

**WOMEN AND SOCIAL FREEDOM: CONCEPTUALIZING FEMINISTIC MOVEMENTS AND RESISTANCE****¹Dr Rejimon P M and ²Dr.Sreeja L G**¹Associate Professor and ²Assistant Professor¹PG Research Department of Economics and ²Department of History¹Mar Dionysius College and ²Malayalam University¹Pazhanji, Thrissur and ²Tirur, Malappuram

Kerala, India

Abstract

Feminism as a form of theory and practice has remained important to scholars and to the research carried out in the field of gender and politics. For many gender scholars, therefore, the “personal is political”—their academic interests have been inseparable from their political commitment. Their endeavor is therefore one of “critical scholarship” with an explicitly normative dimension. And from the late 1960s, women academics also began to organize inside the discipline. The women’s caucus of the American Political Science Association was established in 1969, the International Political Science Association created a Study Group on Sex Roles and Politics in 1976, and in 1986 the Standing Group on Women and Politics was created within the European Consortium for Political Research. Debates about separate gender sections and panels on women and politics—seen by some as separatist—linked to broader questions about women’s political participation, such as whether women should organize within established structures (political parties, trade unions) or autonomously (Dahlerup 2010). Scholars pressing alternative sexualities pushed further, sometimes arguing for a destabilization of analytic as well as social categories (e.g., Butler 1990). The development of much academic work on gender and politics was shaped by this broader context of feminist and lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) activism. In this paper, the different theoretical perspectives that have led researchers to the idea of leisure as resistance, including structuralism, post-structuralism, and interactionism, are discussed. Using insights from these perspectives, three issues related to the conceptualization of resistance are examined: the collective versus individual nature of resistance; the question of outcomes of resistance; and the issue of intentionality. Finally, it presents an understanding of the evolution of the gender and politics subfield as well as some of the challenges that remain.

Keywords: Feminism, Social Freedom, Women, Individual Resistance, Collective Resistance, Outcomes, Intentionality, Women's Leisure.

Introduction

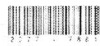
Women and Social Freedom’ is a slogan of the feminist movements, which means a woman needs her freedom even from the clutches of the unwritten laws of the patriarchal society. Laws are abundantly created to ensure the dignity of woman in her living environment. But there is a gap between the existence and execution of laws. So, in a practical sense it is impossible to ensure the safety and freedom in the domestic and public spheres. Social freedom of a woman means the society’s willingness to accept ‘Her’ with her body and soul. In public and private areas, she has to be acknowledged as a human being with her aspirations equal to men. In a patriarchal society, religion is not, simply, a mere form of belief system. It has multi levels of implications in structuring, restructuring and altering the norms and practices of a society in tune with the patriarchal social order. Religion and its intact teachings and principles have the power to dominate the common-sense and the rational psyche of its believers with its embedded frame of ‘faith’. In this sense, faith acts as a tool to induce the consent of the people to dominate their socio-cultural space. Finding a ‘self-space’ within this ‘faith-space’ will naturally lead a faithful individual at the mouth of social and self-contestations. As an ‘oppressed’ social category, women often conceive religious faith as an ultimate asylum to open up their worries and feelings. This ‘addiction’ will lead her, indirectly, towards the total submission of her social space at the will of patriarchal hegemony. However, the modern gender theories and feminist movements offers a new window to understand the ‘faith frames and its positive negotiations with the women’s space.

The Study of Women on Their Own Terms

Taking a different point of departure, other gender scholars have examined women in politics on their own terms. They are less concerned with sameness and difference between women and men within traditional political institutions and analyze women’s political activities and legal reform, institutions, and policy of concern to women as women, thereby bringing new areas of study into the discipline. One important body of work examines the diverse activities and ideas that are often thought of as feminist but has also studied women’s movements and organizations broadly construed. It demonstrates how feminist movements put important issues on to the political agenda and documents the diverse forms women’s organizations take and the wide range of issues they engage with. This includes women’s organizing in developing countries as well as in Europe. Examples of such research includes analyses of



Cover Page



organizations like the National Organization of Women (NOW), which operated nationally throughout the United States to campaign for women's equality from 1966 onward or studies of the way gender, race, and class worked together to structure the civil rights movement.

