

Fall 2018  
3A  
Dartmouth College  
Berry 370

Professor Lisa Baldez  
114 Silsby; 646-2655  
[lisa.baldez@dartmouth.edu](mailto:lisa.baldez@dartmouth.edu)  
Ofc hrs: Tues 3-5pm and by appt.

## Govt 85.38 Gender and War

### Course Description

Historically, the connection between gender and war was considered to be so obvious that few thought to question it. Men make up the vast majority of political decision makers who prosecute wars, and men constitute the vast majority of soldiers who fight wars. In the last few decades, scholars have asked why this is the case and challenged assumptions about how conceptions of masculinity and femininity matter in global conflict. In January 2018, political scientist Carol Cohn wrote an op-ed in the *New York Times* in which she maintained that “ideas about masculinity and femininity matter in international politics, in national security and in nuclear strategic thinking.” In this seminar, we will delve into the research that explains how gender shapes war, and why it does. We will read some of the classic studies in this field and the most influential research on gender and war in political science in order to understand the ways in which conceptions of gender difference shape the causes and consequences of war. (Western cultures, INT and SOC)

### Learning Goals

By the end of this course, you will be able to

- Describe the facts and concepts and arguments made in the assigned readings, verbally and in written form.
- Explain, and then critique, the arguments made in the assigned readings, verbally and in written form.
- Synthesize the material assigned in class to answer the following questions:
  - How do scholars define gender and how is it relevant to various aspects of foreign policy and international politics?
  - What are the gendered causes and consequences of war?
  - How do scholars define gender and which conceptions do you find most persuasive?
- Reflect on the assigned material in order to link it to what you already know and to generate your own perspective.
- Apply the theoretical perspectives and substantive content studied in class to identify a research question not examined in class and write a research proposal explaining how you would approach it.
- Strengthen your speaking and listening skills by participating regularly and meaningfully in class discussions.
- Develop leadership skills by learning effective strategies for leading class and fostering interesting class discussions.
- Foster the success of the class by creating and adhering to group norms for class

discussion and determining the standards for assessment of assignments.

### Required Readings

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

Phil Klay, *Redeployment*. Next time: read all the stories

Katharine H. S. Moon, *Sex Among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S.-Korea Relations* Columbia University Press, 1997.

Links to assigned articles are available through library reserves and the Canvas site.

### Assignments

You must complete all the assignments in order to pass the class.

1. *Discussion Leader* 10% (2 @ 5% each)

Part of the work of this seminar will be learning how to lead an effective session of class. Each of you will lead class twice, in teams of 4 people, every Monday. Whenever possible, I will meet with the discussion leaders for the following week during the x-hour after class.

2. *Reflection paper on Redeployment* 10%

Write a 4-5 page reflection paper on Phil Klay's *Redeployment*. Upload the paper to Canvas by 6pm on Sunday, September 23. [spell out specifics]

3. *Analysis papers* 2 @ 10% each

The short papers are interesting and smart papers (3-5 pages) synthesizing the week's readings in preparation for your turn leading class discussion. Please note that the paper should synthesize the readings for the entire week, not just the day on which you are leading class. They will be due by 7 pm on the Sunday evening after you lead class.

4. *Research Paper Prospectus* 20%

Write a 8-10 page proposal in which you identify a question for research, examine the way it has been addressed in the scholarly literature and describe the approach you will take in conducting the research and analysis. The goal of this assignment is to use the theoretical perspectives and substantive content studied in class to identify a new area of research and to outline how you will conduct that research. The due date for the prospectus is Saturday, October 13. Upload your paper to the Canvas site by 6pm. If that date is inconvenient for you, I am willing to work with you to identify an alternative.

5. *Research Paper* 30%

Write a 18-20 page paper that builds on the research prospectus. The paper must be handed in by 3pm on Tuesday, November 20. This is the last day of exam period, and getting the

papers then will give me (just) enough time to grade the paper and submit your grade to the Registrar.

