

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

Fall 2011

Instructor: Verónica Schild
Office: SSC 4166
Telephone: 661-3442
e-mail: vschild@uwo.ca

Classes: Fridays, 9:30 am -11:30 am
Class location: Rm. SSC 4112
Office Hours: Thursdays, 3:30 - 4:30 am
 Fridays, 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 8 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. 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

TOPICS AND READINGS

September 9: Introduction to the Course: Key Issues and Concepts

September 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.

Harvey, David. “Cosmopolitanism and the Banality of Geographical Evils.” *Public Culture* 12,

2 (2000): 529-564.

Recommended:

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.

October 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.

September 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.

October 7: 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.

October 14: 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, Chapters 2, 3, 6.

Hennessy, Rosemary. "Women's Lives/Feminist Knowledge: Feminist Standpoint as Ideology Critique," *Hypatia* 8: 1 (Winter 1993): 14-34.

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.

Recommended:

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

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

Grosz, Elizabeth. "Bodies and Knowledges: Feminism and the Crisis of Reason." In Linda Alcoff and Elizabeth Potter, eds., *Feminist Epistemologies*. New York: Routledge, 1993, 187-215.pp

October 21: 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.

October 28: Moving Beyond the Centre: The Post-Colonial Epistemological Challenge

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

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:

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.

November 4: Analysing the Gendered Politics of Work and Migration

Sassen, Saskia. "The Making of International Migrations." In Saskia Sassen. *Sociology of Globalization*. W.W. Norton, 2007.

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 MacMillan, 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.

November 11: Citizenship and Human rights: A Troubled Language of Transnational Solidarity?

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

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:

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.

November 18: 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, Mágina. “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.

November 25: 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.

December 2: Overview of Key Themes

**APPENDIX TO UNDERGRADUATE COURSE OUTLINES
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE**

Prerequisite checking - the student's responsibility

"Unless you have either the requisites for this course or written special permission from your Dean to enroll in it, you may be removed from this course and it will be deleted from your record. This decision may not be appealed. You will receive no adjustment to your fees in the event that you are dropped from a course for failing to have the necessary prerequisites."

Essay course requirements

With the exception of 1000-level courses, most courses in the Department of Political Science are essay courses. Total written assignments (excluding examinations) will be at least 3,000 words in Politics 1020E, at least 5,000 words in a full course numbered 2000 or above, and at least 2,500 words in a half course numbered 2000 or above.

Use of Personal Response Systems ("Clickers")

"Personal Response Systems ("clickers") may be used in some classes. If clickers are to be used in a class, it is the responsibility of the student to ensure that the device is activated and functional. Students must see their instructor if they have any concerns about whether the clicker is malfunctioning.

Students must use only their own clicker. If clicker records are used to compute a portion of the course grade:

- the use of somebody else's clicker in class constitutes a scholastic offence,
- the possession of a clicker belonging to another student will be interpreted as an attempt to commit a scholastic offence."

Security and Confidentiality of Student Work (refer to current *Western Academic Calendar* (<http://www.westerncalendar.uwo.ca/>))

"**Submitting or Returning Student Assignments, Tests and Exams** - All student assignments, tests and exams will be handled in a secure and confidential manner. Particularly in this respect, leaving student work unattended in public areas for pickup is not permitted."

Duplication of work

Undergraduate students who submit similar assignments on closely related topics in two different courses must obtain the consent of both instructors prior to the submission of the assignment. If prior approval is not obtained, each instructor reserves the right not to accept the assignment.

Grade adjustments

In order to ensure that comparable standards are applied in political science courses, the Department may require instructors to adjust final marks to conform to Departmental guidelines.

Academic Offences

"Scholastic offences are taken seriously and students are directed to read the appropriate policy, specifically, the definition of what constitutes a Scholastic Offence, at the following Web site:

<http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/handbook/appeals/scholoff.pdf>."

Submission of Course Requirements

ESSAYS, ASSIGNMENTS, TAKE-HOME EXAMS **MUST** BE SUBMITTED ACCORDING TO PROCEDURES SPECIFIED BY YOUR INSTRUCTOR (I.E., IN CLASS, DURING OFFICE HOURS, TA'S OFFICE HOURS) OR UNDER THE INSTRUCTOR'S OFFICE DOOR.

