America*, *Cultures of Politics/Politics of Cultures*, and *Contentious Feminisms* (forthcoming). Her writings on feminisms, social movements, and democratization have appeared in *Signs*, *Feminist Studies*, *Revista Estudos Feministas*, *Estudios Latinoamericanos*, *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, *Debate Feminista*, *Meridians*, *Revista Mora*, and several edited collections and movement publications.

April 16 PEG SNYDER, *United Nations Development Fund for Women; Columbia University*
THE GLOBAL WOMEN'S MOVEMENT: A TRULY GLOBAL PROJECT

"African Contributions to the Global Women's Movement"

Monday, April 14, 12:00 pm, 8417 Social Science

"Unlikely Godmother: The UN and the Global Women's Movement"

Wednesday, April 16, 3:30 pm, 8417 Social Science

Read:

- * Snyder, Margaret, 1995 "The politics of women and development" Pp 95-116 in Anne Winslow, *Women, Politics and the United Nations* (Greenwood, 1995)
- Snyder, Margaret and Mary Tadesse, 1995. *African Women and Development: a History* (UNECA work with women) London, ZED Books.

*Snyder, Margaret. "Women and African Development". *CHOICE* February 2000. pp 1037-1061.

Mbilinyi, Marjorie, 2001. *Budgets, Debt Relief and Globalisation*. Accra, Ghana. Third World Network Africa.

Snyder, Margaret 1995. *Transforming Development: Women, Poverty and Politics*. (a history of UNIFEM's first 15 years) London: IT Publications.

Margaret (Peg) Snyder (Ph.D., Sociology, University of Dar es Salaam) is the founding director of the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), and was co-founder of the African Centre for Women at UNECA and member of the Committee to Organize Women's World Banking. She is currently Seminar Associate at Columbia University and advisor to the UN's intellectual history project.

April 23 ??

April 30 HILKKA PIETILÄ, Freelance Writer and Researcher, Finland

GLOBAL AND LOCAL FEMINISM

"Feminism in Finland: The Equality Movement Confronts Feminism"

Monday, April 28, 12:00 pm, 8417 Social Science

"Feminism in a Global Agenda: Women and the United Nations"

Wednesday, April 30, 3:30 pm, 8417 Social Science

Read:

Pietilä, Hilkka and Vickers, Jeanne, 1996: *Making Women Matter: The Role of the United Nations*. Third post-Beijing updated edition. Zed Books, London. (LIBRARY)

Pietilä, Hilkka, 2002: *Engendering the Global Agenda. The Story of Women and the United Nations*.

* Anna Maria Holli, 1997. "On Equality and Trojan Horses" *The European Journal of Women's Studies* vol. 4, pp. 133-164.

* Ellen Marakowitz, "Gender and National Identity in Finland: An Exploration into Women's Political Agency," *Women's Studies International Forum*, 19 (1/2), pp. 53-63.

* Anneli Anttonen "Vocabularies of Citizenship and Gender: Finland" *Critical Social Policy* 18 (3): 355-373.

Optional, but recommended:

Anneli Anttonen, 2001. The Female Working Citizen: Social Rights, Work and Motherhood in Finland" *Kvinder, Kon & Forskning* Nr. 2,

Hilkka Pietilä is a Finnish freelance researcher and writer. She is the author or co-author of eleven books on women and the United Nations, including *United Nations and the Advancement of Women* and *Making Women Matter*. She is the former Secretary General of the Finnish United Nations Association.

May 7 Brief presentations of student research reports