

Prof. L. Zerilli

## **GENDER AND CITIZENSHIP**

“Political freedom . . . means ‘the right to be a participator in government,’ or it means nothing.”  
—Hannah Arendt

### **Course Description**

This course will examine several aspects of the gendered character of citizenship: political participation and representation, social rights and economic rights. We aim to understand citizenship from both "top down" and "bottom up" perspectives. What do states do, via citizenship rights, to shape gender relations? How do gender relations influence the nature of citizenship? How has feminism emerged as a radical challenge to the androcentrism and restricted character of the democratic public sphere? We expand on conventional conceptions of political participation and citizenship rights to include the grassroots democratic activism that gave birth to the modern women's movement. We explore how women's political efforts have given rise to the creation of counter-public spheres and alternative visions of democracy, social provision and economic participation, as well as reshaping formal politics and policies.

### **Course Requirements**

Attendance is mandatory. Participation counts as 20% of your grade. You take a midterm and a final, each of which counts for 40% of your grade.

### **Course Readings**

The readings will be available in a reader at Quartet Copies. Read “required texts” and “documents” for each class session. Read the texts and documents in the order in which they appear on this syllabus.

### **I. Gender as a Significant Political Difference**

#### Documents:

Women in Elective Office

Sex Differences in Voter Turnout

The Gender Gap (various)

Young Women and Politics

#### Website Visits:

[www.cawp.rutgers.edu](http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu) (examine the web site for more information on American women and politics)

<http://www.iwpr.org/index.cfm> (examine web site for more information about women's economic and social conditions and social entitlements)

[www.idea.int](http://www.idea.int) (examine web site for more information on democracy and gender relations in an international context)

Film: “Iron Jawed Angels”

## **II. The Gendering of Modern Citizenship and the Public Sphere**

### Required Texts:

Joan Scott, *French Feminists and the Rights of Man*, ch. 1

Iris Marion Young, "Impartiality and the Civic Public: Feminist Critiques of Moral and Political Theory"

Joan Landes, "The Public and the Private Sphere: A Feminist Reconsideration"

### Recommended:

Thomas Laqueur, "Orgasm, Generation and the Politics of Reproductive Biology"

Jane Rendall, *The Origins of Modern Feminism: Women in Britain, France, and the United States 1780-1860*, chs. 1-2.

Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract*

## **III. First-Wave Struggles: Abolitionism, Feminism, and the Demand for Political Freedom**

### Required Texts:

Nancy Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism*, 13-49.

Ellen Carol Dubois, "Introduction: The Invention of Women's Rights"

Hannah Arendt, "What is Freedom?"

### Documents:

History of Woman Suffrage in the United States

The Declaration of Independence

The Declaration of Sentiments

Sojourner Truth's Speech to the Akron Convention, 1851

Elizabeth Cady Stanton's Speech to the Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society"

### Recommended:

Barbara Berg, *The Remembered Gate: Origins of American Feminism*

Shirley Yee, *Black Women Abolitionists*

Jean Fagan Yellin, *Women and Sisters: The Antislavery Feminists in American Culture*

Karen Sanchez-Eppler, *Touching Liberty: Abolition, Feminism, and the Politics of the Body*

## **IV. Gender, Social Citizenship, and the Emergence of the Welfare State (2 weeks)**

### Required Texts:

Sonya Michel and Seth Koven, "Womanly Duties: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of the Welfare State in France, Germany, Great Britain and the United States, 1880-1920." *American Historical Review* 95(1990):1076- 1108.

Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers*, Part III (chs. 6-9).

Gwendolyn Mink, "The Lady and the Tramp: Gender, Race, and the Origins of the American Welfare State"

### Recommended:

Alice Kessler-Harris, *In Pursuit of Equity: Women, Men, and the*

*Quest for Economic Citizenship in 20<sup>th</sup>-Century America*, pp. 3-63.

Ann Orloff, "Gender in the Welfare State"

Nancy Naples, "Contradictions in the Gender Subtext of the War on Poverty: The Community Work and Resistance of Women from Low Income Families"

## **V. Gender, Social Citizenship... Continued**

### Required Texts:

Ann Shola Orloff, "Gender and the Social Rights of Citizenship: The Comparative Analysis of Gender Relations and Welfare States," *American Sociological Review* 58(1993):303-28

Trudie Knijn and Monique Kremer, "Gender and the Caring Dimension of Welfare States: Toward Inclusive Citizenship" *Social Politics* 4(1997): 328-61.

### Recommended

Rianne Mahon "Child Care: Toward What Kind of "Social Europe"?" *Social Politics* 2002 9: 343-379

Stephen Rose and Heidi Hartmann, Still a Man's Labor Market: The Long-Term Earnings Gap (2004 report from Institute for Women's Policy Research – available at <http://www.iwpr.org/Publications/pdf.htm>)

Shahra Razavi, "Does Paid Work Enhance Women's Access to Welfare? Evidence from Selected Industrializing Countries"

Film: Mom's Rising.org

## **VI. MIDTERM**

## **VII. Reproduction, Citizen Rights, and State Power**

### Required Texts:

Cynthia Daniels, *At Women's Expense: State Power and the Politics of Fetal Rights*, pp. 1-56, 133-150.

O'Connor, Orloff and Shaver, *States, Markets, Families*, chapter 5

## **VIII. The Second-Wave Feminist Movement**

### Required Texts:

Ruth Rosen, *The World Split Open*, chs. 1, 5, 6 plus chronology.

Ann Snitow, "A Gender Diary" from *Conflicts in Feminism*

Alice Echols, *Daring to Be Bad*, Intro. and chs. 1-3.

Film: Step By Step: Building a Feminist Movement, 1941-1977 (56 min.)

## **IX. The Global Movement for Women's Human Rights**

### Required Texts:

Charlotte Bunch and Samantha Frost, "Women's Human Rights"

Florence Butegwa, "International Human Rights Law and Practice: Implications for Women"

Valentine M. Moghadam, "Islamic Feminism and Its Discontents: Toward a Resolution of the Debate"

Leila Ahmed, "The Discourse of the Veil," in *Women and Gender in Islam*

Inderpal Grewal, "'Women's Rights as Human Rights': Feminist Practices, Global Feminism, and Human Rights in Transnationality"

Documents:

Universal Declaration of Human Rights Convention on the Elimination of All  
Forms of Discrimination Against Women

Film: The Vienna Tribunal (48 min.)

Recommended:

Mary E. Hawkesworth, *Globalization and Feminist Activism* (2006)

Kristen Ghodsee, "Religious Freedoms Versus Gender Equality: Faith-Based  
Organizations, Muslim Minorities, and Islamic Headscarves in the New Europe,"  
*SocialPolitics*, vol. 4, no. 4 (2007).

Web Site Visit:

[www.cwgl.rutgers.edu](http://www.cwgl.rutgers.edu) (explore the web site and related links.)

[www.idea.int/women/parl/annex1a.htm](http://www.idea.int/women/parl/annex1a.htm) ("International Women's Human Rights  
Legislation")