

International Journal of Language, Literature and Gender
Studies (LALIGENS), Bahir Dar- Ethiopia

Vol. 6 (1), Serial No 13, February, 2017: 37-51

ISSN: 2225-8604(Print) ISSN 2227-5460 (Online)

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/laligens.v6i1.4>

**Political Participation and Gender: Is There Synergy Between
What Scholarship Does and What Activists Want?**

Eesuola Olukayode Segun

Department of Political Science

University of Lagos, Nigeria

Postdoctoral Research Fellow

Department of Political Science and International Relations

North West University, Mafikeng

E-mail: foomoterrribly@yahoo.com

Phone: +27735244687

Abstract

The phenomenon of gender is dualistic and bi-patterned, featuring the world of scholarship along with activism; or perhaps against it. The systematic, intellectual and analytical methods adopted by scholars, as expected of their discipline, is at par with the emotional scenario of the activists who adopt protest and agitation, expectedly too, to carry out their activism. The dichotomy thus created has a large implication on political participation and there must be a way of synergizing scholarship with activism if gender to have its way. This paper suggests a few.

Key words: Gender scholarship, Gender activism, Activists, Literature

Introduction

A very strong wall polarises the world of gender phenomenon. There are scholars on the one hand who adopt intellectual methods in exploring gender issues, and who make efforts to establish *what is*, as against *what should be* of gender- since the later is often based on value judgement and sentiments. Gender activists form the second group, and they are those who expand emotions and passions towards gender issues, though

making a whole lot of sense of the reasons of their cause. Since however the former group make their contributions through scholarly writings that often constitute the bulk of academic literature, and the latter do theirs through other means such as agitations and activism, it is necessary to establish the link between the two methods, in a bid to identify the progress achieved and what is achievable so far, especially on the issue of political participation.

Essentially, gender activism is about equality of everything between women and men: access to resources and opportunities within the dominant means of production, making the entire scenario dependent on culture, rather than nature (Orock 2007). It is commonsensical to liken gender activism to a political project that targets what Mukhopadhyay (2001:13) calls "the culturally determined privations of one social sector - women", so that the women as a group can have access to opportunities and resources just as their men counterpart. Valk (2001) argues that gender activism, gender equality as well as gender equity, as far as Africa is concerned, are seen by many organizations and agencies for development and finance, as well as non-governmental organizations such as Oxfam, forming an extract of 'good governance' ventures embarked upon in a bid to enhance a balanced and egalitarian society. This explains why in order to promote their self-interests, internal images as well as secure development aids from international organizations, a lot of the governments of African countries have welcomed equity and equality of gender without necessarily being committed to it. Thus, gender equality is increasingly being politicised around the world with certain members of the elite using it as a platform for self-actualization and professional developments. Put differently, such people use their gender agitation activism to maximise personal openings, and in this group the intellectuals are located. What therefore, are the intellectuals actually writing to fill the literature and gap in knowledge about gender? Does it agree with what activists are doing and craving for, and to what extent? How can issues and methods be synergised in order to ensure the achievement of gender phenomenon? These questions are concentrated upon and will be answered by this paper.

Gender Scholarship

Gender scholarship, as the name implies, is often associated with the intellectual study of gender issues. Gender studies is a discipline in itself, incorporating methods and approaches from a wide range of disciplines (Essed, Philomena, David and Kobayashi 2009) Due to its intellectual nature, it includes men studies too- since the man is part of gender- and sometimes it gets extended to queer studies (Krijnen and Bauwel, 2015). In other instances, the study of gender is co-occurs with sexuality, and in most cases, gender scholarship is also called gender studies, and it an interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary intellectual devotion towards identifying and representing gender. Healey (2003) categorically states that gender scholarship often applies in the fields of literature and language, in fact, the entire social science disciplines. Notwithstanding

the similarities, a degree of differences often exists in terms of methodology, perspectives, orientations and approaches. In the dominant social sciences for example, especially sociology, psychology and anthropology, the study of gender is apparently more practical compared to in cultural studies where they are often more discussed. Politics often perceives gender as the fundamental issues that are employed by politicians so that they can strategically place themselves towards many desired ends. (Salime 2011).

