

IGA-229: Sex, Violence and Global Politics
John F. Kennedy School of Government
Harvard University

Fall 2017
Time: Monday/Wednesday, 10:15-11:30 a.m.
Room: L-382
Office Hours: Wednesdays, 1:30-3:00pm
Office Hours sign up:
<http://www.wejoinin.com/daracohen>

Professor Dara Kay Cohen
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There has been an explosion of policy, academic and media interest in issues of sex, gender and political violence. Recent debates and discussions include topics as diverse as the decision to lift the ban on women serving in combat roles in the US military, the increasing concern over sexual violence during conflict, and the use of sexual slavery by ISIS.

Both academic research and current policy are informed by powerful—and often unquestioned—assumptions about sex, gender and violence. Conventional wisdom, for example, includes gendered notions about who is a victim of violence and who is a perpetrator, which in turn contributes to deeply entrenched beliefs about motivations for violence. New research has started to question some of these ideas, and policymakers are responding with calls for better data, increased attention to long-hidden problems, and new strategies to confront these difficult challenges.

In this course, we will consider a series of questions about violence against—and by—both men and women, during peacetime and within the context of war. We will critically examine policies around issues of sex and violence, and explore why some issues of gendered violence capture sustained global attention while others—like intimate partner violence—fail to do so.

Over the semester, we will discuss major theoretical constructs, and address debates drawn from the wealth of recent research on sex, gender, victimization and perpetration of violence. Topics that we will cover include peacetime violence, the gendered causes and consequences of war, women's involvement in violent political organizations (militaries, insurgencies and terrorist groups), and conflict-related sexual violence, both against noncombatants and members of armed groups. The course also includes examinations of policy responses and interventions intended to solve problems of gendered violence.

We will host a series of invited guest speakers, all of whom are experts actively engaged in research, advocacy and/or activism on issues relating to the themes of the course. These speakers provide a unique opportunity for students to learn about the nexus of research and policy engagement.

We will draw from a variety of materials in this course, including academic articles, policy studies, newspaper articles and documentary film. Readings will be posted or linked to on the course website, where they can be downloaded or printed. Please bring the assigned reading to each class session.

Students are strongly encouraged to stay informed of current events, especially those that relate to the themes of the course, by reading a major daily newspaper such as the *New York Times* or the *Washington Post*, and/or a serious weekly news magazine like *The Economist*. The HKS library also has a wide variety of current newspapers and magazines freely available to students.

Course Requirements

This class is a graduate-level lecture/seminar hybrid course. Although there are no formal prerequisites, it is expected that students have some familiarity with international relations literature, as well as an ability to read and to understand quantitative social science research. *It is essential for students to complete the reading prior to the class meeting.* Students must come prepared for class and ready to participate actively in discussion, and to ask informed questions. We will occasionally break into small groups for activities and discussion, and will sometimes have debates on course topics in class.

Your final grade will be based on the following:

1. Class participation (20%): Attendance at every class meeting, for the full length of the class, is required and expected. Class participation is not an attendance grade, but instead reflects active participation during class, including asking questions and grappling with arguments, concepts and evidence. Active participation necessitates completion of the required reading prior to the class meeting. If you are not present in class, you are unable participate and, as a result, will receive no participation credit for that class. There are no excused absences per se, but I will drop your two lowest class participation grades in the calculation of your final grade in the course.
2. Group presentations (20%): Students will be divided into small groups (of approximately 2-3 people, depending on the class size) at the beginning of the semester. Starting on September 13, each class meeting (with the exception of days with guest speakers) will begin with one group giving a presentation on the topic of the day. The presentation should feature three important points or questions to help generate discussion. These presentations are *not* a summary of the readings; rather, students should highlight questions or critiques that cut across themes in several readings, or relate the readings to other relevant course concepts. In addition, the presentation and discussion questions should address some of the policy implications of the readings. The presentation can include a short exploration of a relevant case. The use of multimedia material is strongly encouraged. For example, groups may wish to distribute a news article or to screen a brief video (1-2 minutes) that might inspire a debate in the class. Students will be responsible for presenting a number of times (probably about twice, depending on class size) throughout the semester. Presentation dates will be assigned at the beginning of the course. In addition to the oral presentation, each group should prepare a Powerpoint slide summarizing each of the assigned readings. Within 24 hours of your presentation, please email your slides to Leah Knowles so that they can be posted on the course website as a resource for all students in the course. Each student's grade on the presentations will be based in part on evaluations by the other members of the group.
3. Op-ed article (20%): An 800-1,000-word op-ed piece for a newspaper or online site (e.g. *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy* or *Huffington Post*) dealing with the themes of the course. The op-ed should draw attention to a current issue and must make an explicit argument about a specific policy that is or is not working. Grading will be based on the quality of the writing, the clarity of the argument and how well it is supported by relevant literature from the course. See this HKS [handout](#) for tips on writing an effective op-ed. Extra credit of an additional half-grade (5 points) will be awarded to

