

The Global Politics of Sex and Gender

PLIT10075

Semester Two 2013-14

COURSE GUIDE

Lecture

Tuesday: 9.00-10.50 Lecture Hall B DHT

Tutorials

Thursday: 12.10-13.00 2.05 10 BP
14.10-15.00 2.08 10 BP
15.10-16.00 3.18 DHT

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| <p>A course guide with larger font can be provided if needed. See the course convenor, Claire Duncanson</p> |
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Course Description and Objectives

This course aims to explore the implications for domestic and international politics of taking sex and gender seriously. It considers how political issues manifest themselves at local and global levels and, crucially, the interrelationship between the two. It addresses a large number of key contemporary topics, such as rape in both domestic and war contexts, the war on terror, globalisation, the global sex trade and reproductive rights, and demonstrates what a variety of feminist approaches can contribute to our understanding of those issues. Students will also explore the relationship between feminist and mainstream approaches to politics and IR, their different ontological, epistemological and methodological perspectives. A key underlying theme is the dynamics of change – including a consideration of what change means in terms of gender relations and global politics, how it can be achieved, and the institutions that are relevant for achieving change.

At the end of the course, students will have:

- a good understanding of sex and gender as categories of analysis in relation to issues in politics – both local and global
- the ability to reflect critically on feminist thinking on war, militarism, security and peace; the global economy; human rights (including women's human rights and reproductive rights), culture and development; and democracy and governance.
- Developed key skills in critical thinking, conceptual analysis, research, oral and written articulation of information and argument

Teaching Team

Dr Claire Duncanson (Co-convenor)
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Office Hours: Wednesday 9-11 am

Professor Fiona Mackay (Co-convenor)
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Blog: <http://genderpoliticsatedinburgh.wordpress.com>

Tutors

Barbara Gaweda
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Office Hours: Tuesday 2-3pm, venue TBC

TEACHING ARRANGEMENTS

Lecture/Presentations

The class meets for a two hour session on Tuesday mornings 9-10.50am, plus a one hour tutorial on Thursdays. During the two hour session, a variety of teaching methods will be employed, including lectures and mini lectures, student group presentations, small group and whole class discussions and exercises, film screenings, and other activities. The one hour tutorial will be devoted to examining in depth two or three core readings on a topic related to the previous lecture.

You should sign up for a tutorial on Learn by the end of Wednesday week 1.

Students registered for the course are expected to:

- attend both the Tuesday session and Thursday tutorial regularly and punctually
- make an active contribution to group discussions and exercises
- participate in one student group presentation
- read *at least* one of the introductory readings for each lecture *and all* the required discussion readings for each tutorial
- hand in a weekly summary of points drawn from tutorial readings
- complete assessed coursework on time.

Finally, during both Tuesday and Thursday sessions, you are expected to be ready to listen, ask questions and comment constructively and respectfully on the contributions of others. Healthy debate is welcome; sexist, racist, homophobic and intemperate language is not.

Further details on the group presentations and the tutorial readings are found in the information about assessment and in the detailed course outline below. All students are expected to sign up to one group presentation. You will be able to sign up on Learn after the first lecture.

Lecture and Tutorial Schedule

| Wk | Date | Format | Topic/Format |
|--|---|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1 | Tues 14 Jan | Lecture | Introduction to the Global Politics of Sex and Gender |
| 1 | Thurs 16 Jan | Tutorial | Fukuyama v.s Tickner: Why Women Can't Run the World! |
| Part I: Gender in Conflict and Post-Conflict Settings | | | |
| 2 | Tues 21 Jan | Lecture <i>Film</i> | Gendered Nature of War <i>The Greatest Silence</i> |
| 2 | Thurs 23 Jan | Tutorial | Rape as a Weapon of War. Discussion of the film, Allison (2007), and Baaz and Stern (2009) |
| 3 | Tues 28 Jan | Lecture <i>Class Debate</i> | Gender and Peace <i>Would women soldiers make a difference to the success of peacebuilding?</i> |
| 3 | Thurs 30 Jan | Tutorial | Military Masculinities: Discussion of Whitworth (2004) and Higate (2008) |
| 4 | Tues 4 Feb | Lecture <i>Group Presentations</i> | Gender and War on Terror <i>What has been the impact of the War on Terror on women in a) Iraq b)Afghanistan</i> |
| 4 | Thurs 6 Feb | Tutorial | Afghanistan: A War for Women's Rights? Discussion based on Ferguson (2009) and Khalili (2011) |
| Part II: Sex, Gender and Globalisation | | | |
| 5 | Tues 11 Feb | Lecture <i>Group Presentations</i> | Sex, Gender and Capitalism <i>a) heteronormativity and the World Bank b) hypermasculinity and the Global Financial Crisis</i> |
| 5 | Thurs 13 | Tutorial | Capitalism, Globalization and 'Global Chains of Care': Discussion based on Hoshchild (2005) and Acker (2004) |
| 6 | ***INNOVATIVE LEARNING WEEK – NO LECTURES OR TUTORIALS*** | | |
| 7 | Tues 25 Feb | Lecture <i>Group presentations</i> | Reproductive Rights, Sexual Health and Sexuality <i>Case study on international aid and reproductive rights</i> |
| 7 | Thurs 28 Feb | Tutorial | Gender, sexuality and HIV/AIDS: Discussion based on Dowsett (2003) and Boyce et al (2007) |
| 8 | Tues 4 March | Lecture <i>Q&A</i> | Global Sex Industry <i>With Guest Lecturer, Ann Hamilton, Human Trafficking Foundation</i> |
| 8 | Thurs 6 March | Tutorial debate | The Industrial Vagina: Debate based on Jeffreys (2008) versus Murray (1998) |
| Part III: Strategies for Change | | | |
| 9 | Tues 11 March | Lecture <i>Group Presentations</i> | Institutionalising Gender Equality I: Insider and Outsider Strategies for Change <i>Case studies of feminist campaigns a) global trade; b) rape and gender based violence.</i> |
| 9 | Thurs 13 March | Tutorial | What difference do institutions and politics make in advancing women's interests? Practical exercise based on Goetz (2003) |
| 10 | Tues 18 March | Lecture <i>Group presentations</i> | Institutionalising Gender Equality II: International Organisations and Instruments <i>Case studies of feminist engagements a) UN Security Council Resolution 1325; b) Gender mandate of International Criminal Court</i> |
| 10 | Thurs 20 March | Tutorial | Feminist Imperialism: Discussion based on Winter et al (2002) and Russo (2006) |
| 11 | Tues 25 March | Lecture <i>Q&A</i> | <i>Stories from the Field: Doing Feminist Research. Plus Essay Writing Advice and Class Social</i> |

Reading and Resources

There is no book which covers the entirety of the course, but there are several which cover many elements of it, which it would be worth considering buying:

Peterson and Runyan (2010) *Global Gender Issues*, 3rd Edition

Rai, Shirin M and Georgina Waylen (eds) (2008) *Global Governance, Feminist Perspectives*, Palgrave Macmillan

Shepherd, Laura (2010) *Gender Matters in Global Politics*. London: Routledge [ebook]

Steans, J (2013) *Gender and International Relations: Issues, Debates and Future Directions* (Third Edition), Polity Press

The independent bookshop *Wordpower*, West Nicholson St, should have these titles available. *Wordpower*, along with *Blackwells*, on South Bridge, stocks a wide range of books relevant to this course.

The reading list (at the end of this course guide) is by no means exhaustive. Many of the recommended texts have extensive bibliographies. Students are encouraged to seek additional sources independently.

Journals

It is important that students keep abreast of current events and developments. This involves reading of the quality daily press, such as the *Financial Times* and *The Guardian* (available online).

Academic journals are also very important. The journal of most relevance, which it is worth browsing through, is the *International Feminist Journal of Politics*. Some of the mainstream International Relations Journals will also be useful (*Review of International Studies*, *Foreign Affairs*, *International Affairs*, *International Journal*, *Human Rights Quarterly*, *International Security*, *International Organisation*, *World Politics*, and *Millennium: Journal of International Politics*), along with some of the more general feminist or gender related journals (*Gender and Society*, *Hypatia*, *Politics & Gender*, *Social Politics*, *Men and Masculinities*, *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, *Women's Studies International Forum*, and *Women's Studies Quarterly*)

Please NOTE that most of the recent volumes (generally from 1998 onwards) of the journals can be accessed **electronically** which saves you having to go the library shelves.

LEARN

Learn will be used extensively in this course. Lecture slides will be uploaded and links for some seminar readings will also be available via Learn. You are also encouraged to voice questions and comments in the discussion forum.

ASSESSMENT

There are *three* elements to coursework assessment. Students are required to submit two written assignments – details below. Students will also be assessed on their group presentations and participation in tutorials (15%)

First assignment

The first essay is due in by midday on **Monday 3rd Feb**. It is to be no more than 1,500 words, excluding bibliography. Essays more than 10% over the word limit will lose one point per twenty words. It will be worth 25% of your overall mark

Critically analyse the Tickner vs Fukuyama debate (discussed in the first tutorial), paying particular attention to their understandings of gender.

This requires you to weigh up carefully the strengths and weaknesses of the arguments and assertions made in both of these texts: are they convincing? are they supported by evidence? what do you think? In addition to the two main texts, you should draw on a (limited) range of secondary literature (this does not need to be more than 9 or 10 references total).

The essay feedback sheet, appendix A in this guide, provides the assessment criteria.

Second assignment

The second essay is due in on midday **by Monday 21st April**. It is to be no more than 3,500 words, excluding bibliography. Essays more than 10% over the word limit will lose one point per twenty words. This essay will be worth 60% of your overall mark.

Please pick one of the following essay questions:

1. With reference to UNSCR 1325 OR Cairo (International Conference on Population and Development) OR the ICC, assess the extent to which global institutions and instruments have advanced gender justice and women's rights.
2. What feminist strategies have proved most effective for achieving change? Illustrate your answer with reference to at least two different feminist campaigns.
3. Effective responses to the HIV/AIDS pandemic are impossible without integrating gender and sexuality. Discuss.
4. Is globalisation good for women?
5. Critically assess Sheila Jeffrey's analysis of the rise of the global sex industry, by drawing on both her critics and her supporters.

The essay feedback sheet, appendix A in this guide, provides the assessment criteria for both the first and second assignment. You should also consult the School's marking descriptors for further guidance on what constitutes an excellent essay:

http://www.sps.ed.ac.uk/undergrad/on_course_students/honours/assessment_and_regs/markin_g_descriptors

Student Participation

15 % of your overall mark will be based on your participation throughout the semester. It will relate to your group presentation, preparation for and performance in tutorials, and attendance at both tutorials and lectures. The following notes should make it clear what is expected of you in terms of participation. If you have further questions or concerns, however, please discuss with either course convenor.

The **group presentations** are designed to give you an opportunity to work collaboratively, to think about how to edit large amounts of information into an effective presentation, to think about how to express critical ideas effectively in presentations, and to work on your oral communication skills, including the use of visual aids and the timing of presentations.

Please arrange to meet with your partner/group members well in advance to decide how you will divide work amongst yourselves. *From experience of previous years, the most successful presentations result from groups meeting at least twice beforehand.* Each group presentation should be no more than **10-15 minutes** long, with every member taking part. Try and think about visual ways to present your argument/ discussion. Powerpoint will be provided. This is your chance to practice crucial transferable skills. **Please do not read out a short essay!!** The presentations will be assessed in terms of both content and the form in which it is conveyed. It is recognised that different individuals respond differently to the pressure of public speaking and we will attempt to exclude this consideration from the assessment. Normally the same mark will be given to all members of the group, but we reserve the right to vary this when it is clear that not all were involved or where one or more member makes a particularly strong contribution.

The **tutorials** are designed to give you an opportunity to discuss the readings, share your ideas and try out arguments with other students. Their usefulness is directly proportional to your willingness to prepare and participate actively.

- **Attendance:** You are expected to attend every tutorial and lecture, unless you have very good reason to be absent. Absences should be explained in advance and justified with evidence where appropriate.
- **Preparation:** You are expected to complete the required reading every week. You will be asked to submit one page (type-written) containing five or six key points based on critical reflection on the required readings. Try to go beyond summarising the readings; the points should be based on your analysis of the readings. This list will be collected by the tutor but will not be graded. It will be the basis of discussion in class, and you may be called upon in tutorials to lead some of the discussion by drawing upon your points on your page. ***Please bring a hard copy to class each week.***
- **Performance:** You are expected to contribute to class discussion by offering ideas and asking questions. You are expected to base your contributions on your analysis of the readings and to listen when others talk, both in small and large group discussions. Ideally, you will be able to incorporate or build off the ideas of others.
- **NB** The focus will be on the quality rather than quantity of your contributions. It's not a race to see who can say the most. Rather, ***students will be rewarded for their capacity to make relevant points, bring in the readings where appropriate, listen to and engage with others.***

Assessment of student participation is subdivided into 5% for your presentation, 5% for attendance *and* preparation for tutorials, and 5% performance in tutorials. In all three sections, performance relates broadly to essay marking descriptors, so that excellence would receive a mark of 70-80%, very good work 60-70%, good work 50-60% and so on. Please see the feedback sheet (Appendix B in this course guide) for the assessment criteria. Any questions regarding the assessment of student participation, please just ask.

Feedback

Feedback – both informal and formal – is provided in a number of different ways over the course of the module

- Informal Feedback on your presentation will be provided via a short progress report after your group presentation, which, whilst not binding, will give you an idea of how you're doing and why
- Any student is welcome to come speak to the course convenor or the tutor about their performance during office hours or by appointment during semester
- Essays will be returned within 3 **working** weeks of their deadlines.
- You will receive your essay back with a standardised marksheet (Appendix A) on which will be written your mark and a paragraph of constructive comments which feedback on the work – and feed forward with suggestions for future work
- The mark for coursework is provisional, since coursework may also be seen by the external examiners and the mark may sometimes be amended
- Students are entitled to request further feedback/clarification from the marker if they have questions about the written feedback they receive regarding coursework

Communicating with Staff

Please consider email protocol, as detailed in your Politics/IR Handbook, when contacting members of staff:

http://www.sps.ed.ac.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0006/18078/politics_honours_handbook_0809200808.pdf

Please see the 'Honours Handbook' for further information on submission of coursework; Late Penalty Waivers; plagiarism; learning disabilities, special circumstances; common marking descriptors, re-marking procedures and appeals.