The curiosity here is that gender scholarship should ordinarily and logically be extended to biology and the natural sciences since what distinguishes man from woman is natural and scientific. However, gender scholarship often debunks this, claiming that gender refers to the social and cultural constructions of feminine/ masculine dichotomy instead of being male or female in its real natural sense. This is perhaps why Beauvoir (1949, 1989) asserts that "One is not born a woman, one becomes one". While the position is not held by all gender theorists, many sociologists support and often use it as the basis of what they often call sociology of gender. Still, a host of alternate and sometimes contrasting views exist among psychoanalyst and feminists who are in the field of gender scholarship. Compared to gender activism, gender scholarship is quite expansive and expandable to an array of disciplines ranging from cinematography, film and literary theory, theatrical and dramatic studies, sociology and anthropology, politics as well as psychology.

Over the years, the different fields that have come to study and associate with gender have come to regard it as a practice, something performable Bultler (1999) In other words, each of the fields mentioned in the foregoing have come to regard "gender" as a practice. The Feminist theory of psychoanalysis was propounded majorly by Kristeva (1988), and along other theoretical underpinnings in gender studies: "semiotic" and "abjection", "the feminine-cum pre-maternal as well as maternal/matricidal border linking along with compassion, 'matrixial trans-subjectivity', with 'primal mother-phantasies' all have coloured the development of gender studies in quite significant ways. Thus, as Killermann (2013) expatiates, it is possible to break gender into three places covering expression, identity and sex. This is an alternative means by which gender can be broken down using different socio-biological as well as cultural constructs which tends to concentrate on the fluid nature of feminism and masculinism and how what they mean navigates based on the prevailing situations and discourses.

Development of Gender Scholarship

The development of the intellectual tradition of gender can be traced to the period following the new development of the universal adult suffrage in the 20th century, coupled with the various movements for women liberation in the 1960s and 1970s. This development encouraged, if not catalyzed feminists' resolve to proactively query the establishment in terms of gender and its different roles and situations. Gender

scholarship then began to interrogate established insinuations and conjectures towards the attributes of men and women, to evaluate them and record the differentials observed. (Saltzman 1999). From that point gender scholarship began to explore and interrogate the different perspectives of gender, and began to examine the ways in which issues of culture sociology as well as history colour and determine the social roles ascribed to the male and female gender in the society. At the start, the agenda was basically feminist in nature, and was designed to identify the various contributions made by women in order to call the attention of the society towards recognising them. As time passed by however, it began to take such dimension that sought to challenge and ultimately men, so, men too commenced looking at their gender with passion; just as women looked at femininity; a situation which led to the development of men's studies as an accomplished area of research (Douglass 2007). Scholars began to recognise the need to study sexuality in the latter parts of the 1980s and the 1990s. the reason for this is the increase of interest in lesbian and gay rights, but it has been revealed that majority of people often merge sexuality with gender, instead of treating them separately (Liddington 2007). Today, as we focus on the differentials of the male and female genders, field of gender scholarship equally explores more of sexual differences than the binary conceptualizations and categorizations.

So far, a number of theorists and their theories have significantly influenced gender scholarship, and they Jacques Lacan, Sigmund Freud, Julia Kristeva earlier mentioned, Mark Blechner and others. Each of these theorists have used their theories to explore and appraise gender in different yet somewhat related ways. Gender under the lens Sigmund Freud sees women as "mutilated and must learn to accept their lack of a deformity", that is the penis. (Horney 1922). To Lacan, femininity and masculinity are organized according to different unconscious structures where both male and female subjects participate in the "phallic" organization, and the feminine side of sexuation is "supplementary" instead of being opposite or complementary (Lucan 1973). The concept of sexuation (sexual situation), which posits the development of gender-roles and role-play in childhood, is useful in countering the idea that gender identity is innate or biologically determined. In other words, the sexuation of an individual has as much, if not more, to do with their development of a gender identity as being genetically sexed male or female, Wright (2003) clarifies.

Kristeva (1982) significantly developed the sub field called semiotics, in which she contends that patriarchal cultures, like individuals, have to exclude the maternal and the feminine so that they can come into being, while Blechner (2009) expanded psychoanalytic views of sex and gender, arguing the existence of a "gender fetish" phenomenon in western society, in which the gender of sexual partners is given enormously disproportionate attention over other factors involved in sexual attraction, such as age and social class (Blechner 1995). Writings and analyses of these scholars

amongst other ones have not only expanded gender scholarship and studies, but also created a host of theories, a few of which will be used in what follows for illustration.

