

Annotated Bibliography: Opposition to the Political Participation of Women and Gender Justice
Advocates, Building a Feminist Research Agenda
By: Eileen Ying and Hana Nasser, with Lamia Khandker

(I): Intersectional analysis

(C): Comparative analysis

(BP): “Big picture” conceptual parsing of backlash

(Q): Quantitative/statistical analysis of backlash

(S/T): Strategies and tactics to combat backlash

1. (S/T) **Al-Ali, Nadjé. 2012. “Gendering the Arab Spring.” *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication* 5 (1): 26–31.**

In this article, Nadjé Al-Ali examines the tactics used against female protesters during the Arab Spring in the Middle East. She finds that when women tried using the protest movement to garner attention for women’s rights issues, they often faced backlash from their male counterparts who accused them of detracting from the overall political goal of overthrowing dictators. Further, she finds that sexual assault was one gendered tool of opposition to women’s political participation during this time. This article is useful for its analysis of how women in the Middle East have navigated the male-dominated protest space during the Arab Spring, and how different institutional arrangements foreclose certain political avenues. In authoritarian single-party states, for example, secular regimes might use women’s rights to shore up credibility, which also heightens the risk that female anti-regime activists face backlash.

2. (I) (BP) **Aoki, Keith. 1995. “The Scholarship of Reconstruction and the Politics of Backlash.” *Iowa L. Rev* 81: 1467.**

In this article, Aoki addresses the phenomenon of racial backlash politics as it pertains to legal scholarship. His case study of backlash focuses on an article by an Asian American legal scholar about why the field ought to carve out a space for more Asian American legal voices to express their particular plight and experience. The article received harsh criticism from another legal scholar. Aoki takes this criticism of racist discourse in legal studies as indicative of the broader phenomenon of backlash highlighted by Faludi in her seminal piece on the topic. This article is potentially useful for understanding how backlash politics is present within the academy, and the way it threatens interdisciplinary analysis that brings together perspectives on race and gender within a particular field.

3. (BP) **Aoláin, Fionnuala Ní. 2006. “Political Violence and Gender During Times of Transition.” *Columbia Journal of Gender and Law* 15 (3): 830.**

In this article, Aolain examines how forums for transitional justice come to exclude women’s voice and participation. She argues that since men are oftentimes perceived to be the sole perpetrators of political violence, women are given few roles in negotiating transitional justice agreements. This means that although women oftentimes are victims of unique forms of political

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violence during times of conflict, their perspectives are not brought forth in these transitional justice forums. Aolain's argument proceeds in four parts. In the first part, she defines what she means by "political violence," in the second part, she examines the different types of political violence that are gender specific, in the third part, she examines what she terms is a "hierarchy" between different forms of violence that are addressed in transitional justice forums, and in the last section, she addresses how this hierarchy determines what forms of violence are deemed worthy of resolution. Although this article does not specifically mention backlash, it is still useful background information about how political violence is gendered, and possibly, once backlash does occur in a violent way, what forums are available for women to hold individuals accountable for this behavior.

4. (BP)Arat, Zehra F. Kabasakal. 2015. "Feminisms, Women's Rights, and the UN: Would Achieving Gender Equality Empower Women?" *American Political Science Review* 109 (4): 674–89.

In this article, Arat argues that although feminism has become influential within United Nations policymaking circles, liberal feminism specifically has eclipsed other feminist policymaking goals. This article is useful for postcolonial analyses of backlash scholarship since it describes how policymaking circles are influenced by different academic feminist ideas. Arat highlights "empowerment" indicators used by the UN as an example of how liberal feminist ideas have won out in the UN. Arat claims that the dominance of liberal feminism within United Nations potentially hampers the institution's ability to best serve all women globally.

5. Backhouse, Constance. 2003. "The Chilly Climate for Women Judges: Reflections on the Backlash from the Ewanchuk Case." *Canadian Journal of Women & the Law* 15 (1): 167–93.

In this article, Backhouse uses the *Ewanchuk* case in Canada to illustrate backlash against female

judges. She argues that the reaction to the judge's decision in the case is a textbook example of how the public resists women in positions of power who try to advance feminist policies. Backhouse calls this the "chilly climate" effect, or an environment that produces hostility towards women in power. This article is useful for understanding how mainstream media outlets contribute to this "chilly climate." During this time, prominent news outlets in Canada depicted the judge's decision as a "feminist cant."

6. (I) Albaine, Laura. 2015. "Obstacles and Challenges to Gender Parity. Political Violence, Electoral System and Interculturalism." *Íconos. Revista de Ciencias Sociales* 52: 145–62.

Laura Albaine's article examines the different factors that contribute to an electoral system's openness towards women politicians. Features of electoral systems that enable women's participation are: whether the electoral system uses quotas, the size of each electoral district, and if the system uses a proportional representation "list system". Albaine's model for determining whether an electoral

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system is inclusive towards women also includes “socio cultural factors” as an additional variable. According to her, patriarchal attitudes towards women influence the likelihood that women politicians will face harassment when they run for public office. This article is useful for its attention to the social as well as institutional factors that are obstacles to women’s participation in politics. Further, the article analyzes how both race and gender interact to make minority women particularly vulnerable to violence when running for political office. Albaine contends that gender parity policies for electoral systems need to account for intersectional forms of political violence.

7. (C) Archenti, Nelida, and Laura Albaine. 2013. “The Challenges of Gender Parity. Normative Tension and Political Violence in Bolivia and Ecuador.” *Revista Punto Género* 3: 195–219.

In this paper, Archenti and Albaine compare the effects of gender affirmative action policies in Bolivia, Costa Rica, and Ecuador. They find that certain electoral mechanisms, e.g. list systems, can get in the way of what they term “gender efficacy”, or the ability for a certain gender parity policy to achieve to its goal of including more women in politics. The paper is useful for its quantitative breakdown of different electoral systems and the ways these systems hinder or enable the implementation of gender parity policies. Further, the article examines how cultural attitudes towards women politicians are inadvertently exacerbated by certain institutional mechanisms. For example, the authors find that in Bolivia, which utilizes a list system where individuals rank their preferred candidates, gender parity policies have little effect on whether women get included, even if an equal number of women were placed on the ballot, they were consistently found to have been ranked lower than comparable male candidates. Section four of this article, “[p]atriarchal culture. [h]arassment and gender-based political violence,” is especially useful for a study of backlash against women in politics since it examines different tactics used by those within the three countries of focus to intimidate women who run for public office.

8. Backhouse, Constance. 2003. “The Chilly Climate for Women Judges: Reflections on the Backlash from the Ewanchuk Case.” *Canadian Journal of Women & the Law* 15 (1): 167–93.

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9. (Q) Bardall, Gabrielle. 2011. “Breaking the Mold: Understanding Gender and Electoral Violence.” IFES White Paper Series. Washington: IFES.

In this white paper published by the International Foundation for Electoral Systems, Gabrielle Bardall develops a framework for institutional actors to better respond to what she terms, “gendered electoral violence in transitional democracies.” She does so by including quantitative data that examines domestic violence trends in conjunction with data about political violence against women in politics. Further, this article brings a unique perspective to the study of backlash against women politicians by examining instances where women initiated acts of violence against other female politicians. The paper finds that women were much more likely to engage in acts of backlash against women in politics when they do so in conjunction with another male backlash participant. After presenting the findings on trends concerning violence against women, the article issues recommendations for how institutions can respond to political violence against women. These recommendations include: educating civil society actors on how to monitor and respond to violence against women politicians, and protecting polling stations. The article provides a detailed chart of the types of violence against women in politics common to electoral systems. This data is also broken up into the type of actor that experiences backlash, making the article useful for comparing across formal institutionalized, elected actors and women who are informal, political voices for change.

10. (S/T) ———. 2013. “Gender-Specific Election Violence: The Role of Information and Communication Technologies.” *Stability* 2 (3): 1–11.

In this article, Bardall examines the use of ICTs (information and communications technology) in inciting violence against women politicians. Bardall finds that while ICTs are often used to inflict psychological harm and incite physical violence against women politicians, these tools are also valuable for combating such tactics. In the first two sections, Bardall presents the challenge of addressing violence against women using ICTs. In particular, the speed at which misogynistic messages can spread makes it difficult for activists to combat these messages before they have spread. But, Bardall also claims that ICTs can be used to empower women to join politics, and raise awareness of intimidation tactics used against them. This article is useful for a study of the tactics and strategies that actors use to discourage women from participating in politics, as well as the way these same tactics can be leveraged to prevent backlash against gains in women’s electoral participation.

11. (BP) ———. 2015. “Towards a More Complete Understanding of Election Violence: Introducing a Gender Lens to Electoral Conflict Research.” Uppsala, Sweden: ECPR Standing Group on Gender and Politics.

In this paper, Bardall draws a conceptual distinction between violence undertaken against women politicians because they are women, and violence directed towards men and women politicians that impact women differently. This conceptual distinction, Bardall argues, is necessary for understanding how democracies in transition can alleviate the risks borne by women who take on more public roles. Bardall finds that psychological violence is the most common form of violence faced by these women. These findings are based on a sample size of about 2,000 incidents in six emerging democracies between 2006 and 2010. This article is useful for a study of backlash against women in politics because it categorizes the different types of violence involved, as well as the electoral context in which it occurred.

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12. (C) (S/T) Bari, Farzana, and Andrea Fleschenberg. 2015. "Unmaking Political Patriarchy through Gender Quotas?" Policy Brief. Reviewing Gender Quotas in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Islamabad/Kabul: Heinrich Böll Stiftung.

