Gen & WS: 435 Politics of Gender and Women's Rights in the Middle East

Number of Credits: 3

Canvas Course URL: https://canvas.wisc.edu/courses/295959

Course Designations and Attributes
L&S Credit- Counts as Liberal Arts and Science credit in L&S

Course Level: Intermediate.

Meeting Time and Location
Spring 2022, Mondays 1:00-3:30 PM.

Instructional Mode
In-person

Credit Hours are met by the Course
This class meets for one, 150-minute class period each week over the spring semester and carries the expectation that students will work on course learning activities (reading, writing, studying, etc) for about 6 hours out of the classroom for every class period. The syllabus includes more information about meeting times and expectations for student work.

INSTRUCTOR

Instructor Title and Name
Marwa Shalaby, Assistant Professor, Departments of Political Science and Gender and Women's Studies.
https://gws.wisc.edu/staff/shalaby-marwa/

Instructor Availability
Virtual Office Hours: Mondays: 12:00 AM-1:00 PM CST or by appointment.

Instructor Email/Preferred Contact
shalaby2@wisc.edu

Course Description
This course aims to provide students with a sound understanding of the intertwined relationship between gender and politics in contemporary Middle East and North Africa. The first part of this

seminar will focus on familiarizing students with the region's historical, socio-political, and cultural context that have particularly contributed to shaping the current discourse on gender in the Arab World. The second part of this seminar will explore-both theoretically and empirically- the role of Arab women in influencing the political processes across the Middle East. The seminar will conclude by highlighting real-world examples of Middle Eastern women from different parts of the region who have succeeded to challenge the status quo and push for genuine change.

Requisites
Sophomore Standing.

LEARNING OUTCOMES

- Develop a concrete understanding of the history and politics of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) and the ways they shape gender power relations across the region.
- Apply comparative politics frameworks and feminist theories toward understanding patterns of female political participation and enable them to better understand current events and complexities of the region's politics and governance structures.
- Sharpen their critical and analytical skills through exposure to different, even contradictory, points of views and contemporary debates relating to the role of women in shaping MENA's politics post-Arab uprisings.
- Develop and present ideas and arguments to audience with diverse interests and backgrounds.

COURSE SCHEDULE AND READINGS

Week 1

Monday 31ˢᵗ, 2022: Course Introduction and Role Assignments

Please review this collection of background essays on the Middle East to be discussed during our first two weeks of class. These essays can be accessed online from TeachMiddleEast/University of Chicago.
- https://teachmideast.org/articles/what-is-the-middle-east/
- https://teachmideast.org/articles/arab-middle-eastern-and-muslim-whats-the-difference/
- https://teachmideast.org/articles/understanding-middle-eastern-history-an-interview-with-william-cleveland/
- https://teachmideast.org/articles/introduction-women-gender-roles-middle-east/
- https://teachmideast.org/articles/communal-identities-and-ethnic-groups/

Week 2

February 7ᵗʰ, 2022: Middle East Politics and Governments

- Yom, Sean (2018). *Governments and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa.* Chapter 1, p.1-35.
- Lynch, Marc. (2021). "Taking Stock of MENA Political Science after the Uprisings," *Mediterranean Politics*, 26:5, 682-695,
- Lust, Ellen. (2019). 15ᵗʰ Edition. *The Middle East.* Los Angeles: Sage Publications. Chapter 1. **(Recommended).**

- Blaydes, Lisa. (2017). "State Building in the Middle East." **(Recommended).**
- Nonneman, Gerd. (2001) "Rentiers and Autocrats, Monarchs and Democrats, State and Society: The Middle East Between Globalization, Human 'Agency', and Europe." *International Affairs* 77 (1): 141-162. **(Recommended).**

