

## DRAFT SYLLABUS

### PA 5601 : Global Survey of Gender and Public Policy

Fall 2016

Class Meetings: Humphrey Center 35, Tuesdays 04:00PM - 06:45PM

Professor Christina Ewig

Office: Humphrey 255

Office Hours: Mondays and Wednesdays from 2-3PM or by appointment

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- *What are the implications of providing paid sick days to poor, working women in the US – for themselves, their kids and the broader US economy?*
- *Does providing “daddy leave” to German fathers lead to more engaged fathers that also help out with the housework?*
- *Is providing a cash subsidy to poor moms in Bolivia **if** their daughters attend school empowering or patronizing?*
- *Why might the turn toward antiretroviral therapies for HIV-AIDS in Africa have negative implications for the economies of care in African families?*
- *What are the proven tactics for achieving policies that address gender inequalities?*
- *How can public policies address gender inequalities that vary as they intersect with race, class, disability and other factors?*

These are just some of the questions that we will tackle in this course. Students will learn the tools of gender public policy analysis through examination of a range of policies from around the world. In the first section of the course, students will become familiar with the key concepts necessary for gender policy analysis including how gender operates as a social structure and its intersectional relationship to other social structures such as race, class and disability. The second section of the course focuses on specific policy areas where gender policy analysis has been applied. Exploration of specific policy areas allows students to become familiar with the some of the major findings in the field of gender and public policy as well as offers an opportunity to examine, learn from and critique how gender policy analyses have been carried out in a variety of contexts and topic areas. Given the global scope of the course and the fact that students come to the course with both local and global policy interests, we will consider policy issues and case studies from the US alongside and in comparison to issues and case studies from other countries. Specific policy areas covered this semester include equality policies, poverty policies, work/family reconciliation, health policy, climate change and international security. In section three, students will learn how gender is embedded in the politics of the policy making process, including in the specific behavior of political actors, the organization of institutions, and in the political discourses employed. This section of the course will allow students to assess what strategies have been more or less effective in promoting more gender-equitable public policies and the challenges of achieving policies attentive to intersectional inequalities.

This is the core, required course for the Gender and Public Policy concentration for Master of Public Policy students. For information more on this concentration see: <https://www.hhh.umn.edu/masters-degrees/master-public-policy>. You are also invited to talk to Professor Ewig about pursuing this concentration.

### **Learning Outcomes:**

This course contributes to the general learning outcomes developed for Humphrey School students in the following *specific* ways (general HHH outcomes in plain text and specific course contributions in italics):

1. to lead and manage in governance across sectors, institutions, and diverse populations and cultures; *by developing a better understanding of how diverse populations are differently affected by similar public policies*
2. to participate in problem-solving, policy-making, and institutional and societal change in dynamic, uncertain environments; *by better understanding the complexity of problems from an intersectional perspective and learning what efforts are most effective for promoting policy change that addresses gender inequalities*
3. to analyze, synthesize, think critically, solve complex problems, and make decisions informed by quantitative, qualitative, economic, and other methods; *by both learning concepts key to intersectional gender policy analysis and critically assessing the methods used in existing gender policy analyses*
4. to articulate the essential role of public institutions in democratic societies and the importance of democratic values in delivery of public services; *by examining the role of inclusion in policy making processes*
5. to understand conceptions of the common good, acknowledge normative and ethical viewpoints, and promote social justice; *by developing a clearer understanding of the gendered conceptual underpinnings of many public policies*
6. to communicate and interact productively with individuals in diverse and changing cultures and communities; *by gaining knowledge of policies developed in diverse local and global communities and their implications*
7. to understand global interdependencies and their implications for governance, policy-making, and implementation; *by comparing similar policy problems across diverse global contexts and considering their transnational dimensions*

### **Class Assignments and Evaluation:**

**1) Electronic comments on readings (25%).** You are required to post on Moodle a commentary on the readings 8 out of 12 possible class meetings that entail readings (this does not include week one). Commentaries should be no more than 600 words (two double-spaced pages). Commentaries should 1) **understand descriptively** the major points of each reading – that is, briefly recap the main theses or concepts presented; 2) **critically engage** with the readings (e.g. does the author present a convincing argument? Is the evidence sound? Is the methodology appropriate? Is there a blind spot in the author’s reasoning?); 3) **relate the argument** of at least

one reading to the other readings for the day or from previous class meetings (e.g. how does it build on or respond to the other readings?) OR relate to another policy instance— for example the same policy in another time or place or a similar pattern for a different policy; 4) **raise 3 effective questions** for discussion. These may include one *clarification* question (e.g. what is the definition of transgender?) and two or three *substantive* questions that can serve as the basis for discussion (e.g. is it empowering or patronizing to require poor mothers to educate their daughters in exchange for cash?). Commentaries should be posted by *11PM the Monday before class on Moodle*. You are encouraged to read your peers' postings prior to coming to class on Tuesday.

