

The University of Western Ontario  
 Political Science 4455G/9755B  
**Gender and the Challenges of Transnational Politics:  
 A Critical Approach**

Winter 2015

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**Classes:** Fridays, 9:30 am -11:30 am

**Class location:** Rm. SSC 4103

**Office Hours:** Thursdays, 1:30 - 3:00 pm  
 Or by appointment

This course explores the challenge posed by feminist and critical theory to the study of transnational politics. It proceeds through cross-cultural and historical comparisons to discuss the centrality of gender to three processes: work and migration; citizenship and human rights; and indigenous mobilizations.

Transnationalism is a broad ranging concept that emphasizes the flow of capital, people, ideas, and objects across the borders of nation-states in contexts where states shape but do not contain these relations and flows. Transnationalism, and its associated transnational political processes, is not a new phenomenon. It is, however, one which we have until recently been ill equipped to study because of the nationalist and gender bias of our methodological approaches.

Methodological nationalism assumes national borders to be the natural unit of study for political phenomena. It also assumes that particular nations provide the constant units of observation through all historical transformations. Gender bias assumes the conspicuous absence of women and their particular (racialized and classed) experiences from transnational political processes. These biases have hampered scholars in their ability to move beyond dominant nationalist and gendered paradigms.

**Prerequisites:** Political Theory plus either one advanced Comparative Politics or one advanced International Politics course, or instructor's permission.

**Course Evaluation:**

Class Participation and Journal Writing	20%
Presentation	20%
Research Essay: (15-18 pages)	
(graduate students: 20-25 pages)	35%
Final Review Entry: (10-12 pages)	25%
(graduate students: 12-15 pages)	

Every participant is expected to read and discuss all the required readings for each week. As part of the weekly reading assignment you will be asked to bring a one-page “journal entry.” You are asked to submit **6** of these entries for evaluation. Regular attendance and timely submission of journal entries will earn you 50% of the participation/journal writing mark. The total mark for this component of the course evaluation will take into consideration the quality of your participation in seminar discussions, and of your engagement with ideas in the entries. In addition, each person will select one week’s topic/readings as the basis for a seminar presentation. The presentation should be approximately 30 – 45 minutes in length. You should be prepared to present: (1) a general analytic overview of the readings, **NOT** a descriptive summary – in short, your sense of how the key issues, concepts, methods, assumptions, problems and questions which emerge from the readings relate to the key questions highlighted above; and (2) a critical interpretation of the readings – strengths and weaknesses in terms of logic of argument, gaps or silences, assumptions, methodological implications, and so on.

This is a discussion seminar and as such the success of the seminar depends on your capacity to engage in a discussion of the texts and of the ideas offered by your peers. The use of laptops in this type of seminar format detracts from attentive and respectful engagement with your peers and is, therefore, not permitted. Exceptions will only be made for students who request accommodation through Student Development Services. For each week’s reading I’d like you to come to class with 2-3 questions and/or comments, as part of your journal entries. We start each class with a brief 15 minute reading of these questions/comments, and then move into the presentation and discussion for the day.

A Final Review Entry, or review of the ideas explored in the journals, of 10 - 12 double-spaced type-written pages in length (for graduate students, 12-15 pages), and a term paper of 15 - 18 double-spaced type-written pages in length (for graduate students, 20-25 pages), will be the final requirements for this course. **The term paper is due in class on March 6. The Final Review Entry is due on April 3.** Late assignment submissions will be subject to a penalty of 5 percent per day (from due date until the date that the assignment is received by me, including weekends and holidays). Extensions will only be granted in exceptional circumstances, and only if you approach me in advance with your request. Please note Western’s new Medical Accommodation Policy. For detailed information and forms, please visit <http://studentservices.uwo.ca/semc/index.cfm> and for further policy information please visit [http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/handbook/appeals/accommodation\\_medical.pdf](http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/handbook/appeals/accommodation_medical.pdf)

## TOPICS AND READINGS

### **January 9: Introduction to the Course: Key Issues and Concepts**

### **January 16: Globalization and Transnational Politics: Framing an Interdisciplinary Debate**

Held, David. *Democracy and the Global Order*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, Chapters 10 and 12.

