**Gender and public policy**

*Central European University,*

*Department of Public Policy*

2023/2024

Course instructor: Andrea Krizsan

Credit number: 2 (4 ECTS Credits)

Course level: M.A.

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**Brief overview**

This course provides analytical skills and tools to understand the role of gender inequalities in public policies and political processes surrounding them and ways to mitigate these inequalities throughout the policy process. It introduces concepts and tools necessary for gender policy analysis and research on proven tactics for achieving policies that address gender inequalities. In its first section the class will discuss fundamental concepts and mechanisms important to understand how gender influences policymaking, including how gender operates as a social structure and its intersectional relationship to other social structures such as race, class, sexual orientation or disability. Discussion will cover gender as a category, and gender inequality as a structural mechanism permeating institutions, organizations, processes, practices, knowledge and discourses fundamental to policymaking, as well as specific methods used in gender public policy analysis. This section of the class will also introduce the distinction between putting in place specific, targeted, gender equality policies, on the one hand, and gendering mainstream policies, on the other. The second section of the class will direct its attention to how gender is embedded in the politics of the policy making process, including in the specific behavior of political actors, organizations and institutions, and stages of the policy process. First, it will discuss stages of the policy process including policy development, implementation and monitoring and evaluation, specific challenges in gendering these policy stages. Next it will analyze key policy actors and the specific roles they play in gendering policy processes. Separate sessions will cover: states including legislators and courts, civil society and social movements, policy platforms for state-civil society interaction, international and transnational actors, and veto players: opponents of gender equality. The course will allow students to assess what strategies have been more or less effective in promoting more gender-equitable public policies. The focus of the class will be on contemporary European policy arenas with a global outlook.

**Learning Outcomes**

This course aims to familiarize students with the study of public policy from a gender equality perspective. It will sensitize students interested in issues of policy, politics and governance to challenges of gender equality that are pertinent to both developed and new democracies and societies in transformations. The course will develop critical skills of policy and political analysis from a gender perspective, including skills to understand and evaluate policy actors, institutions, policy processes, strategies, issues and debates. The teaching method will ensure that students have to regularly synthesize different pieces of knowledge (discussion of the core readings), to critically evaluate the differences and overlaps of arguments and to look into how conceptual and theoretical readings can translate to gender equality policy practice in their respective contexts or beyond. Students will also learn to work in groups, to do targeted inquiries and to develop their writing and presentation skills.

**Assignments and Assessment:**

***Class participation***

Students are expected to carefully consult the required readings each week prior to the classes, ideally by taking notes. The questions for discussion assigned to the sessions in the syllabus help students to engage with the readings and identify the main conceptual puzzles, arguments, and debates related to the topic of the session. Active participation in the seminar discussions is expected from all students. Weight to the grade: 10%

***Group research work***

Students will conduct research in small, 2-3 member, groups on gender and public policy topics and make 15 minutes presentations. A list of topics will be made available at the beginning of the class and can be chosen by session 3. Possible topics will be discussed during the first 3 sessions. Guidance and readings will be recommended for each topic, but additional research work is required to complement the recommended material. Ideally research should focus on examples from the national/regional context best known to the students and reflect on concepts and ideas learnt in class or from the readings. Handouts or PPTs are to be submitted after the presentation. Weight to the grade: 30%

***3 short papers***

Students will write 3 individual short papers/blogs of 800-1000 words each due weeks 4, 8 and 12. Papers can be connected to their chosen topic.

The first paper will reflect on concepts introduced through the literature in the first 3 sessions such gendered categories, gendered institutions, organizations or knowledge (one of these, not all). Can be a fully conceptual note or illustrate the application of one or more of these concepts to some practical policy field of their choice, show how they operate to produce or reproduce gender inequality or to address gender inequality. This first paper will have to make a clear connection to discussions in class and use at least some of the literature assigned to the course during the first sessions. Deadline: February 1

The second and the third papers will be blogposts reflecting on how specific policies, policy practices or policy processes contribute to producing and (re)producing gender inequalities or can be used to address them. Topics can be informed by the students’ own national context or some other context of interest.  Deadlines: March 8, April 5.