Detailed Course Outline and Reading List

1: Introduction

Lecture (Tuesday 14th January)

The lecture will address the following questions:

What is sex? What is gender? What do they have to do with global politics?

The lecture will also introduce the structure and content of the rest of the course, and provide information about seminar arrangements.

Key lecture readings:

Peterson and Runyan, (2010) "Introduction: Gender and Global Issues" and "Gendered Lenses on World Politics," Westview Press, chapters 1 and 2

Steans, J (2013) *Gender and International Relations: Issues, Debates and Future Directions* (Third Edition), Polity Press, chapters 1 and 2

Youngs, Gillian (2004) "Feminist IR: a contradiction in terms? OR: why women and gender are essential to understanding the world "we" live in," *International Affairs*, 80:1, 75-87

Tutorial (Thursday 16th January)

The tutorial will be based on Francis Fukuyama's article on women in world politics and Ann Tickner's reply, a debate which highlights some of the themes of this course, and should provide some interesting points for our introductory discussion. Please come to the tutorial with two or three points for discussion based on your reading; these can be things you don't understand, things you disagree with, flaws/strengths in the arguments, or anything else you wish to discuss.

Required readings

Fukuyama, Francis (1998) "Women and the Evolution of World Politics," *Foreign Affairs* 77:5 [also see Fukuyama's Follies in *Foreign Affairs* 78:1 January/February 1999]

Tickner, J. Ann (1999) "Why Women Can't Run the World," *International Studies Review*, vol. 1, Issue 3

Further reading

What is gender?

*Bradley, Harriet (2010) *Gender Polity*

*Jude Browne ed. (2007) *The Future of Gender*. Cambridge UP (esp Part II - chapters by Baron-Cohen, and Hurley) [ebook]

Bryson, Valerie (1999) *Feminist Debates*. Palgrave.

*Connell, R.W. (2002) *Gender*. Polity Short Introductions.

*Connell, Raewyn, (2009) "The question of gender" from Connell, Raewyn, *Gender: in world perspective* pp.1-12, Cambridge: Polity [on LEARN]

Corrin, Chris (1999) *Feminist Perspectives on Politics*, London: Longman.

Fausto-Sterling, A (2000) *Sexing the Body: Gender Politics and the Construction of Sexuality*, Basic Books

*Fausto-Sterling, A (2012) *Sex/Gender: Biology in a Social World*, Routledge

*Fine, Cordelia (2011) *Delusions of Gender: The Real Science Behind Sex Differences*, Icon Books

Jackson, Stevie and Sue Scott (2002) *Gender: A Sociological Reader*, Routledge, Chapters 1 – 4

Jackson, Stevie and Jones, Jacqui (eds) (1998) *Contemporary Feminist Theories*. Edinburgh University Press. Chpts 1&2

Lorber, Judith (1994) *Paradoxes of Gender*, Yale University Press [excerpt on LEARN]

- Oakley, Ann (2005) *The Ann Oakley Reader: Gender, Women and Social Science*, Policy Press
- Phillips, Anne (ed) (1998) *Feminism and Politics*. Oxford University Press.
- Pilcher, Jane and Imelda Whelehan (2004) *50 Key Concepts in Gender Studies*. Sage
- *Squires, Judith (1999) *Gender in Political Theory*, Cambridge: Polity Press, pp.32-65.
- Walby, Sylvia (1990) *Theorising Patriarchy*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell
- Whelehan, Imelda (1995) *Modern Feminist Thought*. Edinburgh University. Press.

Gender in Global Politics

- Enloe, Cynthia (1993) *The Morning After: Sexual Politics at the End of the Cold War*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press
- *Enloe, Cynthia (2000) *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*, second edition, Berkeley, CA: University of California
- Enloe, Cynthia, (2000) *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*, University of California Press
- Enloe, Cynthia (2004) *The Curious Feminist: Searching for Women in a New Age of Empire*.
- Enloe, Cynthia (2007) *Globalization and Militarism: Feminists Make the Link*, Rowman and Littlefield.
- Parpart, Jane L.; Zalewski, Marysia (2008): *Rethinking the Man Question: Sex, Gender and Violence in International Relations*. London: Zed Books.
- Peterson, V. S., Ed. (1992). *Gendered States: Feminist (Re)visions of International Relations Theory*. Boulder.
- *Peterson, V. Spike, and Anne Sisson Runyan (2010) *Global Gender Issues in the New Millennium, third edition*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press
- Pettman, Jan Jindy (1996) *Worlding Women: A Feminist International Politics*, London: Routledge
- *Shepherd, Laura (2010) *Gender Matters in Global Politics*, London: Routledge.
- *Steans, J (2013) *Gender and International Relations, Third Edition*, Polity
- Tickner, J. A. (1992). *Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security*, Columbia University Press.
- *Tickner, J. A. (2001). *Gendering World Politics: Issues and Approaches in the Post Cold War Era*. New York, Columbia University Press
- Tickner, J A and Laura Sjoberg (eds) (2011) *Feminism and International Relations*, Routledge
- Wibben, Annick (2011) *Feminist Security Studies: A Narrative Approach*
- Zalewski, Marysia (1995) "Well, what is the feminist perspective on Bosnia?" *International Affairs*
- Zalewski, M. and Enloe, C (1995) 'Questions about identity in International Relations', in Ken Booth and Steve Smith (eds.) *International Relations Theory Today*, Cambridge: Polity Press, pp. 1-37.

2. The Gendered Nature of War

Lecture (Tuesday 21st January)

The lecture will outline the ways in which war is a gendered phenomenon, focusing both on how it impacts differently on women and men and on the feminist argument that gender underpins and perpetuates militarism and war.

Key lecture readings

Cockburn, C. (2001) "The gendered dynamics of armed conflict and political violence," in *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors? Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence* by F. Clark. and C. Moser (eds), London and New York, Zed Books [LEARN]

Steans, Jill (2013) *Gender and International Relations: Issues, Debates and Future Directions*, Cambridge: Polity Press, chapter 5
Peterson and Runyan (2010) 'Gender and global security' in *Global Gender Issues in the new Millennium*, chapter 4

Film screening

The Greatest Silence

Winner of the Sundance Special Jury Prize in Documentary and the inspiration for a 2008 U.N. Resolution classifying rape as a weapon of war, this extraordinary film, shot in the war zones of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), shatters the silence that surrounds the use of sexual violence as a weapon of conflict. Many tens of thousands of women and girls have been systematically kidnapped, raped, mutilated and tortured by soldiers from both foreign militias and the Congolese army. A survivor of gang rape herself, Emmy Award®-winning filmmaker Lisa F. Jackson travels through the DRC to understand what is happening and why.

Tutorial (Thursday 23th Jan)

The seminar will focus on two readings which delve more deeply into the *causes* of rape as a weapon of war. We will discuss the explanations offered for the use of rape as a weapon of war, the construction of military masculinities, and the issue of men as victims of rape.

Required readings:

Allison, Miranda (2007) "Wartime Sexual Violence: women's human rights and questions of masculinity," *Review of International Studies*, 33, 75-90 (ejournal)
Baaz, Maria Eriksson and Maria Stern (2009) "Why do Soldiers Rape? Masculinity, Violence and Sexuality in the Armed Forces in the Congo," *International Studies Quarterly* 53, 495-518 (ejournal)

Further Reading

Rape As a Weapon of War

Allen, B. (1996). *Rape Warfare: The Hidden Genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, University of Minnesota Press.
Arbour, Louise (2003) "Crimes against Women under International Law" Stefan A. Riesenfeld Award Lecture, *Berkeley J. Int'l L.* 21
Aroussi, Sahla. 2011. "'Women, Peace and Security': Addressing Accountability for Wartime Sexual Violence." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 13 (4): 576–593.
Baaz, Maria Eriksson & Stern, Maria (2011) 'Whores, Men and Other Misfits: Undoing the 'Feminization' of the Armed Forces in the DR Congo' *African Affairs*
Baaz, Maria Eriksson & Stern, Maria (2008) 'Making Sense of Violence: Voices of Soldiers in the DRC' *Journal of Modern African Studies* 46(1)
Bowker, M (1998) *Masculinities and Violence*. Sage.
Brownmiller, Susan, (1975), *Against our will: men, women and rape*, London: Secker and Warburg
Card, C. (1996). "Rape as a Weapon of War." *Hypatia* 11:4
Connel, R. (2007) *Southern Theory* Cambridge: Polity, chapter 8 'Power, violence and the pain of colonialism'.
*Copelon, Rhonda "Gendered War Crimes: Reconceptualising Rape in Time of War" in Julie Peters and Andrea Wolper (eds) (1995) *Women's Rights, Human Rights: International Feminist Perspectives* (New York: Routledge); also in Stiglmeier, A. (ed.) (1994) *Mass Rape: The War against Women in Bosnia Herzegovina*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press

- Engle, Karen (2005) "Feminism and Its (Dis)contents: Criminalizing Wartime Rape in Bosnia and Herzegovina" *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 99, No. 4 (Oct., 2005), pp. 778-816
- *Enloe, Cynthia (2000) "The Prostitute, the Colonel and the Nationalist," and "When Soldiers Rape," in *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*, Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 49-107; 108-152.
- Gardam, Judith G. & Michelle J. Jarvis (2001) *Women, armed conflict, and international law*, The Hague; London: Kluwer Law International
- Hague, Euan (1997) "Rape, Power and Masculinity: The Construction of Gender and National Identities in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina" in Ronit Lentin (ed) *Gender and Catastrophe*, London: Zed Books
- *Halley, Janet "Rape in Berlin: Reconsidering the Criminalisation of Rape in the International Law of Armed Conflict," 9 *Melbourne J. of International Law* 78 (2008). [and see her bibliography in part IV]
- Hanmer, J. (2002). 'Violence, militarism and war' in Griffin, G. and Braidotti, R. (eds.) *Thinking Differently: A Reader in European Women's Studies* London: Zed Books.
- Hansen, L. (2001) 'Gender, Nation, Rape: Bosnia and the Construction of Security', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (ejournal)
- Hearn, Jeff (1998), *The Violences of Men*, Sage Publications.
- Kelly, Liz. 2000. "Wars Against Women: Sexual Violence, Sexual Politics, and the Militarised State," in *States of Conflict: Gender, Violence, and Resistance*, Susie Jacobs, Ruth Jacobson and Jen Marchbank, eds., New York: Zed Books, pp. 45-65.
- MacKenzie, Megan. "De-Securitizing Sex: War Rape and the Radicalization of Development in Sierra Leone," *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Volume 12; 2 2010.
- MacKinnon, Catherine c 87 in in Kolmar, Wendy and Bartkowski, Frances (eds) (2005) *Feminist Theory: A Reader*. New York: McGraw Hill
- MacKinnon, Catherine A (1994) "Rape, Genocide, and Women's Human Rights," *Harvard Women's Law Journal*, 17 (ejournal)
- Meger, S. (2010). "Rape of the Congo: Understanding Sexual Violence in the Conflict in the DRC." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 28(1): 119-135.
- Mooney, J. (2000). *Gender, violence and the social order*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Niarchos, C N (1995) "Women, War and Rape: Challenges Facing the International Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia" *Human Rights Quarterly*, 1995, vol 17 (ejournal)
- Oosterveld, Valerie "Prosecution of Gender-Based Crimes in International Law," in *Gender, Conflict, and Peacekeeping*, ed. Dyan Mazurana, Angela Raven-Roberts, and Jane Parpart, Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield
- Price, L. S (2001) 'Finding the Man in the Soldier-Rapist: some reflections on comprehension and accountability', *Women's Studies International Forum*, vol. 24, No. 2
- Seifert, R. (1996) 'The Second Front: the logic of sexual violence in wars', *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 19, Nos. 1-2, 1996: pp35-43 (ejournal)
- Skjelsbaek, Inger (2010) *The Elephant in the Room: An overview of how sexual violence came to be seen as a weapon of war*, Peace Research Institute: Oslo:http://www.peacewomen.org/assets/file/Resources/NGO/vas_sexualviolencewar_weapon_prio_may2010.pdf
- Stanko, Elizabeth (2003) *The Meanings of Violence*, London, Routledge.
- Segal, Lynne (2007) *Slow Motion: Changing Masculinities*, Changing Men, London: Virago, new edition
- Turshen, M. 'The Political Economy of Rape: an Analysis of Systematic Rape and Sexual Abuse of Women During Armed Conflict in Africa' in Moser & Clark (eds) *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors*
- Ward, Jean (2002) *If not now, when? Addressing Gender Based Violence in Refugee, Internally Displaced and Conflict Settings: A Global Overview*, Reproductive Health for Refugees Consortium

See also:

- Stop Rape Now: UN Action Against Sexual Violence: <http://www.stoprapenow.org>
- UNWomen <http://www.unwomen.org/>
- Human Rights Watch: <http://hrw.org>
- Amnesty International: <http://www.amnesty.org>
- Women's Initiatives for Gender Justice: <http://www.iccwomen.org/index.php>
(especially the key articles listed on the page 'publications')

