

PA 5601 / 8690: Global Survey of Gender and Public Policy

Fall 2018

Class Meetings: HHH 15 Tuesdays 04:40PM - 07:25PM

Professor Christina Ewig

Office: Humphrey 255

Office Hours: Tuesdays from 2-4PM or by appointment

Contact: email: cewig@umn.edu; office phone with voicemail: (612) 625-1884

.....

- *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 more information 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*
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) Response Papers (25%). You are required to post a response paper to the readings 5 out of 11 possible class meetings that entail readings (this does not include week one). Papers should be about 900 words (three double-spaced pages) and written in the format of an essay. Papers should include the following components: 1) **understand descriptively** the major points of each reading. This should not be a re-statement of all the arguments, but rather a summary that focuses on the threads that tie the pieces together with emphasis on those points that are most interesting or compelling. DO show that you are working with all (not just one or two) of the

readings; 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?). Papers should be posted by *9AM on Tuesday morning before class* as an attachment in the discussion thread for the day. Please read your peers' postings prior to class.

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 response papers 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 (15%). 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. You will then write an evaluation of the strategies used by the organization based on your event observation and analysis of their published and online materials. A detailed assignment description will be provided.

4) Gender policy research brief/ research paper (25%). For this policy brief (MA students) or research paper (doctoral students), you will conduct research on a specific policy issue and analyze its gender dimensions. Briefs will be between 10-15 pages. Briefs will outline the gendered dimensions of the policy problem, offer a critical gender analysis of possible policy solutions, and make a case for a particular policy prescription. Doctoral students enrolled in 8690 will be expected to write a research paper of 20-25 pages. Papers will survey the literature to develop a research puzzle and will take a first cut at solving that puzzle. Students will submit a topic and an annotated bibliography prior to the final paper submission. We will devote one class session to workshopping paper drafts. A detailed assignment description will be provided.

5) Gender policy paper presentation (10%). The last class session will be devoted to in-class presentations of your paper using PowerPoint or other presentation visuals. Exact length of the presentations will be determined based on class size and time constraints; around 10 minutes.

Assignment Due Dates:

Research Brief/Paper Topic Selection: October 9 (ungraded)
Research Brief/Paper Annotated Bibliography: October 23 (ungraded)
Gender Policy Analysis in Practice Paper Submission: October 30
Research Brief /Paper Draft due to Colleagues: November 13 (ungraded)
Research Brief /Paper Presentation: In Class Dec 11; upload PPT to Canvas by Noon
Research Brief/Paper Final Submission: December 17, 9AM

All assignments should be turned in via Canvas, except the Research Brief/Paper draft.

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 Canvas site. You can access our Canvas site through your MyU portal (<http://www.myu.umn.edu>) or directly <https://canvas.umn.edu/courses/65914>.

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.) 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 4) 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.

<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 11) 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.

Week 3: (Sept 18) 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).

PLUS - READ IN PREPARATION FOR DISCUSSION OF POLICY IN PRACTICE ASSIGNMENT:

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

Cagler et. al. 2013. "Feminist Strategies in International Governance". PGGC Policy Research Brief. No. 1 October. Geneva.

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 25) Equality and Recognition: Case Studies of Title IX and Transgender Rights

Possible Guest Speaker: Scott Beutel, Public Policy Director, Minnesota Department of Human Rights.

Wies, Jennifer R. 2015. "Title IX and the State of Campus Sexual Violence in the United States: Power, Policy, and Local Bodies." *Human Organization* 74 (3): 276–86.

Joyce, Kathryn. 2017. "The Take Down of Title IX: Inside the Fight over Federal Rules on campus Sexual Assault" *New York Times*. December 5.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/05/magazine/the-takedown-of-title-ix.html>

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.

Redding, Jeffrey A. 2017. "The Rule of Disgust?: Contemporary Transgender Rights Discourse in India." *SSRN Electronic Journal*. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2933513>.

Week 5: (Oct 2) Poverty Policies

Guest Speaker: Lura Barber, Director, Hunger Initiatives, National Council on Aging, Washington D.C.