Blogs can build on research done for the group work but this is not a requirement.   
Weight to the grade: 60%  
  
All written assignments will be checked for plagiarism via Turnitin.

**Class plan**

**Class 1: Introduction**

Introducing the topic. How is gender relevant to policy studies? Is gender in policy studies all about equality policies? What can a gender analysis bring to analyzing mainstream policy processes? What are key conceptual and methodological entry points?

***Readings***

2 stories of gender policy change

Mainstreaming in bicycle policy:

<https://genderpolicyreport.umn.edu/bicycles-gender-and-risk/>

Targeted gender equality policy

A story of advocacy/policy change of specific gender equality related law

Spehar Andrea (2007) *How Women’s Movements Matter.* *Women’s Movements’ Strategies and Influence on Gender Policy Formation in Post-communist Croatia and Slovenia.* PhD Gotenborg University. Chapter on passing the Croatian Gender Equality Law (133-138)

***Recommended***

Squires, J. (2007). *The new politics of gender equality.* Bloomsbury Publishing. Ch 1 and 7

Lombardo, E. Petra Meier & Mieke Verloo (2017) Policymaking from a Gender+ Equality Perspective, *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy*, 38(1):1-19, 10.1080/1554477X.2016.1198206

Lombardo, Emanuela, Petra Meier, and Mieke Verloo (2013) 'Policy Making'  in Georgina Waylen and others (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*, Oxford Handbooks

<https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199751457.013.0027>

Lombardo, E., & Meier, P. (2022). Challenging boundaries to expand frontiers in gender and policy studies, *Policy & Politics*, *50*(1), 99-115. Retrieved Nov 14, 2022, from <https://bristoluniversitypressdigital.com/view/journals/pp/50/1/article-p99.xml>

Mazur, A. and Hoard, S. (2014) Gendering comparative policy studies: towards better science, in I. Engeli and C. Rothmayr (eds) Comparative Policy Studies: Conceptual and Methodological Challenges, London: Palgrave, pp 205–36.

Ackerly, Brooke, and Jacqui True (2013) 'Methods and Methodologies', in Georgina Waylen et al (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*,

<https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199751457.013.0005>

Hawkesworth M (1994) Policy Studies within a Feminist Frame. Policy Sciences. 27(2–3): 97–118

**CLASS 2 + 3: KEY CONCEPTS**

**Class 2: Gender as a category, gendered institutions**

Sessions 2 and 3 will discuss key conceptual questions about gender as a category and tensions around that, gender in institutions and as an aspect of institutionalist research, gender in organizations, gender knowledge, methodologies for gender analysis of public policies. We discuss how gender and gender inequality is constituted through policy categories, policy discourses, institutions, organizations and knowledge. First, we discuss gender as a policy category, gender as social structure in interaction with other structures of inequality, and gender in policy institutions.

***Readings***(choose 1)

Connell. R. W. 2021. *Gender in world perspective*. Cambridge: Polity. (Ch 1 The question of gender and Ch 5 Gender relations).

***Recommended***

MacKay, F., Kenny, M. and Chappell, L. (2010) New institutionalism through a gender lens: towards a feminist institutionalism? International Political Science Review, 31(5): 573–88. doi: 10.1177/0192512110388788

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

Carol Bacchi (2017) Policies as Gendering Practices: Re-Viewing Categorical Distinctions, Journal of Women, Politics & Policy, 38:1, 20-41, DOI: [10.1080/1554477X.2016.1198207](https://doi.org/10.1080/1554477X.2016.1198207)

Hawkesworth, Mary (2013) 'Sex, Gender, and Sexuality: From Naturalized Presumption to Analytical Categories'  in Georgina Waylen and others (eds*), The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics* <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199751457.013.0001>

West and Zimmerman (1987). Doing Gender. Gender & Society, 1(2), 125–151. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243287001002002>

Fischel, Joseph J., Paisley Currah, and Aeyal Gross. 2019. “Social Justice for Gender and Sexual Minorities: A Discussion with Paisley Currah and Aeyal Gross.” Critical Analysis of Law 6 (1). <https://cal.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/cal/article/view/32565>.

