

GEN 410/610: Gender and Politics
Sabancı University
Fall 2023

Time & Place:

Wednesday 14:40-15:30 FASS 1080
Thursday 08:40-10:30 FASS 1080

Instructor: Zeynep Gülru Göker

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Office hours: Thursday, 10:30-12:00 (or by appointment)

Teaching Assistant: İlkan Can İpekçi, ilkancan.ipekci@sabanciuniv.edu

Course Description:

This course explores the relationship between gender and politics on three interrelated levels. It offers a survey of perspectives on gender and politics with an aim to explain how gender shapes the conception of the political and major political concepts such as representation, participation, power, governance and democracy; it explores the gendered constructions of social and political movements through an overview of mobilization on micro and macro as well national and transnational levels; and it opens up to discussion contemporary developments concerning gender and politics particularly in the context of anti-gender mobilizations and de-democratization.

Forms of Assessment and Grading:

GEN 410 (Undergraduate Students)

- Midterm exam: 30 % (Nov. 23, FASS 1080)
- Final exam: 40 % (TBA)
- Attendance & active class participation: 10 %
- Pop quizzes: 20 % --- 4 pop quizzes (5 % each) will be administered in class throughout the semester. Students will be expected to write short responses to a provided question on the readings. Make-up quizzes will be administered only for those who have a valid excuse for their absence, i.e. report validated by the Health Center.)

GEN 610 (Graduate Students, MA and PhD)

- Discussion leadership: 15 % --- Each graduate student is expected to lead the class discussion on a selected Thursday class' first hour. The expectation is the introduce the topic, present a short overview of the assigned readings, pose discussion questions that are prepared in advance and lead the debate. The weeks & discussion leaders will be determined by the end of the 2nd week of class in consultation with the instructor.
- Position Papers: 20 % --- Each graduate student is expected to submit two, double-spaced 3-pages long position paper advancing a disciplined argument on the readings of a week of their choice and submit it before the first class of that week (that is Wednesdays before 2:30 PM). Late submissions will not be accepted. Extensions will not be granted except in extremely adverse circumstances. Inform the Instructor and the TA in due time about your selected weeks so that a submission slot is prepared for you on SU Course. Important: Each student should submit at least one position paper before Week 8.
- Final Paper: In consultation with the instructor, each graduate student is expected to choose a paper topic; submit a paper proposal by 5 PM on Nov. 23 (10 %), make an appointment with the instructor to discuss the paper proposal before Week 11; present the research in class in the final week of classes (10 %) and submit the final paper (double spaced 20-30 pages including references) by 5 PM on January 15, 2024 (40 %).
- Attendance & Active Participation: 5 %

All students, please read:

Note on Attendance & Active Participation:

Unless indicated otherwise, all students are expected to come to class having read the assigned material and ready to engage in a conversation about it. Aside from reading the assigned materials and participating in class discussions, active participation requires attention, responsiveness, active listening and respect during class hours and group work. It also means being present in class, listening and providing constructive feedback when others are presenting their work. Participation grade will be given on the basis of active participation to class discussions, exercises, listening and commenting on the presentations of fellow students and level of preparation for the class (doing the readings, preparing questions, partaking in discussions).

Important Information & Documents:

*Course content, requirements and policies are subject to change at the discretion of the instructor.

*Students who fail to show up for the exams indicated in the Syllabus without a valid excuse and not taking the make-up examinations for such exams will receive N/A as their final grade.

*Students will have a chance to view their exams once their grades are submitted. I will only consider written objections to grades. I will expect a written statement carefully explaining why you deserve another grade.

*In their assignments and papers students are expected to give references properly, and avoid plagiarism at all costs. Make sure to familiarize yourself with the university's policy on plagiarism and academic integrity: <https://www.sabanciuniv.edu/en/academic-integrity-statement> . Scientific and Applied Research Misconduct: <https://www.sabanciuniv.edu/en/scientific-and-applied-research-misconduct>

*Sabanci University Statement of Academic Freedom:
<https://www.sabanciuniv.edu/en/statement-academic-freedom>

*Sabanci University Nondiscrimination Statement:
<https://www.sabanciuniv.edu/en/non-discrimination-statement>

*Sabanci University Sexual Harassment Policy Statement:
<https://www.sabanciuniv.edu/en/sexual-harassment-policy-statement>

Course Schedule and Weekly Reading List*:

*All mandatory readings will be posted on SUCourse. If a reading is not on SUCourse it means that it is available as a digital resource on the Information Center website.