Week 3

February 14th, 2022: Realities and Misconceptions on the Study of Gender in MENA

- Barnes, Tiffany. (2021). "Middle East and North Africa" in *Women, Politics and Power: A Global Perspective,* edited by Pamela Paxton et al. Ch. 13: 307-320.
- Mikdashi, Maya. (2012). "How Not to Study Gender in the Middle East." *Jadaliyya.* http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/4775/how-not-to-study-gender-in-the-middle-east
- Abu-Lughod, Lila. (2002). "Do Muslim Women really need saving?" *American Anthropologist,* 104 (3): 783-790.
- Keddie, Nikkie (2007). *Women in the Middle East.,* "Issues in Studying Middle Eastern Women's History." p. 9-13.
- Why Do they Hate us? Mona Eltahawy, *Foreign Policy*
- In Class Video: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9Z0DB2XOoHc (Debate with Leila Ahmed).
- Hadiya Abdelrahman, "Are We Weak or Are We Terrorists? Here's How Muslim Women Are Caught in The Web of Violent Stereotypes," Everyday Feminism, October 30, 2017, Available at: https://everydayfeminism.com/2017/10/muslim-women-stereotypes/.
- Saleh, Layla. 2015. "(Muslim) Woman in Need of Empowerment." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 18(1): 80–98. (**Recommended)**
- Shalaby, Marwa. 2016. *Empowering Women after the Arab Spring.* Introduction. 1-19. **(Recommended)**
- The World Bank MENA Development Report. (2013). *Gender Equality and Development in the Middle East and North Africa: Women in the Public Sphere*.: Overview. **(Recommended)**

Week 4

February 21st, 2022: Gender, Citizenship and Legal Reforms: A Historical Perspective

- Ahmed, Leila. (1992). *Women and Gender in Islam*. New Haven: Yale University Press: Introduction: p. 1-7.
- Kandiyoti, Deniz. (2001). "The Politics of Gender and the Conundrums of Citizenship" *Women and Power in the Middle East:* 52-58.
- Charrad, Mounira. (2001). "State and Gender in the Maghrib" in Joseph, Suad and Susan Slyomovics (Eds.), *Women and Power in the Middle East.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press: 61-71.
- Hatem, Mervat. (1992). "Economic and Political Liberation in Egypt and the Demise of State Feminism," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 24 (2): 231–251.
- Angrist, M. (2012). War, Resisting the West, and Women's Labor: Toward an Understanding of Arab Exceptionalism. Politics & Gender, 8(1), 51-82. **(Recommended)**
- Jad, Islah. (2014). "Local Power and Women's Empowerment in a Conflict Context" in *Women in Politics*, edited by Mariz Tadros. (pp. 135-166) **(Recommended)**
- Ahmed, Leila. (1992). *Women and Gender in Islam*. New Haven: Yale University Press: Chapters 9, 10 & 11. **(Recommended)**

- Charrad, Mounira A. (2001). *States and Women's Rights. The Making of Postcolonial Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Chapters 7, 8, 9 & Conclusion. **(Recommended).**

Week 5

February 28th, 2022: Gender and Collective Action in the Middle East

- Berkovitch, Nitza, and Valentine M. Moghadam. (1999). "Middle East Politics and Women's Collective Action: Challenging the Status Quo." *Social Politics*, 6 (3): 273-287.
- Graham-Brown, Sarah. Women Activism in the Middle East: A Historical Perspective. *Women and Power in the Middle East*: 23-33.
- ElMasry, Sarah & Neil Ketchley. (2020). "After the Massacre: Women's Islamist Activism in Post-Coup Egypt." *Middle East Law and Governance*, 12: 86-108.
- Women's activists in MENA face online bullying and sexual harassment (2020): https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/north-africa-west-asia/women-activists-middle-east-face-online-bullying-and-sexual-harassment/
- Lorch, J., and Bunk, B. (2016). "Gender Politics, Authoritarian Regime Resilience, and the Role of Civil Society in Algeria and Mozambique." GIGA. **(Recommended)**
- Gilman, Sarah. Feminist Organizing in Tunisia. *From Patriarchy to Empowerment: 97-120.* **(Recommended)**