## 6. *Engagement*

10%

The “engagement” grade combines attendance, the quality of your participation in class, and your completion of in-class assignments.

*Attendance:* Part of the work of this class takes place during class itself—so showing up for class is important. Students who have a perfect attendance record will get an A for attendance. I will deduct a third of a letter from your final grade for every absence.

*One required visit to office hours:* You are welcome to come to office hours any time you like—but you are required to come at least once during the first three weeks of the term.

*Class participation:* Engagement in class discussions and group work is an essential part of learning. Read all the assigned course material before class on the day that we are discussing it. Your grade will be determined on the quality of your contributions to discussion and to group work. Class is a community and you have an obligation and responsibility to show up for others as well as for your own learning. There will be an **online discussion board (maybe Piazza)** to allow participation in written form outside of class.

### **Module 1: *Gender and stories about war in the American psyche***

*Redeployment*, a book of short stories on the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq written by Phil Klay (Dartmouth '05), has won many prominent literary awards, including the 2014 National Book Award for fiction. How does gender figure in Klay’s stories? What can we learn about the ways that notions of masculinity and femininity undergird soldiers’ experiences of fighting in a war and their return home? To what extent does fiction confirm the kind of knowledge that political scientists generate? What new hypotheses can we glean from reading war novels such as Phil Klay’s *Redeployment*? What questions does this book raise that political scientists have missed, or misapprehended? We will discuss the first ten stories in *Redeployment* over the first three class meetings (236 pages).

*Thursday, September 13:* We will do some first-day-of-class stuff, do a writing exercise in class, and prepare for Senator Ayotte’s visit to class on Monday.

*Monday, September 17:* Visit from Senator Kelly Ayotte

Required x-hour

Reading: First five stories in *Redeployment*

*Thursday, September 20:* Discussion of *Redeployment*

Discussion leaders: TBA

Reading: Second five stories in *Redeployment*, plus these short news articles:

- Meredith Mathis, [“On Being Raped By My Commander,”](#) *Task & Purpose*, September 7, 2018 (also read the comments section).
- Andrea N. Goldstein and Kate Kranz Jordan, [“Who Gets to Call Themselves a Combat Veteran? Women Vets as Political Candidates”](#) *Task & Purpose*, September 6, 2018 (also read the comments section)
- ["Coming to Terms with Being a Marine Who Never Went to War,"](#) *NYTimes*
- Read up on recent news on the discharge of Corporal Remedies Cruz from the Marine Corps.
- Thomas Gibbons-Neff, [“The Marines Didn’t Think Women Belonged in the Infantry. She’s Proving Them Wrong.”](#) *NYTimes*, August 9, 2018.
- Optional: Kate Germano and Kelly Kennedy, *Fight Like a Girl: The Truth Behind How Female Marines are Trained* Prometheus Press, 2018.

## **Module 2: The Field of Gender and International Relations: An Overview**

What does the field of gender and international relations look like? What are the big questions that guide inquiry and what are the major debates among scholars working in this area? What does it mean to use sex or gender as a category of analysis in political science? What does it mean to study gender and war? What are the main questions in this field? Which ones are the most interesting (to you) and which ones are the most important? How have these issues been studied? What’s missing? To answer these questions, we will read influential “scope of the field” articles from some of the leading political scientists in this field.

*Monday, September 24*

Discussion leaders: TBA

- Carol Cohn. 1987. “Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals.” *Signs* 12(4):687–718. [www.jstor.org/stable/3174209](http://www.jstor.org/stable/3174209).
- J. Ann Tickner. 1997. “You Just Don’t Understand: Troubled Engagements between Feminists and IR Theorists,” *International Studies Quarterly* 41(4): 611-32.
- McDermott, Rose, and Peter K. Hatemi. 2011. “Distinguishing Sex and Gender.” *PS: Political Science and Politics* 44(1): 89–92. [www.jstor.org/stable/40984490](http://www.jstor.org/stable/40984490).
- Kara Ellerby, *No Shortcut to Change: An Unlikely Path to a More Gender Equitable World* (NYU Press, 2018); Chapter 1 (pp. 1-18 and 22-23).

