

London School of Economics & Political Science  
Department of Government  
2023-2024

GV4H3 Feminist Political Theory  
Winter Term 2024

Course instructor: Dr Sarah Goff ([s.goff@lse.ac.uk](mailto:s.goff@lse.ac.uk))

Lecture: Fridays, 10.00-11.00 in CKK.2.16

Seminars: There are two seminar groups. One meets Fridays, 12.00-13.00 and the other Friday 13.00-14.00. Both meet in OLD.1.28.

Office hours: Fridays 14.00-15.00  
Please book an appointment using StudentHub. If the time is not suitable for you, email the instructor to make other arrangements.

### **Availability**

This course is available on the MPhil/PhD in Gender, MSc in Gender, MSc in Gender (Research), MSc in Gender, Development and Globalisation, MSc in Gender, Policy and Inequalities and MSc in Political Theory. This course is available with permission as an outside option to students on other programmes where regulations permit. This course has a limited number of places (it is controlled access) and demand is typically high. Priority is given to students in the MSc Political Theory programme. This course is capped at 2 groups.

### **Course content**

This course covers some of the central debates in contemporary feminist political theory, with a particular emphasis on the legacy and usefulness of liberalism. Among the problems raised are conceptions of the individual and individual autonomy; the relative invisibility of gender issues in mainstream literature on justice and equality; the tendency to conceive of equality in sex-blind terms; the tendency to presume a universally applicable set of norms. We consider the theoretical debates in relation to a number of contemporary political issues.

### **Teaching**

This course provides a combination of seminars and lectures totalling 20 hours.

### **Formative coursework**

Students will submit a short formative essay (up to 1500 words) and will be given feedback on this before submitting their assessed coursework.

### **Assessment**

Essay (100%, 4000 words). Question prompts will be provided by the instructor.

## Course outline:

- Week 1. What is feminist political theory?
- Week 2. Family life in the public realm
- Week 3. Patriarchy
- Week 4. The myth of impartiality
- Week 5. Individual autonomy and structural injustice
- \*Reading Week\*
- Week 6. Reproduction
- Week 7. Pornography and sex work
- Week 8. Marriage
- Week 9. Feminist perspectives on sexuality and gender identity
- Week 10. Feminism in a global context

## Course Readings:

### Week 1: What is feminist political theory?

In her classic book *The Second Sex*, Simone de Beauvoir explored the process of 'becoming' a woman, arguing that woman is defined as 'other', always by reference to man, who is defined as the norm. We take this as the starting point for exploring some of the issues around how to think about the relationship between sex and gender, male and female, masculine and feminine. We will introduce some of the main themes of the course: family, love, and marriage; gender as social construction and embodiment; individual choice and women's liberation. We also consider bell hooks' argument about the aims of feminist theory and their alignment with political practice.

#### Essential reading

Simone de Beauvoir, 'Introduction' in *The Second Sex* (1949)  
bell hooks, 'Theory as Liberatory Practice' *Yale Journal of Law and Feminism* (1991)

#### Background reading

Denise Riley, 'Does Sex Have a History?' in *Am I That Name? Feminism and the Category of 'Women' in History* (1988)  
Toril Moi, *What is a Woman? And Other Essays* (1999) pp. 4-54  
Judith Butler, 'Sex and Gender in Simone de Beauvoir's *Second Sex*' *Yale French Studies* (1986)  
Judith Butler, Chapter 1 in *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (1999), pp. 1-44  
Lena Gunnarsson, 'A Defence of the Category "Women"' *Feminist Theory* (2011)  
Kathryn Gines, 'Comparative Competing Frameworks of Oppression in Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex*' *Graduate Faculty Philosophy Journal* (2014)  
Sonia Kruks, 'Theorizing Oppression' in *Simone de Beauvoir and the Politics of Ambiguity* (2012)

### Week 2: Family life in the public realm

In her influential *Justice, Gender and the Family* (1989) Susan Okin developed scorching critiques of leading political philosophers of the time, including John Rawls. A recurrent theme in her arguments was that political theorists typically excluded the family from their

analyses of equality and justice. We focus here on one of Okin's later essays, and on a more radical argument about the family from a feminist Marxist (Silvia Federici).