In this article, Farzana Bari and Andrea Fleschenberg analyze the effect of gender quota policies on society's acceptance of women politicians in Afghanistan and Pakistan. They find that gender quota policies have little impact on lessening the "second-class citizen" status of women in these countries. This article is useful for understanding the link between the backlash against female elected officials and U.S. military intervention in these countries. Bari and Fleschenberg find that women's electoral gains due to quota systems are often perceived as a form of "westernization", increasing the likelihood that actors will engage in backlash practices. At the end of the article, the authors suggest ways female politicians can fight back against backlash. One noteworthy strategy is the use of "strategic essentialism", or the downplaying of substantive differences in favor a common "womanhood."

13. Bashevkin, Sylvia. 1998. *Women on the Defensive: Living Through Conservative Times*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

In this article Sylvia Bashevkin traces the impact neo-conservative regimes have had on feminist movements and public policy in Canada, United States, and England. Bashevkin questions why the social movements of the 1970s and 1980s were halted, and why there was a role back of feminist progress. To answer this questions she follows the trends of policy backlash, deregulation policies, privatization in Canada, the United States, and England.

14. (I) Bedolla, Lisa Garcia, Katherine Tate, and Janelle Wong.. 2014. "Indelible Effects: The Impact of Women of Color in the U.S. Congress." In *Women and Elective Office*, edited by Sue Thomas and Clyde Wilcox. New York: Oxford University Press.

In this chapter, the authors provide a detailed history of how minority women overcame barriers to run for public office in the United States. The authors argue that women of color have "indelibly" impacted american politics. They find evidence of people of color feeling more welcome and more willing to engage in politics if their elected representative is of a similar ethnic background to them. The section, "Defining and Measuring Impact," is useful for studies on opposition and backlash because it outlines the stakes for democracies when they exclude women and people of color from politics. Pgs. 250 and 251 outlines the positive contributions women of color have made to the U.S. congress, and how their participation paves the way for other women to run and hold elected office.

15. Beltran y Puga, Alma Luz, Caroline Bettinger-Lopez, Jorge Contesse, Paola Garcia-Rey, Diana Hortsch, Risa E. Kaufman, and Nicole Tuszynski. 2010. "Gender Justice in the Americas: A Transnational Dialogue on Sexuality, Violence, Reproduction and Human Rights." *University of Miami Law Review* 65 (3): 751.

This article details convention held at the the University of Miami, *Gender Justice in the Americas: A Transnational Dialogue on Sexuality, Violence, Reproduction and Human Rights*. The convention was comprised of 110 scholars and activists, from 20 North and South American countries. The goal of the convention was to foster a foundation for coalition building in light the mass roll backs of policies surrounding issues of gender, sexuality, and violence against women at the local, national, and international level. The convening sought to help the participants reexamine the “the roots of women's rights and gender justice movements globally and recognition of the fundamental links between gender-based violence, reproductive justice, discrimination, sexuality, and health—links that are underscored when one brings a human rights lens to the inquiry” (752). Lastly, they hoped the result would be the beginning of bridging the gap between geographic, conceptual, and professional barriers and the start of a “Inter-American Gender Justice Network” (752).

16. Berns, Nancy. 2001. “Degendering the Problem and Gendering the Blame Political Discourse on Women and Violence.” *Gender & Society* 15 (2): 262–81.

In this article Berns details the political rhetoric surrounding domestic violence, how policies “obscure men’s violence while placing the burden of responsibility on women.” Berns uses qualitative methods, her interpretative method grounded in critical theory, to look at how magazines portray domestic violence. Berns looked at magazines that were categorized as “political” or “men’s” from 1970 to 1990. These magazines were the *National Review*, *Esquire*, *The New Republic*, *Reason*, *Gentlemen’s Quarterly*, *Men’s Journal*, *New Man*, *Penthouse*, and *Playboy*. In this article Bern’s defines domestic violence as, “physical, sexual, and/or psychological abuse that occurs between two adults in an intimate relationship regardless of marital status or sexual orientation” (265). Berns describes a “patriarchal-resistance perspective” found in these magazines. In describing domestic violence she finds that these articles remove gender from the problem of domestic violence, and reframes domestic violence as a “human problem” despite the fact the domestic violence survivors overwhelmingly identify as women. For further remove gender from the domestic violence discourse these male centered magazines used women to write these “human centered” domestic violence articles.

17. Biroli, Flavia. 2016. “Violence as Political Reaction: The Case of Brazil.” Poznan, Poland: 24th World Congress of Political Science.

In this article, Biroli forwards the hypothesis that as women gained more political power, violence towards women politicians, in the form of a “conservative backlash”, also increased. The paper specifically examines the election of Dilma Rousseff and the violent political iconography in the media that followed her election. On pages 12 and 13, Biroli provides examples of the violent imagery directed towards Rousseff, making this paper useful for understanding how women in power are caricatured. Further, Rousseff’s paper contains a theoretical discussion about the different forms

that violence can take, and which ones are particularly useful for understanding the phenomenon of a “conservative backlash” against women in power.

18. (Q) Bjarnegard, Elin. 2016. “Gender and Election Violence: The Case of the Maldives.” Poznan, Poland: World Congress of the International Political Science Association. http://paperroom.ipsa.org/papers/paper_46549.pdf/.

In this paper, Bjarnegard uses survey data from the 2014 election in the Maldives to understand political violence directed towards female politicians. She argues that her data provides evidence of women experiencing a different form of violence than their male counterparts. This article is useful because it clearly outlines the political stakes for emerging democracies where violence against women politicians is ubiquitous. Namely, that such practices decrease the overall quality of the electoral system, negatively impacting the prospects that such systems become effective democracies. Bjarnegard’s method involved asking candidates a series of survey questions about whether they encountered the three forms of violence outlined in the paper: economic violence, psychological violence, and physical violence. The survey results on pg. 16 indicate that there is a statistically significant relationship between gender and the likelihood of experiencing sexual libel for women politicians. This is the case even after controlling for whether the politician was elected and whether they already held office. Though, Bjarnegard also claims that there are a number of methodological challenges involved in quantifying gender-based political violence.

19. (I) Braden, Maria. 1996. “Going Forward Walking Backward.” In *Women Politicians and the Media*. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky.

In this chapter, Maria Braden presents dominant trends in how mainstream media reports on women running for political office. The first pattern she finds is that women politicians are more likely to be considered “benchwarmers”, not serious candidates for public office, but figures that will eventually pave the way for others who might attain the goal they did not. Second, she finds that the media will often downplay or trivialize women’s professional accomplishments, and instead, emphasize the roles they play within their families. Other familiar tropes, such as the “bitch” or the “hysteric” are deployed by media outlets when women running for office stray off the appropriate script or act too aggressively. This chapter is useful for illustrating how backlash against women becomes mainstreamed and normalized. According to the author, journalists, though they strive for objectivity, often project their expectations of an event implicitly onto a story in place of empirical events.

20. (Q) (BP) Cassesse, Erin C., and Mirya R. Holman. n.d. “Playing the Gender Card: Ambivalent Sexism in the 2016 Presidential Race.” In , 1–54. Brussels. http://mlkrook.org/pdf/Cassese_Holman.pdf.

In this study, Cassesse and Holman run two experiments to test whether gendered attitudes correspond to an individual’s backlash against female politicians. The theory behind the experiments is “system justification theory”, or the idea that whether or an individual prefers the status quo, will also likely determine her behavior. In the case of backlash, this means that if an individual feels that women entering politics is too much of a change in the status quo, this will likely affect her political

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behavior towards that candidate as well. The authors differentiate between hostile and benevolent sexism with the former being more vocal and explicit about their disapproval of women in positions of power, and the latter having more latent sexist beliefs. The authors hypothesize that when confronted with the claim forwarded by Donald Trump about Hillary Clinton, that she was playing the “woman’s card” to get ahead in the election, hostile sexists were more likely to react viscerally to this and entrench their support for Trump, suggesting a link between sexist beliefs and political behavior.

21. Centre for Social Research, and UN Women. 2014. “Violence Against Women in Politics: A Study Conducted in India, Nepal and Pakistan.” New Delhi: UN Women.

In this study published by the United Nations, the researchers analyze the factors contributing to violence against women politicians in Nepal, India, and Pakistan. They find that in South Asia backlash against women politicians and their families is pervasive, and is one factor that strongly contributes to whether women are elected and choose to run for political office. The study is useful for understanding backlash against women in politics, because it takes extends the phenomenon of VAIP (violence against women in politics) to also encompass how this violence affects women as voters and political actors generally. The study finds that the discourse of VAIP has not yet entered the mainstream in the three countries of focus, making it a difficult issue to address with policy.

22. (Q) Cerna, Daniela Cerva. 2014. “Political Participation and Gender Violence in Mexico.” *Revista Mexicana de Ciencias Políticas Y Sociales*, 105–24.

In this article, Cerna tests the different factors that determine women’s political participation. Her model to test this includes VAIP as an explanatory variable. She finds that in Mexico, which utilizes a quota system for women running for political office, the gendered dynamics within political parties played a role in determining whether violence against women politicians that deterred them from running. Further, the study uses survey data and analyses secondary research on VAIP in Mexico. Further, her research suggests that the predominate public political culture towards women in part determines whether there is violence directed at them when they choose to run for office.

23. (S/T) Chawla, Swati, Dannah Dennis, Vanessa Ochs, Paromita Sen, Catalina Vellejo, and Denise Walsh. 2017. “Increasing the Civic and Political Participation of Women: Understanding the Risk of Strong Resistance.” Research and Innovation Grants Working Papers Series. Washington: USAID.

