

Gender, Peace, and Security - Spring 2019
SIS 619-017
Mondays, 5:30-8:00pm

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Office hours: by appointment

This course examines the gendered dimensions of international security. At the core of the course is an engagement with the concept of “human security.” Defined by the UNDP in 1994, human security encompasses generalized threats stemming from poverty, health, and environmental insecurity, which have traditionally fallen outside of the traditional state security framework. Moreover, the concept of human security recognizes insecurity emerging from a range of contexts and events, including from political violence, interstate and intrastate conflict, postcolonial transitions, disasters, migration, and poverty. In short, it is concerned with the protection of people from life-threatening danger, regardless of the roots of this danger.

In this course we will pay particular attention to the gendered dimensions of human security as they related to war and political violence. We will talk about how security is a distinct concept from human rights or human development, but will also discuss how all are necessary and related. We will explore feminist approaches to international security and critically engage concepts like militarization, peacekeeping, and intervention. We will emphasize the importance of looking at structural cases of insecurity and at the linkages between various forms of insecurity. We will pay particular attention to the agency of local actors and to the strategies employed by women and women’s movements to oppose war, secure peace, and promote human security. We will cover landmark international resolutions—such as R2P and UN Resolution 1325—in order to breakdown the impact these resolutions have had on gendered power dynamics in conflict zones, as well as to identify areas were more attention is needed.

Required books

- Enloe, Cynthia. (2014). *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2nd edition. Revised and Updated.
- Gentry, Caron and Laura Sjoberg. (2015). *Beyond Mothers, Monsters Whores: Thinking about Women’s Violence in Global Politics*. New York, NY: Zed Books.
- Sjoberg, Laura, ed. (2010). *Gender and International Security: Feminist Perspectives*, Routledge, 2010.
- Tripp, Aili, Myra Marx Ferree, and Christina Ewig. (2013). *Gender, Violence, and Human Security: Critical Feminist Perspectives*. New York, NY: New York University Press

Optional recommended texts for further reading:

- Detraz, Nicole. (2012). *International Security and Gender*. Policy Press.
- Goldstein, Joshua. (2001). *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Moser, Carol. O. N. and F. C. Clark. (2001). *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors? Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence*. London; New York, Zed Books.
- Tickner, J. Ann. (2001). *Gendering World Politics: Issues and Approaches in the Post-Cold War Era*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Learning Outcomes

- Conceptualize gender not as an equivalent of sex or “women,” but rather a system of social constructs that creates social hierarchies associated with masculine and feminine characteristics.

- Explore the relationship between human security and gender with a focus on situations of political; violence;
- Evaluate current theories of international security from a feminist perspective;
- Critically question various taken-for-granted categories and dualities, such as male/warrior versus female/peacemaker, or female/feminine versus male/masculine;
- Understand the varied roles women play during wartime and its aftermath, and the social, economic, political, and psychological gains and losses women experience during and after war.

Requirements

Attendance and Participation (25%): This seminar will be driven by the active and thoughtful participation of all students. You must come to class prepared to discuss the readings and ready to comment on the specifics of each case we study.

Blackboard Posts – QIPPS of weekly readings (Questions, Interesting points, and Problems) (20%): Post to blackboard by the day of class at noon.

Student-led discussions (20%): Except for sessions January 19th and February 9th, each session, 2-4 students will lead part of the class discussion. They will jointly prepare approximately 15-20 minutes of presentation and an accompanying 1-2 page handout outlining the major points for discussion. These presentations should not summarize or assume everyone has read all the works—but rather synthesize, stimulate thinking, and structure the conversation.

Final paper (35%): The capstone assignment for the course is an analytical paper of approximately 4,000 words. This paper will critically engage one thematic topic (e.g. women as agents of insecurity) across cases, or investigate one specific case of violence. This paper should not simply summarize the readings, but should rather make an argument. Papers will be evaluated based on clarity, organization, persuasiveness, and accuracy. I will provide additional details in class, and I strongly encourage each student to discuss your topic with me at some point during the semester. **DUE MAY 3 by 5 pm online through Blackboard. Each day late loses 5 points of your grade. No exceptions.**

“A” grades reflect consistent higher-level thinking: analysis; synthesis and evaluation; well organized and presented work; creativity and originality; Intellectual engagement with ideas, theories, and interpretations.

“B” grades reflect a command of the material with some examples of higher level thinking, organization, creativity, and intellectual engagement

“C” grades reflect a lack of higher level thinking, intellectual engagement well organized work.