### Essential Reading

Susan Moller Okin, "'Forty acres and a mule' for women: Rawls and feminism" *Politics, Philosophy, Economics* (2005)

Silvia Federici, 'Wages against Housework' (1975) in *Revolution at Point Zero: Housework, Reproduction and Feminist Struggle*

### Background Reading

Nancy Rosenblum, 'Okin's Liberal Feminism as a Radical Political Theory' in Debra Satz and Rob Reich (eds) *Towards a Humanist Justice: the Political Philosophy of Susan Moller Okin* (2010)

Susan Moller Okin, *Justice, Gender, and the Family* (1989)

bell hooks, Chapter 10: Revolutionary Parenting in *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center* (1984)

Patricia Hill Collins, Chapter 3: Work, Family, and Women's Oppression in *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (2000)

Ruth Abbey, 'Back toward a Comprehensive Liberalism?' *Political Theory* (2007)

Mary Lyndon Shanley, "No More relevance than One's Eye Color": Justice and a Society Without Gender in Debra Satz and Rob Reich (eds) *Towards a Humanist Justice: the Political Philosophy of Susan Moller Okin* (2010)

Martha Nussbaum, 'Rawls and Feminism' in S. Freeman (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Rawls* (2002) pp. 488-520

Alison Jaggar, 'Okin and the Challenge of Essentialism' in *Towards a Humanist Justice: the Political Philosophy of Susan Moller Okin* (2010), pp. 166-180

Elizabeth Brake, 'Rawls and Feminism: What Should Feminists Make of Liberal Neutrality?' *Journal of Moral Philosophy* (2004)

Ruth Abbey, 'He Said She Said: the Okin-Rawls Debate' *The Return of Feminist Liberalism* pp. 61-82

Catherine Mackinnon, 'Feminism, Marxism, and the State: Toward Feminist Jurisprudence' *Signs* (1983)

Susan Moller Okin, 'Sexual Orientation, Gender and Families: Dichotomizing Differences' *Hypatia* (1996)

## **Week 3: Patriarchy**

Contract has figured for centuries as a way of justifying or 'domesticating' hierarchical power. It was central to the development of liberalism in the 17th and 18th centuries, figuring strongly in the challenge to patriarchal conceptions of power; and became important again in the 20th century with the Rawlsian revival. For some feminists, being recognised as an equal partner in contract is a crucial way forward to gender equality; for others, it remains a trap. The issues reflect disagreement over whether the task of feminism is to extend to women freedoms already enjoyed by men, or more fundamentally to transform them. We focus here on Carole Pateman's critique of contract as patriarchal domination and Kate Manne's argument about the broader entitlements that patriarchy bestows upon men.

### Essential Reading

Carole Pateman, Chapter 1: 'Contracting In' in *The Sexual Contract* (1988) (if you have time, see also Chapter 8: the End of the Story?)

Kate Manne, Chapter 4: 'Taking His (Out)' in *Down Girl: The Logic of Misogyny* (2017)

### Background Reading

Carole Pateman and Charles W. Mills, *Contract and Domination* (2007)

Nancy Fraser, 'Beyond the Master/Subject Model: On Carole Pateman's 'The Sexual Contract' in *Justice Interruptus: Critical Reflections on the 'Postsocialist' Condition* (1996)

Carole Pateman, 'Self-Ownership and Property in the Person: Democratization and a Tale of Two Concepts' (2002)

Anne Phillips, Chapter 1 in *Our Bodies, Whose Property?* (2013)