Further reading on gender and war

- Al-Ali, N. S. and N. Pratt, Eds. (2009). *Women and War in the Middle East: Transnational Perspectives*, London, Zed Books.
- Cockburn, C. (2007). *From Where We Stand: War, Women's activism and feminist analysis*. London, Zed Books.
- Cockburn, C. (2010). "Gender Relations as Causal in Militarization and War." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 12(2): 139-157.
- Cohn, Carol and Sara Ruddick, (2002) "A Feminist Ethical Perspective on Weapons of Mass Destruction," in S. Lee and S. Hasmi (eds) *Ethics and Weapons of Mass Destruction*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, online at: http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/wapp/research/working/cohn_ruddick.pdf
- Cohn, C., Hill, F. & Ruddick, S., 2005. The Relevance of Gender for Limiting Weapons of Mass Destruction. *Disarmament Diplomacy*, 80
- *Cohn, C (ed) (2013) *Women and Wars*, Polity
- *Detraz, N (2012) *International Security and Gender*, Polity Press
- Elshtain, Jean Bethke (1995) *Women and War (Second Edition)*, New York: Basic Books
- Elshtain, Jean Bethke (1998) "Women and War: Ten Years On," *Review of (Kandiyoti 2007)International Studies*, 24, 447-460
- Enloe, Cynthia, (2000) *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*, University of California Press
- Enloe, Cynthia (2004) *The Curious Feminist: Searching for Women in a New Age of Empire*.
- Enloe, Cynthia (2007) *Globalization and Militarism: Feminists Make the Link*, Rowman and Littlefield.
- Giles, W. and J. Hyndman, Eds. (2004). *Sites of Violence: Gender and Conflict Zones* University of California Press.
- *Goldstein, Joshua (2001) *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press
- Jacobs, Susie Ruth Jacobson, and Jennifer Marchbank, eds., *States of Conflict: Gender, Violence, and Resistance*
- MacKenzie, Megan. "Securitization and Desecuritization: Female Soldiers and the Reconstruction of Women in Post-Conflict Sierra Leone," *Security Studies*, issue 2, volume 18 2009.
- *Moser, Caroline O. N. and Fiona C. Clark, eds., (2001) *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors? Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence*
- Parpart, Jane and Zalewski, Marysia, eds (2008) *Rethinking the Man Question: Sex, Gender and Violence in International Relations*, Zed Books
- Pettman, Jan Jindy (1996) *Worlding Women: A Feminist International Politics*, London: Routledge, part II
- Rehn, E. and E. J. Sirleaf (2002). *Women, War, Peace: The Independent Experts' Assessment of the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peacebuilding*, UNIFEM.
- Sjoberg, L. (2006). *Gender, Justice and the Wars in Iraq*. Lanham, Lexington Books.
- Sjoberg, L., Ed. (2010). *Gender and International Security: Feminist Perspectives*. London and New York, Routledge.
- Sjoberg, Laura and Via, Sandra E (201) *Gender, War, and Militarism: Feminist Perspectives* (Praeger Security International)

- Skjelsbaek and D. Smith (2001) *Gender, Peace and Conflict*, Sage Publications
- Sylvester, Christine (ed) (2011) *Experiencing War* [ebook]
- Turshen, M. and C. Twagiramariya, Eds. (2001). *What Women Do in Wartime: Gender and Conflict in Africa*. London, New York, Zed Books.
- Young, Iris Marion (2003) "Feminist Reactions to the Contemporary Security Regime," *Hypatia*, vol. 18, no. 1

Further reading on military masculinities

- Braudy, L. (2005). *From Chivalry to Terrorism: War and the Changing Nature of Masculinity*, Vintage Books.
- *Breines, I., R. W. Connell, et al., Eds. (2000) *Male Roles, Masculinities and Violence*. Paris: Unesco
- Brod, H, and Kaufman, M (1994) *Theorising Masculinities*, Sage
- Cheeseman, G. (2005) "Military Force(s) and In/security" in *Critical Security Studies and World Politics*. K. Booth. Boulder, Lynne Reinner: 63-87.
- Cohn, Carol (1999) "Missions, Men and Masculinities: Carol Cohn discusses Saving Private Ryan with Cynthia Weber," *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol. 2, No. 3
- Connell, R. W. (1995). *Masculinities*. Cambridge, Polity Press
- *Connell, R. W. (2000). *The Men and the Boys*. Cambridge, Polity Press.
- Dawson, G. (1994). *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities*. London, Routledge
- Duncanson, Claire. 2009. "Forces for Good? Narratives of Military Masculinity in Peacekeeping Operations." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 11 (1): 63–80.
- *Enloe, C. (1993). *The Morning After: Sexual Politics at the End of the Cold War*. Berkeley, University of California Press
- *Higate, P., Ed. (2003). *Military Masculinities: Identity and the State*. Westport, Praeger.
- Hooper, Charlotte. (2001). *Manly States: Masculinities, International Relations, and Gender Politics* New York: Columbia University Press
- Hutchings, Kimberly (2008) 'Making sense of masculinity and war' *Men and masculinities*, 10 (4). pp. 389-404
- Morgan, D. (1994). Theatre of War: Combat, the Military, and Masculinities. *Theorising Masculinities*. H. Brod and M. Kaufman. London, Sage: 165-182.
- Woodward and Winter (2007) *Sexing the soldier: the politics of gender and the contemporary British Army*, Routledge

3. Gender and Peacebuilding

Lecture: Gender and Peacekeeping (Tuesday 28th Jan)

The lecture will outline some feminist perspectives on international peacekeeping as carried out by the UN and other actors. It will introduce the groundbreaking Security Council Resolution 1325, whereby the UN Security Council resolved to mainstream gender into all peace operations, and introduce some of the strengths and weaknesses of this instrument. It will consider the feminist critique that peace operations are the newest form of colonial intervention, and introduce the concept of intersectionality.

Key lecture readings

- Carreriras, Helena (2010) "Gendered Culture in Peacekeeping Operations" *International Peacekeeping* 17:4
- Puechiguirbal, N. (2010). "Peacekeeping, Peacebuilding and Post-conflict Reconstruction," *Gender Matters in Global Politics: A Feminist Introduction to International Relations*. L. Shepherd. Oxford, Routledge.
- Steans, Jill (2013) *Gender and International Relations: Issues, Debates and Future Directions*, Cambridge: Polity Press, chapter 6

Class Debate: Would more women soldiers make militaries more successful at building peace?

Presenters will be assigned the “pro” or “anti” camp a week in advance, and asked to prepare their contribution to the debate. Participants will need to consider the demands of peacekeeping operations along with the potential (and risks) of increasing the number of women soldiers.

Group A: For – Key Readings

- Bertolazzi, F. (2010). *Women with a Blue Helmet: The Integration of Women and Gender Issues in UN Peacekeeping Missions* INSTRAW.
http://www.peacewomen.org/assets/file/Resources/UN/unbalpk_integrationwomengenderunpeacekeeping_instraw_aug_2010.pdf
- Bridges, Donna, and Debbie Horsfall. 2009. “Increasing Operational Effectiveness in UN Peacekeeping Toward a Gender-Balanced Force.” *Armed Forces & Society* 36 (1): 120–130.
- De Groot, G. (2001). A Few Good Women: Gender Stereotypes, the Military and Peacekeeping. *Women and International Peacekeeping*. L. Olsson and T. Tryggestad, Frank Cass. (LEARN)
- Hendricks, C. and L. Hutton (2008). *Defence Reform and Gender. Gender and Security Sector Reform Toolkit*. M. Bastick and K. Valasek. Geneva, DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR, UN-INSTRAW. <http://www.dcaf.ch/Publications/Defence-Reform-and-Gender-Tool-3>
- Stiehm, J. H. (1999) “United Nations Peacekeeping: Men's and Women's Work” in *Gender Politics in Global Governance*. M. Meyer and E. Prugl, Rowman and Littlefield. (LEARN)

Group B: Against – Key Readings

- Enloe, Cynthia (2007) “Paying close attention to women inside militaries” chapter 4 in *Globalization and Militarism: Feminists Make the Link*
- Jennings, Kathleen. 2011. “Women’s Participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations: Agents of Change or Stranded Symbols?” *Oslo: Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre*. Available at: <http://www.isn.ethz.ch/Digital-Library/Publications/Detail/?ots591=0c54e3b3-1e9c-be1e-2c24-a6a8c7060233&lng=en&id=137505>
- Peterson and Runyan (2010) ‘Gender and global security’ in *Global Gender Issues in the new Millennium*, chapter 4
- Valenius, J. (2007). "A Few Kind Women: Gender Essentialism and Nordic Peacekeeping Operations." *International Peacekeeping* 14(4): 510-523.
- Hudson, H (2012) ‘A Double-Edged Sword of Peace? Reflections on the Tension between Representation and Protection in Gendering Liberal Peacebuilding’ *International Peacekeeping* 19:4, 443-460

Tutorial (Thursday 30th Jan)

The tutorial will shift from women soldiers to focus more closely on military masculinities and peacebuilding operations:

- Higate, P (2007) “Peacekeepers, Masculinities, and Sexual Exploitation,” *Men and Masculinities* 10:1, 99-119
- Whitworth, Sandra (2005) “Militarized Masculinities and the Politics of Peacekeeping” in Booth, Ken (ed) *Critical Security Studies and World Politics*, Lynne Rienner (LEARN)
- Cockburn, C. and M. Hubic (2002) “Gender and the Peacekeeping Military: a view from Bosnian women's organizations” in *The Postwar Moment: Militaries, Masculinities and International Peacekeeping*. C. Cockburn and D. Zarkov. London, Lawrence and Wishart: 103-121. (LEARN)

Further Reading:

Feminism, Gender and Peacekeeping/Peacebuilding

- Allred, K. J. (2006). "Peacekeepers and Prostitutes: How Deployed Forces Fuel the Demand for Trafficked Women and New Hope for Stopping It." *Armed Forces and Society* 33(1): 5-23.
- Cockburn, C. and D. Zarkov (2002). *The Post War Moment: Militarities, Masculinities and International Peacekeeping*. London, Lawrence and Wishart.
- Csaky, C. (2008). No One to Turn to- The Under-reporting of Child Sexual Exploitation and Abuse by Aid Workers and Peacekeepers. London, Save the Children UK.
- Duncanson, C 2013. *Forces for Good? Military Masculinities and Peacebuilding in Afghanistan and Iraq*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Duncanson C (2014), "Gender and Peacekeeping", in Jenny Mathers, *Handbook on Gender and War*, Edward Elgar [LEARN]
- Fetherston, AB (1995) "UN Peacekeepers and Cultures of Violence" *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, 19:1,
- Higate, P., Ed. (2003). *Military Masculinities: Identity and the State*. Westport, Praeger.
- Higate, P. (2003). Peacekeeping and Gendered Relations. *Peace and Conflict Monitor*.
- Higate, P. and M. Henry (2004). "Engendering (In)security in Peace Support Operations." *Security Dialogue* 35(4): 481-498.
- Jennings, K. (2010). "Unintended Consequences of Intimacy: Political Economies of Peacekeeping and Sex Tourism." *International Peacekeeping* 17(2): 229-243.
- *Kronsell, A. (2012). *Gender, Sex and the Postnational Defense: Militarism and Peacekeeping*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- *Kronsell, A. and E. Svedberg (2012). *Making Gender, Making War: Violence, Military and Peacekeeping Practices*. Abingdon; New York, Routledge.
- Martin, S. (2005). *Must Boys be Boys? Ending Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in UN PK Missions*, Washington DC, Refugees International.
- Mazurana, D., A. Raven-Roberts, et al. (2005). *Gender, Conflict and Peacekeeping*. Lanham, Rowman and Littlefield.
- Mendelson, S. (2005). *Barracks and Brothels: Peacekeepers and Human Trafficking in the Balkans*. Washington DC, Centre for Strategic and International Studies.
- Moran, Mary H. 2010. "Gender, Militarism, and Peace-Building: Projects of the Postconflict Moment." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 39: 261-274.
- Ndulo, M. (2009). "The United Nations Responses to the Sexual Abuse and Exploitation of Women and Girls by Peacekeepers During Peacekeeping Missions." *Cornell Law Faculty Publications* Paper 59.
- Olsson, L. and T. Tryggestad, Eds. (2001). *Women and International Peacekeeping*. London, Frank Cass.
- Orford, Anne 1999. "Muscular Humanitarianism: Reading the Narratives of the New Interventionism," *European Journal of International Law*, 10:4 pp. 679-712.
- Pankhurst, Donna. 2007. *Gendered Peace: Women's Struggles for Post-war Justice and Reconciliation*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Razack, Shareen. 2004. *Dark Threats and White Knights: The Somalia Affair, Peacekeeping and the New Imperialism*, (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner)
- Ruddick, S. (1983). "Pacifying the Forces: Drafting Women in the Interests of Peace." *Signs* 8(3): 471-489.
- Tickner, J.A, *Gender in International Relations: Feminist perspectives on Achieving Global Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), Chapter 5
- Vayrynen, T. (2004). "Gender and UN Peace Operations: the Confines of Modernity." *International Peacekeeping* 11(1): 125-142.
- *Whitworth, Sandra. 2004. *Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping: A Gendered Analysis* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner)