“D” grades indicate that minimum course requirements were not fully met

“F” grades indicate that course requirements were not met

Writing Center: I encourage you to take advantage of the University Writing Center on the first floor of Bender Library; getting feedback benefits all writers! Trained writing consultants can help with any writing, multimedia project, or oral presentation. During one-on-one consultations, you can work on everything from brainstorming and developing ideas to crafting strong sentences and documenting sources. These services do fill up, so please make an appointment! Also, bring your assignment description, and a few goals, to the consultation! For more information, or to make an appointment, visit <http://www.american.edu/cas/writing/index.cfm> or call 202-885-2991.

Classroom Policies

Phones are not allowed to be used in the classroom. Laptops can be used, though if students are caught not doing class-related work on them during seminar, this privilege will be taken away. You are allowed to use these devices at the break outside of the classroom. For an understanding of why I follow this policy, please consult the following:

<http://www.scientificamerican.com/article/a-learning-secret-don-t-take-notes-with-a-laptop/>
<http://www.newyorker.com/tech/elements/the-case-for-banning-laptops-in-the-classroom>
<http://chronicle.com/blogs/linguafranca/2014/08/25/why-im-asking-you-not-to-use-laptops/>

** University policies can be found on the course blackboard site under “Information”.

January 14: Introduction to Gender and International Security

Questions: What is gender, and how is it different from biological sex? How does this shape the way we examine security and insecurity in our world today? What is human security, and how is it defined and understood? What does “the personal is political” mean? What does “the personal international and the international is personal” mean? Where does power operate?

Please complete readings before coming to class

- Tripp, et al, Chapter 1 (p.1-32)
- Enloe, Chapter 1 (p. 1-35)

January 21: MLK day, no class

January 28: Feminist engagement in security studies

Questions: How does a human security perspective help us understand how gender and violence are related? Moreover, how can we think about the ways that violence is gendered, in addition to the ways that violence creates gender, from a feminist perspective? Consider women’s varied experiences during periods of violence (including as casualties, refugees, victims, actors, mothers, and guerillas). What roles did women play in the various cases of war we will explore this quarter? How can we pursue a feminist international security through the lens of intersectionality?

Readings:

- Tripp et. al., Chapters 2 & 3 (p. 33-78)
- Sjoberg, Introduction (p. 1-13)
- Blanchard, Eric M., 2003. “Gender, international relations, and the development of feminist security theory.” *Signs* 28(4): 1289 - 1312.

Feb. 4: Countering expectations: When women fight

Questions: Where are the women in current international security discussions? In policy debates? What are women doing during periods of insecurity and violence? More specifically, which women are present? And which are absent?

Readings:

- Gentry & Sjoberg, Chapter 1: Introduction: A Woman Did That? & Chapter 3. “Seeing Women’s Extralegal Violence.” (p 49-69).
- Sjoberg, Chapter 7, “Loyalist women paramilitaries in Northern Ireland” (Sandra McEvoy, p. 129-150)

Feb. 11: Masculinities

Case study: Guerilla wars in Latin America

Questions: What is the relationship between masculinities/femininities and war? What are the consequences of such framings for international security dilemmas? Drawing on the cases covered in the readings, consider how the feminine/masculine duality impacted women in both countries? Who were the women who became guerillas? What were they fighting for? How did their experience change gender power relations in each country, if at all?

Readings:

- Connell, R.W. and James Messerschmidt, (2005). "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept." *Gender & Society*, 19:6 (829-859).
- Sjoberg, Chapter 3, "Gendering the State" (p. 38-58) and Chapter 12, "When are states hyper-masculine?" (p. 235-255)
- Viterna, Jocelyn. (2006). "Pulled, Pushed, Persuaded: Explaining Women's Mobilization into the Salvadorian Guerilla Army." *American Journal of Sociology*. 112(1): 1-45.
- Read also a brief history of the El Salvador Civil War (and what we still don't know): <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2012/02/2012228123122975116.html>
- Tripp et. al., Chapter 11, "Integrating Gender into Human Security: Peru's Truth and Reconciliation Commission"

Film in class: *Innocent Voices (selections)*

Feb. 18: Presidents' Day – Assignment in lieu of class

In lieu of class, please watch the documentary "War Redefined," the capstone installment of PBS's Women, War and Peace documentary series (link here:

<http://www.pbs.org/wnet/women-war-and-peace/full-episodes/war-redefined/>)

Post a short (250 words or less) post on the Blackboard discussion board with your thoughts and reflections on the film.

Feb. 25: Gender-based violence

Case study: Great Lakes Region of Central Africa (DRC, Rwanda, Burundi)

Questions: What is gender-based violence? Why is it important to think of gender-based violence as not only something targeting women and girls? How common is it in armed conflict? How can we understand gender-based violence as not just a humanitarian concern, but a security concern? Why might it be important to do so?

