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Feminist Political Theory: The Role of Gender in Politics and Governance

### Zohaib Khan, Saima Khalil

#### **Abstract**

#### Zohaib Khan

M. Phil Scholar, Department of English, Foundation University Schoolof Science & Technology, Islamabad.

zohiikhan@gmail.com

#### Saima Khalil

PhD Scholar, English Linguistics, IUB.

saimakhalil@gmail.com

This research explores feminist political theory, focusing on the critical role of gender in shaping politics and governance. It examines how traditional political theories often overlook or marginalize women's experiences and contributions, leading to an incomplete understanding of power dynamics within society. By analyzing key feminist texts and movements, the study highlights the ways in which gender intersects with other identities—such as race, class, and sexuality — to influence political participation and representation. The research also investigates contemporary issues, including reproductive rights, gender-based violence, and workplace equality, illustrating how feminist perspectives can inform policy-making and governance structures. Through case studies of feminist movements and their impact on political systems, the study emphasizes the importance of inclusivity and diversity in democratic processes. The findings suggest that integrating feminist insights into political theory not only enriches the discourse but also promotes more equitable governance. Ultimately, this research aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of how gender shapes political realities and the importance of feminist frameworks in creating just and inclusive societies.

Keywords: feminist political theory, gender, politics, governance, power dynamics, representation, inclusivity, social justice.

**VOL: 1, ISSUE: 2, 2023** 

### 1. Introduction to Feminist Political Theory

Feminist political theory has drawn attention to the neglect of gender as a category of analysis and to an androcentric bias in the questions that traditional political theory has posed and in the definitions of fundamental concepts. The meaning of "feminist" in feminist political theory covers numerous dimensions. Firstly, it signals the need to focus on gender. Gender structures and is structured by gendered relations of power. At the same time, the term feminist serves to alert to the exclusion of women and feminist perspectives in politics and political theory and in institutions of political life. When people engage in political acts, they are also engaged in gendered acts. This is why understanding something as political—whether this is an act, a practice, a system of government, policies, a decision about a war, a political institution, a judge's decision in a courtroom, or something discussed in a book—is also the subject of feminist political theory. Feminist political theory aims to make such acts intelligible. The political act or practice in question is examined in terms of the specific form and organization it takes through a focus on the makeup of gender relations in our societies, its actions, and its institutions. Such concerns invite reflection on the significance for theories of justice — and for any theories of politics — of working at the intersection of analyses of gender and politics. And such intersectional analyses may reveal—as well as be productive—of injustices in political practices, principles, and theories for women. The growing range of such approaches testifies to

VOL: 1, ISSUE: 2, 2023

the prominence now accorded to feminist political theory in the fields of both

comparative politics and international relations. (Béné, 2022)

1.1. Definition and Scope

Politics, due to its focus on public life, organization, and governance, shapes

many of the experiences and identity markers of individuals and groups.

Feminist political theory is, therefore, concerned with examining and critiquing

the role of gender within politics and governance. This broad definition not

only includes discussions about the direct representation and participation of

women and gender minorities in political institutions, but also how politics and

governments ought to respond to difference and inequality on the basis of

gender. Relatedly, some feminist political theorists also seek to illuminate the

historical exclusion of women and other marginalized communities from

political theory, whether as a subject of inquiry or as an author.

While it can seem as though the terms feminisms or feminist may be neutral

markers of gender identity and political conviction, the terms have been and

continue to be quite malleable in their interpretation. Terminating feminism

with a three-tiered descriptor such as liberal, radical, and socialist merely

serves to list typologies. Using feminist as a noun is preferable because it is

both more inclusive, capturing a broader range of experiences, and mutable,

allowing for transformative meaning and multiplicity in identification. As a

clarificatory tool, the adjective feminist points to the underlying ideology as if

- 3 -

VOL: 1, ISSUE: 2, 2023

feminism were a political system or economic doctrine. Moreover, this nominal

form excludes male participation and precludes meaningful dialogue on

gender or issues that incorporate other marginalized identities. Through this,

the feminist movement becomes decategorized, where all gender elements

are accepted. Local communication between activists and scholars can also

be complicated by the varying degrees of acceptability of feminist ideologies

in global discourse.