Janice Richardson, 'The Social Contractarians and Contemporary Feminist Philosophy' in *The Classic Social Contractarians: Critical Perspectives from Contemporary Feminist Philosophy and Law* (2009)

Torrey Shanks, 'Affect, Critique, and the Social Contract' *Theory and Event* (2015)

Jean Hampton, 'Feminist Contractarianism' in *Varieties of Feminist Liberalism* (ed. Amy Baehr) (2004)

Anne Phillips, 'Free to Decide for Oneself' in *The Illusion of Consent* (eds. Daniel I. O'Neill, Mary Lyndon Shanley, Iris Marion Young) (2008)

Sally Haslanger, 'Why I don't Believe in Patriarchy: Comments on Kate Manne's *Down Girl*' *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research* (2020)

Lori Watson, 'Gender Policing: Comments on Down Girl' *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research* (2020)

Sylvia Walby, 'Theorising Patriarchy' *Sociology* (1989)

### **Week 4: The myth of impartiality**

In *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (1990) Iris Young challenges the ideal of impartiality, and argues for a conception of justice that starts from, rather than denying, difference. Her arguments have significantly shaped subsequent thinking about democracy and equality. Here we focus on Young's critique of impartiality, and an argument for the feminist use of anger from Audre Lorde.

### Essential Reading

Iris Marion Young, Chapter 4 in *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (1990)

Audre Lorde, 'The Uses of Anger' *Feminist Studies Quarterly* (1997)

### Background Reading

Susan Bickford, 'Anti-Anti-Identity Politics: Feminism, Democracy, and the Complexities of Citizenship' *Hypatia* (2011)

Iris Marion Young, 'Polity and Group Difference' *Ethics*

Iris Marion Young, Chapter 1: Democracy and Justice in *Inclusion and Democracy* (2002)

Patricia Hill Collins, Chapter 11: Black Feminist Epistemology in *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (2000)

Judith Butler, 'Imitation and Gender Subordination' in *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader* (1993)

J. Squires, 'Representing groups, deconstructing identities' *Feminist Theory* (2001)

Wendy Brown, 'Wounded Attachments' *Political Theory* (1993)

Chris Armstrong, Chapter 5 in *Rethinking Equality: The Challenge of Equal Citizenship* (2006)

Adam Tebble, 'What is the Politics of Difference?' *Political Theory* (2002)

Anne Phillips, Chapter 2: Taking Difference Seriously in *Which Equalities Matter?* 1999

Kimberle Crenshaw, 'Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color,' *Stanford Law Review* 1991

Myisha Cherry, 'Political Anger' *Philosophy Compass* (2021)

Amia Srinivasan, 'The Aptness of Anger' *The Journal of Political Philosophy* (2020)

Katherine Ritchie, 'Does Identity Politics Reinforce Oppression?' *Philosophers' Imprint* (2021)

Holly Lawford-Smith and Kate Phelan, 'The Metaphysics of Intersectionality Revisited' *Journal of Political Philosophy* (2021)

Myisha Cherry, 'Painting in Broad Strokes' in *The Case for Rage: Why Anger is Essential to Anti-Racist Struggle* (2021)

## **Week 5: Individual choice and structural injustice**

Feminism is both deeply shaped by liberalism and in contestation with it, often regarding the liberal tradition as overly individualist, insufficiently sensitive to the material conditions for equality, and attached to a false gender neutrality. A further complaint is that liberalism's understanding of autonomy fails to recognise the 'connectedness' of people's lives. Here we consider Marilyn Friedman's identification of the different aspects of autonomy that are at stake in women's decisions about their situations of intimate partner violence. This discussion also raises the question of whether other people should respect women's autonomous decisions when these are harmful to themselves and to others. We also consider Heather Widdows' argument about harmful decisions to comply with oppressive norms of beautiful appearance, which she characterizes as a 'structural injustice'.

