The Department of Gender Studies in cooperation with Centre for the Baltic and East European Studies and Graduate School (CBEES/BEEGS) at Södertörn University, Stockholm announces the following PhD course to be taught autumn 2023.

**Transnational Feminism**7,5 HP / ECTS

The aim of the course is to give an advanced introduction to transnational feminism. The course deploys a Post-Three-World cartography and problematizes the hegemonic narrative that posits the transnational paradigm along the binary axis of “Western” and “Third World” feminism. It explores how transnational perspectives encompass concepts and debates in feminist theorizing and activism, in a wide range of historical, cultural, social and geopolitical contexts. The course focuses on local, national and global movements, as well as national and international governmental institutions and organisations. Specific topics include: feminist theories of globalization and transnationalism; postcolonial/ decolonial critique and postsocialism; theorizing from feminist borderlands; geopolitics, gender and sexuality; neoliberalism, global governance and NGOization.

**Course coordinator**: Teresa Kulawik, Professor in Gender Studies at Södertörn University

**Teachers**:

Teresa Kulawik, PhD from the Free University in Berlin. Specialist in Comparative gender studies; in current research she explores intersections of body/bio-politics, citizenship, knowledge regimes; borderlands of post/decolonial and postsocialist scholarship.

**Yulia Gradskova**, Associate Professor in history working at CBEES and Gender Studies at Södertörn University. Her research includes Soviet and post-Soviet gender history, global women's rights movement during the Cold War and decolonial perspective on Soviet emancipation of ethnic minority women.

**Soheyla Yazdanpanah** has a PhD in Economic history and is senior lecturer in Gender Studies at Södertörn University. She has taught in Gender and International Relations in several years at Stockholm University. Her research interests include Inequality in working life, globalization, migration and division of labor, with focus on women’s experiences.

**Course assessment**: The course requires active participation and oral presentations in seminars, a short written assignment after each seminar and a written essay which is presented at a Mini conference at the end of the course.

**Teaching format**: The course will be taught online including 7 sessions from 3rd of October.

**Language**: The course will be taught in English, papers can be submitted in Swedish or English.

**Entry requirements**: The course is for Ph.D. students. Priority is given to Ph.D. students in gender studies. Basic familiarity with feminist theory is expected.

**Registration**: by 15th September, at the latest  kktadmin@sh.se. For further information please contact Teresa Kulawik at teresa.kulawik@sh.se. A syllabus will be available in early May.

<https://www.sh.se/english/sodertorn-university/research/doctoral-level-education/critical-and-cultural-theory/doctoral-studies>

The course will be taught at a half-time pace.

03/10, 13:00 – 16:00 TK

10/10, 13:00 – 16:00 TK

17/10, 13:00 – 16:00 YG

24/10, 13:00 - 16:00 SY

31/10, 13:00 – 16:00 YG

07/11, 13:00 – 16:00 TK

14/11, 13:00 – 16:00, mini conference TK

The final paper is to be submitted on Monday, 27 nov 2023

**TERESA KULAWIK**PROFESSOR, GENDER STUDIES

The reading list is preliminary. The final list will be available at the end of august.

**03/10**, **Global to Transnational? Thinking the Post-Three-Worlds Cartography**

Teacher: Teresa Kulawik

Required readings

Audre Lorde, 1984, Sister Outsider, 13-35 (Notes from a trip to Russia)

<http://www.feministes-radicales.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/11/Audre-LORDE-Zami-A-New-Spelling-of-My-Name...-Sister-Outsider...-Undersong-Chosen-Poems-Old-and-New.pdf> (22)

Mohanty, Under Western Eyes (1986, 27 s, online) and Transnational Feminist Crossings, Signs 2013, 967-991 (24s)

Bonfiglioli, C. (2016) “The First UN World Conference on Women (1975) as a Cold War encounter: Recovering anti-imperialist, Non-Aligned and socialist genealogies”, *Filozofija i Društvo* XXVII(3): 521–541 20