**2) In-class participation (25%).** This course will be run seminar-style. Discussion will be our primary mode of learning in our weekly meetings. For this to work well, students are expected to carefully read each of the assigned readings before class and come prepared to contribute to discussion. Your electronic comments will help you to prepare, but active participation goes beyond what you have prepared prior to class – including being ready to change your mind, considering alternative viewpoints, and helping to create a respectful environment where everyone feels they have something to contribute, no matter their background or ideological persuasion.

**3) Gender policy analysis in practice (20%).** Find an example of a local organization (either based in or with a presence in Minnesota) that explicitly addresses gender and public policy (government, international or U.S. nonprofit, private sector). A list of some possible organizations can be found here: <http://www.mnwomen.org/current-members/>. This assignment requires you to attend at least one event related to the organization that you select: for example, a city council meeting, a speaker or conference, an advocacy event. Provide an overview of the organization and its work related to gender and public policy (1 page), a link to its website, your interpretation of the gender policy analysis strategy/approach used by the organization and your evaluation of this strategy (1-2 pages). Post your paper to the Moodle site by 5:00pm the day before the assignment due date as well as the website of the organization. A detailed assignment description will be provided.

**4) Gender policy research paper (30%).** Conduct research on a specific policy issue and analyze its gender dimensions. Papers of 10-15 pages will be due and you will present your paper to the class during the last week of the semester. Papers will be in the form of a “policy brief” – outlining the policy problem with a focus on gender, offering a critical gender analysis of policy approaches, and making a case for a particular policy prescription. We will devote part of some class sessions to discussion of paper components and midterm presentation of paper proposals, as well as final class presentations and discussion. A detailed assignment description will be provided.

**Technology in Class:** Unless you have an emergency situation, please turn off cell phones during class. Laptops and similar devices are allowed. But please note that a growing body of research suggests that computer-assisted note-taking (and especially open browsers) can increase distractions, encourage rote transcription, and inhibit learning.

**Attendance:** It should go without saying that you are expected to attend every class. Attendance is especially important in classes like this, that meet only once a week, and which are small in size. We cover a lot of information each week and much of what we learn comes from face-to-face interactions. That said, I do understand that emergencies happen.

**Course Readings:** The course reading load will range from between 100 and 150 pages a week, generally four to five book chapters or journal articles per week. The course materials blend feminist theory with empirical case studies of policy implementation and formulation.

One required book is available at the university bookstore:

Jane Collins and Victoria Mayer. 2010. *Both Hands Tied: Welfare Reform and the Race to the Bottom of the Low-Wage Labor Market*. University of Chicago Press. 2010. ISBN-13:978-0-226-11406-4.

All other readings are on library electronic reserve, with direct links on the course Moodle site. You can access our Moodle site through your MyU portal (<http://www.myu.umn.edu>) or directly at: <https://ay16.moodle.umn.edu/course/view.php?id=4317>

**Grading:** This course uses the Humphrey School grade definitions, which are as follows:

A = superior work

B = satisfactory graduate-level work

C = below Graduate School standards, but worthy of graduate credit

D = unsatisfactory work; no graduate credit

F = fail/no credit given

S = satisfactory (grade of S must be level of C- or above)

N = non-satisfactory/no credit given

Individual assignments will be graded on the following grading scale: A: 100-94 | A- 93-90 | B+ 89-87 | B 86-84 | B- 83-80 | C+ 79-77 | C 76-74 | C- 73-70 | D+ 69-67 | D 66-64 | D- 63-60 | F Below 60

**Late Policy:** Unless prior arrangements have been made with me, late work will be penalized by a three point deduction immediately, followed by an additional 3 points for every additional 48 hours late after the due date.

**Student Honesty and Academic Integrity:** Students are responsible for upholding and maintaining academic and professional honesty and integrity (Student Conduct Code, available at [http://regents.umn.edu/sites/regents.umn.edu/files/policies/Student\\_Conduct\\_Code.pdf](http://regents.umn.edu/sites/regents.umn.edu/files/policies/Student_Conduct_Code.pdf).) If you are unsure how to avoid plagiarism, cheating or academic misconduct, please see me and we can talk about ways to avoid these and succeed in this course.