*Thursday, September 27*

- Dan Reiter 2015. “The Positivist Study of Gender and International Relations,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 59(7): 1301-1326. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002714560351>
- Laura Sjoberg, Kelly Kadera and Cameron Thies. 2016. “Reevaluating Gender and IR Scholarship: Moving Beyond Reiter’s Dichotomies to Effective Synergies,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0022002716669207> Vol 62, Issue 4, pp. 848 - 870

- Cynthia Enloe, “How Do They Militarize a Can of Soup?” Chapter 1 from *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women’s Lives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

### **Module 3: *War and Gender: The Positivist Turn in Political Science Research***

What explains the “cross-cultural consistency of gender roles in war”? In *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa*, Joshua S. Goldstein attempts to answer this question by examining a wide range of empirical evidence to test the validity of several competing hypotheses. What does he find, and to what extent do you find his arguments persuasive?

*Monday, October 1: CLASS PLUS X-HOUR*

Discussion leaders: TBA

- Everyone will read Chapters 1 and 7 in Goldstein’s *War and Gender*, plus one additional chapter of your choosing.
  - Chapter 2: Historical accounts of women in war
  - Chapter 3: Biological bases for sex/gender difference
  - Chapter 4: Socio-biological and social-psychological accounts
  - Chapter 5: Cultural explanations
  - Chapter 6: Sexual and economic exploitation and dominance theory

*Thursday, October 4: CLASS DOES NOT MEET TODAY*

### **Module 4: *Soldiers and Prostitutes***

What factors determine deployments of U.S. troops? Conventional wisdom points to national security concerns, but in *Sex Among Allies*, Katharine Moon suggests that the willingness of the South Korean government’s willingness to regulate prostitution camps outside U.S. military bases along the demilitarized zone shaped Nixon administration policy about maintaining troop levels. To what extent is Moon right?

*Monday, October 8*

Discussion leaders: TBA

- Read: *Sex Among Allies* (entire)

*Thursday, October 11*

### **Module 5: *Rape as a Tactic in War***

Rape has long been used as a tactic in war, but not in every instance of conflict. Under what conditions will militaries perpetrate rape against civilian populations? Is rape during wartime inevitable? Several political scientists have emerged as leading scholars in this field.

**Monday, October 15: CLASS PLUS X-HOUR**

Discussion leaders: TBA

- MacKinnon, Catharine A. "Rape, Genocide, and Women's Human Rights," *Harvard Women's Law Journal* 17 (1994): p. 5-16. <https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/hwlj17&i=13>.
- Catharine MacKinnon discussing Bosnian case on Charlie Rose show: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OsG0k2g- CM>
- Vesna Kesic, 1994 "A Response to Catharine MacKinnon's Article 'Turning Rape Into Pornography: Postmodern Genocide'" *Hastings Women's Law Journal* 5,2: 267-280. <http://repository.uchastings.edu/hwlj/vol5/iss2/5>
- Cohen, Dara Kay. 2013. "Explaining Rape during Civil War: Cross-National Evidence (1980-2009)." *The American Political Science Review* 107(3): 461-477. [www.jstor.org/stable/43654918](http://www.jstor.org/stable/43654918).
- Meger, Sara. "Rape in Contemporary Warfare: The Role of Globalization in Wartime Sexual Violence." *African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review* 1(1, 2011, pp. 100–132. [www.jstor.org/stable/10.2979/africonfpeacrevi.1.1.100](http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2979/africonfpeacrevi.1.1.100).
- Elisabeth Jean Wood and Nathaniel Toppelberg. 2017. "The persistence of sexual assault within the US military" *Journal of Peace Research* 54(5): 620-633. <https://doi-org.dartmouth.idm.oclc.org/10.1177/0022343317720487>
- Optional:
  - Dara Kay Cohen, Amelia Hoover Green and Elisabeth Jean Wood, "Wartime Sexual Violence: Misconceptions, Implications, and Ways Forward" *United States Institute of Peace Special Report*, February 8, 2013. <https://www.usip.org/publications/2013/02/wartime-sexual-violence-misconceptions-implications-and-ways-forward>
  - Elisabeth Jean Wood. 2009. "Armed Groups and Sexual Violence: When Is Wartime Rape Rare?" *Politics & Society* 37(1): 31-162. DOI: 10.1177/0032329208329755
  - Elisabeth Jean Wood. 2018. "Rape as a Practice of War: Toward a Typology of Political Violence" *Politics & Society* DOI: 10.1177/0032329218773710
  - Amanda Blair, University of Chicago, "Going Beyond Accountability and Untangling the Politics of Conflict-Related Rape."
  - Kerry F. Crawford. 2013. "From Spoils to Weapons: Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War." *Gender & Development* 21(3): 505-515.

