

SEX AND THE STATE: GENDER POLITICS IN LATIN AMERICA
GOVT 49 / LACS 52 / WGST 32

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Spring 2014

Information

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Course Description

This course views Latin American politics from a gender perspective, focusing on the ways in which norms of masculinity and femininity shape and are shaped by interaction with the state. Traditional norms governing relations between men and women have persisted for centuries in Latin American politics. Yet Latin American women are perhaps the most highly mobilized population in the world. Men's and women's efforts to challenge fiercely repressive regimes, deeply entrenched norms of *machismo*, and extreme poverty defy conventional gender stereotypes. Their actions provide us with inspiring examples of how to sustain hope during difficult times.

Learning Objectives

By the end of the course, students will:

- Explain the difference between a gender perspective and a women's rights perspective
- Explain the advantages and limitations of viewing Latin American politics from a gender perspective
- Explain the advantages and limitations of "women" as a collective identity
- Develop their own perspectives on the assigned reading and articulate those views during class discussion
- Identify internet sources of information on the status of women's issues in the Latin American region
- Gather information on the status of women's issues in a country of their choosing in the Latin American region
- Develop expertise on the status of women's issues in a particular country in the Latin American region
- Synthesize arguments and empirical detail from the assigned readings and lectures to write an essay that explains the emergence and evolution of gender-based social movements in Argentina and Chile
- Describe the factors that have led to changes in women's rights policy in the Southern Cone countries of Latin America
- Synthesize the assigned readings and your country expertise to write an essay on women's rights policy

Books for Purchase

The following books are available for purchase at the Dartmouth bookstore and at Wheelock Books. They are also on reserve in Baker/Berry.

- Power, Margaret (2002). *Right-Wing Women in Chile: Feminine Power and the Struggle Against Allende, 1964-1973*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University. **ISBN-10:** 0271021950 / **ISBN-13:** 978-0271021959
- Arditti, Rita (1999). *Searching for Life: The Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo and the Disappeared Children of Argentina*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 0520215702
- Baldez, Lisa (2002). *Why Women Protest: Women's Movements in Chile*. New York: Cambridge University Press. ISBN 0521010063
- Htun, Mala (2003). *Sex and the State*. New York: Cambridge University Press. ISBN0521008794
- Jaquette, Jane, ed. (2009). *Feminist Agendas and Democracy in Latin America*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. ISBN 978-0-8223-4449-0

ARTICLES

Linda Nicholson, "Interpreting Gender," *Signs* 20:1 (Autumn 1994), 79-105

Iris Marion Young, "Gender as Seriality: Thinking About Women as a Social Collective," *Signs* 19:3 (Spring 1994), 713-738

Joni Lovenduski, "Gendering Research in Political Science," *Annual Review of Politics* 1 (1998), 333-356

Films and E-Reserves

Required articles can be accessed on the Blackboard site. These films are available online and on reserve in Jones Media Center.

- Machuca
- Cautiva

Assignments

Late assignments (even an hour late) will be penalized one-third grade per day. This includes weekends. If you think you might have a problem with this, you should contact me before the assignment is due. If an emergency prevents you from handing in an assignment in on time, please let me know as soon as you can, preferably before the due date. I will grant extensions only under extremely unusual circumstances. NB: Students must complete all assignments in order to pass the course.

1. *Participation* 10%

There are three components to your participation grade.

- a. *Show up, on time.* Class attendance is required and there are no excused absences. If you miss a class, you miss whatever discussion and learning we do that day. Class is a collective endeavor that cannot be "made up."
- b. *Make quality contributions to class discussion.* Your comments should demonstrate that you have done the reading and have thought about it prior to coming to class. This doesn't necessarily mean bringing polished pearls of wisdom to class. It means you have something to say about the material and are not bullshitting, for lack of a more polite term. I strongly encourage you to ask questions about what you do not understand or what doesn't make sense to you
- c. *Listen carefully to your peers.* Listening is an underdeveloped skill for many of us. We will talk about how to strengthen this skill and develop ways to demonstrate how well you listen to each other.

2. *Homeworks* 10%

There are 8 homework assignments due over the course of the term. The purpose of the homeworks is to get you to engage the assigned readings actively before you come to class. They include writing informal or formal responses, posting news articles, and writing questions, etc. The specific assignment will be posted under "Class Meetings" on the Blackboard (bb) site. The homeworks are due by 8am on the day of class.

3. *Midterm Paper* 35%

Write a 6-8 page essay on a topic handed out in class. The paper will be based entirely on the first four articles and three books assigned in class (Hawkesworth, Htun, Stevens, Gutmann, Power, Arditti and Baldez). Do not do any additional outside reading or research for the paper. I will hand out the topics by Tuesday, May 1. The paper is due one week later, at the beginning of class on Tuesday, May 8. Upload your paper to the blackboard site under "Assignments."

3. *Final Paper* 45%

Write an 8-10 page essay synthesizing what we've read in class in response to a question handed out in class. The paper will be based entirely on assigned readings; do not do any additional outside reading or research for the paper. The questions for the paper will be handed out by Monday, May 28. The paper will be due on Monday, June 4 at 11:30am, which is the date and end time scheduled for the final exam.