### Essential Reading

Marilyn Friedman, Chapter 7: Domestic Violence Against Women and Autonomy, in *Autonomy, Gender, Politics* (2003)

Heather Widdows, 'Structural Injustice and the Requirements of Beauty,' *Journal of Social Philosophy* (2020)

### Background Reading

Martha Nussbaum, Chapter: The Feminist Critique of Liberalism in *Sex & Social Justice* (1999)

Serene Khader, 'Beyond Autonomy Fetishism: Affiliation with Autonomy in Women's Empowerment' *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities* (2016)

Serene Khader, *Adaptive Preferences and Women's Empowerment* (2011)

Clare Chambers, *Sex, Culture and Justice: The Limits of Choice* (2008)

Eléonore Lépinard, 'Autonomy and the Crisis of the Feminist Subject: Revisiting Okin's Dilemma' *Constellations* (2011)

Jennifer Nedelsky, 'Reconceiving Autonomy: Sources, Thoughts and Possibilities' *Yale Journal of Law and Feminism* (1989)

Beate Rossler, 'Problems with Autonomy' *Hypatia* (2002)

Nancy J. Hirschmann, 'Toward a Feminist Theory of Freedom' *Political Theory* (1996)

Catriona MacKenzie and Natalie Stoljar, 'Introduction: Autonomy Reconfigured' in *Relational autonomy: feminist perspectives on autonomy, agency, and the social self* (2000) pp 3-31.

Ruth Abbey, Chapters 9-11 in *The return of feminist liberalism* (2011)

Jennifer Nedelsky, *Law's Relations: A Relational Theory of Self, Autonomy, and Law* (2012)

Paul Benson, 'Feminist Second Thoughts About Agency' *Hypatia* (1990)

Ann Cudd, 'Oppression by Choice' *Journal of Social Philosophy* (1994)

Robin S. Dillon, 'Toward a Feminist Conception of Self Respect' *Hypatia* (1992)  
Maeve McKeown, 'Structural Injustice' *Philosophy Compass* (2021)  
Iris Marion Young, Chapter 2: Structure as the Subject of Justice, *Responsibility for Justice* (2011)

## Reading week

There will be no lectures or seminars this week. I encourage you to take the opportunity to write a formative essay, which will be due at the end of the week.

## Week 6: Reproduction

Women's reproductive rights have been a topic of feminist political campaigning and controversy. Here we consider a defense of abortion using a 'thought experiment', which deliberately removes factors that are usually present in ethical reasoning on the question (gender, relationships, emotions). This returns us to our previous discussion of impartiality (week 4) and our previous discussion of autonomous choice (week 5). We will also consider an argument by Elizabeth Anderson that deliberately brings back in these factors (gender, relationships, emotions) in support of restrictions on women's choice to engage in commercial surrogacy. Anderson objects to surrogacy contracts on the grounds that they are degrading to women.

### Essential Reading

Judith Jarvis Thomson, 'A Defense of Abortion' *Philosophy and Public Affairs*  
Elizabeth S. Anderson, 'Is Women's Labor a Commodity?' *Philosophy and Public Affairs* (2015)

### Background Reading

Anne Phillips, 'It's My Body and I'll Do What I Like With It: Bodies as Objects and Property' *Political Theory* (2011)  
Jessica Flanigan, 'Inequality and Markets in Bodily Services' *Political Theory* (2013)  
Anne Phillips, 'Inequality and markets: a response to Jessica Flanigan' *Political Theory* (2013)  
Vida Panitch, 'Global surrogacy: exploitation to empowerment' *Journal of Global Ethics* (2013)  
Amrita Pande, *Wombs in labor: transnational commercial surrogacy in India* (2014)  
Heather Widdows, 'Border Disputes Across Bodies: Exploitation in Trafficking for Prostitution and Egg Sale for Stem Cell Research' *International Journal of Feminist Approaches to Bioethics* (2009)  
Anne Phillips, 'Exploitation, Commodification, and Equality' in *Exploitation: From Practice to Theory* (eds. Monique Deveaux and Vida Panitch) (2017)  
Emily Jackson, 'Compensating Egg Donors' in *Gender, Agency, and Coercion* (eds. Sumi Madhok, Anne Phillips, Kalpana Wilson) (2013)  
Serene Khader, 'Intersectionality and the Ethics of Transnational Commercial Surrogacy' *International Journal of Feminist Approaches to Bioethics* (2013)