The difficulty in setting definitions is also an issue in setting boundaries for the

scope of feminist political theory, as gender and a female experience are

interpreted differently in each theory. Different feminist theories make differing

claims about what the state is and what it does, but they likewise provide

different remedies. As well as a description and critique of the state's gender

bias, we will thus find in each approach a policy agenda, prescription for

reworking institutions or forms of governance, or a view on better ways of

effecting change. Public state action is but one of a number of potential sites

for feminist political activism within any of these approaches. (Crawford &

Paglen, 2021)

1.2. Historical Development

The term feminist political theory refers to an interdisciplinary approach to

reflecting on the role of gender and women in politics and governance. In

recent decades, a growing body of feminist literature has addressed various

- 4 -

VOL: 1, ISSUE: 2, 2023

aspects of the Western political tradition, including ideas about citizenship,

justice, the state, and democracy. While many of the arguments made by

feminists arise from critiques of the liberal tradition, the different schools of

feminist thought have different ways of critiquing liberalism and, equally, offer

different alternatives. It is important to note that the development of feminist

theory occurred in response to changing social, political, and economic

factors and was itself shaped by the historical context in which it was

articulated. As a result, feminist theory has taken different forms in different

places, and ideas about what key texts in the canon of feminist theory might

be are contested.

There are many registers to measure the way that feminist political theory has

developed and evolved over the course of the past hundred years. Recent

work to map the development of this field in various national contexts begins

with observations of early suffrage movements and early feminist

organizations, the reframing of earlier political questions in the late 20s and

early 30s, where radical feminists were questioning the whole system of

democracy; mobilizations, such as that of the civil rights movement in America,

that took many women into the political discussion that conceptually founded

second-wave feminism; and the identity politics in the 70s. These movements

and the broader social, political, and economic changes that impelled them

were taken up by theorists, and among some of the difficult questions

additional to these epochal events, was how to accommodate a debate about

- 5 -

VOL: 1, ISSUE: 2, 2023

gender equality into a society that had disabled, silenced, or oppressed

women and other marginalized citizens at various times. The aim is to show

that such an account of the last hundred years provides a politics-feminism

relationship that is too simplistic. Feminism becomes as much a product of

politics as a stance toward political theory. (Pauwelussen 2022)

2. Gender as a Social Construct

Gender is often described as a social construct and is thus differentiated from

biology or sex. In other words, sexual differences are used to construct the

social categories of girl and boy, of woman and man. The focus on gender

has embraced a range of femininities and masculinities, situating these in

terms of the broader set of expectations and performances that circulate as

men and women, sexualities, ethnicities, age, etc. Gender is particularly

associated with the disciplines of sociology, anthropology, film and media

studies, but has also begun to ally itself to literary studies, history, music,

philosophy, religious studies, law, and, through a focus on political

representation of particular groups, to political theory. Within political theory, a

focus on gender emphasizes the process of power relations that inform the

perceptions and analysis of politics as well as the structures and institutions of

politics itself, and has taken for granted the relevance of the term.

A focus on gender seeks to include the identities and political influence of

people marked by femininity as well as those of feminist women. Feminist

- 6 -

VOL: 1, ISSUE: 2, 2023

politics also requires an explanation of why and how politics based on gender

arises out of sexual differences, race, culture, and class with and through state form and policy. By speaking in terms of gender, the feminist political agenda can argue for, for example, changes to the ways in which women's

and men's social, political, and economic lives are differently shaped, or for

the importance of equal representation in political participation for everyone,

whether male, female, marked by femininity, working class, LGBT, disabled,

or of an ethnic minority. As well as allowing feminists to produce inclusive

political projects and policies, focusing on gender challenges essentialist and

conservative conceptions of women and men and encourages a focus on the

social processes of power. Although not all of these feminist political

arguments use the term gender, they emerge out of it. (Armstrong et al., 2022)

2.1. Theoretical Foundations

Gender has emerged as an established theoretical construct in feminist

political studies. The constructivist approach regards gender as socially and

culturally constructed and, therefore, reconceptualizes femaleness and

maleness in reference to men and women, thereby transforming the

relationship between gender and power. Numerous feminist and gender

studies theorists have challenged the assumption that feminism and politics

should be associated with mere empirical referents of female and male.