Gender has multiple meanings and analyses that include the production of sexuality, masculinities, and femininities that had hitherto been downplayed in the gender and politics scholarship. The increasing fragmentation of feminism has resulted in feminisms in the plural and the problematization of women as a coherent and unified category, which adds greater analytical complexity particularly once race, class, and sexuality are fully analyzed. This work also posed important challenges to concepts such as objective knowledge and the role of researcher and researched. It has required self-reflexivity about feminism's hegemonic discourses and exclusions. Feminists who are of color, working class, postcolonial, and lesbian, argue that failure to consider the distinctive and sometimes conflicting interests among women has created a bias toward the experience of white middle-class.

In India, the creation of caste structure on the basis of occupation caused the creation of a patriarchal society. The brahmanical society hegemonised the entire life of other people and created a new social order, which is further divinely sanctioned with religious order. Religious faith is imposed as a hegemonical tool to create obedient and subordinate subjects. This 'faith tool' worked at the level of creating further social impositions on the women community, who were demarcated by several social taboos. Female body itself was placed as pure and impure while approaching religion. Faith and body are interconnected and through this faith the women body suppressed in many instances. Faith imposed many rules and regulations on the real identity of a woman to maintain the cosmic order. From her childhood, she subjected to the norms of religion and faith, which is deep rooted in her mind and her thoughts, will act accordingly. Many of her spiritual God fathers envisioned for a systematic moral structure of a society and they imposed the responsibility for the maintenance of that infrastructure on women. This type of social construction is substantiated by the old religious texts and its practices. Thus, the construction of patriarchal society absolutely oppressed a women's freedom by all means, especially oppressed her sexual privileges. Indeed, the laws of society formed to control the sexual privileges and status of a woman in her surroundings. The term 'chastity' is reserved only for her protection and it is her responsibility to remain 'pure' always in the terms of a patriarchal construction. It is believed that the 'purity' of a lady purifies the society and leads to salvation. Even from her childhood her dreams should bear such a concept or responsibility. Her body is identified as weak, way to hell, lifeless, inert etc. The thinkers think about a woman connected with her body, without body there is no thinking is possible about woman. Otherwise never recognized as she is a perfect creation of God with soul, mind and body and her feelings, emotions, ambitions, desires etc are rejected for her own purity and the societies too.

In the patriarchal structure of family, women have been associated with nature and unthinkable matter and all women have historically been associated with the concept of 'mother'. But she represents love and sacrifice and the main duty entrusted on her to safeguard the society by keeping her as a pure lady. In fact, it is a harmful action to posit collective identity above individual assertion of sexual ethnic and religious identities is ultimately totalitarianism.

Religion and faith are a social construction to keep up the male domination uninterruptedly. So, a girl is born and brought up in a society have to surrender her dreams and desires as they envisioned for it is so harmful or will turn as fatal to male dominance. It is so evident that the feminine and masculine features included in a structure and the feminine aspects are deliberately suppressed. The Society is women oriented. Everything is created for her. The phallo centric symbolic order suggests the formation of women in a same way from generation to generation. In such a structural point of view as Manu suggests she would remain as dependent to others, have no right to move an inch independently. But the matter is that she didn't know she is in the chains of faith and she has her own identity. As Betty Frieden opines women apparently had everything that was supposed to make them happy and comfortable, but something haunting was there. The feminists demanded liberation from the role of the housewife and mother who lived in a 'comfortable concentration camp'. The duties of the housewife and mother were endless, monotonous, unrewarding and peculiarly suited to the capacities of feeble-minded girls. Society's expectation that a mother should care for her own children was cited as oppression of women by our male - dominated patriarchal society from which women must be liberated so that they can achieve fulfilment in work force just like men. Actually, the underlying problem is problem of identity - a stunning or evasion of growth. In spite of our modern ways of life, material progress and progressive ideas, we will treat women to gratify their basic need, didnot allow them to grow and fulfil themselves as human being. The stereotypical female is a sexual object, she must look happy and her face must not betray human or intelligence. She must be completely passive in the sexual act. This desexualisation involves not only her body but also her mind and feelings. Thus, the deal women castrated creature, a female eunach. Germaine Greer, an apostle of female physicality, energy, daring experimentation, independence and vigour, she only advised women to take position of their body and regale in its power and boldly accept its laws of loveliness. To her body was the only effective means that a woman possessed; she could use it to attain emancipation.