Gender, Peace and Resolution 1325

- Barnes, Karen (2006) "Reform or More of the Same? Gender Mainstreaming and the Changing Nature of UN Peace Operations," *YCISS Working Paper* Number 41, available at <http://www.yorku.ca/yciss/whatsnew/documents/WP41-Barnes.pdf>
- Carreriras, Helena (2010) "Gendered Culture in Peacekeeping Operations" *International Peacekeeping* 17:4
- Charlesworth, Hilary. 2008. "Are Women Peaceful? Reflections on the Role of Women in Peace-building." *Feminist Legal Studies* 16 (3): 347–361.
- Chinkin, Christine, and Hilary Charlesworth. 2006. "Building Women into Peace: The International Legal Framework." *Third World Quarterly* 27 (5): 937–957
- Cockburn, C. (2011). "Snagged on the Contradiction." *No to War - No to NATO Annual Meeting* in Dublin, available at http://www.wloe.org/fileadmin/Files-EN/PDF/no_to_nato/women_nato_2011/NATO1325.pdf
- Cohn, Carol, Kinsella, Helen, and Gibbins, Sheri (2004) "Women, Peace and Security" *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 6:1, 130-140
- *Cohn, C. (2008). *Mainstreaming Gender in UN Security Policy: A Path to Political Transformation? Global Governance: feminist perspectives*. S. Rai and G. Waylen. Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Duncanson C (2014), "Gender and Peacekeeping", in Jenny Mathers, *Handbook on Gender and War*, Edward Elgar [LEARN]
- El-Bushra, J. (2007). "Feminism, Gender and Women's Peace Activism." *Development and Change* 38(1): 131-147
- Harrington, Carol. 2011. "Resolution 1325 and Post-Cold War Feminist Politics." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 13 (4): 557–575
- Irvine, Jill A. 2013. "Leveraging Change: Women's Organizations and the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the Balkans." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 15 (1): 20–38
- Mazurana, D., A. Raven-Roberts, et al. (2005). *Gender, Conflict and Peacekeeping*. Lanham, Rowman and Littlefield.
- Olonisakin, F., K. Barnes, et al., Eds. (2011). *Women, peace and security : translating policy into practice* Routledge.
- Otto, Dianne. 2006. "A Sign of Weakness-Disrupting Gender Certainties in the Implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325." *Michigan Journal of Gender and Law* 13: 113
- Pratt, Nicola, and Sophie Richter-Devroe. 2011. "Critically Examining UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 13 (4): 489–503.
- Puechiguirbal, N. (2010). "Discourses on Gender, Patriarchy and Resolution 1325: A Textual Analysis of UN Documents." *International Peacekeeping* 17(2): 172-187.
- Shepherd, L. (2008). "Power and Authority in the Production of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325." *International Studies Quarterly* 52: 383-404.
- Stiehm, J. H. (2001). *Women, Peacekeeping and Peacemaking: Gender Balance and Mainstreaming*. *Women and International Peacekeeping*. L. Olsson and T. Tryggestad. London, Frank Cass.
- Stiehm, J H (2000) "Neither Male nor Female: Neither victim nor executioner" in Breines, Ingeborg Robert Connell and Ingrid Eide, *Male roles, masculinities and violence : a culture of peace perspective*, Paris: Unesco Publishers
- *Whitworth, Sandra. 2004. *Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping: A Gendered Analysis* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner)
- *Willett, S. (2010). "Introduction: Security Council Resolution 1325: Assessing the Impact on Women, Peace and Security." *International Peacekeeping* 17(2): 142-158. [and all the other articles in this volume]

4. Gender and the War on Terror

Lecture: Gender and the War on Terror (Tuesday 4th February)

The lecture will introduce feminist perspectives on 9/11 and the War on Terror. It will discuss the use of arguments about women's rights in order to justify intervention, particularly in Afghanistan, and the impact of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan on gender relations and equality.

Key lecture readings

- Hunt, K. (2010). "The 'War on Terrorism'". *Gender Matters in Global Politics: A Feminist Introduction to International Relations*. L. J. Shepherd. Abingdon, Routledge.
- Nagel, J, and Lindsey Feitz (2007) 'Deploying Race, Gender, Class, Sexuality in the Iraq War' *Race, Gender & Class*, Volume 14, Number 3-4, 2007 (28-47)

Group Presentations

Groups will give presentations on the impact of the War on Terror on three different groups of women: women in Afghanistan, women in Iraq and western women soldiers. How has the war affected them? How has it affected them differently to men? Have there been positive and negative consequences? In what ways can changes be attributed to the War on Terror? Attention should be paid to differences within these groups as well as between them.

Groups should consult the reading list below, and conduct their own web-based research (NGO reports, quality journalism, think tanks), as well as reading the following:

a) Afghanistan

- Ahmed-ghosh, H (2006): Voices of Afghan women: Human rights and economic development, *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 8:1, 110-128
- Azarbaijani-Moghaddam, S (2007): On Living with Negative Peace and a Half-Built State: Gender and Human Rights, *International Peacekeeping*, 14:1, 127-142
- Kandiyoti, D. (2007). "Between the Hammer and the Anvil: post-conflict reconstruction, Islam and women's rights." *Third World Quarterly* 28(3): 503-517.
- Kandiyoti, D. (2007). "Old Dilemmas or New Challenges? The Politics of Gender and Reconstruction in Afghanistan." *Development and Change* 38(2): 169-199.
- Rostami-Povey, E (2007) *Afghan women: identity and invasion* London; New York : Zed Books

b) Iraq

- Al-Ali, N. & Pratt, N., (2009). *What kind of liberation: women and the occupation of Iraq*, Berkeley: University of California Press
- . 2009. *Women and War in the Middle East: Transnational Perspectives*. London: Zed Books.
- Efrati, Noga (2012) "Women, representation and democracy in post-Saddam Iraq, 2003–10," *Representation*, 48:3, 253-265
- Enloe, C, (2010), *Nimo's War, Emma's War: Making Feminist Sense of the Iraq War*
- Kandiyoti, D. (2007). "Between the Hammer and the Anvil: post-conflict reconstruction, Islam and women's rights." *Third World Quarterly* 28(3): 503-517.
- Ismael, Jacqueline S. And Shereen T. Ismael. 2000. "Gender and state in Iraq," in *Gender and Citizenship in the Middle East*, edited by Suad Joseph. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, pp. 185–211

Tutorial (Thursday 6th February)

Afghanistan, a War for Women's Rights?

The discussion will focus on two important feminist contributions to the debate over intervention in Afghanistan:

Ferguson, M (2005) "'W' Stands for Women: Feminism and Security Rhetoric in the Post-9/11 Bush Administration," *Politics & Gender*, 1:9-38.

Khalili, L. (2011). "Gendered practices of counterinsurgency." *Review of International Studies* 37: 1471-1491.

Gendering Counterinsurgency and the War on Terror

Abu-Lughod, L "Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving? Anthropological Reflections on Cultural Relativism and Its Others," *American Anthropologist* Vol. 104, No. 3 • September 2002

Bhattacharyya, Gargi (2008) *Dangerous Brown Men: Exploiting Sex, Violence and Feminism in the 'War on the Terror'* Zed Books,

Bhattacharyya, Gargi (2009) 'Spectatorship and the War on Terror: Creating Consensus through Global Audiences', Special Issue of *Globalizations*, 'Globalization, Ethics and the War on Terror', vol 6, no. 1, March 2009

Duncanson and Cornish (2012) "A Feminist Approach to British Counterinsurgency" in Paul Dixon (ed) *The British Approach to Counterinsurgency: From Malaya and Northern Ireland to Iraq and Afghanistan*

Eisenstein, Z. R. (2007). *Sexual decoys: gender, race and war in imperial democracy* London, Zed Books.

*Hawthorne, Susan, and Bronwyn Winter (eds) (2003) *September 11, 2001: Feminist Perspectives*

Hirschkind, C. and S. Mahmood (2002). "Feminism, the Taliban, and Politics of Counter-Insurgency." *Anthropological Quarterly* 75(2): 339-354.

Hunt, K. (2002). "The Strategic Co-optation of Women's Rights." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 4(1): 116-121.

*Hunt, Krista and Rygiel, Kim (Eds) (2007) *(En)Gendering the War on Terror: War Stories and Camouflaged Politics* (Gender in a Global/local World), Ashgate

Jabbara, N. W. (2006). "Women, Words and War: Explaining 9/11 and Justifying U.S. Military Action in Afghanistan and Iraq." *Journal of International Women's Studies* 8(1).

Mac an Ghail, Mairtin and Chris Haywood (2007) *Gender, culture, and society: contemporary femininities and masculinities*, Palgrave, ch 8

Nayak, Meghana(2006) 'Orientalism and 'saving' US state identity after 9/11', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*,8:1,42 — 61

Petchesky, Rosalind P (2002) "Phantom Towers: Feminist Reflections on the Battle between global capitalism and fundamentalist terrorism," *Development* 45:2, pp40-45

Riley, Mohanty and Pratt (2008) *Feminism and War: Confronting US Imperialism*, London, Zed

Russo, A. (2006) 'The Feminist Majority Foundation's Campaign to Stop Gender Apartheid', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 8 (4), 557-580.

Shepherd, Laura (2006) "Veiled References: Constructions of Gender in the Bush Administration Discourse on the Attacks on Afghanistan Post-9/11," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 8: 19-41

Sjoberg, Laura Gender (2006) *Justice, and the Wars in Iraq: A Feminist Reformulation of Just War Theory*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books

Thobani, Sunera "White Wars: Western Feminisms and the 'War on Terror'" *Feminist Theory*, 8:2, 169-185

*Tickner, J Ann, (2002) "Feminist Perspectives on 9/11," *International Studies Perspectives*, 3 (4), pp.333-50.

Young, Iris Marion (2003) "Feminist Reactions to the Contemporary Security Regime," *Hypatia*, vol. 18, no. 1

*Youngs, Gillian (2006) "Feminist international relations in the age of the war on terror: Ideologies, religions and conflict," *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 8 (1), 3-18. (and see the rest of this special issue)

5: Sex, Gender and Capitalism

Lecture (Tuesday 11th February)

In this section of the course, we turn to global economic issues. Themes that will recur throughout this section are the ways in which the globalization of markets and finance, the international division of labour and structural adjustment policies impact differently on men and women's lives. These themes will be introduced here, along with a focus on the role of masculinities (and femininities) in the global political economy.

Key lecture readings

Steans, J (2013) *Gender and International Relations: Issues, Debates and Future Directions* (Third Edition), Polity Press, chapter 8 (in earlier edns, see Chapter 6)

Elias, J. and L. Ferguson (2010) 'Production, Employment and Consumption' in L.J. Shepherd (ed) *Gender Matters in Global Politics*, London: Routledge (available as e-book through library catalogue).

Peterson, Spike V and Runyan, Anne Sisson (2010) *Global Gender Issues*, 3rd Edition, chapter 5

Group presentations

The second part of the session is organised around group presentations which will analyse constructions of men/women and masculinities/femininities in the global political economy using two case studies **a) Development economics and the programming of the World Bank ; and, b) Analyses of the Global Financial Crisis and post-crisis developments.** How are masculinities and femininities constructed and deployed in processes of globalization and by global agents (such as the world bank)? What are the gendered outcomes? What are the opportunities and dilemmas raised by the recent introduction of seemingly feminist ideas about the 'problem' of 'hegemonic' or 'hyper' masculinity in debates about global development and global capitalism?

The following readings will start you off, but you will have to do your own investigating. Please also consult the 'further reading' for this week to inform your analysis.

Group a) 'Heteronormativity' and the World Bank

Bedford, K (2008) 'Governing Intimacy in the World Bank' in S.M. Rai and G. Waylen (eds) *Global Governance: Feminist Perspectives*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 84-106.

[*alternatives*: Bedford, K. (2007) 'The Imperative of male Inclusion: How Institutional Context Influences World Bank Gender Policy', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 9 (3), 289-311.

Bedford, K. (2005) 'Loving to Straighten Out Development: Sexuality and "Ethnodevelopment" in the World Bank's Ecuadorian Lending', *Feminist Legal Studies*, 13, 295-322.]

Bedford, K (2013) 'Economic Governance and the regulation of intimacy in gender and development: lessons from the World Bank's programming' in Caglar, Prugl and Zwingel (eds) *Feminist Strategies in International Governance*, London: Routledge, 233-248.]

- Bergeron, S. (2003) 'The Post-Washington Consensus and the Economic Representations of Women in Development at the World Bank', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 5 (3), 397-419.
- Griffin, P. (2007) 'Sexing the Economy in a Neo-liberal World Order: Neo-liberal Discourse and the (Re)Production of Heteronormative Heterosexuality', *British Journal of Politics & International Relations*, 9 (2), 220-238.
- Lind, A. (2009) 'Governing Intimacy, Struggling for Sexual Rights: Challenging heteronormativity in the global development industry', *Development*, 52 (1), 34-42.

Websites

www.worldbank.org/gender

Group b) 'Hyper Masculinity': The global financial crisis and its aftermath

Steans, Jill (2013) (Lecture Reading - 3rd edn) especially pp. 172-179

Hooper, Charlotte (2001) *Manly States: Masculinities, International Relations, and Gender Politics*. New York, Columbia University Press. OR

Hooper, Charlotte (1998) "Masculinist Practices and Gender politics: The Operation of Multiple Masculinities in International Relations", in Zalewski and Parpart (eds) *The "Man" Question in International Relations*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. OR

Connell, R. (2002) *Gender: A short introduction*. Cambridge: Polity, Chapter 6

Nelson, Julia (2012) "Would Women Leaders Have Prevented the Global Financial Crisis? Implications for Teaching about Gender, Behavior, and Economics". *Global Development and Environment Institute Working Paper No. 11-03* Tufts University. Accessed at <http://www.ase.tufts.edu/gdae/Pubs/wp/11-03NelsonWomenLeaders.pdf>

Young, Brigitte and Schuberth, Helene (2010) "The Global Financial Meltdown and the Impact of Financial Governance on Gender" *Garnet Policy Brief no. 10* Accessed at <http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/garnet/policybriefs/policybrief10.pdf>

[see also Brigitte Young (2013) "Structural Power and the gender biases of technocratic network governance in finance" in Caglar, Prugl and Zwingel (eds) *Feminist Strategies in Global Governance*. London: Routledge, 267-282

Tutorial (Thursday 13th February)

In this tutorial we examine gendered analyses of capitalism and globalisation, including the concept of "global chains of care"

Acker, J. (2004). "Gender, capitalism and globalization," *Critical Sociology* 30 (1): 17-41. ejournal

Hochschild, Arlie Russell (2005) "Love and Gold" in *Feminist Politics, Activism and Vision: Local and Global Challenges*, edited by Luciana Ricciutelli, Angela Miles and Margaret McFadden, London, Great Britain, Toronto, Canada.: Zed/Innana Books [LEARN]

Further reading:

Gender and IPE

Agustin, L. (2003). "A migrant world of service." *Social Politics* 10 (3): 377-396.

