



Consortium on Gender, Security & Human Rights

Masculinities and Armed Conflict Annotated Bibliography

2012

The **Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights** created this Annotated Bibliography to provide a guide to the landscape of academic research in masculinities and armed conflict. Our goal is to provide the policy, activist and scholarly communities with access to the findings of academic research; therefore, the extensive and valuable resources produced by policy agencies, NGOs, and international organizations are generally not included here. Of course, we assume that readers will use this Annotated Bibliography only as a guide to help find useful readings, and that anyone wishing to cite these sources in their own work will go back to the original sources.

The **Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights** created this Annotated Bibliography to provide a guide to the landscape of academic research on masculinities and armed conflict; the principal research for it was done by Rachel Brown with additional contributions by Will Bayliss.

This bibliography is by no means an exhaustive listing. We have focused on the academic literature, so most of the numerous publications originating from within the policy and NGO communities have not been included here. This bibliography is also limited to articles published in English.

Insofar as possible, entries includes citations, published abstracts, quotations of key sentences (indicated in quotation marks, and followed by page number) and additional annotations by the interns who worked on this bibliography, and URLs for articles that are available on line. Books usually are only briefly summarized, often with the table of contents included.

This annotated bibliography is meant to introduce readers to the landscape of academic research and debate in this field, and to help support the reader in her or his own research. Despite the inclusion of quotations and page numbers in the annotations, we strongly advise the reader not to quote directly from this document, but rather to use it to direct you to the literature that will be of use to you.

If you are familiar with resources that you think should be included in this annotated bibliography, please send the citation, or, better yet, an annotation, and we will add it to the bibliography, with your name as reviewer. Resources can be submitted through our website at: genderandsecurity.org/projects-resources/annotated-bibliographies.

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I. Peacekeeping

Agathangelou, Anna, and L.H.M. Ling. "Desire Industries: Sex Trafficking, UN Peacekeeping, and the Neo-Liberal World Order." *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* 10, no. 1 (2003): 133-148.

Abstract:

No abstract found.

Additional Notes:

Agathangelou highlights the similarities between peacekeeping and colonialism, in their ability to reconstruct and racialize masculine and feminine identities. Rather than transforming a conflict, peacekeeping "keeps the peace;" i.e. preserves the status quo with all of its inequalities. Peacekeeping does little to challenge the "neoliberal world order based on patriarchy," and as such "allows certain identities to pleasure and profit at the expense of others." Agathangelou cites the example of local Indian men exerting hypermasculinity as a means of imitating British manhood. Peacekeeping promotes the "fantasy of a Western, hyper-masculinized Self recruiting the Native." In this sense, it draws upon militarized masculinity to create a group of dominant males and a subordinate group of "Other," racially inferior males.

Baumgartner, Ulrike. "Learning to Speak a 'Masculine' Language: Rationalization of Gender Equality in the United Nations Peacekeeping Bureaucracy." Paper presented at the International Studies Association Annual Conference, New Orleans, Feb. 2010.

Abstract:

This paper is part of an ongoing dissertation project and traces back the process of norm adaptation of gender equality in the military dominated context of UN-peacekeeping (Mazurana 2002, pp.42f.; Patel and Tripodi 2007, pp.588f.; Whitworth 2004). To this end, I proceed in four steps. First, I describe the structural changes towards gender equality in the still military dominated environment. The elaborations on how gender-related structural changes have been integrated in the UN-peacekeeping bureaucracy mark the starting point for analysis. Secondly, I sketch out theoretical approaches on norm compliance and strategic framing in order to find explanations for the observed changes in the international bureaucracy. The following empirical analysis is led by the hypotheses that are derived from the theoretical literature. The first focuses on the way of framing a new normative idea; the second stresses the role of particular norm entrepreneurs. Yet, before changes in framing gender equality can be identified it is necessary to describe how the concept has been understood in its original social context. And in order to evaluate if the new framing resonates with the relevant audience it is necessary to reveal the prevalent norm that leads UN-peacekeeping activities. To this end, the empirical part of this paper has two

parts. The discourse analysis concentrates on selected core UN-documents for each aspect described above. (*Abstract from Ibid, 2-3*).

Additional Notes:

Baumgartner notes that the international norm of gender equality is stronger than the UN norm of militarized masculinity. However, despite that the UN has made structural changes reflecting this shift towards gender equality, in practice its organizational culture is still “predominantly masculine”/“hyper-masculine.” As a result, soldiers within peacekeeping missions still base their identities upon a militarized form of masculinity deemed necessary for combat. This masculinity posits the “Other” as feminine.

Cockburn, Cynthia, and Dubravka Zarkov, eds. *The Postwar Moment: Militaries, Masculinities and International Peacekeeping, Bosnia and Netherlands*. London, UK: Lawrence and Wishart, 2002.

Abstract:

This feminist analysis of the postwar movement in Bosnia argues that a crucial but often overlooked factor in the successful reconstruction of societies after conflict is the level of importance accorded to transforming gender power relations. Focusing on two countries, Bosnia and the Netherlands, linked through a “peacekeeping operation,” the contributors illuminate the many ways in which processes of demilitarization and peacekeeping are structured by notions of masculinity and femininity. Several chapters also analyze the self-questioning provoked in the Netherlands after the Dutch contingent of the UN peacekeeping forces was widely held responsible for failing to prevent the Srebrenica massacre; these provide a rich source of insights into relationships between soldiering and masculinities, war-fighting, and peacekeeping (*Abstract from book description*).

Additional Notes:

This book focuses on the cultures of masculinities that arise during and after conflict, and during peacekeeping missions. Enloe’s essay underscores the ways that the military privileges men, and questions whether women are capable of engendering a change in the masculine culture of the military, or whether they simply conform to and become a part of the culture. Cockburn and Hubic’s essay explores the effect of a masculine-centered military on local women’s peace organizations, but also reiterate that peacekeeping can sometimes be effective, and that perhaps we can reshape peacekeeping missions by disconnecting masculinity from military in this context. Like Sion, Dudink explores the “alternative masculinity” present in Dutch peacekeeping missions. He argues that Dutch military masculinity is less aggressive and more focused upon “moderation and contemplation”, what Ferguson and Turnbull (book review) call a “more civilized masculinity.” Yet Enloe questions whether “softer,” alternative masculinities can really be a challenge to more aggressive masculinities at all. Both Zarkov and Dudnik also question the utility of promoting alternative masculinities within peacekeeping missions, when by nature they are colonial.

Dittmer, Cordula, and Maja Apelt. "About Intervening in Vulnerable Societies: Gender in Military Peacekeeping of the Bundeswehr." In *Women in the Military in Armed Conflict*, edited by Helena Carreiras and Gerhard Kummel, 63-80. Wiesbaden, DE: VS Verlag, 2008.

Abstract:

After seven years of opening up the German Armed Forces for women, it is time to summarize the current situation, equality measures and the situation of female soldiers. This is particularly interesting because of the increasing number of deployments which the Bundeswehr faces and will face in the future. The character of the German Armed Forces has changed from defense forces to intervention forces in the last ten years: National defense no longer means defending national territories, but defending the Western liberal democratic lifestyle which is perceived to be threatened by international terrorism and civil wars all over the world. The soldiers of today fulfill multidimensional tasks such as building schools, the coordination of civil and military relief efforts, the protection of threatened minorities and so on, as well as traditional combat missions in multinational NATO, UN and EU contexts (*Geser 1996; UN General Assembly 2004*) (*Abstract from Ibid, 63*).

Additional Notes:

Dittmer and Apelt draw a distinction between perceptions of German and Western masculinity, which are characterized by "openness, tolerance, equity and thoughtful European behavior," and the masculinity of the "Other," which is "backward and uncivilized." Female soldiers in the military are caught in between these masculinities; on the one hand, their "Otherness" within the army (i.e. they are "weak and sexualized") reinforces the need for military masculinity, so they are "disqualified" from serving as equals in peacekeeping operations. At the same time, they must be protected from the savage masculinity of the "Other."

Duncanson, Claire. "Forces for Good? Narratives of Military Masculinity in Peacekeeping Operations." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 11, no. 1 (2009): 63-80.

Abstract:

Evidence of military involvement in sexual exploitation and aggression against civilians on peacekeeping operations has led many feminists to question the appropriateness of using soldiers to create peace. They argue that the problems stem from a particular form of military masculinity, hegemonic within western militaries, associated with practices of strength, toughness and aggressive heterosexuality. Masculinities, however, are multiple, dynamic and contradictory. As they are constructed in relation to the contexts men find themselves in, involvement in peacekeeping may itself play a role in the construction of alternative military masculinities. Examining autobiographical accounts of soldiers involved in peacekeeping in Bosnia in the 1990s, I argue that there is evidence of an alternative discourse of 'peacekeeper masculinity', but question

whether it fully challenges the hegemony of the warrior model. I acknowledge that peacekeeper masculinity is also problematic because although it disrupts elements of the traditional linkages between militarism and masculinity, it still relies on a feminized and racialized 'Other'. Yet, I suggest that this is not the only way in which peacekeeper masculinity can be viewed. It can alternatively be considered part of a 'regendered military', which may be a necessary component of successful conflict resolution (*Abstract from Ibid, 63*).

Additional Notes:

Like Whitworth and Harrington, Duncanson discusses the link between military and masculinity that peacekeeping missions create and reinforce, in part by creating a “feminized and racialized ‘Other’”. While she gives more weight to the argument that peacekeeping may create an alternative masculinity, she, like Whitworth, believes this “alternative masculinity” is not sufficient in fully breaking the link between the military and masculinity.

Grady, Kate. “Sexual Exploitation and Abuse by UN Peacekeepers: A Threat to Impartiality.” *International Peacekeeping* 17 (2010): 215-228.

Abstract:

This article reconceptualizes the idea of the impartiality of UN peacekeeping in light of allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse by peacekeeping personnel. It considers the role that sexual exploitation and abuse play both during and after conflict. The paper argues that sexual exploitation and abuse are political acts that bring about financial and propagandist benefits for the warring parties. It then tracks the history of neutrality in UN peacekeeping - originally defined as objective inaction against the warring parties - and its development into impartiality - now identified as unbiased interference, but with greater reference to core universal values such as fairness and justice. Peacekeepers' involvement in sexual exploitation and abuse is of political advantage to the parties and therefore breaches the principle of impartiality (*Abstract from Ibid, 215*).

Additional Notes:

Grady underscores how sexual exploitation and abuse can be used against an enemy group to hurt the honor of the group’s women and to weaken the men’s sense of masculinity. Simultaneously, this sexual abuse contributes to a sense of group bonding and increased mistrust of the enemy.

Greener, B.K., W.J. Fish, and K. Tekulu. “Peacebuilding, Gender, and Policing in Solomon Islands.” *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 52, no. 1 (2011): 17-28.

Abstract:

UN Security Council Resolution 1325 calls for a gender perspective to be integrated into the resolution of conflicts. This responsibility manifests itself in a number of more specific proposals, some easily assessable, others less so. In this

paper, we begin by considering the success of the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands (RAMSI) – the poster child for peacebuilding efforts – at meeting these specific proposals. In light of this, we then go on to suggest ways in which RAMSI might meet greater success in fully integrating gender considerations in Solomon Islands by blending sensitivity to gender-based considerations together with a deeper sensitivity to cultural considerations, including cultural understandings of core notions such as ‘policing’ and ‘justice’ (*Abstract from Ibid, 17*).

Additional Notes and/or Quotations:

Greener et al. suggest that the fact that RAMSI is a police-led, rather than military-led, mission is important to the extent that the police are an “institution associated with domestic order and domestic political values and priorities (a notion that has a certain resonance with the feminist tenet that the personal is political)” (19). However, RAMSI has been characterized as having limited success in achieving gender equality largely because of cultural factors that lead to women’s concerns being considered low-priority or confined to the domestic sphere. Because of this, the authors suggest that peace operations are more likely to achieve “success” in areas where “cultural competence is a core value”, which underscores critiques of liberal peacebuilding models as being insensitive to cultural context.

Harrington, Carol. “Peacekeeping and Prostitution in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo.” Paper presented at Gender and power in the New Europe, the 5th European Feminist Research Conference, Lund University, Sweden, Aug. 20-24, 2003.

Abstract:

This paper compares the organisation of sexual violence in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo during UN operations to the sexual violence associated with US military bases in the Republic of Korea (ROK) during the 1970s, while also drawing some comparisons with the way sexual violence was organised in wartime Yugoslavia. I argue that in all of these cases military men agree that soldiers are entitled to heterosexual encounters, and thus provide women for soldiers to have sex with, treating the women concerned as people whose wellbeing, dignity and bodily integrity is of no relevance at all. Such sexual violence appears to be institutionalised across contemporary militaries. However, the political logic that categorises women as people to be protected or as people who have no rights to bodily integrity differs across sites. My enquiry is based in a sociology of the body that treats sexual violence as political violence, thus I expect that the sexual categorisation and organisation of women for soldiers will reveal important aspects of the political order the militaries involved are defending. I will elaborate on this theoretical perspective in relation to the three cases in the course of my discussion. Through comparing these three military contexts I seek to understand how military thinkers in the case of Bosnia and Kosovo divided people in relation to physical security and rights to bodily integrity, and thus to uncover the logic of the political order these peacekeeping operations defended (*Abstract from Ibid, 1*).

Additional Notes:

Like Whitworth, Harrington discusses “hypermasculinity” and its relevance to military culture. Hypermasculine expectations posit strong, virile, violent men against homosexual, weak men, and reinforce a sense of male entitlement to power. Hypermasculinity also creates a gendered hierarchy among men and women, rendering sexual violence a legitimate form of political violence for one group or military camp to use against another. Like Whitworth, Harrington also underlines the bonding effect that rape produces, reinforcing a sense of brotherhood and hypermasculinity between men. Like Whitworth, she also touches upon the racialization of hypermasculinity, noting for example, how Korean prostitutes working in brothels would reject black soldiers because they were afraid it would make them less attractive to white soldiers, who were perceived as the most manly and superior.

Henry, Marsha, and Paul Higate. “Engendering (In)security in Peace Support Operations.” *Security Dialogue* 35, no. 4 (2004): 481-498.**Abstract:**

This article contributes towards ongoing debates on gender, security and post-conflict studies. Its focus is on the activities of male peace-keepers and their gendered relations with women and girls. Against the backdrop of the peacekeeping economies in the Democratic Republic of Congo and Sierra Leone, we focus on the consequences of male peacekeepers’ construction and enactment of masculinity (and masculinities) on the security of local women. We conclude by suggesting that a deeper understanding of gender relations and security in peacekeeping contexts is necessary for any policy intervention in post-conflict settings (*Abstract from Ibid, 481*).

Additional Notes:

Like Whitworth and Harrington, Henry and Higate suggest that multiple masculinities and feminities, all of which intersect with race, class and ethnicity, affect how men and women experience security and insecurity. Henry and Higate point to the contradictory nature of peacekeeping, which demands “impartiality, sensitivity, compassion and empathy” at the same time that it relies upon an understood sense of military masculinity and striving to become a warrior. They also note that the domestic politics of a foreign military affect which sub-cultures of military masculinity arise within peacekeeping missions. In Sierra Leone, for example, Indian peacekeepers viewed themselves as ‘saviours of the war-torn citizenry’ and “relied heavily on a militaristic and gendered discourse of pride, loyalty and duty.” As a result, they focused on sports as an outlet for their masculinity rather than going to bars and clubs. The authors also highlight how peacekeepers’ own perceptions of local women’s agency can justify how they may be exploited. Some peacekeepers refer to their relationships with local women in the context of a boyfriend/girlfriend relationship, obscuring the power and opportunity differential between male peacekeepers and local women.

Higate, Paul, and Gurchathen Sanghera. "Peacekeepers as New Men? Security and Masculinity in the UN Mission in Liberia." Working paper No. 02-08, Bristol, UK: University of Bristol, Centre for Governance and International Affairs, 2008.
<http://www.bris.ac.uk/spais/research/workingpapers/wpispaisfiles/sanghere0208.pdf>

Abstract:

Drawing on a small scale qualitative study of the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL), this paper provides an insight into the ways in which those who work and live in this post-conflict site made sense of the styles of security provided by male peacekeepers. Interview material was subject to analyses through the gendered lens in ways that sought to examine the extent to which male peacekeepers were seen as derivatives of the 'New Man' on account of their dominant representation as 'soft warrior' in UN and other imagery. A three stage typology was developed from the data including the 'hard (traditional) warrior', the 'soft warrior/humanitarian' and the 'peacekeeper as New Man'. Our findings suggested that national contingent identity shaped participant understandings of the gendered styles of peacekeepers security practices to which they were subject. Here, Nigerian troops of the previous ECOMOG presence were seen as 'hard men', Bangladeshi troops were considered as somewhat 'weak' or 'soft' and Swedish and Irish contingent personnel were framed as 'fair' and 'professional'. In conclusion we argue that different styles of peacekeeping articulated at a national level find expression 'on-the-ground', as they converge with national stereotypes held by participants. In this way perceptions of national identity arose at the interface of (1) national-domestic approaches to peacekeeping (2) observable security practice and (3) imaginings of particular peacekeeper masculinities. In turn these gave rise to the content and form of national stereotypes through which male peacekeepers masculinised identities were perceived to shape the provision of a variety of securities (*Abstract from Ibid, 3*).

Additional Notes:

Higate and Sanghera's paper reinforces the work of Duncanson and Punyarut, who suggest that peacekeeping may enable an alternative masculinity. Yet the authors also underscore how local perceptions of national identity reinforce what kind of men they think sub-groups of peacekeepers may be. These perceptions of national identity in turn create a hierarchy among peacekeepers (i.e. Nigerians as "hard warriors" and Swedes as "professional." The authors suggest that on the ground, this "alternative masculinity" (or alternative masculinities) may do little to stop the occurrence of sexual exploitation; rather, the image of the "soft warrior" may merely an attempt to present a more acceptable side of imperialism. Interestingly, at the end of the article they suggest that the solution to this violent form of masculinized militarism may be the introduction of more women into peacekeeping missions, so that missions become "feminized." This argument assumes that women somehow have a "civilizing" effect on men.

Higate, Paul. "Peacekeepers, Masculinities, and Sexual Exploitation." *Men and Masculinities* 19, no. 1 (2007): 99-119.

Abstract:

My aim in this article is to analyze a set of gendered power relations played out in two postconflict settings. Based on interviews with peacekeepers and others, I argue that sexual exploitation of local women by male peacekeepers continues to be documented. I then turn to scholarly considerations of peacekeeper sexual exploitation, some of which accord excessive explanatory power to a crude form of military masculinity. This is underlined by similarly exploitative activities perpetrated by humanitarian workers and so-called "sex tourists." In conclusion, I argue that a form of exploitative social masculinities shaped by socioeconomic structure, impunity, and privilege offers a more appropriate way to capture the activities of some male peacekeepers during peacekeeping missions. Finally, in underlining the conflation of military masculinities with exploitation, I pose the question of how to explain those military men who do not exploit local women while deployed on missions (*Abstract from Ibid, 99*).

Additional Notes:

Higate notes the tendency of scholars to "reify and homogenize military masculinities" when examining sexual exploitation by peacekeepers. "Social masculinities," he argues, is a more appropriate term for describing the gendered power relations that allow sexual exploitation to occur. Cultural and economic inequality more accurately describe peacekeeper-prostitute sexual relations than does the catchall phrase "military masculinities." We must analyze sexual exploitation as a product of gendered power relations and socioeconomic conditions, rather than the byproduct of military masculinity.

Higate, Paul. "Peacekeeping and Gender Relations in the Democratic Republic of the Congo." In *Gender and Peacekeeping Case Studies: The Democratic Republic of the Congo and Sierra Leone*, by Paul Higate, 9-36. South Africa: Institute for Security Studies, 2004.

Abstract:

The issue of gendered relations in Peace Support Operations (PSOs) has moved steadily up the agenda in recent years, with the topic of sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA) attracting attention from a number of commentators. Given the nature of humanitarian work within post-conflict settings, allegations of SEA against members of vulnerable groups by relatively powerful individuals including humanitarian and peacekeeper personnel represents a particular concern. Moreover, these provocative and highly damaging activities detracts from the more positive influence PSOs may have 'on the ground' as well as at the higher level of political intervention, and represents a partial focus of the work carried out by them. The fact that humanitarian aid workers and UN peacekeepers may be the perpetrators of sexual abuses was demonstrated in the February 2002 United Nations High Commissioner of Refugees (UNHCR) and Save the Children Fund UK (SCFUK) report detailing SEA and Gender Based Violence (GBV) in

Sierra Leone. The issue has been around for some time: UNHCR guidelines were drawn up as far back as 1995 and have attempted to prevent, for example, refugee women and girls being approached for sexual favours in exchange for goods during distribution. This is again reiterated in the 2001 Lessons Learned document from an Inter-Agency meeting in Geneva in which the then-High Commissioner for Human Rights, Ms. Mary Robinson, supported the Code of Conduct for humanitarian workers in the foreword to the manual. She indicated that “persons in need should not have to fear those who are mandated to protect and assist them.” The following was noted in another section of the document in regards to the establishment of the Code of Conduct:

Experience shows that there is need for a Code of Conduct. Cases in which humanitarian workers have failed to treat refugees with the respect and dignity to which they are entitled have been reported. Allegations of asylum fraud and the involvement of UN peacekeepers in SGBV-related crimes have also been made. Clearly, one of the biggest challenges facing the UN today is preventing behaviours, through selfpolicing, that bring any of its member agencies into disrepute.

This chapter will highlight the current environment surrounding SEA in the United Nations Organisation Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC), deployed in the country since 1999. For background purposes, it is important to note that as a result of the conflict, women and children comprise almost 75% of refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in the country and have been disproportionately targeted in the war. Despite specific training on gender issues and the creation of a specific Code of Conduct for MONUC personnel, SEA continues to be committed by UN personnel. The establishment of an Office for Gender Affairs (OGA) in MONUC has been trying to deal with some of these issues, but challenges remain. This chapter hopes to constructively contribute towards these efforts by providing both research evidence into the complexities of gendered relations in this particular PSO and recommendations about how best to respond to them (*Abstract from Ibid, 9-10*).

Additional Notes:

Higate also identifies the “military-masculine culture” of Peace Support Operations (PSOs) as a reason for inadequate responses to sexual exploitation and abuse. Better privacy policies and support systems for those reporting abuse would begin to address impunity. Higate notes that participants tended to place the onus of responsibility for sexual exploitation on the local population, whose men they deemed “lazy.” Participants also expressed that they viewed “peacekeepers as powerful,” as symbolized through their large, expensive cars and access to resources. This in turn creates a hierarchy between the local and the “occupying” population. This tension is manifested through jokes that local men make about peacekeepers’ derogatory attitude towards local women and the Congolese population at large. Peacekeepers, locals argue, view themselves as “detached and superior—both physically and symbolically”. This hierarchy between men leads local women to seek relationships with peacekeepers as a

means of economic opportunity. While Higate does not overtly discuss hegemonic masculinity or the racialization of a weaker “Other” in this article, he suggests such a relationship through his examples of multiple masculinities that the presence of MUNOC creates.

Hudson, Heidi. “Mainstreaming Gender in Peacekeeping Operations: Can Africa Learn From International Experience?” *African Security Review* 9, no. 4 (2000): 18-33.

Abstract:

Peacekeeping issues in all their diversity have enjoyed persistent priority on the agenda of many African security specialists and practitioners. Increased attention, however, has contributed much more to reveal the complexity of the subject, rather than to the implementation of workable models. Despite a plethora of lessons learned from specific international and regional cases, many matters in this field of study remain unresolved. Training of African peacekeepers and much of the official doctrinal thinking still rely heavily on United Nations-type approaches. Also, in situations where western approaches to peacekeeping are being questioned the momentum is lost due to a lack of doctrinal consensus on the continent. Africa has yet to come up with a truly indigenous approach to peacekeeping. The fluid and insecure nature of conditions on the ground and the divergent motives of the warring parties can often be traced back to centuries of tension and conflict. The situation on the ground therefore increasingly renders the UN peacekeeping doctrine irrelevant and necessitates a critical look at traditional assumptions.

In the context of an already complex peacekeeping discourse and the vast underrepresentation of gender issues in this area, combining the two variables invariably raises the question whether gender can in any way promote the resolution of some of the many unresolved issues. The UN has little or no influence over the personnel recruited for peace operations by the various troop-contributing countries. Given the trend towards the development of regional security complexes and an increased emphasis on indigenous and more forceful peacekeeping, more developing countries are currently contributing troops to peace operations. In Africa, attempts at establishing self-reliance in this area have been met with numerous challenges related to the lack of capacity and political will to act constructively under suboptimal conditions. Given such enormous challenges in Africa, it is doubtful whether the percentage of women in peace operations in Africa is likely to increase in the near future unless concerted efforts are made to highlight gender issues. The political, economic and social turmoil on the continent further does not create conditions conducive to the mainstreaming of gender in society, in general. Furthermore, UN efforts at mainstreaming gender perspectives in peacekeeping operations also took a long time to materialise as will be shown later (*Abstract from Ibid, 18*).

Additional Notes:

Hudson, like Simic and Sion, illustrates the difficulty of including more women in

peacekeeping operations, especially as a means of mitigating the negative effects of a masculinist approach to peacekeeping. She notes that neither increasing civilian duties nor shedding greater light on women's contributions to peacekeeping can by itself create a greater gender balance. Still, mainstreaming gender within PKOs can begin to question the exclusively "masculinist accounts" of global affairs and pave the way for more creative thinking about security dilemmas.

Hudson, Natalie Florea. "Engendering Human Security in the United Nations: The Case of Peacekeeping." Paper presented at the Annual meeting of the International Studies Association, Mar. 22-25, 2006.

Abstract:

From the 1994 Human Development Report where the concept of human security was first articulated to numerous pronouncements to the establishment of the UN Commission on Human Security in 2000 and its subsequent activities, the concept of human security has not only become a buzzword within the United Nations, but it has also been intrinsically linked to the organization's basic mission. The UN human security approach, at least in terms of rhetoric, and the organization's increasing focus and activity surrounding gender balancing and gender mainstreaming seemingly embrace fundamentally shared norms and values. More specifically, both agendas seek to:

- ' protect (shielding people from menaces) and empower (enabling people to develop their resilience to difficult situations);
- ' incorporate a broader range of actors, as both victims and agents for change;
- ' strengthen institutional policies that link individuals to the state;
- ' and forge global alliances, including state and nonstate actors.

And while such gender-sensitive initiatives are certainly conceptually linked to the human security agenda, the two have not been explicitly linked in terms of policies and practices. Through the study of peacekeeping operations, this research seeks to not only better understand the parameters of the human security framework within the UN, but it also examines how human security and gender-sensitive initiatives are related operationally. I build upon previous research that found evidence of four different, although interconnected, gender mainstreaming categories being employed in current peacekeeping processes (N. Hudson 2005). At this point I am not able to evaluate the outcomes of these gender mainstreaming strategies, but rather I seek to refine and better specify these categories to improve our understanding of procedural changes within the UN (*Abstract from Ibid, 2*).

Additional Notes:

The four categories of gender mainstreaming Hudson identifies are the language of peacekeeping mandates; peacekeeping leadership, i.e. incorporating gender advisors into mission staff; gender sensitivity training for peacekeepers; and

connecting with local women's groups in civil society. She notes that while gender mainstreaming is indeed laden with problems (she sites, for example, Whitworth's comment that gender mainstreaming is used as a "problem-solving tool" rather than a means of critically questioning the assumptions the UN makes about masculinity and femininity in peacekeeping missions), it also is a starting point for discussing some of these assumptions. Still, only by including "masculine" and "feminine" characteristics into peace processes can a society begin to address a lasting peace.

Jennings, Kathleen M., and Vesna Nikolic-Ristanovic. "UN Peacekeeping Economies and Local Sex Industries: Connections and Implications." Working paper 17, MICROCON, Sept. 2009.
http://www.microconflict.eu/publications/RWP17_KJ_VNR.pdf

Abstract:

"Peacekeeping economies" have not been subject to much analysis of either their economic or socio-cultural and political impacts. This paper uses a gendered lens to explore some ramifications and lasting implications of peacekeeping economies, drawing on examples from four post-conflict countries with past or ongoing United Nations peacekeeping missions: Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, Liberia, and Haiti. The paper is particularly concerned with the interplay between the peacekeeping economy and the sex industry. It examines some of the characteristics and impacts of peacekeeping economies, arguing that these are highly gendered – but that the "normalization" of peacekeeping economies allows these effects to be overlooked or obscured. It also contends that these gendered characteristics and impacts have (or are likely have) broad and lasting consequences. Finally, the paper considers the initial impacts of UN efforts to tackle negative impacts of peacekeeping economies, particularly the zero-tolerance policy against sexual exploitation and the effort to "mainstream" gender and promote gender equality in and through peacekeeping. The paper suggests that the existence and potential long-term perpetuation of a highly gendered peacekeeping economy threatens to undermine the gender goals and objectives that are a component of most peace operations (*Abstract from Ibid, 2*).

Additional Notes:

The authors discuss the "retraditionalization" of masculinity in post-conflict societies that can reinforce notions of men as the tough combatant and breadwinner focused upon "militarized maleness." Private owners and former criminals alike may be among these men, and constitute a "cultural ideal" of hegemonic masculinity. Their status is symbolized through their weapons, cars, phones, and other material possessions, while their wives are "helpless dolls" that complement their role as "omnipotent man." Ironically, there are relatively few men to embody this archetype, as it requires a level of economic opportunity and power that can only be achieved by foreigners, criminals, or political elite. The authors also draw a connection between the status of these hegemonically masculine men and their level of power within the sex industry; men with greater economic power hold greater sway among prostitutes and pimps. They also point out that even men who are part of a subordinate masculine group are dominant

over women in the industry. Given the small opportunity for becoming a “real man,” militarism therefore decreases instead of increases the chances of men and women achieving “ideal masculinity and femininity,” unless they wish to obtain greater economic power through illegal or illicit means. Peacekeeping, they argue, helps create these illicit avenues for improving one’s social and economic status.

Kirby, Kristi, and Claude d’Estree. “Peacekeepers, The Military and Human Trafficking: Protecting Whom?” *University of St. Thomas Law Journal* (2008): 221-245.

Abstract:

No abstract found.

Additional Notes:

Kirby and d’Estree assert that it is the role of the UN to redefine military culture, and the role of states to fight impunity for rape by peacekeepers. While a culture of masculinity and militarism are not solely responsible for the behavior of soldiers, it does provide a “sexual outlet for soldiers that dates back centuries.” This is the reason military prostitution occurs on bases and in peacekeeping missions throughout the world. Some argue that this prostitution is an outlet that prevents even more violent rape among men who are expected to act like “warriors and real men.” Not only do militaries overlook the negative effects of a warrior ideal; they encourage this ideal, as the resulting combativeness benefits the overall goal of the military. Ensuring group loyalty among soldiers is one means of instilling this uniform combativeness. In other words, the “separate culture” that the military provides fulfills the needs of the soldiers so that they will “look inward for identity and support.” Interestingly enough, although the military is a subgroup of society, Kirby and d’Estree assert that their militarized masculinity is celebrated widely throughout mainstream society, which in turn reinforces the warrior as a celebrated figure that supercedes normality. The “disjoining of warrior from society” occurs during boot camp when soldiers are encouraged to blend together and leave behind their civilian selves, and when they are discouraged from being “feminine or individualistic.” Should they act feminine, they may be humiliated or criticized. This stamping out of individuality ensures that soldiers will act as a group. In turn, those unable to perform soldiering roles (women and “weak men”) are considered the “Other”.

Kronsell, Annica. *Gender, Sex and the Postnational Defense: Militarism and Peacekeeping*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Abstract:

Gender, Sex, and the Postnational Defense looks at the way that a postnational defense influenced by SC 1325 and focused on human security affects gender relations in militaries. Interestingly, despite the successful implementation of gender mainstreaming in training, the number of women involved in military

peacekeeping remains low. Contradicting much of the gender mainstreaming literature, Annica Kronsell shows that increasing gender awareness in the military is a more achievable task than increasing gender parity.

Employing a feminist constructivist institutional approach, Kronsell questions whether military institutions can ever attain gender neutrality without confronting their reliance on masculinity constructs. She further questions whether "feminism" must always be equated with anti-militarism or if military violence committed in the name of enhancing human security can be performed according to a feminist ethics. Kronsell builds her theoretical argument on a case study of Sweden and the E.U. (*Abstract from book description*).

Lutz, Catherine, Matthew Gutmann, and Keith Brown. "Conduct and Discipline in UN Peacekeeping Operations: Culture, Political Economy and Gender." Report submitted to the Conduct and Discipline Unit, Department of Peacekeeping Operations, United Nations, Oct. 19, 2009.

Abstract:

Systematic patterns of sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA) have emerged around UN peacekeeping missions over the course of many years.¹ Reports of abuse by peacekeepers in Cambodia and the Balkans in the 1990s were followed by news of similar problems in West African missions in 2001 and 2002. The Secretary General subsequently issued a 2003 Bulletin outlining a zero-tolerance policy, but the abuse continued. In 2004, peacekeeper misconduct became widely known through mainstream media reports that UN personnel in MONUC, the UN Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo, had been engaging in sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA) of local women and children. The SEA included, most egregiously, peacekeepers' exchange of UN food supplies or money for sex with young girls and sometimes boys. SEA has been a particular problem in mission areas where extreme poverty and conflict or post-conflict trauma and social dislocation drive local people to sell their bodies, but it has occurred in more developed contexts as well, such as Cyprus and Kosovo. The UN response to these problems has been to establish, in 2005, a Conduct and Discipline Unit with offices in New York and mission areas, charged with addressing the problem in a variety of ways. SEA continues to occur since then, with serious incidents revealed in Sudan, Liberia, Haiti, Cote d'Ivoire, and again in the Congo.

With the cooperation of the Conduct and Discipline Units in New York and in the three mission areas, a team of anthropologists conducted the research reported on here. The team examined the cultural and political economic roots of the problem, focusing on the relationship between ideas and attitudes about culture, gender, sexuality, and peacekeeping as those influence the nature and extent of SEA. This research included fieldwork at a global gathering of CDU mission operatives in Brindisi, Italy, as well as at UN missions in Haiti, Lebanon, and Kosovo. The mission sites were chosen in order to compare missions with a history of conduct problems and missions without, and to compare settings where severe economic dislocation provides a context for the mission and potential for SEA and where it

does not. This report presents the findings of that research. It offers a framework for understanding the problem, which is proposed to replace frameworks currently in broad if often tacit use in the UN, and presents a set of recommendations for the Conduct and Discipline Unit (*Abstract from Ibid, 1-2*).

Additional Notes:

The authors also discuss the attitude among UN peacekeepers that sexual exploitation or rape is simply a function of “(male) human nature” and male sexual desires that are inherent in human sexuality. As they point out, “cultures of masculine privilege” are even harder to change when they are understood biologically.

Mackay, Angela. “Training the Uniforms: Gender and Peacekeeping Operations.”
Development in Practice 13, no. 2/3 (2003): 217-222.

Abstract:

The fact that war changes roles and responsibilities within society, while exposing men and women of all ages and classes to new threats and opportunities, has become increasingly recognised. Civil wars disrupt and destroy civilian life. Men leave, die in combat, are brutalised, lose employment, or resort to despair, violence, or apathy. Women assume enormous burdens of work and all manner of different tasks and responsibilities, lose their security and their protectors, and are victimised and marginalised. Yet few members of peacekeeping missions have any training in dealing with the civilian population, much less the specific issues relating to gender relations. In response to this, a basic training package titled Gender and Peace Support Operations has been designed for use in pre-deployment induction. This article describes the background to its development and outlines how it is expected to be used and evolve in the future (*Abstract from Ibid, 217*).

Additional Notes:

Mackay notes that gender training is not merely an intellectual but also an emotional challenge for peacekeepers, as it hits at the core of peacekeepers’ male and female identity. In this sense, gender training is also personal. Another barrier to gender sensitivity training is the lack of enforcement for peacekeeper behavior. A pilot training in Timor L’este showed that the material needs to be presented in clear, basic language to have the most impact. She reinforces that it is important for military personnel to possess a deep understanding of relationships between men and women and how they change during times of violence.

Martin, Sarah. *Must Boys be Boys? Ending Sexual Exploitation & Abuse in UN Peacekeeping Missions*. Washington, D.C.: Refugees International, 2005.
http://www.un.org/en/pseataaskforce/docs/must_boys_be_boys_ending_sea_in_un_peacekeeping_missions.pdf.

Abstract:

This report provides a comprehensive look at the causes of sexual exploitation and abuse by UN peacekeepers in Liberia and Haiti, and concrete recommendations for further action ... Since the bulk of personnel in peacekeeping missions are men, a hyper-masculine culture *that encourages sexual exploitation and abuse* and a tradition of silence have evolved within them. This culture has produced a tolerance for extreme behaviors such as sexual exploitation and abuse. “What do you think is going to happen when you have thousands of men away from home?” is the common response to the behavior. This “boys will be boys” attitude will continue to taint the debate until approaches to sexual exploitation are changed to reflect the fact that sexual exploitation and abuse are primarily problems of abuse of power that merit disciplinary action, and only secondarily problems of sexual behavior (*Abstract from Ibid, ii*).

Additional Notes:

Martin attributes the hyper-masculine culture of UN peacekeeping missions to the sheer number of men that comprise PKOs. Like Mazurana, and Lutz, Gutmann et. al., Martin refutes the idea that sexual exploitation is somehow a “natural” byproduct of male human nature. Martin suggests that Resolution 1325 could be a vehicle for questioning this hyper-masculine culture within peacekeeping missions, yet she also notes that the UN has been slow to mainstream gender into its operations. She also points out that the “boys will be boys” attitude is slowly shifting within the UN, as more women and more gender advisors are incorporated into upper-level UN staff positions.

Mazurana, Dyan, Angela Raven-Roberts, and Jane L. Parpart. *Gender, Conflict and Peacebuilding*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2005.

