



**Seminar: Gender & International Security  
INST 4710, Winter 2016**

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Mondays, 2:00 – 4:50 pm, BMC 309

**Office hours: 2-4 pm, Thursdays, BMC 168**  
Sign up for office hours here: <http://bit.ly/1iK2O1U>

**Why study Gender & International Security?**

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.

**Core questions:**

How does war and insecurity impact women and men differently? What happens to women during periods of transition or insecurity? How do international resolutions, like UN 1325, conceptualize gender violence and international security? What social, economic, political, and psychological gains and losses do women experience during war? How do women's responsibilities change during and after conflict, especially vis-à-vis men? What are feminist approaches to security studies?

### **Objectives:**

By the end of this course, you should be able to:

1. 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;
2. Explore the relationship between human security and gender with a focus on situations of political violence;
3. Evaluate current theories of international security from a feminist perspective;
4. Critically question various taken-for-granted categories and dualities, such as male/warrior versus female/peacemaker, or female/feminine versus male/masculine;
5. 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:**

**Participation (15%):** 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. Your Week 3 online discussion post will count towards participation.

**Assignments (3 essays, 15% each):** You will write three short essays during the course of the quarter. These will be approximately 750-1,000 words each. These essays will be critical reflections of the readings and subject matter in a given week, and you will be able to choose the three sets of readings you will write about. These three essays may be submitted at any point during the quarter, but must be submitted at the beginning of class on day the readings you write about are due. They should not attempt to summarize all of the readings for that week, but should rather select one or two themes presented by the readings and explore the theme in more depth. A critical approach is encouraged, and I expect each paper to make an argument.

Note: While the essays should focus on the current week's readings, you are encouraged to make links between other weeks and readings.

**Final paper (40%):** 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 on the basis of 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 in the quarter during office hours. **DUE MARCH 13 by 5 pm online through Canvas. Each day late loses 10% of your grade. No exceptions.**

### **CORE TEXTS:**

Enloe, Cynthia. (2014). *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Revised and Updated. (Electronic copy available through DU's library)

Gentry, Caron and Laura Sjoberg. (2015). *Beyond Mothers, Monsters Whores: Thinking about Women's Violence in Global Politics*. New York, NY: Zed Books. (Electronic copy available online through DU's library)

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 (Electronic copy available through DU's library)

### **Optional recommended texts for further reading:**

Detraz, Nicole. (2012). *International Security and Gender*. Policy Press. (Electronic copy available through DU's library)

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.

### **General policies:**

#### **Honor Code**

All students are expected to abide by the University of Denver Honor Code. These expectations include the application of academic integrity and honesty in your class participation and assignments.

## **Students with Disabilities**

If you have a disability/medical issue protected under the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) and Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act and need to request accommodations, please visit the [Disability Services Program website](#). You may also call (303) 871-2372, or visit us in person on the 4th floor of Ruffatto Hall; 1999 E. Evans Ave., Denver, CO.

## **COURSE SCHEDULE**

### **Week 1: Introduction to Gender & 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?

Readings (please complete readings before coming to class):

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

Enloe, Chapter 1: Gender Makes the World Go Round (p. 1-35).

*Optional:*

Detraz, Chapter 1 (p. 1-23) (available online through DU’s library)

### **Week 2: 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.

*Optional:*

Crenshaw, Kimberle. (1991). "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review*, 43(6): 1241-1299. *\*If you haven't read this before, please do!*

Sjoberg, Chapters 4-6 (p. 59-126)

### **Week 3: MLK Holiday (Jan 18<sup>th</sup>) Class Cancelled**

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 Canvas discussion board with your thoughts and reflections on the film.

### **Week 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? (available online through DU library) & Chapter 3. "Seeing Women's Extralegal Violence." (p 49-69).

Sjoberg, Chapter 7, "Loyalist women paramilitaries in Northern Ireland" (Sandra McEvoy, p. 129-150)

*Optional:*

Enloe, Chapters 2 and 4

Tickner, J. Ann, (2001). *Gendering World Politics: Issues and Approaches in the Post-Cold War Era*. New York: Columbia University Press. Chapter 2, "Gendered Dimensions of War, Peace, and Security," pages 36-64.

Joshua Goldstein. (2001). War and Gender, Chapter 2: "Women Warriors: the historical record of female combatants." (p. 59-127).

### **Week 5: 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 hypermasculine?" (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)*

*Optional:*

Tripp et. al. Chapter 6, "A Struggle for Rites: Masculinity, Violence, and Livelihoods in Karamoja, Uganda" (p. 132-162)

Goldstein. (2001). Chapter 5:Heroes: The Making of Militarized Masculinity. (p. 251-331).

And for fun: <http://www.buzzfeed.com/lukebailey/masculinity-is-still-fracturing-all-the-time#.sy0qEVEMx>

**Week 6: 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>

*Optional:*

Tripp et. al. Chapter 8, "Feminist Collaboration with the State in Response to Sexual Violence: Lessons from the American Experience"

**Week 7: 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://zeneucrn.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=3&Itemid=113](http://zeneucrn.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=3&Itemid=113)

*Optional:*

Tripp, Chapter 9 (p. 214-237).

Helms, Elissa. (2013). Innocence and Victimhood: Gender, Nation, and Women's Activism in Postwar Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Milicević, Aleksandra Sasha. "Joining the war: Masculinity, nationalism and war participation in the Balkans war of secession," 1991-1995. *Nationalities Papers*, 34:3, (p.265-287).

*Recommended films:* "I Came to Testify" & "Calling the Ghosts: A Story about Rape, War, and Women" (1996) (available on DU's course media)

## **Week 8: Gender security and arms control**

### **Case studies: Liberia & 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."

*Optional:*

Human Rights Watch. (2005). "How to Fight, How to Kill: Child Soldiers in Liberia."

<https://www.hrw.org/report/2004/02/02/how-fight-how-kill/child-soldiers-liberia>



Kimberly Theidon. (2009). "Reconstructing Masculinities: The Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration of Former Combatants in Colombia." *Human Rights Quarterly*, 31: 1-34.

Sjoberg, Chapter 10, "Feminist theory and arms control" (p. 191-213)

Recommended film: Pray the Devil Back to Hell (2008): <http://www.pbs.org/wnet/women-war-and-peace/full-episodes/pray-the-devil-back-to-hell/>

## **Week 9: Militarism**

### **Case studies: Iraq & 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 impact 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.

NY Times: "The Killing of Farkhunda" (12/2015):  
[http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/27/world/asia/flawed-justice-after-a-mob-killed-an-afghan-woman.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/27/world/asia/flawed-justice-after-a-mob-killed-an-afghan-woman.html?_r=0)

#### *Optional:*

Detraz, Chapter 2, "Gendered Militarization and Militarism."

## **Week 10: 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?

Film in class: **The Trials of Spring**

Readings:

Tripp, Chapter 12 (p. 285-208)

Human Rights Watch (2014). "We Are Still Here": Women on the Frontlines of Syria's Conflict"

Human Rights Watch (2009). "They Want Us Exterminated": Murder, Torture, Sexual Orientation and Gender in Iraq."

**Finals week:**

**Due: Final research paper DUE SUNDAY, MARCH 13, at 5 pm via Canvas**