Calhoun, Craig. "The Class Consciousness of Frequent Travellers: Towards a Critique of Actually Existing Cosmopolitanism." In Daniele Archibugi, ed. *Debating Cosmopolitics*. London: Verso, 2003, pp. 86-116.

Recommended:

Harvey, David. "Cosmopolitanism and the Banality of Geographical Evils." *Public Culture* 12, 2 (2000): 529-564.

Cheah, Pheng. "The Cosmopolitical -- Today." In Pheng Cheah, *Inhuman Conditions: On Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006, pp. 17-44.

Kalb, Don. "From Flows to Violence. Politics and Knowledge in the Debates on Globalization and Empire." *Anthropological Theory* 5, 2 (2005): 176-204.

Sassen, Saskia. "Spatialities and Temporalities of the Global: Elements for a Theorization." In Arjun Appadurai, ed. *Globalization*. Duke University Press, 2001.

Held, David, Moore, Henrietta L. with Young, Kevin. *Cultural Politics in A Global Age: Uncertainty, Solidarity and Innovation*. Oxford: Oneworld, 2008.

### **January 23: Challenges of Studying Transnational Politics in Global Capitalist Times: Historical Legacies of Uneven Power**

Amin, Samir. "The Ancient World-Systems Versus the Modern Capitalist World System" In Frank, Andre Gunder and Gills, B.K., eds. *The World System: Five Hundred Years or Five Thousand?* London: Routledge, 1993, pp. 247 -277.

Abu-Lughod, J. *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250-1350*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, (1989), Chapter 1 and Chapter 11.

Recommended:

Foucault, Michel. *Power: The Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984*, Volume 3, edited by James D. Faubion. New Press, 2000.

Mohanty, Chandra. *Feminism Without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2003.

### **January 30: Global Capitalism: Transnational Flows and Transnational Politics in Context**

Hanagan, Michael. "States and Capital: Globalizations Past and Present." In Don Kalb et al., eds. *The Ends of Globalization: Bringing Society Back In*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000, pp. 67-86.

Mittleman, James H. "The Dynamics of Globalization." In James H. Mittleman, ed. *Globalization: Critical Reflections*. Boulder, Co.: Lynne Rienner, 1996, pp. 1-19.

Hawkesworth, Mary E. "Engendering Globalization." In *Globalization & Feminist Activism*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006, pp. 1-28.

Recommended:

Kalb, Don. "Localizing Flows: Power, Paths, Institutions, and Networks." In Don Kalb et al., eds. *The Ends of Globalization: Bringing Society Back In*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000, pp. 1-29.

### **February 6: How to Address Transnational Politics? A Methodological Debate**

Wimmer, Andreas and Nina Glick Schiller. "Methodological Nationalism and Beyond: Nation-State Building, Migration, and the Social Sciences" *Global Networks* 2 (2002): 301-334.

Beck, Ulrich and N Sznajder. Unpacking Cosmopolitanism for the Social Sciences: A Research Agenda. *British Journal of Sociology* 57 (2006): 1-23.

Martell, Luke "Global Inequality, Human Rights and Power: A Critique of Ulrich Beck's Cosmopolitanism." *Critical Sociology* 35, 2 (2009): 253-272.

Recommended:

Chernilo. "Methodological Nationalism: Theory and History" Paper presented to the Annual Conference of the International Association of Critical Realism, King's College, London, July 2008. (available online).

Jessop, Bob. "The Crisis of the National Spatio-Temporal Fix and the Tendential Ecological Dominance of Globalizing Capitalism." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 24, 2 (June 2000): 323-360.

### **February 13: The Feminist Methodological Contribution**

Hawkesworth, Mary. "Gender as an Analytical Category", *Feminist Inquiry: From Political Conviction to Methodological Innovation*, New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2006, Chapter 6.

Yuval-Davis, Nira. "Intersectionality and Women's Politics." *European Journal of Women's Studies* 13 (3) 2006:

Mohanty, Chandra Talpade. "Transnational Feminist Crossings: On Neoliberalism and Radical Critique." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 38, 4 (2013): 967-991.

#### **Recommended:**

Collins, Patricia Hill. 1986. Learning from the outsider within: The sociological significance of Black feminist thought. *Social Problems* 33 (6): 14-32.

Smith, Dorothy E. *The Conceptual Practices of Power. A Feminist Sociology of Knowledge*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.