Abstract:

Peacekeeping has become a major international undertaking throughout the world, from Africa to the Americas, from Europe to Southeast Asia. Yet until now, there has been no systematic analysis of the key role of gender in post-cold war conflicts and of post-conflict peacekeeping efforts. This groundbreaking volume explores how gender has become a central factor in shaping current thinking about the causes and consequences of armed conflict, complex emergencies, and reconstruction. Drawing on expertise ranging from the highest levels of international policymaking down to the daily struggle to implement peacekeeping operations, this work represents the full span of knowledge and experience about international intervention in local crises. Presenting a rich array of examples from Angola, Bosnia Herzegovina, East Timor, El Salvador, the former Yugoslavia, Guatemala, Haiti, Kosovo, Liberia, Mozambique, Namibia, Rwanda, and Serbia, the authors offer important insights for future peacekeeping and humanitarian missions (*Abstract from book description*).

Additional Notes:

Mazurana argues that international NGOs must become more aware of the social, economic and political implications of their actions, and how they relate to the

politics of masculinity and femininity. Without understanding these politics, we have trouble understanding the root causes of conflict and the best peacekeeping strategies. Like Lutz, Gutmann et. al., she says we must challenge the assumption that sex trafficking between peacekeepers and local women is “natural,” and that women and girls are “willing” to have sex.

With regards to peacekeeping, Barbara Bedont also argues that the negative effects of peacekeeping are due largely to “militarized masculinity” and the “glorification of masculine aggression.” The prizing of male aggressiveness over “feminine qualities” means that the military is ill equipped to protect women from sexual violence.

Ruth Jacobson adds briefly that local women’s risk of physical and emotional abuse is connected not only to militarized masculinity, but also alcoholism and depression among men.

Murphy, Ray. “An Assessment of UN Efforts to Address Sexual Misconduct by Peacekeeping Personnel.” *International Peacekeeping* 13, no. 4 (Nov. 1, 2006): 531-546.

Abstract:

In dealing with the sexual exploitation of women and girls by UN and other personnel operating in post-conflict situations there is a limited amount the UN can do without the cooperation of troop contributing states. Anyone employed by, or affiliated with the UN must be held accountable and, when the circumstances so warrant, prosecuted. This article is a legal analysis and discussion of these problems against the background of the report by the Secretary-General's adviser on sexual exploitation and abuse by peacekeepers (the Zeid Report), and the UN investigation into allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse by MONUC personnel in the Congo (*Abstract from Ibid*, 531).

Additional Notes:

Murphy makes little mention of masculinity, except to say that it is a culture of masculinity, defined as the “appropriation of the female body” (as quoting Venditta Carter and Evelina Giobbe 1999) that allows sexual exploitation within peacekeeping missions to occur. While Murphy does not overtly suggest that we must question the militarized and masculinized nature of UN peacekeeping missions, through his discussion of impunity within the UN, he indirectly suggests that this form of masculine behavior is currently going unchecked within the UN.

Olsson, Louise. “Mainstreaming Gender in Multidimensional Peacekeeping: A Field Perspective.” *International Peacekeeping* 7, no. 3 (2000): 1-16.

Abstract:

Since the Beijing Conference in 1995, mainstreaming a gender perspective in the

entire work of the United Nations has been a priority. This article presents a picture of the contemporary situation concerning the mainstreaming of a gender perspective in multidimensional peacekeeping operations. The main focus concerns female participation in the field which, historically, has been very low. Research indicates that more job opportunities for women exist in operations which contain a large civilian component, but that the military and police components remain mainly male. The article also argues that human rights and humanitarian assistance are two examples of areas of multidimensional peacekeeping operations where it is vital to consider the different needs of men and women (*Abstract from Ibid, 1*).

Additional Notes:

Olsson highlights how the increase in civilian tasks within UN Peacekeeping has not led automatically to a dramatic change in the male to female ratio, and that staff members are largely male in most UN departments. One reason for women's absence may be that peacekeeping is perceived as a "man's job" and part of the "male identity." As a result, women may become further involved in peacekeeping missions so long as they don't threaten this masculine identity. While their presence may increase in the service sector, they may thus be excluded from the more "masculine" role of soldier or police officer. From a constructionalist point-of-view, including women in the military is problematic given that the military itself is a "complete male creation in which female representation is not desirable."

**Pillay, Anu. "Gender, Peace and Peacekeeping: Lessons from Southern Africa." *Institute for Security Studies*, no. 128 (Oct., 2006).
<http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/CA632571B8849ED7852572A000683D7C-iss-genderpeace-oct2006.PDF>.**

Abstract:

Africa's quest for a 'positive peace' is inextricably tied to the quest for gender equality. It is not possible to talk of peace on the continent when more than half of the population (women) are still subjected to all forms of structural and physical violence, gross human rights violations, and denied full participation in all spheres of public life. Gender equality, however, has to compete for attention with issues of identity, indigenous culture, indigenous knowledge, spirituality and religion; all of which were historically denigrated through the processes of colonialism and the assertion of white superiority. African leaders, through various continental and regional legislative frameworks have committed themselves to increasing opportunities and creating space for the full participation of women, so as to achieve gender equality in all peace processes.

This paper acknowledges Africa's progress towards its peaceful goals, but notes its ambivalence to gender equality. We are beset with examples of 'lip service' being paid to international declarations to improve the status of women, and of the appropriation and decontextualisation of gender. In the overarching quest for peace in Africa, this appropriation means that gender is often added on to agendas

without posing any challenge to what may be revamped versions of androcentric state and peace agendas.

This paper alludes to the tensions between achieving gender equality (as a requirement for a just peace) and the maintenance of indigenous culture and religious traditions. The primary focus, however, is the teasing out of transformation opportunities presented during times of conflict and an analysis of the role of women in traditionally male domains of peace processes, in this case, peacekeeping. The paper compares the United Nations Observer Mission to South Africa (UNOMSA) to that of the United Nations Organisation Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUC), both located in Southern Africa, as models of change. The paper argues that the movement towards gender equality and peace is accelerated when societies risk breaking traditional moulds and when they step forward into new ways of thinking and being for both men and women (*Abstract from Ibid, 1*).

Additional Notes:

In addition to her discussion of achieving gender equality, Pillay also talks about the perception of peacekeeping as “masculine” and peacebuilding and grassroots human security efforts as “feminine.” She argues that this dichotomy, the former characterized by force and the latter by care and nurture, explains in part why men and women are and aren’t drawn to both of these sectors. Gender awareness training is one way of exploring “what it is to live up to being a man in these contexts,” so that true gender equality can be achieved. Like Whitworth and Valenius, she also implies that we must examine the masculinized culture of peacekeeping itself before we can expect to achieve gender equality.

Puechguirbal, Nadine. “Peacekeeping, Peacebuilding and Post-conflict Reconstruction.” In *Gender Matters in Global Politics: a feminist introduction to international relations*, edited by Laura J. Shepherd, 161-175. New York, NY: Routledge, 2010.

Abstract:

No abstract found.

Additional Notes:

Puechguirbal argues that the hyper-masculine environment of peacekeeping defines women as ‘protected’ (rather than ‘protectors’) and therefore prevents them from being seen as key stakeholders or actors in the peace process. Furthermore, she claims that male-dominated peacekeeping operations tend to define security as a cessation of hostilities between warring factions, whereas “ordinary women” tend to define it as safety within their own house and safety to “walk in the streets without fearing of being sexually assaulted” (163-4). There is also a tendency during peacekeeping operations to settle agreements along a “pre-war order” that establishes a stability that is often discriminatory against women. To combat this, Puechguirbal argues that women’s experiences must be documented and taken into account during peace settlements.

Punyarut, Nunlada. "Violence Against Women, Sex Industry and The Business of United Nations Peace Operations." *National Institute of Development Administration* 4 (2006): 81-99.

Abstract:

When the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 1325 in October 2000, the relationship of peace and security with gender effectively and decisively became the subject matter of international relations. How this relationship became real and significant as well as the form it has taken within the structure of United Nations Peace Operations. When conflicts had changed its form and targeted more on women, using Violence Against Women (VAW) as a weapon of war, when it comes to the post war time, VAW was not limited only an act of war criminals but the "heroes" coming to the operating country with the "blue helmet" banners. In this article, I argue that international peace and security cannot be attained without gender justice and women's human rights. It is thus crucial how the main peacekeeping and development agencies and actors, especially the United Nations, can socially construct a rights-based approach giving attention to VAW in the framework of women's human rights. The selected cases of UNTAC in Cambodia and UNTAET in East Timor show United Nations' experiences and how learning from those experiences has helped in the process of socially constructing the rights-based approach to be included in peace operations. Base on this argument, the article is divided into 5 sections (1) article overview (2) Peacekeeping forces, militarized values and sexual violation (3) VAW in the militarized culture of peacekeeping forces (4) Prostitution and peacekeeping (5) Concluding Points and Recommendation The literature, information and arguments presented in the article are presented as possible explanations and analysis on the consequences of the UN Peace Operations in relation to VAW in order to seek for constructive recommendation at structural level rather criticizing for the past misconducts (*Abstract from Ibid, 82-3*).

Additional Notes:

Punyarut notes that one barrier to including a gender perspective in peacekeeping missions is the perception that gender is "civilian work," yet male peacekeepers may not want to engage in civilian work, as it compromises their view of "what soldiers should be." In her UNTAET case study, Punyarut notes a shift within peacekeeping missions from a "boys will be boys" mentality to one of the "tough and tender" peacekeeper, yet actions on the ground may remain unchanged. Like Duncanson, she hints at a potential "alternative masculinity" that peacekeeping may foster, but doubts whether this decreases violence against women. She argues that rather than treating rape by a peacekeeper as an "isolated sexual misconduct," we must look at how the UN structure and UN practices may promote sexual misconduct. Finally, Punyarut suggests that prostitution may be a socially constructed form of violence against women, rather than a form of business that reflects women's true agency. In this sense, it could be a result of hegemonic power relations that result from the more militarized/masculinized and the less militarized/masculinized.

Razack, Sherene. "Outwhiting the White Guys: Men of Colour and Peacekeeping." *UMKC Law Review* 70 (2002): 331-354.

Abstract:

What can we know about men of colour who engage in acts of violence against lower status groups? Exploring this question in the context of the violence of Canadian peacekeepers who were on peacekeeping duties in Somalia in 1993, I critique Nancy Ehrenreich's notion of "compensatory violence," where men of colour are thought to compensate for their diminished status as men through engaging in acts of violence against lower status groups (in Ehrenreich's examples, principally women, but also other men of colour). I offer some thoughts on how we might consider the violence of men of colour in the peacekeeping context without excusing, pathologising or exceptionalizing their behaviour, and importantly, without obscuring the highly racial terms of the encounter between Canadian peacekeepers and the Somali population. Instead of a compensatory framework, I propose an anti-colonial one. The terms and conditions of membership in a white nation include that men of colour must forget the racial violence that is done to them, as Abouli Farmanfarmaian observes. But passing as 'ordinary' men requires more than an act of forgetting. I suggest that joining the nation also requires that men actively perform a hegemonic masculinity in service of nation. Compensatory theorists suggest that men of colour have the most to gain from engaging in hegemonic practices such as violence. In this article, I argue that they have as much to gain as anyone else - no more and no less - and further, their investment in such hegemonic practices can also be undermined by their own experiences of violence (*Abstract from Ibid, 331*).

Additional Notes:

Within the article Razack also draws upon her earlier work, which focuses on the connection between masculinity, imperialism and colonialism. She argues that we must understand the actions of the Canadian peacekeepers as part of an attempt to build a superior nation of "men from the land of clean snow." In other words, we can't understand peacekeeper violence solely as a product of masculinity, but rather as the interaction between masculinity, colonialism and imperialism. She uses the example of non-white peacekeepers committing violence against Somalis as an illustration of subordinate peacekeepers attempting to become a part of this nation. Yet she does not argue that minority peacekeepers have more to gain through violence than white peacekeepers. The violence committed by minority men against Somali men was not simply a byproduct of hegemonic masculinity and compensatory violence, but rather one of attempting to become a part of the racialized superior nation. Given the colonial context of peacekeeping, violence against Somalis by non-white peacekeepers was a way to "control savages" and engage in patriotism without betraying one's own race. In contrast to proponents of compensatory theory, Razack feels that in fact minority men, due to their own personal experiences with racism, may have less to gain from violence. Her argument suggests that hegemonic masculinity may not by itself explain violence by subordinate men against dominant men; in fact, the experiences of subordinate men as victims of violence may lessen the chances that they will commit violence against men or women.

Razack, Sherene. "From the 'Clean Snows of Petawawa': The Violence of Canadian Peacekeepers in Somalia." *Cultural Anthropology* 15, no. 1 (2000): 127-163.

Abstract:

No abstract found.

Additional Notes:

Razack discusses the rape of Somalis by Canadian peacekeepers through the lens of hegemonic masculinity and hegemonic imperialism. She argues that hegemonic masculinity, which justified rape in this instance, was used as a means of creating a white nation-state. By playing the role of colonizer, Canadian peacekeepers posited themselves as the "normative" member of the nation, while positing people of color as "outside the nation." The peacekeepers' actions are based, in turn, on Canadian prejudices and notions of white supremacy and patriarchy. Drawing on the work of Anthony Farley, she also notes that "race is a form of pleasure in one's body which is achieved through humiliation of the Other."

Simic, Olivera. "Does the Presence of Women Really Matter? Towards Combating Male Sexual Violence in Peacekeeping Operations." *International Peacekeeping* 17, no. 2 (2010): 188-199.

Abstract:

Women are being encouraged to join peacekeeping operations as sexual violence problem-solving forces while simultaneously undertaking a complex role as 'protectors' of local women from local men and male peacekeepers. Since the adoption of Security Council resolution 1325 in 2000, the UN has urged states to deploy more women. Among the implicit assumptions underlying these calls are that an increase in the representation of women in peacekeeping operations (PKOs) will lead to a decrease in the cases of HIV/AIDS, a decline in the number of brothels around peacekeeping bases, and a reduction in the number of babies fathered and abandoned by peacekeepers after their mission comes to an end. Evidence suggests that the presence of women peacekeepers can and does foster a change in male behaviour when women are deployed in PKOs. This article argues, however, that countering abuse should not be a substitute for the more encompassing goal of improving gender balance and equality in PKOs. While there is a need to combat sexual violence in PKOs, the responsibility for prevention should be on troop-contributing countries, which need to exercise accountability and prosecute sexual violence committed by their peacekeepers. Diverting responsibility to women does not address the problem of sexual violence in PKOs, or help eradicate its causes (*Abstract from Ibid, 188*).

Additional Notes:

While Simic does not believe that simply increasing the number of female peacekeepers will transform a culture of militarized masculinity, she also does not believe that their presence has no effect whatsoever. She argues that while their presence may affect men's behavior for the better, it is not enough to transform a culture of militarized masculinity, as women tend to "fit into the military hypermasculine environment rather than change it."

Sion, Liora. "Peacekeeping and the Gender Regime." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 37, no. 5 (2008): 561-585.

Abstract:

This article addresses the issue of women participation in peacekeeping missions by focusing on two North Atlantic Treaty Organization Dutch peacekeeping units in Bosnia (SFOR8) and Kosovo (KFOR2). I argue that soldiers are ambivalent toward what is perceived the "feminine" aspects of peace missions. Although peacekeeping is a new military model, it reproduces the same traditional combat-oriented mind-set of gender roles. Therefore Dutch female soldiers are limited in their ability to perform and contribute to peace missions. Both peacekeeping missions and female soldiers are confusing for the soldiers, especially for the more hypermasculine Bulldog infantry soldiers. Both represent a blurred new reality in which the comfort of the all-male unit and black-and-white combat situations are replaced by women in what were traditionally men's roles and the fuzzy environment of peacekeeping. At the same time, both are also necessary: peacekeeping, although not desirable, has become the main function for Dutch soldiers, and women are still a small minority, although they gain importance in the army. Present government policy prescribes a gender mainstreaming approach to recruiting, partly due to a lack of qualified male personnel, especially after the end of the draft in 1996 (*Abstract from Ibid, 561*).

Additional Notes:

Like Whitworth, Sion argues that peacekeeping is a contradictory concept in that peacekeepers are trained as soldiers, but expected to keep their hypermasculinity in check. Sion believes the presence of women in PKOs is similarly confusing and threatening to soldiers' masculine identity. As she asserts, if "'even a woman can do it,' the value of the mission for proving masculinity is thrown into question." She uses the Dutch Army as an example of a military organization that feels under greater pressure to prove its masculinity given its limited role in combat. As a result, the army "exaggerates excitement and adventure in the most conspicuous and distinct ways that excludes women." In the Dutch Army and peacekeeping missions alike, where there is a crisis of hypermasculinity and a distinct need to overcompensate for this crisis, women may only be able to have a limited influence.

Sion, Liora. "Reinterpreting Combat Masculinity: Dutch peacekeeping in Bosnia and Kosovo." *Sociologie* 3, no. 1 (2007): 95-111.

Abstract:

This article explores the construction of masculinity in two Dutch NATO peacekeeping units. By masculinity I refer to the main ideals of approved ways of being a male in a given society. These ideals are not a set of psychological traits that specific individuals may or may not possess, but rather a group of historically and culturally available, recognized and legitimate themes which are more or less identified with certain aspects of being a man in a certain society (*Abstract from Ibid, 95*).

Additional Notes:

Like Whitworth, Sion identifies a contradiction in peacekeeping that frustrates male peacekeepers as they attempt to conform to “combat hegemonic masculinity.” While peacekeepers are trained as soldiers whose identities are based upon military masculinity, they are continually frustrated by peacekeeping missions, which “reinterpret” this masculinity. As a result, they are continually frustrated by their inability to take on a “military hegemonic masculinity” within the confines of peacekeeping missions.

Utas, Mats, and Fanny Ruden. *Sexual Exploitation and Abuse by Peacekeeping Operations in Contemporary Africa*. Uppsala, SE: The Nordic Africa Institute, 2009.

Abstract:

In international peacekeeping operations (PKOs) some individuals are involved in sexual exploitation and abuse of the host country’s population, buying of sexual services and trafficking of prostitutes. Far from being a new phenomenon it goes back a long time, and reports on the issue have increased over the years. All too frequently we read about peacekeepers visiting prostitutes, committing rape, or in other ways sexually exploiting host populations. Some peacekeepers are taking advantage of the power their work gives them, and becoming abusers rather than protectors in situations where the host population is powerless and in dire need of protection. Peace- keepers’ abuse of their mandate is inflicting severe damage on host societies and often results in a number of unintended consequences such as human rights violations, rapid spread of HIV, decreased trust in the UN as well as other international aid agencies, and harmful changes to gender patterns. Women and children, both girls and boys, are especially exposed. Having already suffered from war and instability they risk becoming even more physically and mentally wounded. Peacekeeping operations risk doing more harm than good in African war zones, and if they cannot learn from previous mistakes maybe they ought to stay at home. We do not argue for the latter; rather, we point towards the urgent need to change explicit and implicit patterns and habits in international peacekeeping operations in relation to sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA) in Africa. In this Policy Note we focus predominantly on military staff, but acknowledge that the civilian staff of PKOs, and international aid workers, are also implicated. On the other hand it should initially be pointed out that most PKO staff are not sexual exploiters and abusers (*Abstract from Ibid, 1*).

Additional Notes:

In contrast to Higate, Utas and Ruden place weight upon militarized masculinity as a main explanatory factor for sexual exploitation. They criticize the “boys will be boys” explanation, also noting how a culture of militarized masculinity prevents individuals from objecting to commercial sex.

Valenius, Johanna. “A Few Kind Women: Gender Essentialism and Nordic Peacekeeping Operations.” *International Peacekeeping* 14, no. 4 (2007): 510-523.

Abstract:

This article examines constructions of gender in UN documents and peace operations. The focus is on gender mainstreaming: the kinds of notion of men and women that are produced in gender mainstreaming and what kind of effect mainstreaming has. Based on an analysis of the key UN documents and the fieldwork among Finnish peacekeepers in Kosovo, the argument is that gender mainstreaming documents and practices tend to rely on essentialized notions of women as victims and inherently peaceful. The consequences of this are twofold. On the one hand the international community is not able to see local women as agents of their own future. On the other, the participation of women in peacekeeping forces is promoted on the basis of an alleged pacifying effect on their male colleagues. As a result traditional gender roles are reinforced and the variations in masculinities and femininities are ignored (*Abstract from Ibid, 510*).

Additional Notes:

Valenius questions the assumption (made by scholars and UN practitioners alike) that including more women in peacekeeping operations means changing a culture of militarized masculinity and violence. In this sense, she questions whether a culture of violent masculinity can change without unpacking the military, itself. She cautions against interpreting gender mainstreaming solely as the difference between women and men, rather than the “system of femininities and masculinities and power hierarchies between them.” In a series of interviews conducted with Nordic Peacekeepers in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Valenius found that women peacekeepers did not necessarily discourage their male counterparts from engaging in sexual relations with local women; rather, they chose to avoid their male counterparts altogether. Most importantly, Valenius underscores a problem with the goal of increasing women’s participation as a means of passifying pacify men: it places the burden of change upon women, rather than forcing men to question their own behavior. It also leaves uncritiqued the military culture that permits sexual exploitation in the first place.

Whitworth, Sandra. “Globalizing Gender—Who Gets It, Who Doesn’t?” in *The Ethics of Building Peace in International Relations Selected Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Conference of the Centre for International and Security Studies*, edited by Ryerson Christie and Elizabeth Dauphinee, 119-130. Toronto, CA: York Centre for International and Security Studies, 2005.

Abstract:

In the more celebratory accounts of globalization, we learn that its processes entail an interwoven and integrated wired world in which speed, instantaneity, innovation, and dynamism are its defining characteristics (Friedman, 2000). That world, moreover, is one in which some forms of knowledge, cultural productions, and art forms have obtained worldwide currency (Scholte, 2000: 201). While

much of the discussion of ‘gender and globalization’ has usefully focused on the ways in which mainstream accounts of globalization ignore its impact on gender and/or make invisible the kinds of contributions that feminist analyses can bring to the process of globalization (see Rai, 2004), this paper goes in a somewhat different direction. It will examine the ways in which ‘gender’ does circulate globally, and the ways in which gender has obtained something of a worldwide currency, especially in (but not limited to) questions of peace, violence, and conflict (*Abstract from Ibid, 119*).

Additional Notes:

Whitworth makes the point, as she does in her 2004 article about peacekeeping, that the term “gender” can easily be used within the UN without questioning the assumptions that are made daily men and women. In this sense, the term reinforces the status quo and “is expected to ‘fit in’ to the work the UN already does.

**Whitworth, Sandra. *Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping - A Gendered Analysis*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Pub, 2004.
<https://www.rienner.com/uploads/47deaa6c1f020.pdf>.**

Abstract:

Sandra Whitworth looks behind the rhetoric to investigate from a feminist perspective some of the realities of military intervention under the UN flag. Whitworth contends that there is a fundamental contradiction between portrayals of peacekeeping as altruistic and benign and the militarized masculinity that underpins the group identity of soldiers. Examining evidence from Cambodia and Somalia, she argues that sexual and other crimes can be seen as expressions of a violent "hypermasculinity" that is congruent with militarized identities, but entirely incongruent with missions aimed at maintaining peace. She also asserts that recent efforts within the UN to address gender issues in peacekeeping operations have failed because they fail to challenge traditional understandings of militaries, conflict, and women. This unsettling critique of UN operations, which also investigates the interplay between gender and racial stereotyping in peacekeeping, has the power to change conventional perceptions, with considerable policy implications (*Abstract from book description*).

Additional Notes:

Throughout the book Whitworth underscores how constructs of masculinity that emphasize a “warrior” mentality contradict the parallel image of the benevolent, altruistic peacekeeper. Through her examples of Cambodia and Somalia, she illustrates that acknowledging how “hypermasculinity” and warrior mentality can contribute to sexual exploitation against women and violence against local men. The latter occurs when a racialized and masculinized hierarchy posits local men (she uses Somali men as an example) as subordinate to peacekeepers (she discusses the case of Canadian peacekeepers). In the case of Somalia, however, she notes that Canadian peacekeepers were treated as “warrior princes;” in other words, they were not only militarized, aggressive heroes, but also possessed

benevolent qualities in the eyes of local women and themselves. Whitworth highlights how this contradiction between benevolent humanitarian and trained warrior is what propels peacekeepers to commit violence; they are trained to be aggressive, hypermasculine soldiers, yet only to act in self-defense for a “lesser warrior purpose.” As a result, their hypermasculinity “explodes,” perhaps in the form of sexual exploitation, or violence against the local population.

Whitworth suggests that militarized masculinity is the root of violence and exploitation within peacekeeping operations. Were peacekeepers not trained primarily as warrior soldiers, they would not feel the same need to defend their hypermasculinity. It produces what Judith Stiehm calls an “uncertain masculinity” that leads to a hegemonic ordering of manliness that places peacekeepers at the top and local men at the bottom. This observation perhaps begins to answer the question Whitworth poses as to whether peacekeeping is a colonial encounter. This “uncertain masculinity” is reinforced and judged by the “warrior brotherhood” of peacekeepers who reward unemotional, fighting peacekeepers while excluding those who are unable to dehumanize the other. Whitworth suggests that rather than training warriors for peacekeeping missions, we should train doctors, feminists, and engineers.

II. Militarism

Bahdi, Reem. "Security Council Resolution 1325: Practices and Prospects." *Refuge* 21, no. 2 (2003): 41-51.

Abstract:

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 calls for a more active role for women in the prevention and reconciliation of conflicts. Focusing on the Palestinian Right of Return and the work of a feminist organization called the Jerusalem Link, this paper examines Resolution 1325's premise that women can make a unique contribution to peace building. As "transfer" or the ethnic cleansing of Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza looms on the horizon, scholars, advocates, and policy-makers must pay more attention to the work of women peace-builders because they might be able to help chart a path towards a real and just solution on seemingly intractable issues such as the Right of Return (*Abstract from Ibid, 41*).

Additional Notes:

Bahdi briefly notes that when women join the military in Israel, they tend to become a part of this masculine military culture rather than reforming it.

Barrett, Frank. "The Organizational Construction of Hegemonic Masculinity: The Case of the U.S. Navy." *Gender, Work & Organization* 3, no. 3 (1996): 129-142.

Abstract:

This article examines the construction of hegemonic masculinity within the US Navy. Based on the life history interviews with 27 male officers, this study explores alternative discourses and identities of officers from three different communities in the Navy: aviation, surface warfare, and the supply corps. Definitions of masculinity are relationally constructed through associations of difference: aviators tend to draw upon themes of autonomy and risk taking; surface warfare officers draw upon themes of perseverance and endurance; and supply officers draw upon themes of technical rationality. Further, these masculinities depend upon various contrasting definitions of femininity. Finally, this article explores a series of contradictions that threaten the secure construction of masculinity within this military culture (*Abstract from Ibid, 129*).

Additional Notes:

Chapter 2: The Organizational Construction of Hegemonic Masculinity: The Case of the U.S. Navy (Frank Barrett): In this chapter Frank Barrett argues that the U.S. Navy is organized around a structure of hegemonic masculinity that is reinforced through emphasis on discipline, perseverance and toughness. Navy training teaches recruits to uphold the qualities of aggressiveness, heterosexuality, and "unemotional logic," and continually presents them with tasks that separate

the weak from the strong. Because masculinity connotes “not quitting” for recruits, femininity begins to connote quitting. Recruits who cannot keep up with training are thus called “girls” or “pussies,” according to participants. Within the navy, aviators most closely exemplify hegemonic masculinity, as the power of “hard technology” allows them to most aggressively engage in combat, leaving them in a feeling of near ecstasy. More importantly, they are most highly revered because they are “risk takers.” In comparison, helicopter pilots are considered “wimps.” Homosexuals and women are “otherized” as a result of this hierarchy. Interestingly, Barrett notes that the connection between the military, masculinity and violence cannot simply be explained by the archetypal image of the warrior. He also notes that this masculine culture actually undermines men’s ability to embody an ideal hegemonic masculinity; men deal with the insecurity of being subject to continual tests by reinterpreting this grueling process as “manly”. This last point echoes that of Peteet, who argues that Palestinian men’s subjection to humiliation (through detentions and beatings) in the Occupied Territories can be reappropriated as a rite of passage.

Bernal, Victoria. “From Warriors to Wives: Contradictions of Liberation and Development in Eritrea.” *Northeast Africa Studies* 8, no. 3 (2001): 129-154.

Abstract:

No abstract found.

Additional Notes:

Bernal argues that women within the Eritrean People’s Liberation Front (EPLF) were able to “transcend gender”, fight alongside and perform some of the same roles as men. Unlike the distinction Sasson-Levy and others draw between women’s participation in the military and their lack of equal citizenship in the civilian world, Bernal suggests that women’s integration into the EPLF actually translated into national integration after Eritrean independence. Interestingly enough, Bernal argues that women within the EPLF were not equal to men; rather, they were “male equivalents.” In other words, they tend to become like men, rather than gain recognition as women.

Buss, Doris E. “Rethinking ‘Rape as a Weapon of War’.” *Feminist Legal Studies* 17 (2009): 145-163.

Abstract:

One of the most significant shifts in current thinking on war and gender is the recognition that rape in wartime is not a simple by-product of war, but often a planned and targeted policy. For many feminists ‘rape as a weapon of war’ provides a way to articulate the systematic, pervasive, and orchestrated nature of wartime sexual violence that marks it as integral rather than incidental to war. This recognition of rape as a weapon of war has taken on legal significance at the Rwandan and Yugoslav Tribunals where rape has been prosecuted as a crime

against humanity and genocide. In this paper, I examine how the Rwanda Tribunal's record of judgments conceives of rape enacted as an instrument of the genocide. I consider in particular how the Tribunal's conception of 'rape as a weapon of war' shapes what can be known about sexual violence and gender in the Rwandan genocide and what cannot, the categories of victims legally recognised and those that are not, and the questions pursued, and those foreclosed, about the patterns of violence before and during the genocide (*Abstract from Ibid*, 145).

Additional Notes:

Buss argues that the Rwanda Tribunal's recognition of rape as an instrument of genocide has resulted in a "gendered grammar of violence where identities – male, female, Hutu, Tutsi – are placed into particular positions within the script" (155). She suggests that rape as a weapon of war is "treated relatively uniform in practice and experience" with emphasis placed on shared patterns rather than variances and exceptions (155). Buss challenges this approach to rape as a weapon of war by relating the stories of two genocide survivors whose experiences deviate from the "script" of genocidal rape in Rwanda. She claims that these stories are not unusual and suggest that the reality of the situation is more complicated than the 'rape as a weapon of war' framework has tended to characterize it.

Card, Claudia. "Rape as a Weapon of War." *Hypatia* 11, no. 4 (1996): 5-18.

Abstract:

This essay examines how rape of women and girls by male soldiers works as a martial weapon. Continuities with other torture and terrorism and with civilian rape are suggested. The inadequacy of past philosophical treatments of the enslavement of war captives is briefly discussed. Social strategies are suggested for responding and a concluding fantasy offered, not entirely social, of a strategy to change the meanings of rape to undermine its use as a martial weapon (*Abstract from Ibid*, 5).

Additional Notes:

Card argues that wartime rape is a form of terrorism and an instrument of war. She distinguishes wartime rape from civilian rape by stating that, "[t]he aim in war ... may not be service (the aim generally served by civilian rape) but expulsion and dispersion" (6). Wartime rape not only targets the women survivors who are the direct victims, "but also the men socially connected to them, and the men who were socially connected to those who did not survive" (7). In this way, martial rape aims to show dominance over both the women and the "men who are presumed to take pride in being protectors of women" (11). Card suggests that martial rape aims to splinter and alienate family member from one another while simultaneously serving as a bonding agent for perpetrators. Furthermore, she claims that martial rape has become a political institution that, regardless of the motives of its perpetrators, allows those in power to maintain power.

Cockburn, Cynthia. "The Continuum of Violence: A Gender Perspective on War and Peace." In *Sites of Violence: Gender and Conflict Zones*, edited by W. Giles and J. Hyndman, 24-44. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004.

Abstract:

In conflict zones from Iraq and Afghanistan to Guatemala and Somalia, the rules of war are changing dramatically. Distinctions between battlefield and home, soldier and civilian, state security and domestic security are breaking down. In this especially timely book, a powerful group of international authors doing feminist research brings the highly gendered and racialized dimensions of these changes into sharp relief. In essays on nationalism, the political economy of conflict, and the politics of asylum, they investigate what happens when the body, household, nation, state, and economy become sites at which violence is invoked against people.

In particular, these hard-hitting essays move us forward in our understanding of violence against women--how it is perpetrated, survived, and resisted. They explore the gendered politics of ethno-nationalism in Sri Lanka, the post-Yugoslav states, and Israel and Palestine. They consider "honor killings" in Iraqi Kurdistan, armed conflict in the Sudan, and geographies of violence in Ghana. This volume augments feminist analysis on conflict zones and contributes to transnational coalition-building and feminist organizing (*Abstract from book description*).

Additional Notes:

Cockburn notes that during the process of militarization, men and women fall under increased pressure to fulfill specific roles (men are encouraged to enlist or to arm, and women are encouraged to become loyal supporters of men). When a state (or group) is preparing for conflict and mobilizing, men may become more willing to prove that they are "real" men by fighting and killing for their cause. They also fight to protect the honor of the women in their families, as the protection of women becomes intertwined with the justification for war. The use of rape by enemy groups is thus an effort to undermine men's ability to protect. Between men of the same group, it is also used as a means of bonding among soldiers.

Dolan, Chris, and Frances Cleaver. "Collapsing Masculinities and Weak States—A Case Study of Northern Uganda." In *Masculinities Matter! Men, Gender and Development*, edited by Frances Cleaver, 57-83. London, UK: Zed Books, 2003.

Abstract:

Northern Uganda, in particular Gulu and Kitgum districts, has been affected by ongoing conflict since 1986 when Museveni and the National Resistance

Movement took power. While there have been several phases to the conflict and levels of insecurity have fluctuated dramatically, violence in the form of killings, rape, looting and abduction has featured heavily throughout. Hundreds of thousands of people have been internally displaced, thousands more have taken refuge outside the country. In this potentially fertile area, which was once one of the most productive areas of the country, people have lost nearly all their livestock and access to their farming land, while access to health and education services have been severely reduced.

This paper uses material drawn from research in northern Uganda to examine the ways in which a strongly normative model of masculinity has contributed to this context of violence.¹ It argues that men's inability to live up to the model provokes some into acts of violence. It further argues that the model creates incentives for armed forces to exercise violence on the civilian population in ways which actively undermine men's sense of self, and thereby facilitate control over them. Both the construction of this normative model of masculinity, and the subsequent manipulation of socialized individuals and groups, are seen to be highly political processes in which the state plays a major role. Dolan and Cleaver argue that the conflict has actually prevented multiple masculinities from taking shape, instead reinforcing one normative masculinity; when men's ability to achieve a normative masculinity is thwarted, they resort to violent means (rape, etc.) to try and achieve it (*Abstract from Ibid*, 57).

Additional Notes:

As in other ex-colonial states, normative masculinity in Uganda is defined in opposition to femininity. It is based on "sexist, heterosexist, ethnocentricist and adultrist" qualities that encourage men to become breadwinners, be loyal to the state, and take up arms if they must. Due to high levels of internal displacement and poverty, men have difficulty fulfilling this ideal version of manhood. Men are not always able to control their wives, and may be altogether ineligible for marriage if they lack financial resources. Militarism has thwarted civilian men's ability to live up to a normative masculinity by widening the economic gap between civilians and soldiers.

As in other former colonies, the "normative model of masculinity" in Uganda is constructed in opposition to femininity, and is characterized by heterosexism and ethnocentrism. Today, stereotypes of what a man should be are influenced by pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial notions of masculinity. Among workshop participants, unmarried young men were deemed to be "boys" that could not take part in politics. More broadly, youth were perceived as "irresponsible, disrespectful, impatient, extravagant, arrogant, fun lovers who are ineffective at work." Real men must provide for their families and be financially secure. Yet Dolan stresses that amidst war and slim economic opportunities, men have serious difficulty achieving this version of masculinity. Additionally, men may feel a heightened sense of "thwarted masculinity" due to the militarization of certain areas, which highlights their inability to physically protect their families. The economic gap between military and civilian men increases a feeling of "thwarted masculinity" among the latter. The conflict has strengthened this normative masculinity, hindering the development of multiple masculinities. Men thus

increasingly use violence as a means of attaining this normative masculinity, as the multiple masculinities men experience do not measure up to a singular, idealized masculinity.

Dudink, Stefan, Karen Hagemann, and J. Tosh. *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern Histories*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2004.

Abstract:

In this collection, a group of historians explores the role of masculinity in the modern history of politics and war. Building on three decades of research in women's and gender history, the book opens up new avenues in the history of masculinity. The essays by social, political and cultural historians therefore map masculinity's part in making revolution, waging war, building nations, and constructing welfare states. Although the masculinity of modern politics and war is now generally acknowledged, few studies have traced the emergence and development of politics and war as masculine domains in the way this book does. Covering the period from the American Revolution to the Second World War and ranging over five continents, the essays in this book bring to light the many "masculinities" that shaped--and were shaped by--political and military modernity (*Abstract from book description*).

Eichler, Maya. "Russia's Post-Communist Transformation: A Gendered Analysis of the Chechen Wars." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 8, no. 4 (2006): 486-511.

Abstract

This article develops a gendered analysis of the Chechen wars (1994-6, 1999-present) in the context of Russia's post-communist transformation. I argue that the leadership used the first war to associate itself with a notion of militarized, ordered, patriotic Russian masculinity in juxtaposition to a notion of destabilizing, aggressive, criminal Chechen masculinity. Justification for the second war additionally relied on constructed differences between civilized, modern Russian masculinity and terrorist, fundamentalist Chechen masculinity. However, men's evasion of conscription as well as women's anti-conscription and anti-war organizing as soldiers' mothers have undermined the Russian state's ability to wage war and use it as a strategy of legitimation. While the second war initially had considerably more popular support than the first, the crisis in militarized masculinity has not been resolved and soldiers' mothers continue to challenge notions of patriotic motherhood. The article demonstrates that a gendered analysis improves our understanding of the state's decision to go to war, its justifications for war and citizens' responses to war (*Abstract from Ibid, 486*).

Additional Notes:

Eichler highlights how different constructs of masculinity, one as justified and "patriotic," and a competing "aggressive, criminal" masculinity can rationalize going to war.