Maria Mies, Colonization and housewifization, ch. 3 in Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale, (1982/2014), 19 s

<https://libcom.org/library/colonization-housewifization-maria-mies>

Antrobus, P. (2015) “*DAWN, the Third World* Feminist Network: Upturning Hierarchies”, in Baksh, R. and Harcourt, W. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Transnational Feminist Movements*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 159-187. 28

Desai, M. (2015) “Critical Cartography, Theories, and Praxis of Transnational Feminisms”, in Baksh, R. and Harcourt, W. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Transnational Feminist Movements*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. 116-131. 15

Teresa Kulawik 2019, Introduction: European Borderlands and topographies of transnational feminism. In: *Borderlands in European Gender Studies: Beyond the East–West Frontier* / [eds.] Teresa Kulawik, Zhanna Kravchenko, London: Routledge, 2019, s. 1-39. 38

Mendoza, Transnational Feminism in Question, Feminist Theory, 2002, (3)3. 19 s

Clare Hemmings, 2005, Telling feminist stories, Feminist Theory, 115-39, 24s

**243 pp.**

Recommended readings:

Robin Morgan, 1984, Sisterhood is global *The International Women’s Movement Anthology*, Middlesex, UK: Penguin.

Maria Mies, Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale, Zed Books,(1986), new ed. 2014, Forward by S. Federici, Preface, Ch. 1, 6

Bracke, M. A. and Mark, J. (2015) “Between decolonization and the Cold War: transnational activism and its limits in Europe, 1950s–1990s”, *Journal of Contemporary History* 50(3): 403–417.

Donert, C. (2013) “Women’s rights in Cold War Europe: Disentangling feminist histories”, *Past and Present*,Supplement 8: 178–202. 24

Clare Hemmings, 2011, Why stories matter. The Political Grammar of Feminist Theory, Duke University Press.

Chiara Bonfiglioli, ' “Social Equality Is Not Enough, We Want Plea- sure! Italien Feminis in Belgrade for the 1978 “Comrade Woman” Conference,' Profemina (2011): 115–124.

<https://www.google.de/search?q=chiara+bonfigioli&ie=utf-8&oe=utf-8&gws_rd=cr&ei=Sbj-VeDHAqrgywPdnrDYCQ#q=chiara+bonfiglioli%2C+Social+equality+is+not+enough%2C+in+Profemina+2011>

Kristen Ghodsee, "Research Note: The historiographical challenges of exploring Second World-Third World alliances in the international women's movement," Global Social Policy, 14(2), 2014: 244-264

Dahl, U., Liljeström, M., and Manns, U. (eds.), *The Geopolitics of Nordic and Russian Gender Research 1975-2005*, Huddinge: Södertörn University.

Rupp, Leila, Transnational Women`s Movements, 2011, <http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/transnational-movements-and-organisations/international-social-movements/leila-j-rupp-transnational-womens-movements> 10s

The Oxford Handbook of Transnational Feminist Movements  Edited by Rawwida Baksh and Wendy Harcourt, Oxford University Press, 2015

**10/10** , **Thinking at the Limit: Borderlands and Translations**

Teacher: Teresa Kulawik

Required readings

Gloria Anzaldúa, [Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Borderlands/La_Frontera%3A_The_New_Mestiza) (1987), [Aunt Lute Books](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aunt_Lute_Books%22%20%5Co%20%22Aunt%20Lute%20Books). [ISBN 1-879960-12-5](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Special%3ABookSources/1879960125), s1-101

Grazyna Zygadło “Where the Third World Grates against the First”: Teaching Gloria Anzaldúa from a Polish, Perspective Signs, Vol. 37, No. 1 (Autumn 2011), pp. 29-34, 5p (whole issue on Anzaldua from an international Perspective)

Audre Lorde, 1984, Sister Outsider, (The masters tool will never dismantle the masters house and Women redefining difference) 111-123. 12p

http://www.feministes-radicales.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/11/Audre-LORDE-Zami-A-New-Spelling-of-My-Name...-Sister-Outsider...-Undersong-Chosen-Poems-Old-and-New.pdf

Alvarez, Sonya. [Translocalities/Translocalidades: Feminist Politics of Translation in the Latin/a Américas](https://www.dukeupress.edu/Translocalities-and-frasl-Translocalidades/%22%20%5Ct%20%22_blank), co-edited with Claudia de Lima Costa, Verónica Feliu, Rebecca Hester, Norma Klahn, and Millie Thayer, with the assistance of Cruz C. Bueno.   Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014.  P 1-78/340-361.