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

Harding, Sandra, ed. *The Feminist Standpoint Theory Reader. Intellectual and Political Controversies*. New York: Routledge, 2004.

Harding, Sandra. "Negotiating with the Positivist Legacy: New Social Justice Movements and a Standpoint Politics of Method." In George Steinmetz, ed. *The Politics of Method in the Human Sciences*. Duke University Press, 2005, pp. 346-365.

### **February 20: READING WEEK**

### **February 27: The Role of Space and Scale in Analysing Transnational Politics as**

## Gendered Processes

Sewell, William H. Jr. "Space in Contentious Politics." In Ronald R. Aminzade et al., eds. *Silence and Voice in the Study of Contentious Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, pp. 51-88.

Marston, Sallie. "The Social Construction of Scale." *Progress in Human Geography* 24, 2 (2000): 219-242.

Masson, Dominique. "Transnationalizing Feminist and Women's Movements: Toward a Scalar Approach." In Pascale Dufour, Dominique Masson, and Dominique Caouette, eds. *Solidarities Beyond Borders*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010, pp. 35-55.

### Recommended:

Brenner, Neil. "The Limits to Scale? Methodological Reflections on Scalar Structuration." *Progress in Human Geography* 25, 4 (2001): 591-614.

Massey, Doreen. "A Global Sense of Place." In *Space, Place, and Gender*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994, pp. 146-156.

Goodman, James. "Transnational Contestation: Social Movements Beyond the State." In Cohn, Theodore H., McBride, Stephen, and Weisman, John, eds. *Power in the Global Era: Grounding Globalization*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000.

## March 6: Moving Beyond the Centre: The Post-Colonial Epistemological Challenge \*TERM PAPER IS DUE IN CLASS

Burawoy, Michael. "Provincializing the Social Sciences", in George Steinmetz, ed., *The Politics of Method in the Human Sciences*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2005, pp. 346-365.

Alcoff, Linda. "The Problem of Speaking for Others" *Cultural Critique* 20 (1991): 5-32.

Samir Amin. "The Construction of Eurocentric Culture." In *Eurocentrism*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1989, pp. 89-117.

### Recommended:

Edgardo Lander. Eurocentrism, Modern Knowledges, and the "Natural" Order of Global Capital." *Nepantla: Views from South* 3, 2 (2002): 245-268.

Bat-Ami Bar On, "Marginality and Epistemic Privilege." In Linda Alcoff and Elizabeth Potter,

eds., *Feminist Epistemologies*. New York: Routledge, 1993, pp. 83-100.

Immanuel Wallerstein. "Eurocentrism and its Avatars." In *The End of the World as we Know it*. Minneapolis.: University of Minnesota Press, 1999, pp. 168-184.

Seigel, Jerrold. "Problematizing the Self." In Victoria E. Bonnell and Lynn Hunt, eds., *Beyond the Cultural Turn*. University of California Press, 1999.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Gaonkar, Dilip Parameshwar, ed. *Alternative Modernities*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2001.

### **March 13: Analysing the Gendered Politics of Work and Migration**

Sassen, Saskia. "The Making of International Migrants." In J.C.Alexander, ed. *Contemporary Societies*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2007, pp. 69-76.

Fernandez-Kelly, M. Patricia. "Immigration, Poverty, and Transnationalism: Changing Terms of Citizenship in a Global Economy." In Berta Esperanza Hernandez-Truyol, ed. *Moral Imperialism: A Critical Anthology*. New York: New York University Press, 2002.

Misra, Joya and Merz, Sabine N. "Neoliberalism, Globalization, and the International Division of Care." In Cabezas, Amalia L., Reese, Ellen, and Waller, Marguerite, eds. *The Wages of Empire: Neoliberal Policies, Repression and Women's Poverty*. Boulder, Co: Paradigm Publishers, 2007, pp.113-126.

Recommended:

Mark Zimmerman, Mark K., Litt, Jacqueline S., and Bose, Christine E., eds. *Global Dimensions of Gender and Care Work*. Stanford Social Sciences, 2006.

Yeates, Nicola. *Globalising Care Economies and Migrant Workers. Explorations in Global Care Chains*. Palgrave McMillan, 2009.