Women spiritualism interpreted as an attempt of a woman to find out her own identity in the ways of her deep faith. Perhaps, deep inside every woman has a longing to be someone in her own rightfully aware of herself, confident and in control. In a patriarchal society woman spiritualism is used as a tool in two ways. There is an identity crisis in every woman's mind. She is engaged in search of her true own identity. Her real identity is hide by other socio – religious, cultural identities. Even her women hood is presented as a socio – religious and political agenda. These identities upon her lead her life without a sense of who she is. Beyond her basic necessities she never thinks of it. She has a notion that she is in a comfort zone in the premises of her house and in the premises of her faith. There are several things to be determined as do's and taboos for her. In her life these norms of the society demanded a complete walk in her life with the male protection. She deserves no freedom of expression or speaks about her way of thinking and life. It is suppressed by the social construction of faith, which moulds her life in a manner that is entirely different from her own identity. Because the smooth functioning of the patriarchal society never wants to face a hindrance with the organic process in the body of a lady like menstruation and contraception. The male dominant society considered women as 'dalit'. She became so religious in these circumstances for she is ignorant about her surroundings and the elements of a male dominant society. In this context number of domestic violence are reported very few for she will suffer that as part of her moral duty. Her thoughts moulded to follow these anarchies as sacred. So that once the ladies strictly observed the social anarchies like 'Sati'. These taboos insisted on her never allows to break the unseeing laws of the male dominant faith formation. And the significant consequence is that the coming generation too destined to save the same circle of life and believed that it's their duty to protect the culture without any hesitance. These taboos are created in the name faith, which is a sharp too, to subject a women's dreams and her vision about a free life without her involvement and it seems that naturally her life will spoil. The existence of 'faith' in the present day is a socio – political religious expression which acted as the supporting element for the continuation of male dominance.

But we have some exceptions to indicate, those who have been walked beyond the boundaries of their religion and faith. These exceptional examples also born and brought up in the above-mentioned religious circles. But they took an effort to analyse their suppressed conditions and tried to solve the identity crisis that they faced. They lived for themselves to fulfil their own life mission but its fruits experienced by the society as well. Such ladies utilised 'faith' as a tool to renovate their dreams and thus discovered their missing identity among the socially constructed confused identities.

In this context it is very essential to know the movement of feminism. The patriarchal elements created by the male dominant society should be explain and interpret in the light of progressive thoughts to accomplish the idea of gender equality. Nationally it is a hindrance to procure the progressive goals without the participation and contribution of women. Society should be the platform for men and women in a same perspective to bring forth their creativity to remove the injustice of the society. The term 'feminism' is interpreted as women's rights. It's an ideological position which emphasizes for equality of gender and advocates maximisation of potential of women, so that institutionally and culturally created constraints do not hinder the process and pattern of development of women. Thus, to become a feminist means to be prepared for a profound personal transformation. A feminist is one who is awakened and conscious about women's life and problem, and feminist consciousness is the experience in a certain way of certain specific contradictions in the social order. That means the feminists apprehends certain features of social reality as intolerable; so as to be rejected if one is to transform the society for a better future. The movement of feminism requires people to support them again injustice. Feminism is not mere a word, it's an activism envisioned to build an egalitarian society for the benefit of whole mankind.