Enloe, Cynthia. *The Curious Feminist: Searching for Women in a New Age of Empire*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005.

Abstract:

In this collection of lively essays, Cynthia Enloe makes better sense of globalization and international politics by taking a deep and personal look into the daily realities in a range of women's lives. She proposes a distinctively feminist curiosity that begins with taking women seriously, especially during this era of unprecedented American influence. This means listening carefully, digging deep, challenging assumptions, and welcoming surprises. Listening to women in Asian sneaker factories, Enloe reveals, enables us to bring down to earth the often abstract discussions of the global economy. Paying close attention to Iraqi women's organizing efforts under military occupation exposes the false global promises made by officials. Enloe also turns the beam of her inquiry inward. In a series of four candid interviews and a new set of autobiographical pieces, she reflects on the gradual development of her own feminist curiosity. Describing her wartime suburban girlhood and her years at Berkeley, she maps the everyday obstacles placed on the path to feminist consciousness—and suggests how those obstacles can be identified and overcome. *The Curious Feminist* shows how taking women seriously also challenges the common assumption that masculinities are trivial factors in today's international affairs. Enloe explores the workings of masculinity inside organizations as diverse as the American military, a Serbian militia, the UN, and Oxfam. A feminist curiosity finds all women worth thinking about, Enloe claims. She suggests that we pay thoughtful attention to women who appear complicit in violence or in the oppression of others, or too cozily wrapped up in their relative privilege to inspire praise or compassion. Enloe's vitality, passion, and incisive wit illuminate each essay. *The Curious Feminist* is an original and timely invitation to look at global politics in an entirely different way (*Abstract from book description*).

Additional Notes:

Enloe highlights how masculinity and militarism work together to promote nationalism. The causality also works in the other direction: nationalism can become militarized. Yet Enloe emphasizes that the process of militarization (and militarization of nationalism) is anything but natural; rather it is a conscious act of mobilization. Using the example of Borislav Herak, a Serbian militiaman and rapist, she explores how this process occurs, arguing that Serbian men were developing a “micro-culture” that was “simultaneously masculinized, militarized, and ethnically politicized.” She notes that Serbian masculinity is centered upon a notion of the warrior, a militarized and masculinized soldier whose strength and prowess is justified through the construction of femininity as passive and meriting protection. She notes that “cultural constructions of masculinity in many societies have been dependent not simply on celebrating men as soldiers, but on simultaneously elevating women as “mothers-of-soldiering-sons, valuing women

chiefly for their maternal sacrifices for the nation.” Thus, militarizing ethnic nationalism means “persuading individual men that their own manhood will be fully validated only if they perform as soldiers.” Part of this persuasion involves presenting soldiering as “natural” and through coercion or more subtle messaging, socializing men to prove themselves through this paradigm. Men can thus become dependent upon these militarized, masculinized ethnic groups for validation, and the willingness to serve and defend these groups becomes tied to the defense and justification of their own manhood and acceptance. The fear of refusing orders to commit violence thus becomes tied to a fear of being rejected from the group of “masculinized heterosexuals.” Camaraderie between soldiers only reinforces this loyalty and willingness to prove one’s manliness to the group. Thus, rape and killing can occur as a form of male bonding.

Enloe, Cynthia. *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women’s Lives*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000.

Abstract:

Maneuvers takes readers on a global tour of the sprawling process called "militarization." With her incisive verve and moxie, eminent feminist Cynthia Enloe shows that the people who become militarized are not just the obvious ones—executives and factory floor workers who make fighter planes, land mines, and intercontinental missiles. They are also the employees of food companies, toy companies, clothing companies, film studios, stock brokerages, and advertising agencies. Militarization is never gender-neutral, Enloe claims: It is a personal and political transformation that relies on ideas about femininity and masculinity. Films that equate action with war, condoms that are designed with a camouflage pattern, fashions that celebrate brass buttons and epaulettes, tomato soup that contains pasta shaped like Star Wars weapons—all of these contribute to militaristic values that mold our culture in both war and peace. Presenting new and groundbreaking material that builds on Enloe's acclaimed work in *Does Khaki Become You?* and *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases*, *Maneuvers* takes an international look at the politics of masculinity, nationalism, and globalization. Enloe ranges widely from Japan to Korea, Serbia, Kosovo, Rwanda, Britain, Israel, the United States, and many points in between. She covers a broad variety of subjects: gays in the military, the history of "camp followers," the politics of women who have sexually serviced male soldiers, married life in the military, military nurses, and the recruitment of women into the military. One chapter titled "When Soldiers Rape" explores the many facets of the issue in countries such as Chile, the Philippines, Okinawa, Rwanda, and the United States. Enloe outlines the dilemmas feminists around the globe face in trying to craft theories and strategies that support militarized women, locally and internationally, without unwittingly being militarized themselves. She explores the complicated militarized experiences of women as prostitutes, as rape victims, as mothers, as wives, as nurses, and as feminist activists, and she uncovers the "maneuvers" that military officials and their civilian supporters have made in order to ensure that each of these groups of women feel special and separate (*Abstract from book description*).

Additional Notes:

As in her other work, Enloe reinforces the idea that militarization privileges masculinity “by manipulating the meanings of both femininity and masculinity.” Rather than being a natural process, it is the outcome of careful decisions made at the international and local level, and in the public and private realm. The peace movement, too, can become militarized, for example, when an opposition group responds to militarized oppression with a matching militarized response. The emphasizing of differences among women is one method of militarization, as it prevents women from uniting and criticizing the privileging of masculinity. Further, women may not be aware that they are part of the militarization process; contrarily, they may assume that militarization can bring them increased opportunity (through military promotion, through access to less “traditional” jobs, through association with a husband that receives a military promotion). Finally, the risk of backlash and the threat of “reinvigorating” patriarchy may keep women from speaking against the militarization of femininity.

Enloe, Cynthia. *The Morning After: Sexual Politics at the End of the Cold War*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993.

Abstract:

Cynthia Enloe's riveting new book looks at the end of the Cold War and places women at the center of international politics. Focusing on the relationship between the politics of sexuality and the politics of militarism, Enloe charts the changing definitions of gender roles, sexuality, and militarism at the end of the twentieth century. In the gray dawn of this new era, Enloe finds that the politics of sexuality have already shifted irrevocably. Women glimpse the possibilities of democratization and demilitarization within what is still a largely patriarchal world. New opportunities for greater freedom are seen in emerging social movements—gays fighting for their place in the American military, Filipina servants rallying for their rights in Saudi Arabia, Danish women organizing against the European Community's Maastricht treaty. Enloe also documents the ongoing assaults against women as newly emerging nationalist movements serve to reestablish the privileges of masculinity. The voices of real women are heard in this book. They reach across cultures, showing the interconnections between military networks, jobs, domestic life, and international politics. *The Morning After* will spark new ways of thinking about the complexities of the post-Cold War period, and it will bring contemporary sexual politics into the clear light of day as no other book has done (*Abstract from book description*).

Additional Notes:

Here Enloe emphasizes that militarization can only occur through socialization to a particular form of masculinity, which in turn is bolstered by a parallel construction of femininity. This link between militarization and masculinity does not disappear post-conflict, but remains quite in tact. After the Gulf War, for example, the government urged Kuwaiti men to train with U.S. soldiers as a

means of revitalizing the nation, and domestic violence rates increased within Kuwaiti households, both the result of an emerging “new masculinity.” Enloe also notes that during the Cold War, “male bonding” among top level government officials, the designing of military recruitment strategies and efforts to thwart women’s social reforms all had the effect of mobilizing the war effort. She notes that “Cold War militarization required that men be able to kill for their country and that women be prohibited from killing for their country. Each part of the formula sustained the other.” Finally, Enloe notes that while women are assumed to benefit from demilitarization and democratization, they will only reap these benefits if both processes do not exclusively privilege men.

Eriksson Baaz, Maria, and Maria Stern. “Why Do Soldiers Rape? Masculinity, Violence, and Sexuality in the Armed Forces in the Congo (DRC).” *International Studies Quarterly* 53, no. 2 (2009): 495-518.

Abstract:

This article explores the ways soldiers in the Congo speak about the massive amount of rape committed by the armed forces in the recent war in the DRC. It focuses on the reasons that the soldiers give to why rape occurs. It discusses how the soldiers distinguish between “lust rapes” and “evil rapes” and argues that their explanations of rape must be understood in relation to notions of different (impossible) masculinities. Ultimately, through reading the soldiers' words, we can glimpse the logics—arguably informed by the increasingly globalized context of soldiering—through which rape becomes possible, and even “normalized” in particular warsapes (*Abstract from Ibid*, 495).

Additional Notes:

Eriksson Baaz and Stern attempt to complexify the argument that rape is simply a “weapon of war.” The “(hetero)sexually potent male fighter” was the main explanatory factor of rape that soldiers identified, i.e. a “lust rape,” which they deemed more justifiable than an “evil rape.” According to the soldiers, “lust rape” occurs when heterosexual male soldiers needed to relieve their “natural” urges, which only increase on the battlefield. Without money or the ability to leave the army, he is deprived of sex, and must therefore have sex by force. They thus painted a picture of the “macho, male, virile, potentially violent soldier whose sexual desire is barely controllable.” Another explanation soldiers gave for a negative view of women was the diminished love and respect wives had for husbands who could no longer provide for them, especially in a context where manhood was tied to material wealth. In this context, heterosexual masculinity is tied to the ability to provide economically and to be a “sexually potent fighter.” Paralleling this masculinity is a “weak, subordinate and treacherous” femininity. This heterosexual masculinity helps justify acts of sexual violence. In contrast to “lust rapes,” “evil rapes” were considered by soldiers to be more morally reprehensible, the result of a “need to destroy” that arises out of poverty, trauma and the frustration of war. They are beyond a man’s control, and arise inevitably when a man’s masculinity (ability to provide for his family, feel in control of his

surroundings, etc.) is thwarted. Baaz and Stern note that the soldiers' replies explain rape as both normal (the result of innate masculine lust), and exceptional (the result of war and frustration). They critique Enloe's classification of rape into three categories (recreational, national security, and systematic), arguing that the latter two categories are not clearly evident in the DRC. The authors note that the military as an institution, connected to global conceptions of masculinity and femininity, helps produce these different logics of rape. Rape also underscores the failure of men to achieve an ideal (and "impossible") masculinity; they cannot enact their sexual desires in a "normal" way, and must do so by force.

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

Abstract:

Gender roles are nowhere more prominent than in war. Yet contentious debates, and the scattering of scholarship across academic disciplines, have obscured understanding of how gender affects war and vice versa. In this authoritative and lively review of our state of knowledge, Joshua Goldstein assesses the possible explanations for the near-total exclusion of women from combat forces, through history and across cultures. Topics covered include the history of women who did fight and fought well, the complex role of testosterone in men's social behaviors, and the construction of masculinity and femininity in the shadow of war. Goldstein concludes that killing in war does not come naturally for either gender, and that gender norms often shape men, women, and children to the needs of the war system. Illustrated with photographs, drawings, and graphics, and drawing from scholarship spanning six academic disciplines, this book provides a unique study of a fascinating issue (*Abstract from book description*).

Additional Notes:

In Chapter 5 of *War and Gender*, "Heroes and the Making of Militarized Masculinity," Goldstein asserts that constructions of masculinity and femininity facilitate war. Cultures create warriors out of men by signaling to them that fighting is a test of true manhood. While women are never told to "be women," men are told to "be a man;" they must "undergo ordeals" in order to prove their manhood. Indeed, several soldiers in one study explained that during their military training they learned to view aggression and masculinity as the same concepts. Being a warrior is not biologically natural for men; rather, it is a result of socialization. Conscription, he argues, is proof that war does not come naturally to men. Part of enabling men to fight in war is conditioning them to be warriors and connecting "warrior values" with masculinity. Alcohol and religion are also means through which men enable themselves to fight highly unnatural wars. He also notes that contrary to some popular perceptions, PTSD is not more inherent to women than men; women who have been raped experience the same level of PTSD as men who have been in combat. The way cultures respond to trauma is also highly gendered.

Gray, Chris Hables “Posthuman Soldiers in Postmodern War.” *Body & Society* 9, no. 4 (2003): 215-226.

Abstract:

The centrality of human-machine weapon systems is a key aspect of postmodern war. Since 1939 such systems have proliferated while improved interfaces have led to several types of actual cyborg soldiers. As the crisis of postmodern war deepens it is producing a series of quite different militarized bodies. Cyborgs proliferate in type so it is no surprise that we have pilot-cyborgs and teleoperators, info-cyborgs (from political operatives to clerks and including all the servants of the computers and weapons systems), and various fighting cyborg soldiers and sailors. There has also been a resurgence of a type of irregular warrior that many commentators describe as bestial. It is not a coincidence that while humanity is on the verge of producing real posthumans (quite possibly for military applications) so-called “prehuman” types of war have broken out across the globe. War is based on bodies and its skewed logics have driven many cyborgian developments. Now, both war and our cyborg society are involved in a linked crisis fuelled by the relentless march of technoscience that has made modern war impossible and posthumans probable. The future of the human, and of a multitude of potential posthumanities, will largely be determined by how this crisis is resolved (*Abstract from Ibid, 215*).

Additional Notes:

While the focus of this article is not on masculinity, Gray does state that although wars are still masculine in nature, women have a wider avenue for participation, so long as they can adjust to this masculine culture. He also acknowledges that while women are also capable of committing violence in combat, men have been socialized to enjoy this violence more.

Higate, Paul, and John Hopton. “War, Militarism, and Masculinities.” In *Handbook of Studies on Men and Masculinities*, edited by Michael S. Kimmel, Jeff Hearn, and Robert W. Connell, 432-447. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2005.

Abstract:

No abstract found.

Additional Notes:

This chapter examines the British military as a means of better understanding how military culture relates to masculinity. Like Enloe, the authors discuss the “valorization of military values” that occur outside of the armed forces, for example in the giving of weapon toys to young boys. They assert that militarism and masculinity are mutually reinforcing concepts; the state uses ideals of

masculinity to encourage men to take personal risks and commit heroic violence on behalf of the state, and reciprocally, militarism fulfills men's needs to prove their masculinity through "stoicism, risk-taking, and even lethal violence." The belief that more women in the military will counter the upholding of the combat warrior soldier relies upon naturalist assumptions about masculinity and femininity. Militarism, defined as "the celebration of military culture in national politics and popular culture," reinforces this hegemonic masculinity.

Higate, Paul. "Putting 'Mercenary Masculinities' on the Research Agenda." Working paper No. 03-09, University of Bristol Department of Politics, 2009. <http://mediaresearchhub.ssrc.org/putting-2018mercenary-masculinities2019-on-the-research-agenda/attachment>.

Abstract:

Private Military Security Companies (PMSC) have come increasingly to supplant the activities of regular, national militaries - most notably in such contexts as Iraq and Afghanistan. Though a wide scholarship has addressed questions of legitimacy, regulation and control of PMSCs, critical commentators on gender have almost entirely overlooked the masculinised cultures of these private firms, the majority of which employ former military personnel. This is surprising since masculine norms, values and cultures shape private contractors security practices and can be used to explain human rights abuses, as well as the everyday ways in which these men imagine security. In these terms, the key critical issue concerns what is missed when masculinity is ignored in analyses of PMSCs, a question that is taken up in this working paper within the context of a potential research agenda for this topic of research (*Abstract from Ibid, 2*).

Additional Notes:

Given the centrality of military masculinity to PMSCs, Higate argues that the sector should be outlawed. As an "unregulated form of militarization," PMSCs encourage the development of privatized military masculinities that privilege foreign men over "third world men" in a neo-colonial fashion. A "corporate warrior ethos" that encourages extreme violence is perhaps more likely among PMSCs, as a free market mentality leaves aggressive behavior unregulated. Higate also notes that more research should be done into the typologies of masculinities within PMSCs, as they cover a span of sectors that do not necessarily mirror those within the military; in fact, some private contractors may view themselves as mavericks and reject the lack of autonomy characterizing the military.

Higate, Paul, ed. *Military Masculinities: Identity and State*. Westport, CT: Praeger Pub Text, 2003.

Abstract:

In spite of all the attention that has been devoted to men's identity in recent years, the links between men and the military have until now remained unquestioned, and thus unexplored. This groundbreaking volume deconstructs the traditional stereotypes of military identity and makes a strong case for a plurality of identities within a range of theoretical and empirical contexts. Drawing on various disciplines--including sociology, anthropology, ethnography, human geography, and feminist epistemology--the contributors consider the ways in which military masculine identities are created and sustained in the armed forces and the societies in which they operate. Though mainly focused on the British army, this volume explores universal issues such as violence among military communities, the identity of women in the military, and the treatment of conscientious objectors (*Abstract from book description*).

Jeffreys, Sheila. "Double Jeopardy: Women, the US Military and the War in Iraq." *Women's Studies International Forum* 30, no. 1 (2007): 16-25.

Abstract:

This article argues that women in the military are in double jeopardy. They face the danger of rape from their male colleagues as well as the ordinary dangers of being killed or wounded by the enemy. They are used to send messages from one masculine military to another in their very bodies. This is particularly clear in the case of Lynndie England and the Abu Ghraib tortures where her womanhood, and sexual use of her by her comrades, were used as weapons to humiliate Iraqi prisoners. This sexual violence from their own side is the result of the fact that militaries are founded upon an aggressive masculinity that is vital to enable warfare to continue. For this reason the argument that it is important from the point of view of equal opportunities for women to be in all areas of the military, including the frontline, falls down. If aggressive masculinity is the necessary foundation of the military rather than being an unfortunate hangover of patriarchy, then women cannot be equal in this institution. Women's organizations should not be using the language of women's rights in calling for the subjection of women to these forms of violence (*Abstract from Ibid, 16*).

Additional Notes:

In her discussion of Abu Ghraib and Iraq, Jeffreys takes the work of Sasson-Levy and Rimalt one step further, suggesting that women's groups should not call for women's equal rights within the military, as these equal rights can never be achieved within this institution.

Kennedy-Pipe, Caroline. "Women and the Military." *The Journal of Strategic Studies* 23, no. 4 (2000): 32-50.

Abstract:

Debates about the relationship between women and the military have become common within Western societies. These debates primarily centre on the issue of

the place, fitness and desirability of a female presence within institutions designed for national war making. There are those who claim that equality between the sexes demands the full integration of women into national militaries, including in combat roles, others however argue that women are ill-equipped for the traditional tasks required of 'warriors'. This article argues that these debates are increasingly irrelevant. Future wars are increasingly less likely to be fought only by clearly defined national combat forces and more likely to be 'virtual' wars involving the deployment of Western technologies against militarily inferior opponents. This too is an age in which Western states will be engaged not just in virtual wars but in 'humanitarian intervention', peacekeeping, enforcement and postwar reconstruction. This allows, even encourages a rethinking of traditional notions and debates over the place of women within the military sphere (*Abstract from Ibid, 32*).

Additional Notes:

While some argue that women should be fully integrated into the military, others believe this integration would compromise the status of the military, as they are unable to become the “warriors” that men may become. The latter camp assumes a fundamental link between masculinity, war and the state. The construction of manhood is based in large part on the role of the combat soldier, and because combat is a gateway to equal citizenship women’s participation in combat could potentially transform their roles as citizens. Drawing on Enloe’s work, Kennedy-Pipe notes that soldiering occurs not as a natural phenomenon, but rather because men and women assume particular roles: men become protectors and combatants while women become mothers. In turn, government policies support these roles. The assumption of these roles explains in part why despite women’s integration into the military over the last forty years, combat is still a male domain. Interestingly enough, while Kennedy-Pipe attributes the masculine nature of the military to socially constructed roles, she also argues that we should figure out “how and where (women) can best serve in the new wars that require new warriors.” Yet even a “new warrior” may still assume a set of qualities that reinforce a masculine militarism, even if it is an alternative masculinity.

Littlewood, Roland. “Military Rape.” *Anthropology Today* 13, no. 2 (1997): 7-16.

Abstract:

No abstract found.

Additional Notes:

Littlewood identifies military rape as a form of political power, and defines militarism as an “established ethic of violence and security” that goes hand-in-hand with masculinity. The military embodies a “masculine ethic” that may use sexual violence to help strengthen boundaries between opposing groups. Interestingly, Littlewood notes that women bearing arms is often used by men as a justification for sexual violence. He criticizes the argument that rape occurs as a product of male exceptionalism (the militarism argument), as men use sexual violence to strengthen the national cause and pillage the national honor of the other side. He also criticizes the argument that rape occurs as a result of some

innate male instinct that is unleashed and given expression during war. He believes that there are two other explanations for rape that cannot be overlooked: a.) sexuality and violence come from the same “male group interests”; extreme violence may lead to a desire for sexual release, and sexual interactions are themselves aggressive; and b.) violence and sexuality occur in response and relation to each other.

Morgan, David H.J. “Theater of War: Combat, the Military, and Masculinities.” In *Theorizing Masculinities*, edited by Harry Brod, Michael Kaufman, 165-182. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 1994.

Abstract:

No abstract found.

Rimalt, Noya. “Women in the Sphere of Masculinity: The Double-Edged Sword of Women’s Integration in the Military.” *Duke Journal of Gender Law and Policy* 14 (2007): 1097-1119.

Abstract:

This article focuses on these seemingly contradictory findings regarding women’s growing integration in the military, using the Israeli experience of gender integration in the IDF as a case study for exploring the ongoing feminist debate on women’s military service. At the heart of this debate lies the question whether women’s equal integration in the military promotes or hinders gender equality. Traditionally this was a theoretical question, since no relevant empirical data existed as long as the general practice of all western militaries was women’s exclusion from combat. Feminist discourse on this issue was therefore based mostly on general normative assumptions regarding the nature of the military on the one hand and the proper definition of gender equality on the other. Those embracing the liberal feminist approach—emphasizing gender sameness and equal treatment—have argued that women’s equal participation in the military is an important manifestation of equal rights, and therefore promotes the vision of gender equality and equal citizenship for men and women. Those analyzing the military as an inherently masculine institution have concluded that women’s military service only perpetuates masculine concepts of citizenship (*Abstract from Ibid, 1098*).

Additional Notes:

Rimalt’s research supports that of Sasson-Levy; integration into the military is not necessarily a pre-cursor to equal citizenship in the civilian world, perhaps because the civilian world is inextricably bound to the military.

Sasson-Levy, Orna. “Gender Integration in Israeli Officer Training: Degendering and Regendering the Military.” *Signs* 33, no. 1 (2007): 105-133.

Abstract:

This article examines the nature and meaning of gender integration in an officer training course in the Israeli military, in light of the hegemonic status of combat masculinity. The above quote is taken from an interview with Lieutenant Colonel Yoav Golan, a male battalion commander in the newly gender-integrated course. The quote starts by recognizing gender differences as legitimate: women's crying no longer frightens him. However, in the same breath, Yoav recreates the gendered hierarchy: the women's crying bothers the male cadets, and "legitimate" tears quickly turn into hysterics. This discursive multiplicity is indicative of the simultaneous degendering and regendering processes that take place in the course. Though the Israeli military has restructured officer training in order to degender its route for promotion, it nonetheless goes on to reconstruct and reify hierarchical gender differences. Since military service is a sine qua non of full citizenship in Israel, the simultaneous processes of degendering and regendering expose the countless barricades that Israeli women have to overcome in order to be considered full citizens (*Abstract from Ibid, 105*).

Additional Notes:

Israel's mandatory conscription for women and men alike creates a degendering of the military and a potential move towards gender-egalitarian citizenship, yet regendering occurs when women are relegated to specific non-combat roles or are exempt altogether from service, and when masculinity becomes the focal culture of the military. While degendering is a structural process, regendering occurs more subtly as a result of "the overbearing centrality of the masculine combat soldier model." Because the military is "a citizenship-conferring institution" as well as "an initiation rite to masculinity," achieving "the status of hegemonic masculinity" means practicing good citizenship.

Sasson-Levy, Orna. "Feminism and Military Gender Practices: Israeli Women Soldiers in 'Masculine' Roles." *Sociological Inquiry* 73, no. 3 (2003): 440-465.

Abstract:

Women's military service is the focus of an ongoing controversy because of its implications for the gendered nature of citizenship. While liberal feminists endorse equal service as a venue for equal citizenship, radical feminists see women's service as a reification of martial citizenship and cooperation with a hierarchical and sexist institution. These debates, however, tend to ignore the perspective of the women soldiers themselves. This paper seeks to add to the contemporary debate on women's military service the subjective dimension of gender and national identities of women soldiers serving in "masculine" roles. I use a theory of identity practices in order to analyze the interaction between state institutions and identity construction. Based on in-depth interviews, I argue that Israeli women soldiers in "masculine" roles shape their gender identities according to the hegemonic masculinity of the combat soldier through three interrelated practices: (1) mimicry of combat soldiers' bodily and discursive practices; (2) distancing from "traditional femininity"; and (3) trivialization of

sexual harassment. These practices signify both resistance and compliance with the military dichotomized gender order. While these transgender performances subvert the hegemonic norms of masculinity and femininity, they also collaborate with the military androcentric norms. Thus, although these women soldiers individually transgress gender boundaries, they internalize the military's masculine ideology and values and learn to identify with the patriarchal order of the army and the state. This accounts for a pattern of "limited inclusion" that reaffirms their marginalization, thus prohibiting them from developing a collective consciousness that would challenge the gendered structure of citizenship (*Abstract from Ibid, 440*).

Additional Notes:

Sasson-Levy contributes to Tutnik's discussion of women in the military by questioning whether they can achieve gender equality through service. While Tutnik argues that to a large degree women can enjoy equality to men within the (U.S.) military, Sasson-Levy believes when this is done it is only through women adopting masculine qualities, suggesting their presence cannot change an institutionalized military culture of masculinity. While women are able to abandon some of their "traditional" feminine roles and play a more "transgender" role, they are in the end reinforcing androcentric qualities. Interestingly enough, women soldiers do not necessarily view themselves as marginalized, except for those hoping to have a successful military career. In other words, while women may gain power while in the military, they do not necessarily retain this power beyond their service, suggesting that their participation in the military does not necessarily affect gender equality with regards to citizenship.

Sasson-Levy, Orna. "Constructing Identities at the Margins: Masculinities and Citizenship in the Israeli Army." *The Sociological Quarterly* 43, no. 3 (2002): 357-383.

Abstract:

This article examines the construction of multiple gendered and national identities in the Israeli army. In Israel, hegemonic masculinity is identified with the masculinity of the Jewish combat soldier and is perceived as the emblem of good citizenship. This identity, I argue, assumes a central role in shaping a hierarchal order of gendered and civic identities that reflects and reproduces social stratification and reconstructs differential modes of participation in, and belonging to, the Israeli state.

In-depth interviews with two marginalized groups in the Israeli army—women in "masculine" roles and male soldiers in blue-collar jobs—suggest two discernible practices of identity. While women in "masculine" roles structure their gender and national identities according to the masculinity of the combat soldier, the identity practices of male soldiers in blue-collar jobs challenge this hegemonic masculinity and its close link with citizenship in Israel. However, while both identity practices are empowering for the groups in question, neither undermines the hegemonic order, for the military's practice of "limited inclusion" prohibits

the development of a collective consciousness that would challenge the differentiated structure of citizenship (*Abstract from Ibid, 357*).

Additional Notes:

While the soldier blue collar worker is able to challenge hegemonic masculinity in a way the female combatant is not (by disobeying orders and refusing to cooperate), neither can radically change this hegemony enough to challenge the gendered nature of citizenship. What is more, Sasson-Levy notes that while the blue collar soldiers refuse military orders, many ironically declare nationalistic zeal, perhaps reinforcing the connection between good citizenship and undying support for the national cause, which in Israel is bolstered by and bound to the military.

Segal, Lynne. "Gender, War and Militarism: Making and Questioning the Links." *Feminist Review* 88 (2008): 21-35.

Abstract:

The gender dynamics of militarism have traditionally been seen as straightforward, given the cultural mythologies of warfare and the disciplining of 'masculinity' that occurs in the training and use of men's capacity for violence in the armed services. However, women's relation to both war and peace has been varied and complex. It is women who have often been most prominent in working for peace, although there are no necessary links between women and opposition to militarism. In addition, more women than ever are serving in many of today's armies, with feminists rather uncertain on how to relate to this phenomenon. In this article, I explore some of the complexities of applying gender analyses to militarism and peace work in sites of conflict today, looking most closely at the Israeli feminist group, New Profile, and their insistence upon the costs of the militarized nature of Israeli society. They expose the very permeable boundaries between the military and civil society, as violence seeps into the fears and practices of everyday life in Israel. I place their work in the context of broader feminist analysis offered by researchers such as Cynthia Enloe and Cynthia Cockburn, who have for decades been writing about the 'masculinist' postures and practices of warfare, as well as the situation of women caught up in them. Finally, I suggest that rethinking the gendered nature of warfare must also encompass the costs of war to men, whose fundamental vulnerability to psychological abuse and physical injury is often downplayed, whether in mainstream accounts of warfare or in more specific gender analysis. Feminists need to pay careful attention to masculinity and its fragmentations in addressing the topic of gender, war and militarism (*Abstract from Ibid, 21*).

Tutnik, Regina. "The Myth of the Macho Military." *Polity* 40, no. 2 (2008): 137-163.

Abstract:

The public debate about the incorporation of women in the U. S. Armed Forces

has primarily included feminist-inspired critics, who denounce the hostility toward women they perceive is promoted in the military's masculinist culture, and, alternatively, opponents of the greater inclusion of women in the military, who valorize the exclusivist masculine qualities that many feminists criticize. Although these ideological adversaries differ in their estimation of military culture, they both share -- and have reciprocally reinforced -- a view of the military as steeped in the traditions and practices of aggressive masculinity. This article shows that the prevailing view of the military as hyper-masculine is misguided. Not unhindered aggressiveness, but camaraderie, discipline, and service are the qualities instilled in soldiers. These qualities foster military effectiveness and counterbalance sexist tendencies producing a complex institutional culture congenial to women in significant respects (*Abstract from Ibid, 137*).

Additional Notes:

Tutnik's article is the only I could find in this literature review refuting the argument that military culture breeds aggressive masculinity. Like Whitworth and Valenius, Tutnik discusses the camaraderie and the discipline present in the military, but rather than presenting it as a cause of conformity that fosters violence, she presents it as an explanation for a culture that is "congenial to women" in many ways. Tutnik points out that opponents of women's inclusion in the military and feminist proponents similarly characterize the military as a hyper-masculine space that privileges men over women. She argues that not only do these qualities deter from combat effectiveness, but the qualities contributing to it, "camaraderie, discipline, and service," create an environment more amenable to women's participation and limit male aggressiveness and hyper-masculinity. Interestingly enough, while acknowledging the presence of "camaraderie, discipline, and service," she seems to view these qualities as gender-neutral, where Whitworth, Valenius, Enloe and many others would deem these qualities deeply gendered.

Valenius, Johanna. "Living in an Over-Organized Jungle: Military Discipline, Masculinity and Rape in Casualties of War." Paper presented at the Gender Conflict Panel, International Studies Association, 45th Annual Convention, Montreal, Canada, Mar. 17-20, 2004.

Abstract

In this paper I explore the relationship between being a good soldier, military discipline and war rape. My main question is: is there something in soldierhood and discipline that allows sexual violence against women at the times of war. I focus on the incident on Hill 192' which took place in Vietnam on November 1966. A squad of five American soldiers abducted, raped and killed a young Vietnamese woman. One of the soldiers refused to participate to the rape and murder, and reported the incident to his superior officers. This led to a court-martial of the five soldiers. I analyze two narratives of the incident: Daniel Lang's essay in *The New Yorker* in 1969 and Brian DePalma's film, *Casualties of War*

(1989). I argue that in-group loyalties, discipline and the chain-of-command may in some cases become a trap and allow war rape (*Abstract from Ibid, 1*).

Additional Notes:

Valenius argues that bonding is also a component of in-group loyalty that allows rape to occur. Bonding does not simply serve a social function, but is also what allows soldiers to feel protected in life-or-death situations. She argues that a “good soldier” is loyal to the group and respectful of the chain of command, and is thus less likely to speak out against war rape. By raping the other side, soldiers call the “Other’s” manhood into question.

Zurbriggen, Eileen L. “Rape, War, and the Socialization of Masculinity: Why Our Refusal to Give Up War Ensures That Rape Cannot Be Eradicated.” *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 34 (2010): 538-549.

Abstract:

Rape is endemic during war, suggesting that there may be important conceptual links between the two. A theoretical model is presented positing that rape and war are correlated because traditional (hegemonic) masculinity underlies, and is a cause of, both. An analysis of the literatures on masculinity, rape perpetration, and military socialization is conducted to support this model. Particular elements of traditional masculinity that are implicated include status and achievement; toughness and aggression; restricted emotionality; and power, dominance, and control. It is argued that society’s need for effective soldiers is the root cause of traditional masculine socialization and that this socialization ensures that rape will be prevalent. Possible strategies to minimize rape while preserving traditional masculine socialization are discussed. However, it is concluded that as long as most nations rely on warfare to respond to geopolitical conflict, rape prevention efforts will necessarily have only limited success (*Abstract from Ibid, 538*).

Additional Notes:

In her article, Zurbriggen reviews the evidence that traditional masculine socialization is a risk factor for rape perpetration. She organizes her article along a framework of dimensions of masculinity that are hypothesized to be most central to rape perpetration, including ‘feminine avoidance’, ‘status and achievement’, ‘toughness and aggression’, ‘restricted emotionality’, ‘nonrelational sexuality’, and ‘dominance/power/control’. Zurbriggen further argues that certain dimensions of masculinity are reinforced by military training and suggests a “causal link between traditional masculinity and war” (542). She concludes that, because masculine socialization is a cause of both rape and war, rape prevention is fundamentally linked with anti-war activism (544).

III. Sexualities

Bahreini, Raha. "From Perversion to Pathology: Discourses and Practices of Gender Policing in the Islamic Republic of Iran." *Muslim World of Human Rights* 5, no. 1 (2008): 1-51.

Abstract:

The Islamic Republic of Iran punishes homosexuality with death but it actively recognizes transsexuality, and partially funds sex change operations. This article aims to examine how this seemingly progressive stance on transsexuality is connected to the IRI's larger oppressive apparatus of gender. It will first provide an overview of the cultural politics of gender and sexuality under the Islamic Republic's rule, and will then discuss the confluence of religious and medical literatures that led the Islamic Republic to adopt its new discourse on transsexuality despite – or perhaps rather because of – its sex/gender politics. The article does not deny that this emerging discourse has been somewhat empowering for those transsexuals who genuinely desire surgical transformation. But empowering as it might have been for such transsexuals, the emerging discourse is still deeply troubling since it systematically regards homosexuality and more generally any sexual or gender non-conformity as unintelligible, perverse, and punishable by law, except for those willing to transform their "wrong bodies." The article will, therefore, demonstrate that the IRI's permission of transsexuality and sex change operations is motivated by a goal that is more about assimilating gender atypical individuals into the heteronormative order than about broadening horizons for sex/gender possibilities. The article ends by discussing how this discourse is making non-surgical trans/multi-gendered identity illegible and illegitimate not only as a publicly recognized possibility, but also with regard to transpersons' own self-perception and self-constitution of their gender and sexual subjectivity (*Abstract from Ibid*).

Additional Notes:

Bahreini argues that "gender dimorphism" is the underlying principle of Iran's policy towards transsexual and homosexual individuals; the progressive treatment of transsexuality is in fact a means of assimilating people into heteronormativity, rather than an attempt to re-envision rigid categories of masculinity and femininity.

Epprecht, Marc. "Black Skin, 'Cowboy' Masculinity: A Genealogy of Homophobia in the African Nationalist Movement in Zimbabwe to 1983." *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 7, no. 3 (2005): 253-266.

Abstract:

This paper examines the intellectual and social origins of racist homophobia in contemporary Zimbabwean political discourse, exemplified by President Robert Mugabe's anti-homosexual speeches since the mid-1990s. It challenges the notions that such homophobia is either essential to African patriarchy or simple

political opportunism. Tracing overt expressions of intolerance towards male-male sexuality back to the colonial period, it focuses on ways in which notions of appropriate, respectable, exclusive heterosexuality within the 'cowboy' culture of White Southern Rhodesia trickled into, or were interpreted in, the African nationalist movement. It concludes that understanding this history could improve efforts to address concerns around sexual health in Zimbabwe and elsewhere in the region, particularly silences around same-sex sexuality in HIV/AIDS education and prevention (*Abstract from Ibid*, 253).

Additional Notes:

Epprecht discusses how Southern Rhodesian masculinity and nationalism stood in opposition to “socialistic, effeminate, treacherous and wimpish liberalism.” Homophobia only increased in response to the militarization of white society throughout the 1970s. Meanwhile, an equal threat to African male sexuality was the “uppity” woman who had affairs and threatened male power and control, especially against the backdrop of the colonial struggle. It was in this context that “male virility” and nationalism became intertwined. One result of this relationship was an increase in violence against women, which political leaders would overlook. One popular view during the 1970s was that homosexuality among African men was the result of colonial corruption and baseness. This state enforced homophobia was equally an attack on “African feminisms,” and silenced conversations about sexuality that were necessary for the prevention of HIV/AIDS.

Epprecht, Marc. “The ‘Unsay’ of Indigenous Homosexualities in Zimbabwe: Mapping a Blindspot in an African Masculinity.” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 24, no. 4 (1998): 631-651.

Abstract:

Many black Zimbabweans believe that homosexuality was introduced to the country by white settlers and is now mainly propagated by ‘the West’. The denial of indigenous homosexual behaviours and identities is often so strong that critics have been quick with accusations of homophobia. Yet those critics unfairly impose a rather crude and ultimately unhelpful analysis. Without denying that violent forms of homophobia do exist in Zimbabwe, the invisibility of indigenous homosexualities has more complex origins. This article examines the many, overlapping discourses that are constructed into the dominant ideology of masculinity and that contrive to ‘unsay’ indigenous male-to-male sexualities. It seeks in that way to gain insight into the overdetermination of assertively masculinist behaviour among Zimbabwean men today. It also draws lessons for researchers on the importance of interrogating the silences around masculinity (*Abstract from Ibid*, 631).