Readings:

- Carpenter, Charli. (2006). "Recognizing Gender-based Violence against Men and Boys in Conflict Situations," *Security Dialogue* 37(1): 83-103.
- Human Rights Watch/Binaifer Nowrojee. (1996). "Shattered Lives: Sexual Violence During the Rwandan Genocide and its Aftermath." <https://www.hrw.org/report/1996/09/24/shattered-lives/sexual-violence-during-rwandan-genocide-and-its-aftermath> (please skim)
- Landesman, Peter. "A Women's Work." *The New York Times*. 9/15/2002. <http://www.nytimes.com/2002/09/15/magazine/15RWANDA.html?pagewanted=all>
- Gettleman, Jeffrey. "Rape Epidemic Raises Trauma of Congo War." *The New York Times*. 10/7/2007. <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/10/07/world/africa/07congo.html?pagewanted=all>
- Gettleman, Jeffrey. "Symbol of Unhealed Congo." *The New York Times*. 8/4/2009. <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/08/05/world/africa/05congo.html>
- Murdock, Heather. "Rape in Congo Devastates Male Victims," *Voice of America*, 11/17/2011. <http://www.voanews.com/content/rape-in-congo-devastates-male-victims-134117048/148375.html>

March 4: Nationalism

Case study: The former Yugoslavia

Questions: How did the war in the former Yugoslavia affect women? How does nationalism reproduce ideas about male warriors and female peacemakers? Did women challenge the war itself?

Readings:

- Enloe, Chapter 3 (p. 83-124).
- Gentry & Sjoberg, Chapter 4: “Saving, Supporting, and Supplicating: The Mother Narrative” (p. 70-92)
- Cockburn, Cynthia. (2000). “The Anti-Essentialist Choice: Nationalism and Feminism in the Interaction between Two Women’s Projects.” *Nations and Nationalism*, 6:4 (611-629).
- Women in Black:
http://zeneucnom.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=3&Itemid=113

March 11: Spring Break

March 18: Gender security and arms control

Case studies: Liberia and Sierra Leone, DDR

Questions: What were some of the gendered dynamics of the wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone? What were some of the roles women played to assist or stop the war process? How have DDR efforts functioned in the region? Have they been successful?

Readings:

- Sjoberg, Chapter 8: “Securitization and de-Securitization” (p. 151-167)
- Utas, Mats. (2005). “Victimcy, Girlfriending, Soldiering: Tactic Agency in a Young Woman’s Social Navigation of the Liberian War Zone.” *Anthropological Quarterly*, 78(2): 403-430.
- Cohen, Dara. (2013). “Female Combatants and the Perpetration of Violence: Rape in the Sierra Leone Civil War,” *World Politics* 65(3): 383-415.
- ICTJ (Thomas Jaye). (2009). Transitional Justice and DDR: The Case of Liberia.
<https://www.ictj.org/sites/default/files/ICTJ-DDR-Liberia-CaseStudy-2009-English.pdf>
- Inter-Agency Working Group on DDR. (2012). “How-To Guide: Gender-Responsive Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration.”

March 25: Militarism

Case studies: Iraq and Afghanistan

Questions: How have the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan affected gender relations in each country? What do the gains in women’s legislative representation in both countries mean? What roles have women played in the conflicts? How has militarism impacted women in both countries?

Readings:

- Riverbend (2005). *Baghdad Burning: Girl Blog from Iraq*, New York, Feminist Press at the City University of New York. P. 1-48.
- Human Rights Watch (2010). “The “Ten-Dollar Talib” and Women’s Rights: Afghan Women and the Risks of Reintegration and Reconciliation.” <https://www.hrw.org/report/2010/07/13/ten-dollar-talib-and-womens-rights/afghan-women-and-risks-reintegration-and>
- Beath, Andrew, Fotini Christia, and Ruben Enikolopov (2012). “Empowering Women Through Development Aid: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Afghanistan.” *American Political Science Review*, 107(3)540-557.

April 1: Wrap-up with non-state actors, mobilization, and peace

Case studies: Women and the Arab Spring

Questions: What roles have women played in the various “Arab Spring” uprisings? How have these roles differed? How have they been affected by the cultural, political, or economic specifics of each country? What role might women play in promoting security going forward?