**Thursday, October 18: CLASS DOES NOT MEET TODAY**

**Module 6: Women and Peace**

If women controlled political power, would there be no wars?

**Monday, October 22: CLASS PLUS X-HOUR TODAY**

Discussion leaders TBA

- Mary Caprioli. 2005. "Primed for Violence: The Role of Gender Inequality in Predicting Internal Conflict." *International Studies Quarterly* 49 (June): 161-178.  
<http://web.a.ebscohost.com.dartmouth.idm.oclc.org/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=5&sid=1144737d-e803-41c7-875b-9a7a538760f5%40sessionmgr4009>
- Valerie M. Hudson and Andrea Den Boer. 2002. "A Surplus of Men, A Deficit of Peace: Security and Sex Ratios in Asia's Largest States." *International Security* (26): 4: 5-38  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/3092100>
- Francis Fukuyama, "Women and the Evolution of World Politics," *Foreign Affairs* September/October 1998. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/1998-09-01/women-and-evolution-world-politics>
- Catherine Eschle (2017). "Beyond Greenham Women? Gender Identities and Anti-Nuclear Activism in Peace Camps," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 19, 4: 471-90. 471–490 <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2017.1354716>
- Beatrice Fihn, "The Fate of the Earth Depends on Women," *The Nation* November 8, 2018 <https://www.thenation.com/article/nuclear-prohibition-beatrice-fihn/>
- Christopher Mims, "Strange but True: Testosterone Alone Does Not Cause Violence" *Scientific American* July 2007
- <https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/strange-but-true-testosterone-alone-doesnt-cause-violence/>
- Younge, Gary. "Nearly every mass killer is a man. We should all be talking more about that" *The Guardian* April 26, 2018  
<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/apr/26/mass-killer-toronto-attack-man-men>

Thursday, October 25: **CLASS DOES NOT MEET TODAY**

### **Module 7: Gender and Mobilization/Recruitment for War**

Governments and insurgent groups often rely on gendered appeals to recruit adherents and mobilize public sympathy and support. What are the most interesting and viable (for research purposes) questions to ask about this? What do these appeals consist of and what can we say about them in systematic (i.e., testable) terms? To what extent are such appeals effective? How should counterinsurgency strategies/tactics address them? What is the United States government doing to counter gendered appeals to terrorism/extremism? How effective are these measures? What should the USG be doing?

Monday, October 29

Discussion leaders: TBA

- (Provisional: Jennifer West present her paper from Professor Friedman's class)
- Young, Iris Marion. "The Logic of Masculinist Protection: Reflections on the Current Security State." *Signs*, vol. 29, no. 1, 2003, pp. 1–25. [www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/375708](http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/375708).
- Phil Klay. 2018. "Two Decades of War Have Eroded the Morale of America's Troops" *the Atlantic* May <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2018/05/left-behind/556844/>