Conclusion

Gender relations, like all social relations, are multi-stranded: they embody ideas, values, and identities; they allocate labour between different tasks, activities, and domains; they determine the distribution of resources; and they assign authority, agency, and decision-making power. This means that gender inequalities are multi-dimensional and cannot be reduced to some single and universally agreed set of priorities. Any attempt to do so will run the danger of being either too narrow (as the MDGs have been accused of being) or a wish list that is too long and complex to act on. However, gender relationships are not internally cohesive. They contain contradictions and imbalances, particularly when there have been changes in the wider socio-economic environment. Consequently, a shift in one aspect of social relations can initiate a series of changes in other aspects, with unpredictable consequences. To that extent, it could be argued that each of the three indicators embodied in MDG 3 has the potential to make a difference. Each can bring about immediate changes with longer term consequences. Indeed, the same could be said of any set of policies that seeks to improve women's access to resources. Some may be more strategic than others, but all have transformatory potential as long as the change in question is a genuine expansion of women's choices, rather than a token gesture of paternalist benevolence.



Cover Page



References

- Alvarez, Sonia. 1990. *Engendering democracy in Brazil*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Annesley, Claire, and Francesca Gains. 2010. "The core executive: Gender, power and change." *Political Studies* 58(5): 909–929.
- American Political Science Association (APSA). 2004. *APSA report on the advancement of women in political science*. Washington, DC:
- Arendt, Hannah. 1958. *The human condition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Banaszak, Lee-Ann, Karen Beckwith, and Dieter Rucht (Eds.). 2003. *Women’s movements face the reconfigured state*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Banyard, Kat. 2010. *The equality illusion: The truth about women & men today*. London: Faber & Faber. (p. 20)
- Barakso, Maryann. 2004. *Governing now: Grassroots activism in the National Organization for Women*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Basu, Amrita (Ed.). 1994. *The challenge of local feminisms: Women’s movements in global perspective*. Boulder, CO: Westview.
- Beckwith, Karen, and Kimberley Cowell-Meyers. 2003. "Sheer numbers." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, August 31–September 3.
- Bedford, Kate. 2009. *Developing partnerships: Gender, sexuality and the reformed World Bank*. Minneapolis: University o. Minnesota Press.
- Bjarnegard, Elin. 2010. "Men in politics: Revising patterns of gendered parliamentary representation in Thailand and beyond." PhD dissertation, University of Uppsala.
- Blee, Kathleen. 1991. *Women of the Klan: Racism and gender in the 1920s*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Blee, Kathleen. 2002. *Inside organized racism: Women in the hate movement*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Blofield, Merike, and Liesl Haas. 2005. "Defining a democracy: Reforming the laws on women’s rights in Chile, 1990–2002." *Latin American Politics and Society* 47(3): 35–68.
- Bourque, Susan C., and Jean Grosssholtz. 1974. "Politics an unnatural practice: Political science looks at female participation." *Politics and Society* 4: 225–266.
- Brenner, Suzanne. 2001. "Why women rule the roost: Rethinking Javanese ideologies of gender and self-control." In Caroline Brettell and Carolyn Sargeant, eds., *Gender in cross-cultural perspective*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Brettell, Caroline, and Carolyn Sargeant. 2001. *Gender in cross-cultural perspective*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Brown, Wendy. 1995. *States of injury: Power and freedom in late modernity*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Butler, Judith. 1990. *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. New York: Routledge.
- Celis, K. 2006. "Substantive representation of women: The representation of women’s interests and the impact of descriptive representation in the Belgian parliament (1900–1979)." *Journal of Women, Politics and Policy* 28(2): 85–114.
- Celis, K. 2008. "Studying women’s substantive representation in legislatures: When representative acts, contexts and women’s interests become important." *Representation* 44(2): 111–123.
- Celis, K., S. Childs, J. Kantola, and M.L. Krook. 2008. "Rethinking women’s substantive representation." *Representation* 44(2): 99–110.
- Chappell, Louise, and Georgina Waylen. 2013. "Gender and the Hidden Life of Institutions." *Public Administration*. Forthcoming.
- Charrad, Mounira. 2010. "Kinship, Islam or oil? Culprits of gender inequality." *Politics & Gender*. 5(4): 546–553.
- Childs, Sarah, and Mona Lena Krook. 2006. "Should feminists give up on critical mass? A contingent yes." *Politics & Gender* 2(4): 522–530.
- Childs, Sarah, and Paul Webb. 2012. *Sex, gender and the conservative party*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Connell, Robert. 2002. *Gender*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Cooper, Davina. 2004. *Challenging diversity: Rethinking equality and the value of difference*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Collins, Patricia Hill. 1990. *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment*. Boston: Unwin Hyman.
- (p. 21) Crenshaw, Kimberle. 1993. "Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex." In D. Kelly Weisberg, ed., *Feminist legal theory: Foundations*, vol. 1. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. Find this resource:
- Dahl, Robert. 1984. *Modern political analysis*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall. Find this resource:
- Dahlerup, Drude. 1988. "From a small to a large minority: Women in Scandinavian politics." *Scandinavian Political Studies* 11(4): 275–298.
- Dahlerup, Drude (Ed.). 2006. *Women, quotas and politics*. London: Routledge.
- Dahlerup, Drude. 2010. "The development of gender and politics as a new research field within the framework of the ECPR." *European Political Science* 9: 85–98.