Redding, Jeffrey A. 2016. “Transgender Rights in Pakistan?:Global, Colonial, and Islamic Perspectives.” SSRN Scholarly Paper ID 2837520. Rochester, NY: Social Science Research Network. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2837520>

Bacchi, Carol 1999 *Women, Policy and Politics: The Construction of Policy Problems.* Part one: What is the problem – traditional and novel approach to policy studies

Preamble (p. 15- 16), Chapter 1, Chapter 3, and Chapter 10 (sexual harassment).

Connell, Raewyn. 2006. “Glass Ceilings or Gendered Institutions? Mapping the Gender Regimes of Public Sector Worksites.” Public Administration Review 66 (6): 837–49. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6210.2006.00652.x.

Connell, R. (2006), The Experience of Gender Change in Public Sector Organizations. Gender, Work & Organization, 13: 435-452. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0432.2006.00316.x>

Kenny M. (2013). A feminist institutionalist approach. In *Gender and political recruitment* (pp. 34–62). New York: Springer.

Banaszak, L., & Weldon, S. (2011). Informal Institutions, Protest, and Change in Gendered Federal Systems. *Politics & Gender,* *7*(2), 262-273. doi:10.1017/S1743923X11000109

Waylen, G. (2014). Informal Institutions, Institutional Change, and Gender Equality. *Political Research Quarterly*, *67*(1), 212–223. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23612047

**Class 3 Gender in Organizations/ gender knowledge** *(class 2 continued)*

Continuing from the previous session, this class we discuss key conceptual issues such as gender in organizations, gender knowledge and expertise.

***Readings (***choose one)

Benschop Y., Verloo M. (2006) “Sisyphus’ Sisters”: Can Mainstreaming Escape the Genderedness of Organizations?' *Journal of Gender Studies*, 15(1), 19-33.

***Recommended***

Rosalind Cavaghan (2017) Bridging Rhetoric and Practice: New Perspectives on Barriers to Gendered Change, Journal of Women, Politics & Policy, 38(1):42-63 [10.1080/1554477X.2016.1198209](https://doi.org/10.1080/1554477X.2016.1198209)

Bleijenbergh, I. (2022). How change agents mobilise masculinities to support gender equality in academia. *Organization*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13505084221096810>

Benschop Y., Verloo M. (2016). Feminist organization theories: Islands of treasure. In Mir R., Wilmott H., Greenwood M. (Eds.), *The Routledge companion to philosophy in organization studies*. London: Routledge.

Gherardi S. (2014). Organizations as symbolic gendered orders. In Kumra S., Simpson R., Burke R. J. (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of gender in organizations* (pp. 76–94). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Van den Brink M., Benschop Y. (2012a). Gender practices in the construction of academic excellence: Sheep with five legs. *Organization*, 19, 507–524.

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| Balan, Claudia, van den Brink, Marieke and Benschop, Yvonne (2022) “New Fathers, Ideal Workers? New Players in the Field of Father-Friendly Work Organizations.” Gender, Work & Organization: 1– 26. <https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12930>.  Rahel Kunz and Elisabeth Prügl (2019) Introduction. In Gender Experts and Gender Expertise (eds. Rahel Kunz and Elisabeth Prügl), Special Issue of European Journal of Politics and Gender 2,1 (February 2019),  Elisabeth Prugl (2013) “Gender Expertise as Feminist Strategy.” In Feminist Strategies in International Governance, eds. G. Caglar, E. Prügl, and S. Zwingel, pp. 57-73. London: Routledge, 2013.  Kunz, R., Prügl, E., & Thompson, H. (2019). Gender expertise in global governance: contesting the boundaries of a field, European Journal of Politics and Gender, 2(1), 23-40. <https://bristoluniversitypressdigital.com/view/journals/ejpg/2/1/article-p23.xml> |

**Class 4:** **Gender equality policy frames and strategies**

This session we will use the method of frame analysis to identify and discuss various meanings of gender equality used in policy texts and policy debates and look for tensions between them. Gender equality can be framed in a variety of ways, each frame proposing more or less systemic, more or less individualist, more or less long-term solutions. Different definitions of equality imply various policy strategies. Equal treatment, positive action, and gender mainstreaming/transformation are three markedly different approaches, each of them building on different definitions of inequality as a policy problem, utilizing different policy interventions and promising different outcomes. Gender inequality is cutting across various other inequality axes. Intersectionality needs to be factored into addressing gender inequality.