Thursday, November 1

- Thayer, Bradley A., and Valerie M. Hudson. 2010. "Sex and the Shaheed : Insights from the Life Sciences on Islamic Suicide Terrorism." *International Security* 34(4): 37–62. [www.jstor.org/stable/40784561](http://www.jstor.org/stable/40784561).
- Bloom, Mia, et al. "Life Sciences and Islamic Suicide Terrorism [with Reply]." *International Security*, vol. 35, no. 3, 2010, pp. 185–192. [www.jstor.org/stable/40981256](http://www.jstor.org/stable/40981256).
- James W. Messerschmidt and Achim Rohde. 2018. "Osama Bin Laden and His Jihadist Global Hegemonic Masculinity" *Gender & Society* 32(5), October: 663–685 <https://doi-org.dartmouth.idm.oclc.org/10.1177/0891243218770358>
- Elizabeth Pearson. 2017. "Online as the New Frontline: Affect, Gender, and ISIS-Take-Down on Social Media" *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*. <https://www.tandfonline-com.dartmouth.idm.oclc.org/doi/full/10.1080/1057610X.2017.1352280>

### Module 8: *Women, Peace and Security*

What led to the passage of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 in 2000, what does that document require, and what impact has it had on conflict?

Monday, November 5: **CLASS PLUS X-HOUR TODAY**

Discussion leaders TBA

- *The United States National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security* The White House. June 2016. Available at <https://www.usaid.gov/what-we-do/gender-equality-and-womens-empowerment/national-action-plan-women-peace-security>
- S. 1411. The Women, Peace and Security Act of 2017 115<sup>th</sup> Congress, 1<sup>st</sup> Session. <https://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/senate-bill/1141>
- Rachel Vogelstein and Jamille Bigio, "Three Things to Know: The Women, Peace and Security Act of 2017." Council on Foreign Relations, October 13, 2017 <https://www.cfr.org/blog/three-things-know-women-peace-and-security-act-2017>
- Jamille Bigio and Rachel Vogelstein, "How Women's Participation in Conflict Prevention and Resolution Advances U.S. Interests" Council on Foreign Relations, October 2016. <https://www.cfr.org/report/how-womens-participation-conflict-prevention-and-resolution-advances-us-interests>
- Air Force Tech. Sgt. Chuck Broadway, "DoD Works to Incorporate More Gender Perspective in Operations" DoD News, Defense Media Activity, March 8, 2018 <https://dod.defense.gov/News/Article/Article/1461815/dod-works-to-incorporate-more-gender-perspective-in-operations/>
- Valerie M. Hudson and Dara Kay Cohen, "Women's Rights are a National Security Issue," *New York Times* December 26, 2016. <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/26/opinion/womens-rights-are-a-national-security-issue.html>
- ADD



- Stone, Laurel, Women Transforming Conflict: A Quantitative Analysis of Female Peacemaking (May 13, 2014). Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2485242>. or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2485242>

•

*Thursday, November 8: CLASS DOES NOT MEET TODAY*

## **Module 9: Presentation of Research Proposals and Guest Lecture**

*Monday, November 12*

### **Class Policies**

1. **The syllabus and class schedule are subject to change.**
2. **Respect.** It is imperative that we afford each other the opportunity to express our own thoughts, to listen to each other with consideration and to create a space in which we can speak candidly and disagree with one another. Out of courtesy to me and your fellow students, do not use your phone or the Internet during class. According to New Hampshire state law, it is illegal “to record either an in-person conversation or electronic communication or disclose its contents without the consent of all parties” ([N.H. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 570-A:2 \(2012\)](#)).
3. **The Honor Principle.** You have agreed to conduct yourself in accordance with the Standards of Conduct in general and with the Academic Honor Principle in particular. I will not tolerate plagiarism. If you plagiarize, you risk failing the class and having your case brought before the Committee on Standards. Read the code again, here: <http://www.dartmouth.edu/~uja/honor/> We will discuss the ways in which the Honor Principle applies to the work you will do in this class. I am more than happy to answer any questions.
4. **Communication with me.** During office hours, I am happy to talk to you about the course or whatever else you might want to talk about. I will respond to your emails as soon as I can, but I generally do not answer emails after 5pm or on weekends. If you need to reach me for an urgent matter, send me an email with the subject line in ALL CAPS. If a problem arises for you that will impede your performance in this class, it is better to let me know beforehand rather than after. If you miss class and I don’t hear from you about why, I will contact you to see what’s going on.
5. **Late Assignments.** Your reflection and response papers must be handed in on time because they form the basis of our class discussion. You need to complete by the stipulated time (see above) in order to be fully prepared to lead class. It wouldn’t be fair to participate in class and *then* write those papers because you’d have the undue advantage of all of the wisdom of class discussion. There is a due date for the research