students who successfully publish their op-eds in local or national newspapers or websites (self-published blogs do not count). Students can also earn extra credit by meeting with one of the HKS writing consultants to discuss their op-ed draft. The op-ed is due in hard copy in class on Wednesday, October 11.

4. Final paper (40%): A 12-15 page final paper will be due Monday, December 11 by 5:00 p.m. Final papers should be posted to the course website. The assignment and instructions about submission of the exam will be distributed later in the semester. The paper will be a multi-stage process with several interim deadlines in the latter half of the semester. In accordance with HKS [policy](#), consultation and collaboration with other students are both strictly prohibited, and all rules of attribution apply, including but not limited to providing complete and correct citations to others' work.

Course Policies

Missed classes: This course requires that you manage your time well, keep track of the assigned readings and, most importantly, attend and participate actively in every class session. Plan your schedule around the class meeting; avoidable conflicts such as doctor's appointments or job interviews are not excused absences. If you will be absent for a total of two full weeks or more over the course of the semester due to non-emergency and/or avoidable reasons (including vacations, travel or training), you may be ineligible to take this course. Please let me know in the first week of the course if you have planned an extended absence.

Extensions: In the interest of fairness to your colleagues, the deadlines in the syllabus are firm. Extensions for assignments and/or makeup exams will not be granted except in the case of serious illness, family emergency or religious observance (see below). Late papers will lose a half-letter grade for each 24 hours or portion thereof.

Grading concerns: Students are encouraged to consult with me during office hours about questions on an assignment *prior* to submitting the assignment. In the event of a low grade on an assignment, students will not be allowed to rewrite or to resubmit an assignment for an improved grade, except in rare—and extraordinary—circumstances. If you have faced an extraordinary circumstance that resulted in a lower grade on an assignment and you would like the opportunity to resubmit an assignment, students must contact me within one week of receiving your grade. If you feel that there was an error in the calculation of your grade, you may submit a re-grading request. All such requests must be submitted to me in writing, along with a memo explaining where you believe an error was made. If you elect to have an assignment re-graded, please be aware that it may result in a lower final grade on the assignment.

Religious conflicts: Students may ask for reasonable and timely accommodations for religious observances. Please review the syllabus closely to determine if religious obligations will present scheduling conflicts with any of the assignments. Students must inform me of any conflicts within the first two weeks of the semester.

Accommodations: In compliance with Harvard University policy, I will provide appropriate accommodations for students with documented disabilities. Please provide your accommodations paperwork to me as soon as you have it available, within the first two weeks of the semester. For further information, please see the HKS Student Disability Coordinator.

Academic integrity: Plagiarism and cheating are absolutely unacceptable and will be pursued to the fullest extent of the University's policies in accordance with the HKS Academic Code. Providing proper citations in your writing is both necessary and expected. If you have any questions about what constitutes correct citations, it is your responsibility to seek guidance prior to submitting your assignment. As stated in the Academic Code, *in all writing, you must put any words that are not your own between quotation marks*. All suspected violations will be reported to the Associate Dean of Students. I may make use of anti-plagiarism software both to detect and to confirm suspected plagiarized writing. Please consult the following resource for further information on academic integrity at HKS: <http://www.hks.harvard.edu/degrees/registrar/procedures/integrity>

Laptop and mobile device policy: Surfing the web during class is distracting to you and to your colleagues sitting near you. During class, I ask that you disconnect your wireless access if you choose to take notes on your computer, and to refrain from using cell phones and other mobile devices except for emergencies. Violations of this policy may result in a reduction in your class participation grade or in a ban of laptop use in class. (Note that [research](#) has found that students better absorb class material when taking notes by hand than on a computer.)