In this paper, Walsh et.al examine the contexts where VAIP in the Global South is most likely to occur. They find that strong resistance to women politicians is more context that geography dependent. That is, regime type, and the site where violence occurred (the home, workplace, etc) were more salient determinants of VAIP than regional differences. This paper is useful both for understanding strategies of VAIP, and also the tactics that societies in the global south can employ to minimize this risk to women politics. Further, the paper addresses existing gaps in the research on VAIP, which is useful for feminist researchers hoping to mitigate these gaps.

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24. (C) (Q) Childs, Sarah. 2017. "Diversity Sensitive Parliaments: Parliamentary Practice in Comparison, A Briefing." Bristol: University of Bristol.

In this briefing, Sarah Childs collects survey data from MPs from two "sub-state" national parliaments, Scotland and Wales, three "West-minister-style" parliaments, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand, and three "northern European parliaments," Germany, Spain, Denmark, Finland, and Sweden. The report then used this data to make recommendations for parliamentary systems seeking to be more inclusive towards women politicians. This report is useful because it gives a detailed report about the existing gaps in inclusivity in parliamentary systems and the way these institutions can be reformed to include more female voices. For example, one of the recommendations based on the survey findings is for parliaments to prohibit all male or all one gender panels and committees.

25. (Q)——— 2016. "The Good Parliament." Bristol: University of Bristol.

<http://www.bristol.ac.uk/media-library/sites/news/2016/july/20%20Jul%20Prof%20Sarah%20Childs%20The%20Good%20Parliament%20report.pdf>

In this report, Professor Sarah Childs gives a detailed account of current practices in the House of Commons in the United Kingdom that need to be improved in order to allow women better access to politics. In the first section, on pg. 3, she provides recommendations for what can be improved. Specifically, she highlights policy solutions such as a "house statement" on parental leave, and "commission a comprehensive diversity and equality audit" as some of the things parliament can do to address gaps in inclusion. The paper is useful for understanding VAIP, because it provides both substantive policy recommendations for reforming parliamentary systems, but also quantitative data that illustrates problem areas.

26. (BP) Cockburn, Cynthia. 1991. *In the Way of Women: Men's Resistance to Sex Equality in Organizations*. Ithica: Cornell University Press.

In this book, Cynthia Cockburn examines how men who belong to organizations that implement gender equity policies react to such measures in the UK. In the introduction, she presents her method and the organization of the book. To collect her data, Cockburn examines four case studies in detail: one at a corporation, another at an unspecified government agency, the third was a locally elected government body, and the fourth was a national Trade Union comprised of low-income women. Her research design also includes structured interview questions and she selects her cases to be reflective of the overall population of men. Some of her findings that are useful for understanding backlash against gender justice advocates are the ways men in these organizations try to make feminism less appealing so that women are less likely to want to adopt equality policies. Further, she argues that men deliberately incentivize behavior by women that makes them "act more like men." This book also contains historical information about the formation of gender equality policies in the UK.

27. Dawoud, Aliaa. 2012. "Why Women Are Losing Rights in Post-Revolutionary Egypt." *Journal of International Women's Studies* 13 (5): 160–69.

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In this article, Dawoud examines why women began to lose their political rights in Egypt after the ouster of Hosni Mubarak. She argues that reforms on women's rights became associated with the secular leadership. After Mubarak's ouster, the reforms came to be associated with Mubarak's wife, and were thus attacked by forces pressing for political change. The article also forwards the theory called, "personal authoritarianism." According to this theory, in authoritarian systems, all branches of government are expected to be loyal to the president. The author contends that this theory might also extend to the president's wife and son, who are champions of women's rights, became seen as an extension of Mubarak. The paper also examines the impact that authoritarianism has on forwarding women's rights in general, and how this influences backlash after revolutions.

28. (C) Došek, Tomáš, Flavia Freidenberg, Mariana Caminotti, and Betilde Muñoz-Pogossian, eds. 2017. *Women, Politics, and Democracy in Latin America*. New York: Palgrave.

This book is a collection of essays on the institutional and cultural obstacles to women's political participation in Latin America. Of particular significance to the study of backlash against women politicians, are the essays on the ways gender-barrier legislation comes to pass. These chapters include women politicians' personal experiences when proposing solutions to different legislative barriers facing women. The last chapter by Flavia Freidenberg brings together policy recommendations from policymakers and academics on the topic of how to increase women's participation in politics in Latin America.

29. (BP) (I) Dragiewicz, Mollie. 2011. *Equality with a Vengeance: Men's Rights Groups, Battered Women, and Antifeminist Backlash*. Northeastern University Press.

In this book, Dragiewicz examines the men's rights movement through a detailed look at the *Booth v. Hvass* case in Minnesota wherein three men's rights groups brought a lawsuit against the state for funding domestic violence shelters. The groups, which argued that the use of state funding for this purpose was discriminatory, use the language of "equality" and to undermine feminist gains. Dragiewicz argues that the use of equality rhetoric by men's rights groups is part of the broader phenomenon of backlash. Dragiewicz argues that this case is indicative of a broader struggle between feminists, whose group rights based discourse, comes up against the gender-neutral equality discourse of men's rights advocates.

30. (BP) (S/T) Faludi, Susan. 2006. *Backlash: The Undeclared War against American Women*. New York: Three Rivers Press.

"This is just one of the dozens of "studies," trend stories and misguided media events that provide Susan Faludi with grist for "Backlash," her bracing look at the counterassault in our society on women's progress over the last decade. Just as Anita Hill's accusations of sexual harassment provoked spontaneous outrage, this book will have a spine-stiffening effect on any woman who thinks she is paranoid. Yes, says Ms. Faludi, they are after you.

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"They" are a coalition of conservatives, neoconservatives and antifeminists of every stripe. "They" are also the writers, movie makers and journalists who cooperated -- wittingly or not -- in framing the arguments.

Ms. Faludi's central thesis is that "this counter assault is largely insidious: in a kind of pop-culture version of the Big Lie, it stands the truth boldly on its head and proclaims that the very steps that have elevated women's position have actually led to their downfall." If women are doomed to being single, or condemned to infertility, or stressed out trying to "have it all," says the backlash, it's the fault of the women's movement. Success is really failure, and women's liberation is enslavement.

The author, a Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter for The Wall Street Journal, lays out the historical and cultural setting for the revisionist messages of the 1980's. "Most important," she writes, "the press was the first to set forth and solve for a mainstream audience the paradox in women's lives, the paradox that would become so central to the backlash: women have achieved so much yet feel so dissatisfied; it must be feminism's achievements, not society's resistance to these partial achievements, that is causing women all this pain."

Ms. Faludi is at her best in debunking the studies, experts and trend stories that made their way into our collection of "common wisdom" in the last decade. She skewers the data, the data collectors and the data purveyors."

Source: <http://www.nytimes.com/books/99/10/03/specials/faludi-backlash.html?mcubz=1>

31. Fleschenberg, Andrea. 2010. "Afghan Women Parliamentarians—Caucusing amidst Contestation and Insecurity." *Gender, Technology & Development* 14 (3): 339–62.

In this article, Andrea, Fleschenberg examines the rise of women parliamentarians in Afghanistan in 2005, and the way this progress was increasingly under threat at the time the article was written. This piece is useful for a study of backlash against women politicians because the author provides testimony from Afghan women parliamentarians about how they deal with backlash politics and the strategies they use to mitigate the effectiveness of backlash strategies. Further, the article also provides useful background information about institution building in Afghanistan and the way gender contributed to the complexity of forming a stable parliament.

32. Goetz, Anne Marie. 2002. "No Shortcuts to Power: Constraints on Women's Political Effectiveness in Uganda." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 40 (4): 549–75.

Goetz's article examines the effect of affirmative action policies put in place by the Ugandan National Resistance Movement (NRM) on the political efficacy of women's rights advocates in the country. She argues that although women have gained seats in Parliament and local government, this increase in representation has neither legitimized women politicians nor facilitated gender-equity agendas. Instead, affirmative action policies serve as a means for NRM elites to gate-keep women's access to politics and exercise a certain amount of institutional control over women once they are in political positions. This article is useful for understanding how choices in the design of political structures determine how women politicians will fare in elections and in office. Goetz pays particular attention to the Movement's "no-party" system, which allows it to enjoy the advantages of a one-party

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state while resisting the competition that comes with party politics. Women's engagement in politics, thus, remains contingent on NRM patronage. Further, in the absence of pluralism, women who wish to resist the Movement have no avenue through which to do so.

**33. (BP) (I) Guenther, Katja M. 2008. "Understanding Policy Diffusion across Feminist Social Movements: The Case of Gender Mainstreaming in Eastern Germany." *Politics & Gender* 4 (4). Cambridge University Press: 587–613.
doi:10.1017/S1743923X08000470.**

In this article, Guenther calls for researchers to use the term "backlash" in a more precise way. This article is essential reading for better understanding the phenomenon of "backlash" politics because it provides a survey of existing literatures in the field that use the term in a conceptually precise way.

34. (I) (Q) Hawkesworth, Mary. 2003. "Congressional Enactments of Race-Gender: Toward a Theory of Raced-Gendered Institutions." *American Political Science Review* 97 (4): 529–50.