- Deising, Paul. 1992. *How social science works*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Dreger, Alice. 1998. *Hermaphrodites and the medical invention of sex*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Duncan, Simon. 1995. "Theorizing European gender systems." *Journal of European Social Policy* 5(4): 263–284.
- Duncan, Simon. 1996. "The diverse worlds of European patriarchy." In Maria Dolores Garcia-Ramon and Janice Monk, eds., *Women of the European Union: the politics of work and daily life*. New York: Routledge, pp. 74–110.
- Easton, David. 1953. *The political system: An inquiry into the state of political science*. New York: Knopf.
- Elman, R. Amy. 1996. *Sexual subordination and state intervention: Comparing Sweden and the United States*. Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Enloe, Cynthia. 1996. "Margins, silences and bottom rungs: How to overcome the underestimation of power in the study of international relations." In Steve Smith, Ken Booth, and Maryisa Zalewski, eds., *international theory: Positivism and beyond*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, pp. 11–46.
- Fausto-Sterling, Ann. 2000. *Sexing the body: Gender politics and the construction of sexuality*. Basic Books.
- Ferree, Myra Marx. 2009. "Inequality, intersectionality, and the politics of discourse: Framing feminist alliances." In Emanuela Lombardo, Petra Meier, and Mieke Verloo, eds., *The discursive politics of gender equality: Stretching, bending and policy-making*. London: Routledge, 86–86.
- Ferree, Myra Marx, and Patricia Yancey Martin. 1995. *Feminist organizations: Harvest of the new women's movement*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. Find this resource:
- Foucault, Michel. 1980. *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings 1972–1977*. London: Prentice Hall.
- Franceschet, Susan, Mona Lena Krook and Jennifer M. Piscopo (Eds.). 2012. *The Impact of Gender Quotas*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Franceschet, Susan, and Jennifer M. Piscopo. 2008. "Gender quotas and women's substantive representation: Lessons from Argentina." *Politics & Gender* 4(3): 393–425.
- Franceschet, Susan, and Thomas Gwynn. 2011. "Gender and Executive Office: Analysing parity cabinets in Chile and Spain." Paper presented at the European Conference for Political Research (ECPR) General Conference, Reykjavik, August 23–26.
- Fraser, Nancy. 1997. *Justice interruptus: Critical reflections on the "postsocialist" conditions*. London: Routledge.
- Fraser, Nancy. 2009. "Feminism, capitalism and the cunning of history." *New Left Review*, 56: 97–117.
- Friedman, Elisabeth. 1995. "Women's human rights: The emergence of a movement." In Julie Peters and Andrea Wolper, eds., *Women's rights, human rights*. London: Routledge, pp. 18–35.
- (p. 22) Friedman, Elisabeth Jay. 2009. *Re(gion)alizing women's human rights in Latin America*. *Politics & Gender*, 5: 349–375.
- Gelb, Joyce. 1989. *Feminism and politics: A comparative perspective*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Goertz, Garry, and Amy Mazur (Eds.). 2008. *Politics, gender, and concepts: Theory and methodology*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Grabham, Emily. 2009. "Intersectionality: Traumatic impressions." in Emily Grabham, Davina Cooper, Jane Krishnadas, and Didi Herman, eds., *Intersectionality and beyond: Law, power and the politics of location*. Abingdon: Routledge-Cavendish, pp. 183–201.
- Hancock, Ange-Marie. 2007. "When multiplication doesn't equal quick addition: Examining intersectionality as a research paradigm." *Perspectives on Politics* 5(1): 63–79.
- Harding, Sandra. 1987. "Introduction: Is there a feminist method?" in Sandra Harding, ed., *The science question in feminism*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, pp. 1–14.
- Harris, Angela. 1990. "Race and essentialism in feminist legal theory." *Stanford Law Review* 42: 581.
- Hassim, Shireen. 2005. *Women's organizations and democracy in South Africa: Contesting authority*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- hooks, bell. 1984/2000. *Feminist theory: From margin to center*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.
- Hooper, Charlotte. 2001. *Manly states: Masculinities, international relations and gender politics*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Htun, Mala. 2003. *Sex and the state: Abortion, divorce and the family under Latin American dictatorships and democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Htun, Mala, and Jennifer Piscopo. 2010. "Presence without empowerment?" Paper presented at the Conflict Prevention and Peace Forum:
- Htun, Mala, and Laurel Weldon. 2010. "When do governments promote women's rights? A framework for the comparative analysis of sex equality policy." *Perspectives on Politics* 8(1): 207–216.:
- Htun, Mala, and Weldon, S. Laurel. 2011. "State power, religion, and women's rights: A comparative analysis of family law." *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies*. 18(1) (Winter): 145–165.