Writing in This Course

As someone engaged in policy-relevant research, you will need to communicate your ideas—often in written form—to a variety of audiences, including policymakers, the public, academic researchers, NGOs and grant-making agencies and foundations. Being able to write effectively is essential to your success in this course and to your future career. For all course assignments, you can avail yourself of the many resources at HKS to receive help with and feedback on your writing. These resources include the HKS library reference desk and the writing consultants (<http://shorensteincenter.org/students/communications-program/writing-consultants>). As a policy, I will not read or provide written comments on rough drafts, but I will provide verbal feedback, during office hours, about your ideas prior to the deadline.

Questions and Concerns About the Course Website

Students should direct any questions, concerns or problems about the course website and its content—including any difficulties accessing the reading—to Leah Knowles (leah_knowles@hks.harvard.edu). Cross-registered students from other universities should have full access to course readings and materials. If you experience any problems accessing course materials, please contact Leah Knowles (leah_knowles@hks.harvard.edu) as soon as possible.

Auditing This Course

Depending on the class size, students who are enrolled in HKS programs may audit this course, with prior permission only. Auditors are expected to be fully integrated members of the class, including attending all class sessions, completing all reading, participating actively in class discussion, and completing the group presentation assignment. If you wish to attend one (or a few) class session(s) as a visitor rather than auditing the class, please speak to me at the beginning of the semester.

Office Hours and Email

I encourage you to see me during office hours with any questions or comments. Please plan to attend office hours for any questions relating to course content or assignments; in person discussion is far

preferable to email. I hold weekly office hours on Wednesdays from 1:30-3:00 p.m. Student must sign up for a time online at <http://www.wejoinin.com/daracohen>. Please be sure to cancel your reserved time if you cannot come so that this time slot can be made available to other students.

Email should generally be used for brief questions only. I will respond to email between the hours of 9:00am and 7:00pm.

Extra Credit Opportunity

There are a large number of events relevant to this course that will take place over the course of the semester, both around the school and the university. Two weekly events are: (1) the International Security Brown Bag Seminar at the Belfer Center, which takes place every Thursday from 12:15-2:00pm (bring your lunch; coffee provided), and (2) the Research Seminar Series at the Women and Public Policy Program, which takes place every Thursday from 11:40-1:00pm (lunch provided!). In these seminar series, scholars present their in-progress work on a range of topics related to international security and research on sex and gender. In order to encourage—and incentivize—you to attend these seminars, you can earn one point on your final course grade—up to three points total—for attending a seminar and emailing the course assistant a 250-word reaction/critique of the talk. If you intend to take advantage of this extra credit opportunity, please send your reactions by Friday, December 1.

Course Schedule and Overview of Topics

Shopping Day

Tuesday, August 29, 10:15-11:30am (two optional 30-minute sessions, separated by a 15-minute break)

Note: We will meet in room T-135 just for today; all other classes are in L-382

Wednesday, August 30: No class; class rescheduled to September 8

Friday, September 1: No class; class rescheduled to September 15; *optional* session on How to Read a Regression Table with Connor Huff

Monday, September 4: Labor Day (No class)

Introduction

1. Wednesday, September 6: Is gender an important factor in global politics—or research?

Syllabus review and discussion of class norms and expectations

Part 1. Violence Against Women During Peacetime

2. Friday, September 8: The Scope and Costs of Global Violence Against Women

3. Monday, September 11: Sex-Selective Abortion and Missing Girls

Part 2. Gendered Causes and Consequences of War

4. Wednesday, September 13: Does gender inequality cause conflict?

5. Friday, September 15: Do women leaders wage peace?

6. Monday, September 18: Gender, Public Opinion and Support for War

7. Wednesday, September 20: How does war affect civilians—both men and women?

8. Monday, September 25: Who is a combatant? Who is a victim?

9. Wednesday, September 27: Armed Conflict and Maternal Health (*Guest speaker: Andreas Kotsadam*)

Part 3. Wartime Rape and Sexual Violence

10. Monday, October 2: Rape and Sexual Violence During War

11. Wednesday, October 4: Female Perpetrators and Male Victims of Rape and Sexual violence

Monday, October 9: Columbus Day (No class)