Week 6 (Deadline for 1st Response Paper is March 6th)

March 7th, 2022: Gender, Democratization, and Authoritarian Politics in the Middle East

- Tripp, Aili. (2019). *Seeking Legitimacy: Why Arab Autocracies Adopt Women's Rights*. Introduction (pp. 1-20).
- Moghadam, Valentine M. (2004). "The Gender of Democracy: The Link Between Women's Rights and Democratization in the Middle East." *Arab Reform Bulletin 2* (7): 2-3. https://carnegieendowment.org/sada/21226
- Donno, D., & Russett, B. (2004). "Islam, Authoritarianism and Female Empowerment: What are the Linkages?" *World Politics, 56*(4): 582-602.
- Ross, Michael L. (2008). "Oil, Islam and Women." APSR, 102(1): 107-123 (TBC)
- Rizzo, H., Abdel-Latif, A.H., & Meyer, K. (2007). "The Relationship Between Gender Equality and Democracy: A Comparison of Arab Versus Non-Arab Muslim Societies." S*ociology 41*(6): 1151-1170. **(Recommended)**
- Fish, Steven. (2002). "Islam and Authoritarianism." *World Politics*, 55(1): 4-37. **(Recommended)**

March 14th, 2022: Spring Break. No Class

Week 7

March 21st, 2022: Women and the Arab Spring

- Sika, Nadine and Khodary, Yasmin (2012). "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back? Egyptian Women within the Confines of Authoritarianism." *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 13(5), 91-100.

- Khalil, Andrea. "Tunisia's Women: Partners in Revolution." *The Journal of North African Studies* 19.2 (2014): 186-199
- Gilbert, Victoria. (2021). "Sister Citizens: Women in Syrian Rebel Governance." Politics and Gender 552-579.
- Newsom, Victoria A., and Lara Lengel. (2012). "Arab Women, Social Media, and the Arab Spring: Applying the framework of digital reflexivity to analyze gender and online activist." *Journal of International Women's Studies, 13*(5): 31-45.
- Olimat, Muhamad S. (2012). "Arab Spring and Women in Kuwait" *Journal of International Women's Studies, 13*(5): 180-194. *(***Recommended).**
- Allam, Nermin. (2018). *Women and the Egyptian Revolution: Engagement and Activism during the 2011 Arab Uprisings*. Cambridge University Press. Introduction. (**Recommended**)
- Shalaby, Marwa. (2016) "Challenges Facing Women's Political Participation Post Arab Spring: The Cases of Egypt and Tunisia." In *Empowering Women After the Arab Spring*. Edited by Marwa Shalaby and Valentine Moghadam, 171-191. (**Recommended**)

Week 8

March 28th, 2022: Women, Islam and Politics

- Ben Shitrit, Lihi. 2016. "Authenticating Representation: Women's Quotas and Islamist Parties." *Politics & Gender* 12 (04): 781–806.
- Alatiyat, Ibtesam and Hassan Barari. (2010). "Liberating Women with Islam? The Islamists and Women's Issues in Jordan." *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, 11 (3): 359-378.
- Tajali, Mona. (2016). "Women's Rise to Political Office on Behalf of Religious Political Movements" POMEPS Studies #19:17-22.
- Clark, Janine and Jillian Schwedler. (2003) "Who Opened the Window? Women's Activism in Islamist Parties." *Comparative Politics* 35 (3): 293-312. (**Recommended**)
- Škrabáková, Katarína. 2017. "Islamist Women as Candidates in Elections: A Comparison of the Party of Justice and Development in Morocco and the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt." *Die Welt Des Islams* 57 (3–4): 329–59. (**Recommended**)
- Tajali, Mona. 2017. "Protesting Gender Discrimination from within: Women's Political Representation on Behalf of Islamic Parties." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 44 (2): 176–93. (**Recommended**)

Week 9

April 4th, 2022: Gender and Political Power in the Arab World – Entering Politics