Bakan, Abigail B. and Staisulis, Daiva K. "Structural Adjustment, Citizenship, and Foreign Domestic Labour: The Canadian Case." In Isabella Bakker, ed. *Rethinking Restructuring: Gender and Change in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996, pp. 217-242.

Kerr, Joanna. "Transnational Resistance: Strategies to Alleviate the Impacts of Restructuring on Women." In Isabella Bakker, ed. *Rethinking Restructuring: Gender and Change in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996, pp. 243-260.

### **March 20: Citizenship and Human rights: A Troubled Language of Transnational Solidarity?**

Aziz, Nikhil. "The Human Rights Debate in an Era of Globalization", in Peter Van Ness, ed., *Debating Human Rights: Critical Essays from the United States and Asia*. New York: Routledge, 1999, pp. 32-55.

Yuval-Davis, Nira. "Human/Women's Rights and Feminist Transversal Politics." In *Global Feminism*. New York: New York University Press, 2006, pp. 275-295.

De Sousa Santos, Boaventura. "Human Rights as an Emancipatory Script? Cultural and Political Conditions." In Boaventura De Sousa Santos ed.. *Another Knowledge is Possible: Beyond Northern Epistemologies*. London: Verso, 2007, pp. 3-40.

Recommended:

Cheah, Pheng. "Posit(ion)ing Global Human Rights in the Current Global Conjuncture." *Public Culture* 9 (1997): 233-266.

Hunt, Lynn. *Inventing Human Rights*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2007.

Grewal, Inderpal. "'Women's Rights as Human Rights': The Transnational production of Global Feminist Subjects." In *Transnational America: Feminisms, Diasporas, Neoliberalisms*. Duke University Press, 2005, pp. 121-157.

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

### **March 27: Indigenous Women Organizing and the EZLN: Ethnic Rights as Women's Rights**

Dietz, Gunther. "From Indigenismo to Zapatismo. The Struggle for a Multiethnic Mexican Society." In Nancy Grey Postero and Leon Zamosc, eds. *The Struggle for Indigenous Rights in Latin America*. Portland, Or: Sussex Academic Press, 2004, pp. 32-80.

Hernández, R. Aída. "Between Feminist Ethnocentricity and Ethnic Essentialism. The Zapatistas Demands and the National Indigenous Women's Movement." In Shannon Speed, R. Aída Hernández, and Lynn M. Stephen, eds. *Dissident Women. Gender and Cultural Politics in Chiapas*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006, pp. 57-74.

Millán Moncayo, Mária. "Indigenous Women and Zapatismo: New Horizons of Visibility."



In Shannon Speed, R. Aída Hernández, and Lynn M. Stephen, eds. *Dissident Women. Gender and Cultural Politics in Chiapas*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006, pp. 75-96.

Recommended:

Speed, Shannon, Hernández, R. Aída , and Stephen, Lynn M. eds. *Dissident Women. Gender and Cultural Politics in Chiapas*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006.

Harvey, Neil. *The Chiapas Rebellion. The Struggle for Land and Democracy*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1998.

Jung, Courtney. *The Moral Force of Indigenous Politics: Critical Liberalism and the Zapatistas*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Gilbert, Jeremie. “Indigenous Rights in the Making: The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.” *International Journal of Minority and Group Rights* 14 (2007): 207-230.

Corntassel, Jeff. “Partnership in Action? Indigenous Political Mobilization and Cooptation during the First UN Indigenous Decade (1995-2004).” *Human Rights Quarterly* 29 (2007): 137-166.

### **April 3: Contentious Politics and Global Solidarities**

Kurasawa, Fuyuki. “A Cosmopolitanism from Below: Alternative Globalization and the Creation of a Solidarity without Bounds.” *Archives of European Sociology* XLV, a (2004): 233-255.

Conway, Janet. “Troubling Transnational Feminism(s) at the World Social Forum.” In In Pascale Dufour, Dominique Masson, and Dominique Caouette, eds. *Solidarities Beyond Borders*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010, pp. 149-172.

Recommended:

Pianta, Mario. “Democracy vs Globalization. The Growth of Parallel Sites and Global Movements.” In Daniele Archibugi, ed. *Debating Cosmopolitics*. London: Verso, 2003, pp. 232-256.

Santos, Boaventura de Sousa. *The Rise of the Global Left: The World Social Forum and Beyond*. London: Zed Books, 2006.