THE MAIN OFFICE DOES NOT DATE-STAMP OR ACCEPT ANY OF THE ABOVE.

Note: Information excerpted and quoted above are Senate regulations from the Handbook of Scholarship and Academic Policy. <http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/handbook/>

Students registered in Social Science should refer to <http://counselling.ssc.uwo.ca/> <http://counselling.ssc.uwo.ca/procedures/havingproblems.asp> for information on Medical Policy, Term Tests, Final Examinations, Late Assignments, Short Absences, Extended Absences, Documentation and other Academic Concerns. Non-Social Science students should refer to their home faculty's academic counselling office.

Plagiarism

"Plagiarism: Students must write their essays and assignments in their own words. Whenever students take an idea, or a passage from another author, they must acknowledge their debt both by using quotation marks where appropriate and by proper referencing such as footnotes or citations. Plagiarism is a major academic offence." (see Scholastic Offence Policy in the Western Academic Calendar).

Plagiarism Checking: "All required papers may be subject to submission for textual similarity review to the commercial plagiarism detection software under license to the University for the detection of plagiarism. All papers submitted for such checking will be included as source documents in the reference database for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of papers subsequently submitted to the system. Use of the service is subject to the licensing agreement, currently between The University of Western Ontario and Turnitin.com (<http://www.turnitin.com>)."

Multiple-choice tests/exams: "Computer-marked multiple-choice tests and/or exams may be subject to submission for similarity review by software that will check for unusual coincidences in answer patterns that may indicate cheating."

Note: Information excerpted and quoted above are Senate regulations from the Handbook of Scholarship and Academic Policy. <http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/handbook/>

PLAGIARISM*

In writing scholarly papers, you must keep firmly in mind the need to avoid plagiarism. Plagiarism is the unacknowledged borrowing of another writer's words or ideas. Different forms of writing require different types of acknowledgement. The following rules pertain to the acknowledgements necessary in academic papers.

A. In using another writer's words, you must both place the words in quotation marks and acknowledge that the words are those of another writer.

You are plagiarizing if you use a sequence of words, a sentence or a paragraph taken from other writers without acknowledging them to be theirs. Acknowledgement is indicated either by (1) mentioning the author and work from which the words are borrowed in the text of your paper; or by (2) placing a footnote number at the end of the quotation in your text, and including a correspondingly numbered footnote at the bottom of the page (or in a separate reference section at the end of your essay). This footnote should indicate author, title of the work, place and date of publication, and page number.

Method (2) given above is usually preferable for academic essays because it provides the reader with more information about your sources and leaves your text uncluttered with parenthetical and tangential references. In either case words taken from another author must be enclosed in quotation marks or set off from your text by single spacing and indentation in such a way that they cannot be mistaken for your own words. Note that you cannot avoid indicating quotation simply by changing a word or phrase in a sentence or paragraph which is not your own.

B. In adopting other writers' ideas, you must acknowledge that they are theirs.

You are plagiarizing if you adopt, summarize, or paraphrase other writers' trains of argument, ideas or sequences of ideas without acknowledging their authorship according to the method of acknowledgement given in 'A' above. Since the words are your own, they need not be enclosed in quotation marks. Be certain, however, that the words you use are entirely your own; where you must use words or phrases from your source, these should be enclosed in quotation marks, as in 'A' above.

Clearly, it is possible for you to formulate arguments or ideas independently of another writer who has expounded the same ideas, and whom you have not read. Where you got your ideas is the important consideration here. Do not be afraid to present an argument or idea without acknowledgement to another writer, if you have arrived at it entirely independently. Acknowledge it if you have derived it from a source outside your own thinking on the subject.

In short, use of acknowledgements and, when necessary, quotation marks is necessary to distinguish clearly between what is yours and what is not. Since the rules have been explained to you, if you fail to make this distinction your instructor very likely will do so for you, and they will be forced to regard your omission as intentional literary theft. Plagiarism is a serious offence which may result in a student's receiving an 'F' in a course or, in extreme cases in their suspension from the University.

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Accessibility at Western

Please contact poliscie@uwo.ca if you require any information in plain text format, or if any other accommodation can make the course material and/or physical space accessible to you.