Week 1: Introduction

Oct. 4

Meeting, going over the syllabus and requirements.

Oct. 5

Introduction & discussion

Week 2: Gender & Politics: Concepts and Methods

Oct. 11

Squires, Judith. 1999. Introduction and Chapter 1 (pp. 1-32) in *Gender in Political Theory*. Polity Press.

Oct. 12

Weldon, Laurel. 2019. Inclusion and Exclusion: Contributions of a Feminist Approach to Power. (Ch.4, pp. 61-90). In Sawyer, M. and K. Baker (Eds.) *Gender Innovations in Political Science: New Norms, New Knowledge*. Palgrave MacMillan.

Week 3: Gender & Representation**Oct. 18**

Mansbridge, Jane. 1999. "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes'", *The Journal of Politics* 61(3), pp. 628-657.

Oct. 19

Ayata, Ayşe G., and Fatma Tütüncü. 2008. "Critical Acts without a Critical Mass: The Substantive Representation of Women in the Turkish Parliament." *Parliamentary Affairs* 61(3), pp. 461-75.

Tremblay, Manon. 2019. "Outing Representation: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Queer Politicians' Narratives." *European Journal of Politics and Gender* 2(2), pp. 221-236.

Week 4: Feminist Engagements with the State and Governance**Oct. 25**

Chappell, Louise. 2013. The State and Governance (Ch.24, pp. 603-626). In Waylen, G. et al. (Eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*. Oxford University Press.

Oct. 26

McBride, Dorothy E. and Amy G. Mazur. 2013. Women's Policy Agencies and State Feminism. (Ch. 26, pp. 655-678). In Waylen, G. et al. (Eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*. Oxford University Press.

Walby, Sylvia. 2005. "Gender Mainstreaming: Productive Tensions in Theory and Practice", *Social Politics* 12(3), pp. 321-343.

Week 5: Gender and the Politics of Care**Nov. 1**

Sainsbury, Diane. 2013. Gender, Care, and Welfare (Ch.12, pp. 313-336). In Waylen, G. et al. (Eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*. Oxford University Press.

Nov. 2

Acar, Feride, and Gülbanu Altunok. 2013. "The 'Politics of Intimate' at the Intersection of Neo-Liberalism and Neo-Conservatism in Contemporary Turkey." *Women's Studies International Forum* 41, pp. 14-23.

Tronto, Joan. 2017. "There is an Alternative: Homines Curans and The Limits of Neoliberalism." *International Journal of Care and Caring* 1(1), pp. 27-43.

Week 6: Gender, Publics and Counter-publics**Nov. 8**

Dursun, Ayşe. 2019. Extending The 'Private' Sphere: Conservative Women's Politics of Charity in Turkey, *Journal of Gender Studies*, 28:8, 948-959

Nov. 9

Fraser, Nancy. 1990. "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy", *Social Text* 25/26, pp. 56-80.

Trott, Verity. 2020. "Networked Feminism: Counterpublics and the Intersectional Issues of #MeToo", *Feminist*

Media Studies, pp. 1-18.

Week 7: Gender and Deliberative Politics

Nov. 15

Asenbaum, H. 2020. "Making a Difference: Toward a Feminist Democratic Theory in the Digital Age", *Politics & Gender* 16: 230-257.

Nov. 16

Afsahi, Afsoun. 2021. "Gender Difference in Willingness and Capacity for Deliberation." *Social Politics* 28(4), pp. 1046-1072.

Çelik, Ayşe Betül, and Zeynep Gülru Göker. 2021. "Dialogue in Polarized Societies: Women's Encounters with Multiple Others." *New Perspectives on Turkey* 64, pp. 31-54.

Week 8: Midterm Exam & Paper Proposals

Nov. 22

No class

Nov. 23

GEN 410 Undergraduate students' Midterm Exam, FASS 1080.

GEN 610 Graduate students' paper proposals due by 5 PM on November 23, 2023.