12. Wednesday, October 11: The Challenges of Accountability for Rape as a War Crime (*Guest speaker: Kate Cronin-Furman*) **Op-eds due in class**

Part 4. Perpetrators and Agents of Violence

13. Monday, October 16: How should we think about “violent” women?/ *Midterm Course Evaluations*

14. Wednesday, October 18: Women as Perpetrators of Genocide

15. Monday, October 23: Women as Terrorists and Suicide Bombers

16. Wednesday, October 25: Women, Men and the Abu Ghraib Scandal

Part 5. Women in Armed Groups: Soldiers, Rebels and Peacekeepers

17. Monday, October 30: Women as Insurgents/Rebels/Guerrillas

18. Wednesday, November 1: Gender and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration of Former Fighters (*Guest speaker: Roxanne Kristalli*)

19. Monday, November 6: Are rebel women more likely to accept peace treaties? (*Guest speaker: Connor Huff*)

20. Wednesday, November 8: Women in National Militaries

21. Monday, November 13: The Debate over Women in Combat Roles

22. Wednesday, November 15: Women in Combat Roles: Now What? (*Guest speaker: Megan MacKenzie*)

Sunday, November 19: Evening film screening of *The Invisible War* (2012), 7:00pm in Weil Town Hall (optional)

23. Monday, November 20: Sexual Assault in the U.S. Military (including a discussion of the film)

Wednesday, November 22: Thanksgiving Break (No class)

24. Monday, November 27: Do women peacekeepers make a difference?

25. Wednesday, November 29 (Last class): Conclusion/Course Evaluations

Monday, December 11: Final papers due

Introduction

1. Wednesday, September 6: Is gender an important factor in global politics—or academic research?

True, Jacqui. 2012. *The Political Economy of Violence Against Women*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 1 (pgs. 3-16)

Reiter, Dan. 2014. “The Positivist Study of Gender and International Relations,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59(7): 1301-1326.

Part 1. Violence Against Women in Peacetime

2. Friday, September 8: The Scope and Costs of Global Violence Against Women

Watts, Charlotte and Cathy Zimmerman. 2002. “Violence against Women: Global Scope and Magnitude.” *The Lancet* 359(9313): 1232-1237.

Fearon, James, and Anke Hoeffler. 2014. “Benefits and Costs of the Conflict and Violence Targets for the Post-2015 Development Agenda.” *Conflict and Violence Assessment Paper, Copenhagen Consensus Center*. [[LINK](#)] (Read sections on violence against women: pgs. 19-26, 34-42, 48-51.

Jewkes, Rachel et. al. 2013. “Prevalence of and factors associated with non-partner rape perpetration: findings from the UN Multi-country Cross-sectional Study on Men and Violence in Asia and the Pacific,” *The Lancet Global Health* 1(4): 208-218. [[LINK](#)]

Recommended: Kristof, Nicholas and Sheryl WuDunn. 2009. *Half the Sky: Turning Oppression into Opportunity for Women Worldwide*. New York: Knopf.

3. Monday, September 11: Sex-Selective Abortion and Missing Girls

Sen, Amartya. 1990. “More Than 100 Million Women Are Missing,” *New York Review of Books*, December 20. [[LINK](#)]

Sen, Amartya. 2014. “The Lost Girls: Girls Are Still Aborted in States with More Educated Women,” *The Independent*, January 14. [[LINK](#)]

Andrea Den Boer and Valerie M. Hudson. 2002. “A Surplus of Men, A Deficit of Peace: Security and Sex Ratios in Asia’s Largest States,” *International Security* 26(4): 5-39.

Part 2. Causes and Consequences of War

4. Wednesday, September 13: Does gender inequality cause conflict? Does gender equality cause peace?

Hudson, Valerie, Mary Caprioli, Bonnie Ballif-Spanvill, Rose McDermott and Chad Emmett. 2008. “The Heart of the Matter: The Security of Women and the Security of States,” *International Security* 33(3): 7-45.

Shair-Rosenfield, Sarah and Reed Wood. 2017. "Governing Well after War: How Improving Female Representation Prolongs Post-conflict Peace," *Journal of Politics* 79(3): 995-1009.