***Readings***

Teresa Rees (1998) Mainstreaming Equality in the European Union: Education, Training and Labour Market Policies, London: Routledge, Chapter 3 “Conceptualizing Equal Opportunities” (p.26-49)

***Recommended readings***

Bacchi, Carol. 2006. Arguing for and against quotas, in Dahlerup *Women, Quotas and Politics*, London: Routledge.

Verloo, Mieke. 2001. Another velvet revolution? Gender mainstreaming and the politics of implementation. Vienna: IWM.

Carol Bacchi & Joan Eveline eds. (2010) Mainstreaming politics: Gendering practices and feminist theory

Jahan, R., & Mumtaz, S. (1996). The Elusive Agenda: Mainstreaming Women in Development [with Comments]. *The Pakistan Development Review*, *35*(4), 825–834. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41260001>

Booth, C. and Bennett, C. (2002). Gender mainstreaming in the European Union: towards a new conception and practice of equal opportunities? European Journal of Women's Studies, 9(4), 430-446.

La Barbera, Espinosa-Fajardo & Caravantes (2022) Implementing Intersectionality in Public Policies: Key Factors in the Madrid City Council, Spain. *Politics & Gender*  
<https://www.doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X22000241>

Squires, J. (2007). *The new politics of gender equality.* Bloomsbury Publishing. Ch 1 and 7

**Class 5 The logic of gender equality policy change**

Gender equality policies that target gender inequality directly intervene in various policy domains, such as employment, politics, violence, family and care, reproductive rights, to mention a few more prominent ones. Each of these fields has its own mechanism of policy change, its own typical policy actors and logics of resistance. This session will be devoted to policy issue specificity, to introducing the most prominent domains of gender policy intervention and discussing differences and similarities between them. Please consult the various fields listed in recommended readings. Think about one preferred field for your project. Please discuss if you have alternative suggestions.

***Readings (***choose 1)

Htun, Mala and Weldon, Laurel (2018) "Introduction. States and Gender Justice" in *The Logics of Gender Justice. State Action on Women's Rights Around the World*. CUP.  1-27

***Recommended readings***

Mazur, A. (2002) “Towards solving the feminist policy formation puzzle” in *Theorizing Feminist Policy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp.25-46

*Violence*

Elman, Amy (2003) "Refuge in Reconstructed States: Shelter Movements in the United States, Britain and Sweden," in *Women's Movements Facing the Reconfigured State,* edited by Banaszak, Beckwith and Rucht, New York: Cambridge University Press, pp: 94-113.

*Care*

Morgan, K. (2009) Caring Time Policies in Western Europe: Trends and Implications. Comp Eur Polit (7): 37–55. <https://doi.org/10.1057/cep.2008.40>

Ciccia, R., & Verloo, M. (2012). Parental leave regulations and the persistence of the male breadwinner model: Using fuzzy-set ideal type analysis to assess gender equality in an enlarged Europe. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 22(5), 507–528.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0958928712456576>

*Reproductive rights*

Engeli, I. (2009) The Challenges of Abortion and Assisted Reproductive Technologies Policies in Europe. *Comp Eur Polit* (7):56–74. <https://doi.org/10.1057/cep.2008.36>

A comparative examination of the legality of restrictions on abortion in light of the right to gender equality. December 2022. Berkeley Center on Comparative Equality and Anti-Discrimination Law Equality Law Clinic at the Université Libre de Bruxelles

*Political representation*

Franceschet, S., & Piscopo, J. (2008). Gender Quotas and Women's Substantive Representation: Lessons from Argentina. *Politics & Gender,* *4*(3), 393-425. doi:10.1017/S1743923X08000342

*Headscarf*

Sauer, B. (2009) Headscarf Regimes in Europe: Diversity Policies at the Intersection of Gender, Culture and Religion. Comp Eur Polit 7:75–94. https://doi.org/10.1057/cep.2008.41

*Forced marriages*

Phillips, Anne and Dustin, Moira (2004) UK initiatives on forced marriage: regulation, dialogue and exit. *Political Studies*, 52 (3). pp. 531-551.