Feminist theorists challenge male-centered, masculine political theory as

universal and presume that men's experiences reflect the experiences of all

**VOL: 1, ISSUE: 2, 2023** 

people. This section lays the theoretical foundations necessary to understand

how the concept of gender can be used to explore and address political

questions. A brief history of some of the key figures and theorists in this area

will also guide the reader through the development of ideas and empirical

studies.

Intersectional theories argue that the experience of women is better

understood using other categories of identity - race, class, sexuality, and

ability - as the primary or sole categorization. Socialization feminists argue

that while there is no fixed meaning of male or female, a society's stories do

shape "correct" gender identities and roles. The critical insight of the gender

approach is that beliefs or stories shape women's experiences of politics and

law: as voters, leaders, activists, and concerned citizens. Gendered

experiences matter to questions of political interest and rights. Policymaking

could be different if one chose to focus on the aspects of life where women

have different experiences from men. This one very simple statement about

the gender approach - we can influence politics if we understand and

appreciate what women see, think, and feel - is so powerful and isn't talked

about enough. The theories also do not deny there are differences between

men and women that devolve from biology. But they argue that the political

significance of biology is often at best exaggerated, and at worst

unsubstantiated. Natural differences are not sufficient to explain the

experiences and significant gaps in opportunities that exist between men and

**VOL: 1, ISSUE: 2, 2023** 

women in the socio-political context, particularly as biology is socially

constructed. Even where there are differences that seem to arise from biology,

there is a chicken and egg problem. Do women behave differently because

they are more "naturally" empathic, or are men ranking higher on empathy

scales since they don't want to appear unmasculine? Or do women have XX

chromosomes and lower levels of testosterone than men? It is very difficult to

separate out the social and the biological. Feminism uses gender theory as a

way of understanding the world rather than positing an approach that simply

says 'change policies!' In trying to understand and analyze the world through

a gendered approach, and to see how gender is pivotal, it is hoped that

feminism leads to a clearer understanding of the nature of barriers confronting

women, men, and other genders - solutions to addressing many of these

apply to more than one gender - at both an individual and collective level.

(Stauffer, 2021)

3. Intersectionality and Feminist Political Theory

Intersectionality

1. Intersectionality has become a central concept within feminist political

theory, although it is also used within other disciplines. This concept has

historic roots in Black feminist movements and has been adopted into much of

feminist discourse. Within this literature, it is used as an acknowledgment that

identity is complex and that different aspects of identity intersect to shape

**VOL: 1, ISSUE: 2, 2023** 

different experiences in fundamental ways. When someone is at the intersection of different facets of identity, gendered experiences and the resultant dynamics cannot be adequately understood within a single dimension. For instance, race, class, sexual orientation, and religion all intersect with gender. If someone is situated at the intersection of blackness, maleness, and queerness, then they experience the world differently than someone who identifies as a white woman. There is no unified category described as "women" that accounts for the experiences of all or even most people who identify with the label.

2. The significance of this concept in terms of political analysis is that it helps demonstrate how the feminist movement itself is not a monolithic category, but rather is constituted of different groups of women and feminists subject to different structures of oppression. Powerful narratives often dominate political discourse and have the capacity to erase and marginalize the voices of those who do not belong to the main narrative. Internal to states and politics, this has often resulted in excluding the interests and experiences of migrant women, indigenous women, and trans women among others from policy deliberation. If we take intersectionality seriously, then we will look to these experiences of inequality to enrich our analysis of the feminist movement and to be aware of the mechanism by which we may share the same label but want different things. This understanding is significant for the end to which pro-equality policy ideally speaks, and so there are implications for policy and

**VOL: 1, ISSUE: 2, 2023** 

political activism. To ignore intersectionality is to perpetuate and reinforce

systems of oppression. (Vallée et al.2021)

4. Feminist Approaches to Governance

There is an emerging literature in feminist political theory that considers

governance. Governance is concerned with new ways of governing that are

transnational, across several political and social levels. Feminist theorists

have critiqued those governance practices and have formulated what feminist

governance should entail. Governance would therefore include some of the

same concerns as those in participation and representation sections. It would

also involve work on the gender-blind and gendered norms in political culture

that act as a barrier to making some forms of political participation more

legitimate than others.