**Universal Access:** As an instructor, it is important to me that all students are able to participate fully in this course. Please let me know if you need any special accommodations in the curriculum, instruction, or evaluation procedures in order for you to participate fully. The Disability Resource Center (<https://diversity.umn.edu/disability/>) might be a source of support to you. If you have, or think you may have, a disability (e.g., mental health, attentional, learning, chronic health, sensory, or physical), please contact the DRC at 612-626-1333 to arrange a confidential discussion regarding equitable access and reasonable accommodations. You can also learn more about the broad range of confidential mental health services available on campus at: <http://www.mentalhealth.umn.edu> .

## **Course Schedule:**

### ***I. Key Concepts***

*In this section of the course we will discuss key concepts that are foundational to the analysis of the relationship between gender and public policy. We will consider and discuss sometimes-competing definitions and conceptualizations -including of gender itself- and unpack how some concepts regularly employed in the policy world rely on gendered assumptions.*

#### **Week 1: (Sept 6) Organizational Meeting & Initial Discussion of Gender and Public Policy**

Hawkesworth, Mary. 2013. "Sex, Gender and Sexuality: from Naturalized Presumptions to Analytical Categories." *OUP Handbook of Gender and Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 31-56.

Food for thought for preliminary discussion of gender and public policy:

<http://www.citymetric.com/politics/what-works-men-doesn-t-work-everyone-why-cities-need-start-planning-women-mind-2123>

<http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/toronto/toronto-city-councillor-calls-for-gender-quota-system-for-civic-appointments-to-city-owned-corporations/article30689958/>

#### **Week 2: (Sept 13) Gender and Intersectionality**

Risman, Barbara J. 2004. "Gender As a Social Structure: Theory Wrestling with Activism." *Gender & Society* 18(4): 429–50.

Stryker, Susan. 2013. "Lesbian Generations—Transsexual... Lesbian... Feminist..." *Feminist Studies* 39(2): 375–83.

Crenshaw, Kimberle. 1991. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review* 43(6): 1241–99.

Lombardo, Emanuela, and Lise Rolandsen Agustín. 2016. "Intersectionality in European Union Policymaking: The Case of Gender-Based Violence." *Politics*: 263395716635184.

### **Week 3: (Sept 20) Equality, Dependency, Care**

Smith, Tyson, and Michael Kimmel. 2005. "The Hidden Discourse of Masculinity in Gender Discrimination Law." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 30(3): 1827–49.

Fraser, Nancy, and Linda Gordon. 1994. "A Genealogy of Dependency: Tracing a Keyword of the U.S. Welfare State." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 19(2): 309–36.

Tronto, Joan. 2013. *Caring Democracy*. New York: New York University Press. Chapters 1 and 2 (pp 1-45).

## **II. Case Studies of Gender and Public Policy**

*In this section we will take the concepts we have worked through in previous weeks and use them to analyze how gender (and its intersections with race, class, disability and other forms of inequality) plays out in specific policy areas. As you prepare for class, here are some general questions to consider, but surely others will emerge as well. What is gendered and intersectional in these policies? Why might it matter? How do the policies either reinforce or transform traditional gender relations? How might the same policy have different implications for differently situated individuals, dependent on race, class, ability or national context? How might the cases inform how to improve policies moving forward? Be attentive to the range of methods employed by the researchers in this section – is the method appropriate? What does the method capture? What does it miss?*

### **Week 4: (Sept 27) Equality and Recognition**

Edwards, Maud. 2012. "What Does a Bath Towel have to do with Security Policy?: Gender Trouble in the Swedish Armed Forces." In Annica Kronsell and Erika Svedberg, eds. *Making Gender, Making War*. New York: Routledge. Pp. 51-62.

Brodsky, Alexandra, and Elizabeth Deutsch. 2015. "The Promise of Title IX." *Dissent* 62(4): 135–44.

Westbrook, Laurel, and Kristen Schilt. 2014. "Doing Gender, Determining Gender Transgender People, Gender Panics, and the Maintenance of the Sex/Gender/Sexuality System." *Gender & Society* 28(1): 32–57.

Bochenek, Michael, and Kyle Knight. 2012. "Establishing a Third Gender Category in Nepal: Process and Prognosis." *Emory International Law Review* 26(1): 11–41.