In this article, Hawkesworth analyzes the "racing-gendering" of Congresswomen of color in the Democratic-controlled 103rd Congress and the Republican-controlled 104th Congress. By pairing textual analysis of interview data with a case study of welfare reform during the time, Hawkesworth illuminates the ways in which women of color are marginalized, silenced, and isolated from political decision-making. She draws her conclusions from a sample size of 81 Congresswomen, 15 of whom are women of color. Hawkesworth concludes by evaluating the damage racing-gendering imposes on the U.S. democratic process as a whole. This study is valuable for its attention towards the doubled race-gender oppressions experienced by women of color politicians. In addition, it is significant insofar as it relies heavily on hermeneutic methods, situating data in reference to critical race theory, feminist theory, African American history, and the concept of intersectionality, whereas earlier studies on racial and gender dynamics within Congress operate mainly within the framework of behavioralism.

35. (Q) Heldman, Caroline, Susan J. Carroll, and Stephanie Olson. 2006. "'She Brought Only a Skirt': Print Media Coverage of Elizabeth Dole's Bid for the Republican Presidential Nomination." *Political Communication* 22 (3): 315–35.

Heldman, Carroll, and Olson's study compares print media coverage of Elizabeth Dole to that of five other Republican contenders for the 1999 presidential nomination, all of whom were men. The study reveals differences in both the amount and content of the coverage that Dole received in relation to other candidates. Despite consistently polling second, behind only George W. Bush, Dole is mentioned far fewer times and in far less depth than both Bush and McCain (Table 1). In addition, compared to that of her male competitors, a significantly greater proportion of Dole's coverage focuses on her personality traits and appearance (Table 2). Heldman et al. also find that her coverage

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was often negative in tone and leveraged her gender in ways that suggested she was a novelty rather a serious contender. These results are based on two data sets -- the first a random sample of articles published between March and October of 1999 mentioning one or more of the Republican candidates, and the second a set of all articles with at least four mentions of Dole. This study is useful for its analysis of the ways in which the media is complicit in curtailing the chances of women's electoral success, especially in regards to the highly masculinized office of the President.

36. (S/T) House of Commons. 2010. "Speaker's Conference (on Parliamentary Representation): Final Report." Final Report. London: The Stationery Office Limited: House of Commons. http://mlkrook.org/pdf/Speaker_2010.pdf.

This report serves as the culmination of inquiries made by Speaker's Conference, a committee charged with studying the underrepresentation of women, ethnic minorities, LGBT individuals, and disabled people in the House of Commons and providing a set of recommendations to remedy these disparities. It begins by outlining the Speaker's Conference's rationale for broadening representation in Parliament, then delves into findings regarding barriers to civic participation. The report useful for its consideration of obstacles through a diverse and comprehensive set of lenses. The Speaker's Conference does not dwell solely on dynamics within the House of Commons; it addresses issues in baseline political engagement, involvement with political parties, and MP selection in addition to the culture of the House of Commons itself. Furthermore, it devotes a section "supply-side barriers," which encompasses structural deterrents such as high financial demands for lower-income candidates and physical barriers for disabled candidates.

37. (S/T)(Q)(BP)Hubbard, Caroline, and Claire DeSoi. 2016. "Votes Without Violence: A Citizen Observer's Guide to Addressing Violence Against Women in Elections." Washington: National Democratic Institute. https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/Votes_Without_Violence_Manual.pdf.

In this manual published by the National Democratic Institute, Caroline Hubbard and Claire DeSoi formulate a set of best practices for citizen observer groups concerned with violence against women in politics (VAW-E). On page 41, Hubbard and DeSoi identify five types of VAW-E: physical, sexual, psychological, threats and coercion, and and economic. This manual is useful because it provides a readily applicable guide to monitoring, mitigating, and collecting data on VAW-E, as well as a collection of resources suited for these purposes. The authors dedicate significant space to defining VAW-E and its root causes, and place as much emphasis on developing gender-sensitive early-warning systems as they do on typical election observation methodologies. Furthermore, they punctuate their recommendations with case studies of election violence in Cote D'Ivoire, Myanmar, Guatemala, Tanzania, and Nigeria.

38. (Q) (BP) Huber, Jessica, and Lisa Kammerud. 2017. "Violence Against Women in Elections: A Framework for Assessment, Monitoring and Response." Washington: International Foundation for Electoral Systems. http://www.ifes.org/sites/default/files/vawie_framework.pdf.

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In this report published by the International Foundation for Electoral Systems, Huber and Kammerud map out the Violence Against Women in Elections (VAWIE) Framework, a mode of evaluation that captures both public and private violence against female “electoral stakeholders” on a global scale. The Framework is intended to enhance the ability of practitioners to identify and combat gender-based election violence, and is organized into four components: typology, assessment methodology, monitoring methodology, and recommendations for implementation. This report is useful for its recognition that neither violence against women nor electoral violence frameworks alone are capable of capturing the full extent to which electoral violence impedes women’s participation in politics. In fact, Huber and Kammerud find that there is a gender bias in current data collection, research, and programming regarding electoral violence.

39. (S/T) Ibrahim, Jibrin. 2004. “The First Lady Syndrome and the Marginalisation of Women from Power: Opportunities or Compromises for Gender Equality?” *Feminist Africa*, no. 3.

Ibrahim’s article discusses the increasing political power of first ladies in Nigeria and Ghana and the consequences that their authority has had on the political agency of women as a whole in these countries. She centers her analysis around the concept of “femocracy,” a power structure in which the dominance of a small in-group of women shrouds the lack of political access afforded to the majority of women, especially those lacking in wealth or political clout. This article is useful because it addresses the shortcomings of informal politics (i.e. unofficial and unelected positions of power such as that of the first lady) in advancing structural change that would allow women more power in the political arena. Ibrahim notes that although first ladies in Nigeria have sometimes leveraged their authority to bring other women into power, party officials have continued to subvert women in formal elections, and the number of women in elected positions remains small. She suggests that advocates should instead focus on constitutional, electoral reform as well as long-term networks that strengthen women’s capacity to campaign for office.

40. (Q)Inter-Parliamentary Union. 2016. “Sexism, Harassment, and Violence against Women Parliamentarians.” Geneva: IPU. <http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/issuesbrief-e.pdf>.

This issues brief presents the results of an Inter-Parliamentary Union study on resistance against women in various national parliaments in the form of sexism, harassment, and violence. It takes into account both the experiences of individual women parliamentarians and the mechanisms of the institutions and structures that surround them. The study is based on information gleaned from interviews with 55 women politicians from 39 countries, in addition to data related to policy measures and regulations to combat gender-based violence within Parliament, drawn from 42 parliaments. This brief is useful for its analysis of experiential accounts of violence against women politicians across countries and regions, as well as its attention to aggravating factors and repercussions. Also particularly interesting are the statistics gathered from the parliamentarians; over 80%, for instance, report that they have been subjected to psychological violence.

41. (BP)Johnson, Janet Elise. 2016. “Fast-Track or Boxed In? Informal Politics, Gender, and Women’s Representation in Putin’s Russia.” *Perspectives on Politics* 14 (3):1–17. doi:10.1017/S1537592716001109.

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Johnson's article addresses the seeming paradox of diminishing gender equality amidst burgeoning female political representation in Putin's Russia. Central to her analysis is the distinction between descriptive and substantive representation; she argues that although women have been increasingly "fast-tracked" into politics, they are also "boxed-in" by informal rules and institutions, rendering them unable to advocate effectively for women's interests. This article is useful for its emphasis on the negative consequences of informal modes of political advancement. Johnson finds that women in Russian politics face deeply gendered political networks. Homosociality, hegemonic masculinity, and foregrounded femininity force them into stereotyped "boxes" such as "loyalist," in which they swear full allegiance to Putin, or "showgirl," in which they are cast to win elections by projecting highly feminine attributes. On page 648, Johnson provides a table that links key concepts from feminist theory to informal gendered practices in Russia to effects on women in politics.

42. (S/T) Krook, Mona Lena. 2016. "Contesting Gender Quotas: Dynamics of Resistance." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 4 (2): 268–83.

In this article, Krook analyzes the rift between gender quota requirements and electoral results. She begins by providing a theoretical account of resistance to structural change (i.e. gender compositions) from the political elite. Krook focuses particularly on three tools used to delegitimize quotas: false universalism and political principles, male power and political survival, and gender and leadership norms. In addition, she reviews several case-studies to demonstrate how these tools manifest at different stages of the electoral process. This article is useful because it illustrates the importance of "political will" in ensuring that law translates effectively into practice. Since party elites tend to exercise considerable political clout, their actions can influence whether or not sufficient political will exists to follow through with gender quotas. Krook includes on page 274 a concise but sweeping chart that displays the stages and forms of resistance to gender quotas as well as counter-strategies.

43. (C) (S/T)———. 2017. "Violence Against Women in Politics." *Journal of Democracy* 28 (1): 74–88.

Krook's article offers an overview of violent resistance towards female politicians, starting with a portrait of what this violence looks like in various countries around the world and ending with a series of potential solutions. Embedded within her diagnosis is a case-study of Zimbabwe; a typology that distinguishes between physical, sexual, psychological, economic, and symbolic violence; and an evaluation of the implications of violence against women in politics upon democracy as a whole. This article is useful for its concise outline of violence against women in politics as a mode of interpretation and analysis. The study on Zimbabwe (pages 76-77), written by Nayaradzo Mashayamombe, is particularly potent. It recounts how women protesters and political candidates in the country have faced all five categories of violence. Mashayamombe also notes that women are prone to political exploitation due to the longstanding tradition of patriarchy and the influence of Apostolic churches that discourage women from participating in public life. As a result, the women who do enter the realm of politics tend to become adversaries rather than allies to one another.