- Htun, Mala, and Weldon, S. Laurel. 2012. "The civic origins of progressive policy change: A comparative analysis of policies on violence against women." *American Political Science Review*, 106(3) (August.):
- Hughes, M. 2011. Intersectionality, quotas, and minority women's political representation worldwide. *American Political Science Review* 105(3): 604–620.
- Inglehart, Ronald, and Pippa Norris. 2003. *Rising tide: Gender equality and cultural change*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Lim, Lin Lean (Ed.). 1998. *The sex sector: The economic and social bases of prostitution in Southeast Asia*. Geneva: International Labour Organization.
- Jalazai, F. 2008. "Women rule." *Politics and Gender* 4(3): 305–331. Find this resource:
- Jaquette, Jane (Ed.). 1994. *The women's movement in Latin America: Participation and*
- Kaplan, Gisela. 1992. *Contemporary Western European feminism*. New York: New York University Press.
- Katzenstein, Mary, and Carol Mueller (Eds.). 1987. *The women's movements of the United States and Western Europe*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Kittilson, Miki Caul. 2008. "Representing women: The adoption of family leave in comparative perspective." *Journal of Politics* 70(2): 323–334.
- Krizsán, Andrea, Tamás Dombos, Erika Kispéter, Linda Szabó, Jasminka Dedic, Martin Jaigma, Roman Kuhar, Ana Frank Birgit Sauer, and Mieke Verloo. 2010. "Framing gender equality in the European Union and its current and future member states." Final LARG report QUING.
- Krizsán, Andrea, Hege Skeije, and Judith Squires. 2012. *Institutionalizing intersectionality: The changing nature of European equality regimes*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Krook, Mona L. 2009. *Quotas for women in politics: Gender and candidate selection reform worldwide*. Oxford: Oxford University Press:
- Krook Mona L., and Fiona Mackay (Eds.). 2011. *Gender, politics and institutions: Towards a feminist institutionalism*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave:.
- Lamphere, Louise. 2001. "The domestic sphere of women and the public world of men: The strengths and limits of an anthropological dichotomy." In Caroline Brettel and Carolyn Sargeant, eds., *Gender in cross-cultural perspective*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall, pp. 100–109.
- Lewis, Jane (Ed.). 1993. *Women and social policies in Europe: Work, family and the state*. Brookfield, VT: Edward Elgar.
- Lind, Amy (Ed.). 2010. *Development, sexual rights and global governance*. London: Routledge.
- Lister, Ruth. 1997. *Citizenship: feminist perspectives*. Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan.
- Lombardo, Emanuela, and Maxime Forest (Eds.). 2012. *The Europeanization of gender equality policies: A discursive-sociological approach*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lorde, Audre. 1984. *Sister outsider: Chapters and speeches*. Berkeley, CA: Crossing Press.
- Lovenduski, Joni. 1981. "Toward the emasculation of political science." In Dale Spender, ed., *Men's studies modified: The impact of feminism on academic disciplines*. Oxford: Pergamon
- Lovenduski, Joni, and Pippa Norris. 1995. *Political recruitment: Gender, race and class in British parliament*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Lovenduski, Joni, and Vicky Randall. 1993. *Contemporary feminist politics: Women and power in Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- (p. 24) Mackay, Fiona, and Georgina Waylen. 2009. *Critical perspectives on feminist institutionalism*. *Politics & Gender* 5(2): 237–280:
- Shanti Menon. 2001. *Male authority and female autonomy: A study of the matrilineal nayars of Kerala, South India*. In Caroline B. Brettell and Carolyn F. Sargent, eds., *Gender in cross-cultural perspective*. Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 352–361:
- Mackinnon, Catharine. 1989. *Towards a feminist theory of the state*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press:.
- Mazur, Amy. 2002 *Theorizing feminist policy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. McBride, Dorothy E., and Amy G. Mazur. 2010. *The politics of state feminism: Innovation in comparative research*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- McBride Stetson, Dorothy, and Amy G. Mazur, eds. 1995. *Comparative State Feminism*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Millett, Kate. 1968. *Sexual politics*. Boston: New England Free Press. Find this resource:
- Pateman, Carole. 1983. "Feminist critiques of the public/private dichotomy." In S. L. Benn and G. F. Gauss, eds., *Public and private in social life*. London: Croom Helm.
- Paxton, Pamela. 2008. "Gendering democracy." In Garry Goertz and Amy Mazur, eds., *Politics, gender, and concepts: Theory and methodology*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Phillips, Anne. 1995. *The politics of presence*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Find this resource:



Cover Page



- Prügl, Elisabeth. 2007. "Gender and EU Politics." In Knud Erik Jørgensen, Mark A. Pollack, and Ben Rosamond, eds., *The handbook of European Union politics*. London: SAGE.
- Randall, Vicky. 1982. *Women and politics: An international perspective*. New York: Macmillan.
- Reingold, Beth, and Michele Swers. 2011. An endogenous approach to women's interests: When interests are interesting in and of themselves. *Politics & Gender* 7(3): 429–435.
- Richie, Beth, and Kanuha. 2000. "Battered women of color." In Anne Minas, ed., *Gender basics: Feminist perspectives on women and men*, 2nd ed. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 213–220.
- Rubin, Gayle. 2004. "The traffic in women." In Julie Rivkin and Michael Ryan, *Literary theory: An anthology*, 2nd ed. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 770–794.
- Sanbonmatsu, Kira. 2002. *Democrats/Republicans and the politics of women's place*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Sapiro, Virginia. 1981. "When are interests interesting? The problem of political representation of women." *American Political Science Review* 75(3): 701–716.
- Sapiro, Virginia. 1994. *Women in American society: An introduction to women's studies*. Mountain View, CA: Mayfield.
- Saward, Michael. 2010. *The representative claim*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Schreiber, R. 2008. *Righting feminism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Schwandt-Bayer, Leslie. 2011. *Political power and women's representation in Latin America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Scott, Joan. 1999. "Some reflections on gender and politics." In Myra Marx Ferree, Judith Lorber, and Beth B. Hess, eds., *Revisioning gender*. London: SAGE, pp. 70–98.
- Simien, Evelyn M. (Ed.). 2011. *Gender and lynching: The politics of memory*. New York: Palgrave/Macmillan.
- (p. 25) Smooth, Wendy. 2011. "Standing for women? Which women? The substantive representation of women's interests and the research imperative of intersectionality." *Politics & Gender* 7(3): 436–441.
- Spelman, Elizabeth. 1988. *Inessential woman*. Boston: Beacon Press. Find this resource:
- Squires, Judith. 1999. *Gender in political theory*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Squires, Judith. 2007. *The new politics of gender equality*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sunseri, Lina. 2011. *Being again of one mind: Oneida women and the struggle for decolonization*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Waylen, Georgina. 2012. "Gender matters in politics." *The Political Quarterly* 38(4): 24–32. Find this resource:
- Weldon, S. L. 2002a. *Protest, policy and the problem of violence against women: A cross-national comparison*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Weldon, S. L. 2002b. "Beyond bodies: Institutional sources of representation for women." *Journal of Politics* 64(4): 1153–1174.
- Weldon, S. L. 2006. "Inclusion, solidarity and social movements: The global movement on gender violence." *Perspectives on Politics* 4(1): 55–74.