- Bush, Sarah & Elineor Gao, (2017). "Small Tribes, Big Gains: The Strategic Uses of Gender Quotas in the Middle East." *Comparative Politics*, 49 (2): 149-167.
- Berriane, Yasmine. (2015). "The Micro-politics of Reform: Gender Quota, Grassroots Associations and the Renewal of Local Elites in Morocco." *Journal of North African Studies* 20 (3): 432-449.
- Benstead, Lindsay (2016). "Why Quotas are Needed to Achieve Gender Equality." POMEPS Studies #19:55-58.
- Belschner, Jana. 2022. "Electoral Engineering in New Democracies: Strong Quotas and Weak Parties in Tunisia." *Government and Opposition* 57 (1): 108–25. (**Recommended).**

- Amawi, Abla. "Against all Odds: Women Candidates in Jordanian Elections" in Moghadam, V. M. (Ed.), *From Patriarchy to Empowerment*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press. **(Recommended).**
- Liddell, James. (2009). "Gender Quotas in Clientelist Systems: The Case of Morocco's National List." *Al-Raida* 126-127: 79-86. **(Recommended).**

Week 10 (Deadline for 2nd Response Paper is April 10th)

April 11th, 2022: Women's Substantive Representation in MENA's Legislatures

- Joseph, Suad. (2001). "Women and Politics in the Middle East." *Women and Power in the Middle East,* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press: 34-40.
- Shalaby, Marwa (2016). "Women's Political Representation and Authoritarianism in the Arab World" POMEPS Studies #19: 45-52.
- Hassan, Mazen and Heba Abdelgawad. 2019. "Women in the Egyptian Parliament: A Different Agenda?" *Review of Economics and Political Science.* p.1-15.
- Moghadam, Valentine M. & Fatemeh Haghighatjoo. (2016). "Women and Political Leadership in an Authoritarian Context: A Case Study of the Sixth Parliament in the Islamic Republic of Iran." *Politics and Gender* 12 (1): 168-197.
- Benstead, Lindsay. (2019). "Do Female Local Councilors Improve Women's Representation?" *The Journal of the Middle East and Africa*, 10 (2): 95-119. (**Recommended).**
- Ayata, Ayse Gunes & Fatma Tütüncü. (2008). "Critical Acts without a Critical Mass: The Substantive Representation of Women in the Turkish Parliament." *Parliamentary Affairs* 61 (3): 461-475. (**Recommended).**

Week 11

April 18th, 2022: Who Supports Female Candidates in MENA? (MESP Talk)

- Lust, Ellen and Lindsay Benstead. 2021. "Work Like a Man? Gender and Candidate Background in the Arab World." Working paper.
- Blackman, Alexandra and Marlette Jackson (2019). "Gender Stereotypes, Political Leadership and Voting Behavior in Tunisia." *Political Behavior*.
- Shalaby, Marwa. 2020. "Gender Stereotypes and Women's Political Representation in MENA" APSA-MENA Newsletter, Volume 3, Issue 2.
- Matland, Richard E. and Günes Murat Tezcür. (2011). "Women as Candidates: An Experimental Study in Turkey." *Politics and Gender* 7(3): 365–390. (**Recommended).**
- Blaydes, Lisa & El-Tarouty, S. (2009). "Women Electoral Participation in Egypt: The Implications of Gender for Voter Recruitment and Mobilization." *The Middle East Journal,* 63(3): 364-380. (**Recommended).**

Week 12

April 25th, 2022: Student Presentations

Week 13

May 2nd, 2022: Student Presentations

ABSENCE, ASSIGNMENTS, AND GRADING POLICIES

Our class will be a combination of lectures, class discussions and student-led presentations. Students are required to keep up with the assigned reading, to attend our meetings and to participate intelligently in our class discussions. Students' evaluation will be based on two response papers, one class presentation, and a final paper.