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44. (Q)(BP)Krook, Mona Lena, and Juliana Restrepo Sanín. 2016. "Gender and Political Violence in Latin America: Concepts, Debates, and Solutions." *Política Y Gobierno* 23 (1): 125–57.

By honing in on the definitional particulars of violence against women in politics, Krook and Sanín lay a foundation for understanding the intersection of gender and political violence in its many gradations. The authors center their survey around definitions and debates from Latin America, but consider research and data from outside the region as well. This article is valuable for its attention to description and categorization; Krook and Sanín seek to refine and expand the framework by which we understand violence against women in politics. Their main proposal is that we 1) integrate physical and sexual violence into one category of physical violence and 2) particularize the behemoth that is psychological violence into psychological, economic, and symbolic violence. The article culminates by situating violence against women in politics as a threat to not only women's civil liberties but also the integrity of democratic systems as a whole.

45. (BP) Krook, Mona Lena, and Julianna Restrepo Sanín. 2016. "Violence Against Women in Politics: A Defense of the Concept." *Política Y Gobierno* 23 (2): 459–90.

This article is largely a response to Jennifer Piscopo's "State Capacity, Criminal Justice, and Political Rights: Rethinking Violence against Women in Politics." Krook and Sanín frame the relationship between activists and academics in generating a working definition of violence against women in politics as symbiotic rather than passive (i.e. academics taking activists' definitions without question or qualification). They reiterate the importance of distinguishing between this specific type of violence and "politics as usual." Furthermore, they address the inherent value in gender justice legislation -- even in the absence of effective implementation -- and put forward a call for cross-sector solutions. This article is useful for its defense of violence against women in politics as a valid framework of study, distinct from violence in politics and more than just an issue of criminality. Violence against women in politics, Kross and Sanín argue, "[seeks] to prevent women's participation as women."

46. (C)(BP)Kuhar, Roman, and David Paternotte. 2017. *Anti-Gender Campaigns in Europe Mobilizing against Equality*. London: Rowman & Littlefield International, Ltd.

"After decades of steady progress in terms of gender and sexual rights, several parts of Europe are facing new waves of resistance to a so-called 'gender ideology' or 'gender theory'. Opposition to progressive gender equality is manifested in challenges to marriage equality, abortion, reproductive technologies, gender mainstreaming, sex education, sexual liberalism, transgender rights, antidiscrimination policies and even to the notion of gender itself. This book examines how an academic concept of gender, when translated by religious organizations such as the Roman Catholic Church, can become a mobilizing tool for, and the target of, social movements. How can we explain religious discourses about sex difference turning into massive street demonstrations? How do forms of organization and protest travel across borders? Who are the actors behind these movements? This collection is a transnational and comparative attempt to better understand anti-gender mobilizations in Europe. It focuses on national manifestations in eleven European countries, including Russia, from

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massive street protests to forms of resistance such as email bombarding and street vigils. It examines the intersection of religious politics with rising populism and nationalistic anxieties in contemporary Europe.”

47. (BP) (Q) **Kuperberg, Rebecca. 2016. “The Use of Qualitative Methods to Research Violence against Women in Politics within Mexico.” University of Oxford: International Political Science Association World Congress. http://paperroom.ipsa.org/app/webroot/papers/paper_52223.pdf.**

In this paper, Rebecca Kuperberg attempts to parse the methodologies used in the study of violence against women in politics (VaWiP). She argues for the necessity of qualitative research methods in addition to quantitative methods, especially in light of the inconsistencies in tracking and reportage that currently plague the latter. Kuperberg’s article is useful precisely because it is methods-focused, therefore providing broadly-applicable insight into *how* VaWiP research should be performed. She illuminates the benefits of qualitative research: it takes into consideration individual lived experience and particular context, prevents the loss of pertinent details, and lends itself to explanation in addition to classification. Following her case against quantitative methods is an overview of qualitative alternatives. Kuperberg surveys methods employed for related topics such as violence against women and offers a deeper analysis of feminist methodologies. Kuperberg closes with a case study of Mexico, wherein she demonstrates the inadequacy of quantitative data as a means of explaining the country’s trajectory in the realm of women in politics.

48. (BP) **Lombardo, Emanuela, and Lut Mergaert. 2013. “Gender Mainstreaming and Resistance to Gender Training: A Framework for Studying Implementation.” *NORA-Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research* 21 (4): 296–311.**

In this article, Lombardo and Mergaert examine resistance among civil servants and policy-making organizations to gender training programs designed to mainstream gender into political decision-making. They find that such opposition manifests in six types (e.g. explicit, implicit, gender-specific, etc.) and four forms: denial of the need for gender change, trivializing gender equality, refusal to accept responsibility, and trivializing gender inequality *and* refusing to accept responsibility. Table 1 on page 305 exhibits these specific forms and types with substantiating examples. The authors draw their conclusions from participatory observation of two European gender training programs, QUING and TARGET. This article is useful for its diagnosis of barriers to gender mainstreaming and its insight into specific rationales for resistance. It is important to note, however, that Lombardo and Mergaert consider the study only an initial probe into the subject and suggest that further analysis be conducted to account for institutional context, as theirs focuses chiefly on displays of resistance by individual trainees.

49. (BP) **Lopata, Helena Znaniecka. 1993. “The Interweave of Public and Private: Women’s Challenge to American Society.” *Journal of Marriage and Family* 55 (1): 176–90.**

Lopata’s article problematizes the “two-spheres” logic that marshals women into a private sphere of family and community and men into a public one of economics and politics. She

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argues that this type of imagery justifies gender stratification -- wherein men and women's work are not only separate but also differentially valued -- and fails to meet the needs of a modernizing American society. This article is useful for its broad overview of an ideology that animates much of the current opposition towards women who occupy positions that are supposedly incongruous with their gender. Lopata begins by mapping the historical development of the two spheres, then touches on its consequences, then reviews the entanglement between public and private and addresses role conflict, then finally addresses modernization and women's challenge moving forward. She identifies as a key issue the stigma surrounding public assistance with child-rearing, and suggests that feminists prepare for a "revolt" against inflexible economic and political structures.

50. (BP) (Q) (S/T) **Kathlene, Lyn. 1994. "Power and Influence in State Legislative Policymaking: The Interaction of Gender and Position in Committee Hearing Debates."** *The American Political Science Review* 88 (2) : 560-76. doi:10.2307/2944795.

The main insight from Lyn Kathlene's piece on legislative policymaking is that feminist researchers need to have a more robust definition of "inclusion" when analyzing women's gains in institutional political representation. Her empirical work suggests that even when women's numbers in legislative settings increased, their voices were still less likely to be heard, and the discriminatory effects of "tokenism" were still present. In fact, Kathlene found that as more women entered state legislatures, the likelihood that they would be "silenced" in these legislatures actually increased. These results are derived from Kathlene's carefully designed statistical analysis of the effect of an increase in the number of women in state legislatures in the United States on the likelihood of a bill proposed by a woman legislator being passed.

On page 573, Kathlene provides an overview of the results of the different models she ran that tested the effect of increasing women's participation on legislative outcomes. Some findings that are most illuminating for a study of the backlash phenomenon are: first, while initially it appeared that women's bills were just as likely to pass as their male counterparts' bills, the results also indicate that women's bills went through a more rigorous committee procedure. Second, Kathlene also found that women were able to have a similar, if not better, passage rate than men despite the latter's tendency to engage in conversational tactics that dominated the debate over a bill. This finding suggests that more empirical work should be done on discourse tactics used by women in these settings to get a bill passed. Further, researchers should also attend to the negative effects of institutional design that privilege certain conversational tactics on women's overall ability to gain influence in these settings.

51. (S/T) **Maddison, Sarah. 1999. "Private Men, Public Anger: The Men's Rights Movement in Australia."** *Journal of Interdisciplinary Gender Studies: JIGS* 4 (2): 39–52.

In this article, Maddison analyzes the rise of the Australian men's rights movement, particularly as it relates to disputes over marriage, relationships, and child custody in the Family Court. She focuses on how private notions of masculinity and fatherhood develop into "collective identities" and subsequently spur public action. Six in-depth interviews with men's rights activists

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constitute the empirical basis for Maddison's research. This article is potentially useful for understanding the mechanisms and stimuli behind collective identity formation of men's rights groups. Maddison identifies personal angst and distress as central but often overlooked components of men's subjectivities that are leveraged to mobilize political activism against feminists specifically and women in general. She posits that, in order to resist backlash, feminists must offer an alternative framework of understanding that recognizes men's emotional grievances while still maintaining a critical eye towards gendered power imbalances.

52. (S/T) Madhok, Sumi, and Shirin M. Rai. 2012. "Agency, Injury, and Transgressive Politics in Neoliberal Times." *Signs* 37 (3): 645–69.

In this article, Madhok and Rai examine the risk and injury that accompany women's mobilization for transgressive politics in the Women's Development Programme (WDP), a state-sponsored initiative in northwest India. They find that the neoliberal apparatus under which the program functions privileges a concept of "agency-in-development," which locates political agency within individual actors rather than structures and systems. This, in turn, postures *sathins* -- women social workers often recruited as the chief actors of WDP -- as personally responsible for their decisions to act or not to act, and thus papers over institutional need for recognizing the power dynamics and potential injuries attendant on such decisions. Madhok and Rai argue that the agency-in-development framework ignores 1) the structural and temporal risks that *sathins* face and 2) the sociopolitical context in which *sathins* operate. This article is useful for its scrutiny of how risk and opposition towards women may remain obscured even within gender justice initiatives.