There is a move in some parts of the world to change political institutions so

that women are more fully part of them than they have been in the past. Here

are differently described initiatives, yet they have the same basic goal outlined.

These initiatives have been described as ensuring the increased

representation of female interests. The underlying principle is that women

have different interests from men because of the differences in their

sex/gender roles and life experiences. In terms of governance, it is asserted

that there are geographical differences, local cultures to consider, and

solidarity to involve. Gendering governance touches on poorer and

- 11 -

**VOL: 1, ISSUE: 2, 2023** 

economically disenfranchised or oppressed women. Many women in this

world have no or very limited voice in their governance.

The relevance of feminist approaches to governance can also be seen in the

crisis in governance. Transforming governance is a way to change the

exclusionary architecture of governance, rebranding it so that it is seen as

being of the people, for the people. This view recognizes the ways that power

operates through exclusions to ensure that what we take for rich democratic

governance is not given to the poor and to men, as well as borrowing from

people rather than the other way around. It could also include recognizing that

women who have been seen as able and positioned to support families need

living wages and support to do that. If governance were being transformed, it

might be organizing the standard 40-hour week and other working time

support around caring and receiving care in relation to responsibilities agreed

at the local, regional, national, and global levels, and then deciding how

individual working hours can fit into that shared blanket. Making this so would

require seeing children and old people as a social responsibility. (An et al.,

2022)

4.1. Representation and Participation

Feminist political theorists believe that representation and participation are

central to feminist governance. Women are grossly underrepresented in

political offices and other elite decision-making positions. As a result, their

**VOL: 1, ISSUE: 2, 2023** 

voice is missing in the public debate about the definition of problems and

proper solutions. Some barriers to women's effective participation in these

leadership roles and processes are structural: Women are disproportionately

impoverished and busy with care for dependents. Other barriers are cultural:

Women are socialized away from political ambition and confrontation. Women

tend to be financially active but not political. Finally, some barriers are

institutional: Women face persistent, implicit, and explicit discrimination from

their time on women-friendly after-work committees to their treatment in a

political campaign.

The presence of more women in political institutions is quite different from

having democratic inputs from women in study groups. The presence of

women in political leadership does not ensure that they can shape policy to

better align with the public interests in rough proportion to their numbers.

Women in political leadership roles can and do invalidate public opinion and

make policies, particularly on international affairs, unresponsive to the

interests or beliefs of the median woman and even their supporters. Efforts to

appeal to public opinion to win elections increase consensus to manufacture

centrist proposals reducing rights. To say that a policy or judicial outcome is

unresponsive to the median woman is to say that decisions favor the interests

of a few women over the interests of the many. (Poljak, 2022)

**VOL: 1, ISSUE: 2, 2023** 

### 5. Challenges and Future Directions

- Challenges - The global situation of women - Backlash: the negative response to feminist achievements - The current picture: a global trend of young women 's resistance - 'Feminism' they do not like: Black, brown, indigenous, Muslim, migrant, disabled feminisms - Unfulfilled promise - A new wave - Challenges in the discipline - A field deeply divided - Future directions - Coalition-building - Research activities to intensify - Strategies and public

philosophies to reinvent - Conclusion: The times they are changing

Challenges A globe at the crossroads? Merely reviewing the current political moment may already hint at the challenges we are facing in our effort to think together. After several decades of international mobilization and global governance, there is a sense of about-turn in some quarters of the world. New or renewed right-wing or conservative parties have gained in popularity and power in, among other countries, the United States, Poland, Germany, and the Philippines. The situation of women at most levels of the political hierarchy is taking a dive. More generally, strong feminist movements at the grassroots across the globe are giving rise to a data-driven backlash from men and women on the right to the left. There is opposition, also in academic institutions and independent public forums, for example in the media, to any attempt by feminists to uncover and remedy the structural bases of gender discrimination in all areas of public and private life. In some countries, the very

VOL: 1, ISSUE: 2, 2023

concept of gender is excised from legislation and public discourse. (Hillman &

Radel, 2022)

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**VOL: 1, ISSUE: 2, 2023** 

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