Feminist Psychoanalytic Theory

This theory posits that analysis based on psychoanalysis remain crucial to the project called feminism, so it should, just like extant theories, be subjected to criticism of women so that it can be saved of sexist coloration. It is propounded by Mitschel, Nancy and other established theorists who argue that the position of Freud on gender as misguided, advocating that power be used in place of penis wherever the latter appears in any of Sigmund Freud's writings on feminism and explores the way in which Freudianism can be said to be of perfect accuracy, apart from in a very important sense that wherever Sigmund puts the "penis", should be reworked to accommodate "power" (Griselda 2007). Grosz (1990) accused Jacques Lacan of assuming sexism in psychoanalysis while such ones as Botler, Ettinger and Gallop use the work of Lacan critically towards developing theories of gender. Meanwhile, as Butler (2011:22) posits, "The gender studies and queer theory are rather reluctant, hostile to see the psychoanalytic approach".

Gender Post-modernism

Theories of post modernism have been widely described as affecting the studies of gender (Wright 2003), and has provoked a departure from identity theories to postmodern fluid or what Benhabib (1995) refer to as multiple identities. Effects that post structuralism has on gender studies appeared significant in terms of how it interrogates the grand narratives. Indeed, Post-structuralism encouraged queer theory to emerge in the intellectual studies of gender, as well as provoked expansion in sexuality.

Several contentions and disagreements have greeted these expansions and assertions within the field of gender scholarship, and they include that which exists to polarize the queer theoreticians and the feminists of the second wave. What differentiates the two divides is the paradox of feminists versus queer theorists in the argument that all is fragmented; no grand narratives, no categories and no trends. Feminists are of the opinion that this nullifies gender categorization yes refuses to do to towards the power dynamics brandied by gender.

From its concepts, conceptualization and development so far, the scholarship and study of gender has not gone without generating reactions and responses. Bryan Palmer, who is both a historian as well as a prominent theory scholar, contends that the way the study of gender currently depends on post structuralism creates impediment for the foundation, significance and results of history as well as procedure. He then demands counter current dimensions to the study of gender, arguing that the importance of analyzing actual witnessed scenarios the and power subordinating structures (1998).

Others in the book titled *Professing Feminism: Education and Indoctrination in Women's Studies*, also argue for making Women's Studies assume the purpose of politics and interests. These authors are Noretta Koertge and Daphne Patai.

However, one issue that remains consistent in discourse, and that cuts across the globe in the different stages of development of gender scholarship and studies, is that which posits that women, compared to their men folks, are in disadvantaged position in the mechanism through which the society makes decision in the private and public domains. A cogent factor identified for this scenario the decentralizing trends of decision making around the world. This trends has placed decision making in the lower strata of the society: villages, small towns, the family where mostly uneducated and complacent women are dominant and where even the pro women and gender activists organizations have had the most of the problems mobilizing the women for the purpose of change. In other words, unlike what obtains at the national levels and the upper strata, say the urban centres, voices of women are often least listened to at the lower parts of the society (World Bank 2013).

Queer Theory

The last but not the least is the Queer Theory, which is about the latest or theoretical speculation in the scholarship of gender; starting to gain prominence around the 1990s. The theory developed through interrogations and re interrogations of homosexuality which arrived at the scene of scholarly exploration and group affiliation and formation in the middle of the 1980s (Harris 2005). Gay/lesbian studies, in turn, grew out of feminist studies and feminist theory. Gay/lesbian studies is a political form of academics, also challenges the notion of normative sexualities, and claiming that once the society labels something as "normal, it automatically sets up its opposite and labels it "deviant," or abnormal and the specific acts or identities which fill those categories then get linked to other forms of social practices and methods of social control.

Individuals who engage in deviant activities or behaviours often get sanctioned for it in any form or way set down by the society that so considers a behaviour as deviant. Such sanctions range from arrest, shaming, personality insult, loss of job, relatives and even professional licences among other things. From the perspective of the Queer theory, studies of gay and lesbian activities, in the same vein as feminism, seeks to explain the social constructs of what is normal versus what is deviant in the society, how the society handle and enforce them, and then identify what they perceive as unfairness there in and seek to address it.

The origin of this is the attention that homosexuality gives to how the society for the sexual conduct that is either considered abnormal/ countercultural, or simply normative. However, queer theory expands its investigatory and explanatory boundaries beyond homosexuality which merely focuses on gay and lesbian issues.