*Employment/Equal pay*

Louise Boivin (2018) Quebec’s Pay Equity Act: Signifcant progress toward professional equality for women? Fr Polit. 16:297–311 <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41253-018-0062-0>

Mazur, Amy, With Jacqueline Laufer and Frédérique Pigeyre (2018) “Pathways to Concrete Outcomes in Equal Employment Policy Implementation in France and Canada: Toward Better Theory in Comparative Policy Studies.” In Special Issue Research Frontiers in Comparative Gender Equality Policy: Contributions from the Study of Equal Employment Policy Practice in France and Canada. *French Politics*. 2018 (16). 235-53. <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1057/s41253-018-0069-6>

*Truth and reconciliation/post conflict settings*

Phelan, A., & True, J. (2022). Navigating gender in elite bargains: Women's movements and the quest for inclusive peace in Colombia. *Review of International Studies,* 48(1), 171-194. doi:10.1017/S0260210521000334

Miranda-Montero, Yira Isabel, Anctil-Avoine, Priscyll, & Hankivsky, Olena. (2020). Transversalización de género: un acercamiento al caso de Colombia y una propuesta interseccional. CS, (32), 191-219. <https://doi.org/10.18046/recs.i32.3530> (in Spanish)

*COVID response*

Elomaki and Kantola (2022) Feminist Governance in the European Parliament: The Political Struggle over the Inclusion of Gender in the EU’s COVID-19 Response

<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/politics-and-gender/article/feminist-governance-in-the-european-parliament-the-political-struggle-over-the-inclusion-of-gender-in-the-eus-covid19-response/D54F9E2B461E018B8149DF311B40BC81>

*Gender and Political economy*

Rai, Shirin (2013) 'Gender and (International) Political Economy', in Georgina Waylen and others (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics.*

<https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199751457.013.0010>

**POLICY CYCLE**

**Class 6 Policy adoption**

Gender equality policies that target gender inequality directly intervene in various policy domains, such as employment, politics, violence, family and care, reproductive rights, to mention a few more prominent ones. Each of these fields has its own mechanism of policy change, its own typical policy actors and logics of resistance. This session will be devoted to policy issue specificity, to introducing the most prominent domains of gender policy intervention and discussing differences and similarities between them.

***Readings (***choose 1)

Htun, Mala and Weldon, Laurel (2018) "Introduction. States and Gender Justice" in *The Logics of Gender Justice. State Action on Women's Rights Around the World*. CUP.  1-27

Mazur, A. (2002) “Towards solving the feminist policy formation puzzle” in *Theorizing Feminist Policy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp.25-46

***Recommended***

Waylen, G. (2010). Gendering politics and policy in transitions to democracy: Chile and South Africa, *Policy & Politics*, *38*(3), 337-352. Retrieved Nov 21, 2022, from <https://bristoluniversitypressdigital.com/view/journals/pp/38/3/article-p337.xml>

Isabelle Engeli, Christoffer Green-Pedersen & Lars Thorup Larsen (2013) The puzzle of permissiveness: understanding policy processes concerning morality issues, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 20:3, 335-352, DOI: [10.1080/13501763.2013.761500](https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2013.761500)

Tripp, A., Konaté, D. and Lowe-Morna, C. (2006) ‘Sub-Saharan Africa: on the fast track to women’s political representation’, in D. Dahlerup (ed) *Women, quotas and politics* (pp 112–37), London: Routledge.