- **Attendance (10% of course grade):** Each student will be granted one unexcused absence during the semester. Missing classes will result in a 2-point grade reduction for each additional absence, unless there is a compelling reason that you would need to communicate directly with me.
- **Class Participation and Discussion Session Leaders (15% of course grade):**
  o Class Participation: 5%
  o Discussion Posts: 5%
  o Discussion Leader: 5%

Students are required to participate actively and intelligently in our class meetings. Students' discussions are an integral part of the class and students should have read the assigned readings for the day and be ready to discuss them before coming to class. **Each student is required to be a discussion leader once during the semester.** The discussion leader for a specific day will be responsible for introducing the main themes of the readings, providing us with a list of questions that we should collectively answer during class in addition to demonstrating the points of strengths and/or weaknesses in the readings' arguments. Discussion leaders' roles will be assigned on the first day of class.

Each student is also required to contribute weekly to the discussion section on Canvas. Students are expected to submit 2-3 sentences about the weekly assigned readings. Entries should synthesize the readings, and/or highlight what is most interesting, puzzling, (un)surprising or major gaps in the readings' arguments or methodology. Students are expected to share their entries with the class. The discussion section will open a week before each class till Sunday 6 PM CST. Late entries will not be accepted and will lead to a reduction in your grade.

- **Response Papers (40% of course grade):** Students are required to write **two** 3-4 pages (double-spaced, Font 12) response papers based on the readings. These assignments should demonstrate your ability to think analytically and to develop a clear and logical argument, rather than being simply a summary of the readings. I will provide you with further guidelines and instructions on how to formulate and design your papers. These papers are due by the beginning of the classes that you chose to write about. You are expected to upload your paper to Canvas prior to the deadline.

- **Final paper (35% of course grade):** Students are required to write 10-12 page (double-spaced, Font 12) research paper on the topic of their choice. The deadline to submit your paper is **May 6th.** The final paper should demonstrate your mastery of the key concepts, approaches, and the different research tools introduced in this class. This assignment should also demonstrate your ability to think analytically and to develop a clear and logical argument. It should also be written in a clear, scholarly format, with an introduction, sub-sections, conclusions, and a properly referenced bibliography (APA/Chicago). I will provide you with further guidelines and instructions on how to formulate and design your paper. However, it is very important to start working early on your paper. Final papers should be uploaded to Canvas before the deadline.

Grade Scale	Range	Single Grade Value
A	100% to 94%	100%
AB	<94% to 88%	90%
B	<88% to 82%	85%
BC	<82% to 76%	80%
C	<76% to 70%	75%
D	<70% to 60%	65%
F	<60% to 0%	0%

Returning Papers

While I will make every effort to return your work in a timely fashion, usually within two weeks, please understand that it may not always be possible for me to do so.

Extra Credit Opportunities

Attend the Middle East Program conference on **March 25-26th** for an extra credit point. You need to attend at least two panels to get one extra credit. Mark your calendars.

https://mideast.wisc.edu/upcoming-events/spring-2022-mesp-international-conference/

EMAIL

The best way to reach me outside of class and office hours is by email. I will do my best to respond within 24 hours during the week and within 48 hours during the weekend. Given the very high volume of emails I receive daily, please write to me only if there is an urgent matter that cannot wait until the next class or office hours. For example, if you are absent, please refrain from emailing me to ask what was covered in class (check the syllabus or ask your classmates instead). Please include the course number in the subject heading of your message.

TEACHING & LEARNING DATA TRANSPARENCY STATEMENT

The privacy and security of faculty, staff and students' personal information is a top priority for UW-Madison. The university carefully evaluates and vets all campus-supported digital tools used to support teaching and learning, to help support success through learning analytics, and to enable proctoring capabilities. View the university's full teaching and learning data transparency statement.

PRIVACY OF STUDENT RECORDS & THE USE OF AUDIO RECORDED LECTURES STATEMENT

See more information about privacy of student records and the usage of audio-recorded lectures.

