

# GVPT459V Gender, Conflict, and Security

Instructor – Dr. Noa Balf

[nbalf@umd.edu](mailto:nbalf@umd.edu)

Tuesdays and Thursdays 12:30-1:45

TYD 1101

Office Hours – Tuesday 3-5pm

Room 4123A HJ Patterson

Course Description: This course will introduce students to major theories and issues concerning gender and international security affairs. We will begin by examining the interdisciplinary literature on gender theory and applying its insights to international politics. What does it mean to conduct a “gendered analysis” of global affairs? How do gendered discourses produce our understanding of what is and is not understood as a national security problem? Why has traditional security studies failed to incorporate gender into its analysis? Then, we apply these theoretical frameworks to important security issues such as, the cultural effects of nuclear weapons, the targeting of civilians during armed conflict, sexual violence in war, torture and the war on terrorism, nationalism and the state, human security and development, and post-conflict societies, to name a few. Historical and contemporary case studies will be drawn from a number of countries across the globe. In reexamining key concepts in the study of international politics—namely, sovereignty, the state and insecurity—this course has two goals. First, to expose how gendered discourses of security that focus on the state render invisible a multitude of threats to individual security. Second, to question the role of the state as a security provider by highlighting the insecurities individuals and societies experience as a consequence of state-centered national security policy.

## Course Objectives:

- Challenge conventional IR (state-centric) approaches to war and peace through gender/queer lenses

- Complicate and interrogate notions of (in)security from feminist perspectives
- Distinguish between feminist peace and war studies orientations
- Question claims about relationships between men and war and women and peace
- Evaluate claims about relationships between gender violence and international/political/militarized violence
- Analyze militarized masculinities, femininities, sexualities, and feminisms
- Understand the complexities of making war and peace as bodily and emotive experiences and social relations
- Evaluate gender, sexual, race, class, and nation dynamics in militarist structures and anti-militarist movements
- Identify and critique elements of gender, peace, and security policy agendas and apparatuses
- Engage readings and visual culture to understand conceptual and methodological developments and debates in feminist security, war, and peace studies
- Recognize the complexities of the politics of militarized violence in which “we” are all implicated but can make political choices about

### **Course Requirements:**

**1) Students must complete the readings before each lecture. All readings are available on ELMS**

**2) Participation in class discussion** accounts for **25%** of your grade. This is not a lecture course. I expect you to share your comments and criticism about the course’s subject matter with the class. You should exert as much effort as I do to keep the class discussion lively and enlightening.

**3) Midterm Paper** 8 pages in length and will count as **35%** of your grade. Instructions for the paper will be uploaded on ELMS at a later date. **DUE March 14**

**4) Final Paper 10 pages** in length and will count as **40%** of your grade. Instructions for the paper will be uploaded on ELMS at a later date. **DUE on last day of class May 14**

### **(Rough) Grading Criteria for Participation:**

**For an A (100-90):** Attends class consistently. Comes prepared and having done the reading. Contributes positively to class discussion. Does not merely state opinions, but instead uses the texts to interrogate one’s own opinions and struggles honestly with the texts. Is curious and engaged.

**For a B (89-80):** Attends class consistently. Comes prepared and having done the reading. Contributes to class discussion with some regularity. Sometimes unprepared or not participatory.

**For a C (79-70):** Attends class with some kind of regularity. Often prepared, does not participate in class discussion and appears uninterested or unwilling to engage with the assigned material.

**For a D (69-60):** Attends class occasionally, without having prepared, and has put little effort into reading and or engaging with the assigned material.

**For an F (59-0):** I have no idea who you are.

### **Grading Criteria for Papers:**

**For an A (100-90):** Shows clear familiarity with the text; supports claims with references to the text; answers the questions completely; its claims and argumentative structure moves from point to point effortlessly and elegantly; it has a clear and often original thesis and the argument of the paper supports the thesis; it engages the text with interest. Clearly excellent work.

**For a B (89-80):** Shows some familiarity with the text but relies mostly on class discussion for that familiarity; presents a plausible interpretation but does not always support or document it with the text; does not always move logically from point to point; good work, but not excellent work.

**For a C (79-70):** This paper does all that it absolutely needs to in order to prove that the student has the knowledge and skills to pass the class. Shows a passing familiarity with the text, but only passing; the narrative or argument structure shows some signs of intelligibility and rationality; overall, the exam reflects information from class discussion, and not always in coherent argumentative form.

**For a D (69-60):** Fails to reflect even the most basic information from class discussion, much less the texts; answers questions incompletely or not at all; offers little or no support for claims; answers are disorganized and argumentative or narrative structure is non-existent.