## Week 7: Pornography and Sex Work

Some of the most contested issues within feminism relate to the commercialisation of sex and whether it should be viewed as inherently exploitative of women. Here we take up specific

forms of contract regarding women's sexualized bodies. Debra Satz argues that feminists should object to contracts only when they tend to undermine freedom and equality, but that this is not a necessary feature of contracts over women's sexualized bodies. We'll also consider pornography and whether it can and should have feminist aims.

### Essential Reading

Debra Satz, 'Markets in Women's Sexual Labor' *Ethics* (1995)

Anne Eaton, 'Feminist Pornography' in *Beyond Speech: Pornography and Analytic Feminist Philosophy* (2017)

### Background Reading

Martha Nussbaum, 'Whether From Reason or Prejudice: Taking Money for Bodily Services' in *Sex and Social Justice* (1999) pp. 276-298

Debra Satz, *Why Some Things Should Not be For Sale: the Moral Limits of Markets* (2010)

Julia O'Connell Davidson, 'The Rights and Wrongs of Prostitution' *Hypatia* (2002)

Anne Phillips, *Our Bodies, Whose Property?* (2013)

Kathy Miriam, 'Stopping the Traffic in Women: Power, Agency and Abolition in Feminist Debates over Sex Trafficking' *Journal of Political Philosophy* (2005)

Rutvica Andrijasevic, Chapter 1 in *Migration, Agency and Citizenship in Sex Trafficking* (2010)

Peter De Marneffe, Chapter 1 in *Liberalism and Prostitution* (2009)

Peter De Marneffe, 'Avoiding Paternalism' *Philosophy and Public Affairs* (2006)

Cecile Fabre, Chapter 7: Prostitution in *Whose Body is It Anyway? Justice and the Integrity of the Person* (2006)

Patricia Hill Collins, Chapter 6: The Sexual Politics of Black Womanhood in *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (2000)

Amia Srinivasan, 'Does anyone have the right to sex?' *London Review of Books* (2018)

## **Week 8: Marriage**

Early feminists sometimes criticised marriage as a form of legalised prostitution, something women were effectively forced into as their only means of survival. In the 1980s, Carole Pateman still criticised the marriage contract as inherently unequal and subordinating women to men. Here we return to debates about marriage in the light of the recent revival of feminist literature on the institution of marriage. In particular, we will consider a provocative rejection of the role of the state in regulating intimate relationships and an argument in favor of marriage from the perspective of gays and lesbians.

### Essential Reading

Clare Chambers, 'The Marriage-Free State' *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society* (2013)

Cheshire Calhoun, Chapter 6: 'Constructing Lesbians and Gay Men as Family's Outlaws' in *Feminism, the Family, and the Politics of the Closet: Lesbian and Gay Displacement* (2002)

### Background Reading

Elizabeth Brake, Chapters 5 and 7 in *Minimizing marriage: marriage, morality, and the law* (2012)

Claudia Card, 'Against Marriage and Motherhood' *Hypatia* (1996)

Clare Chambers, Chapter in *Against Marriage: An Egalitarian Defense of the Marriage-Free State* (2017) pages 142-169

Elizabeth Brake, Chapter: 'Equality and Non-Hierarchy in Marriage' in Brake (ed) *After Marriage: Rethinking Marital Relationships* (2016)

Clare Chambers, Chapter: 'The Limitations of Contract' in Brake (ed) *After Marriage: Rethinking Marital Relationships* (2016)