Additional Notes:

Epprecht discusses how the colonial history of Zimbabwe emasculated and infantilized African male sexuality (as seen in references to African men as “boys,” e.g.). This was reinforced through sexual exploitation between white

settlers and local African women. As a result, images of emasculation and impotence were invoked in the rhetoric of the nationalist struggle, and aggressive African masculinity emerged as a response to white colonialism, violence and racism. This emergence explains in part Mugabe's anti-gay campaigns, and the aligning of "anti-gay vigilantes" with heroic nationalism. This may have also been reinforced by Rhodesian nationalism, which invoked images of "settler manliness" in its rhetoric. As white Zimbabwe became increasingly militarized in the 1960s, tolerance for alternative masculinities shrank further.

Haritaworn, Jin, Esra Erdem, and Tamsila Tauqir. "Gay Imperialism: Gender and Sexuality Discourse in the 'War on Terror'." In *Out of Place: Interrogating Silences in Queerness/Raciality*, edited by Adi Kuntsman and Esperanza Miyake, 71-95. England, UK: Raw Nerve Books Ltd, 2008.

Abstract:

Our article focuses on the situation in Britain, where 'Muslim' and 'homo-phobic' are increasingly treated as interchangeable signifiers. The central figure in this process is Peter Tatchell who has successfully claimed the role of the liberator of and expert about Muslim gays and lesbians. This highlights the problems of a single-issue politics of representation, which equates 'gay' with white and 'ethnic minority' with heterosexual. At the same time, the fact that Tatchell's group Outrage passes as the emblem of queer and hence post-identity politics in Britain shows that the problem of Islamophobia is not reducible to the critique of identity. The active participation of right- as well as left-wing, feminist as well as gay, official as well as civil powers in the Islamophobia industry proves racism more clearly than ever to be a white problem, which crosses other social and political differences. (*Abstract from Ibid, 72*)

Kuntsman, Adi. "The Currency of Victimhood in Uncanny Homes: Queer Immigrants' Claims for Home and Belonging through Anti-Homophobic Organizing." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35, no. 1 (2009): 133-49.

Abstract:

This paper is based on an ethnographic study of Russian-speaking queer immigrants in Israel and, in particular, on their organising against homophobia. The paper follows the queer immigrants' claims that the homophobic attacks they experience are similar to anti-Semitism and the persecution of Jews by the Nazis. Engaging with Freud's notion of the double as uncanny, I trace the relations of doubleness and substitution between two figures: the humiliated homosexual and the persecuted Jew. What does it mean, I ask, that injuries of homophobia are compared to injuries of anti-Semitism? What does it mean that Jewish immigrants in Israel claim that they are persecuted 'just like the Jews'? Throughout the paper I explore questions of migration and sexuality, as well as issues of Israeli

nationalism and the currency of victimhood in claims for national belonging
(*Abstract from Ibid, 133*).

Mooney, Katie. “‘Ducktails, Flickknives and Pugnacity’: Subcultural and Hegemonic Masculinities in South Africa, 1948-1960.” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 24 (1998): 753-774.

Abstract:

The Ducktails were a white youth gang subculture that emerged within post Second World War South Africa. They were rebellious, hedonistic, apolitical and displayed little respect for the law, education or work. Collectively their identity was shaped by specific racial, class and gender elements. Within gender studies, femininity has been at the forefront whereas investigations into masculinities have rarely featured. This article contributes towards a better understanding of masculinity and particularly white masculine identities within an historical context. Particular attention is given to the way male members of the subculture constructed, sustained and practiced their masculinity. Specifically, this article argues that Ducktail masculinity was not static or homogeneous but was rather multifarious, embracing characteristics such as image, territoriality, loyalty, pugnacity, competitiveness, virility and homophobia. This sets the context for an exploration of the relationship of conformity, conflict and control that emerged between Ducktail masculinity and other more accepted and dominant masculinities (*Abstract from Ibid, 753*).

Additional Notes:

Mooney notes that among the ducktail gang’s displays of “pugnacity” was the occasional attacking of African homosexual men (although it is not clear how often this happened). Regardless of the frequency of attacks, homophobia was a popular method for proving one’s heterosexuality and masculinity. This was accompanied in turn by displays of “virility” and the objectification of women, and carrying out these acts meant acceptance within the gang. A key characteristic of “ducktail masculinity” was the display of promiscuous heterosexual activity, which collided in part with a Christian masculine ethos. While they were subversive and defiant of the law, they also “remained committed to the dominant ideals of patriarchy, homophobia and racism.”

Puar, Jasbir. *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007.

Abstract:

In this pathbreaking work, Jasbir K. Puar argues that configurations of sexuality, race, gender, nation, class, and ethnicity are realigning in relation to contemporary forces of securitization, counterterrorism, and nationalism. She examines how liberal politics incorporate certain queer subjects into the fold of the nation-state, through developments including the legal recognition inherent in the overturning

of anti-sodomy laws and the proliferation of more mainstream representation. These incorporations have shifted many queers from their construction as figures of death (via the AIDS epidemic) to subjects tied to ideas of life and productivity (gay marriage and reproductive kinship). Puar contends, however, that this tenuous inclusion of some queer subjects depends on the production of populations of Orientalized terrorist bodies. Heteronormative ideologies that the U.S. nation-state has long relied on are now accompanied by homonormative ideologies that replicate narrow racial, class, gender, and national ideals. These homonationalisms are deployed to distinguish upright properly hetero, and now properly homo, U.S. patriots from perversely sexualized and racialized terrorist look-a-likes--especially Sikhs, Muslims, and Arabs--who are cordoned off for detention and deportation (*Abstract from book description*).

Additional Notes:

Puar argues that the sexual torture of prisoners at Abu Ghraib was “neither exceptional nor singular.” She notes that the focus of the U.S. media on the homosexual elements of Abu Ghraib cover up a more sexist, racist and homophobic U.S. agenda, as does its representation as an exceptional event. The use of the word “disgusting,” in descriptions of the event raises questions about what, in fact, the American public finds disgusting; is it the seemingly homosexual nature of the acts, or the very fact that an “imperialist occupation” has led to this sort of gendered violence? She also argues that the American public attributes the horror of the event to the shame that homosexuality brings to Muslim people. This interpretation relies on an “Orientalist discourse” that assumes such torture would somehow be more bearable for other populations. It also reinforces the idea that “gay sex” is the basest most inhumane form of torture, in effect reinforcing a heterosexual norm. People thus perceive that the Iraqi prisoners deserve empathy because of this “gay sex,” rather than because they are living under military occupation. By focusing on the homosexual aspects of torture, we also overlook the racialization of sexual violence and how this relates to abuse of power.

Yuval-Davis, Nira. “Front and Rear: The Sexual Division of Labor in the Israeli Army.” *Feminist Studies* 11, no. 3 (1985): 649-675.

Abstract:

This article examines the construction of multiple gendered and national identities in the Israeli army. In Israel, hegemonic masculinity is identified with the masculinity of the Jewish combat soldier and is perceived as the emblem of good citizenship. This identity, I argue, assumes a central role in shaping a hierarchal order of gendered and civic identities that reflects and reproduces social stratification and reconstructs differential modes of participation in, and belonging to, the Israeli state.

In-depth interviews with two marginalized groups in the Israeli army—women in “masculine” roles and male soldiers in blue-collar jobs—suggest two discernible practices of identity. While women in “masculine” roles structure their gender

and national identities according to the masculinity of the combat soldier, the identity practices of male soldiers in blue-collar jobs challenge this hegemonic masculinity and its close link with citizenship in Israel. However, while both identity practices are empowering for the groups in question, neither undermines the hegemonic order, for the military's practice of "limited inclusion" prohibits the development of a collective consciousness that would challenge the differentiated structure of citizenship (*Abstract from Ibid*, 649).

Zarkov, Dubravka, and Stefan Dudink. "Beyond Victims and Villains: Gender and Armed Conflict." Paper presented at the GOOD Conference on Gender and Armed Conflict, Uppsala, Sweden, Sept. 2001.

Abstract:

Gender refers to a specific way of looking at the social relations of power that structure our daily lives, our behaviour, our norms and values, and our understanding of ourselves and our place in this world. Defining gender through such social relations of power means placing gender at the heart of relations of dominance and marginalisation, hierarchy, hegemony, oppression and subjugation. To understand armed conflict it is essential to consider the following points related to gender and power. Gender relations are present on many different levels of society:

1. The level of subjective identity. This is the level at which an individual sense of being a man or a woman is constructed with all that it entails.
2. The level of institutions and organisations: the educational system, the labour market, the military and the organisation of political life. For example, the military constantly produces a connection between men, masculinity and the legitimate use of violence.
3. The level of ideology and doctrine. Systems of thought that appear not to be primarily about men and women are also sites where gender is produced and reproduced.
4. The level of symbols. Masculinity and femininity are present in signs that are used to denote all sorts of norms, qualities, virtues and vices.

Gender is thus not only about men and women. Other phenomena are also presented as male and female, or associated with masculinity and femininity, for example, the state, the nation, the citizen, the military, the soldier-hero, the enemy, the victim, the front, the home-front. Gender is not the only organising principle of social life. Class relations, race, sexuality, ethnic and religious identities are equally significant in structuring our lives. Thus, we cannot simply say that men and masculinity are privileged in most of the societies we know, and that women and femininity are oppressed. In every society, only certain groups of men are privileged, and only certain forms of masculinity - those that belong to the privileged men - are dominant. Other men and other forms of masculinity are marginalised, oppressed, or even prosecuted. In western societies, white heterosexual men and their form of masculinity are dominant. The forms of

masculinity associated with a Muslim migrant or a homosexual man are marginalised at best, or discriminated and oppressed, at worst. Similarly, there are dominant forms of femininity that are celebrated and given as an example for all women to follow. But there are also forms of femininity that are marginalised or explicitly banned from a society. Motherhood is still one of the most powerful norms of femininity in most societies we know. But in western societies, motherhood is often perceived differently for white women than for young teenage black girls, migrant women or asylum seekers (*Abstract from Ibid, 7*).

Additional Notes:

Zarkov and Dudink argue that we cannot simply assume that masculinity is privileged and dominant across the world. We must pay equal attention to masculinities that are oppressed, such as that of homosexual men.

IV. Sexual Violence Against Men

Alison, Miranda. “Wartime Sexual Violence: Women’s Human Rights and Questions of Masculinity.” *Review of International Studies* 33, no. 10 (2007): 75-90.

Abstract:

This article examines wartime sexual violence, one of the most recurring wartime human rights abuses. It asserts that our theorisations need further development, particularly in regard to the way that masculinities and the intersections with constructions of ethnicity feature in wartime sexual violence. The article also argues that although women and girls are the predominant victims of sexual violence and men and boys the predominant agents, we must also be able to account for the presence of male victims and female agents. This, however, engenders a problem; much of the women’s human rights discourse and existing international mechanisms for addressing wartime sexual violence tend to reify the male-perpetrator/female victim paradigm. This is a problem that feminist human rights theorists and activists need to address (*Abstract from Ibid, 75*).

Additional Notes:

Alison underlines the connection between soldiering and masculinity, particularly in the construction of ethno-nationalism, as we see in Serbia. She also notes that rape is a “form of communication” not only between men and women, but also among dominant and subordinate masculinities. She uses the example of male-to-male rape during the Balkan wars to illustrate the feminizing of men and their “homosexualized ethno-nationality.” To address the rape of men and women alike, however, we must be critical of the essentialist assumptions about men and women that are produced by international mechanisms addressing sexual violence. We must therefore strive to understand rape beyond it being a product of misogyny and patriarchy.

Card, Claudia. “Addendum to ‘Rape as a Weapon of War.’” *Hypatia* 12, no. 2 (1997): 216-219.

Abstract:

Learning about martial sex crimes against men has made me rethink some of my ideas about rape as a weapon of war and how to respond to it. Such crimes can be as racist as they are sexist and, in the case of male victims, may be quite simply racist (*Abstract from Ibid, 216*).

Additional Notes:

Based on interviews with rape survivors in the former Yugoslavia, Card concludes that the purpose of rape may be as much about preventing an ethnic/national group from reproducing as it is about misogyny. Thus, men who were raped in the former Yugoslavia may have been victims because of their belonging to a national group, as much as because they are men. Still, sexual

violence may be laden with “misogynistic symbol”; it may symbolize power and domination. Interestingly, Card questions whether women’s inclusion in militaries would have any positive effect on changing a culture that condones or promotes rape, if the rape is in fact motivated by race as much, or more than it is by gender.

Carpenter, Charli. “Recognizing Gender-Based Violence against Civilian Men and Boys in Conflict Situations.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Montreal, Quebec, Mar. 17-20, 2004.

Abstract:

While gender-based violence has recently emerged as a salient topic in the international community, it has been framed principally with respect to violence against women and girls, particularly sexual violence. Emphasizing the issues most important to the humanitarian assistance community, I propose a broad definition that distinguishes sexual violence against men and women from other forms of gender based violence. Second, I argue that gender-based violence against men (including rape, forced conscription, forced refoulement, and sex-selective massacre) must be recognized and addressed by civilian protection agencies such as the ICRC and UNHCR. The imperative is two-fold. First, men deserve protection against these abuses in their own right. Second, the reduction of gender-based violence against women and girls cannot occur without participation from men, nor can their particular vulnerabilities in conflict situations be separated from the forms of violence to which men are specifically vulnerable (*Abstract from Ibid, 83*).

Additional Notes:

Carpenter argues that forced recruitment should be classified as gender-based violence because men are recruited in different ways than women and younger boys, and because it is justified by collective notions of masculinity, nationalism and militarism. She also notes that castration is a means of feminizing and humiliating “conquered men.” Finally, she asserts that it is important to consider the psychosocial consequences men face when they are forced to watch their family members be sexually tortured.

Christian, Mervyn, Octave Safari, Paul Ramazani, Gilbert Burnham, and Nancy Glass. “Sexual and Gender Based Violence Against Men in the Democratic Republic of Congo: Effects on Survivors, Their Families and the Community.” *Medicine, Conflict and Survival* 27, no. 4 (2011): 227-246.

Abstract:

Media and service provider reports of sexual and gender based violence (SGBV) perpetrated against men in armed conflicts have increased. However, response to these reports has been limited, as existing evidence and programs have primarily focused on prevention and response to women and girl survivors of SGBV. This study aims to contribute to the evidence of SGBV experienced by males by advancing our understanding of the definition and characteristics of male SGBV

and the overlap of health, social and economic consequences on the male survivor, his family and community in conflict and post-conflict settings. The qualitative study using purposive sampling was conducted from June–August 2010 in the South Kivu province of Eastern DRC, an area that has experienced over a decade of armed conflict. Semi structured individual interviews and focus group discussions were conducted with adult male survivors of SGBV, the survivors' wife and/or friend, health care and service providers, community members and leaders. This study found that SGBV against men, as for women, is multi-dimensional and has significant negative physical, mental, social and economic consequences for the male survivor and his family. SGBV perpetrated against men and boys is likely common within a conflict-affected region but often goes unreported by survivors and others due to cultural and social factors associated with sexual assaults, including survivor shame, fear of retaliation by perpetrators and stigma by community members. All key stakeholders in our study advocated for improvements and programs in several areas: (1) health care services, including capacity to identify survivors and increased access to clinical care and psychosocial support for male survivors; (2) economic development initiatives, including microfinance programs, for men and their families to assist them to regain their productive role in the family; (3) community awareness and education of SGBV against men to reduce stigma and discrimination and increase acceptance of survivors by family and larger community (*Abstract from Ibid*, 227).

Additional Notes:

In this article, Christian et al. seek to address the dearth of research on the health and social consequences of sexual and gender based violence (SGBV) against men and boys in conflict and post-conflict settings. Through interviews of male survivors, they found that male survivors are stigmatized in different ways than female survivors; women are more likely to be exiled by their husbands and family. The male survivors interviewed indicated that, in addition to sexual satisfaction, male rape is motivated by a desire to emasculate and humiliate the victims. In the eyes of the community, the family and the self, a raped man is often viewed as a woman. Self-imposed exile is common among male survivors. Survivors also report suffering from physical and mental health issues that prevent them from contributing to household income. The researchers suggest that male survivors and their families have great need for quality health care and psychosocial support, economic support, and community awareness of SGBV.

Engels, Bettina. “Rape and Constructions of Masculinity and Femininity.” *Politikon* 8 (2004): 56-71.

Abstract:

With her paper Rape as a War Crime (*Politikon* 6/2003, p. 55-69), Andrea Theocharis has put an issue on the agenda, which has long been missing in *Politikon*'s discussions. I am grateful to Andrea for starting an important debate, which I would like to continue by giving some remarks to her contribution

focusing on the gender constructionist dimension of rape in violent conflicts. Agreeing with Andrea, I will argue that rape and sexual violence are not only systematic and strategic weapons in violent conflicts but gendered crimes which cannot be analyzed appropriately without theorizing social and cultural constructions of masculinity and femininity. I will outline how gender-blind approaches fail to meet the issue of rape in violent conflicts. By mentioning some exemplary empirical figures, I will show that rape in violent conflicts is neither a new phenomena nor can it be considered a by-product of war. It must be emphasized that rape is not an act of sexuality but a crime against human physical and psychical integrity. I will discuss gender-sensitive approaches, which analyze rape in violent conflicts. Special attention will be paid to the view of rape as an act of male violence against women, which has also been outlined by Andrea. I will then focus on the construction of hegemonic masculinity and the widely ignored fact that also men are victims of rape and sexual torture in violent conflicts. I will conclude with emphasizing that constructions of femininity and masculinity are integral to violent conflicts in general and to rape and sexual violence in particular. If mainstream conflict analysis continues to ignore the dimensions of gender constructions, it will fail to meet its subject appropriately (*Abstract from Ibid, 59*).

Additional Notes:

Sexual violence against men is a form of emasculation that renders the victim female, gay or unmanly. In contrast to the victim, the perpetrator, through his use of power and aggression, becomes manly. Because hegemonic masculinity privileges heterosexual masculinity, the victim, in his subordinate position, becomes emasculinized or is considered gay. Because heterosexual hegemonic masculinity is central to the building of a group collective identity, the emasculation of one man is perceived as an affront to the group.

Linós, Natalia. "Rethinking Gender-based Violence during War: Is Violence Against Civilian Men a Problem Worth Addressing?" *Social Science and Medicine* 68, no. 8 (2009): 1548-1551.

Abstract:

Gender-based violence during conflict and post-conflict situations has received increased attention in research and in the work of development agencies. Viewed primarily as a form of violence against women, this commentary questions whether male civilians have also been victims of gender-based violence during conflict, invisible due to stereotypes surrounding masculinity and a culturally permissive approach towards violence perpetrated against men, especially at times of war. The experience of civilian males of violence, including sexual violence, during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and other contemporary wars, suggests that the discourse on gender-base violence and public health research should begin exploring the specific needs of men. Drawing on Nancy Krieger's (Krieger, N. (2003). *Genders, sexes, and health: what are the connections-and why does it matter?* *International Journal of Epidemiology*, 32, 652-657) analysis on the differential role of 'sex' and 'gender' on a given exposure-outcome association, this commentary suggests that the impact of gender-based violence on health during

conflict may be different for men and women and may require distinct therapeutic approaches. Given that perpetrators are often male, an extra level of stigma is added when heterosexual men are sexually violated, which may lead to underreporting and reduced health-service seeking behavior. Further public health research is needed to guide the work of humanitarian agencies working with survivors of gender-based violence in conflict and post-conflict settings to ensure equal access to appropriate health services for men and women (*Abstract from Ibid, 1548*).

Additional Notes:

In addition to the underreporting of male/male rape, heterosexual victims of rape may also underutilize services due to shame. Violence against men may occur as part of an attempt to “emasculate the enemy.” Both social relations and anatomy may account for the different forms of sexual violence used against men and women; for example, castration may be used against men, while rape may be used against women, as was the case in Bosnia. Linos suggests by considering the intent of different forms of violence, rather than the outcome, we can better understand how and why men and women become victims of different forms of violence.

Oosterhoff, Pauline, Prisca Zwanikken, and Evert Ketting. “Sexual Torture of Men in Croatia and Other Conflict Situations: An Open Secret.” *Reproductive Health Matters* 12, no. 23 (2004): 68-77.

Abstract:

Sexual torture constitutes any act of sexual violence that qualifies as torture. Public awareness of the widespread use of sexual torture as a weapon of war greatly increased after the war in the former Yugoslavia in the early 1990s. Sexual torture has serious mental, physical and sexual health consequences. Attention to date has focused more on the sexual torture of women than of men, partly due to gender stereotypes. This paper describes the circumstances in which sexual torture occurs, its causes and consequences, and the development of international law addressing it. It presents data from a study in 2000 in Croatia, where the number of men who were sexually tortured appears to have been substantial. Based on in-depth interviews with 16 health professionals and data from the medical records of three centres providing care to refugees and victims of torture, the study found evidence of rape and other forced sexual acts, full or partial castration, genital beatings and electroshock. Few men admit being sexually tortured or seek help, and professionals may fail to recognise cases. Few perpetrators have been prosecuted, mainly due to lack of political will. The silence that envelopes sexual torture of men in the aftermath of the war in Croatia stands in strange contrast to the public nature of the crimes themselves (*Abstract from Ibid, 68*).

Additional Notes:

Within this study all male survivors of rape said they were experiencing worry about their masculinity. Others experiences impotence, vomiting, headache, muscle ache, anxiety, anger management and sweating. Many have also been hesitant to talk about their experiences or to admit that they were raped. This

reticence to talk about the rape, and the shame surrounding the experience of the victims, stands in contrast to the public nature of rape in Croatia, which occurred as a means of demonstrating the power of the perpetrator.

**Sivakumaran, Sandesh. "Sexual Violence Against Men in Armed Conflict."
European Journal of International Law 18, no. 2 (2007): 253-276.**

Abstract:

Reports of sexual violence by men against men emerge from numerous conflicts, ranging in time from Ancient Persia and the Crusades to the conflicts in Iraq and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Despite these accounts, relatively little material exists on the subject and the issue tends to be relegated to a footnote. This article ascertains the extent to which male sexual violence is committed in armed conflict. It considers factors that explain under-reporting by victims and lack of detection on the part of others. The particular forms of male sexual violence are also examined: namely rape, enforced sterilization and other forms of sexual violence, including enforced nudity, enforced masturbation and genital violence. The dynamics present in these offences are explored, with issues of power and dominance, expressed through emasculation, considered. Thus, attention is paid to ideas of feminization, homosexualization and the prevention of procreation. The symbolic construction of male and female bodies in armed conflict is also explored (*Abstract from Ibid*, 253).

Additional Notes:

Sivakumaran explores how not just rape, but forced sterilization, nudity, masturbation and genital violence can also be used against men to emasculate and homosexualize them, and take away their power and ability to procreate. She adds that another reason for underreporting is victims may fear the accusation that they gave consent, if they have no proof of the rape. Doctors and humanitarians who address sexual violence may also not be trained to look for symptoms of abuse other than rape. Because gender roles change during armed conflict and power dynamics shift, sexual violence is more likely to occur among men and among women, in an attempt to restore power. Because sexual violence against men is about power and dominance, and power and dominance are inextricably bound to notions of masculinity, sexual violence against men is an effective means of emasculating men. Because femininity is associated with the victim and masculinity with the perpetrator, a male victim of rape is inevitably feminized. Since it is not just a male that represents power, but a heterosexual male, male/male rape also inevitably homosexualizes the victim. She notes that because the rape is about power and dominance, the perpetrator will usually retain his status as masculine, while the victim becomes feminized. Finally, the author notes that male/male rape is not only about emasculating the victim, but his entire religions, racial, national or ethnic group.

Sivakumaran, Sandesh. "Male/Male Rape and the 'Taint' of Homosexuality."
Human Rights Quarterly 6, no. 4 (2005): 1274-1306.

Abstract:

This article considers the problem of male/male rape. It explores reasons for the silence of the international community on the issue, principal among which is that it involves sexual activity between two men. Society considers any such contact to be indicative of homosexuality, regardless of any element of coercion. Given the prevalence of homophobia in society, this amounts to a "taint" on the part of the victim of the rape. This article explores the notion and extent of such a "taint" by analyzing the role of language and the stigma as felt by survivors, as intended by perpetrators, and as perpetuated by the state (*Abstract from Ibid, 1274*).

Additional Notes:

One reason for the stigma around male/male rape is the lack of discussion about power roles among men, and not only between men and women. Male/male rape is a demonstration of power roles among men, committed by perpetrators to "strip (the victims) of their social status as men." It is a feminizing act intended to make the victim feel subordinate to his male perpetrator. Sivakumaran argues that although "male/male rape" and "homosexual rape" denote the same act, the historically pejorative use of the word "homosexual" has permanently "tainted" the term. Rigid constructs of masculinity, defined as the ability to use power, perhaps through force, to influence others, also contribute to underreporting and the "taint" of homosexual rape. When a victim is raped, he loses precisely the power that defines this ideal form of masculinity. This taboo around men as victims is also why rape may often be considered a "women's issue." Finally, Sivakumaran adds that the perpetrator may well be aware of this "taint" of homosexuality, and may in fact commit the rape so the community will question the victim's sexuality.

Stener Carlson, Eric. "The Hidden Prevalence of Male Sexual Assault during War."
British Journal of Criminology 46, no. 1 (2006): 16-25.

Abstract:

The article presents the author's observation on the prevalence of male sexual assault during war. The International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia investigated sexual assault in the mid-1990s. The male prisoners were sexually assaulted by forced fellatio, masturbation, mutilation of the genitals and insertion of objects into the anus. Sexual torture is widely used to break down the identity of political prisoners. In most cases of sexual assault, the victim is reluctant to admit that he or she was abused. Therefore, it is important to understand the psychodynamics of this trauma (*Abstract from ResHub*).

Additional Notes:

Stener Carlson argues that we must broaden our definition of what constitutes sexual

torture against men, and pay attention to men's "pain and degradation", as this is a marker of torture as much as the specificity of the physical act. Currently there are many forms of sexual assault that TRCs do not address or investigate, yet to retain credibility they must expand the acts that are considered to be torture. Blunt trauma to the male genitals (BTMG), for example, was commonly used in El Salvador and Croatia, yet were these abuses to be ignored by investigative human rights bodies, then the perpetrators' acts of sexual abuse would go undetected. We must also pay attention to the different meanings of BTMG in peacetime and in wartime.

Stephen, Lynn. "The Construction of Indigenous Suspects: Militarization and the Gendered and Ethnic Dynamics of Human Rights Abuses in Southern Mexico." *American Ethnologist* 26, no. 4 (1999): 822-842.

Abstract:

I use the tools of ethnography to analyze the gendered and ethnic patterns of militarization and torture in southern Mexico. Such patterns replay gendered and sexual stereotypes of indigenous men and women as captured in national myth and vision. While such an analysis is useful for Mexico, it draws from and is applicable to other situations of political violence and provides a way of understanding the underlying culture wars—signaled by crises of representation at the margins of states—being waged to redefine nations. I argue that the insights of anthropological analysis (particularly historical and cultural analysis) are key in clarifying the rationales official for treating some people differently than others, and thus constructing them as suspects vulnerable to political violence and human rights abuses (*Abstract from Ibid, 822*).

Additional Notes:

Stephen notes that the masculinization of the military and paramilitary is made possible by the feminization of its victims, and that both of these processes are characteristic of colonial and postcolonial violence. She describes the feminization of one Zapotec man who is stripped naked in front of his family and who is forced to watch the paramilitary shoot at his children, while he stands by unable to protect them. In this situation he becomes powerless, while the judicial policy take on the dominant masculine role. More broadly, the torture, detention and incarceration of Zapotec men renders them vulnerable as a group. Electric shock to the testicles, for example, is one way the judicial police have made indigenous men symbolically subordinate through their "sexualization" and "enforced passivity."

Winkler, Philippa. "Sexualized Violence against Iraqis by US troops: Implications for the North-South Divide." Paper presented at ISA Conference, San Diego, Mar. 2006.

Abstract

Three out of the seven US soldiers charged in the sexualized torture case at Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq were women. This has caused many to rethink Carol Gilligan's thesis, that women are more moral and compassionate than men (Ehrenreich, 2004). This paper explains the heterosexist and misogynistic nature of torture techniques used against Iraqis, in the context of the expropriation and privatization of Iraqi nationalized resources (Linebaugh, 2004). Marx reminds us that capital comes into the world dripping from head to toe from every pore, with blood and dirt. The agents of capital can be women or men. Feminist materialist theory reminds us that the pursuit of capitalist control is the latest manifestation of patriarchy, the rule of male elites. Postcolonial feminist theory reminds us that in the Western imperial project of global capitalism, oppression is both raced and gendered. I argue that the US intended the use of torture was a method by an advanced country of the "North" in its campaign to dismantle the national sovereignty of a country from the "South", subordinate its population, and appropriate its oil resources (*Abstract from Ibid, 1*).

Additional Notes:

Winkler argues that a central goal of torture, sexual and otherwise, is to "destabilize the culture of the victim country, to de-culturate a sufficient number of human personalities in the society that is being subjugated." Torture is a way of demeaning the victim's culture and imposing the oppressor's "gendered and raced" values upon the victim. While Winkler does not directly mention masculinity, she alludes to the humiliation and shame resulting from sexual torture that are part of the deconstruction of the victim's sense of self.

Zarkov, Dubravka. *The Body of War: Media, Ethnicity and Gender in the Break-up of Yugoslavia*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007.

Abstract:

In *The Body of War*, Dubravka Zarkov analyzes representations of female and male bodies in the Croatian and Serbian press in the late 1980s and in the early 1990s, during the war in which Yugoslavia disintegrated. Zarkov proposes that the Balkan war was not a war between ethnic groups; rather, ethnicity was produced by the war itself. Zarkov explores the process through which ethnicity was generated, showing how lived and symbolic female and male bodies became central to it. She does not posit a direct causal relationship between hate speech published in the press during the mid-1980s and the acts of violence in the war. Instead, she argues that both the representational practices of the "media war" and the violent practices of the "ethnic war" depended on specific, shared notions of femininity and masculinity, norms of (hetero)sexuality, and definitions of ethnicity.

Tracing the links between the war and press representations of ethnicity, gender, and sexuality, Zarkov examines the media's coverage of two major protests by women who explicitly identified themselves as mothers, of sexual violence against women and men during the war, and of women as militants. She draws on

contemporary feminist analyses of violence to scrutinize international and local feminist writings on the war in former Yugoslavia. Demonstrating that some of the same essentialist ideas of gender and sexuality used to produce and reinforce the significance of ethnic differences during the war often have been invoked by feminists, she points out the political and theoretical drawbacks to grounding feminist strategies against violence in ideas of female victimhood (*Abstract from book description*).

Additional Notes:

Sexual violence against men forces them, if they wish to seek services, to publicly acknowledge their humiliation at losing that which makes them masculine (i.e. power). The rape of men is thus the “struggle for social dominance”, and their position within their ethnic or racial community determines what form the sexual violence takes, and whether or not the crime will be visible. Zarkov notes that in contrast to other places, both the perpetrator and the victim are homosexualized in the Balkans; as a result, rape rarely occurs in public. It is only by killing someone through rape that a perpetrator could demonstrate his heterosexuality, for any other degree of rape would be hidden from the public eye. She points out that at Abu Ghraib, as in other places, the feminization of the victim and the masculinization of the perpetrator help establish the heterosexuality of the perpetrator. The feminization of the victim at Abu Ghraib was especially extreme, as some of the abuse of prisoners was carried out by female prison. This power differential exacerbates the differences between the heterosexually masculine (and Western) prison guards, and the racialized Other. Finally, Zarkov states that the rape of women is less damaging to femininity than the rape of men is to masculinity, the latter carries more severe implications for homosexuality and submissiveness.

Zarkov, Dubravka. “Masculinities and Sexual Violence: A Global View.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, Montreal, Quebec, Canada, 2004.

Abstract:

The paper explores how masculinities shape and construct men's sexual violence against men and boys in conflict settings worldwide. Constructions of gender, economic interest, religion and culture will be critically interrogated and deployed. A course for future research will be sketched, building on the author's earlier published work, which derived from local press studies in the former Yugoslavia during the period of local/international conflict (*Abstract from ResHub*).

V. Occupation and Imperialism

Al-Ali, Nadjé, and N. Pratt. *What Kind of Liberation? Women and the Occupation of Iraq*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2009.

Abstract:

In the run-up to war in Iraq, the Bush administration assured the world that America's interest was in liberation—especially for women. The first book to examine how Iraqi women have fared since the invasion, *What Kind of Liberation?* reports from the heart of the war zone with dire news of scarce resources, growing unemployment, violence, and seclusion. Moreover, the book exposes the gap between rhetoric that placed women center stage and the present reality of their diminishing roles in the "new Iraq." Based on interviews with Iraqi women's rights activists, international policy makers, and NGO workers and illustrated with photographs taken by Iraqi women, *What Kind of Liberation?* speaks through an astonishing array of voices. Nadjé Al-Ali and Nicola Pratt correct the widespread view that the country's violence, sectarianism, and systematic erosion of women's rights come from something inherent in Muslim, Middle Eastern, or Iraqi culture. They also demonstrate how in spite of competing political agendas, Iraqi women activists are resolutely pressing to be part of the political transition, reconstruction, and shaping of the new Iraq (*Abstract from book description*).

Additional Notes:

In their discussion of post-9/11 involvement in Iraq and Afghanistan, Al-Ali and Pratt recall Edward Said's description of colonial rule classified by "white men saving brown women from brown men." In the post-9/11 context, the Bush administration has invoked the protection of Iraqi women as one justification for involvement, yet this involvement is as much about reasserting U.S. masculinity after the attacks on the U.S. Part of this reassertion took place through the propagation of images of strong, able-bodied male firefighters. The authors also note that the success of U.S. imperialism rests upon the maintenance of strategic relationship with certain political elite, yet the popularity of these elite may come at the expense of women's rights.

Al-Ali, Nadjé. "Reconstructing Gender: Iraqi Women Between Dictatorship, War, Sanctions and Occupation." *Third World Quarterly* 26, no. 4/5 (2005): 739-758.

Abstract:

This article explores the role of Iraqi women in reconstruction processes by contextualising the current situation with respect to changing gender ideologies and relations over the past three decades. Before discussing the Iraqi case specifically, I provide a brief theoretical background about the significance of gender in reconstruction as well as nation-building processes. A historical background aims to shed light on the changing gender ideologies and relations during the regime of Saddam Hussein. The article focuses particularly on the impacts of the early developmental-modernist discourses of the state and the impacts of war (Iran-Iraq war 1980-88, Gulf wars 1991, 2003) as well as on the

comprehensive economic sanctions regime (1990-2003). The latter involved wider social changes affecting women and gender relations but also society at large because of the impoverishment of the well educated middle-class, wide-scale unemployment, an economic crisis and a shift towards more conservative values and morals. It is against this historical background that contemporary developments related to ongoing conflict, occupation and political transition affect women and gender relations (*Abstract from Ibid, 2*).

Additional Notes:

Al-Ali asserts that violence against women may occur more frequently during the post-conflict phase, due impunity and anarchy, as well as dangerous constructions of masculinity that were promoted during the conflict. In Iraq women have been raped, abused and abducted due to the tightening of control over women after the war, as changing gender roles during the war become a threat to patriarchal order after the war.

Capdevila, Luc. “The Quest for Masculinity in a Defeated France, 1940-1945.”
Contemporary European History 10, no. 3 (2001): 423-445.

Abstract:

This article provides a detailed analysis of the individuals who enrolled in Vichy fighting units at the end of the German occupation. Those groups were mostly created in late 1943 and early 1944, and acted as effective subsidiaries to German troops, treating civilians and partisans with extreme violence. The enrolment of those men was a consequence of their political beliefs, notably strong anti-communism. But the fact that their behaviour seems born of desperation (some were recruited after D-Day) is a hint that it was shaped according to other cultural patterns, especially an image of masculinity rooted in the memory of the First World War and developed, among others, according to fascist and Nazi ideologies: a manhood based on strength, the violence of warfare and the image of the soldier. This article provides an analysis based on judiciary documents from the time of the purge, with a careful reconstruction of personal trajectories and self discourse in order to understand the masculine identity these sometimes very young men tried to realise through political engagement in the guise of warriors (*Abstract from Ibid, 423*).

Additional Notes:

Capdevila emphasizes that with the rise of industrialization and the separation of masculine and feminine spheres, military service, virility and aggressiveness became a central component of masculinity and male self-image. The crisis of masculinity in France was due to defeat and occupation, and resulted in increased emphasis on mobilization, virility and aggressiveness. Capdevila notes that at the same time the war affirmed masculinity by reinforcing “the mythology of manliness,” it also exposed the vulnerability and weakness of the masculine identity.

Connell, Robert. W. "Globalization, Imperialism and Masculinities." In *Handbook of Studies on Men and Masculinities*, edited by Michael S. Kimmel and Jeff Hearn, 71-89. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2005.

Abstract:

No abstract found.

Additional Notes:

Connell highlights how local gender relations changed in response to colonial and imperial conquest. Globalization has led to the reconstruction of masculinities, a process that is not spearheaded exclusively by men; women also take a part in their construction. Due to globalization, there has been a reconfiguring "work-based masculinities" as more women enter the work force. Amidst increased international advocacy for women's rights and the undermining of male power due to colonization or decolonization, a younger generation of men lead resistance movements, and gun violence and ownership has increased.

Eisenstein, Zillah R. *Sexual Decoys: Gender, Race and War in Imperial Democracy*. London, UK: Zed Books Ltd, 2007.

Abstract:

In this book, Zillah Eisenstein continues her unforgiving indictment of neoliberal imperial politics. She charts its most recent militarist and masculinist configurations through discussions of the Afghan and Iraq wars, violations at Guantánamo and Abu Ghraib, the 2004 US Presidential election, and Hurricane Katrina. She warns that women's rights rhetoric is being manipulated, particularly by Condoleeza Rice and other women in the Bush administration, as a ploy for global dominance and a misogynistic capture of democratic discourse. However, Eisenstein also believes that the plural and diverse lives of women will lay the basis for an assault on these fascistic elements. This new politics will both confound and clarify feminisms, and reconfigure democracy across the globe (*Abstract from book description*).

Additional Notes:

Eisenstein discusses the connection between militarism and masculinity through the lens of the U.S. war on terror and U.S. imperial action abroad. She argues that masculinity is not only shaped by war, but helps initiate war as well; it "gives men meaning." While the new U.S. war on terror has caused women to become more like men ("if being militarized is the same as being masculinized"), it has also created a simultaneous diversification and essentialization of women's roles. This militarized masculinity still colors the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, and is in turn reliant upon its "hetero-feminine gendered complement" for survival. War, which requires a process of otherizing and dehumanization, positions the warrior against the "pussy." Eisenstein argues that within the war on terror women and people of

color are used as “decoys” to distract from imperialist action taken abroad and undemocratic policies at home. Meanwhile, Arab men are still considered “unmanly,” and anti-war activists are considered “girly.” She classifies the torture at Abu Ghraib as “hyper-imperialist masculinity run amok,” noting that the involvement of female prison guards is an attempt to cover up the process of empire building. More broadly, she notes that women are part of the military not because of feminism, but rather because of a reorganizing of the labor market that necessitates their greater involvement. Ultimately, “color trumps race” and “gender trumps sex” in the war on terror.

Jacoby, Tami Amanda. “Feminism, Nationalism and Difference: Reflections on the Palestinian Women’s Movement.” *Women’s Studies International Forum* 22, no. 5 (1999): 511-523.

Abstract:

This article draws from the Palestinian women's movement as a point of entry into reconceptualizing the relationship between nationalism, feminism, and difference in the Middle East. I employ postmodern concepts to explore the diversity of a female nationalist agency through processes and symbols of national liberation and *Sharia* personal status law. How are representations of masculinity and femininity articulated within these frameworks of a subordinate nationalism? Is national liberation an effective forum for negotiating the diversity of women's agency in the nation? What are the distinct constraints and opportunities of feminisms that are implicated in national liberation struggle, religious contestation, and conditions of acute international conflict? Finally, what are the implications of this case study for a broader revision of feminist theory and practice? (*Abstract from Ibid, 511*).

Additional Notes:

Jacoby distinguishes between feminisms as they exist in subordinate and dominant nationalisms. When studying the roles of women in societies under occupation, for example, we must understand how the struggle against men and patriarchy differs from the struggle women and men together may engage in against a colonial ruler. For societies under occupation, the notion of a “universal sisterhood” is questionable, as it does not address asymmetry, justice and power.

Johnson, Penny, and Eileen Kuttab. “Where Have All the Women (and Men) Gone? Reflections on Gender and the Second Palestinian Intifada.” *Feminist Review* 69, no. 1 (2001): 21-43.

Abstract:

The authors ground their reflections on gender and the complex realities of the second Palestinian intifada against Israeli occupation in the political processes unleashed by the signing of the Israeli-Palestinian rule, noting that the profound

inequalities between Israel and Palestine during the interim period produced inequalities among Palestinians. The apartheid logic of the Oslo period - made explicit in Israel's policies of separation, siege and confinement of the Palestinian population during the intifada and before it - is shown to shape the forms, sites and levels of resistance which are highly restricted by gender and age. In addition, the authors argue that the Palestinian Authority and leadership have solved the contradictions and crisis of Palestinian nationalism in this period through a form of rule that the authors term 'authoritarian populism', that tends to disallow democratic politics and participation. The seeming absence of women and civil society from the highly unequal and violent confrontations is contrasted with the first Palestinian intifada (1987-91), that occurred in a context of more than a decade of democratic activism and the growth of mass-based organizations, including the Palestinian women's movement. The authors explore three linked crises in gender roles emerging from the conditions of the second intifada: a crisis in masculinity, a crisis in paternity and a crisis in maternity (*Abstract from Ibid, 21*).

Additional Notes:

The authors argue that there are three linked crises in gender roles that emerge out of the second intifada: a crisis in masculinity, a crisis in paternity and a crisis in maternity. The detentions, deaths and injuries experienced by Palestinian men, and their diminished ability to be providers for their families due to military interference and unemployment, has caused this crisis in masculinity and paternity. This crisis in masculinity is not solved through popular resistance, but rather through small groups of men confronting the Israeli military. As a result, fewer men are able to solve this crisis of masculinity, and when they do it is through militarization rather than democratic popular resistance.

Mayer, Tamar. *Gender Ironies of Nationalism: Sexing the Nation*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2000.

Abstract:

Gender Ironies of Nationalism provides a unique social science reading on the construction of nation, gender and sexuality and on the interactions among them. Including international case studies including the US, the Caribbean, Indonesia, Ireland, former Yugoslavia, Liberia, Sri Lanka, Australia, Turkey, China, and India, contributors offer both the masculine and feminine perspective on exploring gender in Jewish and Chinese nationalism, and the anger of white men, just to name a few. They expose how nations are comprised of sexed bodies, and exploring the gender ironies of nationalism and how sexuality plays a key role in nation building and in sustaining national identity. The contributors conclude that control over access to the benefits of belonging to the nation is invariably gendered: nationalism becomes the language through which sexual control and repression is justified masculine prowess is expressed and exercised. While it is men who claim the prerogatives of nation and nation building it is, for the most part, women who actually accept the obligation of nation and nation building

(Abstract from book description).

Nusair, Isis. “Gendered, Racialized and Sexualized Torture at Abu Ghraib.” In *Feminism and War: Confronting U.S. Imperialism*, edited by Robin Riley, Chandra Mohanty, and Minnie Bruce Pratt, 179-198. London, UK: Zed Books, 2008.

Abstract:

I examine here the meaning of the difference and the construction of the other within the contours of what Mohanty terms the United States’ advanced post-colonial capitalist state project at play in Iraq. I use Edward Said’s *Orientalism* and Meyda Yegenoglu’s *Colonial Fantasies: Towards a Feminist Reading of Orientalism* as frameworks for analyzing how the essentializing and dichotomizing discourse of orientalism has justified, facilitated and shaped the torture at Abu Ghraib, the US prison established in Baghdad after the US invasion in 2003. Orientalism in this analysis is a discursive regime and an effect of a specific formation of power. In order to examine these sites of power, I trace and analyze how military and political institutions, practices and discourses contributed in a complex and systematic way to the creation of an essential oriental other and to the production of gendered, racialized and sexualized domination at Abu Ghraib (Abstract from *Ibid*, 179).

Additional Notes:

Like Puar, Nusair argues that the torture of prisoners at Abu Ghraib was not an exceptional incident, but rather a natural outcome of a culture of “military hypersexuality” that privileges the West over the East and relies on an Orientalist view of Iraq.

Park, You-me. “Comforting the Nation: ‘Comfort Women,’ the Politics of Apology and the Workings of Gender.” *Interventions* 2, no. 2 (2000): 199-211.

Abstract:

International politics always operates and is imagined in a gendered manner, especially in matters related to symbolic gestures and spectacles such as the declaration of war, the ritual of surrender, the signing of treaties, or the offer and acceptance of apologies. Therefore, our reading of these events has to be performed with a sustained and rigorous interest in gender: we need to ask how a masculine national image is constructed and guarded in these rituals; how the conflicts among various forms of masculinity are negotiated; how the ‘common sense’ derived from these gendered rituals affects the real lives of real people on a daily basis. In this essay, I examine the issues of masculine national identity and gendered violence in the context of the controversy around the apologies offered (or not offered) to former ‘comfort women,’ women who were forced to serve as sex slaves for the Japanese Imperial Army during the Pacific War. By investigating the ‘common sense’ and underlying assumptions that shape the

language around the issues of apologies and compensation for former comfort women, I explore how 'male sexual needs' are imagined; who is rendered deserving of the state protection and who is not; who is dispensable and who is not. I argue that, unless we rigorously examine the language representing and interpreting this particular part of history, we end up reinscribing violent patriarchal assumptions, which made possible the practice of comfort women in the first place. In those instances, the apology can be the biggest insult to those women who silently bore the burden of their sexuality and their female bodies, which are by definition guilty according to Confucian thoughts, for half a century (*Abstract from Ibid, 199-200*).

Perry, Donna. "Wolof Women, Economic Liberalization, and the Crisis of Masculinity in Rural Senegal." *Ethnology* 44, no. 3 (2005): 207-226.

Abstract:

Among Wolof farmers in Senegal's Peanut Basin, patriarchal control of household dependents has diminished in conjunction with economic liberalization, state disengagement, and the formation of rural weekly markets. This article builds on twenty-six months of ethnographic fieldwork to explore a crisis of masculinity expressed by men in their oral testimonies and everyday discourse. In domestic struggles over labor and income, male control over women has decreased in the postcolonial epoch. Male household heads, in wrathful fashion, condemn women for their individualism, selfishness, and open sexuality. Men's discourse of social decay contrasts with the more neutral narratives produced by women, who stress household solidarity and the pragmatics of household survival in response to economic insecurity. Wolof husbands and wives confront economic change through different discourses and practices, all the while renegotiating domestic authority (*Abstract from Ibid, 207*).

Additional Notes:

Unlike Al-Ali and scholars who argue that during post-conflict phases violence against women can increase, Perry argues that in the wake of colonialism in Senegal, control over women decreased. She does not suggest that there is no conflict over changing gender roles; in fact, men observe a postcolonial "social decay" that explains women's greater power within the household. They also express disapproval over women's "selfishness" and "open sexuality." Still, he notes that postcolonial changing gender roles produce a "crisis of masculinity" similar to that described by Jacoby for Palestinian men under occupation. Perry's work suggests that even after occupation or colonial rule, this crisis of masculinity continues, as men and women renegotiate gender roles in the absence of a foreign presence.

Peteet, Julie. "Male Gender and Rituals of Resistance in the Palestinian *intifada*: A Cultural Politics of Violence." *American Ethnologist* 21, no. 1 (1994): 31-49.

Abstract:

This article examines ritualized inscriptions of bodily violence upon Palestinian male youths in the occupied territories. It argues that beatings and detention are construed as rites of passage into manhood. Bodily violence is crucial in the construction of a moral self among its recipients, who are enabled to juxtapose their own cultural categories of manhood and morality to those of a foreign power. Ritual as a transformative experience foregrounds a political agency designed to reverse relations of domination between occupied and occupier. Simultaneously, it both reaffirms and transforms internal Palestinian forms of domination (*Abstract from Ibid, 31*).

Additional Notes:

Peteet argues that the beatings and detentions of Palestinian male youth have been reappropriated into a rite of passage that helps young men reach adulthood and reverse the domination of the foreign power. Turning the violence of the oppressor into a rite of passage is a "trick" through which men redefine power arrangements and transform their experience of subordination. Tortures and beatings also turn the body into a means of sacrifice for the Palestinian cause and transforming humiliation into honor. This process plays off of Arab constructions of masculinity, which emphasize control and honor.

Riley, Robin, and Naeem Inayatullah. *Interrogating Empire: Conversations on Gender, Race, and War*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

Abstract:

This collection of multiple perspectives on the "war on terror" and the new imperialism provides a depth of analysis. Looking at the imperialism and the "war on terror" through a lens focused on gender and race, the contributors expose the limitations of the current popular discourse and help to uncover possibilities not yet apparent in that same discourse (*Abstract from book description*).

Riley, Robin, Chandra Talpade Mohanty, and Minnie Bruce Pratt, eds. *Feminism and War: Confronting US Imperialism*. London, UK: Zed Press, 2008.

Abstract:

Women across the globe are being dramatically affected by war as currently waged by the USA. But there has been little public space for dialogue about the complex relationship between feminism, women, and war.

The editors of *Feminism and War* have brought together a diverse set of leading theorists and activists who examine the questions raised by ongoing American military initiatives, such as:

What are the implications of an imperial nation/state laying claim to women's liberation?

What is the relation between this claim and resulting American foreign policy and military action?
Did American intervention and invasion in fact result in liberation for women in Afghanistan and Iraq?
What multiple concepts are embedded in the phrase "women's liberation"?
How are these connected to the specifics of religion, culture, history, economics, and nation within current conflicts?
What is the relation between the lives of Afghan and Iraqi women before and after invasion, and that of women living in the US?
How do women who define themselves as feminists resist or acquiesce to this nation/state claim in current theory and organizing?

Feminism and War reveals and critically analyzes the complicated ways in which America uses gender, race, class, nationalism, imperialism to justify, legitimate, and continue war. Each chapter builds on the next to develop an anti-racist, feminist politics that places imperialist power, and forms of resistance to it, central to its comprehensive analysis (*Abstract from book description*).

Sjoberg, Laura. "Gendered Torture? Feminist Insights into Gendering and Abu Ghraib." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Honolulu, HI, Mar. 1-5, 2005.

Abstract:

Feminists have long discussed the sexual politics of war -- conversations that talk about but are not limited to phallic missiles, masculine violence, wartime rape, and the marginalization of womyn's lives. Cynthia Enloe pioneered the study of the militarization of womyn's lives -- from the USO to the bomb shelter. Gendered lenses looking at sexual politics and war, however, are given new material to analyze on a constant basis. The physical and sexual abuse of prisoners by the United States military at Abu Ghraib brings up a number of gendered issues -- that it happened under the command of a female five-star general; that a womyn soldier was a participant in the sexual abuse; the publicized victims of sexual abuse are men; that gendering and sexualization in military encounters with Iraqi prisoners can be shown to be raced; and that the international and intergovernmental discourse on the prisoner abuse neglects issues of gender. My project researches the hybridized ways in which the "war after the war" in Iraq is sexualized. It focuses on gendered narratives of prisoner treatment -- forming the argument that there is not a single story of "gendering" of military conduct, but multiple (often conflicting and contradictory) genderings that infiltrate interaction. I use the empirical situation in Iraq between the summer of 2003 and the summer of 2004 to assert a new thesis for feminist IR: genderings can be captured comprehensively if not coherently in a way that helps us to understand personal politics, international politics, and their intersections (*Abstract from Ibid*).

Additional Notes:

Sjoberg explores depictions of Karpinski, one of the female prison guards who

committed abuse against Iraqi prisoners. Many news sources or blogs referred to her as a “dyke,” insinuating that a real woman would be unable to commit such acts. She argues that the U.S. media was “not ready for the reality of womyn sexual abusers,” because they defy stereotypes of women as peaceful and in need of protection from abuse. The abuse of prisoners by illustrates that women are not an automatic safeguard against a culture of masculinity in the military; contrarily, they are expected to perform and act like men. That women committed the torture is especially feminizing, as a member of the stereotypically submissive group committing the act of feminization.

VI. Nationalism

Afshar, Haleh. "Women and Wars: Some Trajectories Towards a Feminist Peace." *Development in Practice* 13, no. 2 (2003): 177-188.

Abstract:

This paper seeks to explode a number of myths about women's absence from wars and conflict; it considers some problems about their vulnerabilities in these circumstances; and offers some feminist perspectives for addressing these problems. The paper considers the conflicting demands made on women in periods of war and revolution, and argues that differing historical processes result in different post-conflict policies towards women. There is, however, a commonality of experiences that universally marginalise women in the post-conflict and reconstruction phases. Even when women have participated actively in wars and revolutions, they are heavily pressured to go back to the home and reconstruct the private domain to assert the return of peace and 'normality'. This paper contends that the insistence on locating women within the domestic sphere in the post-war era may be counter-productive and located in the historical construction of nationhood and nationalism as masculine in terms of its character and demands. With the dawn of the twenty-first century and the long history of women's participation in wars, revolutions, and policy making, it may now be possible to use the symbolic importance given to them in times of conflict to articulate a different perception of nationhood and belonging, and to create a more cooperative and less competitive and hierarchical approach to politics and the reconstruction of nations and their sense of belonging (*Abstract from Ibid*, 178).

Additional Notes:

Afshar notes that masculinity is inextricably tied to revolution, and that the transformation of men's roles from provider to soldiers automatically gives them more rights. She argues that men's and women's roles become blurred under military occupation, as evidenced by the second Palestinian intifada. Because wars are viewed as "men fighting for masculine causes," and nationalism is often dependent upon constructions of women as "keepers of the nation," post-conflict nations "reconstruct an idea of nationalism which is heavily dependent on control over their women." As a result, the close connection between military and masculinity remains unchallenged.

Alison, Miranda. "Women as Agents of Political Violence: Gendering Security." *Security Dialogue* 35, no. 4 (2004): 447-463.

Abstract:

This article challenges the idea that women are necessarily more peaceful than men by looking at examples of female combatants in ethno-nationalist military organizations in Sri Lanka and Northern Ireland. Anti-state, 'liberatory' nationalisms often provide more space (ideologically and practically) for women

to participate as combatants than do institutionalized state or pro-state nationalisms, and this can be seen in the cases of the LTTE in Sri Lanka and the IRA in Northern Ireland when contrasted with loyalist paramilitaries in Northern Ireland. However, the role of the female combatant is ambiguous and indicates a tension between different conceptualizations of societal security, where female combatants both fight against societal insecurity posed by the state and contribute to internal societal insecurity within their ethno-national groups (*Abstract from Ibid*, 447).

Additional Notes:

Women's entry into militaries and paramilitaries pose a threat to the masculinities of men, who may resist their participation, or seek alternate ways of maintaining masculine superiority. Alison cites the example of an IRA fighter who insisted on being equipped with a better gun than his female counterpart when embarking on a mission. The presence of female paramilitaries seem to threaten the "hyper-masculine world" of loyalists in Ireland. Alison maintains that women fighters pose a threat to masculinity at the individual and societal level. Women's participation as fighters in nationalist movements is therefore marked by contradiction: it simultaneously defends the security of the ethno-national group while also creating insecurity inside the group.

Alter, Joseph S. "Indian Clubs and Colonialism: Hindu Masculinity and Muscular Christianity." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 46, no. 3 (2004): 497-534.

Abstract:

Following Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978), there has been considerable interest in studying gender images and engendered practices that emerged out of colonialism, both during the era of colonialism (Cooper and Stoler 1997; R. Lewis 1996; Stoler 1991; 1995; 2002), and subsequently (Altman 2001; Enloe 1993). Many of these studies have shown how colonized women were subject to the gendered and often sexualized gaze of Western men (Carrier 1998; Doy 1996; Grewal 1996; Yegenoglu 1998), and how colonized men were often regarded as either effeminate or "martial" by virtue of their birth into a particular group. Arguably, the latent ambiguity of regarding all colonized men as effete, and yet categorizing some colonized men as strong and aggressively virile, points to one of the many complex contradictions manifest in the cultural politics of colonialism. A similar point could be made with regard to nationalism, wherein women, and the image men want women to present of themselves, reflects masculine ambivalence about modernity (Chatterjee 1993). In any case, even when colonial discourse essentializes the virile masculinity of various subject groups—in particular the so-called martial castes of South Asia (Hopkins 1889; MacMunn 1977)—the putative masculinity of these groups is ascribed to breeding and latent "savagery," and is rarely, if ever, conceived of as an achieved status, much less something an individual from some other group might achieve on the basis of training or practice (*Abstract from Ibid*, 497).

Alter, Joseph S. "Celibacy, Sexuality and the Transformation of Gender into Nationalism in Northern India." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 53, no. 1 (1994): 45-66.

Abstract:

Joseph Alter examines the present-day use of the Hindu concept of brahmacharya (celibacy) as it relates to questions of gender and nationalism in North India. He argues that the practice of celibacy can be best understood as a form of political action directed against the post-colonial forces of desire. He shows how the discourse on celibacy has focused on the bio-moral nature of semen, and on how semen is taken to embody truth. Because semen is inherently male, he argues, the present-day discourse on nationalism has become increasingly centered on males as the source of truth. Celibacy thus has become the agency for a form of gendered nationalism (*Abstract from Ibid, 1-2*).

Additional Notes:

Alter briefly mentions that the "heroically masculine physique of the Indian wrestler", an embodiment of nationalism, was in part a critique of colonial and post-colonial India.

Ashe, Fidelma. "Gendering War and Peace: Militarized Masculinities in Northern Ireland." *Men and Masculinities* (Apr. 2012): 1-19.

Abstract:

There has been extensive academic analysis of Northern Ireland's ethnonationalist antagonisms. However, academic literature that has explored both the region's ethno-nationalist conflict and its more recent processes of conflict transformation has neglected the concept of masculinities. This article employs the framework of critical studies of men/masculinities to analyze why men's gendered identities have received so little attention in a society that is marked by deep gendered inequalities and also exposes the consequences of this neglect in terms of exploring gendered power relationships in Northern Ireland society. Additionally, the article employs the concept of militarized masculinities to explore the relationships between ethnonationalist conflict, conflict transformation, men's gendered identities, and gender power in the region (*Abstract from Ibid, 1*).

Additional Notes and/or Quotations:

Militarized masculinities formed in the Northern Ireland conflict served to foster solidarity among Protestants of different social classes in Northern Ireland. For example, the "B Men", a male volunteer counterinsurgency police force, united Protestant men in the common goal of defense of the nation (7). Even as this group phased out and Protestant military groups evolved to include women, military hierarchies remained solidly male (8). Similarly, paramilitary groups were opportunities for both Irish nationalist and Loyalist men to express their

manhood. Ashe argues that both state security forces and paramilitaries, rather than being expressions of hegemonic masculinity, served as arenas for contestation of masculinities. Ashe points out that “[t]hose men who reject armed struggle framed paramilitary men as cowards who have maimed and murdered unarmed civilians” (10). Northern Irish military groups were similarly accused of bigotry and harassment, particularly of women. In these ways, military masculinities in Northern Ireland allowed space for alternative versions of masculinity.

Banerjee, Sikata. *Make Me a Man! Masculinity, Hinduism and Nationalism in India*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2005.

Abstract:

Make Me a Man! argues that ideas about manhood play a key role in building and sustaining the modern nation. It examines a particular expression of nation and manliness: masculine Hinduism. This ideal, which emerged from India's experience of British imperialism, is characterized by martial prowess, muscular strength, moral fortitude, and a readiness to go to battle. Embodied in the images of the Hindu soldier and the warrior monk, masculine Hinduism is rooted in a rigid "us versus them" view of nation that becomes implicated in violence and intolerance. Masculine Hinduism also has important connotations for women, whose roles in this environment consist of the heroic mother, chaste wife, and celibate, masculinized warrior. All of these roles shore up the "us versus them" dichotomy and constrict women's lives by imposing particular norms and encouraging limits on women's freedom (*Abstract from book description*).

Additional Notes:

Banerjee explores how Hinduvatra (Hindu nationalism) is a combination of “armed masculinity and nation”, premised on two models colonial effeminization of Indian men.

Banerjee, Sikata. “Gender and Nationalism: The Masculinization of Hinduism and Female Political Participation in India.” *Women’s Studies International Forum* 26, no. 2 (2003): 167-179.

Abstract:

Feminist analysis has revealed the gendered nature of nations and nationalism. Adopting such a perspective, this paper analyzes the relationship between the masculinization of Hindu nationalism and female political participation. The image of an aggressive male warrior is central to certain versions of Hindu nationalism or Hindutva in contemporary India. This image is embedded within a political narrative, which declares its affinity for ideas of resolute masculinity through an array of symbols, historic icons, and myths. Given that Indian women are very visible in the politics of Hindutva, this paper interrogates how women have created a political space for themselves in a very masculinist narrative. This interrogation focuses on historical and cultural processes that enabled this masculinization, certain ideals of femininity implicit within this narrative which

opens the door for female participation, and women's use of images and icons drawn from a common cultural milieu to enter the political landscape of Hindutva (*Abstract from Ibid, 167*).

Additional Notes:

Prevalent within Hindu masculinity is the image of the warrior, a product in part of British colonialism. Because the hegemonically masculine British oppressor deemed Indian men "weak and non-martial," in turn feminizing them, this warrior characteristic became an intrinsic part of Hindu nationalism, while the nation itself was perceived as a woman. Women have found space in this narrative as "citizen warriors" who take on the traits of masculine Hinduism, yet at the same time, they occupy this space without challenging the role of women as mothers. While they are part of the "masculinist political landscape" of Hindutva, their bodies still represent national honor.

Bracewell, Wendy. "Rape in Kosovo: Masculinity and Serbian Nationalism." *Nations and Nationalism* 6, no. 4 (2000): 563-590.

Abstract:

Accusations of Albanian rape of Serbs in Kosovo became a highly charged political factor in the development of Serbian nationalism in the 1980s. Discussions of rape were used to link perceptions of national victimisation and a crisis of masculinity and to legitimate a militant Serbian nationalism, ultimately contributing to the violent break-up of Yugoslavia. The article argues for attention to the ways that nationalist projects have been structured with reference to ideals of masculinity, the specific political and cultural contexts that have influenced these processes, and the consequent implications for gender relations as well as for nationalist politics. Such an approach helps explain the appeal of Milosevic's nationalism; at the same time it highlights the divisions and conflicts that lie behind hegemonic gender and national identities constructed around difference (*Abstract from Ibid, 563*).

Additional Notes:

Constructions of "heroic masculinity" perpetuated the idea that the only way to seek justice for the rape of Serbs was through force rather than negotiation. These rapes also meant men and women were increasingly identified by their national affiliation. As distrust grew between Albanian men and Serbian women, this ethnic difference only increased. As nationalism became increasingly tied to "swaggering machismo" and patriotism to "warrior-heroes", women became increasingly associated with motherhood and submissiveness, and fell under patriarchal rule within the home. Men and women who did not live up to these roles were marginalized, as Serbian nationalism became increasingly defined in relation to "others". Serb nationalism also became intertwined with heterosexuality at the expense of tolerance for those not conforming to stereotypical male and female roles.

Echeverria, Begoña. "Language Ideologies and Practices in (En)gendering the Basque Nation." *Language in Society* 32, no. 3 (2003): 383-413.

Abstract:

This article argues that an androcentric Basque nationalist pedagogy is enacted in secondary schools in San Sebastian (Donostia), Spain. Textbooks present men as the exemplary Basque speakers and cultural agents by erasing women's contributions to Basque language and culture. Schools also contribute to a recursive language ideology, linking "authentic" ethnic identity, "naturalness," and solidarity with vernacular Basque, of which the most pragmatically salient marker is the familiar form of address *hi*. *Hi*, in turn, indirectly indexes male speakers and masculinity, thereby creating an iconic relationship between authentic Basque identity, Basque culture, and masculinity. However, many women in Basque society have challenged this male privilege in various domains, thereby opening up the possibility of a Basque nation that embraces its female as well as its male members. As such, the Basque case has interesting implications for theorizing the relationships among language, gender, and nation (*Abstract from Ibid*, 383).

Franke, Katherine M. "Putting Sex to Work." *Denver University Law Review* 108 (1998): 1139 – 1180.

Abstract:

This article analyzes the social and legal classification of certain injuries as 'sexual' or 'sex based' risks telling us too much and not enough about the kind of harm these injuries inflict. This classification both over determines the conduct and the injury as sexual and underdetermines other aspects of the conduct and the injury that get crowded out once the "sexual" label is applied aspects such as racial, nationalistic or religious. Using three examples the interpretations by some anthropologists of the seminal practices of the Sambia in New Guinea as a kind of 'ritualized homosexuality,' the attack against Haitian immigrant Abner Louima by New York City police officers, and the rapes and other assaults against men and women by soldiers in the former Yugoslavia the article shows how the notion of "sexual practices" or "sexual crime" can hide gender, racial, and religious discrimination. With this in mind, it proposes a move from the discretionary legal use of the 'sexual' towards a revision of violence from the perspective of international human rights law. We cannot, the article concludes, lose sight of "the uses of sex in the construction of men, masculinity and nations and in the destruction of women, men and the people (*Abstract from Ibid*, 16).

Hagemann, Karen. "Of 'Manly Valor' and 'German Honor': Nation War and Masculinity in the Age of the Prussian Uprising Against Napoleon." *Central European History* 30, no. 2 (1997): 187-220.

Abstract:

These words introduced a collection entitled *Deutsche Wehrlieder für das Königlich-Preussische Frei-Corps* (German Military Songs for the Royal Prussian Volunteer Corps), that appeared in March 1813 immediately after Prussia declared war on France. It was not only in this songbook that the patriotic national mobilization for the struggle against Napoleonic rule was closely linked to the propagation of “valorous manliness” (*wehrhafte Mannlichkeit*). In the period of the Wars of Liberation between 1813 and 1815, the press and topical literature teemed with similar phrases and cultivated a veritable cult of manliness. A new breed of “patriotically”-minded, “combat-ready” men was needed if, as intended, a “people’s army” of conscripts was to fight a successful “national war” against France. This phenomenon has generated scant interest in the extensive historical literature about the time between 1806 and 1815, which is considered as the birth period of the German national movement (*Abstract from Ibid, 187*).

Hague, Euan. “Rape, Power and Masculinity: The Construction of Gender and National Identities in the War in Bosnia-Herzegovina.” In *Gender and Catastrophe*, edited by R. Lentin, 50-63. London: Zed Books, 1997.

Abstract:

No abstract found.

Hillman, Ben, and Lee-Anne Henfry. “Macho Minority: Masculinity and Ethnicity on the Edge of Tibet.” *Modern China* 32, no. 2 (2006): 251-272.

Abstract:

This article explores the role of masculinity in articulating ethnic Tibetan identity in China. Based on interviews with Tibetans and Han Chinese in a Tibetan autonomous prefecture in China’s southwest and on an examination of recent Chinese publications, the study explores the dialogue between Tibetans’ own perceptions of their ethnic identity and public representations of that identity. While previous scholarship has highlighted the role that ethnic minorities play in constructing a Chinese national identity, the authors demonstrate that minorities, too, construct their ethnic identities in contradistinction to a majority Other. This process is integral to the production of a local knowledge and history that runs parallel to state-sponsored discourses of the nation and its composite nationalities (*Abstract from Ibid, 251*).

Additional Notes:

Hillman and Henfry note that Tibetan men describe Tibetan masculinity in relation to Han Chinese men, rather than in relation to Tibetan femininity. This pattern draws into question the assumption that masculinity is perpetually and unswervingly defined in opposition to feminism. The authors also assert that ethnic males, too, have agency in Otherizing the masculinity of the majority, and

that it is not always the majority who “Otherizes” and feminizes the minority. Indeed, the more “modernized” Han Chinese men were considered less primitive and manly by Tibetan men.

Kanaaneh, Rhoda. “Boys or Men? Duped or ‘Made’? Palestinian Soldiers in the Israeli Military.” *American Ethnologist* 32, no. 2 (2005): 260-275.

Abstract:

Several thousand Palestinian citizens of Israel currently volunteer to serve in various branches of the Israeli "security" apparatus. Members of this small group of mostly men are commonly perceived by other Palestinians as traitors to their people and are socially marginalized. Even soldiers who strain and sometimes break the limits of social acceptance, however, relate to their communities in dominant gendered terms. The critiques, explanations, and, occasionally, defenses of soldiering represent much larger concerns about the relationship of Palestinian citizens to the Israeli state, particularly concerns about Israelization, but are measured in relation to a family-centered provider masculinity. What the state offers or withholds from Arab soldiers plays a powerful role in shaping Palestinian discourses on masculinity and citizenship (*Abstract from Ibid*, 260).

Additional Notes:

Kanaaneh argues that the Israeli state plays a central role in creating competition between dominant and nondominant masculinities. Negotiations about masculinity in Israel are tied to debates about citizenship and nationalism. Within Israel, the military is a stepping stone to the realization of full citizenship and to hegemonic masculinity, yet it is also defined “in opposition to Palestinians,” and as such fails to include Palestinian masculinity and Palestinian soldiers. The criticisms of Palestinians joining the Israeli army are often voiced in gendered terms; Palestinian soldiers are accused of joining the military to compensate for their weak masculinities. This accusation of “shallow, pubescent and weak” masculinity stands in contrast to the type of masculinity Palestinian men hope to attain by joining the army. Indeed, they hope to become breadwinners, improve their citizenship status and strengthen their roles as providers through their service.

Karlin, Jason G. “The Gender of Nationalism: Competing Masculinities in Meiji Japan.” *Journal of Japanese Studies* 28, no. 1 (2002): 41-77.

Abstract:

This essay examines gender symbolism in competing representations of nationalism in Meiji Japan. Through an analysis of contesting images of masculinity, it reveals how questions of national identity were articulated in the idiom of gender. In response to the perceived threat of the feminization of culture represented by the intensification of consumption, fashion, and artifice, a vigorous masculinity asserted itself that rejected Western materialism and instead extolled

notions of primitivism, national spirit, and imperialism. These two opposing representations of masculinity, a "masculinized" and "feminized" masculinity, each constituted differing responses to the problem of modernity (*Abstract from Ibid, 41*).

Additional Notes:

Like Posel in her discussion of South Africa, Karlin maintains that anxiety over nationality can be communicated through competing images of sexuality and in this case, masculinity. While other literature deals with a crisis of masculinity in response to occupation or colonialism, this article deals with a crisis in response to modernization. The cosmopolitan, consumption focused gentleman was portrayed as part of a "feminized masculinity" while the primitive nationalistic Japanese man was constructed in response to Western modernization.

Kesby, Mike. "Arenas for Control, Terrains of Gender Contestation: Guerrilla Struggle and Counter-Insurgency Warfare in Zimbabwe 1972-1980." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 22, no. 4 (1996): 561-584.

Abstract:

This paper explores the contingent nature of war-time developments in gender relations, focusing particularly on the experience of protected village inmates in Chiweshe. It suggests that expectations of dramatic change in the position of ordinary women were unrealistic and based on four analytical flaws: a linear model of female emancipation, a tendency to generalise from a limited set of war-time experiences rather than recognise the diversity of locally contingent circumstances, a failure to include struggles over masculine identity within the analysis of gender relations and finally, a lack of sensitivity to the social-spatial structures that are integral to rural society. The paper highlights the spatial dimensions of war-time contingency at the national and the local level and analyses how the enforced restructuring of rural communities destabilised the spatial discourses and practices that 'normally' structure gender identities and relations. The paper focuses on the extraordinary, and under researched, social arena of the 'protected villages' and analyses how, temporarily, they became terrains of gender contestation. Parallels are drawn between the social impacts of the structures of counter-insurgency warfare and the ostensibly very different time-space arenas of the temporary guerrilla encampments. While each arena had its own unique dynamic, which itself varied from region to region and over the duration of the war, both types of externally imposed structure had the effect of undermining elders' authority in their own communities and of opening up new spaces of opportunity in which young men and women could act (*Abstract from Ibid, 561*).

Additional Notes:

Kesby argues that tension between different models of masculinity greatly affected the opportunities women were given in Zimbabwe during wartime. Struggles between men over masculinity created a space of opportunity for women, which they exploited during wartime.

Kuntsman, Adi. "The Soldier and the Terrorist: Sexy Nationalism, Queer Violence." *Sexualities* 11, no. 8 (2008): 142-170.

Abstract:

An Israeli soldier, praised for killing terrorists in their homes, and adored as a gay prince charming; a Palestinian gay man called either a lying terrorist or a cute Arab boy with an almond ass; an Abu-Ghraib prisoner, whose naked body, pornographically mediated and distributed by the media generates a homosexual rape fantasy of all Arabs in-the-name-of-Israeli-security. These images were collected during my ethnography of a Russian-Israeli GLBT community, in the community's website. My analysis of the website's publications and discussions focuses on the ways violence, sexuality and nationhood intertwine in immigrants' sense of belonging to the country that is officially defined by the state policy — and indeed perceived by many immigrants themselves — as their home. I examine how masculinities become synecdoches of nation, and how homosexual fantasies work to create attachment to one's national home and hatred towards those defined as its enemies (*Abstract from Ibid, 142*).

Additional Notes:

Within the websites and documents Kuntsman analyze, masculinities represent the nation, and homosexuality represents ties to and love for one's nation, at the expense of ties to the Other. In other words, the "homosex" evident on the website represents attachment to and love for one's nation, and male bodies are "queer figurations of patriotism and racism," while violence becomes the vehicle through which immigrants become accepted within the nation.

Massad, Joseph. "Conceiving the Masculine: Gender and Palestinian Nationalism." *Middle East Journal* 49, no. 3 (1995): 467-483.

Abstract:

The article explores how masculinity as a colonial model is figured in nationalist discourse through a case study of Palestinian nationalism. It demonstrates how Palestinian nationalism conceives of nationalist agency in masculine terms. Its conclusion is that nationalist agency is constituted through performances that are said to be its results. Nationalist masculinity is shown to be a new type of masculinity, which is implicated in temporal, cultural, and class schemas that define its limitations and have little to do with "tradition" (*Abstract from Ibid, 467*).

Additional Notes:

Like other nationalist struggles, in Palestine the struggle against the Zionist entity is expressed in gendered terms; the "Zionist enemy" is masculine, while the land is feminine. This imagery is present in the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) manifesto. The struggle against the colonial regime is also expressed in masculine terms, thus excluding women from the national narrative, except in their roles as supporters. Even within the communiqué of the first intifada, women

are not the active agents of nationalism, but rather the “soil on which [glory, respect and dignity] grow.” They are the mothers of Palestinian resistance, and are “pregnant” with the intifada, but are not active agents of nationalism within the intifada. Massad argues that the anti-occupation struggle of Palestinians is simultaneously a declaration of nationalism and a “masculinizing act enabling the concrete pairing of nationalist agency and masculinity.” Anti-colonial resistance is also the masculinization of the national struggle.

Mikanagi, Yumiko. “Masculinities and the Reconstruction of Japan’s National Identity in the Postwar Period.” Paper presented at Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, 2005.

Abstract:

In this paper, I will argue that masculinities have a lot to do with Japanese policymaking. (I use “masculinities” instead of “masculinity” with an assumption that there existed different yet equally dominant masculinities over time and within a given period of our observation.) I emphasize that these two “have a lot to do with one another” because I am not going to make any causal claim for a clear reason. Masculinities may affect national identities and goals. Yet, national identities and goals defined as such could also affect the construction of gender. Considering the obvious possibility of reciprocal effects of the two on each other, I do not intend to offer “an explanation” of how and why national identities and goals are defined. Instead, what I intend to do in this paper is to simply show an interconnection between the two (*Abstract from Ibid, 1*).

Additional Notes:

Mikanagi argues that since the Gulf War Japan has remilitarized because of the Japanese ideal of *kigyo senshi*, or being attuned to the orders and desires of their superiors. In this case, the U.S. is the “commanding chief,” and Japanese policy makers pay heed to the wishes of the U.S. This ideal, Mikanagi states, is not significantly different from the “men-as-imperial soldiers” ideal that existed before World War II. Both ideals are based upon “blind submission to authority” and uncritical adherence to orders, despite the underlying goals of these orders. While Mikanagi doesn’t use the term explicitly, his description of Japan’s place within a hierarchical world order describes a hegemonically masculine world system where the U.S. embodies an ideal model of masculinity.

Moallem, Minoo. *Between Warrior Brother and Veiled Sister: Islamic Fundamentalism and the Politics of Patriarchy in Iran*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005.

Abstract:

Minoo Moallem challenges the mainstream stereotypical representation of Islam and Muslims as backward, fanatical, and premodern by showing how Islamic nationalism and fundamentalism are by-products of modernity. Writing with a deep personal and scholarly concern for recent Iranian history, Moallem refers to

the gendered notions of brother and sister as keys to understanding the invention of the Islamic *ummat* as a modern fraternal community. Using magazines, novels, and films, she offers a feminist transnational analysis of contemporary Iranian culture that questions dominant binaries of modern and traditional, West and East, secular and religious, and civilized and barbaric.

Between Warrior Brother and Veiled Sister responds to a number of important questions raised in connection with 9/11. The author considers how veiling intersects with other identity markers in nation-state building and modern formations of gendered citizenship. She shows how Islamic nationalism and fundamentalism are fed by a hybrid blend of images and myths of both pre-Islamic and Islamic Iran, as well as globally circulated patriarchal ideologies (*Abstract from book description*).

Additional Notes:

Moallem discusses how the hegemonically masculine group in Iran following the mandatory unveiling of the thirties and the move towards modernization in the forties was comprised of the secular nationalist elite. This group defined themselves in opposition to religious, traditional Iranians, instead aligning with the West. Oppositional groups to this hegemonic masculinity also included secular Marxist, socialist and communist groups. Moallem notes that women's dress was one means through which opposition groups expressed challenged the hegemonic order. Meanwhile the hegemonically masculine group of secular elites viewed themselves as "civilizing moral agent(s)" and saw their values as central to the building of a modern nation-state.

Nagel, Joane. "Masculinity and Nationalism: Gender and Sexuality in the Making of Nations." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21, no. 2 (1998): 242-269.

Abstract:

This article explores the intimate historical and modern connection between manhood and nationhood: through the construction of patriotic manhood and exalted motherhood as icons of nationalist ideology; through the designation of gendered 'places' for men and women in national politics; through the domination of masculine interests and ideology in nationalist movements; through the interplay between masculine microcultures and nationalist ideology; through sexualized militarism including the construction of simultaneously over-sexed and under-sexed 'enemy' men (rapists and wimps) and promiscuous 'enemy' women (sluts and whores). Three 'puzzles' are partially solved by exposing the connection between masculinity and nationalism: why are many men so desperate to defend masculine, monoracial, and heterosexual institutional preserves, such as military organizations and academies; why do men go to war; and the 'gender gap', that is, why do men and women appear to have very different goals and agendas for the 'nation?' (*Abstract from Ibid, 242*).

Additional Notes:

The building of a nation means creating a collective past and present, setting boundaries, and defending the community. These qualities, Nagel argues, find expression in chauvinism, and vice versa. Hegemonic nationalism and hegemonic masculinity play off one another, as nationalism helps “accomplish masculinity” (Nagel referring to Connell 1987), and masculinity characterizes the male-led nation-state. During nation-building, men are the defenders of the family, while women are the preservers of honor. As Enloe asserts, the militarization of nationalism means the privileging of men. Accompanying this privilege is the sexualization of the military. There is thus a connection between nationalism, patriotism, masculinity and imperialism, which creates a resistance to the “Other” within the military as men defend a “white, male, heterosexual notion of masculine”.

Parpart, Jane. “Rethinking Hegemonic Masculinities from a Southern Perspective: The Resurgence of Patriarchal Authoritarian Rule in Zimbabwe.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, San Diego, CA, Mar. 22, 2006.

Abstract:

The notion of hegemonic masculinities has been particularly useful for critiquing essentialist notions of male power and for reminding us that some men are more powerful than others. The debates over contending masculinities, however, have largely taken place in Northern contexts. Southern men have been seen as the victims of Northern discourses that identify them as inferior/effeminate/subordinate males. Yet in the South, debates over hegemonic and subordinate forms of masculinity/ies have been deeply embedded in struggles over control and power, both among men and between men and women. The “right” to wield power has often been cast in gendered terms. Yet these gendered discussions often fuse hegemonic practices from the West with “traditional” male prerogatives. Clearly, context specific studies are needed to understand this process and its implications for national and global politics. Zimbabwe is a particularly appropriate case for exploring hegemonic masculinities in the South, for the increasingly patriarchal authoritarian rule in Zimbabwe is being legitimated through discourses that identify “good” leaders in highly gendered ways. Those who oppose the current regime are vilified as passive, subordinate males, who are subservient stooges of British imperialism. “Real” men, those who fought in the nationalist struggle, support the nationalist cause and defend patriarchal prerogatives are awarded the status of hegemonic males. Thus, the definitions of hegemonic and subordinate masculinity/ies play a critical role in current struggles over power and legitimacy in Zimbabwe. Rather than cast these practices and discourses simply as alternative masculinity/ies, best understood simply as local practices, this paper argues that the Zimbabwean case (and others like it) has profound implications for understanding the role of dominant (and subordinate) masculinity/ies in national and global politics (*Abstract from ResHub*).

Additional Notes:

Like Epprecht, Parpart examines the existence of hegemonic and alternative masculinities within Zimbabwe, highlighting not only the contest for power between Northern and Southern men, but also among Southern men. They both underscore how opposition to the government is perceived as less manly, while support of the government is perceived as hegemonically male.

Posel, Deborah. "The Scandal of Manhood: 'Baby Rape' and the Politicization of Sexual Violence in Post-Apartheid South Africa." *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 7, no. 3 (2005): 239-252.

Abstract:

This paper traces the genealogy of sexual violence as a public and political issue in South Africa, from its initial marginalization and minimization during the apartheid era, through to the explosion of anguish and anger which marked the post-apartheid moment, and most dramatically the years 2001 and 2002. Of particular interest is the question of how and why the problem of sexual violence came to be seen as a scandal of manhood, putting male sexuality under critical public scrutiny. The paper argues that the sudden, intense eruption of public anxiety and argument about sexual violence which marked the post-apartheid period had relatively little to do with feminist analysis and politics (influential though this has been in some other respects). Rather, the key to understanding this politicization of sexual violence lies with its resonances with wider political and ideological anxieties about the manner of the national subject and the moral community of the country's fledgling democracy (*Abstract from Ibid, 239*).

Additional Notes:

Post-apartheid anxiety over the character and "normative foundations" of the new democratic nation can be seen through similar anxiety over sexuality. The widespread discussion and panic around "baby rape" merged the image of the father as protector and the rapist, creating a crisis of manhood that undermined the image of the male father as "guardian of moral order."

Prividera, Laura, and John W. Howard. "Masculinity, Whiteness, and the Warrior Hero: Perpetuating the Strategic Rhetoric of U.S. Nationalism and the Marginalization of Women." *Women and Language* 29, no. 2 (2006): 29-37.

Abstract:

In this research we employed gender archetypes and critical whiteness studies to examine the interconnectedness of gender, race, and nationalism in U.S. media coverage of the 507th Ordinance Maintenance Company during Operation Iraqi Freedom. Our theoretical frame illustrates how the national ideology sanctions specific constructions of gender and race both in and out of the military. The nationally-preferred archetypal constructions (in particular the "warrior hero" archetype) framed media representations of Jessica Lynch, Lori Piestewa, and

Shoshona Johnson. Our feminist rhetorical analysis reveals how the media portrayal of the soldiers of the 507th simultaneously privileges whiteness and marginalizes femininity through its extensive focus on Private Jessica Lynch. In addition, this study demonstrates how the overarching national ideology creates a complex social hierarchy of gender and race relative to the ideal (archetypal) national representative (*Abstract from Ibid, 29*).

Additional Notes:

Portrayals of Jessica Lynch in the U.S. media tended to focus upon her as a “victim” rather than a soldier, in turn deepening the dichotomy between male and female, military and civilian, masculine and feminine, and white and women of color.

Sunindyo, Saraswati. “When the Earth is Female and the Nation is Mother: Gender, the Armed Forces and Nationalism in Indonesia.” *Feminist Review* 58, no. 1 (1998): 1-21.

Abstract:

This article examines how, through militarism, masculine imaginings of Indonesian nationalism construct a 'national feminine'. Whether through popular song, national war heroines, or the institutionalization of feminine roles in the military, the positioning of the 'national feminine' is always contradictory. On the one hand, it is gendered and domesticized, while, on the other, it is employed as confirmation that Indonesia has already achieved gender equality. In most instances, once the national crisis is over, and before a new crisis emerges, both the rhetoric of equality and the representation of the nation used to mobilize women's participation in the popular armed struggle are once again adjusted to fit the heterosexual familial model. However, in the Indonesian military, discursive constructions of the 'national feminine' are not enough; the military must further define the 'national feminine' through institutionalized practices (*Abstract from Ibid, 1*).

Additional Notes:

In the romanticization of nationalism in Indonesia, women's are key points of inspiration for the nationalist cause (as mothers and as actors in need of protection), yet they, themselves are largely invisible from the struggle, which becomes a “masculinized duty.” While in national imagery Indonesia is pictured as feminine, and the military is pictured as the masculine protector, women within the military are also given roles as “surrogate mothers”, keeping them within the confines of their proscribed feminized roles. Occasionally they are recognized as soldiers and generals, breaking away from their traditional feminized roles, but even within the military, they act within the confines of these stereotypes.

Toktas, Sule. “Nationalism, Militarism and Gender Politics: Women in the

Military.” *Minerva: Quarterly Report on Women and the Military* 20, no. 2 (2002): 29-44.

Abstract:

This essay will problematize gender politics in processes of nationalism, militarism and modernization. It aims to bring in sight the complexity and disorderliness that the interconnections and crosscuts between gender and modernization imply. The article contracts out this task into four parts. First, it investigates gendered explanations of nation, national identity and nationalism on which masculinity is centralized epistemologically via social discourse. Second, it explores militarism as an extension and manifestation of state sovereignty and national identity with its heterosexual and masculine substantiation. Third, it cross-questions closely the link between nationalism, militarism and patriarchy in the specificity of women's inclusion to and exclusion from the military (*Abstract from Ibid, 29-30*).

Turcotte, Heather. “Terrorizing the Body Politik: The Discursive Formations of Gender in U.S. International Security.” Prepared for a panel on Gender, US Hegemony, and Interstate Conflict”, 45th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Montréal, Canada, Mar. 17-20, 2004.

Abstract:

How are women’s bodies constructed as the sites of state politics? What are the gendered discursive formations of liberation and protection? Why is international security discourse, promoted by the US, focused on women’s freedom as a justification for military intervention? Nation building, security and war practices are constructed upon the subjective formations of individuals and a collective social imaginary of the self and the perceived “other”. Historically, the discursive formation of the “other” plays a key role in US foreign policy and military interventions. By interrogating the power dynamics of gender, race, class, culture and sexuality, this paper critiques national and international security theories and policies to show how the US produces terror within the “other” as a way to perpetuate its security discourse of military intervention as protection and liberation. This paper purports the idea of the US liberating others in an attempt to protect its own historic subjective formation of nation of masculinized whiteness. This paper pushes the boundaries of security studies to analyze the gendered relationships between people and nation and the contradictions and compliance that exist within these discourses and actual practices (*Abstract from Ibid, 1*).

Additional Notes:

Nation building is based upon dichotomous constructions of masculinity/femininity and vulnerable/protector that justify domination by a hegemonic group. According to Turcotte, nation building and a system of domination is inevitable given the masculinist nature of nation-states. She critiques the notion of “protection” of women in interventionist wars, when in fact what is being protected is “the soldier, the U.S. and the masculinized perception of power and control.” U.S. interventions in the name of “protection” result in the

feminization of local people and the increased masculinization of the state.

Zalewski, Marysia, and Jane Parpart. *Rethinking the Man Question: Sex, Gender and Violence in International Relations*. London, UK: Zed Books, 2008.

Abstract:

The reality of international relations and its academic study are still almost entirely constituted by men. Rethinking the Man Question is a crucial investigation and reinvigoration of debates about gender and international relations.

Following on from the seminal *The Man Question in International Relations* this book looks at the increasingly violent and 'toxic' nature of world politics post 9/11. Contributors including Raewyn Connell, Kimberley Hutchings, Cynthia Enloe, Kevin Dunn and Sandra Whitworth consider the diverse theoretical and practical implications of masculinity for international relations in the modern world. Covering theoretical issues including masculine theories of war, masculinity and the military, cyborg soldiers, post-traumatic stress disorder and white male privilege. The book also focuses on the ways in which masculinity configures world events from conscientious objection in South Africa to 'porno-nationalism' in India, from myths and heroes in Kosovo to the makings of Zimbabwe (*Abstract from book description*).

VII. Small Arms

Abdullah, Saleh, and Henri Myrntinen. *Gender, Violence and Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) in East and West Timor*. Yogyakarta, ID: INSIST, 2005.

Abstract:

This paper will look at issues of gender, violence and small arms in East Timor, and, where applicable given the continued presence of East Timorese militia and refugees there, in West Timor. The paper will discuss:

1. The issue of SALW in East and West Timor as a whole during the conflict (1974-1999) as well as in the post-conflict situation;
2. Constructions of gender in East Timorese society during the years of conflict, looking at non-combatant civilians, pro-independence Falintil (Forças Armadas de Libertação Nacional de Timor Leste) guerrillas and the pro-Indonesian militia groups;
3. Gendered identities in the post-conflict situation, examining again non-combatant civilians, ex-combatant Falintil not included in the new security forces, the new national security forces (F-FDTL and PNTL) as well as the militia groups; and
4. Role of SALW in violence in East and West Timor, focusing on gendered/sexualised violence. Given the central role played by the United Nations and other international agencies in the post-conflict situation, the paper will also discuss the impacts that these actors had and include recommendations for future involvements by them (*Abstract from ResHub*).

Additional Notes:

Weapons not only enable perpetrators to carry out crime; they also enable “enactments of masculinity and femininity”, for improving one’s social, sexual and economic status, for demonstrating “symbols or fetishes of the bearers’ prowess (Abdullah and Myrntinen as referencing Cooke and Woollacott 1993; Myrntinen 2003). SALW also signal domination, power and subjugation to the victim and to the victim’s community, particularly when it is used to commit sexual violence. The implied power of firearms can also lead to skirmishes, particularly in societies that have been plagued by long periods of violence. In East Timor, the long, violent dictatorship of Suharto has signaled to many men that the only way of solving problems is through violence. The authors state that young, unemployed men are particularly vulnerable to using SALW as a means of acting out their masculinity. Part of this is due to the model set by the Indonesian armed services, which is structured around “a very narrow, hegemonic form of violent, militarized masculinity” and a willingness to use violence.

Alison, Miranda. “Gender and Small Arms: Where to from Here?” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association 48th Annual Convention, Hilton Chicago, Chicago, IL, Feb. 28, 2007.

Abstract:

Academic enquiry into how gender features in issues to do with small arms proliferation, use and control in the context of armed conflict remains relatively new and underdeveloped. Thus far, research has tended to focus on or assume women as victims of armed conflict and men as perpetrators. There has been a corresponding emphasis on constructing women as somehow naturally more peaceful, peace-loving and less violent than men. As Vanessa Farr notes, women are often referenced for their capability to make peace as a supposed organic by-product of their ability to mother and nurture. These lines of discourse have tended to promote a simple women=peace: men=war dichotomy? (Vanessa Farr, *Gender Awareness in Research and Policy Making*, *African Security Review*, v. 12, no. 1, 2003, pp. 115-116). Gender has, therefore, thus far largely entered both the academic and the policy field in terms of goals of encouraging women's participation in peace processes and disarmament/arms control programmes, often driven by international agencies involved in such processes and programmes. This paper proceeds on the basis that the presumption that women are only/always victims and men only/always perpetrators of violent conflict is problematic. One notable common form of women's participation in the proliferation and normalisation of guns in the context of armed conflict is their role in smuggling and hiding weapons and/or their bearers (Vanessa Farr, 'A Gendered Analysis of International Agreements on Small Arms and Light Weapons?', in *Gender Perspectives on Small Arms and Light Weapons: Regional and International Concerns*, Bonn International Center for Conversion, Brief 24, July 2002, p. 18). In a great many contemporary armed conflicts, particularly (though not exclusively) intra-state ones, women are also directly combatants. Conversely, the work of Adam Jones and his contributors has brought to light recurrent patterns of gender-selective mass killing of non-combatant males (Adam Jones (ed.), *Gendercide and Genocide*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2004). This paper offers an overview of the current state of research and policy with regard to gender and small arms in armed conflict, particularly relevant in light of the 2006 UN Review Conference, and makes some suggestions as to where we need to move from here. As Farr maintains, frames of reference that fail to interrogate the complex roles played by women, children, and non-combatant men in times of war show an incomplete picture of violent conflict. This leads to an equally incomplete understanding of how peacemaking should work; as a result, all too many reconstruction and peacebuilding efforts result in lamentable failure (Farr, *Gender Awareness in Research and Policy Making*, p. 116) (*Abstract from ResHub*).

Additional Notes:

(original text unavailable).

Alison, Miranda. "Gender, Small Arms and the Northern Ireland Conflict." Paper presented at the ISA Annual Convention, Honolulu, HI, Mar. 1-5, 2005.

Abstract:

The mainstream literature on small arms and light weapons has not traditionally been particularly interested in the gendered aspects of issues surrounding SALW.

This paper addresses certain gendered aspects of SALW in regard to armed conflict in Northern Ireland. The 'Troubles' have led to a high presence of guns in Northern Ireland and a certain romanticism and sexualisation attached to them. Within loyalist circles it is often noted that while there is prestige for men who are involved with the paramilitaries and carry weapons, there is a parallel phenomenon of women who are attracted to and gain prestige through association with such men. However there remains the fact that, particularly in republican paramilitaries, women have also been combatants and carried weapons themselves, as well as being centrally involved in the transporting, cleaning and hiding of arms. This leads to certain questions. How does the presence of female combatants fit with the otherwise hyper-masculine paramilitary environment? How have gender relations within paramilitaries been performed in regard to weapons? How do we account for the usually hyper-masculine atmosphere of paramilitary 'shows of strength' (displays of weapons) even within republicanism, given what we know of women's involvement in the paramilitary organisations? (*Abstract from ResHub*).

Additional Notes:

Among women, weapons and violence can both be sexualized and can be alluring to women as a form of masculinity. One woman in Northern Ireland acknowledged that she loved running around with members of the paramilitary because of the power she felt from their firearms. This corroborates the work of Abdullah and Myrntinen, who argue that one can gain power and status through association with firearms, and that men can increase their sexual opportunity by owning firearms.

Buchanan, Cate, Gary Barker, and Mireille Widmer. "Hitting the Target: Men and Guns." Paper presented at the First Review Conference on the Implementation of the UN Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons, New York, NY June 26 – Jul. 7, 2006.

Abstract:

Across cultures, most acts of violence are committed by men. Men and boys also account for the overwhelming majority of firearm-related injuries and deaths. Men often feel the need to publicly demonstrate that they are 'real men', and a gun is helpful in making this point. Recognising the link between masculinities, youth, and gun violence is not about demonising men, however. On the contrary, attention has to be given to men's resilience - the factors that lead the majority of men, even in settings where armed violence is prevalent, to resist resorting to gun violence. We need to examine why most men and boys avoid or decide against armed violence. Are there strategies that can be put in place to bolster such resiliency? This policy brief explores the diverse roles that men and boys play in relation to guns - as perpetrators, victims, survivors and agents of change. Two main approaches are outlined to dissociate masculinities, guns and violence. The first one seeks to restrict access to guns by those most likely to misuse them, through awareness-raising programmes, community policing or strengthened

legislation. Alternatively, other programmes focus on reducing the propensity to violence, either through working with perpetrators of violence, or by promoting alternative notions of masculinity based on non-violence and care. Social, economic and political empowerment of youth - male and female - is another important violence prevention strategy, particularly in situations recovering from war (*Abstract from Ibid, 1*).

Additional Notes:

Most scholars and practitioners agree that the connection between masculinity and gun violence is socially learned, rather than biological. Even in cultures of masculinity that promote violence, gun use still depends on access, and one must remember that the majority of men do not commit violence. Like Kimmel, Buchanan, Barker and Widmer argue that violence does not simply occur because of “male dominance;” it occurs more likely because of the powerlessness men feel at the individual level. A gun is thus a public way of showing that a man is a real man. In conflict zone gun possession may also be a generational rite of passage that signifies manhood. Insurgents and local militiamen may also take advantage of the powerlessness men feel, particularly youth who are unemployed, and encourage them to take up arms for their cause. The authors point out that carrying guns is a means of elevating one’s status and level of respect not only among men, but among women as well. Factors that can reduce the risk of men committing gun violence are stable relationships with family members and mentors who discourage violence, exposure to “alternative livelihoods and identities for self worth”, reflectiveness about the risks of violence, having a peer group that condemns violence, limited personal exposure to violence, and being exposed to notions of masculinity that do not encourage the domination of women and the use of violence. Demobilization programs must also avoid activities that could stigmatize men or boys who have committed gun violence.

Capie, David. “Small Arms, Violence and Gender in Papua New Guinea: Towards a Research Agenda.” *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 52, no. 1 (2011): 42-55.

Abstract:

Among Pacific states, Papua New Guinea (PNG) has attracted the most attention from researchers looking at problems caused by small arms and light weapons. There is now a substantive body of work cataloguing different aspects of the country's problems with firearms and gun violence. This research sits alongside a large scholarly literature on violence in PNG and the connection between violence, gender and masculine identities. There has, however, been strikingly little research bringing these literatures together and looking directly at the gendered dimensions of PNG's gun violence. This paper explores some connections between small arms, violence and gender in PNG. After providing a general overview of small arms issues in PNG, it examines the misuse of firearms in urban crime and inter-communal fighting in the Highlands, specifically noting the limited evidence that is available about the differently gendered consequences of gun violence. It identifies three potential areas for further research: exploring the relationship between changing notions of masculinity and demand for

firearms; gender and PNG's growing private security industry; and fragile signs of change in the role of women in the PNG Defence Force (*Abstract from Ibid*, 42).

Additional Notes and/or Quotations:

This paper explores gendered aspects of gun-related violence, what Capie refers to as “everyday militarism” (42), in Papua New Guinea (PNG). Widespread availability of firearms has been linked to high levels of urban crime, including gang-related crime. Urban crime in PNG is often associated with predominantly male ‘raskol’ gangs. These gangs have been linked to increased levels of violence, including sexual violence. Capie finds that widespread access to firearms tends to facilitate sexual violence against women. Capie notes that the majority of attention has been on these physical effects of gun violence and argues that more research should be done on the ways that firearm availability has affected patterns of authority and masculinity in PNG.

Cock, Jacklyn. “Guards and Guns: Towards Privatised Militarism in Post-Apartheid South Africa.” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 31, no. 4 (2005): 791-803.

Abstract:

This article argues that contemporary South Africa is marked by the coexistence of both old and new forms of militarism. A shallow and uneven process of state demilitarisation was underway between 1990 to 1998 in the form of reductions in military expenditure, weapons holdings, force levels, employment in arms production and base closures. However, this has had contradictory consequences including providing an impetus to a 'privatised militarism' that is evident in three related processes: new forms of violence, the growth of private security firms and the proliferation of small arms. Since 1998 a process of re-militarisation is evident in the use of the military in foreign policy and a re-armament programme. Both trends illustrate how a restructured, but not transformed, post-apartheid army represents a powerful block of military interests (*Abstract from Ibid*, 791).

Additional Notes:

Cock argues that one reason for the police corruption in post-Apartheid South Africa is the “aggressive masculinity, or ‘macho’ ethos” inside the force. Vigilante violence groups, largely comprised of men, have attempted to regulate arm violence, yet they, themselves often become enmeshed in the violence. These vigilantes see themselves as masculine “protectors” and “defenders” of the community. Cock also discusses how xenophobia and prejudice towards ex-combatants create a “militarist nationalism”, whereby white males’ participation in the military service entitles them to militarized citizenship, a process that Blacks were excluded from during Apartheid. In effect, this process meant the refutation of African manhood. According to Cock, this initial exclusion could mean that black South Africans now see participation in the military as means of elevating one’s citizenship status.

With regards to the proliferation of private security “hitmen,” Cock notes that

almost all of these guards are ex-combatant men who are poorly trained and rarely regulated. She discusses this proliferation within the larger context of South African “gun culture,” which strengthens “banal militarism,” or the normalization of militarization within every day social life, so that war and violence seem natural.

Dinnen, Sinclair, and Edwina Thompson. “Gender, Violence and Small Arms in Papua New Guinea.” *State, Society and Governance in Melanesia, Discussion Paper, no. 2004/8. Canberra, AU: Australian National University, 2004.*

Abstract:

Evidence gleaned from media, anecdotal, and hitherto unpublished sources suggests that violence resulting from small arms and light weapons in PNG is distinctly gendered. While it is important to recognise that conflict and post-conflict situations affect men and women in different ways, it is instructive to go further, and examine the different experiences of men and women in the context of the ‘gun culture’ that has developed in parts of PNG in recent years. Our research uncovers both important gender differences in perceptions of security and the gendered nature of gun violence. By situating the proliferation of small arms in the context of culture, power, and security in PNG, our contribution is grounded in a social and political history of PNG, with an account of the changing pattern of conflict and violence, gender relations, and in particular, the role of firearms. Our investigation proceeds through a discussion of the three broad and overlapping settings in which the gun culture has emerged. These are raskolism, tribal fighting, and election-related violence. The investigation then moves to an overview of the gender of violence in PNG, and concludes with a discussion of the alternative responses of the state and community-based organisations to violence and conflict. A number of policy implications follow (*Abstract from Ibid, 1*).

Additional Notes:

The proliferation of personal security “hitmen”, or “guns for hire,” has undermined social and power dynamics in villages, as well usurping the traditional roles of male leaders. Young men with guns are considered a danger and are often accused of rape and gun violence. The PNG police force is considered “singularly masculine,” and few women are integrated into the forces. Female officers noted the culture of masculinity endemic to the force and the frequent use of violence as a means of problem-solving.

Farr, Vanessa, and Kiflemariam Gebre-Wold, eds. *Gender Perspectives on Small Arms and Light Weapons: Regional and International Concerns. Bonn, CH: Bonn International Center for Conversion, 2002.*

Abstract:

This publication gives a comprehensive overview of how local gender ideologies not only determine attitudes to small arms but underpin social and political

practices which make women more vulnerable to violence everywhere (*Abstract from book description*).

Additional Notes:

In “A Gender Analysis of International Agreements on Small Arms and Light Weapons, Vanessa Farr notes that a male sense of “ownership” in post-conflict scenarios worsens men’s control over reproductivity. This is especially true if men have suffered defeat and feel their pride has been compromised; the private realm becomes a place for them to reclaim their masculinity and power. Men sometimes use cultural or religious justifications for control over women in this scenario, in attempts to restore a pre-conflict “Golden Age” that did not threaten the gender hierarchies between men and women. Farr notes that disarmament programs can only work if they consider the localized ways different cultures construct masculinity, as the latter is connected to the use of firearms. The ways that men have become accustomed to using firearms to meet their economic social needs is another key consideration. In “Gender Perspectives on Small Arms and Light Weapons: Effects and Policies,” Cukier, Kooistra and Anto also maintain that male identity and guns are linked in many cultures through “consumerist militarism,” or “the normalization and even glorification of war, weaponry, military force and violence.” In her chapter on small arms and light weapons in Sudan, Amani El Jack highlights the strong connection between masculinity, manhood and weapons in Sudan. In order to be considered a “real man,” one must possess a gun and be willing to use it to defend the nation. SALW not only reinforce pressure on men to defend the nation, but to also act as protectors of women and children. Still, as more women join militaries and armed groups, this stereotype is slowly being challenged. One man in El Jack’s study notes that he feels “very weak when (he puts) the gun down.” Farr also points out that women are not only victims of gun violence, but also participate in the proliferation of SALW by helping smuggle them.

Farr, Vanessa, Henri Myrntinen, and Albrecht Schnabel, eds. *Sexed Pistols: The Gendered Impacts of Small Arms & Light Weapons*. Tokyo, JP: United Nations University, 2009.

Abstract:

Every day, small arms and light weapons (SALW) kill and maim, wound and threaten millions of adults and children, whether combatants and civilians in war zones or gangs and communities in degraded “peacetime” environments that are characterized by large-scale violence. Due to their widespread availability, mobility and ease of use prolific SALW have become central to maintaining social dislocation, destabilization, insecurity and crime in the build-up to war, in wartime and in the aftermath of violent conflict. Small arms are misused within domestic settings, as well as in public spaces, and they affect everyone in the community without regard to sex or age. Although the impacts of these weapons can be vastly different for women and men, girls and boys, a careful consideration of gender and age is rare in the formulation of small arms policy, of planning small arms collection or control, or even in small arms research. To counter the

effects of prolific SALW, their role in reinforcing and maintaining gender- and age-specific violence must be more deeply analysed and the results applied at the policy and operational level. This work should be undertaken in war-afflicted contexts, in societies suffering from elevated levels of social violence and/or severe underdevelopment, and in those tolerant of the presence of individually owned firearms.

Contributors to the book draw on experience and research from around the world on the nexus of gender, age, violence and small arms in developing and developed countries. Their findings feed into a number of recommendations for future policy formulation, programme implementation and research designed to further illuminate and counteract the firing of the 'sexed pistol' (*Abstract from book description*).

Additional Notes:

The authors state that the Beijing Platform, the Windhoek Declaration and Resolution 1325 can all be used to examine how masculinity and femininity and their relation to one another lead to the misuse of SALW. Because men are the decision-makers in most political institutions, the ways in which these institutions are masculine often remain invisible, in turn effect whether or not policy effectively addresses SALW. In Chapter 7 of the book, "Now they have guns, now they feel powerful," Myrtilinen and Saleh Abdullah argue that SALW violence in Timor-Leste is a product of "violent expressions of masculinity". Young men commit violence in association with gangs or other organizations as a means of creating identities for themselves. In Chapter 13, "Missing men, lost boys and widowed women: Gender perspectives on small arms proliferation and disarmament in Karamoja, Uganda," Christina M. Yeung notes that men who turned in their guns were called "women" and felt emasculated, part of a larger crisis of masculinity that renders men unable to attain adult status.

Kimmel, Michael. "Masculinities and Gun Violence: The Personal Meets the Political." Paper presented for a session at the UN on Men, Women and Gun Violence, Jul. 14, 2005.

Abstract:

No abstract found.

Additional Notes:

Kimmel highlights the connection between male entitlement to power and gun violence. This violence occurs when men feel that their masculine entitlement to power is thwarted. Ironically, he notes that men feel powerless despite that they are in power; masculinity, therefore, not the feeling of power, but that of anxiety and "entitlement unfulfilled." Men can express violent conflict in groups as well as individually; this is especially the case within ethno-national struggles, when a younger generation of men reject the emasculated older generation that was dependent upon a superpower. In those societies with little male-male violence, patriarchy either absent or deeply present.

McKay, Susan, and Dyan Mazurana. *Where are the Girls? Girls in Fighting Forces in Northern Uganda, Sierra Leone, and Mozambique: Their Lives During and After the War*. Quebec, CA: Rights and Democracy, 2004.

Abstract:

By contributing to what is currently known about girls' distinct experiences in fighting forces, the presentation of findings from our study of girls in fighting forces is intended to assist the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), the United Nations, other donors, conflict affected governments, and local, national and international governmental and non-governmental organizations in developing policies and programs to help protect and empower girls in situations of armed conflict and postwar reconstruction. In addition, this book should alert child protection advocates at all levels to the presence and experiences of girls in fighting forces and facilitate the design of responsive gender-based policy, advocacy and programs.

This book presents findings from a research study entitled "Girls in Militaries, Paramilitaries, Militias, and Armed Opposition Groups" for which we were co-investigators. Our work was funded by CIDA's Child Protection Research Fund and implemented in partnership with Rights & Democracy. The study examined the presence and experiences of girls in fighting forces and groups within the context of three African armed conflicts Mozambique (1976-1992), Northern Uganda (1986-present) and Sierra Leone (1991-2002). Fieldwork in these countries was conducted between September 2001 and October 2002. In addition to that study, this book includes findings of a parallel study, "Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration: The Experiences and Roles of Girls in Sierra Leone and Northern Uganda," by Dyan Mazurana and Khristopher Carlson, which was funded by the Policy Commission of Women Waging Peace. Fieldwork for this parallel study was conducted between September 2002 and February 2003.

One purpose of this research was to gather and analyze data to better enhance the protection of war-affected children, in particular, girls in fighting forces. Within the context of Northern Uganda, Sierra Leone and Mozambique, girls in the fighting forces have suffered major human rights violations, especially gender-based violence. The rights of these girls are under threat from their own governments, armed opposition forces, and, occasionally, by members of their communities and families. At times, girls are discriminated against by local groups and officials, governments and international bodies that keep secret or are unwilling to recognize their presence, needs and rights during conflict, post-conflict, demobilization and social reintegration (*Abstract from book description*).

Additional Notes:

(Full text unavailable). While they do not directly discuss masculinity in the executive summary, other scholars have drawn on their work, and particularly the evidence that women and girls do not enjoy gender equality within armed groups in the three case studies. This suggests that women "masculinize" when they join armed groups, rather than change the culture or achieve gender equality.

Myrttinen, Henri. "Violent Islands: Notes on Masculinities and Security Sector Reform Processes in Haiti, Solomon Islands and Timor Leste." In *Engendering Security Sector Reform*, edited by Margarete Jacob, Daniel Bendix, and Ruth Stanley, 76-89. Berlin, DE: Free University, 2008.

Abstract:

No abstract found.

Additional Notes:

In the Solomon Islands and Timor Leste, participation in clientist networks is a key feature of masculinity. More broadly, in Haiti, the Solomon Islands and Timor Leste, men are neither able to live up to the "traditional" model of masculinity nor the model that is based upon "visions of modernity." The former is attainable through fishing and farming, both of which are not accessible to urbanized male youth. The latter form of masculinity is attainable through financial independence, a family, and material possessions, status symbols that are equally difficult to attain. Incorporating a gender perspective into SSR reform must take these changing dynamics into account, as well as the masculine dynamic introduced with the presence of foreign troops and intervention. In this sense, SSR reform must constitute more than the incorporation of women into the police and armed forces.

Myrttinen, Henri. "Masculinities, Violence and Power in Timor Leste." *Lusotopie* 12, no. 1/2 (2005): 233-244.

Abstract:

This article sketches some of the manifestations of violent masculinities which were visible in the Timor Leste conflict from 1975 to 1999. While concentrating on Timorese actors, it points out that this does not in any way mean that Timorese men are inherently more violent than others. In fact, the vast majority of the acts of violence during the conflict were committed by members of the occupying Indonesian security forces. After a brief thematic and historical introduction, the article examines manifestations of violent masculinities within the pro-independence Falintil guerrilla, the pro-Indonesian militias and the civilian population. As the end of the conflict has not meant an end to, but a "domestication" of violence with extremely high rates of domestic and gender-based sexual violence, the article further examines the impact of the post-conflict situation on violent manifestations of masculinity (*Abstract from Ibid*, 223).

Additional Notes:

Like Enloe, Myrttinen highlights how the end to war does not mean an end to all violence; rather, it can mean a domestication of the violence that was once visible on the street. Myrttinen defines violent masculinities as "the enactments which have the aim of reassuring the male himself and his side while simultaneously intimidating the other side into submission". This violent masculinity can be enacted by the "warrior/protector" just as easily as it can be "part of an institutionalised, militarized view of masculinity". In all cases, however,

“manliness” is inextricably linked to the use of force and aggression. Two common ways of enacting these violent masculinities in Timor Leste were the displaying of weapons in public, and the use of sexuality. The enacting of these violent masculinities was not endemic to Timor Leste; rather, it was heavily influenced by the display of violent masculinity by the Indonesian occupying forces. The “warrior culture” taken on by the Falintil guerillas was as much a result of local conceptions of masculinity as it was in response to this occupying force. Similarly, militias gained “glamour” and status through the “violent manifestation of hypermasculinity”. In post-conflict Timor Leste, the arrival of a vast international force of peacekeepers affected gender roles yet again, as women gained further visibility. Ultimately, Myrntinen argues that because these different forms of masculinities in Timor Leste are constructed rather than inherent, they can be deconstructed as well.

Myrntinen, Henri. “‘Pack Your Heat and Work the Streets’--Weapons and the Active Construction of Violent Masculinities.” *Women and Language* 27, no. 2 (2004): 29-34.

Abstract:

This article examines the links between weapons and violent enactments of masculinity. The connections operate on several levels, ranging from the actual use of weapons to the often sexualized use of language surrounding weapons, and vary depending on what messages are to be conveyed in each situation. An understanding of these various interconnections is an essential precondition to 'disarming' violent notions of masculinity (*Abstract from Ibid, 29*).

Additional Notes:

Myrntinen argues that violent masculinities can be both “armed and unarmed”, but that they are often closely connected to hypermasculinity. This connection is formulated for young boys through the use of toy guns, and may become “a fetish object of cult heroism” (Myrntinen as quoting Robert Dean). The connection is deepened through the phallic sexualization of weapons during wartime. After 9-11, for example, some described the twin towers as “the dual phallus of US military and economic power,” and the attack itself as the “remasculinising” of the Muslim world in response to the emasculating presence of the US on Muslim soil. As in his other work, Myrntinen highlights how possession of a gun can represent a deeper crisis of masculinity that men hope to eliminate by obtaining power.

Myrntinen, Henri. “Disarming Masculinities.” *Disarmament Forum* 4 (2003): 37-46.

Abstract:

In this article, I will analyse some of the ways in which enactments of masculinities and the wielding of weapons go together, the sexualized imagery used in conjunction with weapons, and the models of masculinity that lie behind

these concepts. I will argue that the public display, the threat of or actual use of weapons is an intrinsic part of violent, militarized models of masculinity. The specific ‘message’ conveyed by the display and use of weapons is dependent on the social and cultural environment (*Abstract from Ibid*, 37).

Additional Notes:

Myrntinen argues that before we can improve disarmament processes, we must better understand the link between guns and masculinity. Weapons are equated with “manliness” through the “sanctioned use of aggression, force and violence” (Myrntinen as quoting Bryson 1987). Not only do they represent status, but they are also the means through which men can improve their economic wealth and social clout. Weapons are also linked to “manliness” when there is a crisis of masculinity that threatens male power, sometimes resulting in the strengthening of “traditional” gender roles. He notes the ways that carrying a weapon do and do not give men a sense of manliness; on the one hand, they allow the perpetrator to use force and power of another, and on the other hand they disproportionately create victims out of men. Myrntinen asserts that the connection between weapons and masculinity is introduced to boys early on through socialization in the form of toys. In countries where men are conscripted, learning to use weapons can also be a rite of passage, helping men “earn the full rights of citizenship”. In the context of peacekeeping, the display of weapons by western forces symbolizes the superior technological status of non-local men who act as “protector-warriors.” Weapons are also objects of sexual fetish, both in the entertainment industry and within the military. He points out that guns are not only a phallic symbol within the military; they are also a symbol of femininity, a “bride” that they must care for in battle. Extending this metaphor, he argues that war itself can be a symbolic sexual act, through which the less powerful can gain equality or become the “alpha-male” by obtaining weapons of mass destruction. Importantly, Myrntinen acknowledges that not all men view weapons as a means of enacting masculinity, and some women view weapons in precisely this way. In this sense, we must avoid essentializing men as aggressive warriors. In other words, the connection between men and weapons is not “natural”, but rather are the product of a cultural and historical context. DDR, then, must not be understood as a “numbers game”, but instead as a “demobilization” of violent masculinity.

Newhouse, Lauren, and Emily Schroeder. *Gender and Small Arms, Moving into the Mainstream*. Pretoria, SA: Institute for Security Studies, 2004.

Abstract:

This monograph presents an overview of how gender language is used at meetings and in documents of various United Nations (UN) fora on the topic of small arms and light weapons (SALW). The monograph begins with an overview of relevant definitions and the emergence on the global agenda of norms on SALW and gender mainstreaming at the United Nations. The authors then scan statements from official meetings and documents from the Security Council and the General Assembly from 2001-2003, as well as the 2001 SALW Conference and the

Biennial Meeting of States on SALW in 2003. A list of gender reference indicators is used to assess the frequency and context of references, and to evaluate points of convergence and divergence between international norms on gender and SALW. The authors conclude that UN debates on SALW do not yet address gender in the SALW context in a way that encompasses the differing social, economic and political effects of these weapons on men and women. The final section of the monograph offers concluding observations and some recommendations in anticipation of the 2006 Review Conference on Small Arms and Light Weapons (*Abstract from Institute for Security Studies*).

Additional Notes:

According to the authors, the UN does not distinguish between male and female ex-combatants, and male and female victims and perpetrators. Not enough attention is paid to male victims of gun violence, nor is adequate attention given to women who are perpetrators and peacemakers. The absence of references to men risks treating gender as a concept that is only applicable to women. The UN also inadequately analyzes (or understands) the disparate social, economic and political results of SALW propagation on men and women.

Vetten, Lisa. “Mapping the Use of Guns in Violence against Women: Findings from Three Studies.” *African Security Review* 15, no. 2 (2006): 86-92.

Abstract:

This article explores the role of firearms in acts of violence against women in South Africa, drawing on three data sets: one investigating the implementation of the Domestic Violence Act (DVA), the second exploring gang rapes, and the third documenting intimate femicide. In relation to domestic violence, it was found that while guns were referred to in one in four applications for protection, their removal was ordered in only two per cent of applications. Both a provincial femicide study and a national female homicide study found guns to be the leading cause of death for women killed by their intimate male partners and found that in the majority of cases, the gun was legally owned. In contrast, in the gang rape study it is more likely that the guns were illegally owned. The involvement of a firearm in gang rapes highlights the fact that guns not only fulfill the functional purpose of intimidation and injury, but also communicates power and masculine display. The three studies point to the need to train magistrates around the necessity to remove firearms in cases of domestic violence and that it is essential to challenge the symbolic associations between masculinity and power (*Abstract from Ibid, 87*).

Additional Notes:

The author suggests that firearms do more than enable gang rape; they are the means through which men manifest their “masculine power and control” within the group. When attempting to stop this violence, we must therefore understand the types of masculinity that are associated with violent groups, and which of these masculinities promote the violent use of firearms.

Wozniak, Jesse, and Christopher Uggen. "Real Men Use Nonlethals: Appeals to Masculinity in Marketing Police Weaponry." *Feminist Criminology* 4, no. 3 (2009): 275-293.

Abstract:

In recent years, a range of new nonlethal weapons have been introduced for use by police officers, military personnel, and other consumers. This article examines how manufacturers are employing ideals of masculinity as both physical dominance and technical expertise in marketing these weapons to police officials. Based on a case study of a major weapons manufacturer's educational and sales conference, the authors explore how marketing appeals are adapted to suit a hypermasculine police subculture. Connell's theory of masculinities is employed to understand how such a tightly defined subculture absorbs challenges to its core values of hegemonic hypermasculinity and reimagines itself to keep those core values intact (*Abstract from Ibid, 275*).

Additional Notes:

The "hypermasculine police subculture" must find a way of handling crime at the same time that it must respect the public's desire to see less reactionary violence. Weapons manufacturers market new technology in such a way that it addresses both of these needs. Unexpectedly, members of the police force have shown acceptance of a new type of weapon that is far less violent, despite the hypothesis of Connell and others that hypermasculine police subculture relies upon violence as a means of asserting authority.

VIII. Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration

Anaya, Liliana. "Individual Demobilization and Reintegration Process in Colombia: Implementation, Challenges and Former Combatants' Perspectives." *Interventions* 5, no. 3 (2007): 179-190.

Abstract:

After decades of armed conflict, the Colombian government has implemented a voluntary individual disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programme (DDR). This paper is based on interviews of former combatants from illegal armed groups, from both the left and right, governmental officials, and military personnel involved in the processes. The findings of this research suggest that the individual demobilization process as a military strategy is a success. However, in order to strengthen the peace-building process, the programme needs to give more support to the socialization and re-socialization processes that former combatants experience. It needs to provide the former combatants with the skills needed to be economically and socially productive members of society. This will help them redefine their identity as civilians and undergo a successful reintegration and reconciliation (*Abstract from Ibid, 179*).

Bouta, Tsjard. *Gender and Demobilization, Disarmament, and Reintegration: Building Blocs for Dutch Policy*. Netherlands Institute of International Relations "Clingendael", Conflict Resolution Unit, Mar. 2005.

Abstract:

With the United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 1325 the topic of gender and armed conflict is firmly placed on the international agenda. Most attention so far has been paid to women's roles in conflict prevention, conflict resolution and post-conflict rehabilitation. Less consideration is given to women's roles in active warfare and to women who operate as combatants in (ir)regular armies in conflict. This is despite the fact that paragraph 13 of Resolution 1325 encourages all those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) to consider the different needs of their dependants.

Only recently have multilateral organizations, and to a lesser extent bilateral donors, started to address the topic of gender and DDR in their policies. The Netherlands is becoming increasingly active in the field of DDR, and for this reason a policy on DDR and gender has been developed in this paper.

Section 2 of this policy paper depicts how both women and men are actively involved in warfare via (ir)regular armies. In Section 3, it touches on gender-specific roles of women and men in armies. Section 4 examines changing gender relations in armies. Section 5 discusses the challenges for DDR programmes in targeting female ex-combatants. The last section outlines the main policy considerations and options for a Dutch policy on gender and DDR. The annexe provides a checklist for donors on the key gender considerations in the planning and implementation of DDR programmes (*Abstract from Ibid, 5*).

Additional Notes:

Drawing on the work of Enloe, Bouta notes how men and women may support militarization without being aware; mundane actions and roles played in everyday life make it a deeply rooted and seemingly benign process. Bouta also argues that gender stereotypes are even more rigid in civilian life than they are in the military, making reintegration very difficult for women.

Coulter, Chris. "The Post-War Movement: Female Fighters in Sierra Leone." Migration Studies working paper no. 22, Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand, 2005.
http://repository.forcedmigration.org/show_metadata.jsp?pid=fmo:5799.

Abstract:

Women in Sierra Leone have many different experiences of war. They have perhaps both been victims and perpetrators, civilians and combatants, some by force, some for survival and others by choice. In postwar society many of these women are quite unsure of their legal status. Most of them keep quiet about what has happened to them or what they have done in the war, for fear of stigmatisation and revenge. In this paper I will deal with that very delicate moment just after the cessation of hostilities and peace accords – ‘the postwar moment’, to borrow a phrase from the title of a recent book (Cockburn & Zarkov 2002). Young women today have more or less come of age, become adults, during a period of war and conflict. This has, no doubt, influenced their lives in a multitude of ways but can also reveal something on a more general level about gender and war and of how war affects gender relations in postwar society. Here I trace the situation of young formerly abducted women in the midst of emotional and economic suffering, I analyze their experiences of the demilitarization, demobilisation and reintegration process (DDR), and I will also deal with issues of reintegration.

Recently there has been a lot of focus on child soldiers and youth in contexts of war, but, I argue, phrases like ‘child soldiers’ or ‘youth’ blur rather than clarify both girls’ and young women’s specific experiences in war, as well as relations between men and women. Strategies used by young women to manoeuvre in war-torn societies are still ill-researched. Most girls and women who fought in the Sierra Leone war are not proud of what they did, and their families as well as people in their communities are both ashamed and afraid of them. Also, life in postwar society offers female fighters in particular, no easy alternatives. Projects targeting young women frequently focus on women as victims, as abductees, as rape victims, or as forced wives. There has been little or no emphasis on women as fighters and killers, thereby efficiently marginalizing this aspect of their war time experiences (*Abstract from Ibid*, 2-3).

Additional Notes:

While Coulter does not make direct reference to masculinity, she explores how women and girls are overlooked in DDR processes. Like McKay and Mazurana, she asserts that despite their roles in combat, and the shame they face in the

aftermath of conflict, programs tend to focus on male fighters. This is in part because of the perception that men are the “real threat” to security. The marginalization of female combatants is also due to ill-preparedness for dealing with such a defiance of gender norms. Interestingly, Coulter notes that girls and women may be persuaded by husbands or family members not to disarm, whereas men within the very same family will disarm. This contradiction highlights the shame surrounding women’s possession of arms and participation in combat, versus that of men, where armament is expected, and disarmament, or the proclamation of having a gun, is part of this expectation.

Knight, Mark, and Alpaslan Ozerdem. “Guns, Camps and Cash: Disarmament, Demobilization and the Reinsertion of Former Combatants in Transition from War to Peace.” *Journal of Peace Research* 41, no. 4 (2004): 499-516.

Abstract:

The process of disarmament, demobilization, reinsertion and reintegration (DDRR) of former combatants plays a critical role in transitions from war to peace. The success or failure of this endeavour directly affects the long-term peacebuilding prospects for any post-conflict society. The exploration of the closely interwoven relationship between peacebuilding and the DDRR process also provides a theoretical framework for this article, which aims to present an assessment of various disarmament, demobilization and reinsertion (DDR) programmes planned or implemented in a number of countries over the last two decades. The assessment is conducted by focusing on three specific DDR issues: disarmament as a social contract; demobilization without cantonment; and the relevance of financial reinsertion assistance. The majority of these initiatives adopted a ‘guns–camps–cash’ approach that seems to provide only a limited perspective for dealing with a wide range of complex issues related to the DDR process. Therefore, the article questions whether there is a need for a more comprehensive consideration of disarmament by acknowledging and responding to its social, economic and political implications. In conjunction with the above-mentioned consideration, disarmament in terms of a social contract is proposed as an alternative to the current military-centred approach. Experience also indicates a tendency towards the inclusion of cantonment in the demobilization phase, regardless of whether it actually can have some negative impacts on the DDRR process in general. Subsequently, the article questions such implications and possible approaches to demobilization without cantonment. Finally, the article focuses on the effectiveness of cash payments during reinsertion as an easier alternative to the provision of other material assistance, since this tends to be the most controversial aspect of the reinsertion phase (*Abstract from Ibid, 499*).

Additional Notes:

Knight and Ozerdem briefly note that when gun culture is associated with masculinity, DDR and buy-back programs can be particularly difficult to execute, as was the case in Afghanistan.

McKay, Susan. "Reconstructing Fragile Lives: Girls' Social Reintegration in Northern Uganda and Sierra Leone." *Gender and Development* 12, no. 3 (2004): 19-30.

Abstract:

In many contemporary African wars, girls and women participate in fighting forces. Their involvement is sometimes voluntary, but often they are coerced or abducted. In these forces, their roles range from porters, domestics, and 'wives' of male fighters, to spies and commanders. Few girls go through official UN processes of disarmament, demobilisation, and reintegration (DDR). Their human rights severely violated, girls face enormous challenges to physical and psycho-social recovery. Typically, they return directly to their communities, or migrate to where friends or relatives live, or resettle in urban areas, where they are at increased risk of forced prostitution, sexual assault, and/or sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV/AIDS. This paper examines the experiences of girls who have returned from fighting forces in the recent conflict in Sierra Leone and the continuing conflict in northern Uganda. These experiences are compared with those of women who recalled their experiences when they were girl participants during the Mozambican war which ended in 1992 (*Abstract from Ibid, 19*).

Additional Notes:

While she does not overtly mention masculinity, McKay describes the difficulty female ex-combatants have reintegrating into society, as the independence they gained during the conflict may disappear in a post-conflict setting. This may be because, as Torres, Tovar and Jaramillo argue, those who gain independence do so by assimilating to men, yet the characteristics they learn to embody clash with the stringent gender stereotypes in civilian society. McKay adds that some girls leave the community if they feel they can't fit in or don't know how to play traditional gender roles.

Mackenzie, Megan. "Securitizing Sex? Towards a Theory of the Utility of Wartime Sexual Violence". *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 12, no. 2 (2010): 202-221.

Abstract:

Visions of the post-conflict reintegration process in Sierra Leone as a moment of healing, reconstruction, opportunity and rehabilitation do not take into account the experience of women and girls who were raped during the conflict. For them, the post-conflict period is often characterized by trauma, silence and stigmatization. This article examines wartime rape in relation to the liberal family model and the perception of sex as a 'private' social concern rather than a public security issue (*Abstract from Ibid, 202*).

Additional Notes and/or Quotations:

Drawing from Jacqueline Stevens' theories of marriage as an institution that confers men access to women's bodies and labor, Mackenzie concludes that

wartime rape serves as a means of creating disorder by disrupting males' authority and property rights bestowed to them by the "conjugal order". Mackenzie examines the case of Sierra Leone to support the notion that wartime rape arises from patriarchal marital institutions. She suggests that "[p]eriods of disorder – such as war – provide a unique opportunity to view the intricate and vast mechanisms of social political order that are implicated in a 'peaceful' society" (217). In other words, wartime rape is an indicator of patriarchal norms within 'peaceful' societies.

Mackenzie, Megan. "Securitization and Desecuritization: Female Soldiers and the Reconstruction of Women in Post-Conflict Sierra Leone." *Security Studies* 18, no. 2 (2009): 241-261.

Abstract

This article focuses on the construction of "soldier" and "victim" by post-conflict programs in Sierra Leone. Focusing on the absence of individual testimonies and interviews that inform representations of women and girls post-conflict, this article demonstrates that the ideal of the female war victim has limited the ways in which female combatants are addressed by disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) programs in Sierra Leone. It is argued that titles given to female soldiers such as "females associated with the war," "dependents," or "camp followers" reveal the reluctance of reintegration agencies to identify females who participated in war as soldiers. In addition, I argue that men and masculinity are securitized post-conflict while women—even when they act in highly securitized roles such as soldiers—are desecuritized and, in effect, de-emphasized in post-conflict policy making. The impact of this categorization has been that the reintegration process for men has been securitized, or emphasized as an essential element of the transition from war to peace. In contrast, the reintegration process for females has been deemed a social concern and has been moralized as a return to normal (*Abstract from Ibid, 241*).

Additional Notes:

To understand why women's and girl's experiences are left out of security discourse, we must first understand how constructions of masculinity and femininity are connected to ideas about peace and violence. This involves understanding how aggressive males are constructed in opposition to women as victims. In Sierra Leone, the reintegration of girls was treated like a "social process," one characterized by silence and stigma. They were expected to hide their combatant past and to marry and have children as a means of masking this past. They were expected to "blend in" and were "naturalized," in effect rendering them non-risks to security, and discounting their experiences. This also meant that any leadership positions they were given during conflict were taken away from them. MacKenzie concludes by arguing that security is in fact a political category that privileges some issues over others, and that human security as a lens of analysis does not necessarily change the hierarchy of policy issues.

Mackenzie, Megan. "Forgotten Warriors: The Reintegration of Girl Soldiers in Sierra Leone." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, Town & Country Resort and Convention Center, San Diego, CA Mar. 22, 2006.

Abstract:

My research examines the response of UNICEF to its "lessons learned" from the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) process. The motivation for this project came from the observation that, although there has been an increased focus on the existence and of girl soldiers in international conflicts, there is still a lacuna of research representing the experiences of girl soldiers and their needs post-conflict. Further, despite the fact that 'gender mainstreaming' and gender training have increasingly been put on the agenda of both government agencies and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), there has been little extensive research on the extent to which gender is being prioritised in their practices. For my doctoral research, the central problems driving the research is the inadequate attention paid to the interests, impacts, and needs of former girl soldiers post-conflict. Using the "Girls Left Behind" project- a UNICEF program directed at girls who participated in Sierra Leone's civil war but who did not go through the DDR- in Makeni as a case study, I aim to explore how programs designed to respond to the "lessons learned"-particularly with respect to the underrepresentation of girl soldiers in the process- from the DDR in Sierra Leone actually meet the needs of women and girls. The research questions that I seek to answer require fieldwork in Sierra Leone. Thus, the opportunity provided by an IDRC award will allow me to complete an essential component of my dissertation. The result of my work will be a much needed assessment of the ability of programs designed to assist former girl soldiers to mainstream gender and to meet the needs and expectations of former girl soldiers. Further, my work will also provide policy recommendations aimed at improving the capacity of organisations and governments, including the Canadian government, who has identified gender as a foreign policy priority, to incorporate gender into their practices (*Abstract from ResHub*).

Additional Notes:

According to MacKenzie, female perpetrators are often perceived to be "masculinized monsters". She also notes that many women view the DDR process as a "gun for money" program rather than one that could benefit them. Some women avoid the DDR process for fear of shaming their family, as stigma around participation in armed groups is more significant for women than for men.

Myrntinen, Henri. *Poster Boys No More: Gender and Security Sector Reform in Timor Leste*. Geneva, CH: Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, 2009.

Abstract:

This paper will assess, from a gender perspective, the DDR/SSR processes which were carried out in Timor-Leste, focusing mainly on events from the end of the

Indonesian military occupation in September 1999 to the implosion of the security sector in April 2006. Following a brief introduction to the historical background of the situation and the DDR process in particular, sections 3 and 4 discuss the formation of gender roles in East Timorese society and their relevance to security issues. Sections 5 and 6 analyse the development of the East Timorese armed forces and police force before the 2006 crisis, particularly looking at how gender issues were addressed and impacted upon the institutions. Section 7 gives a brief overview of the 2006 crisis and subsequent events. Section 8 presents an outlook for the future of SSR in Timor-Leste as of the time of writing – in November 2009. The paper concludes with a brief analysis and policy recommendations (*Abstract from Ibid, 8*).

Additional Notes:

Myrntinen notes that in Timor Leste women traditionally inhabit the private sphere while men are more visible in politics and on the street, a trend that grew stronger after the 2006 conflict. Within Timor Leste men receive “social license” from those around them to use violence as a means of addressing their political and economic problems. In this context, domestic violence is attributed to the “Timorese culture of violence”, an explanation that gives people an “easy way out” of analyzing how gender, class and power contribute to this violence. While it is true that symbols of violence are present in Timorese conceptions of masculinity, as evident in the receiving of a fighting cock as a rite of passage for male Timorese teenagers, this violence is as much a byproduct of the sociopolitical environment. Myrntinen argues that in post-conflict Timor Leste, the increasingly public roles that women have adopted have become a threat to masculinity, causing them to feel that they cannot fulfill their duties as men. With respect to the police force, Myrntinen notes how that because the parliamentary UIR police force has become known for its “macho image”, it has weakened people’s confidence in the ability of the force to provide safety. One way they display this machismo is through the public displaying of weapons and riot gear. While he does not directly discuss their use of weapons as a means of reasserting masculinity in a post-conflict setting, he suggests that addressing the machismo of the police force is a crucial first step to building public confidence in their services.

Theidon, K. “Reconstructing Masculinities: The Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration of Former Combatants in Colombia.” *Third World Quarterly* 31, no. 1 (2009): 1-34.

Abstract:

A key component of peace processes and post-conflict reconstruction is the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) of ex-combatants. I argue that DDR programs imply multiple transitions: from the combatants who lay down their weapons, to the governments that seek an end to armed conflict, to the communities that receive--or reject--these demobilized fighters. At each level, these transitions imply a complex equation between the demands of peace and the clamor for justice. However, traditional approaches to DDR have focused on

military and security objectives, which have resulted in these programs being developed in relative isolation from the field of transitional justice and its concerns with historical clarification, justice, reparations, and reconciliation. Drawing upon my research with former combatants in Colombia, I argue that successful reintegration not only requires fusing the processes and goals of DDR programs with transitional justice measures, but that both DDR and transitional justice require a gendered analysis that includes an examination of the salient links between weapons, masculinities, and violence. Constructing certain forms of masculinity is not incidental to militarism: rather, it is essential to its maintenance. What might it mean to "add gender" to DDR and transitional justice processes if one defined gender to include men and masculinities, thus making these forms of identity visible and a focus of research and intervention? I explore how one might "add gender" to the DDR program in Colombia as one step toward successful reintegration, peace-building, and sustainable social change (*Abstract from Ibid, 1-2*).

Additional Notes:

Theidon argues that militarism is maintained through the construction of masculinity, yet DDR programs classify men according to race, ethnicity or age rather than their identity as men, and what type of masculinity they embody. The lack of alternative symbols of masculinity and prestige available to civilians creates a "political economy of militarized masculinity" that results from both "bodily and emotional indoctrination." The process of militarizing themselves involves becoming hard warriors with "impenetrable bodies." DDR thus requires a difficult transformation away from this image. DDR programs assume that combatant means "male," and as such don't explore the stereotypes of masculinity and femininity within combat, and how these stereotypes will affect reintegration. Even the post-conflict shelters and fincas where ex-combatants stay are characterized by competition to be part of the hegemonically masculine group; there is no respite from this competition of masculinities. Theidon believes DDR programs must try and create alternative masculinities by first creating awareness about how masculine militarization occurs, and also by using the media in a positive way to redefine gun culture and hegemonic masculinity.

Theidon, K. "Transitional Subjects: The Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration of Former Combatants in Colombia." *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 1, no. 1 (2007): 66-90.

Abstract:

A key component of peace processes and postconflict reconstruction is the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) of ex-combatants. DDR programs imply multiple transitions: from the combatants who lay down their weapons, to the governments that seek an end to armed conflict, to the communities that receive – or reject – these demobilized fighters. At each level, these transitions imply a complex and dynamic equation between the demands of peace and the clamor for justice. And yet, traditional approaches to DDR have focused almost exclusively on military and security objectives, which in turn has

resulted in these programs being developed in relative isolation from the growing field of transitional justice and its concerns with historical clarification, justice, reparations and reconciliation. The author draws upon research in Colombia, a case of great interest because the government is attempting to implement mechanisms of reparations and reconciliation in a ‘pre-postconflict’ context, and to implement DDR on the terrain of transitional justice (*Abstract from Ibid*, 66).

Additional Notes:

Theidon notes that men and women former combatants alike have been imbued with idealized notions of militarized masculinity. It is important to include both men and women, as this militarized masculinity is “part of a performance” involving not only men vying for prestige within the armed group, but also the women they hope to impress. For ex-paramilitaries, participation in the United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (AUC), and their possession of a gun, made the “feel like a big man in the streets of their barrios” that had access to the prettiest women. Another ex-paramilitary likewise noted the feeling of power he received from owning a gun. This sense of power partly exists because of the lack of alternative symbols of masculinity and prestige among civilian men.

Torres, Paula, Yanet Tovar, and Sergio Jaramillo. “Transitional Justice and the Case of Colombia.” New York, NY: ICTJ, 2009.

Abstract:

This paper analyzes the current Colombian policy of disarmament, demobilization and reinsertion (DDR) in light of the principles of transitional justice—that is, a framework according to which justice, truth and reparations are crucial for achieving the transition to peace, democracy and national reconciliation. Additionally, this paper compares the current DDR program in Colombia with the program carried out in the 1990s—a program that was also carried out in the midst of the armed conflict. The armed conflict in Colombia and the strategy for demobilization have changed considerably since the 1990s, both in terms of the number of ex-combatants and of the mechanisms through which they have demobilized. From 1989 to 1994, the Colombian state signed separate peace agreements with nine guerrilla groups,² made up of approximately 4,700 combatants who opted for demobilization and civilian reinsertion programs. Some also benefited from the 1991 constitutional reform that provided for the active participation in politics of the demobilized. At present, several members of those organizations continue to be active in politics and in public life, mostly in opposition political parties. Therefore, the peace process in the nineties and its political juncture represent a historical moment that is worth examining more closely, as the consequences of the measures adopted then continue to be an open wound in the country’s history.³ It shows that, although there was a DDR process following negotiations in the 1990s, national reconciliation was not fully achieved regarding past events. This paper holds that this lack of reconciliation is partly due to the fact that initiatives aimed at ensuring truth, justice and reparations did not accompany the DDR process.

Besides the fact that it contemplates two separate mechanisms for demobilization, very large numbers of ex-combatants and an experience of demobilization in the recent past, any analysis of the DDR and transitional justice process must take into consideration basic conceptual problems that are key distinctive factors in the Colombian case. The main problem lies in the application of the instruments provided by transitional justice when it is not clear in what ways the case of Colombia may be conceived as a real “transition.” This problem is twofold: the transition, from a political-institutional perspective, which amounts to both a theoretical and a practical problem in itself, as it refers to the aims used as parameters to judge the success of the transition; and the transition from a temporal perspective, that of the material limitations imposed by an unfinished transition (*Abstract from Ibid, 4-5*).

Additional Notes:

The authors note that those women and girls who are able to assimilate to men in armed groups are the ones who have a particularly difficult time reintegrating during DDR processes. This is because while they are in the groups, they take on the “hegemonic culture present in the insurgent groups,” (as quoting Vásquez, “La Vida se Escribe en Borrador y se Corrige a Diario: El Efecto del Conflicto Armado en Mujeres Desmovilizadas”, paper presented at the Género, Conflicto y la Construcción de la Paz Sostenible workshop, Bogotá, May 2000) and felt that in “chauvinistic” societies war can bring them opportunity, whereas reintegration will take this opportunity away. This trend supports Enloe’s argument that women may support militarization because they believe it will elevate their economic or social status, when in fact they stand to lose from the outcome of the process.

IX. Post-Conflict

Berrett, Jesse. "Feeding the Organization Man: Diet and Masculinity in Postwar America." *Journal of Social History* 30, no. 4 (1997): 805-825.

Abstract:

Even as they extolled the success of the American economy, many postwar social observers worried that the abundance the United States enjoyed endangered the nation's future: it would become weak and flabby, a victim of its own successes, and easy pickings for enemies abroad. These pressures were understood to fall with particular force on middle-class men. Whereas critics like Barbara Ehrenreich have seen popular concern over the effects of abundance on men as a rebellion against normative masculine behavior, this article argues that these concerns spurred the rise of a discourse of consumerist masculinity that relocated rather than rewrote those norms. Examining the popularity of male dieting in the 1950s, the article shows that "diet narratives" describing men's weight-loss created (though only ambivalently endorsed) a new mode of masculinity in which new consumerist behaviors underwrote old modes of authority, identity, and control. Although these diet narratives repeatedly invoked traditional means of masculine self-definition (war, frontier exploration), their acceptance of the consumerist world-view continually moved their authors further away from the same preconsumerist traditions they intended to recapture (*Abstract from Ibid*, 805).

Additional Notes:

Berrett's work echoes that of Karlin, who suggests that two competing masculinities emerged in Japan in response to modernization: that of the primitive man, and that of the consumer. This "consumerist masculinity" replaced an older model that focused on control and authority, yet did not depart entirely from the association between masculinity and war. Both the work of Berrett and Karlin raise interesting questions about the emergence of a less virile, more feminine form of masculinity in a post-war context. It is interesting to note, however, that this departure is by no means absolute; even consumer masculinity is defined by economic status and one's ability to engage in material consumerism, a model not so different from that of the masculine provider.

Grimm, Karin, Megan Bastick, and Rahel Kunz. *Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict: Global Overview and Implications for the Security Sector*. Geneva, CH: Geneva Center for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, 2007.

Abstract:

This report demonstrates the horrifying scope and magnitude of sexual violence in armed conflict. The first part of the report, the Global Overview, profiles documented conflict-related sexual violence in 50 countries - in Africa, the

Americas, Asia, Europe and the Middle East - that have experienced armed conflict over the past twenty years. Each profile contains a short summary of the conflict, a description of forms of sexual violence that occurred and, where available, quantitative data on sexual violence. The second part of the report, entitled Implications for the Security Sector, explores strategies for security and justice actors to prevent and respond to sexual violence in armed conflict and post-conflict situations. It focuses in particular on peacekeepers; police; the justice sector, including transitional justice; civil society initiatives; and how DDR programmes can address sexual violence. Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict: Global Overview and Implications for the Security Sector is an important resource for security sector and development institutions, advocates, humanitarian actors, and policy makers seeking to address sexual violence during and after armed conflict (*Abstract from Ibid, 9*).

Additional Notes:

Grimm argues that security sector reforms, and namely police reforms that incorporate more female officers as a means of promoting less violence overlook how women become a part of rather than defy this masculine culture. There are even some cases of female officers treating rape victims more roughly than their male counterparts, a means of proving that they are capable of “masculine behavior.” It is possible, however, to make the police service increasingly gender aware if gender sensitivity training accompanies the inclusion of women in the police forces. Training would have to address the interconnection between masculinity and violence and violent behaviour”.

Handrihan, Lori. “Conflict, Gender, Ethnicity and Post-Conflict Reconstruction.”
Security Dialogue 35, no. 4 (2004): 429-445.

Abstract:

This article introduces the concept of ethnicity in relation to gendered security problems in conflict and post-conflict settings. Feminist research has established that men and women experience conflict and post-conflict situations differently owing to issues of identity and power. National and gendered identities and women's disadvantageous location within global and local power structures combine to put women at risk, while simultaneously providing little room for them to voice their security problems. Theories on women as female boundary-makers show how ethnicity appears in part to be created, maintained and socialized through male control of gender identities, and how women's fundamental human rights and dignity are often caught up in male power struggles. In post-conflict settings, gender construction appears to be further complicated by both national agendas of identity formation and re-formation, which often include an ethnic focus, and the presence of a competing 'fraternity' as a consequence of the arrival of the international community (*Abstract from Ibid, 429*).

Additional Notes:

Handrihan questions why men as masculine members of a fraternity are willing to

kill and sacrifice themselves for a cause, when we do not necessarily see the same parallel among women and sororities. The “selfless, communal experience of brotherhood, which is the model of civic virtue,” exists because of war (Handrihan as quoting Benton 1998). In a post-conflict setting, the loss of power accorded to some men may cause them to express their “fraternity” in different ways. Resistance groups are one example of the expression of fraternity and masculinity in a post-conflict setting. The introduction of the “international fraternity” in the aftermath of war introduces a new hegemonic element to the structure of masculinities, as this fraternity has come “because local males have ‘failed’”.

Hudson, Natalie Florea. “Security Sector Reform Front and Center: What's Gender Got to do with it?” Paper presented at the International Studies Association Annual Conference, San Francisco CA, Mar. 2008.

Abstract:

As the case of Iraq demonstrates, one of the most vital steps to establishing and managing peace after armed conflict is to transform the institutions, policies and people who are responsible for the *security* of communities: collectively known as the *security sector*. *Security Sector Reform* (SSR) centers on those institutions with the capacity and authority to legitimately use force, and therefore, primarily includes both international and domestic military, police and other law enforcement institutions. While various components of *security reform*, such as disarmament programs, have long been part of post-conflict reconstruction, SSR as an umbrella concept seems to be moving up the international agenda and increasingly shaping peacekeeping and peacebuilding missions. Part of the flurry of activity surrounding SSR is the call for making *reform* activities gender sensitive, in terms of gender-sensitive training, recruitment of women, and facilities for dealing with gender-based violence. These activities to gender mainstream SSR seem to distinctly split those focused on reforming international policies and people (troop and police contributing countries), and those focused on transforming domestic *security sectors* in post-conflict societies. This paper compares and contrasts the gender mainstreaming efforts in SSR along these two dimensions to offer some insights into the ways SSR at the international and national or local levels overlap and diverge. This analysis will also highlight the gaps that exist because of this divergence and what can be learned between the groups focused on reforming the peacekeepers and the groups focused on the (re)emerging *security* forces at the domestic level. This analysis not only sheds light on the way these two approaches to SSR interact, but it also contributes to our understanding of what SSR, and the meaning of *security* more broadly, means in the 21st century (*Abstract from author*).

Additional Notes:

Like Duncanson in her discussion of peacekeeping, Hudson examines how different constructions of masculinity and femininity, in the homes of soldiers

within sending states, can influence how hierarchical relationships form. It is only by paying attention to this hierarchy that we can begin to understand whose security we are really defending, and how the international community is defining security.

Langa, Malose, and Gillian Eagle. "The Intractability of Militarised Masculinity: A Case Study of Former Self-Defense Unit Members in the Kathorus Area, South Africa." *South African Journal of Psychology* 38, no. 1 (2008): 152-175.

Abstract:

The study explores the struggle to maintain and transform a 'masculine' identity acquired primarily as a consequence of serving as part of a township-based paramilitary force in the pre-democratic South Africa. Based on accounts of former Self-Defence Unit (SDU) members from the Kathorus region (a group of townships on the perimeter of Johannesburg), the article explores some of the forces that influenced young men to become involved in political violence, the status this bestowed upon them, and how aspects of their 'militarised identity have come into conflict with new constructs of masculinity in a post-apartheid South Africa'. Although the experiences of South African ex-combatants have been documented in a number of reports and articles (Gear, 2002; Marks, 2001; Mashike & Mokalobe, 2003; Xaba, 2001), this article seeks to highlight the intractability of a particular form of masculine identity attained during the pivotal stage of early and late adolescent development. The negative consequences of this weddedness to a militarised masculinity for both the men themselves and the broader society are explored, together with some of the dimensions that appear to make this identity so compelling and so difficult to transform. The article draws upon theoretical understandings that suggest that gender and masculinity are socially constructed, and is based on data collected by means of individual interviews and focus groups conducted, with former combatants. The interviews reveal that images of militarised masculinity were popularised and dominant during the liberation struggle against apartheid, particularly amongst urban youth who were recruited into resistance activities. Young combatants were expected to be strong, brave, tough, fearless, aggressive, and violent. In many urban townships, young boys who were not part of the liberation struggle and youth politics were constructed as lacking in masculinity. Post 1994, virtually overnight, young combatants were expected to relinquish their militarised roles and to adopt new forms of masculinity without the facilitation of any demilitarisation programme to address the complexities of this transformation in their social and personal identity. The interviews reveal that many of these former combatants feel betrayed, forgotten, and alienated in post-apartheid South Africa. Some have carried their militarised masculinities into the new democracy, continuing to be involved in violent activities and risk-taking behaviours. Although many of them appear to be suffering from symptoms of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and other aspects of war trauma, attending counselling is seen as a sign of weakness and as an insult to militarised masculinity. The article argues that interventions to assist with identity transformation and greater social integration of such marginalised young men need to take account of these dynamics (*Abstract*

from Ibid, 152).

Additional Notes:

Langa and Eagle's work echoes that of Theidon, who points to the absence of alternative civilian masculinities that can confer prestige upon ex-combatants. As a result, men who have been trained to express themselves through militarized masculinity have little other means of achieving masculine status, and feel marginalized. Like Abdullah and Myrntinen, the authors argue that young male youth are at particular risk of expressing their masculinity through militarized violence. They highlight the "crisis of masculinity" that Farr, Myrntinen and Schnabel describe, a crisis that occurs when men who have defined their masculine status through arms lose this status symbol.

Ni Aolain, Fionnuala, Naomi Cahn, and Dina Haynes. "Masculinities and Child Soldiers in Post-Conflict Societies." Legal Studies Research Paper No. 10-57, Minnesota Law School, Sept. 2010.

Abstract:

Part I sets out the application of relevant theoretical concepts to the conflict, post-conflict, and transitional terrains. We introduce and explore the key concepts of hegemonic and hyper-masculinity, drawing on a feminist approach to masculinities studies. Part II addresses the complex interplay between victim and perpetrator status, and the difficulties for men in acknowledging their own experiences as victimhood. This section offers a more nuanced understanding of male victimhood in violent societies, and the silences and barriers that operate to deny the vulnerability of men. It begins the exploration, continued in the next section, of the effects of conflict on children, including the intergenerational impact. Part III focuses on child soldiers, one of the most visible and vulnerable populations affected by the hyper-masculinity of war. It applies theories and constructs from masculinities studies to address the resolution of social, political, and accountability issues that arise from the deployment of child soldiers in armed conflicts. We recognize that the application of masculinities theories does not offer a "one size fits all" solution to every conflict, nor will the issues experienced by and challenging child soldiers be identical across all contexts of violent hostilities. Rather, the knowledge base is one that can widen and deepen our perspectives on child soldiers and allow for creative interventions to support the resolution of a highly complex set of social and cultural issues (*Abstract from Ibid*).

Additional Notes and/or Quotations:

Ni Aolain et al. attempt to address the lack of attention given to masculinity studies in post-conflict settings. They suggest that hyper-masculinity continues to affect societies that are transitioning from conflict to post-conflict in the form of continued violence against women (with a general shift toward "ordinary criminality") and transitional processes that attempt to reconstruct pre-existing patriarchal institutions. The authors also note that men's roles in post-conflict should not be essentialized as uniformly hyper-masculine and urge the importance

of acknowledging that men and boys have also been victimized. Particular attention is given to the hyper-masculine socialization of child soldiers, whose absorbing and acting out of violent masculinity pose challenges to the sustainability of peace and stability.

Villellas Arino, Maria. "Nepal: A Gender View of the Armed Conflict and the Peace Process." *Quaderns de Construcció de Pao* 4 (2008).

Abstract:

Nepal is going through a period that is crucial to its future. After two years of a long and not always easy peace process, important reforms are beginning in an attempt to lay the basis of a new society, tackling some of the structural causes that led to the outbreak of the armed conflict. Nepali women have been deeply affected by this armed conflict, and, as with many other conflicts, its origin and course have had a notable gender dimension. Various factors provide evidence of this dimension, such as the use of gender violence or the large number of women combatants in the Maoist ranks, as well as the fact that the negotiation process which has led to the signing of the peace agreement largely excluded women. The purpose of this paper is to offer an analysis of the armed conflict and peace process Nepal is going through from a gender standpoint, analysing this situation from a feminist point of view. With this intention, the armed conflict that took place between 1996 and 2006 in Nepal is analysed from a gender perspective, paying particular attention to the consequences of the war and women's active involvement in it. Secondly, the peace process that put an end to the armed conflict is analysed, concerning the negotiations and the involvement of civil society and the international community from a gender standpoint. Finally, some of the most important challenges to be faced so that the post-war rehabilitation process takes place in the most inclusive and least discriminatory way possible, giving room for broad transformations in order to put an end to the exclusion of Nepali women, are noted (*Abstract from Ibid, 4*).

Additional Notes:

Inclusion of women in the security sector has been most difficult, as it is an extremely masculine sector. Similarly, while women's rights were mentioned in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, this was still an "exclusive, masculinized process".

Zwingel, Susanne. "Gendered Responsibilities for War and Peace: Strategies of Political, Socio-Economic and Psychological Reconstruction in Post-War Germany." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Hilton Chicago and the Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, IL, Sept. 2, 2004.

Abstract:

This paper combines a feminist view on the gendered dynamics fostering and preventing warfare with the experiences of Germans at the end and in the aftermath of World War II. It focuses on the years of 1945 to 1948, as they can be seen as the years of disintegration of the old system and re-emergence of two new post war orders. Both the symbolic construction of gender ideologies and the impact of these constructs on daily life are discussed. The main argument is that the both Nazi Germany and post-war Germany were shaped by different forms of gendered militarization: racist hyper-masculine warfare was replaced by the predominantly female face of post-war suffering which led to a gendered strategy of exculpation by part of many Germans; attempts to establish a more gender equal social order were partly successful, but ultimately absorbed by new forms of militarization as embodied in the block confrontation of the cold war (*Abstract from Ibid, 1*).

Additional Notes:

Zwingel defines de-militarization as the “deconstruction of hierarchical gender roles” and a recognition of how men and women experience conflict differently. Such an understanding is key to the reconstruction process. Despite the “post-war feminism” that developed in Germany, the women’s peace movement was split and mobilized according to ideological camps. In Germany there was no process of demilitarization, but rather a move from one form of militarization to another.

X. Warriors

Adams, David. “Why There Are So Few Women Warriors.” *Behavioral Science Research* 18, no. 3 (1983): 196-212.

Abstract:

Cross-cultural methodology suggests that women are excluded from warfare not so much because of sex differences in aggressiveness or strength, but instead because of a contradiction arising from marital residency systems that arose, in turn, as a function of warfare. Under conditions of internal warfare (war against neighboring communities sharing the same language) many stateless cultures may have adopted patrilocal exogamous marital residency (the bride comes from a different community and comes to live with the family of the husband). Under these conditions the wife is faced with contradictory loyalties during warfare, because her husband may go to war against her brothers and father. It appears that women have been excluded historically from warfare in order to resolve this contradiction and protect the security of the warrior husbands. This explanation is supported by other findings that women do fight as warriors in certain cultures in which warfare or marital residency rules are structured in such a way that the contradiction does not arise (*Abstract from Ibid, 196*).

Additional Notes:

Adams makes no explicit mention of masculinity, but does mention the male monopoly on warfare and the use of weapons. However, he does not cite this monopoly as a primary reason for women’s exclusion from warfare, citing instead the “marital residency rules” as a main cause. Perhaps we can also view the marital residency rules as an example of the power of male fraternity and brotherhood in the military, as women are seen as a potential threat to this bond, and as a factor that could undermine this loyalty in ways that could compromise military efficiency.

Blanchard, Mary W. “The Soldier and the Aesthete: Homosexuality and Popular Culture in Gilded Age America.” *Journal of American Studies* 30, no. 1 (1996): 25-46.

Abstract:

The aftermath of civil strife, note some historians, can change perceptions of gender. Particularly for males, the effect of exhaustive internal wars and the ensuing collapse of the warrior ideal relegates the soldier/hero to a marginal iconological status. Linda L. Carroll has persuasively argued, for instance, that, following the Italian wars, one finds the “damaged” images of males in Renaissance art: bowed heads, display of stomach, presentation of buttocks. In fact, male weakness and “effeminacy” can, notes Linda Dowling, follow on the military collapse of any collective state. Arthur N. Gilbert argues, in contrast, that historically in wartime, male weakness in the form of “sodomites” was rigorously persecuted. From 1749 until 1792, for instance, there was only one execution for

sodomy in France, while, during the Napoleonic Wars, the period of 1803–14, seven men were executed. Such analysis suggests that, in the aftermath of civil wars, cultural attitudes toward effeminate or homosexual men shifted from suppression or persecution during martial crisis to one of latitude and perhaps tolerance in periods following the breakdown of the military collective.

The aftermath of America's Civil War, the decades of the 1870s and 1880s, provides a testing ground to examine attitudes toward the soldier/hero and toward the effeminate male in a time of social and cultural disarray. At this time, an art "craze," the Aesthetic Movement, captured popular culture. Aestheticism, seen in the eighteenth century as a "sensibility," had, by the nineteenth century, an institutional base and a social reform ideology (*Abstract from Ibid*, 25).

Additional Notes:

Blanchard briefly mentions that following the Civil War, the ideal model of masculinity became less defined by victory in battle and more defined by aesthetic style. This observation mirrors that of Berrett and Karlin, who suggest that a less virile masculinity sometimes arises after war.

Chenoy, Anuradha. "Gender and International Politics: The Intersections of Patriarchy and Militarisation." *Indian Journal of Gender Studies* 11, no. 1 (2004): 27-42.

Abstract:

The policies of globalisation and militarisation are lending a muscular discourse to international politics, which provide continuity to the principle of patriarchy and privilege, especially during times of threat and conflict. This kind of politics has a structural impact on society because it endorses traditional gender roles and places people in binary categories like 'with us' or 'against us', 'civilised' and 'uncivilised', 'warriors' or 'wimps'. The militarist discourse marginalises opposition, diversity and difference, and with this the value of force as part of power is privileged, and militant nationalism exaggerated. Each local culture has its variant of the muscular discourse. As women try and increase their agency, the perception is that when women accept militarist notions of power it is easier for them to become part of national security and state institutions. This is a major challenge to feminist culture and thinking (*Abstract from Ibid*, 27).

Additional Notes:

Chenoy states that women are "socialized into militarist and national chauvinist stances", in turn becoming more acceptable to the male-centered military/security establishment. She points to Condoleeza Rice as an example of a "global modern Western woman" who breaks away from traditional patriarchal models of women, yet adheres to and supports the "macho power and hierarchy" of the military and the state. She also notes that international political discourse is increasingly divided into a warrior/wimp dichotomy, and those not falling into the warrior category are not considered to be "real men". As long as women adhere to the warrior model, they may become "strategic leaders"; otherwise, they are

marginalized. This model entails support for the unilateral use of force, and for the exertion of power of others. This dichotomy also feeds into “militarist nationalism,” which “makes war and decision making into a boys’ club” that keeps the nation on perpetual high security alert. The threat of violence is also a justification for a process of armed defense that privileges men. In this context, power is associated with men, and lack of power with “wimps” and femininity. Like Enloe, she notes that women accept militarization so they can gain agency.

Dunivin, Karen O. “Military Culture: Change and Continuity.” *Armed Forces & Society* 20, no. 4 (1994): 531-547.

Abstract:

This article uses three interrelated concepts—ideal type, model, and paradigm—to examine and explain both change and continuity in the American military culture as it undergoes major social change. Briefly, the analysis defines the three concepts and then applies each to current military culture. From this analysis, one sees continuity in the military's cultural paradigm, termed the "combat, masculine-warrior." However, one also sees change as illustrated by the military's "evolving" model of culture. Also discussed is how the military's combat, masculine-warrior paradigm conflicts with its evolving model of culture. This conflict helps explain some of the current turmoil as the military adapts to social change (e.g., diversity). The article concludes with a discussion of a potential paradigm shift in military culture. Hopefully this article provides a framework of analysis from which military leaders can better understand and proactively manage culture and change (*Abstract from Ibid, 531*).

Additional Notes:

Dunivin argues that the paradigm of the U.S. military is that of the masculine-warrior image, characterized by male soldiers that define combat as “men’s work.” Despite the inclusion of women and homosexuals in the military, this combat masculine-warrior paradigm persists, creating a “cult of masculinity” that defines military culture. The model of the military is based upon laws and policies that are meant to exclude those who do not conform. At the other end of the continuum is a model that accepts heterogeneity and diversity. The military lies somewhere along this continuum. Dunivin argues that despite social change, the military still embodies a “cult of masculinity” model over a “cultural diversity” model. There have, however, been more inclusionary laws and policies introduced into the military, as well as slowly changing attitudes towards cultural diversity.

Kronsell, Annica, and Erika Svedberg. “The Duty to Protect: Gender in the Swedish Practice of Conscription.” *Cooperation and Conflict* 36, no. 2 (2001): 153-176.

Abstract:

In this article, we turn first to a brief discussion of feminist contributions in the field of security, defense, and collective identity, and then argue that Swedish

nationalism is tied to a particular form of collective identity formation through the practice of conscription. Drawing on Elshtain's notions of 'just warriors' and 'beautiful souls', we go on to spell out how women, historically, have been situated within the discourse of militarism. Finally, we look at how the contribution of women to the military has been perceived and argued, and then point out how a small number of female soldiers may be instrumental in exposing a particular value system of gender, citizenship, and collective identity (*Abstract from Ibid, 153*).

Additional Notes:

Kronsell and Svedberg use Elshtain's discussion of "just warriors" and beautiful souls" to shed light on the protector/victim dichotomy. She applies this dichotomy to Swedish male conscripts to understand how they are posited as sacrificers, and how women's participation as sacrificer/protector disrupts this dichotomy. While there has been some progress in promoting gender equality in the Swedish armed forces (Sweden employs a gender blind approach), Kronsell argues that cutting back military spending and abandoning male-only conscription could change this.

Mosher, Donald L., and Silvan S. Tomkins. "Scripting the Macho Man: Hypermasculine Socialization and Enculturation." *The Journal of Sex Research* 25, no. 1 (1988): 60-84.

Abstract:

Tomkins' (1979) script theory offers a coherent, heuristic, and elegant account of the macho personality constellation (Mosher & Sirkin, 1984), consisting of: (a) callous sexual attitudes, (b) violence as manly, and (c) danger as exciting. A script is a set of rules for interpreting, directing, defending, and creating the scenes making up the life of the macho man. The macho script organizes childhood scenes in which so-called "superior, masculine" affects--like excitement and anger--were socialized to be favored over so-called "inferior, feminine" affects--like distress and fear. Furthermore, both adolescent rites of passage in male youth social networks and processes of enculturation in the American culture and its mass media continue that hypermasculine socialization. The ideological script of machismo descends from the ideology of the warrior and the stratifications following warfare--victor and vanquished, master and slave, the head of the house and woman as his complement, the patriarch and his children. The personality script of the macho man and his ideology of machismo mutually amplify one another --simultaneously justifying his lifestyle and celebrating his world view. In his dangerous, adversarial world of scarce resources, his violent, sexually callous, and dangerous physical acts express his "manly" essence (*Abstract from Ibid, 60*).

Additional Notes:

Mosher and Tomkins note how the macho man descends from the macho warrior, who is "master and patriarch," who retains control over all he has conquered, and who operates according to the characteristics of *machismo*. He also passes the shame he once felt onto his enemy and onto those he has conquered. To become part of the "warrior's honor society," one must pass a rite of passage that is judged by the other young male members of the group.

Ness, Cindy. *Female Terrorism and Militancy: Agency, Utility, and Organization*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2008.

Abstract:

This edited volume provides a window on the many forces that structure and shape why women and girls participate in terrorism and militancy, as well as on how states have come to view, treat, and strategize against them. Females who carry out terrorist acts have historically been seen as mounting a challenge to the social order by violating conventional notions of gender and power, and their participation in such acts has tended to be viewed as being either as a passive victim or a feminist warrior. This volume seeks to move beyond these portrayals, to examine some of the structuring conditions that play a part in a girl or woman's decision to commit violence. Amidst the contextual factors informing her involvement, the volume seeks also to explore the political agency of the female terrorist or militant. Several of the articles are based on research where authors had direct contact with female terrorists or militants who committed acts of political violence, or with witnesses to such acts (*Abstract from book description*).

Additional Notes:

(Text Unavailable).

Prividera, Laura, and John W. Howard. "Rescuing Patriarchy or Saving Jessica Lynch: The Rhetorical Construction of the American Woman Soldier." *Women and Language* 27, no. 2 (2004): 89-97.

Abstract:

Female soldiers are consistently challenged for their involvement in the military. They are excluded from combat roles and find it difficult to advance through the ranks (Carter, 1998). This challenge is perpetuated by media representations of female soldiers. Our research examines how media representations of female soldiers separate their feminine identity from their military identity. Specifically, we perform a feminist and critical rhetorical analysis of news stories on Private Jessica Lynch. First, we argue that the media reproduces traditional patriarchal roles for female and male soldiers. Next, we argue that Private Jessica Lynch was singled out for extensive media coverage because she could easily fit a submissive female archetype. Finally, we argue that Private Lynch's rescue is a rhetorical act to demonstrate U.S. Military prowess that encourages masculine constructions of warrior heroes. This demonstration aggravates the rift between the roles of "women" and "soldiers" in the U.S. Military and perpetuates the "female soldier" paradox (*Abstract from Ibid, 89*).

Additional Notes:

According to Prividera and Howard, Jessica Lynch's story is typical of women trying to gain acceptance in an extremely masculine occupation. Men find expression for their masculinity in the war effort, and play the dual roles of protector and fighter. This construct of masculinity relies upon a parallel construction of femininity in which women need protection. Women's

involvement in the military thus presents a challenge to this dichotomy. As a result, when the media portrays women in the military, they still privilege “elite masculinist interpretations of conflict” (as quoting Del Zotta 2002). Citing the work of Woodward, the authors note that there are several soldier models, yet all operate within a patriarchal framework. The ideal model is that of the “warrior hero,” who stands in opposition to femininity; when he fails, he is feminine. A female soldier is thus “a symbolic and socially constructed impossibility, a paradox.” Lynch was thus portrayed in the media as the opposite of the warrior hero, despite that she was wounded in combat and was a prisoner of war. She thus moves from “serving soldier” to “civilian victim” in these portrayals, as her identity is “civilianized, sexualized and victimized.”

Sasson-Levy, Orna. “Individual Bodies, Collective State Interests: The Case of Israeli Combat Soldiers.” *Men and Masculinities* 10, no. 3 (2007): 296-321.

Abstract:

The primary question this article raises is how democratic societies, whose liberal values seem to contradict the coercive values of the military, persuade men to enlist and participate in fighting. The author argues that part of the answer lies in alternative interpretation of transformative bodily and emotional practices. Drawing on in-depth interviews with Israeli combat soldiers, the author claims that the warrior's bodily and emotional practices are constituted through two opposing discursive regimes: self-control and thrill. The nexus of these two themes promotes an individualized interpretation frame of militarized practices, which blurs the boundaries between choice and coercion, presents mandatory military service as a fulfilling self-actualization, and enables soldiers to ignore the political and moral meanings of their actions. Thus, the individualized body and emotion management of the combat soldier serves the symbolic and pragmatic interests of the state, as it reinforces the cooperation between hegemonic masculinity and Israeli militarism (*Abstract from Ibid*, 296).

Additional Notes:

Sasson-Levy argues that hegemonic institutions (in this case the Israeli military) are perpetuated through the “management” of soldiers’ bodies and emotions. This management convinces soldiers that they want to go to war in defense of the nation, and that the military embodies true patriotism and the gateway to equal citizenship. Despite changing trends in the relationship between individual and collective, the warrior soldier still maintains hegemonic status in Israel. Sasson-Levy argues that this occurs through constructions of the Israeli soldier that are based upon self-restraint (introversion, self-repression) and thrill (adventure, risk). It is the element of thrill that makes soldiers feel like they have agency within the military. Basic training helps men create a new military identity for themselves, and also is a “rite of passage into Israeli hegemonic masculinity.” When they perceive their involvement as voluntary, soldiers can more readily ignore the moral and political implications of their mandatory service.

Steinert, Heinz. "The Indispensable Metaphor of War: On Populist Politics and the Contradictions of the State's Monopoly of Force." *Theoretical Criminology* 7, no. 3 (2003): 265-291.

Abstract:

The hegemonic use of the war metaphor, especially in the field of 'crime and punishment', is explained by its usefulness for the 'populist structure' of politics. Warfare, punishment and policing are three different forms of the state monopoly of force with different logics and restrictions. The universalization of the experience of war is examined historically. Military basic training is a training in helplessness and authoritarianism. The 'process of civilization' has led to war as mass destruction of population and infrastructure in the 20th century. In the populist appeal, value orientations such as '(patriarchal) family/community' and 'warrior/masculinity' are mobilized. Populist politics connects these social values to 'warfare' as well as to 'crime and punishment' (*Abstract from Ibid, 265*).

Additional Notes:

Steinert asserts that civilians and soldiers alike overcome their fear of war, powerlessness and helplessness through reliance on comrades and reliance a group. The overcoming of this fear is a "masculine overcoming," playing upon ideals of "masculine honor," and validating the war metaphor. This metaphor has such resonance within society because it shares the already existent social values of community, patriarchy and masculinity.

Vettel-Becker, Patricia. "Destruction and Delight: World War II Combat Photography and Aesthetic Inscription of Masculine Identity." *Men and Masculinities* 5, no. 1 (2002): 80-102.

Abstract:

During World War II, the American public was inundated with photographs of war. This article examines the iconography of war as revealed in photographs from the Pacific arena, identifying four primary motifs: the transformation of boys into warrior men, the fetishization of weaponry, the spectacle of death, and the quest to penetrate and dominate nature. War is a territorial game played by men to enact dominance, a social performance that inscribes gender identities on human bodies. War, like masculinity, is predicated on the subjugation of the feminine, which is encoded in the body and territory of the enemy, an inscription even more extreme when the enemy is of another race. These photographs enact the play of domination and subjugation through the imagery of impenetrability and rapability, thus contributing to the propagandistic construction of the enemy and extending the voyeuristic pleasures of domination to those not able to experience it firsthand (*Abstract from Ibid, 80*).

Additional Notes:

War turns boys into warriors, in effect initiating them into manhood. Through this process they learn to become killers, and to prize the reward of becoming a warrior over human life. Pictures depicting this warrior model simultaneously

create heroes who embody the virtue of sacrifice.

Vettel-Becker also discusses how weapons are depicted within these photographs as “fetishes of phallic power, security against the overwhelming castration anxiety brought about by war.” Portrayals of the enemy, however, never exhibit this “impenetrability;” rather the enemy is presented as defeated, and his weapons destroyed.

Waetjin, Thembisa. *Workers and Warriors: Masculinity and the Struggle for Nation in South Africa*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2004.

Abstract:

In this powerful and accessible analysis, Thembisa Waetjen explores how gender structured the mobilisation of Zulu nationalism as anti-apartheid efforts gained momentum in South Africa in the 1980s. As well as the dilemma of feminist politics when culture and gender compete as categories of loyalty and identification. It also functions as a study of patriarchy from a Zulu context to the male-dominated world of capitalist economies.

This seminal study provides a complex and historically informed view of how masculinity and gender power are articulated within the politics of nationalism and nation-building. The popular appeal of Zulu masculinity- with its martial reputation - makes Zulu nationalism a relevant case through which to explore these crucial critical questions.

Workers and Warriors provides a fascinating and highly relevant African case study for scholars and teachers in Sociology, History, Political Science and Gender Studies (*Abstract from book description*).

Additional Notes:

This book examines how the Inkatha movement of Chief Buthelezi used masculinity as a way of promoting nationalism, and how this tactic did and did not succeed. Inkatha gained power by “politicizing manhood and mobilizing male support,” valorizing the use of threat and calling men to arms to promote the nationalist cause. Ultimately, however, social and class divisions among Zulu speakers prevented Inkatha from uniting.

Weber, Annette. “Women Without Arms: Gendered Fighter Constructions in Eritrea and Southern Sudan.” *International Journal of Conflict and Violence* 5, no. 2 (2011): 357-370.

Abstract:

An analysis of gendered fighter constructions in the liberation movements in Eritrea and southern Sudan (EPLF and SPLA/M), examining the question of female access to the sphere of masculine fighter constructs and the relevance of

this for influence in peacetime affairs. Empirical research in both countries, in particular interviews with participants, reveals that what keeps women out of the sphere of legitimized violence is not some “inherent peacefulness,” but the exclusivist construct of the masculine fighter, which is supported by society. This makes it hard for women to participate in war, and especially to gain full fighter status. An intrinsic link is found between fighter status and access to power in post-conflict state-building from which women, being unable to gain full fighter status, are largely excluded (*Abstract from Ibid*, 358).

Additional Notes:

Through semi-structured with active and retired female fighters and activists in Eritrea and South Sudan, Weber finds that gendered constructions of fighters limits women’s access to positions of power both during and post-conflict. Even when women participated as fighters during conflict, they were forced out of the “masculine sphere of power” in post-conflict. In both Eritrea and South Sudan, the status of male fighters is elevated, allowing them to be leaders in post-conflict reconstruction and security processes. Therefore, the exclusion of women from conflict also excludes them from participating in post-conflict operations.

Winslow, Donna, and Jason Dunn. “Women in the Canadian Forces: Between Legal and Social Integration.” *Current Sociology* 50, no. 5 (2002): 641-667.

Abstract:

In this article the authors examine the integration of women into the Canadian armed forces. The definition of integration has two parts. The first is a legal standard where women and men are incorporated as equals into the military. The second is of a social nature. Here, integration is defined as the full acceptance of women as equals. The authors argue that the combat forces are far removed from civilian society. As a result they emphasize the values and attitudes of the traditionally male-oriented military organization and, in particular, masculine models of the warrior, thus resisting female integration. This article is based primarily upon documentary research on gender integration in the Canadian armed forces. The authors also examine how scholars have addressed change within military organizations; in particular, how certain sectors of the military react differently to change. In addition, informal interviews were conducted with forces personnel (*Abstract from Ibid*, 641).

Additional Notes:

Like Alison and other scholars, Winslow and Dunn note the difficulty women have had being accepted into the Canadian armed forces, a result of the culture of masculinity that pervades the military. This culture is in turn centered around the masculine warrior, an image standing in stark contrast to the feminine. The “symbols and behaviors which perpetuate and maintain male ideology” within the Canadian armed forces only further alienate women.

Wong, Leonard. "Leave No Man Behind: Recovering America's Fallen Warriors." *Armed Forces and Society* 31, no. 4 (2005): 599-622.

Abstract:

The US military will go to extraordinary lengths to evacuate its wounded, and more interestingly, to recover its dead. While taking risks to recover the body of a fallen soldier may make no rational sense, it impacts significantly on the unit, the military profession, and US society. This article examines the "leave no man behind" phenomenon through individual, family, unit, institutional, and societal perspectives. Possible reasons why the ethic has increased in salience and potential future implications are also discussed (*Abstract from Ibid, 599*).

Additional Notes:

Wong argues that the "leave no man behind" ethos allows soldiers to feel that they will not be left for dead; rather, they will be remembered as individuals. This is an interesting take on the image of the fallen warrior, as it emphasizes a dissociation from the fraternity of soldiers, rather than an unbreakable bond. Finding a fallen soldier is remembering him as an individual rather than the nameless member of a military. At the same time, another reason for recovering the body is to show unit loyalty to the soldier. At the institutional level, recovering the body is a way of honoring and respecting the military profession.

XI. Male Youth

Barker, Gary and Christine Ricardo. "Young Men and the Construction of Masculinity in Sub-Saharan Africa: Implications for HIV/AIDS, Conflict, and Violence." Working paper no. 26, Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, Social Development Papers, Conflict Prevention & Reconstruction, June 2005. http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2005/06/23/000012009_20050623134235/Rendered/PDF/327120rev0PAPER0AFR0yung0men0WP26.pdf.

Abstract:

Gender is increasingly being used as a framework for analysis and program development in youth and social development, HIV/AIDS and conflict in Africa. Gender has often referred to the disadvantages that women and girls face, given gender inequalities in the region, this has been necessary. However, a gender perspective has too often ignored the gender of men and boys. Accordingly, this report explores the constructions of manhood in Africa and the implications for conflict and post-conflict recovery, and HIV/AIDS. This paper argues for applying a more sophisticated gender analysis related to conflict and to HIV/AIDS to examine how men and women, and boys and girls, are made vulnerable by rigid notions of manhood and gender hierarchies. The paper's central question is: What does a gender perspective mean when applied to young men in sub-Saharan Africa as related to conflict and HIV/AIDS? (*Abstract from Ibid, v*)

Additional Notes:

This working paper from the World Bank examines the role of gender for young men in Africa, particularly as it relates to HIV/AIDS, conflict, and violence. According to the paper, gender is increasingly used as an analytical framework in programme and policy development related to youth. In most such analyses, gender refers specifically and often exclusively to the disadvantages that women and girls face. The author states that a gender perspective and mainstream conceptualisation of gender have too often ignored the role of gender in the lives of men and boys. According to the authors, two of the most pressing social issues in Africa — conflict and post-conflict recovery, and HIV/AIDS — are directly related to how masculinities are socially constructed. The aim of this paper is to explore what a gender perspective means, as applied to young men in Africa, when focusing on conflict, violence, and HIV/AIDS. It explores the construction of manhood in Africa and argues for the application of a more sophisticated gender analysis that also includes men and boys (*Communication Initiative Network*).

Barker, Gary *Dying to be Men: Youth, Masculinity and Social Exclusion*. New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis, 2005.

Abstract:

Worldwide data on violence confirms that young men are the commonest perpetrators and recipients of violence, ranging from homicide to lesser forms of violence such as assault and delinquent behavior. Among young men in North and Latin America the incidence of violence, and homicide, is the highest in the world. Largely urban-based, the violence is clearly related to social exclusion, unemployment, and curtailed educational opportunities, although the versions of male identity prevailing in this context also appear to play a very large part in supporting and encouraging the use of violence, especially against women. The health consequences, and financial cost, of violence are considerable. At the same time, despite the general acceptance of a traditional and callous version of manhood in such settings, there are young men who do not get involved in violence - the 'peace boys'. How can this be explained? Based on field research and interviews in the USA and Brazil, *Dying to be Men* explores how manhood or male identity is shaped in poor urban settings, how it is that some young men resist the prevailing norms, what the implications are for social policy and what are the most important forms of intervention (*Abstract from book description*).

Dolan, Chris, and Emmanuel Bagenda. *Militarization & its Impacts, Northern Uganda Strategic Conflict Assessment*. London, UK: Christian Aid, 2004.

Abstract:

No abstract available.

Additional Notes:

In this document the authors briefly note that in light of limited economic and educational opportunities, joining the military is a viable option for northern Ugandan youth. In turn, this contributes to a high prevalence of small arms.

Donham, Donald L., and Edna G. Bay. *States of Violence: Politics, Youth and Memory in Contemporary Africa*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2006.

Abstract:

The essayists whose work is collected here—historians, anthropologists, and political scientists—bring their diverse disciplinary perspectives to bear on various forms of violence that have plagued recent African history. Exploring violence as part of political economy and rejecting stereotypical explanations of African violence as endemic or natural to African cultures, the essays examine a continent where the boundaries on acceptable force are always shifting and the distinction between violence by the state and against the state is not always clear. Many of the essays address generational tensions through the role of African youth, which in this context is almost exclusively male. The violence perpetrated by young men stems not only from ideologies of masculinity but also from a frustration over both their own unrealized adulthood and the failure of an adult leadership whose interaction with the youth often seems limited to enlisting them

in more bloodshed. Other essays examine the temptation in an atmosphere of violence to exploit the malleability of memory to construct, or reconstruct, histories in order to justify the sacrifice and shifts of power brought on by that violence. Wide-ranging but sharply focused, *States of Violence* takes in power struggles in Sierra Leone, nationalism in postcolonial Zimbabwe, the Bakassi boys of Nigeria, and offers probing examinations of such pivotal events as the Rwandan genocide and the Alexandra Rebellion, shedding new light on the role of each in the drama being played out in this troubled continent (*Abstract from book description*).

Leatherman, Janie. *Sexual Violence and Armed Conflict*. Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2011.

Abstract:

This book offers a comprehensive analysis of the causes, consequences and responses to sexual violence in contemporary armed conflict. It explores the function and effect of wartime sexual violence and examines the conditions that make women and girls most vulnerable to these acts both before, during and after conflict. To understand the motivations of the men (and occasionally women) who perpetrate this violence, the book analyzes the role played by systemic and situational factors such as patriarchy and militarized masculinity. Difficult questions of accountability are tackled; in particular, the case of child soldiers, who often suffer a double victimization when forced to commit sexual atrocities. The book concludes by looking at strategies of prevention and protection as well as new programs being set up on the ground to support the rehabilitation of survivors and their communities. Sexual violence in war has long been a taboo subject but, as this book shows, new and courageous steps are at last being taken at both local and international level - to end what has been called the "greatest silence in history" (*Abstract from Book description*).

Mager, Anne. "Youth organizations and the Construction of Masculine Identities in the Ciskei and Transkai, 1945-1960." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 24, no. 4 (1998): 653-667.

Abstract:

Organisations of Xhosa-speaking youth predominantly boys and young men in the 1950s and 1960s were critical spaces for the construction of masculine identities in rural Ciskei and Transkei. In the context of post-Second World War industrialisation, collapsing reserve agriculture and apartheid rule, these organisations were critical sites for filtering influences and fashioning values and lifestyles. While boys and young men constantly reconstructed a distinction between boyhood and manhood around the axis of circumcision, they reinvented notions of masculinity in the shadow of decreasing prospects of establishing themselves as men with rural homesteads and herds of cattle. Moreover, in the

absence of migrant fathers, youth organisations operated with considerable autonomy in rural localities. Concomitantly, the terrain on which boys and young men constructed their identities was shaped more by inter-group rivalry, aggressive behaviour and control over girls than by generational conflict (*Abstract from Ibid*, 653).

Additional Notes:

Mager argues that apartheid rule created a sense of “thwarted masculinity” among youth that increased their desire to control their rivals and to control women. This control over women took the form of close surveillance of their actions, and competition between male peers over women. In more extreme cases, it took the form of beatings or rape. Rivalry between youth organizations increased significantly during these years. Difficult economic conditions made the acquisition of land and cattle—two distinct symbols of manhood—more difficult than in the past. The sense of emasculation resulting from life in Bantustans further diminished their ability to feel masculine and in control. The situation of Xhosa-speaking youth in the Ciskei and Transkei raises questions about how men are to find alternative symbols of masculinity amidst little opportunity, a question Theidon asks in her study of Colombian men. Mager states that in the absence of fathers who could serve as positive role models, these youth pushed the limits of violence even further. By the 1960s, “violence, distrust and insecurity had become more centrally constitutive of the process of gendering young men than in the early 1940s.”

Mohammad, Nasrudin, David Veronesi, Shobhana Rajendran, and Alimudin Mala.
“The Impact of Armed Conflict on Male Youth in Mindanao, Philippines.”
Working paper no. 35, Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, Social
Development Papers, Conflict Prevention & Reconstruction, Jul. 2006.
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[26/000112742_20060726173328/Rendered/PDF/368740PH0male0youths0WP](http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2006/07/26/000112742_20060726173328/Rendered/PDF/368740PH0male0youths0WP35.pdf)
[35.pdf](http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2006/07/26/000112742_20060726173328/Rendered/PDF/368740PH0male0youths0WP35.pdf).

Abstract:

This study is a companion to an earlier study on Gender and Conflict in Mindanao that was heavily focused on the impact of armed conflict on women (including young women), and stems from a need to understand the situation of young men in the context of the conflict in Mindanao. It also complements a study conducted in early 2005 that examines the impact of the conflict on men, women and youth in five provinces of Mindanao (*Abstract from Ibid*, 2).

Additional Notes:

Like Sommers, these authors underscore the need to understand how and when men resist violence, even amidst a violent culture. In Mindanao, despite losing their homes and family members and being displaced, many have avoided violence, instead looking for opportunities to improve their education and make their communities stronger. The authors also allude to the lack of programming

for male youth in Mindanao; where there are gender-sensitive interventions, they tend to focus upon women, perhaps because of the perception that male youth are violent and cause insecurity, while women are victims of this violence.

McEvoy-Levy, Siobhán. *Troublemakers or Peacemakers? Youth and Post-Accord Peace Building*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006.

Abstract:

Many contemporary conflicts are fuelled by youth. After war, young people are at once potential threats to peace and significant peacebuilding resources. Yet their roles as political activists and soldiers, as criminals and bandits, and as peace activists, remain understudied. The paper presents the results of a new body of original research on youth involved in these activities in nine transitional contexts. The countries studied were Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Guatemala, Colombia, Angola, Northern Ireland, Bosnia and Israel-Palestine. The project (directed by the author of this paper) examined youth combatants, their pathways into armed conflict, the costs and lessons of their involvement, and the reintegration challenges after accords. It collected and analyzed young people's subjective understandings of war, peace and peace processes. It examined specific activities of youth in support of peace and specific initiatives designed to engage youth in peacebuilding. Based on this research the paper develops new theory on the role of youth in peace processes and makes policy-relevant conclusions on engaging youth in peace education and peacebuilding programs (*Abstract from book description*).

Sommers, Marc. "Urban Youth in Africa." *Environment and Urbanization* 20, no. 10 (2010): 317-332.

Abstract:

It is widely assumed that most Africans reside in rural areas, that African cities make little economic sense and are unusually violent because so many unemployed young men live there, and that urban migrant youth can be drawn back to their former rural homes. This paper challenges all of these assumptions. In the process, it reviews dominant trends in Africa's rapid urban expansion and examines what life is like for urban youth. I will argue that African cities are underserved and fiercely competitive economic environments that are negatively impacted by neoliberal development policies. Urban youth life tends to take place in worlds that are largely separate from the rest of society. The pressures and dangers facing male and female youth can be extreme, yet at the same time African cities are exceptionally stimulating places that provide opportunities for re-invention for many urban youth. The paper ends with recommendations for addressing the needs of the marginalized majority of Africa's urban youth more effectively. Its primary focus is urban areas in the region of sub-Saharan Africa (*Abstract from Ibid, 317*).

Additional Notes:

In this article Sommers again critiques youth bulge theory, and the assumption by

USAID that inherently violent “unattached young males” create a security threat that must be treated as such. He argues that analysis of insecurity must take into account other factors such as the relationship between city size and crime rates, the process of democratization, and the place where conflict is born, which in many African contexts is rural. He also notes that literature on the youth bulge rarely includes the opinions and thoughts of youth, but relies instead on speculations about their level of dangerousness. Sommers also highlights the tendency of many male youth to join religious groups. Manhood in Africa, he notes, is defined in part by the ability to own a home and have a family. The city thus provides a respite from many of these pressures.

Sommers, Marc. “Fearing Africa’s Young Men: Male Youth, Conflict, Urbanization, and the Case of Rwanda.” In *The Other Half of Gender: Men’s Issues in Development*, edited by Ian Bannon and Maria Correia, 137-158. Washington, DC: The World Bank, 2006.

Abstract:

No abstract found.

Additional Notes:

In this chapter Sommers critiques the theory of youth bulge, arguing that high concentrations of youth in cities automatically leads to violence. Contrary to this theory, in Sierra Leone, Mozambique, and other Sub-Saharan African countries, rebellions occur in rural areas where the male youth population is actually quite low. He points to Rwanda’s male youth migrating to Kigali as a counter-example to youth bulge theory, and argues that rather than being increasingly marginalized, male youth need “positive engagement” with international organizations. Sommers’ work refutes the assumption that male youth are inherently violent. While not directly discussing masculinity, he corroborates the view of Dolan and Theidon that men need alternative ways of expressing their masculinity amidst a dearth of economic and educational opportunity.

Waller, Richard. “Rebellious Youth in Colonial Africa.” *The Journal of African History* 47, no. 1 (2006): 77-92.

Abstract:

That rebellious youth’ alarmed colonial authorities and elders alike is increasingly an issue for historians. This article surveys the issue as an introduction to the two studies that follow. It considers both the creation of images of youthful defiance as part of a debate about youth conducted largely by their seniors and the real predicaments faced by young people themselves. Concern revolved around the meanings of maturity in a changing world where models of responsible male and female adulthood, gendered expectations and future prospects were all in flux. Surviving the present and facing the future made elders anxious and divided as

well as united the young. The article concludes by suggesting a number of areas, including leisure and politics, where the voice of youth might be more clearly heard, and proposes comparisons – with the past, between racial groups and between ‘town’ and ‘country’ – that link the varied experiences of the young (*Abstract from Ibid, 77*).

Additional Notes:

One result of a colonial presence in Africa was a recreation of masculinity that prized productivity, marriage and citizenship. In response to racial oppression and the loss of control over their own masculinity, gangs emerged that taught youth to defy the law and employment. These “frustrations” also led youth to defy authority.