Powell, Catherine. 2017. "Women Could Save the World, If Only We Would Let Them: From Gender Essentialism to Inclusive Security," *Yale Journal of Law and Feminism* 2: 271-326.

Recommended: Sjoberg, Laura. 2013. *Gendering Global Conflict: Toward a Feminist Theory of War*, New York: Columbia University Press.

Recommended: Goldstein, Joshua. 2001. *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

5. Friday, September 15: Do women leaders wage peace?

Fukuyama, Francis. 1998. "Women and the Evolution of World Politics," *Foreign Affairs* 77(5): 24-40.

Caprioli, Mary. 2001. "Gender, Violence and International Crisis," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45(4): 503-518.

Nye, Joseph. 2012. "A More Peaceful World if Women in Charge?" *CNN Global Public Square blog*, February 8 [[LINK](#)]

Bronson, Brittany. 2017. "What Happens When Women Legislate," *New York Times*, April 18. [[LINK](#)]

Gebelhoff, Robert. 2016. "Women Won't Save Us from Violence," *Washington Post*, May 2. [[LINK](#)]

Recommended: Dube, Oeindrila, and S.P. Harish. 2017. "Queens," NBER Working Paper No. 23337.

Recommended: Horowitz, Michael, Allan Stam, and Cali Ellis. 2015. *Presidents, Kings, Dictators, and War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

6. Monday, September 18: Gender, public opinion and support for war

Sagan, Scott D. and Benjamin A. Valentino. 2017. "Revisiting Hiroshima in Iran: What Americans Really Think about Using Nuclear Weapons and Killing Noncombatants," *International Security* 42(1): 41-79.

Bjarnegård, Elin, and Erik Melander. 2017. "Pacific Men: How the Feminist Gap Explains Hostility." *The Pacific Review* 30(4): 478-493.

Eichenberg, Richard and Richard Stoll. 2012. "Gender Difference or Parallel Publics? The Dynamics of Defense Spending Opinions in the United States, 1965-2007." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 56 (2): 331-348.

Recommended: Gartner, Scott. 2008. “The Multiple Effects of Casualties on Public Support for War: An Experimental Approach.” *American Political Science Review* 102(1): 95-106.

Recommended: Gartner, Scott. 2008. “Secondary Casualty Information: Casualty Uncertainty, Female Casualties, and Wartime Support.” *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 25(2): 98-111.

7. Wednesday, September 20: How does war affect civilians—both men and women?

Plumper, Thomas and Eric Neumayer. 2006. “The Unequal Burden of War: The Effect of Armed Conflict on the Gender Gap in Life Expectancy,” *International Organization* 60(3): 723-754.

VOA. 2009. “UN Says Women, Children Are Biggest Victims of War,” November 2. [\[LINK\]](#)

Recommended: Ghobarah, Hazem Adam, Paul Huth and Bruce Russett. 2003. “Civil Wars Kill and Maim People—Long After the Shooting Stops,” *American Political Science Review* 97(2): 189-202.

8. Monday, September 25: Who is a combatant? Who is a victim?

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

Associated Press. 2014. “In Gaza, Dispute Over Civilian vs. Combatant Deaths,” Washington Post, August 8. [\[LINK\]](#)

Khattab, Lana and Henri Myrntinen. 2017. “‘Most of the Men Want to Leave’: Armed Groups, Displacement and the Gendered Webs of Vulnerability in Syria,” *International Alert*. [\[LINK\]](#)

Recommended: Carpenter, R. Charli. 2003. “‘Women and Children First’: Gender, Norms and Humanitarian Evacuation in the Balkans, 1991-1995,” *International Organization* 57(4): 661-694.

9. Wednesday, September 27: Armed Conflict and Maternal Health

Guest speaker: Andreas Kotsadam, senior researcher at The Frisch Centre and affiliated researcher at the Department of Economics at the University of Oslo

Østby, Gudrun, Henrik Urdal, Andreas Forø Tollefsen, Andreas Kotsadam, Ragnhild Belbo and Christin Ormhaug. “Organized Violence and Institutional Child Delivery: Micro-Level Evidence from Sub-Saharan Africa, 1989–2014,” unpublished paper.