**For an F (59-0):** Fails to reflect much of anything at all, except perhaps one's own opinions, whether they relate to the text and to class discussion or not; has no structure; makes no attempt at argument, intelligibility, coherency, etc. Alternatively, has not submitted required assignments.

**Missed Assignments:** Papers must be submitted on time, barring exceptional circumstances. As a general rule, extensions of assignment due dates will not be granted, and late assignments will be docked one full letter grade immediately, and one letter grade per 24-hour period thereafter. All assignments will be submitted and graded through ELMS. Should some obstacle arise to prevent you from submitting your work on time, it is

always better to speak with me (ahead of time!) about the problem rather than trying to explain yourself after something unseemly has been discovered.

**Plagiarism:** It goes without saying that plagiarism will not be tolerated.

**Gender Neutral & Gender Specific Language and Names and Accents:** Academics no longer use the pronoun “he” to apply universally to all persons, nor do we use the term “man,” when we are referring to humanity or people in general. In our writing, when we are making generalizations we should use gender neutral pronouns, that is, sie and hir, s/he, him or her, they/their, etc. When referring to a specific person or group of people, we should use the language and pronouns *that they prefer* if we know them. Further, we should be attentive to the spelling and accents of author’s names (note for example María Lugones and bell hooks). Finally, all authors must be referred to by their entire names, or only their last names, *not by their first names*, orally and in writing.

**Accommodations Related to a Disability:** I will make every effort to accommodate students who are registered with the Disability Support Service (DSS) Office and who provide me with a University of Maryland DSS Accommodation form that has been updated for the Fall 2018 semester. Please provide the form during the first month of class. For more information, please see [http://www.counseling.umd.edu/DSS/Forms/Pink\\_Sheet\\_Instructions\\_-\\_rev\\_7.11.14.pdf](http://www.counseling.umd.edu/DSS/Forms/Pink_Sheet_Instructions_-_rev_7.11.14.pdf).

**Medical Excuses and Student Emergencies:** You should notify me that you will not be in attendance due to illness or injury and thus will miss a lecture. Additionally, you are required to present me with documentation from a medical professional for missing class. Absences resulting from compelling circumstances beyond the student’s control will be handled in accordance with the University’s Policy on Attendance and Assessment: <http://www.testudo.umd.edu/soc/atedasse.html>. Note that documentation of the relevant circumstances will be required.

**For illnesses or injuries resulting in (1) extended or non-consecutive absences, (2) missing an examination, and/or (3) an inability to submit your short essays by the due date, I will require a Health Center or medical doctor’s health excuse. (2) and (3) are “Major Scheduled Grading Events” for the purpose of University policy. If you do not inform me or if you do not present me with timely documentation, you will receive an “F” for the exam/essay in question.** Note: In the case that you are unable to get a written medical excuse, you may ask your provider for a copy of your medical notes for the specific visit(s) in question.

**Religious Observances:** Students must notify me of an excused absence or accommodation

due to a religious observance. Requests will be handled in accordance with the University's Policy On Religious Observances: <http://www.testudo.umd.edu/soc/atedasse.html>.

## **Schedule:**

Tuesday 1/29 - Introductions

Thursday 1/31 – Theoretical Framework

J. Ann Tickner, 'You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements Between Feminists and IR Theorists', *International Studies Quarterly*, vol.41, no.4, 1997.

Peterson, V. Spike. 1992. Transgressing Boundaries: Theories of Knowledge, Gender, and International Relations. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 21, 2 (Summer 1992): 183-206.

Steans, Jill. 2013. "Gender in International Relations" Chapter 1

Tuesday 2/5 – Gender and Security

Blanchard, E.M. (2003). "Gender, international relations, and the development of feminist security theory", *Signs* Vol.28:4, 1289-1312 [1]<sub>SEP</sub>

Nyman, Jonna. "Securitization Theory." In Shepherd, Laura J. ed. from *Gender Matters and Critical Approaches to Security*

Basu, Soumita; and Nunes, Joao. "Security as Emancipation." In Shepherd, Laura J. ed. from *Gender Matters and Critical Approaches to Security*

Thursday 2/7

Brown, W. (1992). "Finding the man in the state", *Feminist Studies*, Vol. 18:1, pp. 7-34

Iris Marion Young, "The Logic of Masculinist Protection: Reflections on the Current Security State," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 29(1): 1-25.