53. Mahoney, Martha R. 1991. "Legal Images of Battered Women: Redefining the Issue of Separation." *Michigan Law Review* 90 (1): 1–94.

Mahoney's article interrogates the stereotypical image of the "battered woman" and its reverberations and repercussions in legal and cultural spheres. She contends that an oft-sensationalized understanding of battered women creates a sense of exceptionality that disguises the prevalence of violence against women. In characterizing victims of domestic violence as pathologically weak and atrociously abused, this stereotype makes it difficult for many women to locate themselves in the continuum of power and domination. This article is useful for understanding how legal and cultural norms shape both societal and individual capacities for recognizing acts of violence against women. Accordingly, Mahoney dedicates a significant portion of her piece to naming and defining the idea of "separation assault," which, put briefly, constitutes the violent risk women face when attempting to separate from their abusers. She presents separation assault as not only a way of responding to accusations of women's "failure" to leave relationships, but also a way of informing effective legal and cultural change.

54. (S/T) Mann, Ruth M. 2008. "Men's Rights and Feminist Advocacy in Canadian Domestic Violence Policy Arenas: Contexts, Dynamics, and Outcomes of Antifeminist Backlash." *Feminist Criminology* 3 (1): 44–75. doi:10.1177/1557085107311067.

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In this article, Mann explores the interaction between men's rights groups and feminist advocates in the wake of Canadian domestic violence policy movements. She conducts "contentious event analyses" (i.e. triangulation of textual sources relating to contentious events) of three particular incidents: a set of hearings on a Domestic Violence Prevention Act, an inquest into a femicide-suicide, and a consultation and roundtable on family violence and bullying. Mann notes that her intent is not to generate a specific hypothesis on causal processes, but to *diagnose* the dynamics of political contestation and its subsequent political outcomes. Even so, the article is useful for its analysis of the partial success of feminist resistance against men's rights backlash and its insight into possible steps forward in a culture of opposition. Because men's rights groups tend to ignore standards of civil discourse and reject efforts at collaboration, they are less likely to be taken seriously in policy forums than feminist anti-domestic violence advocates.

55. (BP) Mansbridge, Jane, and Shauna L. Shames. 2008. "Toward a Theory of Backlash: Dynamic Resistance and the Central Role of Power." *Politics and Gender* 4 (4): 623–34.

In this article, Mansbridge and Shames attempt to articulate a neutral, nonideological definition of backlash. Rather than abiding by the liberal-conservative paradigm that prevails in the term's colloquial usage, the authors define backlash as simply "the use of coercive power to regain lost power as capacity" (626). Furthermore, they list three necessary components of backlash: 1) the act must be a reaction, 2) the reaction must employ coercive power, and 3) the reaction must be oriented towards regaining formerly held power. This article is useful because it offers a working definition of backlash that is not contingent upon the politicized understandings of the Left. As such, it lays the foundation for a general theory of backlash to be used in future investigations of reactions against social movements. In addition, Mansbridge and Shames clarify the distinction between coercive power and persuasion.

56. McHugh, Maureen, and Irene Hanson Frieze. 1997. "The Measurement of Gender-Role Attitudes: A Review and Commentary." *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 21 (1): 1–16.

In this article, McHugh and Frieze review various measures of gender-role attitudes. In addition to providing handy overviews of a select few common scales, they identify the shortcomings and contestations in the field as a whole. They note, for example, that due to the sociohistorically-specific contexts of the measures, it is difficult to make cross-generational and cross-cultural comparisons. McHugh and Frieze also address the increasing calls for a proliferation of scales in light of the "ceiling effect" of preexisting, purportedly standard measures such as the Attitudes Toward Women Scale (AWS). Although they recognize that measures like the AWS may fail to adapt to social changes over time, they also recommend that all theorists should at least consider existing scales before they decide to develop new ones. Accordingly, this article may be useful for acquainting oneself with prevalent gender-role attitude measurements. Moreover, gender-role attitude measurement itself is useful for analyzing not only levels of public support for women in non-traditional positions but also the underlying construction of gender-role belief systems.

57. Messner, Michael A. 1998. "The Limits of 'The Male Sex Role': An Analysis of the Men's Liberation and Men's Rights Movements' Discourse." *Gender and Society* 12 (3): 255–76.

Messner's article examines the potential risks and limitations of sex role theory through a case study of the 1970s men's liberation movement. The movement, Messner writes, faced a central paradox: acknowledging men's privilege while also drawing attention to the costs of masculinity. As such, it operated on the relatively conservative language of sex roles rather than the more radical language of gender relations. This article is useful for analyzing the practical and political implications of sex role theory, particularly when it is applied as the driving force of a movement for change. Messner argues that sex role theory, in this case, created a false symmetry between male and female roles (thus concealing oppressive relations); decontextualized gender (i.e. psychological rather than institutional focus); and universalized the white, professional-class, heterosexual male subject. In addition, he proposes that sex role theory formed the conceptual foundation for anti-feminist men's rights backlash -- one the two wings into which the men's liberation movement devolved.

58. Mills, Martin. 2003. "Shaping the Boys' Agenda: The Backlash Blockbusters." *International Journal of Inclusive Education* 7 (1): 57–73.

Mills' article analyzes "blockbuster" texts calling for a re-centering of educational discourse onto boys' issues. He finds that these texts rely on a thinly disguised anti-feminism; by enacting the "competing victim syndrome" (i.e. the idea that boys and girls face comparable injustices), they overstate feminist gains and obscure the privileges that boys possess. In addition, he notes that they often frame feminism as a completed project. This article is useful for its insight into the construction of men's rights -- or in this case, boy's rights -- backlash. For instance, Mills identifies notions of "true" masculinity as well as an overarching mythopoetic discourse at the core of many of these texts. It is important to note, also, that they wield not only ideological force but also political influence: responses range from defeminizing boys' education to diverting funding away from girls and towards boys.

59. (Q) (BP) Mendelberg, Tali, and Christopher F. Karpowitz. 2016. "Women's Authority in Political Decision-Making Groups." *The Leadership Quarterly* 27 (3): 487–503.

Mendelberg, Tali, and Karpowitz's paper studies women's influence in political decision-making groups given various gender compositions and operating procedures. They posit that women can exercise authority in at least two ways: by participating in discussion and by experiencing equal affirmation in response to their statements. Although the authors recognize that the number of women in a group can shape the likelihood that these two practices take place, they also note that the simple *presence* of women does not guarantee that the practices occur. Their data is gathered from a series of "Deliberative Justice experiments," in which behavior is observed as groups "decide how much income to redistribute to [their] poorest members through government tax." The sample size consists

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of 94 groups of 5, with assorted proportions of men to women and decision rules. Mendelberg et al. ultimately find that, though women generally face an “authority deficit,” this deficit can be ameliorated with a) procedures that signal the legitimacy of the majority, when women form a clear majority of the group and b) procedures that require consensus (and therefore legitimize the individual) when women form a lesser percentage of the group. This study is valuable in that it demonstrates how both representation and procedures affect women’s authority in political decision-making, and may be helpful in establishing best practices. However, it is important to note that it occurs within experimental settings rather than real political circumstances.

60. Mobley, Michael, and Tamara Payne. 1992. “Backlash! The Challenge to Diversity Training.” *Training & Development* 46 (12): 45–52.

In this article, Mobley and Payne provide an overview of backlash towards diversity training programs and offer recommendations for fostering more receptivity. The piece seems geared primarily towards businesses and other work organizations. Mobley and Payne note that one of the key barriers towards successful implementation is the narrowness of existing trainings. They suggest that companies broaden the intended target of the training (i.e. lessening the “blame and guilt” approach towards white men), the types of diversity covered (i.e. move beyond race and gender), and the demographic makeup of trainers (i.e. include more than just women and PoC). This article may be more useful as a case study for critique than as a paradigmatic model of diversity training techniques. Published in the early 90s, it is slightly outdated and takes more of a practical, business-oriented approach than a political one.

61. Mojab, Shahrzad. 2001. “Theorizing the Politics of ‘Islamic Feminism.’” *Feminist Review* 69 (1): 124–46.

Mojab’s article examines the development and theorization of what is deemed “Islamic feminism.” Mojab begins with a historical account of gender relations in “Islamic societies,” beginning with pre-modern efforts for fair treatment from husbands and ending with feminist struggles under the formation of theocratic Islamic states. She then analyzes two contemporary cases of misogynistic legislation and their revisions following political pressure from women activists. Mojab offers both an Islamic feminist and a critical feminist perspective on the cases. She concludes that the Islamization of gender relations has generated an oppressive patriarchy that cannot be remedied by legal reforms, and that attempts to consolidate Islam and women’s liberation have inevitably reached a “dead end.” In addition, she argues that academic feminists have constructed Muslim women identities that lag behind current gender conflicts and essentialize these women as religious beings; the concept of “Islamic feminism,” thus, operates under an orientalist worldview that treats Islam as the engine of history. This article is useful for understanding potential barriers to a transnational feminist project. Mojab contends that western feminist theory faces a state of crisis because it overlooks oppressive gender relations in non-western countries and fragments women into religious, cultural, ethnic, etc. groups with particularist agendas.

62. Naved, Ruchira T., Lauren S. Blum, Sadia Chowdhury, Rasheda Khan, Sayeda Bilkis, and Marge Koblinsky. 2012. "Violence against Women with Chronic Maternal Disabilities in Rural Bangladesh." *Journal of Health, Population and Nutrition* 30 (2): 181–92.

Some women in Bangladesh suffer from maternal disabilities which has social, religious, marital, and emotional consequences. This paper examines these consequences and explains why they take place in the patriarchal society of Bangladesh. These women were subjected to emotional and sexual abuse. This paper examines what triggers a man to act out in violence against his wife and has concluded that it is because they are unable to carry out their household duties. Maternal disabilities also alters a woman's social status in Bangladeshi society. The authors conclude that Bangladesh need to create efforts to educate their citizens on the nature of these disabilities such as causes and symptoms and treatment. Women face many obstacles in bangladesh, and these intervention efforts may help criminalize sexual violence in marriage. To overcome the stigma of having a maternal disability, women need their opportunities outside of marriage to broaden.

63. (Q) Okimoto, Tyler G., and Victoria L. Brescoll. 2010. "The Price of Power: Power Seeking and Backlash against Female Politicians." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 36 (7): 923–36. doi:10.1177/0146167210371949.

In this article, Okimoto and Brescoll analyze the effect of power-seeking intentions on backlash against women in political office. In doing so, they aim to model the social penalties women may shoulder in the process of running for office. The researchers conduct two studies: the first asks respondents to choose between a male and a female candidate with equal credentials, while the second manipulates one single candidate profile and presents respondents with a series of questions that gauge reactions towards the candidate. They find from the first study that *perceived* power-seeking intentions have biasing effects against female but not male candidates, and from the second that the same is true with *expressed* power-seeking intentions. These studies are useful for their isolation of one possible cause for backlash: women who are seen as power-seeking violate the "communal expectations" for women, and are thus met with moral outrage. Another important insight that Okimoto and Brescoll offer is that women face backlash for merely aspiring to power, not to mention actually acquiring and wielding power.

64. (S/T) Piscopo, Jennifer M. 2016. "State Capacity, Criminal Justice, and Political Rights: Rethinking Violence against Women in Politics." *Política Y Gobierno* 23 (2): 437–58.

Piscopo's article calls for a reframing of violence against women in politics (VAWIP) in Latin America to consider criminal justice and state capacity in addition to institutionalized sexism. The author criticizes previous scholarly approaches to VAWIP, which largely define it as an isolated, purely electoral crime. She argues that this framework evades overarching issues of impunity and gender inequality, blurs the lines between criminal and electoral regulation, and invites narrow solutions rather than deeper structural reforms. Piscopo's article is useful for its attention to the

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broader sociopolitical context in which VAWIP operates. Piscopo draws crucial connections between physical and psychological VAWIP and criminal violence, as well as economic and symbolic VAWIP and women's victimization in the workplace more generally. She offers as potential solutions 1) tightening the reins on crime regulations and 2) strengthening workplace protections. The article is also valuable for its critique of the activist stance on VAWIP: scholars, she posits, should recognize activists' claims as the result of an advantageous political opportunity structure and remain duly critical.

65. (Q) Presidential Gender Watch. 2017. "Finding Gender in 2016: Lessons from Presidential Gender Watch." New Brunswick: Barbara Lee Family Foundation and Center for American Women and Politics.

https://issuu.com/presidentialgenderwatch/docs/pgw_finding_gender_report_may2017.

This report, compiled by the Presidential Gender Watch, analyzes the ways in which gender influenced candidate strategy, voter engagement and expectations, media coverage, and electoral outcomes in the 2016 United States presidential race. The report begins by briefly outlining the historical context necessary for understanding the gender dynamics of 2016, then transitions into a more in-depth review of voter perceptions during the election season. It is important to note that this particular report offers only analysis; it does not propose recommendations or best-practices for the future. Nonetheless, the report is useful for its specific coverage of a unique and likely academically valuable case in American politics. The Presidential Gender Watch is extremely effective at incorporating components pivotal to contemporary politics: social media, online journalism, and digital advertising campaigns. It addresses both how women candidates were harmed by their gender and how they capitalized upon their gender. Furthermore, the report spends pages 23 to 28 problematizing the idea of the monolithic "women's vote" in order to cultivate a more nuanced way of analyzing voter perceptions.

66. (C)South Asia Partnership International. 2008. "Combating Violence Against Women In Politics: Revisiting Policies, Politics and Participation." Kathmandu: South Asia Partnership International.

<http://www.sapi.org.np/fileDownload.php?file=200905290312571.pdf&filepath=http://www.sapi.org.np:80/uploads/publications/200905290312571.pdf>

This report, published by the South Asia Partnership International (SAP-International), details the conference proceedings of the 2nd South Asian Regional Conference on Violence Against Women in Politics (VAWIP). The objectives of this particular conference were to 1) examine policy environments for women in politics in various South Asian countries, 2) consolidate strategies for combatting VAWIP, and 3) synergize policy-influencing actions to generate international change. This report is useful for its comparative analysis of VAWIP; the proceedings feature robust accounts of political violence against women and other barriers to entry from several South Asian countries. SAP-International frames gender justice advocacy as an international rather than intranational pursuit. In addition, on pages 166 to 167, there is a list of suggestions and recommendations drawn from observations of VAWIP in South Asia.

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67. Rayner, Moira. 2003. "Clare Burton Memorial Lecture. A Pound of Flesh: Women, Politics and Power in the New Millennium." *Australian Feminist Studies* 18 (14): 127–40.

Moira Rayner's article contains the transcript of her lecture on the ways in which women contribute the political process and the obstacles they face in pursuit of political power. Rayner delves into a few animating questions: "are there women with political power who use it in 'womanly' ways—and what are they?—and if there are, does this make a positive difference to women's lives?" She bookends discussion of this topic with two related themes: critical mass and the "price" women pay for participating in politics. It is chiefly in this latter theme that the article provides information useful for a study of opposition to women politicians. On page 137, Rayner explores collateral consequences women face when they choose to engage in electoral politics. She finds that they typically encounter rebuke from the media; scrutiny of appearance, relationships, and feelings; damage to their personal and familial lives; and political violence.

68. (BP) Sanbonmatsu, Kira. 2008. "Gender Backlash in American Politics?" *Politics & Gender* 4 (4): 634–42.

In this article, Sanbonmatsu begins to lay out a research agenda for what she deems "electoral backlash against women's descriptive representation." She challenges the popular idea of critical mass, contending that increasing the number of women in political office may, by instigating backlash, potentially decrease rather than increase women's political agency. Sanbonmatsu mentions three likely reasons for this backlash: 1) certain groups' loss of power, 2) threats to personal identity (as women in politics tend to occupy non-traditional gender roles), and 3) policy opposition to what are thought of as "women's issues." This article, however, is most useful for its consideration of possible research strategies moving forward. Sanbonmatsu does not broach this topic with any certainty or clear direction, but does suggest on pages 639 and 640 a medley of subject matters for further study.

69. (S/T) Sanín, Juliana Restrepo. 2016. "Violence against Women in Politics and the Law: Arguments for an Expanded Definition." Poznan, Poland: 24th International Political Science Association World Congress.

In this paper, Sanín assesses Bolivia's Law 243, one of the world's first laws intended to counter violence against women in politics (VAWIP). She applies a feminist framework to the topic, analyzing how Law 243 conceptualizes VAWIP and evaluating its practical effects on women politicians in the country. This article is useful for its recognition of (and elaboration on) both the shortcomings and the advantages of legal sanctions as responses to gendered political violence. Sanín finds that Law 243 is extremely valuable insofar as it provides women the legal tools with which to protect their political rights and bestows the greater population with a regulatory social framework (i.e. it signals that VAWIP is socially unacceptable). However, she also indicates that the law's lack of adequate criminal enforcement, its inherently limited scope, and its hefty demands on victims to supply evidence render it an insufficient solution. Sanín concludes by suggesting that scholars and policymakers expand their definitions of VAWIP in order to facilitate a wider and more vigorous set of preventative and punitive measures.

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70. Schuler, Sidney Ruth, Syed M. Hashemi, and Shamsul Huda Badal. 1998. "Men's Violence against Women in Rural Bangladesh: Undermined or Exacerbated by Microcredit Programmes?" *Development in Practice* 8 (2): 148–57.

This paper explores domestic violence in Bangladesh, dependence that women have on men, and the effects of microcredit programs. The two programs were run by the Grameen bank and BRAC rural development programme. The section of this paper named "Situations Where Men Beat their wives" expresses how women are seen as an economic burden. Being seen as a burden is detrimental to the mindset of many girls who grew up to be dependent on men. Many female interviewees admitted to accepting their husbands' violent behavior against them because of their mindset of being useless.

Women who participated in the two credit programmes were significantly more empowered than women in communities without it. However, the authors claim that the microcredit programmes have a varied result on men's violence against women. Women who try to act outside of the patriarchal social system are beaten. The study included loaning village women money on behalf of the Grameen Bank Center. Researchers tested to see how their husbands reacted and the results were varied. Some were beaten until they gave the money to their husbands while women whose incomes provided most of the family's support were not beaten. But this relation is only when the contributions are very high. The conclusion includes suggestions on what both programs can do to prevent domestic violence including holding open discussion. This is important because it describes why women are oppressed in Bangladesh but also what obstacles they face and the consequences of being empowered in a highly patriarchal society.

71. (Q) Shaw, Sylvia. 2000. "Language, Gender, and Floor Apportionment in Political Debates." *Discourse & Society* 11 (3): 401–18.