What the queer theory does cover the examination, study, analysis and critique of sexual behaviours and conducts that may be considered either normal or otherwise.

Gender Activism

By activism we mean the idea or notion of intense activities for the purpose of gaining certain values that have economic or socio political coloration, often via antiestablishment or radical group activities such as protest demonstrations, rallies and strikes. It consists of consisted efforts of man to promote, impede, or challenge certain social issues in the establishment while calling for reform that may engender some differences. Activists often operate through complaint letter writing to appropriate offices, ministries and departments. However, it is possible for it to also prevail in other ways. Activists as individuals and collectives now utilise the social media, especially the Facebook and the twitter to facilitate certain collective action and forms of activism (Eesuola 2012, Obar *et al.* 2012, Obar 2014). Gender activism therefore refers to the plethora of activates, actions and inactions exhibited by those who care specially about the issue of gender - often called gender activists- towards promoting, impeding, or challenging, as earlier adduced, the establishment and dominant practices in gender relations within the society, while calling for reform that they envisage will catalyse some improvements or completely change the status quo. Unlike scholarship, gender activism most of the times go by protest demonstrations, strikes and riots and strikes as well as different other means.

Those who engage in gender activism, gender activists, are often the bureaucrat upper middle calls women; those who have office works in the city centres and metropolis. Adopting the tradition and practice of gender equity and equality is also not unconnected with the notion that neo-liberalism holds towards the link between competition and achievement especially in the periods after the 19th century. Consequent upon this, employments become a function of distribution based on merit and other factors instead of the factor of gender and sex, as well as age and ethnicity which used to be the criteria. However, mainly, those who claim the accolade of gender activism are of the female species of homo sapiens (Akande 2007); often belonging to an array of professions as practitioners, and what they do is engage the society on gender issues using activism, not intellectualism.

Gender activism has done more of agitation for gender-equality (if not superiority of the feminine gender), and its agitation is relatively more successful within the rank of gender-sensitive societies and organizations, especially in the ministries, departments and agencies, as well as the private sectors. It is mostly those women who are able to develop to certain echelon of their career and who can 'prove their worth' within their workplaces, environment and as well as in politics that often lay claim to quest for equal opportunities that gender activism often represents. As this chapter explored

certain issues that characterised gender scholarship in its earlier part, in what follows it does the same on gender activism.

Gender activism is most conspicuous in the formal sector, and it is more common amongst urban and highly educated women, than their rural and grassroots sisters. By implication, especially in most parts of Africa, inequalities of classes and gender get deeper by the day, especially because to the ordinary woman, especially those who are poor and working in the country sides, is often basically abandoned. Quite often, gender activism operates through organisations, that created through individual and groups efforts towards overcoming discriminatory practices at home and in work places, as well as to ascertain that voices of women are beginning to be heard in all social strata. Majorly, one must note here, attempts in such directions have often been limited to making cases for women so that they can be allowed to do same things, perform same tasks and given same opportunities in politics, as well as other highly lucrative engagements in all sectors.

What gender activism does mainly agitate for the situation in which men and women have the same chances in political and administrative offices, as well as sports and the popular culture. Majority of the women who agitate for this often occupy top posts in their careers, posts that often require very advanced academic and, or professional trainings, coming from this background, one will probably find it understandable that they agitate the way they do.

Gender activism is also very much concerned about gender discrimination, but those who agitate for gender equality, because they are well educated and work in high places where they have easy access to institutions and instrumentations of the media and justice, are often less plagued with the kind of gender discrimination and oppression that the less educated and less placed women, most of whom are rural dwellers.

What does Scholarship do and What do the Activists Want?

Most of the women activists who agitate for gender equality, as adduced above, are of the urban middle class who have high educational qualification and belong mainly to white collar jobs. A few others belong to some NGOs of which they are chief executive. Such women get to such posts riding on the shoulder of gender equity agitation. They have greater advantage of fair gender treatment due to their ability to explore and exploit the politics and sentiments of gender activism, campaigning for better representation of women in many sectors, and making case for institutionalization of all things that will make man and woman equal. This dimension to gender struggle has always been associated with what makes the prominent woman more prominent, and the imminent more imminent (Blechner 2009).

As a result of this, little effort of gender equality is often asserted by the rural local women who perhaps suffer more from the contradictions of gender inequality and who need the evolution of equality more than any other group. Gender activism has little or no impact on the lives of the local women since little attention is often given to such rascality in the grassroots where women are poor and unexposed.