Alasia Nuti, 'How Should Marriage be Theorised?' *Feminist Theory* (2016)

Tamara Metz, *Untying the Knot: Marriage, the State, and the Case for their Divorce* (2010)

Martha Minow and Mary Lyndon Shanley, 'Relational Rights and Responsibilities: Revisioning the Family in Liberal Political Theory and Law,' *Hypatia* (1996)

Ann Ferguson, 'Gay Marriage: An American and Feminist Dilemma' *Hypatia* (2007)

Patricia Hill Collins, Chapter 8: Black Women and Motherhood in *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (2000)

## **Week 9: Feminist perspectives on sexuality and gender identity**

Feminists often emphasize that gender is socially constructed, particularly in ways that result in disadvantage and a subordinate social role. Some believe that the best feminist response is to try to make gender irrelevant for society's major institutions (see Okin, week 2). But this could be at odds with the fact that many people identify with a gender. Here we consider two arguments that certain forms of self-identification as women can help to liberate all women. We consider Talia Mae Bettcher's definition of women that includes trans women, because this group has the experience of sexualized violence and personal identification as women. We also consider a short manifesto from 'Radicalesbians' who argue for a change in women's consciousness and their openness to many forms of relationship with other women (including sexual), as a path towards liberation.

### Essential Reading

Radicalesbians, Chapter 46: 'The Woman-Identified Woman' in *Feminist Manifesto: A Global Documentary Reader* (ed. Penny Weiss) (2018)

Talia Mae Bettcher, 'Evil Deceivers and Make Believers: On Transphobic Violence and the Politics of Illusion' *Hypatia* (2007)

### Background Reading

Cheshire Calhoun, Chapter 2: 'Separating Lesbian Theory from Feminist Theory' in *Feminism, the Family, and the Politics of the Closet: Lesbian and Gay Displacement* (2002)

Sarah Lucia Hoagland, 'Why Lesbian Ethics?' *Hypatia* (1992)

Marilyn Frye, 'Some Reflections on Separatism and Power' in *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader* (1993)

Christine Overall, 'Heterosexuality and Feminist Theory' *Canadian Journal of Philosophy* (1990)

Claudia Card, 'Radicalesbianfeminist Theory' *Hypatia* (1998)

Adrienne Rich, 'Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence' *Signs* 1980)

Matthew Andler, 'The Sexual Orientation/Identity Distinction' *Hypatia* (2021)

Kathleen Stock, 'Sexual Orientation: What is it?' *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society* (2019)

Audre Lorde, 'The Uses of the Erotic: The Erotic as Power' in *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader* (1993)

Monique Wittig, 'One is Not Born a Woman' in *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader* (1993)

Iris Marion Young, 'Throwing Like a Girl:— Phenomenology of Feminine Body Comportment, Motility, and Spatiality' in *On Female Body Experience: Throwing Like a Girl and Other Essays* (1980)



Iris Marion Young, 'Gender as Seriality: Thinking About Women as a Social Collective' *Signs* (1994)

Sally Haslanger, 'Gender and Race: (What) are they? (What) Do We Want Them to Be?' *Nous* (2000)

Lori Watson, 'The Woman Question' *TSQ: Transgender Studies Quarterly* (2016)

Sara Ahmed, 'An Affinity of Hammers' *TSQ: Transgender Studies Quarterly* (2016)

Katharine Jenkins, 'Amelioration and Inclusion: Gender Identity and The Concept of Woman' *Ethics* (2016)

C. Riley Snorton, "'A New Hope": The Psychic Life of Passing' *Hypatia* (2009)

Daniel Silvermint, 'Passing as Privileged' *Ergo* (2018)

Talia Mae Bettcher, 'Intersexuality, Transgender, and Transsexuality' in *The Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory* (2015)

Iris Marion Young, 'Lived Body vs. Gender: Reflections on Social Structure and Subjectivity' in *On Female Body Experience: Throwing Like a Girl and Other Essays* (1980)