[Marilyn Marks Rubin](https://www.elgaronline.com/search?f_0=author&q_0=Marilyn+Marks+Rubin) and John R. Bartle (2022) Chapter 9: Gender-responsive budgeting: a global perspective <https://doi.org/10.4337/9781789904734.00018>

Krizsan, A. & Roggeband, C. (2023) Feminist governance in the field of violence against women: The case of the Istanbul Convention. In Sawer, Banaszak, True, Kantola (eds) *Handbook of Feminist Governance*

Espírito-Santo, A., Freire, A., & Serra-Silva, S. (2020). Does women’s descriptive representation matter for policy preferences? The role of political parties. *Party Politics*, 26(2), 227–237. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068818764011>

Jacqui True, Michael Mintrom (2001) Transnational Networks and Policy Diffusion: The Case of Gender Mainstreaming, *International Studies Quarterly*, 45(1):27-57,

<https://doi.org/10.1111/0020-8833.00181>

**Class 7 Policy Implementation**

This session will be devoted to policy implementation. What factors influence implementation in the field of gender relevant policy issues? What factors contribute to better implementation?

***Readings***

María Bustelo (2017) Evaluation from a Gender+ Perspective as a Key Element for (Re)gendering the Policymaking Process, Journal of Women, Politics & Policy, 38:1, 84-101, DOI: [10.1080/1554477X.2016.1198211](https://doi.org/10.1080/1554477X.2016.1198211)

***Recommended***

Engeli, Isabelle, & Mazur, Amy (2018). Taking implementation seriously in assessing success: The Politics of gender equality policy. *European Journal of Politics and Gender*, 1(1–2), 111–129.

Isabelle, Engeli, and Amy G. Mazur, 'What Works and Why? The Politics of Corporate Gender Equality by the Numbers', in Isabelle Engeli, and Amy G. Mazur (eds) Gender Equality and Policy Implementation in the Corporate World: Making Democracy Work in Business (Oxford, 2022; online edn, Oxford Academic, 23 June 2022), <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198865216.003.0016>

Mieke Verloo & Connie Roggeband (1996) Gender Impact Assessment: The Development of a New Instrument In The Netherlands, Impact Assessment, 14:1, 3-20, DOI: [10.1080/07349165.1996.9725883](https://doi.org/10.1080/07349165.1996.9725883)

Roggeband, C., & Verloo, M. (2006). Evaluating gender impact assessment in the Netherlands (1994–2004): a political process approach. Policy & politics, 34(4), 615-632.

MariaCaterina La Barbera, Laura Cassain & Paloma Caravantes (2023) The discursive construction of intersectionality in public policy implementation, *Critical Discourse Studies,* DOI: [10.1080/17405904.2023.2228937](https://doi.org/10.1080/17405904.2023.2228937)

Engeli, Isabelle, and Amy G. Mazur (2022) 'The Transformative Power of Public Policy: Looking Back, Looking Ahead' in Isabelle Engeli, and Amy G. Mazur (eds), *Gender Equality and Policy Implementation in the Corporate World: Making Democracy Work in Business*. Oxford. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198865216.003.0017>

María Bustelo (2017) Evaluation from a Gender+ Perspective as a Key Element for (Re)gendering the Policymaking Process, Journal of Women, Politics & Policy, 38:1, 84-101, DOI: [10.1080/1554477X.2016.1198211](https://doi.org/10.1080/1554477X.2016.1198211)

**POLICY ACTORS (sessions 8-12)**

Sessions 8-12 will discuss prominent policy actors and the specific role they play in gender policy processes.

**Class 8 States**

States, governments, legislators, courts and political parties are key actors in formal politics. While feminist actors have viewed states and state actors initially with suspicion, this has changed since the 1980s. Feminist debates around states and actors in formal politics will be discussed in a historical perspective as well as in the context of the current turn to state hostility to gender equality. Progressive states, autocratic states, femicidal states will be some of the concepts discussed. We devote specific attention to executives, parliaments, political parties and courts.

***Readings***

Chappell, Louise (2013) 'The State and Governance', in Georgina Waylen and others (eds), The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics, Oxford Handbooks, <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199751457.013.0024>.