We will watch **The Trials of Spring** in class

Readings:

- Tripp, Chapter 12 (p. 285-308)
- Human Rights Watch (2014). “We Are Still Here’: Women on the Frontlines of Syria’s Conflict” <https://www.hrw.org/report/2014/07/02/we-are-still-here/women-front-lines-syrias-conflict#>
- Human Rights Watch (2009). “They Want Us Exterminated’: Murder, Torture, Sexual Orientation and Gender in Iraq.” <https://www.hrw.org/report/2009/08/17/they-want-us-exterminated/murder-torture-sexual-orientation-and-gender-iraq#>

April 8: Legal Strategies to Protect Women’s Lives

Readings:

- Julie L. Arostegui and Veronica Eragu Bichetero, “Women, Peace and Security: Practical Guidance on Using Law to Empower Women in Post-Conflict Systems. Best Practices and Recommendations from the Great Lakes Region of Africa”. Sweden: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) and Washington, D.C.: Women In International Security, 2014. Found on Blackboard.
- 5 Challenges to Diffusing Women's Rights Law http://clg.portalm.com/library/keytext.cfm?keytext_id=112
- “Women, Peace and Security: Practical Guidance on Using Law to Empower Women in Post-Conflict Systems Best Practices and Recommendations from the Great Lakes Region of Africa” <http://wiisglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/WPS-Toolkit-Electronic.pdf>
- Sandra Bland death: <http://www.msomagazine.com/news/uswirestory.asp?id=15767>

April 15: Labor, Trafficking, and Forced Migration in a Globalized World

Questions: How central are labor rights to human security? What forms of gender-based violence exist in labor institutions around the globe? How is trafficking linked to labor exploitation? How are current efforts to mitigating trafficking helping (or hurting) so-called “victims” of trafficking? What are some of the limitations of the current approach? How is migration and the current refugee crisis linked to both of the above, and what are some of the gendered concerns that stem from the crisis?

Readings:

- Cynthia Enloe. “Women’s Labor is Never Cheap,” Chapter 7 in *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 250-304.
- Harsha Walia. (2013). *Undoing Border Imperialism*. AK Press. Forward and Introduction, 1-23.
- Elizabeth Bernstein. (2014). “Militarized Humanitarianism Meets Carceral Feminism: The Politics of Sex, Rights, and Freedom in Contemporary Anti-Trafficking Campaigns.” *Signs*, 36(2): 45-71.
- Diya Bose. (2016). Dhaka's 'victims of trafficking': locked up for their "own good". Open Democracy Blog: <https://www.opendemocracy.net/beyondslavery/diya-bose/victims-of-trafficking-in-bangladesh-locked-up-for-their-own-good>
- Sylvanna Falcon. (2006). “National Security’ and the Violation of Women: Militarized Border Rape at the US-Mexico Border.” In *The Color of Violence: the Incite! Anthology*. Cambridge: South End Press. 119-129.
- Roxanne Krystalli, Allyson Hawkins, & Kim Wilson. (2018). “I Followed the Flood’: A Gender Analysis of the Moral and Financial Economies of Forced Migration.” *Disasters*. 42(S1): S17-S39.
- Lewis Turner. (2017). “Who will resettle single Syrian men?” *Forced Migration Review*, 29-31.

April 22: Religion, Security, and Human Rights

Questions: How do culture and religion factor into discussions about human rights and security? How are rights discussed about Islam and Muslim women? What about in relation to women from other parts of the world (e.g., South Asia)? How have the wars in Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria and elsewhere in the Middle East and North Africa affected gender relations in each country? What roles have women played in the various “Arab Spring” uprisings? How have these roles differed? How have they been affected by the cultural, political, or economic specifics of each country?

Readings:

- Lila Abu-Lughod. (2002). “Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving?” *American Anthropologist*, 104(3): 783-790.
- Saba Mahmood. (2005). *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject*. Chapter 1: The Subject of Freedom (p. 1-39).
- Sally Engle Merry. *Human Rights and Gender Violence*. Chapter 5: Legal Transplants and Cultural Translation: Making Human Rights in the Vernacular (p. 134-178)
- Elliot, Sarah and Anne Barnard. “A Woman on Libya’s Front Lines.” *The New York Times*. 9/12/2011. <http://atwar.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/09/12/a-woman-on-libyas-front-lines/?ref=africa>

April 22: Miscellaneous --- Some Must-Reads

Readings:

- Cohn, Carol. 1987. “Sex and Death In the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals” *Signs* 12:4, 687-718.
- Talbot, Margaret. 2018. *The New Yorker* “The Trump Administration’s Plan to Redefine Gender Recalls an Earlier Rejection of Science” October 26. <https://www.newyorker.com/news/daily-comment/the-trump-administrations-plan-to-redefine-gender-recalls-an-earlier-rejection-of-science>

April 29: Wrap-up / Discussion of Papers / Class Hot-wash

PAPER DUE MAY 3 BY 5PM