*Bakker and Silvey (2008) *Beyond States and Markets: The Challenges of Social Reproduction*, Routledge

*Bedford Kate and Shirin M. Rai (2010) 'Feminists Theorize International Political Economy' *Signs*, Vol. 36, No. 1, pp. 1-18 [and all the articles in this 'Feminists Theorize International Political Economy' Special Issue]

- Benería, L. (2003). *Gender, Development and Globalization: Economics as if All People Mattered*, London: Routledge
- Ehrenreich, B. and Hochschild, AR (eds). (2002). *Global Woman: Nannies, Maids, and Sex Workers in the New Economy*. New York: Metropolitan Books.
- *Enloe, C. (2004). "The globetrotting sneaker" Chap 3 in *The Curious Feminist*.
- Hawksworth, M.E. (2006) *Globalization and Feminist Activism* Rowman & Littlefield.
- Held, D & Kaya, A (eds.) (2007), *Global Inequality*, London: Polity
- Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. (2001). *Doméstica. Immigrant Workers Cleaning and Caring in the Shadows of Affluence*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Kelly, RM, Bayes, J & Young, B (eds.) (2001). *Gender, Globalization, and Democratization*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Kofman, E, Phizucklea, A., Raghuran, P., & Sales, R. (2001). *Gender and International Migration in Europe: Employment, Welfare, and Politics*. Routledge.
- Liebowitz, D. (2008) 'Governing Globalization: Feminist Engagements with International Trade Policy' in SM Rai and G Waylen (eds) *Global Governance*. Palgrave. Chapter 9.
- Man, G. (2004). "Gender, work and migration: Deskilling Chinese immigrant women in Canada." *Women's Studies International Forum* 27 (2):135-48.
- *Marchand, M. & Runyan, AS. (eds.) (2011). *Gender and Global Restructuring*. 2nd edition, London and New York: Routledge.
- *Meyer, M K. & Prügl, E. (eds.) (1999). *Gender Politics in Global Governance*. Boulder and London: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Parrenas, R S. (2000). "Migrant Filipina domestic workers and the international division of reproductive labor," *Gender and Society* 14 (4):560-80.
- Peterson, Spike V. (2005) "How (the meaning of) gender matters in political economy," *New Political Economy*, 10 (4), 499-521.
- Peterson, Spike V. (2008) "'new wars' and gendered economies," *Feminist Review*, 88, 7-20.
- Peterson V. Spike (2009) 'Interactive and Intersectional Analytics of Globalization' *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, Volume 30, Number 1, 2009, pp. 31-40
- Pyle, J L. & Ward, K. (2003). "Recasting our understanding of gender and work during global restructuring." *International Sociology* 18 (3): 461-489.
- Rai, Shirin (2004) "Gendering Global Governance," *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 6 (4), 579-601.
- *Rai, Shirin M and Georgina Waylen (eds) (2008) *Global Governance, Feminist Perspectives*, Palgrave Macmillan
- *Razvari, S. (2013) 'Governing the economy for gender equality/ challenges of regulation' in G. Caglar, S. Prugl and S. Zwingel (eds) *Feminist Strategies in International Governance*, Routledge. Chapter 12.
- Robinson, Fiona (2006) "Beyond Labour Rights. The Ethics of Care and Women's Work in the Global Economy," *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 8 (3), 321-342.
- Rowbotham, S. & Linkogle, S. (eds.) (2001). *Women Resist Globalization. Mobilising for Livelihood and Rights*. Palgrave.
- *Salzinger, L (2004). "From gender as object to gender as verb: Rethinking how global restructuring happens." *Critical Sociology* 30 (1): 17-41.
- Sen, A, (2000) *Development as Freedom*, Anchor Books.
- Sen, Gita (2000) "Gender Mainstreaming in the Finance Ministries," *World Development*, 28 (7), 1379-1390.
- Sen, Gita (2005) "Neolib, Neocons and Gender Justice: Lessons from Global Negotiations," Policy Report on Gender and Development: 10 Years after Beijing. Occasional Paper No. 9. Geneva: UNRISD.
- *Tickner, Ann (2004) "The Gendered Frontiers of Globalization," *Globalizations*, 1 (1), 15-23.
- True, J. (2012) *The Political Economy of Violence Against Women*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- *Waylen, Georgina (1998) "Introduction to Special Section: Towards a Gendered Political Economy," *New Political Economy*, 3 (2), 181-189 (and see the other articles in the special section)
- Waylen, Georgina (2004) "Putting governance into the gendered political economy of globalization," *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 6 (4), 557-579.
- Whithworth, Sandra (2000) "Theory and Exclusion: Gender, Masculinity, and International Political Economy," in Stubbs, Richard; Underhill, Geoffrey (eds.) *Political Economy and the Changing Global Order*. 2nd edition. Oxford: Oxford UP, 145-163.
- Youngs, Gillian (2001) "The Political Economy of Time in the Internet Era: Feminist Perspectives and Challenges," *Information, Communication & Society*, 4, 1, 14-33.

Masculinities in IPE

- Beneria, L. (1999) 'Globalisation, Gender and the Davos Man', *Feminist Economics* (5) 3: 61-83
- Carver, Terrell (2008) "Men in the Feminist Gaze: What Does this Mean in IR?" *Millennium - Journal of International Studies*, 37, 1, 107-122.
- Cleaver, Frances (Ed.) (2003) *Masculinities Matter! Men, Gender and Development*. London: Zed Books Ltd.
- Connell, R W (1998). "Masculinities and Globalization" *Men and Masculinities* 1 (1): 3-23.
- *Connell, R.W. (2000). "Masculinities and Globalization" (Chapter 3) and "Globalization and Men's Bodies" (Chapter 4), in *The Men and the Boys*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin
- Connell, R.W.; Wood, Julian (2005) "Globalization and Business Masculinities," *Men and Masculinities*, 7, 4, 347-364.
- Connell, R W. 2005. "Change Amongst the Gatekeepers: Men, Masculinities, and Gender Equality in the Global Arena." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 30 (3):1802-1825. [ejournal]
- *Connell, RW. (2005) "Globalization, imperialism, and masculinities" in Michael S. Kimmel, Jeff Hearn and RW Connell, ed., *Handbook of Studies on Men & Masculinities*, Thousand Oaks, Sage, 71-89.
- Elias, Juanita (2008) "Hegemonic Masculinities, the Multinational Corporation, and the Developmental State," *Men and Masculinities*, 10, 4, 405-421.
- Elias, Juanita & Christine Beasley (2009) 'Hegemonic Masculinity and Globalization: 'Transnational Business Masculinities' and Beyond' *Globalizations*, Volume 6, Issue 2, 2009
- Hooper, Charlotte (2000). "Masculinities in Transition," in Marchand and Runyon (eds) *Gender and Global Restructuring*, Routledge.
- Hooper, Charlotte (2000) *Manly States: masculinities, international relations and gender politics*, Chichester: Columbia University Press
- Griffin, Penny (2005) "Neoliberal Economic Discourses and Hegemonic Masculinity(ies): Masculine Hegemony (Dis)Embodied," *IPEG Papers in Global Political Economy*, No. 19, July 2005 <http://www.bisa.ac.uk/groups> (28.4.2007).
- Griffin, Penny (2007) "Sexing the Economy in a Neo-liberal World Order: Neo-liberal Discourse and the (Re)Production of Heteronormative Heterosexuality," *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 9, 2, 220-238.
- Kimmel, Michael (2005) "Globalization and Its Mal(e)contents: The Gendered Moral and Political Economy of Terrorism" in Kimmel, Michael, Jeff Hearn, and R.W. Connell (eds), *The Handbook of Studies on Men and Masculinities*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage
- Pearson, Ruth (2000a) "All Change? Men, Women and Reproductive Work in the Global Economy," *European Journal of Development Research*, 12, 2, 219-237.
- Weis, Lois (2006) "Masculinity, Whiteness, and the New Economy," *Men & Masculinities*, 8, 3, 262-272.

6. ***Innovative Learning Week *******

7. Reproductive Rights, Sexual Health and Sexuality

Lecture (Tuesday 25th February)

The lecture will trace the politics of population control and reproduction, and the history of the feminist struggle for reproductive rights for women.

Key lecture readings

Miller, Alice M and Mindy J Roseman (2011) 'Sexual and reproductive rights at the United Nations: frustration or fulfilment?' *Reproductive Health Matters*, Volume 19, Issue 38, November 2011, Pages 102–118 [ejournal]

Nair, Sumati and Preeti Kirbat with Sarah Sexton (2004) "A Decade After Cairo Women's Health in a Free Market Economy" *Corner House Briefing* 31, <http://www.thecornerhouse.org.uk/pdf/briefing/31cairo.pdf>

Petchesky R. P.: 'From Population Control to Reproductive Rights: Feminist Fault Lines', *Reproductive Health Matters*, 1995, 6, pp. 152-161

Steans, J (2013) *Gender and International Relations: Issues, Debates and Future Directions* (Second Edition), Polity Press, chapter 4

Group activity

In the second hour, a small group will draw upon a case study of the international aid politics of reproductive health and rights. In particular it focuses on the former Bush administration's controversial Global Gag Rule whereby foreign NGOs receiving US Aid were banned from providing information, services or campaigning for abortion rights.

This case explores the dilemma faced by one non-governmental organization in Nepal. The Family Planning Association of Nepal (FPAN) and Dr. Nirmal K. Bista, its Director General, must decide whether to comply with restrictive U.S. provisions to receive family planning aid. To comply with the U.S. policy FPAN must discontinue its abortion-related activities, including its advocacy to legalize abortion as well as its partnership with the Nepalese Ministry of Health, or it stood to sacrifice funding and in turn face the possibility of reduced family planning services through decreased clinic operations and staff. **Should FPAN choose to suspend part of its mission in order to accomplish the rest of its objectives?**

The scenario is that you are members of the NGO and are preparing arguments to put to the Board (the whole class) who will vote on the final decision. Your goal is to persuade your colleagues in the opposing camp as well as the Board as a whole, that the organization should either 'take the money' or 'stick to its goals'. Use the case materials (details below) including material in the appendices. Prepare short powerpoints to support your presentation to the Board.

Group A: The 'pragmatists' will present the arguments in favour of the organization accepting the conditions.

Group B: The 'idealists' will present the case for sacrificing this funding stream.

Required Reading

Burch, Rebecca *Gag Me: Money versus Mission?* Center on Women and Public Policy Case Study Program Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota

Everyone should read at least the main case study

Can also be downloaded from http://www.hhh.umn.edu/centers/wpp/case_studies.html#burch

Tutorial (Thursday 27th Feb)

This tutorial will focus on sexuality and critically evaluate the ways in which gender and sexuality have been used as conceptual tools for understanding the HIV/AIDS global pandemic.

Required reading:

- Dowsett, Gary W (2003) 'Some Considerations on Sexuality and Gender in the Context of AIDS', *Reproductive Health Matters*, 11, 21-29.
- Boyce, P., M. Huang Soo Lee, C. Jenkins, S. Mohamed, C. Overs, V. Paiva, E. Reid, M. Tan and P. Aggleton (2007) 'Putting sexuality (back) into HIV/AIDS: Issues, theory and practice', *Global Public Health*, 2: 1, 1-34.

Further reading:

Sexual and Reproductive Rights

- *Cornwall, A and Welbourn, A (eds) (2002) *Realizing rights: transforming approaches to sexual and reproductive wellbeing*.
- Correa, S. (1994) *Population and Reproductive Rights*
- Correa, S et al (2005) "Thinking Beyond ICPD+10: Where should our movement be going?" *Reproductive Health Matters*, 2005; 13(25), 109-119
- Development* (1999) 42 (1) Special Number: "Reproductive Rights and Health: Putting Cairo into Action"
- Development* (2005) 48 (4) Special Number on Sexual and Reproductive health and rights
- Development* (2006) 49 (4) Special Number on Gender and reproductive technologies
- * Hartmann, B. (1995) *Reproductive Rights and Wrongs*
- Haslegrave, M. (2013) "Ensuring the inclusion of sexual and reproductive health and rights under a sustainable development goal on health in the post-2015 human rights framework for development", *Reproductive Health Matters* 21 (42): 61-73
- Jaquette, J. S. & K. A. Staudt (1988) 'Population and Gender: a feminist analysis of US population policy in the Third World', in K. B. Jones & A. Jonasdottir (eds): *The Political Interests of Gender*
- * Jeffery, R. & Jeffery, P. (1997) *Population, Gender & Politics* (especially Chapters 4-5)
- Purewal, N.K. (2001) New Roots for Rights: Women's responses to population and development policies', in S. Rowbotham and S. Linkogle (eds) . London: Zed
- Reproductive Health Matters*, Volume 8, Issue 16, November 2000, Pages 6-9 [special issue on reproductive rights, advocacy and changing the law] [ejournal]
- Reproductive Health Matters*, Volume 13 2005 – 10 years on from Cairo [ejournal]
- Steans, J. (2013) *Gender and International Relations* (3rd Edn) Chapter 4, 'Gender, sexuality and Human Rights'
- Sen, G., A. Germain and L. Chen (eds) (1994) *Population Policies Reconsidered: Health, Empowerment, and Rights*
- * Silliman, J. & Y. King (1999) *Dangerous Intersections*
- Smyth, I (1998) "Gender Analysis of Family Planning: Beyond the feminist versus population control debate" in in C. Jackson & R. Pearson (eds.): *Feminist Visions of Development*
- Stetson, Dorothy M. (eds) (2001) *Abortion politics, women's movements, and the democratic state a comparative study of state feminism* Oxford Scholarship online [electronic resource via Library]
- * Worthington, N., M. D. F. Natividad, R. Petchesky & R. Parker (2008) 'The contested politics of sexual and reproductive health and rights,' *Global Public Health: An International Journal for Research, Policy and Practice*, 3:S2, 1-4

Zhang, H. & C. Locke (2002) "Contextualising Reproductive Rights Challenges", *Women's Studies International Forum*, 25(4): 443-453, 2002 *ejournal*).