Part 3. Wartime Rape and Sexual Violence

10. Monday, October 2: Rape and Sexual Violence During War

Cohen, Dara Kay, Amelia Hoover Green, and Elisabeth Jean Wood. 2013. "Wartime Sexual Violence: Misconceptions, Implications, and Ways Forward," *USIP Special Report* [[LINK](#)]

Cohen, Dara Kay. 2013. "Explaining Rape During Civil War: Cross-National Evidence (1980-2009)," *American Political Science Review* 107(3): 461-477.

Wood, Elisabeth Jean. 2009. "Armed Groups and Sexual Violence: When is Wartime Rape Rare?" *Politics and Society* 37(1): 131-161.

Recommended: Butler, Christopher, Tali Gluch, and Neil Mitchell. 2007. "Security Forces and Sexual Violence: A Cross-national Analysis of a Principal-Agent Argument," *Journal of Peace Research* 44(6): 669-686.

Recommended: Leiby, Michele. "The Promise and Peril of Primary Documents: Documenting Wartime Sexual Violence in El Salvador and Peru," in Bergsmo, Morten, Butenschøn Skre, Alf and Elisabeth J. Wood, eds. 2012. *Understanding and Proving International Sex Crimes*, Beijing: Torkel Opsahl, Academic EPublisher. [[LINK](#)]

11. Wednesday, October 4: Female Perpetrators and Male Victims of Rape and Sexual Violence

Cohen, Dara Kay. 2013. "Female Combatants and the Perpetration of Violence: Wartime Rape in the Sierra Leone Civil War," *World Politics* 65(3): 383-415.

Sjoberg, Laura. 2016. *Woman As Wartime Rapists: Beyond Sensation and Stereotyping*, New York: NYU Press. Chapter 4 (pgs. 125-157)

Carpenter, Charli. 2006. "Recognizing Gender-Based Violence Against Civilian Men and Boys in Conflict Situations," *Security Dialogue* 37(1): 83-103.

Sivakumaran, Sandesh. 2010. "Lost in Translation: UN Responses to Sexual Violence against Men and Boys in Situations of Armed Conflict," *International Review of the Red Cross* 92(877): 259-277.

Hatcher, Jessica. 2013. "Congo's Forgotten Curse: Epidemic of Female-on-Female Rape," *Time*, December 3 [[LINK](#)]

Chemaly, Soraya. 2013. "What Does it Mean When Women Perpetrate Gang Rape?" *Women Under Siege*, December 16. [[LINK](#)]

Gettleman, Jeffrey. 2009. "A Symbol of Unhealed Congo: Male Rape Victims," *New York Times*, August 4.

Recommended Sivakumaran, Sandesh. 2007. "Sexual Violence Against Men in Armed Conflict," *European Journal of International Law* 18(2): 253-276.

Recommended: Stemple, Lara. 2008. "Male Rape and Human Rights." *Hastings Law Journal* 60: 605-647.

Monday, October 9: Columbus Day (No class)

**12. Wednesday, October 11: The Challenges of Accountability for Rape as a War Crime
Op-ed Assignment Due in Class**

Guest speaker: Kate Cronin-Furman, Postdoctoral Fellow, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs

Cronin-Furman, Kate. 2013. "Managing Expectations: International Criminal Trials and the Prospects for Deterrence of Mass Atrocity." *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 7(3): 434-454.

Gowrinathan, Nimmi and Kate Cronin-Furman. 2015. "The Forever Victims? Tamil Women in Post-War Sri Lanka," White Paper, Politics of Sexual Violence Initiative, Colin Powell School, City College of New York. [[LINK](#)]

Part 4. Perpetrators of Violence

**13. Monday, October 16: How should we think about "violent" women?
Midterm Course Evaluations Due in Class**

Sjoberg, Laura and Caron Gentry. 2007. *Mothers, Monsters, Whores: Women's Violence in Global Politics*, New York: Zed Books. (Chapters 1 and 2; pgs. 1-57)

Alison, Miranda. 2004. "Women as Agents of Political Violence: Gendering Security," *Security Dialogue* 35(4): 447-463.