prospectus, but I am willing to work with you to come up with an alternate date. If you encounter problems that will make it difficult to meet any paper due dates, please come talk to me about it beforehand.

6. **X-Hours.** I plan to use x-hours to meet with the teams that will lead discussion the following week. We will schedule those meetings the first week of class. I reserve the right to schedule additional x-hour classes as needed.
7. **Using laptops and other electronic devices in class.** We will determine a policy together as a class.
8. **Accessibility Issues.** Students with disabilities who may need disability-related academic adjustments and services for this course are encouraged to see me privately as early in the term as possible. Students requiring disability related academic adjustments and services must consult the [Student Accessibility Services office](#) (Carson Hall, Suite 125, 646-9900). Once SAS has authorized services, students must show the originally signed SAS Services and Consent Form and/or a letter on SAS letterhead to me. As a first step, if students have questions about whether they qualify to receive academic adjustments and services, they should contact the SAS office. All inquiries and discussions will remain confidential.
9. **Religious Observances.** Some students may wish to take part in religious observances that occur during this academic term. If you have a religious observance that conflicts with your participation in the course, please meet with me before the end of the second week of the term to discuss appropriate accommodations.
10. **Dartmouth Policies on Sexual Respect.** At Dartmouth, we value integrity, responsibility, and respect for the rights and interests of others, all central to the College's *Principles of Community*. For information on Dartmouth's programs for promoting sexual respect, and resources, policies, and procedures for preventing and responding to sexual assault, gender-based harassment, and other forms of sexual misconduct, click here: <http://www.dartmouth.edu/sexualrespect/>

**Grading Schema** (nb: these thresholds are firm and I will not round up)

A	100% to 94%
A-	< 94% to 90%
B+	< 90% to 87%
B	< 87% to 84%
B-	< 84% to 80%
C+	< 80% to 77%
C	< 77% to 74%
C-	< 74% to 70%
D+	< 70% to 67%
D	< 67% to 64%
D-	< 64% to 61%

## Criteria for Grading (from the ORC)

A:

1. Excellent mastery of course material
2. Student performance indicates a very high degree of originality, creativity, or both
3. Excellent performance in analysis, synthesis, and critical expression, oral or written
4. Student works independently with unusual effectiveness

B:

1. Good mastery of course material
2. Student performance demonstrates a high degree of originality, creativity, or both
3. Good performance in analysis, synthesis, and critical expression, oral or written
4. Student works well independently

C:

1. Acceptable mastery of course material
2. Student demonstrates some degree of originality, creativity, or both
3. Acceptable performance in analysis, synthesis, and critical expression, oral or written
4. Student works independently at an acceptable level

D:

1. Deficient in mastery of course material
2. Originality, creativity, or both apparently absent from performance
3. Deficient performance in analysis, synthesis, and critical expression, oral or written
4. Ability to work independently deficient

E:

1. Serious deficiency in mastery of course material
2. Originality, creativity, or both clearly lacking
3. Seriously deficient performance in analysis, synthesis, and critical expression, oral or written
4. Cannot work independently

The following grade point values are assigned:

A, 4; A-, 3 2/3; B+, 3 1/3; B, 3; B-, 2 2/3; C+, 2 1/3; C, 2; C-, 1 2/3; D, 1; and E, 0.

From *Organization, Regulations and Courses*

<http://www.dartmouth.edu/~reg/regulations06/undergrad/degree-req.html>