Web sources

Global Reproductive Health Forum at

<http://www.hsph.harvard.edu/Organizations/healthnet/resources/About.htm>

International Women's Health Coalition at <http://www.iwhc.org>

Women's Rights (General)

- Alston, P & Robison, M. (2005). *Human rights and development: Towards a mutual reinforcement*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Beyani, C. (1995). "The needs of refugee women: A human rights perspective." *Gender and Development*; 1995, 3, 2, June, 29-35.
- *Bunch, C. (1990) "Women's rights as human rights: Toward a re-vision of human rights," *Human Rights Quarterly*, 12, p. 486-498.
- Charlesworth, H. and Chinkin, C. (2000) *The Boundaries of International Law: A Feminist Analysis*, Manchester University Press
- Charlesworth, H. (2013) 'International Human Rights Law: a portmanteau for feminist norms?' in Caglar, Prugl and Zwingel (eds) *Feminist Strategies in International Governance*, Routledge. Chapter 1.
- Friedman, E. (2003). "Gendering the agenda: The impact of the transnational women's rights movement at the UN conferences of the 1990s." *Women's Studies International Forum* 26 (4) 313-331.
- Hesford, W. & Kozol, W. (2005). *Just advocacy? Women's human rights, transnational feminisms, and the politics of representation*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Joachim, J. (1999). "Shaping the human rights agenda: The case of violence against women" in Meyer, M and Prugl, E. (eds.) *Gender Politics in Global Governance*. Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield. Ch. 9, pg. 142-160
- Kerr, J. (ed.) (1993). *Ours by Right: Women's Rights as Human Rights*, London: Zed Books.
- Kerr, J., Sprenger, E. & Symington, A. (eds) (2004.) *Future of women's rights: Global visions and strategies*. London: Zed Books.
- Knop, K. (2004). *Gender and human rights*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- MacKinnon, C. (2006). *Are women human? And other international dialogues*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press
- McColgan, A. (2000). *Women under the law: The false promise of human rights*. Harlow: Longman.
- Merry, S. (2006). *Human rights and gender violence: Translating international law into local justice*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Merali, I & Oosterveld, V. (2001). *Giving meaning to economic, social and cultural rights*. Philadelphia, UPenn Press.
- Miller, A. (1999). "Realizing women's human rights: Nongovernmental organizations and the United Nations treaty bodies" in Meyer, M and Prugl, E. (eds.) *Gender Politics in Global Governance*. Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield. Ch. 10, pg. 161-176.
- Mullally, S. (2006). *Gender, culture and human rights: Reclaiming universalism*. Oxford: Hart.
- Peters, J & Wolper, A. (1995). *Women's Rights, Human Rights*, London: Routledge.
- *Peterson, V. Spike, "Whose Rights? A Critique of the "Givens" in Human Rights Discourse", *Alternatives*, 15:3 (1990: Summer) p.303
- Rhode, D & Sanger, C. (eds) (2005). *Gender and Rights*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

HIV/AIDS:

Chan, Kit Yee & Reidpath, Daniel D. (2003) "Typhoid Mary' and 'HIV Jane': Responsibility, Agency and Disease Prevention' *Reproductive Health Matters* 11:22, 40-50.

- Chirongoma, Sophie. (2006) 'Women's and Children's Rights in the time of HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe: An analysis of Gendered inequalities and its Impact on People's Health' *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* 126: 48-65.
- Colvin, C.J. and S. Robins (2009) 'Social Movements and HIV/AIDS in South Africa' in Rohleder, P., L. Swartz, S. Kalichman and L. Simbayi (eds) *HIV/AIDS in South Africa 25 Years On: Psychosocial Perspectives*. New York: Springer, pp. 155-164.
- Cornwall, A. and A. Welbourn (2002) *Realizing Rights: Transforming Approaches to Sexual & Reproductive Well-Being*. London: Zed Books.
- Feldman, Rayah & Maposphere, Caroline (2003) 'Safer Sex and Reproductive Choice: Findings from 'Positive Women: Voices and Choices' in Zimbabwe' *Reproductive Health Matters* 11:22, 162-173.
- Nguyen, V. (2005) 'Antiretroviral Globalism, Biopolitics and Therapeutic Citizenship' in A. Ong and S.J. Collier (eds) *Global Assemblages: Technology, Politics and Ethics as Anthropological Problems*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 124-144
- Pisani, Elizabeth (2000) 'AIDS into the 21st Century: Some Critical Considerations' *Reproductive Health Matters* 8:15, 63-76
- Pisani, Elizabeth (2008) *The Wisdom of Whores: Bureaucrats, Brothels and the Business of AIDS*. London: Granta (see <http://www.wisdomofwhores.com/>)
- Quinn, Thomas et al. (2005) 'HIV/AIDS in Women: An Expanding Epidemic' *Science* 308, 1582-1583.
- Rao Gupta, Geeta (2000) 'United Nations Expert Meeting on 'The HIV/AIDS Pandemic and Gender Implication: Approaches for empowering Women in The HIV/AIDS Pandemic: A gender perspective' Website: <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/hiv aids/Gupta.html>
- Robins, S. (2004). 'Long live Zackie, long live': AIDS activism, science and citizenship after apartheid. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 30(3), 651–672.
- Robins, S. (2006) From rights to 'ritual': AIDS activism and treatment testimonies in South Africa. *American Anthropologist*, 108(2), 312–323.
- United Nations (2006) 'A Global View of HIV infection' http://data.unaids.org/pub/GlobalReport/2006/2006GR-PrevalenceMap_en.pdf
- United Nations (2010) 'UNAIDS: Report on the Global Aids Epidemic' <http://www.unaids.org/globalreport/default.htm>
- Whelan, Daniel (1998) 'Human Rights Approaches to an Expanded Response to Address Women's Vulnerability to HIV/AIDS' *Health and Human Rights* 3:1, 20-36.
- Whiteside, Alan (2002) 'Poverty and HIV/AIDS in Africa' *Third World Quarterly* 23:2, 313-332

8: The Global Sex Trade

Lecture (Tuesday 4th March)

Guest Lecture with Ann Hamilton of the UK-based Human Trafficking Foundation, followed by Q&A led by students.

This lecture will look at the major political and policy challenges – and the human cost – of the darker side of global patterns of migration: human trafficking, including the sex trafficking of women from the global South to countries of the global North, such as UK.

<http://www.humantraffickingfoundation.org/>

Key lecture readings

Kennedy Report

http://www.equalityhumanrights.com/uploaded_files/Scotland/Human_Trafficking_in_Scotland/inquiry_into_human_trafficking_in_scotland-exec-sum_pdf.pdf

True, Jacqui (2012) *The Political Economy of Violence Against Women*. Chapter 4 'Crossing Borders to Make Ends Meet: Sex trafficking, the Maid Trade, and Other Gendered Forms of Labor exploitation'.

Tutorial (Thursday 7th March)

In tutorial, we will discuss feminist analyses of the global sex trade and debates over its growth and impact on women and gender equality. We will structure this discussion as a debate, so you will be asked to take either the pro-sex work side, or the position that prostitution = violence against women.

Required reading:

Jeffreys, Sheila (2008) *The Industrial Vagina: The Political Economy of the Global Sex Trade* (especially chapter 1: "Feminists and the Global Sex Industry")

Kamala Kempadoo and Jo Doezema (1998) *Global sex workers: rights, resistance, and redefinition*, Routledge (especially chapter 2: Alison Murray (1998) 'Debt Bondage and Trafficking: Don't Believe the Hype')

Further reading on the global sex industry

Web sources:

- Coalition Against Trafficking in Women (CATW) www.catwinternational.org/
- Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women (GAATW) www.gaataw.org/ (*nb. Both feminist NGOs but with different analyses of trafficking and the sex trade*)
- UN Commission on the Status of Women. <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/>

Readings

Agustín, L. (2005). "Migrants in the mistress's house: Other voices in the "trafficking" debate." *Social Politics* 12: 96-117.

Bales, K. (2002). 'Because She Looks Like A Child', in Ehrenreich and Hochschild (eds) *Global Woman Nannies, Maids, and Sex Workers in the New Economy*. New York: Metropolitan Books. 207-229.

Berman, J. (2003). "(Un)popular strangers and crises (un)bounded: Discourses of sex-trafficking, the European political community and the panicked state of the modern state." *European Journal of International Relations* 9 (1):37-86.

Davidson, J.O. (2003) ' "Sleeping with the Enemy?" Some Problems with Feminist Abolitionist Calls to Penalise Those who buy Commercial Sex', *Social Policy and Society* Vol 2 (Part 1), 55-64

*Ehrenreich, B. and Hochschild, AR (eds). (2002). *Global Woman: Nannies, Maids, and Sex Workers in the New Economy*. New York: Metropolitan Books.

Hubbard, Phil; Matthews, Roger; Scoular, Jane (2008) "Regulating sex work in the EU: prostitute women and the new spaces of exclusion," *Gender, Place & Culture*, 15, 2, 137-152.

Kligman, G & Limoncelli, S. (2005). "Trafficking women after Socialism: To, through, and from Eastern Europe." *Social Politics* 12:118-140.

*Munro, Vanessa E.; della Guista, Marina (2008) *Demanding Sex: Critical Reflections on the Regulation of Prostitution*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

O'Connell, Julia Davidson (2013) 'Troubling Freedom: migration, debt and modern slavery', *Migration Studies* 1(2): 176-195

O'Connell, Julia Davidson (2002) 'The rights and wrongs of prostitution', *Hypatia* 17 (2): 84-98

*Outshoorn, J. (2005). "The political debates on prostitution and trafficking of women." *Social Politics* 12:141-155.

- Outshoorn, J.(ed) (2004) *The Politics of Prostitution: Women's Movements, democratic States and the Globalisation of Sex Commerce*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (country case studies)
- Penttinen, Elina (2008) "Imagined and Embodied Spaces in the Global Sex Industry" *Gender, Work & Organization*.
- Phoenix, Jo (2007) "Sex, money and the regulation of women's 'choices': a political economy of prostitution," *Criminal Justice Matters*, 70 (1), 25-26.
- Sanchez Jacqueline (2006) "Female Sex Tourism: a contradiction in terms?" *Feminist Review* (83), 42-59.
- Sassen, S. (2002) 'Global Cities and Survival Circuits' in Ehrenreich and Hirsch (eds) *Global Woman Nannies, Maids, and Sex Workers in the New Economy*. New York: Metropolitan Books. 254-274.
- *Scambler, Graham (2007) "Sex Work Stigma: Opportunist Migrants in London," in *Sociology*, 41 (6), 1079-1096.
- Scambler, Graham and Scambler A. (eds) (1997) *Rethinking prostitution : purchasing sex in the 1990s* . London:Routledge
- Staudt, Kathleen (2008)*Violence and Activism at the Border Gender, Fear, and Everyday Life in Ciudad Juárez*
- Sullivan, Barbara Ann Taylor (1997) *The politics of sex : prostitution and pornography in Australia since 1945* Cambridge ; New York : Cambridge University Press
- *Sullivan, B (2003) 'Trafficking in Women: Feminism and New International Law', *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 5 (1) 67-91
- Thorbeck, Susanne and Pattanaik, Bandana (eds) (2002) *Transnational Prostitution*, London: Zed.
- Weitzer, Ronald (2007) "The Social Construction of Sex Trafficking: Ideology and Institutionalization of a Moral Crusade," *Politics & Society*, 35 (3), 447-475.
- Wright, Melissa W. (2004) "From Protests to Politics: Sex Work, Women's Worth, and Ciudad Juárez Modernity," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 94 (2), 369-386.

9: Institutionalizing Gender Equality I: Insider and Outsider Strategies for Change

Lecture (Tuesday 11th March)

In this lecture we consider transnational feminist efforts to tackle gender inequality and produce a more just global gender order. In particular we examine three global trends to "institutionalise" gender equality: quotas, gender mainstreaming and women's policy machinery. We will consider the evolution, key features and impact of these developments, and different feminist strategies for change: "outsider", "insider", and "outsiders within".

Key lecture readings

Squires, J. (2007), *The New Politics of Gender Equality*. Introduction and Chapter 1 [LEARN]

Hawkesworth, Mary 2006 *Globalization & Feminist Activism*, Chapter 3, 'Outsiders, Insiders and Outsiders Within: Feminist Strategies for Global Transformation'. Lanman: Rowman & Littlefield. [LEARN]

Prugl, E. (2013) 'Introduction: International Feminist Strategies. Critical Perspectives on Gender and Politics', *Politics & Gender* 9, 329-335 [ejournal]

Group presentations

The second half of this session is organised around group presentations on 1) feminist engagements with international trade policy; and 2) feminist campaigns to tackle rape and violence against women; Students should draw upon readings from across the course and use

web sources to examine how feminists have organised transnationally for change, the different strategies they have used, the practical and theoretical dilemmas faced, and the extent and limits of their achievements.

The following readings will start you off, but you will have to do your own investigating (some good websites are recommended below). Please also consult the 'further reading' for this week to inform your analysis.

Group a) Trade policy

Leibowitz, D. J. (2008) 'Governing Globalization: Feminist Engagements with International Trade Policy' in S. M. Rai and G. Waylen (eds) *Global Governance: Feminist Perspectives*, Chapter 9

True, J. (2008) 'Gender Mainstreaming and Regional Trade Governance in Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC),' in S. M. Rai and G. Waylen (eds) *Global Governance: Feminist Perspectives*, Chapter 6.