Agnieszka Graff, Necessary and impossible. How Western Academic Feminism has travelled east. In *Borderlands in European Gender Studies: Beyond the East–West Frontier* / [eds.] Teresa Kulawik, Zhanna Kravchenko, London: Routledge, 2019, 41-62. 21

Redi Koobak, Determined disidentifications: reframing the limits of the field imaginary of feminist studies, In *Borderlands in European Gender Studies: Beyond the East–West Frontier* / [eds.] Teresa Kulawik, Zhanna Kravchenko, London: Routledge, 2019, 170-188. 18

Mitrović, M. (2014) “Nostalgia and Utopia in Post-Yugoslav Feminist Genealogies in the Light of Europeanization”, in Petrović, T. (ed.) *Mirroring Europe: Ideas of Europe and Europeanization in Balkan Societies*, Leiden: Brill. 135-160. 25

**278 pp.**

Recommended

Film: *Audre Lorde - The Berlin Years 1984 to 1992* (2012). Documentary by Dagmar Schultz. Audre Lorde – The Berlin Years 1984 to 1992 focuses on Audre Lorde’s relation to the German Black Diaspora, her literary as well as political influence, and is a unique visual document about the times the author spent in Germany. The film is a valuable historical document, which tells about the development of an Afro-German movement and the origins of the anti-racist movement before and after the German reunification.

Stella Bolaki/, Sabine Broeck (ed) Audre Lorde's Transnational Legacies, Univ of Massachusetts Pr, ISBN-10: 1625341385, 2015

*Kathy Davis, The Making of Our Bodies, Ourselves: How feminism travels across borders.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007

Grewal, Inderpal/ Kaplan, Caren (1994) Scattered hegemonies, Univ of Minnesota

Boatcă, M. (2014) “Inequalities unbound: Transnational Entanglements and the Creolization of Europe”, in Broeck, S. andJunker, C. (eds.), *Postcoloniality—Decoloniality—Black Critique: Joints and Fissures*, Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 211-231

Background texts from historic borderlands thinkers

Rosa, Luxemburg/ Róża Luksemburg, 2013/1912, The Complete Works, Vol 1, ca 50 pages on colonialism

Hanna Arendt, 1951, The Origins of Totalitarianism, ch, 7+ 9 (on Race, Statelessness and Rights of Man) ca 120 p

**17/10**, **Lost in Translation? Postcolonial, Decolonial and Postsocialist Crossings**

Teacher: Yulia Gradskova

Tlostanova, M. The postcolonial condition, the decolonial option and the post-socialist intervention, In Albrecht, M. (ed.), Postcolonialism Cross-Examined: Multidirectional Perspectives on Imperial and Colonial Pasts and the Newcolonial Present, Routledge; 2019, pp. 165-178. [https://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1335477/FULLTEXT01.pdf](https://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2%3A1335477/FULLTEXT01.pdf)

Mignolo, W. and Tlostanova, M. (2006) “Theorizing from the borders: Shifting to geo- and body-politics of knowledge”, *European Journal of Social Theory* 9(2): 205–221. (16p)

Stoler, A., C. McGranahan & P.Perdue. Refiguring Imperial Terrains. (Introduction). In Stoler, A., C. McGranahan & P.Perdue *Imperial Formations,* SAR Press, 3-44, 39

Lugones, Maria 2010, Towards a Decolonial Feminism, *Hypatia*, 742-760, 18

Mendoza, B. (2016) “Coloniality of Gender and Power. From Postcoloniality to Decoloniality”, in Disch, L. and Hawkesworth, M. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory*, 100-121.