14. Wednesday, October 18: Women as Perpetrators of Genocide

Sharlach, Lisa. 1999. "Gender and Genocide in Rwanda: Women as Agents and Objects of Genocide," *Journal of Genocide Research* 1(3): 387-399.

Jones, Adam. 2002. "Gender and Genocide in Rwanda," *Journal of Genocide Research* 4(1): 65-94.

Brown, Sara. 2013. "Female Perpetrators of the Rwandan Genocide," *International Feminist Journal of Politics*: 1-22.

Landesman, Peter. 2002. "A Woman's Work," *The New York Times Magazine*, September 15.

15. Monday, October 23: Women as Terrorists and Suicide Bombers

Gowrinathan, Nimmi. 2014. "The Women of Isis: Understanding and Combating Female Extremism," *Foreign Affairs*, August 21.

Strømme, Ester E.J. 2017. "Jihadi Brides or Female Foreign Fighters? Women in Da'esh – from Recruitment to Sentencing," GPS Policy Brief, PRIO Centre on Women, Peace and Security. [[LINK](#)]

Bloom, Mia. 2011. *Bombshell: The Many Faces of Women Terrorists*. Toronto: Penguin. Chapter 1 (pgs. 9-34).

O'Rourke, Lindsey. 2009. "What's Special about Female Suicide Terrorism?" *Security Studies* 18(4): 681-718.

Thayer, Bradley and Valerie Hudson. 2010. "Sex and the Shaheed: Insights from the Life Sciences on Islamic Suicide Terrorism." *International Security* 34(4): 37-62.

16. Wednesday, October 25: Women, Men and the Abu Ghraib Scandal

Hersh, Seymour. 2004. "Torture at Abu Ghraib," *New Yorker*, May 10.

Gourevitch, Philip and Errol Morris. 2008. "Exposure: The Woman Behind the Camera at Abu Ghraib," *The New Yorker*, March 24.

Sjoberg, Laura and Caron Gentry. 2007. *Mothers, Monsters, Whores: Women's Violence in Global Politics*, New York: Zed Books. (Chapter 3, pg. 58-87)

Recommended: Enloe, Cynthia. 2004. "Wielding Masculinity Inside Abu Ghraib: Making Feminist Sense of an American Military Scandal," *Asian Journal of Women's Studies* 10(3): 89-102.

Part 5. Women in Armed Groups: Soldiers, Rebels and Peacekeepers

17. Monday, October 30: Women as Insurgents/Rebels/Guerrillas

Viterna, Jocelyn. 2013. *Women in War: The Micro-Processes of Mobilization in El Salvador*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapters 1 and 9 (pgs. 1-13; 203-220).

Coulter, Chris. 2009. *Bush Wives and Girl Soldiers: Women's Lives Through War and Peace in Sierra Leone*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Chapter 4: From Rape Victims to Female Fighters (pgs. 125-153).

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.

Recommended: Coulter, Chris, Mariam Persson and Mats Utas. 2008. "Young Female Fighters in African Wars: Conflict and its Consequences," *Policy Dialogue No. 3*, The Nordic Africa Institute.

18. Wednesday, November 1: Gender and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) of Former Fighters

Guest speaker: Roxanne Kristalli, PhD Candidate at The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and Program Manager at the Humanitarian Evidence Program at Feinstein International Center.

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

Mazurana, Dyan, Roxanne Krystalli, and Anton Baare. Forthcoming 2017. "Gender and Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration: Reviewing and Advancing the Field," *Oxford Handbook on Gender and Conflict*, edited by Fionnuala Ni Aolain, Dina Hayes, Naomi Cahn and Nalha Valji. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

"After Peace Agreement, A Baby Boom Among Colombia's FARC Guerrillas," NPR, May 3, 2017 [[LINK](#)]

19. Monday, November 6: Are rebel women more likely to accept peace treaties?

Guest speaker: Connor Huff, PhD candidate at the Government Department, Harvard University

Walter, Barbara. 1997. "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement." *International Organization* 51(3): 335-364.

Oppenheim, Ben, Abbey Steele, Juan F. Vargas, and Michael Weintraub. 2015. "True Believers, Deserters, and Traitors: Who Leaves Insurgent Groups and Why." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59(5): 794-823.

Huff, Connor. "Why Rebels Reject Treaties," unpublished manuscript.