***Recommended readings***

Annesley, C. and Gains, F. (2010) ‘The core executive: gender, power and change’ Political Studies. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-9248.2010.00824.x

Mary Hawkesworth (2018) Visibility Politics: Theorizing Homosociality and the Femidical State. <https://uva.theopenscholar.com/files/pvi/files/hawkesworth-vawip-michigan-oct-1.pdf>

Mary Hawkesworth (2016) “Gender and Democratic Governance: Reprising the Politics of Exclusion.” In Vianello Hawkesworth eds *Gender and Power. Towards Equality and Democratic Governance*. Pp 215

*Legislators/parties*

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.

Kittilson, Miki Caul (2013) 'Party Politics', in Georgina Waylen and others (eds), The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199751457.013.0021>

Krook, Mona Lena, and Leslie Schwindt-Bayer, 'Electoral Institutions', in Georgina Waylen and others (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*, Oxford. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199751457.013.0022>

Childs, S. and Krook, M.L. (2008) ‘Critical mass theory and women’s political representation’, *Political Studies*, 56(3): 725–37.

Mackay, F. (2006) ‘Descriptive and substantive representation in new parliamentary spaces’, in M. Sawer, M. Tremblay and L. Trimble (eds) *Representing women in parliament*, London: Routledge.

*Courts*

Cichowski, Rachel (2013) 'Judicial Politics and the Courts', in Georgina Waylen and others (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*, Oxford Handbooks.  <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199751457.013.0023>

**Class 9: Platforms for cooperation between state and civil society**

State feminism, women’s policy agencies, velvet triangles are some of the key concepts lined up to explain gender policy progress globally. What are these platforms, how they operate, are they a Western democratic construct or can operate successfully beyond that as well? Conceptual debates around state feminism and other policy platforms of consultation between states and women’s movements will be discussed during this session.

***Readings***

McBride, Dorothy E., and Amy G. Mazur. 2013. “Women’s Policy Agencies and State Feminism.” In The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics, edited by Georgina Waylen, Karen Celis, Johanna Kantola, and S Laurel Weldon. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199751457.013.0026>.

***Recommended***

Andrea Krizsán, Conny Roggeband, Reconfiguring State–Movement Relations in the Context of De-democratization, *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, Volume 28, Issue 3, Fall 2021, Pages 604–628, <https://doi.org/10.1093/sp/jxab027>

Goetz, A. 2003. “National women’s machinery: State-based institutions to advocate gender equality.” In S. Rai, ed., *Mainstreaming gender, democratizing the state? Institutional mechanisms for the advancement of women*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 96–114.

Rai, Shirin. 2003b. “The National Commission for Women: The Indian experience.” In Shirin Rai, ed., Mainstreaming gender, democratizing the state? Institutional mechanisms for the advancement of women. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 223–243.

Bustelo, María. 2014 “Three Decades of State Feminism and Gender Equality Policies in Multi-Governed Spain”. *Sex Roles*

Alison Woodward (2004) “Building Velvet Triangles: Gender and Informal Governance.” in *Informal Governance and the European Union* edited by Simona Piattoni and Thomas Christiansen, London: Edward Elgar. Pp. 76-93

Krizsán, A., Zentai V. (2012) “Institutionalizing Intersectionality in Central and Eastern Europe” in Krizsán, Skjeie, Squires eds. *Institutionalizing Intersectionality*. Palgrave MacMillan.

Krizsán, A., Skjeie, H., & Squires, J. (2012). Introduction and Conclusions. In Krizsán, A., Skjeie, H., & Squires, J. (Eds.). *Institutionalizing intersectionality: The changing nature of European equality regimes*. Springer. Pp 1-33; 209-239.

Weldon, S. L. (2002). Beyond Bodies: Institutional Sources of Representation for Women in Democratic Policymaking. *The Journal of Politics*, *64*(4), 1153–1174. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1520080

**Class 10 Civil society - Women’s movements – NGOization - Intersectional mobilization - resistance**

Women’s movements are seen as the motors of gender policy change by the literature. This session will be devoted to discussing strategies, capacities, resources used by women’s movements to facilitate policy change as well as dilemmas and risk involved in focusing on influencing states and formal politics rather than turning towards the group they claim to represent.