Ashwini, Tambe & Millie Thayer *Transnational feminist itineraries: situating theory and activist practice* Durham: Duke University Press, 2021. Chapter 1, 13- 36, 23

Teresa Kulawik 2019, Theorizing Frontiers: Postcolonial # European Borderlands.In: *Borderlands in European Gender Studies: Beyond the East–West Frontier* / [eds.] Teresa Kulawik, Zhanna Kravchenko, London: Routledge, 2019, s. 79-109 30

Pagulich, Lesia and Tatsiana Shchurko 2021. Postsocialist politics. Interview with Krёlex zentr,. 138-154 (chapter 10) In Koobak R., Tlostanova, M & Thapar-Björkert *Postsocialist and Postcolonial Dialogues*, 16

Boatcă, Manuela and Madina Tlostanova. 2021 Uneasy “posts” and unmarked categories. Politics of positionality between and beyond the Global South and the European East. An interview with Manuela Boatcă, In Koobak R., Tlostanova, M & Thapar-Björkert *Postsocialist and Postcolonial Dialogues*. ch.13 , 185-192, 11

**197 pp.**

Recommended

Tlostanova, Gender Epistemologies and Eurasian Borderlands, 2010 ch 2,3,5,6 (96p)

Parvulescu, A. (2016) “European Racial Triangulation”, in Ponzanesi, S. and Colpani, G., *Postcolonial Transitions in Europe: Contexts, Practices and Politics*, Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 25-46. (21)

Boatca, Manuela, 2015, Global Inequalites - beyond Occidentalism. ISBN-10: 1409442799, Ashgate Publ, ch 2, 7 (60).

Tlostanova, M. (2014) “Why the Post-socialist Cannot Speak: On Caucasian Blacks, Imperial Difference, and Decolonial Horizons”, in Broeck, S. andJunker, C. (eds.), *Postcoloniality—Decoloniality—Black Critique: Joints and Fissures*, Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 159-174.

Jennifer, Suchland, Is Postsocialism Transnational? Signs, 2012, 37, 837-862, 25

Grabowska, Magdalena, Bringing the Second World in…. *Signs*, 2012, 37, 2, 385-402, 17

Blogajevic, Marina, Non-white Whiteness, Non-European Europeans and Gendered Non-Citizens On A Possible Epistemic Strategy from the Semiperiphery of Europe 183-197, (14 s.)

Chari/ Verdery, Thinking between the posts, Comparative Studies in Society and History, 2009, 6-34

Hall, S. (1996) “When was ‘the Post-Colonial’? Thinking at the Limit”, in Chambers, I. and Curti, L. (eds.), *The Post-Colonial Question: Common Skies, Divided Horizons*, London: Routledge

Stam, R. and Shohat, E. (2012) *Race in Translation: Culture Wars Around the Postcolonial Atlantic*, New York: NYU Press.

Zarycki, T. (2014) *Ideologies of Eastness in Central and Eastern Europe*, London: Routledge

Background texts

Spivak, G. (1988)“Can the subaltern speak?”, in Nelson, C. and Grossberg, L. (eds.), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, Basingstoke: Macmillan Education

David Chioni Moore, 2001, Is the Post- in Postcolonial the Post in Post-sovjet? PLM, 111-128

[Walter D. Mignolo](https://www.routledge.com/products/search?author=Walter%20D.%20Mignolo), [Arturo Escobar](https://www.routledge.com/products/search?author=Arturo%20Escobar" \o "search for all books by Arturo Escobar) (ed.) Globalization and the Decolonial Option. Routledge 2010

Sandru, Christine, 2012, Worlds Apart. A Post-Colonial Reading of post-1945 Central Eastern Europe,