Most women still are bedevilled with the plight of discrimination and restrictions in their work places, especially when and where they have to compete with the men. Awelewa (2013) opines that it is due to the assumption that certain jobs, due to their strength requirements are more suited for men than women, vice versa. Culture even forbids certain works to be done by a particular gender. In the pre-colonial Yoruba society for instance, a man would not for any reason plait hair as a profession, while it would almost be sacrilegious for a woman to be a talking drummer. But men and women alike engaged in trading, but even at that items that they sell still had gender sensitivity.

One will find it difficult arguing that the gender equality propagation has had its spread to the grassroots the way it has in the places of higher learning and works where the well-educated women and professional ladies are. Awelewa exemplifies the situation in Cameroon where most women scarcely ever had rearing, slaughtering and even sale of cattle as career even when they had the social right to own them. She adds that such other businesses as that of the palm wine tapster, driving cab and buses even when they own farms filled with palm trees and had enough money to buy cabs and busses.

What also possess the academic gender women writing from the comfort of their research offices doing to address this quagmire? They are not of high quantity. Such women have often been placated with the achievement of such gender equality that permits women to stand in for elections, get appointed into governmental cabinets, get educated to the level of becoming professors in the university or even get appointed as vice chancellor. Apparently, what needs to be known is that the society can advance beyond this in gender equality and the process of institutionalising it, and for such institutionalization to take place, there needs to be a synergy between the academia and activism.

The act of involvement in all processes of politics and policies is what political participation is. Participation includes but is not limited to party membership, electioneering campaign, standing for political office, opposition, agitation and civil society activities. But, starting from the grassroots to the wider platforms, there are serious limitations to the opportunities open to women in terms of leadership and political participation. In voting, occupation of leadership positions, access to elective offices, appointment to leadership posts in the civil private sector, the academic community or the civil service, women have had very serious limitations to their opportunities, in spite of the long-term resolve, that in terms of ability and capability,

a very fade line, if at all, exists between men and women (UN Women/www.unwomen.org).

Many structural and social barriers hinder women through discriminatory laws and institutions, limiting their options to run for office and participate in certain aspects of politics such as protest. As UN Women also asserts, there is the case of capacity gap which makes women less more unlikely to possess the formal educational training, human and material resources that they need for the purpose of becoming unrestricted participants in politics. This is perhaps why the United Nations General Assembly in 2011, passed a resolution on participation of women in politics, with the emphasis that in any part of the world, there is an undesired continuity in the marginalization of women from political participation, due to an array of laws, traditions and cultural barriers, gender stereotypes, poverty, restricted education and other issues.

But both gender scholarship and Gender activism have not been able to individually bridge the gap that separates the two genders and that hinders their equality, especially within the African countries where many values and sentiments are high and strong. What the activists and scholars should focus on are some of the different ends that can be pursued in order to be able to achieve equality of gender that is real, sustainable and enduring and that will allow women at the grassroots to participate in politics in unlimited ways, and to achieve this, there should be a common framework between activism and scholarship, that will assist in establishing cooperation and togetherness amongst the women folk, irrespective of the different social class, economic status and even political situation to which they belong. With the mirage of gender equality gradually dissolves, and political participation of women increases. (Mukhopadhyay 2001:17).

The privileged ones among the women often are the one more capable of getting dedicated to dissemination and propagating such pattern and dimension of political participation that will be considered balanced within women at the grassroots, but such can only occur if the status quo described in the foregoing is seriously altered. This will ensure a situation in which instead the idea of equality of gender assuming the top bottom dimension, just like working from the superstructure to the substructure, it will take the reverse in which it works from the grassroots to the very low; just in the pattern of the pyramid in which the sub structural change will spread to affect the super structural parts. The implication of this is that the gender equality and equity dream will be rooted through the less privileged who are the majority that suffer inequality, and from them it ultimately gets to the urban women who are high placed and who will take the feeders from the grassroots to formulate, influence and implement policies at the top levels. When done, this has the capacity of shifting the paradigm of political participation away from the contemporary bureaucratic mechanisms towards educating, orientating and re orientating the several institutions that have the coloration of tradition and culture that may impede gender equality since it was from such points

inequality, marginalization and discrimination against women is being manufactured. (Sweetman 1997). Those considered to be the 'big' women have to face the reality that in order for their own interests to be protected, for their yearnings and aspirations to be met in the vision of gender equality, they will need to fully support, strengthen and embrace all those strategies and mechanisms that will spread gender equality across levels, classes and stratifications. Without such, their efforts may remain a mirage, especially in the area of political participation.