### **Week 5: (Oct 4) Poverty Policies**

Collins and Mayer 2010. *Both Hands Tied*. Chapters 1, 3 and 5.

Nagels, Nora. 2016. "The Social Investment Perspective, Conditional Cash Transfer Programmes and the Welfare Mix: Peru and Bolivia." *Social Policy and Society* 15(3): 479–493.

### **Week 6: (Oct 11) Work-Family Reconciliation Policies**

Ray, Rebecca, Janet C. Gornick, and John Schmitt. 2010. "Who Cares? Assessing Generosity and Gender Equality in Parental Leave Policy Designs in 21 Countries." *Journal of European Social Policy* 20(3): 196–216.

Bünning, Mareike. 2015. "What Happens after the 'Daddy Months'? Fathers' Involvement in Paid Work, Childcare, and Housework after Taking Parental Leave in Germany." *European Sociological Review* 31(6): 738–48.

Collins and Mayer, *Both Hands Tied*, Chapter 4.

Sung, Sirin. 2003. "Women Reconciling Paid and Unpaid Work in a Confucian Welfare State: The Case of South Korea." *Social Policy & Administration* 37(4): 342–60.

**Week 7: (Oct 18) No Class this Week. Week for Project Research** (Finish practice paper and launch research paper).

### **Week 8: (Oct. 25) Health Policies**

**Gender Policy Analysis in Practice Paper due today in Class**

Ewig, Christina. 2006. "Global Processes, Local Consequences: Gender Equity and Health Sector Reform in Peru." *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society* 13(3): 427–55.

Ewig, Christina, and Gastón A. Palmucci. 2012. "Inequality and the Politics of Social Policy Implementation: Gender, Age and Chile's 2004 Health Reforms." *World Development* 40(12): 2490–2504.

Higgins, Jenny A., Susie Hoffman, and Shari L. Dworkin. 2010. "Rethinking Gender, Heterosexual Men, and Women's Vulnerability to HIV/AIDS." *American Journal of Public Health* 100(3): 435–45.

Kim, Julia C., and Charlotte H. Watts. 2005. "Gaining a Foothold: Tackling Poverty, Gender Inequality, and HIV in Africa." *BMJ* 331(7519): 769–72.

Watch before class and discuss: Professor Nancy Kendall's TED Talk on Aids in Malawi:  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AUHJh8BUm2w>

### **Week 9: (Nov. 1) Climate Change**

Terry, G. (2009). No Climate Justice without Gender Justice: An Overview of the Issues. *Gender and Development* 17(1): 5-18. Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27809203>

Arora-Jonsson, Seema. 2011. "Virtue and Vulnerability: Discourses on Women, Gender and Climate Change." *Global Environmental Change* 21(2): 744–51.

Habtezion, Senay. *Overview of Linkages between Gender and Climate Change (Policy Brief 1)*. United Nations Development Program. 2013.

<http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/librar/gender/Gender%20and%20Environment/PB1-AP-Overview-Gender-and-climate-change.pdf>

Nelson, Valerie, and Tanya Stathers. 2009. "Resilience, Power, Culture, and Climate: A Case Study from Semi-Arid Tanzania, and New Research Directions." *Gender and Development* 17(1): 81–94.

### **Week 10: (Nov. 8) Peacekeeping & Peacebuilding**

Hudson, Natalie F. 2005. "En-Gendering UN Peacekeeping Operations." *International Journal* 60(3): 785–807.

Higate, Paul, and Marsha Henry. 2004. "Engendering (In)security in Peace Support Operations." *Security Dialogue* 35(4): 481–98.



Nakaya, Sumie. 2003. "Women and Gender Equality in Peace Processes: From Women at the Negotiating Table to Postwar Structural Reforms in Guatemala and Somalia." *Global Governance* 9(4): 459–76.

Shepherd, Laura J. 2016. "Making War Safe for Women? National Action Plans and the Militarisation of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda." *International Political Science Review* 37(3): 324–35.

Remarks by UN Women Executive Director Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, at the Open Debate on women, peace and security on 13 October 2015 -

<http://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2015/10/ed-security-council-speech#sthash.QpVXVzqQ.dpuf>

### **III. Gender and the Politics of the Policy Process**

*In this section of the course we explore what kinds of variables have been effective in pushing forward more gender-equitable policy reforms. What lessons can we draw from the existing research? How might these variables be different dependent on local and global contexts? Is it possible to promote policies that address intersectional inequalities?*

#### **Week 11: (Nov. 15) International Laws, National Constitutions, Policy Machineries**

Zwingel, S. 2013. Translating International Women's Rights Norms: CEDAW in Context. In *Feminist Strategies in International Governance*, eds. G. Caglar, E. Prügl, and S. Zwingel (pp. 111-126). London: Routledge.