Wolff, Larry 1994, Inventing Eastern Europe

Mignolo, Walter, 2005, The Idea of Latin America, Blackwell

**24/10** , **The geopolitics of gender: Femonationalism and anti-genderism**

Teacher:Soheyla Yazdanpanah

Abu-Lughod, Lila (2002). Do Muslim women really need saving?: anthropological reflections on cultural relativism and its others. *American anthropologist*. 104(2002):3, s. 783-790 (7 s. )

Al-Ali, N. (2019) ‘Feminist Dilemmas: How to Talk About Gender-Based Violence in Relation to the Middle East?’, Feminist Review, 122(1), pp. 16–31. doi: 10.1177/0141778919849525. (15 s).

Farris, S.R., 2017. In the name of women's rights: the rise of femonationalism, Durham: Duke University Press.272pp (I urval)

Jungar, K. and Peltonen, S. (2017) ‘Acts of homonationalism: Mapping Africa in the Swedish media’, Sexualities, 20(5–6), pp. 715–737. doi: 10.1177/1363460716645806. 22 s.

Korolczuk, E., Graff, A. (2018) Gender as ‘Ebola from Brussels’: The Anti-colonial Frame and the Rise of Illiberal Populism Signs (Chicago, Ill.), 43(3): 797-821 –https://doi.org/10.1086/696691. (25 s)

Graff, A., & Korolczuk, E. (2022). Anti-gender campaigns as a reactionary response to neoliberalism. The European Journal of Women’s Studies, 29(1\_suppl), 150S–157S. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13505068211065138c> (7s)

Kuhar, R., & Paternotte, D. (2017). The anti-gender movement in comparative perspective. In R. Kuhar & D. Paternotte (Eds.), Anti-gender campaigns in Europe mobilizing against equality. London and New York, NY: Rowman & Littlefield. Pp.245-267 (22. s)

Nygren, K. G., Martinsson, L., & Mulinari, D. (2018). Gender equality and beyond: At the crossroads of neoliberalism, anti-gender movements,“European” values, and normative reiterations in the Nordic model. *Social Inclusion*, *6*(4), 1-7.

**Recommended**

Farris, S. (2012). Femonationalism and the "Regular" Army of Labor Called Migrant Women. *History of the Present,* *2*(2), 184-199. doi:10.5406/historypresent.2.2.0184

Ferree, M. M. (2020, February 26). The Crisis of Masculinity for Gendered Democracies: Before, During and After Trump. <https://doi.org/10.1111/socf.12599>. (39 s)

Nicholas L., Agius C. (2018) Muscular Humanitarian Intervention. In: The Persistence of Global Masculinism. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham **DOI**https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-68360-7\_4 pp.89-114 (25 s)

Puar, J. (2013). Rethinking Homonationalism. *International Journal of Middle East Studies,* *45*(2), 336-339. doi:10.1017/S002074381300007X

Tripp, Aili Marie “Challenges in Transnational Feminist Mobilization,” In Global Feminism: Transnational Women's Activism, Organizing, and Human Rights. Eds. Myra Marx Ferree and Aili Mari Tripp. New York: New York University Press, 2006, 296-312. (26.s)

Anti-gender blog in LSE (London School of Economy)

<https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/gender/category/anti-gender/>

**Required**

Abu-Lughod, Lila (2002). Do Muslim women really need saving?: anthropological reflections on cultural relativism and its others. *American anthropologist*. 104(2002):3, s. 783-790 (7 s. )

Gökarıksel, B., Neubert, C., & Smith, S. (2019). Demographic fever dreams: Fragile masculinity and population politics in the rise of the global right. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, *44*(3), 561-587 <https://doi-org.till.biblextern.sh.se/10.1086/701154> (16 s.)

Graff, A., Kapur, R. and Walter, S. W. Introduction: Gender and the Rise of the Global Right. Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society 44, no. 3 (Spring 2019): 541-560. (<https://doi-org.till.biblextern.sh.se/10.1086/701152> (19 s.)