Class Policies

1. **The Honor Principle.** All Dartmouth students have agreed to conduct themselves in accordance with the Standards of Conduct in general and with the Academic Honor Principle in particular. Plagiarism will not be tolerated. If you plagiarize, you risk failing the class and having your case brought before the Committee on Standards. Read the code again, here: <http://www.dartmouth.edu/~uja/honor/> We will discuss the ways in which the Honor Principle is relevant to the work you will do in this class. I am more than happy to answer any questions you have about it.
2. **X-Hours.** I will convene x-hours to make up missed classes or to catch up if we fall behind. Several x-hours are indicated on the syllabus. If I convene others, I will give you plenty of advance notice.

3. **Using laptops and other electronic devices in class.** You may use your laptop to take notes during lectures, but not during discussions. Out of courtesy to me and your fellow students, do not access email or the Internet or your phone during class.
4. **Learning Disabilities.** Students with disabilities enrolled in this course and who may need disability-related classroom accommodations are encouraged to make an appointment to see me before the end of the second week of the term. All discussions will remain confidential, although the Student Accessibility Services office may be consulted to discuss appropriate implementation of any accommodation requested.
5. **Religious Observance.** Some students may wish to take part in religious observances that occur during this academic term. If you have a religious observance that conflicts with your participation in the course, please meet with me before the end of the second week of the term to discuss appropriate accommodations.

Class Outline

Gender as a Category of Analysis

What is gender and what does it mean to use gender as a category of analysis in the social sciences? What is the relationship between politics and gender? How does gender identity intersect with other aspects of political identity--particularly class, race and ethnicity? What is *machismo*? How do political regimes rely on gendered norms of behavior? What role does the state play in constructing gender?

- T 3/27 Introduction
- Th 3/29 Gender as a category of analysis in political science
 - Homework: posted on bb
- F 3/30
- T 4/3 How are gender roles defined in Latin America?
 - Homework: Do this BEFORE you do the reading: ask five friends to tell you what machismo is. Post what you learn on the discussion board on bb.
 - Stevens, Evelyn P. 1973. "Marianismo: The Other Face of Machismo in Latin America." In Ann Pescatello, ed. *Female and Male In Latin America*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, pp. 89-101.
 - Gutmann, Matthew C. 1996. *The Meanings of Macho: Being a Man in Mexico City*. Chapter 9, "Machismo" pp. 221-242.
 - Octavio Paz, *Labyrinths of Solitude*. Essay on la Malinche
 - Marysa Navarro, chapter critiquing Stevens

Women React to Revolution in Chile

Not all women's movements are feminist. In the early 1970s, Chilean women mobilized against the democratically elected government of socialist Salvador Allende. They generated significant public support for the military coup staged on September 11, 1973 by General Augusto Pinochet. How did their goals, strategies and tactics differ from what you know about feminist movements or other kinds of movements?

- Th 4/5 Power, *Right-Wing Women in Chile*, Chs. 1-3
- T 4/10 Power, *Right-Wing Women in Chile*, Chs. 4-6
Discuss Machuca
- W 4/11 X-Hour SKYPE conversation with Dr. Power
Power, *Right-Wing Women in Chile*, Chs. 7-9
- Th 4/12 No class today

Women Against Authoritarianism: Human Rights Groups

Transitions to democracy in Latin America in the 1970s and 1980s were often accompanied, if not initiated, by the mobilization of women. Women protested against widespread human rights violations, economic crisis and the patriarchal patterns of authority embodied by military regimes. *Searching for Life* focuses on the Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo, an Argentine human rights group whose main task was to locate the children of women who had been detained and “disappeared” by the military government from 1976-1982. How did a group of relatively powerless women come to gain international visibility? To what extent has this movement been successful in achieving its goals?

- T 4/17 No class Today
- W 4/18 X-hour Arditti, *Searching for Life*, Intro & Chs. 1-3
- Th 4/19 Arditti, *Searching for Life*, Chs. 4-6
Discuss Cautiva
- T 4/24 Arditti, *Searching for Life*, Chs. 7-8

Comparing Right-Wing and Left-Wing Women’s Movements

Under what conditions do women mobilize on the basis of their gender identity, as women, to defend their collective interests? Under what conditions does gender identity become politically salient? How do state actions and policies shape the opportunities for mobilizing on the basis of gender? Why did women mobilize amidst transitions to democracy in Latin America? What do right-wing and left-wing women’s movements have in common?

- Th 4/26 Baldez, *Why Women Protest*, Chs. 1-5
- T 5/1 DEBATE: Power vs. Baldez
Homework posted on bb
Midterm Paper Topics handed out
- Th 5/3 Baldez, *Why Women Protest*, Chs. 6-9

Public Policy on Gender Issues

What factors shape the evolution of public policies on controversial gender-related issues, such as abortion, civil code reform and divorce? How have they evolved over time? How do different types of political regimes affect policy outcomes on these issues? To what extent have democratic governments adopted women’s rights policies? To what extent is the state an ally in the struggle for gender equality?

- T 5/8 Htun, *Sex and the State*, Chs. 1-3
Midterm Paper Due by beginning of class
- Th 5/10 Htun, *Sex and the State*, Chs. 4, 6, 7

- T 5/15 Violence, Domestic and Otherwise
 - Staudt and 1 other chapter from Jane Jaquette book
- Th 5/17 Women and Political Power
 - Watch in class: La Hija del General
 - Read chapter on Bachelet in Jaquette
- T 5/22 How do we measure progress?
 - Valdes chapter in Jaquette: how do we measure progress?
 - Articles on quotas and judiciary in Jaquette
- Th 5/24 Transnational feminism
 - Chapter by Vargas and article by Friedman
- **M 5/28** **Final paper topics handed out**
- T 5/29 Venezuela
 - Chapter on VZ in Jaquette and article by Fernandes

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