Women who are part of decision-making structures politically may serve as catalyst towards energizing grassroots men and encourage them to take into serious consideration, the yearnings and aspirations of women. The privileged ones amongst the women, that is the highly placed urban women who are well educated and connected to the top should take it upon themselves to reach the majority of their fellow women who stay oppressed, suppressed, marginalised and probably isolated in the grassroots places. With this the women on the top can further increase their dream of having more and more women participation in politics, either to support them (the highly-placed ones) or get involved along with them in terms of decision making.

Conclusion

What has been so far done is to examine the differences in gender scholarship and gender activism, especially in terms of their methodologies, and determine whether the difference that exists there in is capable of helping to achieve gender equality and equity especially in the aspect of political participations in all spheres and at all levels. It is revealed that the conception, operation and practice of gender equality by scholars and activists merely creates benefit for the high-class women in terms of getting political appointments, government patronages and contracts. The women are the 'higher' and literate 'white-collar' ones, who often lose touch with the grassroots soon after attaining such higher status. The rendition is that political participation, of all its forms earlier addressed, is in jeopardy since it is mostly the grassroots people that are used as instruments of politicking. After being used, they return to their poverty and illiteracy till another political period when their high-class city dweller women will return to use them. Women that occupy top posts have over the years dominated the scene and manipulated the gender equality project, through their actions or inactions, for the purpose of self-development of themselves and their cohorts. Political participation at all levels is the victim under this circumstance.

There is also a need for renewed commitment among scholars, to go beyond armchair theorising and model building in addressing gender issues. Similarly, there is need to for activists to underplay their personal emotions and sentiments of activism, which often help them alone. Now they need to advance such protests and agitations, activists and scholars alike, that will enhance grassroots empowerment of women, which in turn will enhance political participation.

References

- Beaune, D. & Rea, C. (2010). *Psychanalyse sans Cédipe: Antigone, genre et subversion*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Blechner, M. J. (2009). *Sex changes: Transformations in society and psychoanalysis*. New York and London: Taylor & Francis.
- Bracha L. Ettinger (2007). Diotima and the matrixial transference: Psychoanalytical encounter-event as pregnancy in beauty. In Van der Merwe, Chris N., & Viljoen, Hein (eds.) *Across the threshold*. NY: Peter Lang.
- Blechner, M. J. (1995). The shaping of psychoanalytic theory and practice by cultural and personal biases about sexuality. In Domenici, T. & Lesser, R. (eds.) *Disorienting sexuality*. New York: Routledge. Pp. 265–288.
- Bracha L. E. (1992). Matrix and metamorphosis. *Differences* 4 (3). 176–208.
- Bracha L. E. (2006). *The matrixial borderspace*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Bracha L. E. (2006). Matrixial trans-subjectivity in problematizing global knowledge theory. *Culture & Society*: 23(2).
- Blechner, M. J. (1998). Maleness and masculinity. *Contemporary Psychoanalysis*, 34:597–613.
- Bruno, P. (2016). *Queer theory: The French response*. Paris: Stanford University Press.
- Butler, J. (1999). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*, 163–71, 177–8.
- Butler, J. (1994). Feminism in any other name. *Differences*: 6(2-3): 44-45.
- Butler, J. et al. (2007). Pour ne pas en finir avec le « genre »... Table ronde », *Sociétés & Représentations* 2(24) pp. 285-306.
- Chafetz, J. S. (1999). *Handbook of the sociology of gender*. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum.
- DFID (2000). *Poverty elimination and the empowerment of women: Strategies for achieving the international development targets*. London: Department for International Development.
- Douglas, F. (2007). *Encyclopedia of sex and gender*. Detroit: Macmillan Reference.
- Liddington, J. (2011). History, Feminism and Gender Studies. *Working Paper 1, Feminist Scholarship: Within/across/between/beyond the disciplines*. Leeds: University of Leeds Centre for Interdisciplinary Gender Studies