Farris, S.R., 2017. In the name of women's rights: the rise of femonationalism, Durham: Duke University Press.272pp (selection)

Ferree, M. M. (2020, February 26). The Crisis of Masculinity for Gendered Democracies: Before, During and After Trump. <https://doi.org/10.1111/socf.12599>. (39 s)

Jungar, K. and Peltonen, S. (2017) ‘Acts of homonationalism: Mapping Africa in the Swedish media’, Sexualities, 20(5–6), pp. 715–737. doi: 10.1177/1363460716645806. 22 s.

Kuhar, R., & Paternotte, D. (2017). The anti-gender movement in comparative perspective. In R. Kuhar & D. Paternotte (Eds.), Anti-gender campaigns in Europe mobilizing against equality. London and New York, NY: Rowman & Littlefield. Pp.245-267 (22. s)

Nicholas L., Agius C. (2018) Muscular Humanitarian Intervention. In: The Persistence of Global Masculinism. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham **DOI**https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-68360-7\_4 pp.89-114 (25 s)

Sen, A. (2019). Teach Your Girls to Stab, Not Sing”: Right-Wing Activism, Public Knife Distribution, and the Politics of Gendered Self-Defense in Mumbai, India," Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society 44, no. 3 (Spring 2019): 743-770. (27 s.) <https://doi.org/10.1086/701159>

177 pages + ca 100 pp from Farris

**Recommended**

Al-Ali, N. (2019) ‘Feminist Dilemmas: How to Talk About Gender-Based Violence in Relation to the Middle East?’, Feminist Review, 122(1), pp. 16–31. doi: 10.1177/0141778919849525. (15 s).

Abji, s., Korteweg, A.C. and Williams, L.H. (2019) Culture Talk and the Politics of the New Right: Navigating Gendered Racism in Attempts to Address Violence against Women in Immigrant Communities," Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society 44, no. 3 (Spring 2019): 797-822. <https://doi-org.till.biblextern.sh.se/10.1086/701161>

Corredor, E.S. (2019) Unpacking “Gender Ideology” and the Global Right’s Antigender Countermovement. Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society 44, no. 3 (Spring 2019): 613-638. (25 s) <https://doi-org.till.biblextern.sh.se/10.1086/701171>

Farris, S. (2012). Femonationalism and the "Regular" Army of Labor Called Migrant Women. *History of the Present,* *2*(2), 184-199. doi:10.5406/historypresent.2.2.0184

Korolczuk, E., Graff, A. (2018) Gender as ‘Ebola from Brussels’: The Anti-colonial Frame and the Rise of Illiberal Populism. Signs (Chicago, Ill.), 43(3): 797-821 https://doi.org/10.1086/696691. (25 s)

Puar, J. (2013). Rethinking Homonationalism. *International Journal of Middle East Studies,* *45*(2), 336-339. doi:10.1017/S002074381300007X

Puar, Jasbir K. (2007). *Terrorist assemblages: homonationalism in queer times*. Durham: Duke University Press

Tripp, Aili Marie “Challenges in Transnational Feminist Mobilization,” In Global Feminism: Transnational Women's Activism, Organizing, and Human Rights. Eds. Myra Marx Ferree and Aili Mari Tripp. New York: New York University Press, 2006, 296-312. (26.s)

Anti-gender blog in LSE (London School of Economy)

<https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/gender/category/anti-gender/>

**31/ 10 Global Governance and NGOization**

Teacher: Yulia Gradskova

Required

Yuval-Davis, 2006, Human/women`s rights and feminist transversal politics, pp 275-94, in Ferree/Tripp Global Feminism, New York: New York University Press, 19

Gradskova Yulia. 2020. Gender Equality as a Declaration: the Changing Environment of Nordic-Russian Cooperation. *Rethinking Gender Equality in Global Governance. The Delusion of Norm Diffusion.*Lars Engberg-Pedersen, Adam Fejerskov & Signe Marie Cold-Ravnkilde eds. Palgrave.pp.169-190, 21

De Jong, Sara. 2017. Global Responsibilities. In *Complicit Sisters: Gender and Women's Issues Across North-South Di*vides. Oxford University Press, 47-86. 40

Todorova, M.(2021) Second and Third World Women: Socialist State Feminisms and Internationalisms. In Todorova, M. *Unequal under Socialism: Race, Women, and Transnationalism in Bulgaria* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press). Ch. 4, pp 102-128, 26

Cîrstocea, Ioana (2022) Going Global. Conclusion. “Sisters in Feminism”, Brockers of “Gender” , Actors of Globalization. In I. Cîrstocea *Learning Gender After the Cold War.* Routledge. pp.347-363 (book available to download from Springer web-page), 16.

Mindry, Deborah. 2001.”Nongovernmental Organizations, “Grasroots” and ‘The Politics of Virtue’. *Signs,* 26/4: 1187-1212., 25

Merry, Sally and Peggy Levitt. 2019. Remaking Women’s Human Rights in the Vernacular: The Resonance Dilemma. In Rethinking gender equality in Global Governance. The Delusion of Norm Diffusion. Lars Engberg-Pedersen, Adam Fejerskov & Signe Cold-Rainskilde eds, Palgrave, 145-168, 23

Cupac, Jelena & Irem Ebetuerk. 2021. Backlash advocacy and NGO polarization over women’s rights in the United Nations. *International Affairs* 97(4) :1183–1201, 18

**175 pages**

Recommended

Johanna Kantola and Judith Squires, 2012. From state feminism to market feminism? *International Political Science Review*, 4: 382-400.

Bajramovic Sanela, 2018. “They are hardly feminists and could learn a lot” Swedish-Bosnian Encounters for gender equality and peace, 1993-2013. In Gendering Postsocialism: Old Legacies and New Hierarchies. Y.Gradskova& I.Asztalos Morell eds, Routledge, pp21-37.

Sheila Carapico. 2014. Patronizing Women. In Political Aid and Arab Activism. Democracy promotion, Justice and Representation. Cambridge University Press, 112-147.

Kirsten Godsee, 2011, “Civil Society-by-Design:  Emerging Capitalisms, Western Feminism, and Women’s Nongovernmental Organizations in Postsocialist Eastern Europe. In Civil Society and Gender Justice: Historical and Comparative Perspectives, eds. Gunilla Budde, Karen Hagemann, Sonya Michel (ed.) 224-244., 20

Lang, Sabine, NGOs, Civil Society and the Public Sphere, 2014, Cambridge UP, 33-95. 60

Elżbieta Korolczuk. 2017. When Parents Become Activists: Exploring the Intersection of Civil Society and Family. In *Civil Society Revisited. Lessons from Poland.* Kerstin Jacobsson& Elżbieta Korolczuk. Berghan books. pp. 129-152.

Snyder, Margaret. 2006. Unlikely godmother: The U.N. and the global women’s movement. In Marx Ferree and Aili Mari Tripp, 30-68. New York: New York University Press, 28

Background

Hubert, Agnes/ Stratigaki, Maria, 2016, Twenty Years of EU Gender Mainstreaming: Rebirth out of the Ashes? *Femina Politica*

Jezierska, Katarzyna. 2017. Defining In/Defining Out: Civil Society through the Lens of Elite NGOs: In *Civil Society Revisited. Lessons from Poland.* Kerstin Jacobsson& Elżbieta Korolczuk. Berghahn books, 105-126.

Moghadam, Val, 2005, Globalizing Women, Transnational Feminist Networks,

Alvarez, Sonia 2000. “Translating the Global: Effects of Transnational Organizing on Latin American Feminist Discourses and Practices.” Meridians: A Journal of Feminisms, Race, Transnationalism1(1): 29-67.

**07/11, Feminist Spaces and Borders revisited**

Teacher: Teresa Kulawik

**14/11 Mini conference**

Teacher: Teresa Kulawik

**The final paper is to be submitted on Monday, 27 nov 2023**