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 9) Women, Peace and Security

Identification of Research Brief/Paper Topic due today before class on Canvas

Guest Speaker: Professor Fionnuala Ni Aolain, UMN professor of Law and UN Special Rapporteur on Counter-terrorism and Human Rights.

Jansson, Maria, and Maud Eduards. 2016. "The Politics of Gender in the UN Security Council Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 18 (1): 590–604. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2016.1189669>.

Bell, Christine, and Catherine O'Rourke. 2010. "Peace Agreements or Pieces of Paper? The Impact of UNSC Resolution 1325 On Peace Processes and Their Agreements." *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 59 (4): 941–80.

Madsen, Diana Højlund. 2018. "'Localising the Global' – Resolution 1325 as a Tool for Promoting Women's Rights and Gender Equality in Rwanda." *Women's Studies International Forum* 66 (January): 70–78. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2017.11.011>.

Ní Aoláin, Fionnuala. 2016. "The 'War on Terror' and Extremism: Assessing the Relevance of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda." *International Affairs* 92 (2): 275–91.

Resource of Potential Interest: Council on Foreign Relations, Women's Participation in Peace Processes.: <https://www.cfr.org/interactive/womens-participation-in-peace-processes>

Week 7: (Oct 16) Health Policies

Guest Speaker: Rebecca Burch Mack, Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services, Denver Colorado.

Gaffney, Adam, and Danny McCormick. 2017. "The Affordable Care Act: Implications for Health-Care Equity." *The Lancet* 389 (10077): 1442–52.

Hudson, Robert B., and Judith G. Gonyea. 2017. "The Second Sex: Older Women and Public Policy." *Generations* 41 (4): 20–28.

Mills, Lisa. 2015. "Accounting for Blame: The Paradoxical Consequences of Measuring Maternal Death in Mexico." *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society* 22 (3): 411–31.

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.

Week 8: (Oct. 23) Work-Family Reconciliation Policies

Annotated Bibliography & Revised Topic Due before class on Canvas

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.

CWGPP and IWPR. 2016. "Paid family & medical leave insurance: Options for designing and implementing a Minnesota program." Report prepared for the Minnesota Legislature.

(Read the Executive Summary; pp 1-10. Peruse the rest. Available at:

<https://www.hhh.umn.edu/center-women-gender-and-public-policy/social-and-economic-equity>)

Week 9: (Oct 30) Environment (Focus on Climate Change)

Gender Policy Analysis in Practice Paper due today before Class on Canvas

Resurrección, Bernadette P. 2017. "Gender and Environment in the Global South: From women, environment and development to feminist political ecology." In *Routledge Handbook of Gender and Environment*. ed. Sherilyn MacGregor. (pp 71-85) New York: Routledge.

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.

Tovar-Restrepo, Marcela. 2017. "Planning for Climate Change: REDD+SES as Gender-responsive Environmental Action." In *Routledge Handbook of Gender and Environment*. ed. Sherilyn MacGregor. (pp 412-429) New York: Routledge.

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 10: (Nov. 6) International Laws & Courts

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.

Helfer, Laurence R., and Erik Voeten. "International Courts as Agents of Legal Change: Evidence from LGBT Rights in Europe." *International Organization* 68, no. 1 (January 2014): 77–110. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818313000398>.

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

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 11: (Nov. 13) Political Insiders: Congressional Members **Draft Brief/Paper due to Colleagues in Class**

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. 2002. "The Effect of Legislative Diversity on Agenda Setting Evidence from Six State Legislatures." *American Politics Research* 30 (2): 115–42.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1532673X02030002001>.

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

Week 12: (Nov. 20)

Read your group papers in advance. Workshopping of Papers in Class

Week 13: (Nov. 27) 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.

Ferree, Myra Marx. 2003. "Resonance and Radicalism: Feminist Framing in the Abortion Debates of the United States and Germany." *American Journal of Sociology* 109 (2): 304–44.

Week 14: (December 4) No Class – Time to Work on Final Papers and Presentations

Week 15: (December 11) In-Class PowerPoint Presentations of Final Papers

Upload PowerPoint to Canvas by 12 NOON.

Final Paper Due Via Canvas, Monday, December 17 by 9:00 AM