Week 9: Feminist/Queer Politics I: Social Movements and Mobilization

Nov. 29

Terriquez, Veronica. 2015. "Intersectional Mobilization, Social Movement Spillover, and Queer Youth Leadership in the Immigrant Rights Movement", *Social Problems* 62(3), pp. 343-362.

Nov. 30

Coşar, Simten, and İnci Özkan-Kerestecioğlu. 2017. "Feminist Politics in Contemporary Turkey: Neoliberal Attacks, Feminist Claims to the Public." *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy*, 38(2), pp. 151-174

Arık, Hülya, and Selin Çağatay, Mia Liinason & Olga Sasunkevich. 2022. "Unsettling the Political: Conceptualizing the Political in Feminist and LGBTI+ Activism Across Russia, The Scandinavian Countries, And Turkey." *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, published online.

Week 10: Feminist/Queer Politics II: Intersections, Coalitions, Solidarities

Dec. 6

Özbay, Cenk, and A. B. Candan. 2023. "Intersectionality and Feminist/Queer Student Activism in Authoritarian Turkey." *International Feminist Journal of Politics*. Online first, pp. 1-23.

Dec. 7

Çağatay, Selin, Mia Liinason and Olga Sasunkevich. 2021. Solidarities Across: Borders, Belongings and Movements (Ch.4, pp. 143-190) In *Feminist and LGBTI+ Activism across Russia, Scandinavia and Turkey, Thinking Gender in Transnational Times*, Palgrave MacMillan, [open access](#).

Littler, Jo, and Catherine Rottenberg. 2021. "Feminist solidarities: Theoretical and Practical Complexities." *Gender, Work and Organization* 28(3), pp. 864-877.

Week 11: Anti-Gender Politics Across the World

Dec. 13

Graff, Elżbieta, and Agnieszka Graff. 2021. *Anti-Gender Politics in the Populist Movement* (Introduction & Ch. 1, pp. 1-37). Routledge. [E-book](#) available at SU Information Center.

Dec. 14

Rawluszko, Martha. 2019. "And If the Opponents of Gender Ideology Are Right? Gender Politics, Europeanization, and the Democratic Deficit", *Politics & Gender*, pp. 1-23.

Kancı, Tuba, Buşra Çelik, Yavuz Bülent Bekki & Umutcan Tarcan. 2023. The Anti-gender Movement in Turkey: An Analysis of its Reciprocal Aspects, *Turkish Studies*, published online.

Week 12: Gender Politics in the Context of De-democratization

Dec. 20

Krizsán, Andrea & Conny Roggeband. 2021. *Politicizing Gender and Democracy in the Context of the Istanbul Convention* (Ch. 3, pp. 55-120). Palgrave MacMillan, Switzerland.

Dec. 21

Aksoy, Hürcan Aslı. 2018. "Gendered Strategies between Democratization and Democratic Reversal: The Curious Case of Turkey." *Politics and Governance* 6(3), pp. 101–111.

Arat, Yeşim. 2021. "Democratic Backsliding and the Instrumentalization of Women's Rights in Turkey." *Politics & Gender*, pp. 1-31.

Week 13: Response, Resistance & Resilience

Dec. 27

Korolczuk, Elżbieta. 2021. "Counteracting Challenges to Gender Equality in the Era of Anti-Gender Campaigns: Competing Gender Knowledges and Affective Solidarity." *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society* 27(4): pp. 694–717.

Dec. 28

Gerő, Márton, Anna Fejős, Szabina Kerényi, and Dorottya Szikra. 2023. "From Exclusion to Co-Optation: Political Opportunity Structures and Civil Society Responses in De-Democratising Hungary." *Politics and Governance* 11(1), pp. 16-27.

Krizsán, Andrea & Conny Roggeband. 2021. "Reconfiguring State–Movement Relations in the Context of De-democratization." *Social Politics* 28(3), pp. 604–628.

Week 14: Closing: Reflections & Presentations

Jan. 3

Concluding discussion & Graduate students' paper presentations

**All students are expected to participate, listen and comment on the presentations.*

Jan. 4

Concluding discussion & Graduate students' paper presentations

**All students are expected to participate, listen and comment on the presentations.*

GEN 410 Final Exam: TBA

GEN 610 Final papers due by 5 PM on January 15, 2024.