Tuesday 2/12 – Gender and Conflict

Thomas, Jakana and Kanisha D. Bond. Forthcoming. "Women's Participation in Violent Political Organizations." *American Political Science Review*, 2015 August

McDermott, R. (2015). Sex and Death: Gender Differences in Aggression and Motivations for Violence. *International Organization*, 1-23.

## Thursday 2/14

### States of Conflict Selections\*

Cockburn, C. 2001. The Gendered Dynamics of Armed Conflict and Political Violence, in Moser, C.O.N. & Clark, F.C. (eds.), Victims, Perpetrators or Actors: Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence, pp. 115-127.

## Tuesday 2/19 - Gender and Nationalism

Joane Nagel, "Masculinity and Nationalism: Gender and Sexuality in the Making of the Nations," Ethnic and Racial Studies 1998 21(2): 242-69

Michel-Rolph Trouillot, "The Anthropology of the State in the Age of Globalization," Current Anthropology 2001 42(1): 125-138

Jill Vickers, Bringing Nations in: Some Methodological and Conceptual Issues in Connecting Feminisms with Nationhood and Nationalisms" International Feminist Journal of Politics 2006, 8(1) 4

## Thursday 2/21 - Masculinities in IR and Comparative Politics / (Hegemonic)

Charlotte Hooper, 'Masculinities in IR and the 'Gender Variable': A Cost-Benefit Analysis for (Sympathetic) Gender Sceptics', Review of International Studies, vol.25, no.3, 1999.

Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagerman, & John Tosh (eds.), Masculinities in Politics and War (Manchester: MUP, 2004), Chapter 3: Tosh, 'Hegemonic Masculinity and the History of Gender'.

## Tuesday 2/26 - Militarised Masculinity: Men at War

Carol Cohn, 'Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defence Intellectuals', Signs, vol.12, no.4, 1987.

Cooke & Woollacott (eds.), Gendering War Talk, Chapter 10: Cohn, 'Wars, Wimps, and Women: Talking Gender and Thinking War'.

## Thursday 2/28

Goldstein, Joshua. 2001. War and gender: How gender shapes the war system and vice versa. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bulmer and Eichler. 2017. "Unmaking Militarized Masculinity: Veterans and the Project of Military-to-Civilian Transition." Critical Military Studies

### Tuesday 3/5 - Queering war and social policing

Cynthia Weber, "From Queer to Queer IR," *International Studies Review* 2014 16: 596–602

Meghana Nayak, "Thinking About Queer International Relations' Allies," *International Studies Review* 2014 16: 615–623

Laura Sjoberg, "Toward Trans-gendering International Relations?" *International Political Sociology* 2014 6(4): 337-354

Brunner. "Expanding the Combat Zone." *International Feminist Journal of politics*

### Thursday 3/7

Elizabeth Kier, 'Homosexuals in the U.S. Military: Open Integration and Combat Effectiveness', *International Security*, vol.23, no.2, 1998.

Aaron Belkin & Melissa Sheridan Embser-Herbert, 'A Modest Proposal: Privacy as a Flawed Rationale for the Exclusion of Gays and Lesbians from the U.S. Military', *International Security*, vol.27, no.2, 2002.

### Tuesday 3/12 - Technology - New wars, New bodies, same Gender

Cristina Masters, 'Bodies of Technology: Cyborg Soldiers and Militarized Masculinities', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, vol.7, no.1, 2005.

Lauren Wilcox, 'Gendering the Cult of the Offensive', *Security Studies*, vol.18, no.2, 2009.

### Thursday 3/14 (MIDTERM PAPER DUE)

Daggett, Cara. "Drone Disorientations." *International Feminist Journal of Politics*

Peter Singer, 'Robots at War: The New Battlefield', *The Wilson Quarterly*, vol.33, no.1, 2009.

### ***Spring Break 3/17-3/24***

### Tuesday 3/26 - Women and the Military – Feminization?

Martin Van Creveld, 'The Great Illusion: Women in the Military'; Elshtain, "Shooting' at the Wrong Target: A Response to Van Creveld; Christopher Coker, 'Humanising Warfare, or Why Van Creveld May be Missing the Big Picture', *Millennium*, vol.29, no.2, 2000.

Carrie Hamilton, 'The Gender Politics of Political Violence: Women Armed Activists in ETA', *Feminist Review*, vol.86, no.1, 2007.

#### Thursday 3/28

Gentry, 'Twisted Maternalism: From Peace to Violence', International Feminist Journal of Politics, vol.11, no.2, 2009.