- Weldon, S. L. 2008. "The concept of intersectionality." In Amy G. Mazur and Gary Goertz, eds., *Gender and concepts*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Weldon, S. L. 2011. *When protest makes policy: How social movements represent disadvantaged groups*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Wolbrecht, Christina. 2000. *The politics of women's rights: Parties, position and change*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Wolin, Sheldon S. 1960. *Politics and vision: Continuity and innovation in Western political thought*. Boston: Little Brown.
- World Health Organization and London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. 2010. *Preventing intimate partner and sexual violence against women: Taking action and generating evidence*. Geneva: World Health Organization.
- Young, Iris. 1990. *Justice and the politics of difference*. New Haven, CT: Princeton University Press.
- Chepyator-Thomson, J. R., & Ennis, C. D. (1997). *Reproduction and resistance to the culture of femininity and masculinity in secondary school physical education*. *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport*, 68(1), 89-99.
- Clarke, J., & Critchener, C. (1985). *The devil makes work: Leisure in capitalist Britain*. London, UK: MacMillan Publishers.
- Coalter, F. (1999). *Leisure sciences and leisure studies: The challenge of meaning*. In E. L. Jackson & T. L. Burton (Eds.), *Leisure Studies: Prospects for the twenty-first century* (pp. 507-519). State College, PA: Venture Publishing.
- Deem, R. (1988). *Feminism and leisure studies: Opening up new directions*. In E. Wimbush & M. Talbot (Eds.), *Relative freedoms: Women and leisure* (pp. 5-17). Milton Keynes, UK: Open University Press.
- Deem, R. (1999). *How do we get out of the ghetto? Strategies for research on gender and leisure for the twenty-first century*. *Leisure Studies*, 18(3), 161-177. Driver, B. L., Brown, P. J., & Peterson, G. L. (Eds.). (1991). *Benefits of leisure*. State College, PA: Venture Publishing



Cover Page



- Harrington, M., Dawson, D., & Bolla, P. (1992). Objective and subjective constraints on women's enjoyment of leisure. *Loisir et Societe*, 15(1), 203-222.
- Henderson, K. A., & Bialeschki, M. D. (1991). A sense of entitlement to leisure as constraint and empowerment for women. *Leisure Sciences*, 12, 51-65.
- hooks, b. (1989). *Feminist theory: From margin to center*. Boston, MA: South End Press.
- Jacobson, S., & Samdahl, D. M. (1998). Leisure in the lives of old lesbians: Experiences with and responses to discrimination. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 30(2), 233-255.
- Kleiber, D. A., & Kane, M. J. (1985). Sex differences and the use of leisure as adaptive potentiation. *Loisir et Societe*, 7(1), 165-174.
- Mannell, R. C., & Kleiber, D. A. (1997). *A social psychology of leisure*. State College, PA: Venture.
- McRobbie, A. (1991). *Feminism and youth culture*. London, UK: Macmillan Educational.
- Ramazanoglu, C. (1993). Introduction. In C. Ramazanoglu (Ed.), *Up against Foucault: Explorations of some tensions between Foucault and feminism* (pp. 1-25). London, UK; Routledge.
- Ramazanoglu, C., & Holland, J. (1993). Women's sexuality and men's appropriation of desire. In C. Ramazanoglu (Ed.), *Up against Foucault: Explorations of some tensions between Foucault and feminism* (pp. 239-264). London, UK: Routledge.