Suggestions for further reading:

Anti-Gender Mobilizations

Special Issue: De-Democratisation and Opposition to Gender Equality Politics In Europe. Guest editors: Emanuela Lombardo, Johanna Kantola And Ruth Rubio-Marin. *Social Politics* 28(3), 2021.

Paternotte, David and Roman Kuhar. 2018. “Disentangling and Locating the “Global Right”: Anti-Gender Campaigns in Europe”, *Politics and Governance* 6(3), pp. 6-19.

Care

Kittay, Eva Feder, and Ellen K. Feder. 2002. *The Subject of Care: Feminist Perspectives on Dependency*. Rowman & Littlefield.

MacGregor, Sherilyn. 2011. *Beyond Mothering Earth: Ecological Citizenship and the Politics of Care*. UBC Press.

Mhajne, Anwar and Crystal Whetstone. 2018. “The Use of Political Motherhood in Egypt’s Arab Spring Uprising and Aftermath”, *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 20(1), pp. 54-68.

Robinson, Fiona. 2010. “After Liberalism in World Politics? Towards an International Political Theory of Care”, *Ethics and Social Welfare* 4(2), pp. 130-144.

Tronto, Joan. 1993. *Moral Boundaries: A Political Argument for an Ethic of Care*. Routledge.

Deliberation

Beauvais, E. 2019. “The Gender Gap in Political Discussion Group Attendance”, *Politics & Gender*, 1-24.

Beauvais, Edana. 2019. “Discursive Inequity and the Internal Exclusion of Women Speakers.” *Political Research Quarterly*, pp. 1-14.

Browne, Jude (Ed.) 2013. *Dialogue, Politics and Gender*. Cambridge University Press.

Karpowitz, Christopher and Tali Mendelberg. 2016. *The Silent Sex: Gender, Deliberation and Institutions*. Princeton University Press.

Public Sphere

Landes, Joan. 1998. (ed) *Feminism, the Public and the Private*. Oxford University Press.

Young, Iris Marion. 1990. *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, Princeton University Press.

Young, Iris M. 1988. Impartiality and the Civic Public: Some Implications of Feminist Critiques of Moral and Political Theory (ch.3 pp. 57-76) in Benhabib and D. Cornell eds. *Feminism as Critique*. University of Minnesota Press.

Representation

Beckwith, Karen. 2011. “Interests, Issues, and Preferences: Women’s Interests and Epiphenomena of Activism”, *Politics & Gender* 7(3), pp. 424-9.

Bektas, Eda, and Esra Issever-Ekinci. 2019. "Who Represents Women in Turkey? An Analysis of Gender Difference in Private Bill Sponsorship in the 2011–15 Turkish Parliament", *Politics & Gender* 15, pp. 851-81.

Squires, Judith. 2008. "The Constitutive Representation of Gender: Extra-parliamentary Re-presentations of Gender Relations", *Representation* 44(2), pp. 187-204.

Phillips, Anne. 1991. *Engendering Democracy*. Polity Press, 1991.

Tinker, Irene. 2004. "Quotas for Women in Elected Legislatures: Do They Really Empower Women?", *Women's Studies International Forum* 27 (5/6), pp.531-46.

Young, Iris Marion. 2000. *Inclusion and Democracy*. Oxford University Press.

Social Movements & Civil Society

Andrew, Merrindahl. 2019. What Feminist Research Has Contributed to Social Movement Studies: Questions of Time and Belonging. (Ch. 11, pp. 219-242). In Sawyer, M. and K. Baker (Eds.) *Gender Innovations in Political Science: New Norms, New Knowledge*. Palgrave MacMillan.

Ayoub, Phillip M., and Agnès Chetaille. 2020. "Movement/Countermovement Interaction and Instrumental Framing in a Multi-Level World: Rooting Polish Lesbian and Gay Activism." *Social Movement Studies* 19(1), pp. 21-37.

Paternotte, David. 2016. "The NGOization of LGBT Activism: ILGA-Europe and the Treaty of Amsterdam", *Social Movement Studies* 15(4), pp. 388-402.