Sylvia Shaw's article examines gendered interactions and "floor" apportionments in the British House of Commons debates. Shaw draws her analysis from 5 political debate videotapes, each of which took place between July of 1998 and March of 1999. She focuses on interventions and interruptions, both legal and illegal, which serve to disrupt the normal turn-taking mechanisms of the debate floor and thus play an instrumental part in the allocation of voice and power among the MPs. Shaw finds that, although there is no significant difference in the proportion of men and women who partake in the legal "give way intervention," 90% of illegal interventions are carried out by men. She adds that these illegal interventions have become the norm, in part due to Speakers' failure to regulate them. This article is useful for its attention to how practices and procedures ingrained (informally) in an institution can create severe, gendered power imbalances independent of women's descriptive representation. Shaw observes that although women in the House of Commons belong to the same "community of practice" as men, their participation is on different terms.

72. (BP) Shefer, Tamara, Mary Crawford, Anna Strebel, Leickness Simbayi, Nomvo Dwadwa, Allanise Cloete, Michelle Kaufman, and Seth Kalichman. 2008. "Gender, Power

and Resistance to Change among Two Communities in the Western Cape, South Africa.”
***Feminism and Psychology* 18 (2): 157–82.**

This paper studies how South African men and women form their gender roles and identities. Discussions were conducted as part of an HIV prevention support for men. This article differentiates between benevolent sexism and hostile sexism and how an individual can have both. Patterns showed that the more sexist a nation's men were, the more women permitted benevolent sexism. During the interviews, researchers focused on gender roles and relations and gender based violence. Results show that participants feel that male dominance is still widespread. The section called, “Implications for Feminist Theory and Practice in Health Interventions” discusses that in order to old interventions into sexual practices, gender relations, and violence it is imperative to understand the gender system from both female and male perspectives. This research encourages researchers in the medical field to include both genders when having interventions. In south Africa, women were usually put at fault for having HIV. Another implication is that backlash is expected when intervention efforts empower women. This is important because this backlash is a pattern found in many countries. The researcher encourages researchers to be prepared for backlash.

73. Resistance to Change among Two Communities in the Western Cape, South Africa.”
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74. (S/T) (Q)Schuler, Sidney Ruth, Syed M. Hashemi, and Shamsul Huda Badal. 1998.
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75. Sperandio, Jill, and Alice Kagoda. 2011. "Balance, Persistence and a Thick Skin: Challenges to Community Building for Female School Leaders in Uganda." *International Studies in Educational Administration (Commonwealth Council for Educational Administration & Management (CCEAM))* 39 (3): 21–36.

Sperandio and Kagoda aim to show the obstacles faced by 12 female school administrators in Uganda when building the community. In order to meet these challenges, the authors recommend a gender-specific and locally grounded case study into educational leadership training so that women leaders are better prepared for the challenges they will meet. These women aim to build communities in school and with local and national communities. This is an important text because it describes the obstacles women administrators go through. Factors such as understanding the importance of teamwork, of holding fast to beliefs, their willingness to be apart of the local community even if they are treated as an outsider, and their acceptance of the toll this takes on their personal lives are only some of the many obstacles these women leaders face. Gender bias plays a role in both the schools they are offered and in the responses the community gives to their initiatives. This study advises leadership preparation courses to add real-life specific examples of successful community building into their learning program. Women and men should be able to discuss how gender may interact with political, socioeconomic, and cultural factors to create obstacles to community building.

76. Snyderhall, R. Claire. 2008. "The Ideology of Wifely Submission: A Challenge for Feminism?" *Politics and Gender* 4(4): 563- 586.

In this article, Snyderhall examines why biblical theology about "wifely submission" appeals to women. The author adopts a close reading of primary sources on this topic, and in doing so, hopes to understand the desire of these women. Rather than simply dismiss them as "anti-feminist," Snyderhall argues that feminists should re-consider feminist definitions "choice" and "consent." She concludes that a middle-ground should be found, wherein feminists respect the choices made by these women, but also continuing to engage in a dialogue about choice and consent.

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77. Tinkler, Justine E. 2012. "Resisting the Enforcement of Sexual Harassment Law." *Law & Social Inquiry* 37 (1): 1–24. doi:10.1111/j.1747-4469.2011.01279.x.

Sexual harassment policy training produces backlash and activates gender stereotypes. This article aims to understand resistance to the enforcement of sexual harassment rules on an individual-level and what that means for feminist and civil rights agendas. This study looks at how people perceive the law's effects on social relations. This paper is important because it has policy implications. It shows that the training sessions may have effect that actually increase gender inequality instead of achieving the goal of reducing it.

78. Tønnessen, Liv. 2017. "Enemies of the State: Curbing Women Activists Advocating Rape Reform in Sudan." *Journal of International Women's Studies* 18 (2): 143–55.

Sudan passed rape reform which is actually an attempt to keep the emerging independent women's movement under control instead of protecting rape victims. The women's groups mobilization put extra pressure on the head of state causing the women's groups to become an enemy of the Sudanese state. This is important because this silences voices that are critical to reforming rape and protecting those who were raped and ensuring that there are groups acting as watchdogs for implementing the reform. This shows that politicians care more about saving themselves than minority groups such as women. This paper details the journey of the women's organization from fighting for rape reform to being labeled enemies of the state. This paper shows the reaction many post-conflict countries have had when dealing with new legislative and constitutional changes regarding women's rights.

**79. (Q) UN Women. n.d. "Bolivia: Gender-Based Political Violence." *Advancing Gender Equality: Promising Practices*. United Nations.
http://www.unwomen.org/mdgf/downloads/MDG-F_Bolivia_C.pdf.**

This report, released by UN Women, details the progress Bolivia has made in countering gender-based political violence between the years of 2000 and 2012. It pivots particularly around the actions of the Bolivian Association of Councilwomen (ACOBOL), a gender justice organization that has been one of the fundamental agents of change in the country. The report speaks to moving beyond merely instituting unenforced quotas and towards "creating the spaces and mechanisms to challenge harassment and political violence against women." ACOBOL lists the four lines of action that they followed: constructing a support system for victims of political violence, drafting and revising a bill to combat gender-based political violence, designing the Protocol for dealing with cases of this nature, and devising strategies to empower councilwomen. This report is useful because it provides a longitudinal overview of a specific effort addressing political violence against women. It offers insight into the formation of a Political Rights for Women Action Committee, the passage of Law 243, attempts at awareness-raising, and methods for data collection and case monitoring.

80. (S/T) Vera-Gray, F. 2017. "'Talk About a Cunt with Too Much Idle Time': Trolling Feminist Research." *Feminist Review* 115 (1): 61–78.

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This article looks at online abuse towards feminist researchers and the implications this holds. This paper details the experience of the researcher who found her ad for women who had experiences with street harassment posted on a men's rights Facebook group. The result was 88 abusive comments about the researcher, her research, and her participants. After analyzing the comments, she saw that there was a similar response against females who criticized street harassment in that the response was always trivializing the problem. This article also examines how men who are intrusive towards women conceptualize women who resist intrusion. The author focuses on safety work and overlaps between women's experiences of street harassment and intrusion online. The second section looks at online abuse women experience and how this relates to feminist researchers. The author also discusses the need for discussion on the pros and cons of categorizing research as feminist during the recruitment process. This is an important article because not only does it express how women may be treated on the streets and how they are treated online but it also analyses online abuse against feminist researchers.

81. Wayne, Martino, and Michael Kehler. 2006. "Male Teachers and the 'Boy Problem': An Issue of Recuperative Masculinity Politics." *McGill Journal of Education* 41 (2): 113–31.

This paper examines the debates that schools are becoming more feminine environments by having a disproportionate amount of female teachers compared to male teachers. This affects boys by preventing them from having a proper role model and by exposing them to emasculating influences from female teachers. This paper argues that these calls for more male teachers and male role models in boys' education environment are strategies to reassert hegemonic masculinities. The media plays an important role as it promotes the idea that there is a "masculinity crisis". This "masculinity crisis" is then put in the New Rights agenda. By looking at Australian and North American media sources, the authors have come to the conclusion that schools need to focus on the different kinds of masculinity. This article is important because it provides a different way to argue against women's increased empowerment. The authors, instead, list questions that schools can focus on in order to make the learning environment better for both girls and boys.

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82. Yamaguchi, Tomomi. 2014. “‘Gender Free’ Feminism in Japan: A Story of Mainstreaming and Backlash.” *Feminist Studies* 40 (3): 541–72.

In this paper, Yamaguchi provides the political history of the term “gender free” and feminism in Japan during the post-1990s. She also studies the critique against making feminism more mainstream in Japan through the Gender Equal Society Law. Gender free means that there are no gender roles, however the fact that the term is being used to criticize feminism shows how quickly a political argument can be manipulated. “Gender Free: has managed to downplay the variety of opinions about where feminism was headed and even presented a united feminist front. This paper looks at the resistance and fear mainstream gender free terms receive in conservative circles. The first section gives a layout of the post-1990s feminism in Japan, beginning with its start in the mainstream and ending with a hostile response. The term gender free was attacked so much that the very government that created it, later rejected it. This paper is important because it shows how feminist strategies can affect politics and the importance of analyzing the responses.

83. Zheng, Wang. 2015. “Detention of the Feminist Five in China.” *Feminist Studies* 41 (2): 476–82.

This paper discusses the 5 feminist protestors who were arrested for protesting against sexual assault on public transportation. After help from petitions signed by the global community, the feminist five were finally released. This shows that the efforts of the global feminist NGOs and their allies’ were not in vain. The author also questions the UN’s silence in the imprisoning of the feminist five and argues that the arrest of these women shows that the Chinese state is threatened by its young women who reject sexual harassment. This article is important because it discusses the opposition women face when fighting for their rights on a global and national level.