Sasson-Levy, Orna. "Research on the Gender and Military in Israel." Israel Studies Review

#### Tuesday 4/2

Valerie M. Hudson & Andrea Den Boer, 'A Surplus of Men, A Deficit of Peace: Security and Sex Ratios in Asia's Largest States', International Security, vol.26, no.4, 2002.

Mary Caprioli, 'Primed for Violence: The Role of Gender Inequality in Predicting Internal Conflict', International Studies Quarterly, vol.49, no.2, 2005.

#### Thursday 4/4 – Civilian Targeting

Charli Carpenter, "'Women, Children and Other Vulnerable Groups': Gender, Strategic Frames and the Protection of Civilians as a Transnational Issue." International Studies Quarterly 2005 49(2): 295- 334

Laura Sjoberg, "Gendered Realities of the Immunity Principle: Why Gender Analysis Needs Feminism," International Studies Quarterly 2006 50(4): 889-910.

#### Tuesday 4/9 - Refugees

T.S. Twibell (2010), "The Development of Gender as a Basis for Asylum in United States Immigration Law and Under the United Nations Refugee Convention: Case Studies of Female Asylum seekers from Cameroon, Eritrea, Iraq and Somalia," 24 Georgetown Immigration Law Journal 189. PAGES 193-208

Fionnuala Ni Aolain (2011), "Women, Vulnerability, and Humanitarian Emergencies," 18 Michigan Journal of Gender & Law 1.

#### Thursday 4/11 - Nuclear Weapons

Duncanson, Claire; Eschle, Catherine. 2008. "Gender and the Nuclear Weapons State: A Feminist Critique of the UK Government's White Paper on Trident." New Political Science

Carol Cohn and Sara Ruddick, "A Feminist Ethical Perspective on Weapons of Mass Destruction," Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights Working Paper 104 (2003).



### Tuesday 4/16 - Terrorism

Nicole Detraz, "A Gendered Understanding of Terrorism" in International Security and Gender (Cambridge: Polity, 2012) Chapter 4: 94-130

Sjoberg 'Feminist Interrogations of Terrorism/Terrorism Studies', International Relations, vol.23, no.1, 2009

### **Thursday 4/18 – NO CLASS (Passover)**

### Tuesday 4/23

J. Ann Tickner, "Feminist Perspectives on 9/11," International Studies Perspectives 2002 3(4): 333- 350 Drones, Surveillance and Protection

### Thursday 4/25

Rachel Pain, "Everyday Terrorism: Connecting Domestic Violence and Global Terrorism." Progress in Human Geography 2014 38(4): 531-550

### Tuesday 4/30

Jasbir Puar, "Monster, Terrorist, Fag: The War on Terrorism and the Production of Docile Patriots" Social Text 2007 20: 117-148

Loraine Bayard de Volo, "Unmanned Aerial Vehicles: Gender Recalibrations and the Rise of Drone Warfare," Politics and Gender 2015: 1-28 6

### Thursday 5/2 - Conceptualizing Peace: Gender, Human Security, and Post-Conflict Human Security

Ghada Moussa, "Gender Aspects of Human Security." International Social Science Journal 2008 59(1): 81-100

Gunhild Hoogensen and Kirsti Stuvøy. "Gender, Resistance and Human Security," Security Dialogue 2006 37(2): 207-228

### Tuesday 5/7 - UN Peacekeeping and Gender Mainstreaming

Louise Olsson and Theodora-Ismene Gizelis. "An Introduction to UNSCR 1325." International Interactions 2013 39(4): 425-434

Jennings, Kathleen. 2019. "Conditional Protection? Sex, Gender, and Discourse in UN Peace Peacekeeping." International Studies Quarterly

Thursday 5/9 - Women, Gender, and International Law

Fionnuala Ni Aolain (2010) "Advancing Women's Rights in Conflict and Post Conflict Situations," 104 American Society of International Law Proceedings 568.

Christopher McCrudden, "Why Do National Court Judges Refer to Human Rights Treaties: A Comparative International Law Analysis of CEDAW", 109 Am. J. Int'l L. 534 (2015)

Tuesday 5/14 - LAST DAY OF CLASSES **FINAL PAPER DUE**

Colonialism and Imperialism

Nicola Pratt, "Reconceptualizing Gender, Reinscribing Racial-Sexual Boundaries in International Security: The Case of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on 'Women, Peace and Security'" International Studies Quarterly 2013 57(4): 772-783

Dean Spade and Craig Willse, "Sex, Gender, and War in an Age of Multicultural Imperialism." QED: A Journal in GLBTQ Worldmaking 2014 1(1): 5-29