Lecture materials and recordings for this course are protected intellectual property at UW-Madison. Students in this course may use the materials and recordings for their personal use related to participation in this class. Students may also take notes solely for their personal use. If a lecture is not already recorded, you are not authorized to record my lectures without my permission unless you are considered by the university to be a qualified student with a disability requiring accommodation. [Regent Policy Document 4-1] Students may not copy or have lecture materials and recordings outside of class, including posting on

internet sites or selling to commercial entities. Students are also prohibited from providing or selling their personal notes to anyone else or being paid for taking notes by any person or commercial firm without the instructor's express written permission. Unauthorized use of these copyrighted lecture materials and recordings constitutes copyright infringement and may be addressed under the university's policies, UWS Chapters 14 and 17, governing student academic and non-academic misconduct.

EVALUATIONS

Students will be provided with an opportunity to evaluate this course and your learning experience. Student participation is an integral component of this course, and your confidential feedback is important to me. I strongly encourage you to participate in the course evaluation.

STUDENTS' RULES, RIGHTS & RESPONSIBILITIES

ACADEMIC CALENDAR & RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCES

DIVERSITY & INCLUSION STATEMENT

Diversity is a source of strength, creativity, and innovation for UW-Madison. We value the contributions of each person and respect the profound ways their identity, culture, background, experience, status, abilities, and opinion enrich the university community. We commit ourselves to the pursuit of excellence in teaching, research, outreach, and diversity as inextricably linked goals. The University of Wisconsin-Madison fulfills its public mission by creating a welcoming and inclusive community for people from every background – people who as students, faculty, and staff serve Wisconsin and the world.

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY STATEMENT

By virtue of enrollment, each student agrees to uphold the high academic standards of the University of Wisconsin-Madison; academic misconduct is behavior that negatively impacts the integrity of the institution. Cheating, fabrication, plagiarism, unauthorized collaboration, and helping others commit these previously listed acts are examples of misconduct which may result in disciplinary action. Examples of disciplinary action include, but is not limited to, failure on the assignment/course, written reprimand, disciplinary probation, suspension, or expulsion.

ACCOMMODATIONS FOR STUDENTS WITH DISABILITIES STATEMENT

The University of Wisconsin-Madison supports the right of all enrolled students to a full and equal educational opportunity. The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), Wisconsin State Statute (36.12), and UW-Madison policy (UW-855) require the university to provide reasonable accommodations to students with disabilities to access and participate in its academic programs and educational services. Faculty and students share responsibility in the accommodation process. Students are expected to inform faculty [me] of their need for instructional accommodations during the beginning of the semester, or as soon as possible after being approved for accommodations. Faculty [I], will work either directly with the student [you] or in coordination with the McBurney Center to provide reasonable instructional and course-related accommodations. Disability information, including instructional accommodations as part of a student's educational record, is confidential and protected under FERPA. (See: McBurney Disability Resource Center)

FACE COVERINGS DURING IN-PERSON INSTRUCTION STATEMENT (COVID-19)
Individuals are expected to wear a face covering while inside any university building. Face

coverings must be worn correctly (i.e., covering both your mouth and nose) in the building if you are attending class in person. If any student is unable to wear a face-covering, an accommodation may be provided due to disability, medical condition, or other legitimate reason.

Students with disabilities or medical conditions who are unable to wear a face covering should contact the McBurney Disability Resource Center or their Access Consultant if they are already affiliated. Students requesting an accommodation unrelated to disability or medical condition, should contact the Dean of Students Office.

Students who choose not to wear a face covering may not attend in-person classes, unless they are approved for an accommodation or exemption. All other students not wearing a face covering will be asked to put one on or leave the classroom. Students who refuse to wear face coverings appropriately or adhere to other stated requirements will be reported to the Office of Student Conduct and Community Standards and will not be allowed to return to the classroom until they agree to comply with the face covering policy. An instructor may cancel or suspend a course in-person meeting if a person is in the classroom without an approved face covering in position over their nose and mouth and refuses to immediately comply.