Ordolis, Emilia. 2008. "Lessons from Colombia: Abortion, Equality, and Constitutional Choices." *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law* 20(2): 263–88.

Merry, Sally Engle. 2006. "Transnational Human Rights and Local Activism: Mapping the Middle." *American Anthropologist* 108(1): 38–51.

Tripp, Aili Mari. 2016. "Women's Movements and Constitution Making after Civil Unrest and Conflict in Africa: The Cases of Kenya and Somalia." *Politics & Gender* 12(1): 78–106.

Bleijenbergh, Inge, and Conny Roggeband. 2007. "Equality Machineries Matter: The Impact of Women's Political Pressure on European Social-Care Policies." *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society* 14(4): 437–59.

#### **Week 12: (Nov. 22) Political Insiders: Congressional Members**

Murray, Rainbow. 2014. "Quotas for Men: Reframing Gender Quotas as a Means of Improving Representation for All." *American Political Science Review* 108(3): 520–532.

Smooth, Wendy. 2011. "Standing for Women? Which Women? The Substantive Representation of Women's Interests and the Research Imperative of Intersectionality." *Politics & Gender* 7(3): 436–41.

Bratton, Kathleen A., and Kerry L. Haynie. 1999. "Agenda Setting and Legislative Success in State Legislatures: The Effects of Gender and Race." *The Journal of Politics* 61(3): 658–79.

Franceschet, Susan, and Jennifer M. Piscopo. 2008. "Gender Quotas and Women's Substantive Representation: Lessons from Argentina." *Politics & Gender* 4(3): 393–425.

Reynolds, Andrew. 2013. "Representation and Rights: The Impact of LGBT Legislators in Comparative Perspective." *American Political Science Review* 107(2): 259–74.

### **Week 13: (Nov. 29) Political Outsiders: Social Movements**

Htun, Mala, and S. Laurel Weldon. 2012. "The Civic Origins of Progressive Policy Change: Combating Violence against Women in Global Perspective, 1975-2005." *The American Political Science Review* 106(3): 548–69.

Medie, Peace A. 2013. "Fighting Gender-Based Violence: The Women's Movement and the Enforcement of Rape Law in Liberia." *African Affairs* 112(448): 377–97.

Strolovitch, Dara Z. 2006. "Do Interest Groups Represent the Disadvantaged? Advocacy at the Intersections of Race, Class, and Gender." *The Journal of Politics* 68(4): 894–910.

Buss, Doris, and Didi Herman. 2003. *Globalizing Family Values*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press. Chapter four "The Death Culture Goes Global." Pp. 56-79.

Debating a 5th World Conference on Women: defiance or defeatism ? Anne Marie Goetz and Joanne Sandler 15 February 2015 <https://www.opendemocracy.net/5050/anne-marie-goetz-joanne-sandler/debating-5th-world-conference-on-women-defiance-or-defeatism>

### **Week 14: (December 6) Frames and Discourses**

Bacchi, Carol. 2009. "The Issue of Intentionality in Frame Theory: The Need for Reflexive Framing." In *The Discursive Politics of Gender Equality: Stretching, Bending and Policy Making*, eds. Emanuela Lombardo, Petra Meier, and Mieke Verloo. London & New York: Routledge, 19–35.

Sutton, Barbara, and Elizabeth Borland. 2013. "Framing Abortion Rights in Argentina's Encuentros Nacionales de Mujeres." *Feminist Studies* 39(1): 194–234.

Jesudason, Sujatha, and Tracy Weitz. 2015. "Eggs and Abortion: 'Women-Protective' Language Used by Opponents in Legislative Debates over Reproductive Health." *Journal of Law, Medicine & Ethics* 43(2): 259–69.

Jackson, Crystal A. 2016. "Framing Sex Worker Rights How U.S. Sex Worker Rights Activists Perceive and Respond to Mainstream Anti-Sex Trafficking Advocacy." *Sociological Perspectives* 59(1): 27–45.

Wade, Lisa. 2012. "Learning from 'Female Genital Mutilation': Lessons from 30 Years of Academic Discourse." *Ethnicities* 12(1): 26–49.

**Week 15: (December 13) In-Class Powerpoint Presentations of Final Papers**