***Readings***

Ewig, Christina, and Myra Marx Ferree (2013) 'Feminist Organizing: What’s Old, What’s New? History, Trends, and Issues',  in Georgina Waylen and others (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*

<https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199751457.013.0017>

***Recommended readings***

Zaremberg, G., & De Almeida, D. (2022). *Feminisms in Latin America: Pro-choice Nested Networks in Mexico and Brazil* (Elements in Politics and Society in Latin America). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/9781108919258

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.

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.

Montoya, C. (2021). Intersectionality and social movements: Intersectional challenges and imperatives in the study of social movements. *Sociology Compass*, 15(8):e12905.

<https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12905>

Phillip M. Ayoub & 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, 21-37, DOI: [10.1080/14742837.2017.1338941](https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2017.1338941)

Phillip M Ayoub, Intersectional and Transnational Coalitions during Times of Crisis: The European LGBTI Movement, S*ocial Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society,* Volume 26, Issue 1, Spring 2019, Pages 1–29, <https://doi.org/10.1093/sp/jxy007>

**Class 11: International norms and courts**

This session will be devoted to international norms, actors and influence in diffusing gender policy ideas and models. Specific attention will be devoted to transnational advocacy as well as to processes of translating international norms to local policy practices and the agency of local actors.

***Readings***

LEVITT, P. and MERRY, S. (2009), Vernacularization on the ground: local uses of global women's rights in Peru, China, India and the United States. Global Networks, 9: 441-461. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-0374.2009.00263.x>

Or

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.

***Recommended readings***

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>.

True, Jacqui, and Michael Mintrom. 2001. “Transnational networks and policy diffusion: The case of gender mainstreaming.” *International Studies Quarterly*  45(1): 27–57.

Conor O'Dwyer (2012) Does the EU help or hinder gay-rights movements

in post-communist Europe? The case of Poland, East European Politics, 28:4, 332-352, DOI:

10.1080/21599165.2012.721094

Merry, S. E. (2009). Legal transplants and cultural translation: Making human rights in the vernacular. In *Human rights and gender violence: Translating international law into local justice.* University of Chicago Press.

**Class 12: Opposition, resistance, veto players**

The final session will be devoted to opposition and resistance to gender equality policy change and its impact on policies. Backlash? Backsliding?

***Reading***

Krizsan, Andrea, and Conny Roggeband. 2018. Reversing gender policy progress: Patterns of backsliding in Central and Eastern European new democracies. *European Journal of Politics and Gender* 1 (3): 367–85.

Or

Zamberg, Tabbush, Jay Friedman (2021) Feminism(s) and anti-gender backlash: lessons from Latin America *[International Feminist Journal of Politics](https://www.researchgate.net/journal/International-Feminist-Journal-of-Politics-1468-4470)* 23(4):527-534

***Recommended readings***

David Paternotte (2023) Victor Frankenstein and its creature: the many lives of ‘gender ideology’, *International Review of Sociology*, DOI: [10.1080/03906701.2023.2187833](https://doi.org/10.1080/03906701.2023.2187833)

Ahrens (2018) Indirect Opposition: Diffuse Barriers to Gender+ Equality in The European Union. In Verloo (ed) *Varieties of opposition*. Routledge

Krizsán, A., & Popa, R. M. (2018). Contesting gender equality in domestic-violence policy debates: Comparing three countries in Central and Eastern Europe. In Varieties of opposition to gender equality in Europe (pp. 98-116). Routledge.

International Panel on Social Progress. (2016). The challenge of gender inequality by Mieke Verloo. Chapter 14 Inequality as a Challenge to Democracy. In Rethinking society for the 21st century. Retrieved from <https://comment.ipsp.org/chapter/chapter-14-inequality-challenge-democracy>,

Gaweda, Barbara (2022). ‘Reinventing Resistance: An Intersectional Look at the Feminist Responses to Anti-Gender+ Equality in Poland’ in Bianka Vida (ed.) The Gendered Politics of Crises and De-Democratization. Opposition to Gender Equality. ECPR Press.

Howlett, M. and Leong, C. (2022), The “Inherent Vices” of Policy Design: Uncertainty, Maliciousness, and Noncompliance. Risk Analysis, 42: 920-930.

<https://doi.org/10.1111/risa.13834>