- Essed, P., Goldberg, D. T., & Kobayashi, A. (2009). *A Companion to gender studies*. Wiley-Blackwell. Retrieved 7 November 2011.
- Ettinger, B. (2006). (Collected Essays from 1994–1999). *The matrixial borderspace*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Fatemeh B., Huaguo, Z. (2015). Investigating women's and men's propensity to use traffic information in a developing country. *Transportation in Developing Economies*. Retrieved 27 December 2015 from <http://link.springer.com/journal/40890>
- Femmes d'Afrique et Politique (1995) 'Ensemble pour le changement du Botswana'. Paper presented at the Inter-African Women in Politics Consultative Conference, Gaborone, 6-9 May.
- Gallop, J. (1993). *The daughter's seduction: Feminism and psychoanalysis*. NY: Cornell University Press.
- Grebowicz, M. (2007). *Gender after lyotard*. NY: Suny Press.
- Griselda, P. (1996). Inscriptions in the feminine and Introduction to the with-in-visible screen. In de Zegher, C. (ed.) *Inside the Visible*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Griselda, P. (2007). *Encounters in the virtual feminist museum: Time, space and the archive*. London: Routledge.
- Grosz, E. (1990). Jacques Lacan: A feminist introduction. London: Routledge.
- Healey, J. F. (2003). *Race, ethnicity, gender and class: The sociology of group conflict and change*.
- Herdt, G. (1981). *Guardians of the flute*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Howe, M. & Aguier, S. A. (eds.). (2001). *He said, She Says*. New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press.
- Horney, K. (1922). On the Genesis of the Castration Complex in Women. In Miller, J. B. (1973) (ed.) *Psychoanalysis and women*. New York: Bruner/Mazel.
- Humm, M. (2003). *Modernist women and visual cultures*. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.
- Killermann, S. (2013). Understanding the Complexities of Gender: Sam Killermann at TEDxUofIChicago. YouTube. Retrieved 26 December 2015 from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NRcPXtdKjE>
- Krijnen, T., van Bauwel, S. (2015). *Gender and media: Representing, producing, consuming*. New York: Routledge.

- Kristeva, J. (1982). *Powers of Horror, An Essay on Abjection*. Translated by Leon S. Roudiez. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Lacan, J. (1973). *Encore*. Paris: Seuil.
- Laurie, T., Hickey-Moody, A. (2015). Geophilosophies of masculinity: Remapping gender, aesthetics and knowledge. *Angelaki: Journal of the Theoretical Humanities*. 20 (1): 1–10.
- Mukhopadhyay, M. (2001). Introduction: women and property, women as property. In Cummings, S., van Dam, H., Khadar, A., & Valk, M. (eds.) *Gender perspectives on property and inheritance: A global source book*. Amsterdam and Oxford: KIT Publishers and Oxfam Publishing.
- Nina, C. (1999). *Dangerous women, deadly words*. Redwood City, California: Stanford University Press.
- Obar, J., Zube, P. & Lampe, C. (2011). Advocacy 2.0: An analysis of how advocacy groups in the united states perceive and use social media as tools for facilitating civic engagement and collective action. *Journal of Information Policy*. <http://www.jip-online.org/> Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=1956352> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1956352>
- Obar, J. (2014). Canadian advocacy 2.0: A study of social media use by social movement groups and activists in Canada. *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 39 (2) 211-233 (2014).
- Orock, R. T. E. (2007). Gender equality: Whose agenda? Observations from Cameroon. *Development in Practice*: 17(1) 93-97
- Salime, Z. (2011). *Between feminism and Islam: Human rights and Sharia law in Morocco*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Smith, A. & Kristeva, J. (1988). *Speaking the unspeakable*. Chicago: Pluto Press.
- Sweetman, C. (1997). Editorial. *Gender and Development* 5(1): 2-9.
- The World Bank (2013). Gender in East Asia and Pacific. *Social Development*. The World Bank Web. Dec 2016. www.worldbank.org.
- Thomas, C. (2000). Introduction: Identification, appropriation, proliferation. *Straight with a twist: Queer theory and the subject of heterosexuality*. Illinois: University of Illinois Press.
- Vanda Zajko & Miriam Leonard (2006). (eds.). *Laughing with medusa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lacan Wright, E. (2003). *Lacan and Postfeminism (Postmodern Encounters)*. UK: Icon Books

Zohar, Ayelet (2009). (ed.). *PostGender*. Cambridge: Scholars Publishing.

www.unwomen.org