Robin Dembroff, 'Beyond Binary: Genderqueer as Critical Gender Kind' *Philosophers' Imprint* (2020)

Cressida Heyes, 'Feminist Solidarity after Queer Theory: The Case of Transgender' *Signs* (2003)

Cressida Heyes and J.R. Latham, 'Trans Surgeries and Cosmetic Surgeries: The Politics of Analogy,' *TSQ: Transgender Studies Quarterly* (2018)

## **Week 10: Feminism in a Global Context**

Feminism can be understood as offering resistance to gender oppression, rather than offering a universal ideal of a just, equal, and free society. If feminists refrain from offering universal ideals, will their theoretical arguments have a better chance of empowering women and respecting their choices? This week considers Serene Khader's proposal for a non-ideal theory of feminism that is context-sensitive. Specifically, it aims to take account of culture, social norms, economic conditions, and political conditions. We also consider an argument from María Lugones denying that gender oppression is conceptually separable from oppressions of race, culture, and colonialism.

### Essential Reading

Serene Khader, Chapter 1 in *Decolonizing Universalism: Toward a Transnational Feminist Ethic* (2018)

María Lugones, 'Heterosexualism and the colonial gender system' *Hypatia* (2007)

### Background Reading

Margaret McLaren, 'Decolonizing Feminism through Intersectional Praxis: On Serene Khader's Decolonizing Universalism,' *Metaphilosophy* (2021)

The Combahee River Collective, 'A Black Feminist Statement' *Women's Studies Quarterly* (2014)

Martha C Nussbaum, 'In Defence of Universal Values' in *Women and Human Development: The Capabilities Approach* (2000)

Martha Nussbaum, 'Judging Other Cultures: The Case of Genital Mutilation' *Sex and Social Justice* (1999)

Lila Abu-Lughod, *Do Muslim Women Need Saving?* (2013)

Carolyn Pedwell, Chapters 1 and 3 in *Feminism, Culture and Embodied Practice: The Rhetorics of Comparison* (2010)

Anne Phillips, Chapter on 'Multiculturalism, Universalism and the Claims of Democracy' in *Gender Justice, Development and Rights* (eds. Maxine Molyneux and Shahra Razavi) (2002)

Moira Gatens, 'Can Human Rights Accommodate Women's Rights? Towards an Embodied Account of Social Norms, Social Meaning, and Cultural Change' *Contemporary Political Theory* (2004)

Martha C Nussbaum, 'Human Capabilities, Female Human Beings' in *Women, Culture and Development* (eds. Martha C. Nussbaum, Jonathan Glover) (1995)

Susan Moller Okin, 'Is Multiculturalism Bad For Women?' in *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?* (eds. Okin et. al.) (1999)

Uma Narayan, 'Essence of Culture and a Sense of History: A Feminist Critique of Cultural Essentialism' *Hypatia* (2015)

Saba Mahmood, Chapter 1 in *Politics of Piety: The Islamic revival and the feminist subject* (2005)

Wendy Brown, 'Civilizational Delusions: Secularism, Tolerance, Equality' *Theory and Event* (2012)

Sara R. Farris, *In the Name of Women's Rights: the Rise of Femonationalism* (2017)

Leti Volpp, 'Feminism versus Multiculturalism' *Columbia Law Review* (2001)

Joan Wallach Scott, *The Politics of the Veil* (2007)

Ayelet Shachar, 'What We Owe Women: the View from Multicultural Feminism' in *Toward a Humanist Justice: The Political Philosophy of Susan Moller Okin* (2010)

Diana Tietjens Meyers, 'Feminism and Women's Autonomy: the Challenge of Female Genital Cutting' *Metaphilosophy* (2000)

Nancy J. Hirschmann, 'Western Feminism, Eastern Veiling, and the Question of Free Agency,' *Constellations* (1998)