Williams, Mariama (2004) 'Gender, the Doha Development Agenda, and the post Cancun trade negotiations', *Gender and Development* 12(2): 73-81

World Bank (2004) The Impact of international trade on gender equality. Prem Notes. Available at <http://www1.worldbank.org/prem/PREMNotes/premnote86.pdf>

See also the International gender and trade network

<http://web.igtn.org/home/>

and the Gender and Trade resource platform

http://www.genderandtrade.org/gthomepage/164044/gender_and_trade/

Group b) Rape and sexual violence

Engle, Karen (2005) "Feminism and Its (Dis)contents: Criminalizing Wartime Rape in Bosnia and Herzegovina" *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 99, No. 4 (Oct., 2005), pp. 778-816

Joachim, J. (1999). "Shaping the human rights agenda: The case of violence against women" in Meyer, M and Prugl, E. (eds.) *Gender Politics in Global Governance*. Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield. Ch. 9, pg. 142-160

Kelly, Liz (2005) 'Inside outsiders: Mainstreaming Gender Violence into Human Rights Discourse and Practice' *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 7:4, 471-495

Skjelsbaek, Inger (2010) *The Elephant in the Room: An overview of how sexual violence came to be seen as a weapon of war*, Peace Research Institute: Oslo:http://www.peacewomen.org/assets/file/Resources/NGO/vas_sexualviolencewarweapon_prio_may2010.pdf

Youngs, Gillian (2003) "Private Pain/Public Peace: Women's Rights as Human Rights and Amnesty International's Report on Violence Against Women," *Signs* 28:4, 1209-1229 [ejournal]

Women's Initiative for Gender Justice Articles:

<http://www.iccwomen.org/publications/articles/index.php>

<http://endviolence.un.org/>

Tutorial (Thursday 13th march)

In this tutorial, we will focus on the contested relationship between women's political presence and gender equality outcomes. What difference do institutions make in advancing women's interests? What difference does politics make?

Required reading:

Goetz, Anne Marie (2003) 'Women's Political Effectiveness: A Conceptual Framework' in A.M. Goetz and S. Hassim (eds) *No Shortcuts to Power: African Women in Politics and Policy Making*. London: Zed Books, pp. 29-80

There is only one reading this week as it is long. Students must bring comprehensive notes on the chapter with them to the seminar and be prepared to draw on your notes to take part in a group practical exercise.

Further reading:

Carbert, Anne. 2004. "Learning from Experience: Activist Reflections on 'Insider-Outsider' Strategies." *AWID (Association of Women's Rights in Development) Spotlight* no. 4 (December). [http://www.awid.org/eng/Media/Files/spotlight4_en/\(language\)/eng-GB](http://www.awid.org/eng/Media/Files/spotlight4_en/(language)/eng-GB)

Cornwall, Andrea, and Anne Marie Goetz. 2005. "Democratizing Democracy: Feminist Perspectives." *Democratization* 12 (5):783–800 [ejournal]

Goetz, Anne Marie, and Shireen Hassim, eds. 2003. *No Shortcuts to Power: African Women in Politics and Policy Making*. New York: Zed Books.

Hawkesworth, M. (2006) *Globalization & Feminist Activism*. Rowman & Littlefield.

Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

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Levitt, Peggy and Merry, Sally (2009) 'Vernacularization on the ground: local uses of global women's rights in Peru, China, India and the United States' *Global Networks* Volume 9 (4): 441–554 [See also other papers in this Special Issue]

Mendoza, Breny. 2002. "Transnational Feminism in Question." *Feminist Theory* 3 (3): 295–314.

Meyer, M.K. and Prugl, E. (eds) (1999) *Gender Politics in Global Governance*. Rowman & Littlefield

Pettman, J.J. (2004) 'Global Politics and Transnational Feminisms', in L. Ricciutelli, A. Miles, M. McFadden (eds) *Feminist Politics, Activism and Vision*. Zed.

Rai, Shirin. 1997. Gender and Representation: Women MPs in the Indian Parliament, 1991-96. In *Getting Institutions Right for Women in Development*, ed. Anne Marie Goetz, 104–20. New York: Zed Books.

Steans, Jill (2013) *Gender and International Relations* (3rd Edn), Chapters 9 'Global Governance' and 10 'Transnational Feminist Politics'.

Squires, Judith (2007) *The New Politics of Gender Equality*. Palgrave.

Rai, Shirin and Waylen, Georgina. 2008. *Global Governance: Feminist Perspectives*. Palgrave.

Squires, J. and Krook, M.L. (2007) 'Working Together? Analysing Interrelations', in J.Squires *The New Politics of Gender Equality*. Palgrave.

Weldon, L. (2006) 'Inclusion, Solidarity and Social Movements: The Global Women's Movement against Gender Violence' *Perspectives on Politics* 4 (1): 55-74

Gender Quotas

- Caul, Miki (2001) 'Political Parties and the adoption of candidate gender quotas: a cross national analysis' *Journal of Politics* 63/4 1214-1229 [ejournal]
- Dahlerup, Drude (ed)(2005) *Women, Quotas and Politics*. London: Routledge. Various Chapters
- Krook, Mona Lena (2009) *Quotas for Women in Politics*. Oxford University Press. Oxford Scholarship on line [e book access through library website]
- Krook, Mona Lena (2008) 'Campaigns for candidate gender quotas: a new global women's movement?' in Sandra Grey and Marian Sawer (eds) *women's Movements: Flourishing or in Abeyance?* Chapter 8
- Krook, Mona Lena (2006) 'Gender Quotas, Norms and Politics,' *Politics & Gender* 2: 110-118 [e journal]
- *Krook, Mona Lena and Jacqui True (2012) 'Rethinking the life cycles of international norms: The United Nations and the global promotion of gender equality' *European Journal of International Relations* 18: 103
- Kudva, Neema and Kajri Misra (2008) 'Gender Quotas, the Politics of Presence, and the Feminist Project: What Does the Indian Experience Tell Us?' *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 34 (1),pp. 49-73 [ejournal]
- Skjeie, H. (2001) 'Quotas, Parity and the Discursive Dangers of Difference' in J.Klausen and C.S.Maier (eds) *Has Liberalism Failed Women*. Basingstoke:Palgrave. Pp.165-176 [WEBCT]
- Tripp, Aili, Dior Konaté, and Colleen Lowe-Morna. 2006. Sub-Saharan Africa: On the Fast Track to Women's Political Representation. In *Women, Quotas, and Politics*, ed. Drude Dahlerup, 112-137. New York: Routledge.

Gender Mainstreaming/Gender Budgets:

Web sources

- <http://www.gender-budgets.org/>
www.bridge.ids.ac.uk/gender_budgets_cd/
www.coe.int/equality/
www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/gendermainstreaming.htm
www.undp.org/women/mainstream/

- Bacchi, C. and Eveline, J. (2005) 'What are We Mainstreaming, When We Mainstream Gender?', *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 7 (4):496-512
- Squires, J. (2007) *The New Politics of Gender Equality*. Palgrave. Chpt 6
- True, J. (2003) 'Gender mainstreaming in global public policy', *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 5 (3): 68-96
- True, J. and Mintrom, M. (2001) 'Transnational networks and policy diffusion: the case of gender mainstreaming,' in *International Studies Quarterly* 45 (1): 25-57 [e journal]
- True, J. and Parisi, L. (2013), 'Gender mainstreaming strategies in international governance', in Caglar, Prugl and Zwingel (eds) *Feminist Strategies in International Governance*. London: Routledge, Chapter 2.
- Walby, S. (2005a) 'Comparative Gender Mainstreaming in a Global Era', *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 7 (4): 453-470
- Walby, S. (2005b) 'Gender Mainstreaming: Productive Tensions in Theory and Practice' *Social Politics* Fall: 321-342

Women's Policy Machinery

(also see readings under Gender Mainstreaming):

- Chappell, L (2002) *Gendering Government: feminist Engagements with the state in Australia and Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press
- Outshoorn, J. and Kantola, J (eds)(2007) *Changing State Feminism*. Palgrave

- Rai, S.M (ed) (2003) *Mainstreaming gender, democratizing the state? Institutional mechanisms for the advancement of women*. Manchester University Press/ United Nations
- Stetson, D.M. and Mazur, A. (1995) *Comparative State Feminism*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Squires, J. (2007) *The New Politics of Gender Equality*. Palgrave. Ch 5

10: Institutionalising Gender Equality II - International Organisations and Instruments

Lecture (Tuesday 19th March)

In this lecture, we will assess how different international organisations – including the United Nations, the World Bank, and the European Union – are gendered and how they can be changed. We will focus in particular on evaluating the potential of gender mainstreaming as a potential strategy for transforming global governance.

Key readings

- Shepherd, Laura (2010) *Gender Matters in Global Politics*, Chapter 14, ‘Mainstreaming Gender in International Institutions’. London: Routledge
- True, J. (2003) ‘Gender mainstreaming in global public policy’, *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 5 (3): 68-96 [ejournal]
- Waylen, G. (2008) ‘Transforming Global Governance: Challenges and Opportunities’ in S. Rai and G. Waylen (eds) *Global Governance: Feminist Perspectives*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, pp. 254-275.

Group Presentations

The second half of this session is organised around student group presentations on feminist engagements with global institutions and their efforts to change the rules: a) UN Global Conferences on Women; and b) Gender Justice and the International Criminal Court

Students should draw upon readings from across the course and use web sources to examine **how** feminists have organised transnationally for change, the strategies used, the practical and theoretical dilemmas faced, and the extent and limits of their achievements.

Group a) UN Security Council and Resolution 1325

- Cohn, C. (2008) ‘Mainstreaming Gender in UN Security Policy’, in Rai, Shirin and Waylen, Georgina. 2008. *Global Governance: Feminist Perspectives*. Palgrave.
- Harrington, Carol. 2011. “Resolution 1325 and Post-Cold War Feminist Politics.” *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 13 (4): 557–575
- Irvine, Jill A. 2013. “Leveraging Change: Women’s Organizations and the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the Balkans.” *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 15 (1): 20–38
- Von Braunmuhl, C. (2013) ‘A feminist Analysis of UN Security Council Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security’ in Caglar, Prugl and Zwingel (eds) *Feminist Strategies in International Governance*, London:Routledge
- Also see the readings under 1325 in Week 3

Group b) Gender Justice and the International Criminal Court

Readings

*Frey, Barbara A. 2004. "A Fair Representation: Advocating for Women's Rights in the International Criminal Court" *Case Studies on Women and Public Policy*, University of Minnesota Center on Women and Public Policy
http://www.hhh.umn.edu/centers/wpp/case_studies.html#frey

Chappell, L. (2011) 'Nested Newness and Institutional Innovation: expanding gender justice in the international criminal court', in M.L.Krook and F. Mackay (eds) *Gender, Politics and Institutions*. Palgrave. Chapter 10

Chappell, L. (2007) 'Governing International Law through the International Criminal Court' in SM Rai and G Waylen (eds) *Global Governance*. Chapter 7 [LEARN]

Hafner-Burton, Emilie. M. 2008. 'Sticks and Stones: Naming and Shaming the Human Rights Enforcement Problem'. *International Organization* 62: 689–716 [ejournal]

Spees, Pam. 2003. "Women's Agency in the Creation of the International Criminal Court: Changing the Landscape of Justice and Power". *Signs* 28 (4): 1233-1254

Websites

Coalition for the International Criminal Court <http://www.iccnw.org/>

Coalition for Women's Human Rights in Conflict Situations

<http://www.womensrightscoalition.org/>

Women's initiatives for gender justice (formerly Women's caucus for GJ)

<http://www.iccwomen.org/>

Tutorial (Thursday 21st March)

In this tutorial, we will evaluate critiques of global feminism as cultural imperialism.

Required reading:

Winter, B., D. Thompson and S. Jeffreys (2002) 'The UN Approach to Harmful Traditional Practices,' *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 4 (1), 72-94.

Russo, A. (2006) 'The Feminist Majority Foundation's Campaign to Stop Gender Apartheid', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 8 (4), 557-580.

Further reading on international organisations and transnational feminism

Websites:

United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women:

<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/>

Association for Women's Rights in Development: www.awid.org

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women:

<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/committee.htm>

Readings

Afsharipour, Afra (1999) 'Empowering Ourselves: The Role of Women's NGOs in the enforcement of the women's conventions.' *Columbia Law Review* 99 (1) : 129-172
(Available at:

<http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.webfeat.lib.ed.ac.uk/stable/pdfplus/1123598.pdf>)

Bedford, K (2008) 'Governing Intimacy in the World Bank' in S.M. Rai and G. Waylen (eds) *Global Governance: Feminist Perspectives*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 84-106.