20. Wednesday, November 8: Women in National Militaries

Baaz, Maria Eriksson and Maria Stern. 2013. "Fearless Fighters and Submissive Wives: Negotiating Identity Among Women Soldiers in the Congo (DRC)." *Armed Forces and Society* 39(4): 711-739.

Sasson-Levy, Orna. 2003. "Feminism and Military Gender Practices: Israeli Women Soldiers in 'Masculine' Roles." *Sociological Inquiry* 73(3): 440-465.

Trisko Darden, Jessica. 2015. "Assessing the Significance of Women in Combat Roles." *International Journal* 70(3): 454-462.

21. Monday, November 13: The Debate Over Women in Combat Roles

van Creveld, Martin. 2000. "The Great Illusion: Women in the Military," *Millennium* 29(2): 429-442.

Elshstain, Jean Bethke. 2000. “‘Shooting’ at the Wrong Target: A Response to Van Creveld.” *Millennium* 29(2): 443–448.

MacKenzie, Megan. 2015. *Beyond the Band of Brothers: The US Military and the Myth that Women Can’t Fight*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Introduction and Chapter 1.

Two blog posts from the NYT series “At War” [\[LINK\]](#) and [\[LINK\]](#)

Recommended: Kamarck, Kristy. 2015. *Women in Combat: Issues for Congress*. Congressional Research Service Report 7-5700. August 18. [\[LINK\]](#)

22. Wednesday, November 15: Women in Combat Roles: Now What?

Guest speaker: Megan MacKenzie, Associate Professor, Department of Government and International Relations

MacKenzie, Megan. 2015. “True Grit: The Myths and Realities of Women in Combat,” *Foreign Affairs*, August 12.

MacKenzie, Megan. 2013. “Let Women Fight: Ending the U.S. Military’s Female Combat Ban,” *Foreign Affairs*, January 23.

Haring, Ellen and Megan MacKenzie. 2015. ” Exclusive Access to Marine Corps Study Shows It Misses the Mark,” blog post [\[LINK\]](#) and the four-page summary of the Marine Corps report [\[LINK\]](#)

Recommended: “Remarks on the Women-in-Service Review,” Delivered by Secretary of Defense Ash Carter, Pentagon Press Briefing Room, Dec. 3, 2015. [\[LINK\]](#)

Sunday, November 19: Evening film screening of *The Invisible War* (2012), 7:00pm in Weil Town Hall (optional)

Note: Available to stream on Amazon Prime and on Netflix DVD for students unable to attend the evening screening. I also have one copy that students may borrow.

23. Monday, November 20: Sexual Assault in the U.S Military

Discussion of the film *The Invisible War* (2012)

Bhagwati, Anu. 2013. “The Unheard Victims of ‘The Invisible War’: The Crisis of Sexual Assault in the U.S. Military,” *Foreign Affairs*, March 28.

View “The Battle Within” photo essay here [\[LINK\]](#)

Wednesday, November 22: Thanksgiving Break (No class)

24. Monday, November 30: Do women peacekeepers make a difference?

Carvajal, Doreen. 2010. "A Female Approach to Peacekeeping," *New York Times*, March 5.

Bridges, Donna, and Debbie Horsfall. 2009. "Increasing Operational Effectiveness in UN Peacekeeping Toward a Gender-Balanced Force." *Armed Forces & Society* 36(1): 120-130.

Simic, Olivera. 2010. "Does the Presence of Women Really Matter? Towards Combating Male Sexual Violence in Peacekeeping Operations," *International Peacekeeping* 17(2): 188-199.

Beardsley, Kyle and Sabrina Karim. 2016. "Explaining Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in Peacekeeping Missions: The Role of Female Peacekeepers and Gender Equality in Contributing Countries," *Journal of Peace Research* 53(1): 100-115.

Recommended: True, Jacqui. 2003. "Mainstreaming Gender in Global Public Policy," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 5(3): 368-396.

Recommended: Gowrinathan, Nimmi and Kate Cronin-Furman. 2017. "UN Peacekeepers: Keeping the Peace or Preventing It?" *Al Jazeera* op-ed, May 2.

25. Wednesday, December 2: Conclusion/Course Evaluations

Monday, December 11: Final papers due by 5:00pm