Berkovitch, N (1999) *From Motherhood to Citizenship: Women's Rights and*

Bunch, Charlotte (1996) 'Beijing 95: Moving Women's Human Rights from Margin to Center'. *Signs* 22 (3)

- Bunch, Charlotte. 2001. "International Networking for Women's Human Rights." In *Global Citizen Action*, eds. Michael Edwards and John Gaventa. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Cohn, C. (2008) 'Mainstreaming Gender in UN Security Policy', in Rai, Shirin and Waylen, Georgina. 2008. *Global Governance: Feminist Perspectives*. Palgrave.
- Corrin, Chris. 2001. Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Gender Analysis in Kosova. *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 3 (1): 78–98.
- Kantola, J. (2010) *Gender and the European Union*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Lombardo, E. and P. Meier (2006) 'Gender Mainstreaming in the EU: Incorporating a Feminist Reading?', *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 13 (2), 151-166.
- Maxine Molyneux, Shahra Razavi. (2005) 'Beijing Plus Ten: An Ambivalent Record on Gender Justice'. *Development and Change* 36:6, 983-1010 [journal]
- Mohanty, C (2002) Under Western Eyes Revisited: Feminist Solidarity through anti-capitalist struggles. *Signs* 28 (2): 499-535
- Naples, Nancy, and Manisha Desai. 2002. *Women's Activism and Globalization: Linking Local Struggles and Transnational Politics*. New York: Routledge.
- Nobre, Miriam, and Rosa Guillen. 2004. "The World March of Women of the Americas is in Cuba." *World March of Women Newsletter* 7, no. 1: 5–6.
- Randriamaro, Zo. 2004. "'We the Women': The United Nations, Feminism and Economic Justice." *AWID (Association of Women's Rights in Development) Spotlight* (2): 1–12. [http://www.awid.org/eng/Media/Files/spotlight2_en/\(language\)/eng-GB](http://www.awid.org/eng/Media/Files/spotlight2_en/(language)/eng-GB)
- Reanda, L (1999) 'Engendering the United Nations: The Changing International Agenda', *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 6 (1), 49-70.
- *Spivak, G.C. (1996) "'Woman" as Theatre: United Nations Conference on Women, Beijing 1995', *Radical Philosophy* 75 (2-4): 1-7.
- Steinstra, Deborah. 2000a. "Dancing Resistance from Rio to Beijing: Transnational Women's Organizing and the United Nations Conferences." In *Gender and Global Restructuring: Sightings, Sites, and Resistances*, eds. Marianne H. Marchand and Anne Sisson Runyan. New York: Routledge.
- True, J. (2008) Gender Mainstreaming and Regional Trade Governance in the Asia-Pacific Cooperation Forum (APEC), in Rai, Shirin and Waylen, Georgina (eds) *Global Governance: Feminist Perspectives*. Palgrave.
- True, J. (2008) 'Gender Specialists and Global Governance Organizations' in M. Sawer and S. Grey (eds) *Women's Movements: In Abeyance or Flourishing in New Ways?* London: Routledge, 91-104.
- West, Lois A. 1999. "The United Nations Women's Conferences and Feminist Politics." In *Gender Politics and Global Governance*, eds. Mary K. Meyer and Elisabeth Prugl. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Woehl, S. (2008) 'Global Governance as Neo-Liberal Governmentality: Gender Mainstreaming in the European Employment Strategy' in Rai, Shirin and Waylen, Georgina. 2008. *Global Governance: Feminist Perspectives*. Palgrave.
- Women's Economic and Development Organisation (WEDO) (2005) Beijing Betrayed. Women Worldwide Report that Governments Have Failed To Turn the Platform into Action <http://www.wedo.org/learn/library/media-type/pdf/beijing-betrayed-2005>

International Criminal Court

- Askin, Kelly D. 1999. "Sexual Violence in Decisions and Indictments of the Yugoslav and Rwandan Tribunals: Current Status." *American Journal of International Law* 93:97-123.
- Bedont, Barbara and Katherine H. Martinez. 1999. "Ending Impunity for Gender Crimes under the International Criminal Court." *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* 6(1): 65-85.

- Campanaro, Jocelyn. 2001. "Women, War, and International Law: The Historical Treatment of Gender-Based War Crimes." *Georgetown Law Journal* 89: 2557–92.
- Chappell, Louise. 2008. Governing International Law through the International Criminal Court: A New Site for Gender Justice?. In Shirin Rai and Georgina Waylen eds. *Global Governance: Feminist Perspectives*. Palgrave MacMillan.
- Charlesworth, Hilary and Christine Chinkin. 2000. *The boundaries of international law: a feminist analysis*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Coalition for the International Criminal Court. 2008. The Lubanga Case <<http://www.iccnw.org/?mod=drc>> 2008, November 26.
- Connell, R.W. 2002. *Gender*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Coalition for Women's Human Rights in Conflict Situations. 2008. Nairobi Declaration on Women's and Girls' Right to a Remedy and Reparation. <http://www.womensrightscoalition.org/site/reparation/signature_en.php> 2008, December 1.
- Copelon, Rhonda. 1995. "Gendered War Crimes: Reconceptualizing Rape in Time of War." In *Women's Rights, Human Rights: International Feminist Perspectives*, eds. Julia Peters and Andrea Wolper. New York: Routledge, 197-214.
- Erb, Nicole E. 1998. "Gender-Based Crimes under the Draft Statute for the Permanent International Criminal Court." *Columbia Human Rights Law Review* 29:401-435.
- Frey, Barbara A. 2004. "A Fair Representation: Advocating for Women's Rights in the International Criminal Court" *Case Studies on Women and Public Policy*, University of Minnesota Center on Women and Public Policy <http://www.hhh.umn.edu/centers/wpp/case_studies.html#frey>
- Gazurek, Eva and Anne Saris for the Coalition for Women's Human Rights in Conflict Situations. 2002. The Protection of Women as Witnesses and the ICTR <http://www.womensrightscoalition.org/site/advocacyDossiers/rwanda/witnessProtection/protectionofwitnesses_en.php> 2008, November 30.
- Glassborow, Kay. 2008. ICC Investigative Strategy Under Fire' in Special Report: Sexual Violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Institute for War and Peace Reporting: The Netherlands. October, 13. <www.iwpr.net> 2008, October 20.
- Goetze, Katharina. 2008. No Sign of End to Epidemic. Special Report on Sexual Violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Institute for War and Peace Reporting <www.iwpr.net> 2008, November 28.
- Hafner-Burton, Emilie. M. 2008. Sticks and Stones: Naming and Shaming the Human Rights Enforcement Problem. *International Organization* 62: 689–716.
- Hafner Burton, Emilie M. and Kiyoteru Tsutsui. 2005. Human Rights in a Globalizing World: The Paradox of Empty Promises. *American Journal of Sociology*. 110:5, 1373-1411.
- Human Rights Watch. 2008. DR Congo: ICC Charges Raise Concern Joint letter to the Chief Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court <<http://www.hrw.org/en/news/2006/07/30/dr-congo-icc-charges-raise-concern>> 2008, November 28.
- Hunter, Rosemary. 2008. Can feminist Judges Make a Difference? *International Journal of the Legal Profession*, 15:1, 7-36.
- International Bar Association. 2008. IBA Monitoring Report. Balancing Rights: The International Criminal Court at a Procedural Crossroads. <http://www.ibanet.org/Human_Rights_Institute/ICC_Outreach_Monitoring/ICC_IBA_Publications.aspx> 2008, December 1
- Mackinnon, Catherine. 2006. Defining Rape Internationally: A Comment on *Akayesu*. *Columbia Journal of Transnational Law*. 44, 3: 940-58.
- Mertus, Julie. 2004. Shouting from the Bottom of a Well. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*. 6, 1. 110 – 28.
- Ocampo, Luis Moreno. 2008. Address to the Assembly of State parties. 14 November <http://www.icc-cpi.int/library/organs/otp/speeches/2008-11-14_speech.pdf> 2008, November 28.

- ___ . 2004. Address to Third Session of the Assembly of State Parties to the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, The Hague, 6 September <www.icc-cpi.int/library/asp/LMO_20040906_ed.pdf. > 2008, November 28.
- Office of the Prosecutor. 2006. Report on Prosecutorial Strategy. 14 September, The Hague http://www.icc-cpi.int/library/organs/otp/OTP_Prosecutorial-Strategy-20060914_English.pdf 2008, December 1.
- Steains, Cate. 1999. "Gender Issues." In *The International Criminal Court: The Making of the Rome Statute*, ed. Roy S. Lee. The Hague: Kluwer Law International.
- Warbrick, C. and McGoldrick, D. (2001) 'The Preparatory Commission for the International Criminal Court' *Current Developments: Public International Law, International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, 50: 420-435.
- Women's Initiatives for Gender Justices. 2008a. Making a Statement: A Review of the Charges and Prosecutions for Gender-based Crimes before the International Criminal Court. <<http://www.iccwomen.org/publications/articles/docs/MakingAStatement-WebFinal.pdf>> 2008, November 28.
- ___ . 2008b. Letter submitted to Luis Moreno Ocampo in Legal Filings Submitted by the Women's Initiatives for Gender Justice to the International Criminal Court <<http://www.iccwomen.org/publications/articles/docs/LegalFilings-WebFinal.pdf>> 2008, November 28.
- ___ . 2008c. Request for Amicus Curiae status 7 September 2006 in Legal Filings Submitted by the Women's Initiatives for Gender Justice to the International Criminal Court. <<http://www.iccwomen.org/publications/articles/docs/LegalFilings-WebFinal.pdf> > 2008, November 28.
- ___ 2008d. Preliminary Dossier. Profile of Judicial Candidates Election January 2009. <http://www.iccwomen.org/news/docs/Profile_of_Judicial_Candidates-Web_Final.pdf> 2008, November 30.
- ___ 2008e. Advance Preliminary Report: Structures & Institutional Development of the International Criminal Court. <http://www.iccwomen.org/news/docs/Advance_Preliminary_Report-Web_Final.pdf> 2008, November 28.

Websites:

UN Women Watch: <http://www.un.org/womenwatch>

EU Gender Equality: <http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=418>

11: Conclusion & Stories from the Field

Lecture (Tuesday 25th March)

Stories from the Field: Doing Feminist Research and Class Social

This week, we review the themes of the course and provide advice on essay writing. Fiona Mackay (Edinburgh) and Rosalind Cavaghan (Radboud) will talk briefly about what it is like researching gender and global politics and give an account of their recent and current research projects ... and then there is the legendary GPSG Quiz!

PLANNING AND WRITING YOUR ESSAY

Here are some points to bear in mind.

1. You need to start by making sure that you understand the question and have defined any key terms. Draft some provisional headings relating to key points/ aspects of the question. There is no single formula for an essay plan, but investing time at the planning stage is always worth while, however pressed you feel. Write the question at the head of your plan may help to clarify your thinking and ensure that you answer the question set.
2. You should next **review** the course reading list to select key readings. Make notes and organise them in accordance with your plan headings, taking the opportunity to revise the provisional headings in the light of your review of the course materials. You may need to go beyond the reading list: for example you could follow up references in the bibliographies of articles and books you have found particularly useful. You might skim through back copies of relevant journals (see reading list for examples) or search the Library catalogue and ejournals. Social science gateways are often a very useful way to access relevant material. See, for example, <http://www.jisc.ac.uk/subject/socsci> . By now, you should be formulating an argued response to the question, and organising the relevant material in a way that will support your argument.
3. Once you are clear about the material, and how it will support your argument, you should organise it into paragraphs. You should try to ensure that the main point conveyed by each paragraph is supported by at least one good example selected from your notes on the relevant material. At this stage, you would do well to consider the maximum word length, and allocate the appropriate number of words to each essay section.
4. When you are ready to write, you need to come up with a good introductory paragraph. This should identify the main issue to be addressed, and indicate your chosen approach to it, but try to go beyond a bald re-statement of the question. If you feel stuck, you may find it helpful to write a provisional introduction, then come back and revise it in the light of the completed essay.
5. Be sure to use a recognised system of referencing and citation and be careful to clearly cite all sources. Distinguish between academic sources and other less authoritative sources such as articles, blogs, campaign web-sites etc. **DO NOT USE WIKIPEDIA – IT IS NOT FACT CHECKED AND DOES NOT CONSTITUTE A CREDIBLE SOURCE OF INFORMATION.**
6. Throughout the writing stage, be prepared to prune if it becomes clear that you are writing more for a given section than your plan has allowed for. Always keep the needs of the question uppermost in your mind and ask yourself what work each section is doing in helping you to answer the question. Think of your essay as an argument, progressing by stages, clearly linked, and supported by well-chosen evidence. Ask yourself: What work each section is doing? Have I linked each section? Have I provided enough signposts?

7. Your essay needs to have a robust conclusion. Avoid introducing new ideas or arguments right at the end of the essay, or taking off a new direction. Your final paragraph should draw together the main threads of the argument that you have been developing throughout the essay.
8. You will always benefit from, at the very least, a careful read through of your first essay draft, and, at best, another drafting of the essay. By re-reading or re-drafting, you can at least eliminate the spelling mistakes and awkward phrases that will create an unfavourable impression, and do less than justice to all the work that may have gone into the essay. Reading your essay aloud will help you to identify any troublesome sentence structures. You will probably find that your longer sentences will be easier to read if broken down into shorter ones. If you are sufficiently organised, you can leave the essay to one side for a day or two, and then return to it yourself. You will almost certainly find that things that were clear to you at the time of writing are now no longer so clear, and need to be re-worded. You may also find that your brain has been unconsciously working away at the issues raised, and that you now see a better way of arguing your case, or of organising the material.

**GLOBAL POLITICS OF SEX AND GENDER
ESSAY FEEDBACK FORM**

Prepared by

Student's Examination No:

Essay Question number:

| Some factors informing assessment: | <i>First</i> | <i>2.1</i> | <i>2.2</i> | <i>Third</i> | <i>Fail</i> |
|---|--------------|------------|------------|--------------|-------------|
| <i>Addresses the question set, and with sufficient focus?</i> | | | | | |
| <i>Shows grasp of relevant concepts and knowledge?</i> | | | | | |
| <i>Develops a logical and effective pattern of argument?</i> | | | | | |
| <i>Is clear and well-written?</i> | | | | | |
| <i>Is fully and correctly referenced?</i> | | | | | |
| <i>If appropriate, supports arguments with examples?</i> | | | | | |

Mark(s) deducted for late/ overlong essay _____

Comments:

Grade:

Appendix B

THE GLOBAL POLITICS OF SEX AND GENDER 2012-13 TUTORIAL FEEDBACK AND ASSESSMENT FORM

Tutor:

Student Name/Matriculation No:

Grade:

Attendance

| | Present | Excused Absence | Absence without excuse |
|---------------------|---------|-----------------|------------------------|
| Number of Tutorials | | | |

| | Present | Excused Absence | Absence without excuse |
|--------------------|---------|-----------------|------------------------|
| Number of Lectures | | | |

Preparation

| | Completed | Incomplete and excused | Incomplete without excuse |
|---------|-----------|------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 pager | | | |

Contribution to tutorial discussion

| Criteria | <i>Excellent</i> | <i>Very Good</i> | <i>Good</i> | <i>Satisfactory</i> | <i>Unsatisfactory</i> |
|---|------------------|------------------|-------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| proactively contributes by offering ideas and asking questions? | | | | | |
| demonstrates thoughtful engagement with the readings? | | | | | |
| listens when others talk and incorporates or builds off of the ideas of others? | | | | | |

Contribution to the group presentation

| Criteria | <i>Excellent</i> | <i>Very Good</i> | <i>Good</i> | <i>Satisfactory</i> | <i>Unsatisfactory</i> |
|---|------------------|------------------|-------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| informed by wide range of reading? | | | | | |
| demonstrates critical analysis of the reading? | | | | | |
| time management? | | | | | |
| articulate and animated contribution to the group presentation? | | | | | |

Comments: