

A stylized world map in a light teal color, centered behind the text.

Consortium on
Gender, Security & Human Rights

Private Military and Security Companies: Gendered Perspectives

Bibliography with Abstracts

2020

The **Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights** created this bibliography to provide a guide to the landscape of research-based gendered analysis of private military and security companies. Our goal is to provide the policy, activist and scholarly communities with improved access to the findings of academic research.

The Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights Bibliographic Resources Series

<http://genderandsecurity.org/projects-resources/bibliographic-resources>

Art and Artists' Responses to Gender, Armed Conflict and Human Rights

Climate and Ecological Crises:

The Climate Crisis: Gendered Impacts, Women's Agency, and Feminist Analyses

Feminist Engagements with Green New Deals

Food Security, Gender and the Climate Crisis

Masculinities, the Environment, and Technological "Solutions" to the Climate Crisis

Migration, Gender and the Climate Crisis

Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR) and Gender in Colombia /

Desarme, desmovilización y reintegración (DDR) y Género en Colombia

Selected English and Spanish Language Sources

Ecofeminism

Environmental Disasters: Gendered Impacts and Responses

Extractive Industries: Gender Analyses

Feminist Critiques of the Sustainable Development Goals

Feminist Foreign Policy

Feminist Political Ecology and Feminist Ecological Economics

Gender and Security in Afghanistan, India and Pakistan

Gender Responsive Budgeting and Gendered Public Finance

Infrastructure:

Energy Infrastructure: Gendered Analyses

Roads, Transportation, Mobility and Gender

Water Infrastructure, Gender and Development

Land:

Land Grabbing, Large-Scale Land Acquisition and Gender

Land Rights and Gender

Land Tenure and Gender

Los derechos a la tierra, el despojo y el género

Land Rights, Land Grabbing & Gender: Spanish Language Sources

Os direitos à terra e o gênero

Land Rights and Gender: Portuguese Language Sources

LGBTQ+ People in Militaries, Wars and Post-War Settings

Masculinities and Armed Conflict

Masculinities and Peacekeeping

Masculinity and Gendered Concepts of Honor, Shame, Humiliation and Vulnerability (focusing on the Middle East)

Private Military and Security Companies: Gendered Perspectives

Sexual Violence and Armed Conflict

Taxation, Tax Justice and Gender Equality

Please check the website for new bibliographic resources posted since this one was published.

The **Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights** created this bibliography to provide a guide to the landscape of research-based gendered analysis of **Private Military and Security Companies** (PMSCs). PMSCs are private companies that offer services including the armed or unarmed guarding of personnel and assets, intelligence, military support and logistics, and security training, typically outside of their home states. The services that PMSCs offer have traditionally been within the purview of the state; the privatization of war and conflict alters the relationship between states and their citizens and changes the nature of state and human security.

States, international organizations, and private clients have become increasingly reliant on services provided by PMSCs since the Cold War, and with their growing role in the security sector have come critical questions about their obligations to respect – and their position under – international humanitarian law and human rights law, as well as about regulations for the industry. Gendered analyses of and perspectives on PMSC operations and regulations are critical to any effort to enhance the accountability of this sector. Gendered analyses of PMSCs will provide policy-makers with a more comprehensive understanding of both how gender shapes the ways PMSCs operate and are regulated, as well as PMSCs’ gendered impacts.

The research in this bibliography covers the following areas: women’s participation in PMSCs; the gendered threats to human security of PMSC operations; gender and racial hierarchies within the industry; the intersection of militarism, masculinism and the neoliberal market; and the hypermasculinization of the industry.

This bibliography was created by Consortium interns Tomesha Campbell, Brittany Dhooge, Jackie Parziale, and Nike Power. Contributions to the final product also came from Consortium staff members. If you are familiar with resources that you think should be included in the next draft of this bibliography and/or in the Consortium's Research Hub, please send us the citation, and, if possible, the PDF. Resources can be submitted through our website at: <http://genderandsecurity.org/projects-resources/bibliographic-resources>.

Basu, Soumita. 2011. "Women's Participation in the Military and Security Sphere: Comparing the Public and Private Sectors." Paper presented at the International Studies Association Annual Conference "Global Governance: Political Authority in Transition," Montreal, March 16–19.

Abstract:

This paper investigates women's participation in the military sphere against the backdrop of the increasing privatization of military security. The feminist International Relations (IR) literature has critically examined women's integration into national armed forces and more recently explored women's role in paramilitary groups. The issue of women's participation in private military and security companies (PMSCs) has gained less scholarly attention, but is important considering the significant role of the private sector in security provision and warfare today. The paper will place the question of women's participation in PMSCs in the context of debates on gender and militarization. In particular, we will address the following questions: (1) How does the use of private military force reproduce militarized gender roles and violence? (2) What are the specific concerns that need to be addressed in relation to women's participation in PMSCs (e.g. issues of equal status, sexual harassment)? (3) How does the emerging regulatory framework for the private military sector address gender concerns, and what are its limitations? (*Abstract from original source*)

Bongiovi, Joseph R., and Lisa Leitz. 2019. "Gendered Companies, Gendered Security." In *The Sociology of Privatized Security*, edited by Ori Swed and Thomas Crosbie, 173-216. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Abstract:

Using archival, interview, and industry observation data, this chapter examines how the private military and security company (PMSC) industry uses gender as a claim to legitimacy. However, our findings suggest that this growing industry still has areas for improvement before being a positive force for gender mainstreaming. As this industry grew, so did concerns about its handling of gender issues. A series of high-profile scandals has contrasted with international efforts to both protect and involve women in peacekeeping operations. The industry developed its own regulatory organizations and put a number of checks in place to bring PMSC firms into compliance with international norms. These include involving women in peace processes and ensuring gender equality in military and security work. However, the lack of attention to gender in industry guidelines and organizations demonstrates the ongoing gap between aspirations and achievement. As international norms move toward gender mainstreaming, so does the pressure to demonstrate that they can effectively reflect those expectations. While high-level changes have occurred, it is less clear how much

substantive and measurable change has occurred within the industry. (*Abstract from SpringerLink*)

Chisholm, Amanda. 2014a. “Marketing the Gurkha Security Package: Colonial Histories and Neoliberal Economies of Private Security.” *Security Dialogue* 45 (4): 349–72.

Abstract:

This article contributes to the existing critical theory and gender scholarship on private military security companies by examining how the gendered subjectivities of third-country nationals (TCNs) are constituted through the intersections of colonial histories and neoliberal economic practices. Focusing on Gurkha contractors, I ask how it is that both the remuneration and the working conditions of TCNs are inferior to those of their white Western peers within the industry. The article shows that Gurkhas’ working conditions flow from their location on the periphery of global employment markets, a disadvantage that is further inflected by their status as racially underdeveloped subjects. Thus, their material and cultural status within the industry – regardless of the abilities of the individuals in question – is argued to be the outcome of tenacious colonial histories that continue to shape the labour-market opportunities of men from the global South within larger global security governance practices that increasingly feature outsourcing of military labour in operations. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: feminism; gender; Gurkhas; masculinities; postcolonial; private military and security companies (PMSCs)

Chisholm, Amanda. 2014b. “The Silenced and Indispensable.” *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 16 (1): 26–47.

Abstract:

Using postcolonial analysis coupled with fieldwork in both Afghanistan and Nepal, I argue that contemporary colonial relations within private security make possible a gender and racial hierarchy of security contractors. This hierarchy of contractors results in vastly different conditions of possibilities depending on the contractors’ histories and nationalities. Empirically documenting perspectives from Gurkhas, constituted as third country national (TCNs) security contractors, this article contributes to the existing critical theory and gender in both private military security company literature and postcolonial studies by (1) providing a needed racial and gendered analysis from the position of the racialized security contractors and (2) empirically documenting a growing subaltern group of men participating as security contractors. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: private security; private military security companies; third country nationals; Gurkhas; Afghanistan; martial race; postcolonial; masculinities; gender

Chisholm, Amanda. 2017. “Clients, Contractors, and the Everyday Masculinities in Global Private Security.” *Critical Military Studies* 3 (2): 120-41.

Abstract:

This article explores the intimate relationships between the client and the security contractor. It draws upon autoethnography to bring into focus the client/contractor encounters and demonstrate how such encounters (re)shape the marginal and hegemonic men/masculinities of the security industry – masculinities which work to legitimize not only who and what are appropriate security providers but also how value/valuation of security is understood and practised. As such it contributes to the broader debates about gender and war by (1) demonstrating how the researcher is always embedded in and shaped by the research she produces; and (2) by bringing to the fore the multitude of masculinities, beyond the hegemonic militarized, that emerge in private security markets. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: autoethnography; military; militarization; private military and security companies; masculinities; feminist political economy

Chisholm, Amanda. 2018. “Perspectives on Private Security: The Myth, the Men and the Markets.” In *Handbook on the International Political Economy of Gender*, edited by Juanita Elias and Adrienne Roberts, 196-210. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“This chapter seeks to broaden gender discussions on PMSCs and the Global Political Economy (GPE) of militaries/peacekeeping by asking what can be learned about security when seen through a feminist IPE lens – taking into account questions around the reproductive labour of the industry, how value and valuation are produced, and paying attention to the labour chains that underpin this global industry. Such a broadening allows us to see the security industry as both a security and political economy issue” (Chisholm 2018, 197).

Chisholm, Amanda, and Maya Eichler. 2018. “Reproductions of Global Security: Accounting for the Private Security Household.” *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 20 (4): 563–82.

Abstract:

This article shows how private security households exist at the nexus of two foundational logics of contemporary warfare—militarism and neoliberalism. The celebration of neoliberalism and normalization of militarism allow the private security industry to draw upon the labor of eager contractors and their supportive spouses. This article develops a feminist analysis of the role of the private security household in global security assemblages. In what ways are households connected to the outsourcing of security work to Private Military and Security Companies (PMSCs), and how are these connections gendered? Through interviews with female spouses of former UK Special Air Services soldiers, now private security contractors, we demonstrate how the household is both silenced and yet indispensable to how PMSCs operate and how liberal states conduct war. These spouses supported the transition from military service to private security work, managed the household, and planned their careers or sacrificed them to accommodate their husband's security work. Their gendered labor was conditioned by former military life but animated by neoliberal market logics. For the most part, the women we interviewed normalized the militarized values of their husband's work and celebrated the freedom and financial rewards this type of security work brought. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: private security; households; female spouses; women's labor; private military and security companies

Chisholm, Amanda, and Saskia Stachowitsch. 2016. "Everyday Matters in Global Private Security Supply Chains: A Feminist Global Political Economy Perspective on Gurkhas in Private Security." *Globalizations* 13 (6): 815-29.

Abstract:

In a case study of Nepalese Gurkhas working for Western private military and security companies (PMSCs), this article develops feminist global political economy understandings of global labour chains by exploring how the 'global market' and the 'everyday' interact in establishing private security as a gendered and racialised project. Current understandings of PMSCs, and global markets at large, tend to depoliticise these global and everyday interactions by conceptualising the 'everyday' as common, mundane, and subsequently banal. Such understandings, we argue, not only conceal the everyday within private security, but also reinforce a conceptual dualism that enables the security industry to function as a gendered and racialised project. To overcome this dualism, this article offers a theoretically informed notion of the everyday that dissolves the hegemonic separation into 'everyday' and 'global' levels of analysis. Drawing upon ethnography, semistructured interviews, and discourse analysis of PMSCs' websites, the analysis demonstrates how race, gender, and colonial histories constitute global supply chains for the security industry, rest upon and reinforce racialised and gendered migration patterns, and depend upon, as well as shape, the

everyday lives and living of Gurkha men and women. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: Gurkhas; private security; feminist security studies; feminist global political economy; masculinity

Chisholm, Amanda, and Saskia Stachowitsch. 2017. “Military Markets, Masculinities and the Global Political Economy of the Everyday: Understanding Military Outsourcing as Gendered and Racialised.” In *The Palgrave International Handbook of Gender and the Military*, edited by Rachel Woodward and Claire Duncanson, 371–85. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“This chapter examines the racialized and gendered practices that underpin and shape military privatization. It first traces the emergence of the research field; second, it highlights why critical research in this area remains important to understanding the gendering of war and military institutions; and third, it advances the field by integrating feminist global political economy to theorise private military security as an issue of labour, foregrounding gendered and racialized labour relations, global labour chains, labour migration patterns and the unpaid reproductive labour which constitute the private security industry” (Chisholm and Stachowitsch 2017, 371).

Cock, Jacklyn. 2005. “‘Guards and Guns’: Towards Privatised Militarism in Post-Apartheid South Africa.” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 31 (4): 791-803.

Abstract:

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

Cordell, Kristen. 2012. "From Remedial Action to Women's Empowerment: Implications of the US National Action Plan for PMSCs." *Journal of International Peace Operations* 7 (4): 12-3.

No abstract available.

Summary:

The NAP is extremely forward leaning on training, including contractors as potential trainees, on topics including inclusive participation in conflict prevention, peace processes, and security initiatives; international human rights law and protection of civilians; prevention of sexual and gender based violence (SGBV); and prevention of sexual exploitation and abuse. [A]cademic institutions should aid in this effort as well, overlooking stereotypical or anecdotal language, and looking for meaningful output from women inclusion across operations. *(Summary from ProQuest)*

Eichler, Maya. 2013. "Gender and the Privatization of Security: Neoliberal Transformation of the Militarized Gender Order." *Critical Studies on Security* 1 (3): 311-25.

Abstract:

The increasing reliance on private military and security companies (PMSCs) in contemporary military conflict marks a historic shift in the state's organization of military violence. This transformation has gendered underpinnings and entails gender-specific outcomes, at the same time as it reveals a gendered continuum between public and private military and security organizations. As the US example illustrates, security privatization was facilitated by the broader neoliberal transformation of the militarized gender order and itself has had negative implications for gender equality in the military and security sphere. Based on original research, this article argues that PMSCs are deeply gendered organizations whose employment practices tends to intensify the gendered division of labour that is characteristic of public militaries. While business and operational needs may allow for temporary disruptions of gender norms, masculinism remains not only vital but is reinvigorated by privatization. Political goals such as gender equality are sidelined in a sector premised on de-regulation and free markets. In contrast to problem-solving approaches that view gender as a problem of accountability or operational effectiveness in regards to PMSCs, this article shows that gender is deeply implicated in the expansion and organization of private force at the turn of the twenty-first century. *(Abstract from original source)*

Keywords: private security; privatization of military security; PMSCs; gender; feminist security studies; neoliberalism; militarization; United States

Eichler, Maya, ed. 2015. *Gender and Private Security in Global Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

No abstract available.

Summary:

For two hundred years the provision of military security has been a central and defining function of the modern nation-state. The increasing reliance on private military and security companies in contemporary conflict marks a fundamental transformation in the organization of military violence, and it raises issues of accountability and ethics that are of particular concern to feminists. This privatization of force not only enables states to circumvent citizens' democratic control over questions of war and peace, but also undermines women's and minority groups' claims for greater inclusion in the military sphere.

Gender and Private Security in Global Politics brings together key scholars from the fields of international relations, security studies, and gender studies to argue that privatization of military security is a deeply gendered process. The chapters employ a variety of feminist perspectives, including critical, postcolonial, poststructuralist, and queer feminist perspectives, as well as a wide range of methodological approaches including ethnography, participant-observation, genealogy, and discourse analysis. This is the first book to develop an extended feminist analysis of private militaries and to draw on feminist concerns regarding power, justice and equality to consider how to reform and regulate private forces. (*Summary from Oxford University Press*)

Table of Contents:

1. Military Privatization as a Gendered Process: A Case for Integrating Feminist International Relations and Feminist State Theories – Saskia Stachowitsch
2. Military Privatization and the Gendered Politics of Sacrifice – Bianca Baggiarini
3. Gender, PMSCs, and the Global Rescaling of Protection: Implications for Feminist Security Studies – Maya Eichler
4. (Re)Producing American Soldiers in An Age of Empire – Isabelle V. Barker
5. From Warriors of Empire to Martial Contractors: Reimagining Gurkhas in Private Security – Amanda Chisholm
6. The License to Exploit: PMSCs, Masculinities, and Third Country Nationals – Jutta Joachim and Andrea Schneiker
7. Aversions to Masculine Excess in the Private Military and Security Company and their Effects: Don't Be a "Billy Big Bollocks" and Beware the "Ninja!" – Paul Higate
8. Heteronormative and Penile Frustrations: The Uneasy Discourse of the Armorgroup Hazing Scandal – Chris Hendershot
9. Engendering Accountability in Private Security and Public Peacekeeping – Valerie Sperling
10. Women, PMSCs and International Law – Ana Filipa Vrdoljak

11. Responsibility, Empathy, and the Morality of Mercenaries: A Feminist Ethical Appraisal of PMSCs – Jillian Terry

Eichler, Maya. 2016. “Private Security and Gender.” In *Routledge Handbook of Private Security Studies*, edited by Rita Abrahamsen and Anna Leander, 158–67. London: Routledge.

No abstract available.

Erickson, Bonnie H., Patricia Albanese, and Slobodan Drakulic. 2000. “Gender on a Jagged Edge: The Security Industry, Its Clients, and the Reproduction and Revision of Gender.” *Work and Occupations* 27 (3): 294–318.

Abstract:

The security industry has seen an influx of women in recent decades. Although some have been reseggregated into relatively poorly rewarded jobs seen as suitable for women, some have found better jobs or jobs usually seen as “men's work.” We trace these variable outcomes to the flexibility of ideas about jobs and gender, the greater power of ideas about gender relationships, the tension between gender homophily and gender status expectations, relationships to clients and targets (people dealt with for the client), and client and target gender. Gender ideas, inequality, and segregation are both reproduced and revised in the security industry. (*Abstract from original source*)

Forcada, Marta Bautista, and Cristina Hernández Lázaro. 2020. “The Privatization of War: A New Challenge for the Women, Peace and Security Agenda.” In *New Directions in Women, Peace, and Security*, edited by Soumita Basu, Paul Kirby, and Laura Shepherd, 169-88. Bristol, UK: Policy Press.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“The Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda does not include any provisions related to the escalating threat that private contractors hired to provide military and security services in conflict settings pose to international peace and security and human rights. The WPS agenda has focused on states, multilateral institutions, women’s organizations and national and non-state militaries, but not on private military contractors. In the context of the changing nature of conflict, these private companies have taken on important roles and must be brought into focus within the WPS agenda, and by the WPS community.

Private military and security companies (PMSCs) have rapidly increased in size and rate of deployment since the 1991 Gulf War, notably during the Afghanistan and Iraq wars of 2001 and 2003 respectively. This growth of PMSCs in the last two decades has not been accompanied by an effective legal regulatory framework. The legal regulation of these companies remains insufficient and has been implemented in a slow and fragmented manner. This has made it very challenging to hold private contractors accountable for the gendered human rights violations they might commit, including the use of sex services of trafficked women, rape, the torture of prisoners with a gendered character, or the complicity or involvement in sex trafficking of both adults and children. Hence, growth in the PMSC sector goes hand in hand with a widening accountability gap. This chapter argues that UN institutions, scholars, advocates and practitioners should incorporate the privatization of war as a new challenge within the WPS agenda. With this chapter, we intend to plant a seed. It is organized as follows: first, we briefly introduce the phenomenon of PMSCs and its origins, specifically exploring the impact of private military contractors on people in conflict zones or unstable contexts. We then focus on the legal regulatory frameworks created to regulate PMSCs and/or their activities, arguing that their growth has not been accompanied by sufficient binding legal mechanisms that can hold them accountable for their crimes, including gendered human rights abuses and crimes. The final section depicts the involvement of PMSCs in conflicts around the world as a new issue that the WPS agenda should embrace. The chapter ends by touching upon different ways in which the privatization of war can be addressed while acknowledging the existing limitations” (Forcada and Lázaro 2020, 169-70).

Higate, Paul. 2009. “Private Military Security Companies and the Problem of Men and Masculinities.” Paper presented at the International Studies Association Conference, New York, February 15-18.

No abstract available.

Higate, Paul. 2011. “‘Cowboys and Professionals’: The Politics of Identity Work in the Private and Military Security Company.” *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 40 (2): 321-41.

Abstract:

This article examines the politics of identity work in the private security industry. Drawing on memoirs authored by British private military contractors, and using a theoretical framework influenced by symbolic interactionist thought, the article highlights the relevance of intersubjectivity to identity constitution. In particular, British contractors are found to constitute their professional identity in relation to their US military and contractor counterparts, above all by framing them as ‘less-

competent others'. This article makes an original contribution to the private and military security companies literature through its sociological focus on the links between national and professional self-identities and security practices on the ground. The article also explores the importance of the memoir genre as a valid textual resource which throws light on the interplay of the international and security dimensions within multinational military and militarised contexts.

(Abstract from original source)

Keywords: contractors; identity; professionals

Higate, Paul. 2012a. "Drinking Vodka from the 'Butt-Crack': Men, Masculinities and Fratriarchy in the Private Militarized Security Company." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 14 (4): 450–69.

Abstract:

This article speaks to the emerging literature by critical scholars of race and gender focused on Private Militarized Security Companies (PMSCs) working in conflict and post-conflict settings. As one aspect of a wider project to illuminate concerns of security and the masculinized world of the private security contractor, I develop the concept of fratriarchy to bring into sharp relief the potential consequence of contractors' relative operational freedom within the context of close, yet sometimes competitive brotherly relations. Here, I go on to consider the means by which a small group of US Embassy guards in Kabul created dense intra-masculine bonds within a wider hierarchy of men through norm-bound, homoerotic practices. From the view of those involved, these practices may well have neutralized the threat of homosexuality through cementing heteronormative relations among the hegemonic members. In discussing three images depicting sexualized activities drawn from the 2009 Kabul Hazing, I argue that intimate forms of embodiment intersect with processes of racialization in politically important ways. In conclusion, it is tentatively argued that the Kabul Hazing and wider discussions of the industry conceived of through the lens of fratriarchy provide the emerging feminist security studies literature with a closely focused resource with which to augment claims located at higher levels of abstraction around the process of (re)masculinization argued to be underway in this exemplary sphere. *(Abstract from original source)*

Keywords: accountability; fratriarchy; heteronormativity; masculinities; racialization; PMSC

Higate, Paul. 2012b. "Martial Races and Enforcement Masculinities of the Global South: Weaponising Fijian, Chilean, and Salvadoran Postcoloniality in the Mercenary Sector." *Globalizations* 9 (1): 35-52.

Abstract:

Set against the backdrop of the occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan, the private militarised security industry has grown rapidly over the last decade. Its growth into a multi-billion dollar enterprise has attracted the interest of scholars in international relations, legal studies, political science, and security studies who have debated questions of regulation and accountability, alongside the state's control on the monopoly of violence. While these contributions are to be welcomed, the absence of critical sociological approaches to the industry and its predominantly male security contracting workforce has served to occlude the gendered and racialised face of the private security sphere. These dimensions are important since the industry has come increasingly to rely on masculine bodies from the global South in the form of so-called third country and local national men. The involvement of these men is constituted in and through the articulation of historical, neocolonial, neoliberal, and militarising processes. These processes represent the focus of the current article in respect of Fijian and Latin American security contractors. Their trajectories into the industry are considered in respect of both 'push' and 'pull' factors, the likes of which differ in marked ways for each group. Specifically, states and social groups in Fiji, Chile, and El Salvador are appropriating what is described in the article as an ethnic bargain as one way in which to make a contribution to the global security sector, or—in direct regard to the Latin American context—to banish its more dangerous legacies from the domestic space. In conclusion, it is argued that the use of these contractors by the industry represents a hitherto unacknowledged gendered and racialised instance of the contemporary imperial moment. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: private security; mercenary; contractor; violence; enforcement; masculinity; martial race

Higate, Paul. 2013. "In the Business of (In)Security? Mavericks, Mercenaries and Masculinities in the Private Security Company." In *Making Gender, Making War: Violence, Military and Peacekeeping Practices*, edited by Annica Kronsell and Erika Svedberg, 182-96. New York: Routledge.

No abstract available.

Higate, Paul. 2016a. "Cat Food and Clients: Gendering the Politics of Protection in the Private Militarized Securitized Company." In *Handbook on Gender and War*, edited by Simona Sharoni, Julia Welland, Linda Steiner, and Jennifer Pedersen, 86-104. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

No abstract available.

Summary:

Drawing on Judith Hicks Stiehm's article 'The protected, the protected, the defender' and based on ethnographic field-research, this chapter considers the

gendered and classed aspects of bodyguard/client interactions in a private security company in Kabul, Afghanistan. Foregrounding the 'cat food run' which refers to the request by one female client that her bodyguard drive her across the city to buy cat food for malnourished cats living on the compound where she was based, the chapter reveals some of the ways in which the narrative of risk and danger was negotiated between the two parties. This process of negotiation troubles the protector/protected binary where the former exercises power over the latter in a straightforward manner. Here, security expertise is usurped by the superior class position of the client such that the former military status of the bodyguard is treated with relative disdain to the annoyance of these alleged security experts. In summary, the chapter highlights how class and gender can confer authority on those whose safety is entrusted to others who, while embodying knowledge about risk and danger, are in the final analysis service providers in one particular element of the market for force. (*Summary from Elgar Online*)

Higate, Paul. 2016b. "Solving the Problem of Men and Masculinities in the Private Military and Security Industry." In *Handbook on Gender in World Politics*, edited by Jill Steans and Daniela Tepe, 289–97. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

No abstract available.

Hudson, Heidi. 2004. "Gender and the Globalisation of Violence: The Treacherous Terrain of Privatised Peacekeeping." *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity*, no. 59, 42–55.

Abstract:

This article examines how globalisation has transformed the state's security functions and monopoly over violence. The expansion of the global arms dynamic and privatisation indicate increased (re)militarisation which threatens a norm-driven and people-centred global security order. A feminist conceptualisation of globalised security is necessary to remind us not to overestimate the extent to which power has become removed from the state and to offer theoretical and practical insights on how a fusion of masculine and feminine values may assist human and state security. Progress has recently been made in mainstreaming gender in peacekeeping operations, but much still needs to be done regarding implementation. Progress is also threatened by the increased use of private military companies which operate outside of generally acceptable accountability norms. Regulating these companies through international law is a possible solution which could also serve gender mainstreaming objectives. This option may be costly since it entrenches using force in conflict resolution. This could only prove detrimental to the fostering of comprehensive security based on gender justice. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: media; war; representation; stereotypes; hegemony

Joachim, Jutta, and Andrea Schneiker. 2012a. "Of 'True Professionals' and 'Ethical Hero Warriors': A Gender-Discourse Analysis of Private Military and Security Companies." *Security Dialogue* 43 (6): 495–512.

Abstract:

Private military and security companies (PMSCs) have gained increasingly in importance over the course of the past two decades. Yet, given the intransparency of the industry and the heterogeneity of the companies that comprise it, we thus far know little about the actors involved. In this article, we offer preliminary insights into the self-representation of PMSCs, based on a gender-discourse analysis of the homepages of select companies and their main professional associations. We argue that survival in an increasingly competitive industry not only hinges on size, market share or effectiveness, but is also inherently gendered. PMSCs and their associations draw on the one hand on civilized and accepted forms of masculinity and femininity, presenting themselves as 'highly skilled professional' military strategists and ordinary businesses akin to banks or insurance companies. At the same time, however, PMSCs also engage in strategies of (hyper)masculinization and pathologization to set themselves apart from mercenaries, their private competitors and state security forces. In this respect, companies appear to view themselves as 'ethical hero warriors'. Whether intended or not, their strategies have political consequences. Within the security industry, they contribute to the creation and maintenance of a norm regarding what constitutes a legitimate PMSC, to which more or less all companies strive to adhere. Vis-à-vis other security actors, these strategies seek to establish PMSCs as being superior because, unlike these actors, such companies are super-masculine and able to live up to the growing and sometimes contradictory demands of changing security contexts. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: private military and security companies; privatization; security; masculinities; identity

Joachim, Jutta, and Andrea Schneiker. 2012b. "(Re)Masculinizing Security? Gender and Private Military and Security Companies." In *Gender, Agency and Political Violence*, edited by Linda Åhäll and Laura J. Shepherd, 39-54. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan UK.

Abstract:

Gender is not a "security issue," but it tells us a lot about how, why and when certain subjects are written as security concerns. Thirteen case studies on violent subjects, reason, and emotion demonstrate different ways in which we understand political violence, security, resistance, power, and agency, and how we make sense of gender. (*Abstract from GWonline*)

Mazali, Rela. 2009. "The Gun on the Kitchen Table: The Sexist Subtext of Private Policing in Israel." In *Sexed Pistols: The Gendered Impacts of Small Arms and Light Weapons*, edited by Vanessa Farr, Henri Myrntinen, and Albrecht Schnabel, 246-89. New York: United Nations University Press.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“Commencing with the quantitative attributes of the industry, the chapter will first show that private policing armament in Israel has significantly raised the number of firearms circulating through streets and homes, distinctly accelerating small-arms proliferation. It will also outline the overall scope and dimensions of the private policing industry active in Israel (to be distinguished from the large-scale Israeli export of “security experts”, guards, trainers, surveillance equipment, etc.). I will cite a number of separate and differing indices of these dimensions, including the spurt of unique, exceptional growth in this industry between the years 2000 and 2004. This will provide the backdrop for my claim, later in the chapter, that various, largely insidious, forms of economic gender discrimination are deeply embedded in the process of Israel’s privatization of state violence.

“The following two sections of the chapter then go on to describe how the spread and growth of private policing have deepened Israeli militarization in unprecedented ways; they will claim that in qualitative terms, the small arm recently introduced through the institution of security guards represent a new phase of proliferation. These, unlike the arms routinely touted through civic space in Israel by tens of thousands of soldiers and reservists, are no longer chiefly “arms in transit” but constitute an intentional, functional component of the civic sphere itself. Rising numbers of guns now stationed in the civilian sphere introduce and maintain an intended presence, denoting a specific array of meanings. I will argue that these, in combination with the increasingly confusing multiplication of “security” agencies, generate a sharp increase in the conflation of civic and militarized space, in turn normalizing lethal weapons even further in Israel and extending dangerously indiscriminate policies on the licensing and use of guns” (Mazali 2009, 248-9).

Reeves, Audrey, and Anike Doherty. 2012. "Gender and Private Military and Security Companies." *Journal of International Peace Operations* 7 (4): 8-9.

No abstract available.

Schulz, Sabrina, and Christina Yeung. 2008. "Gender and Security Sector Reform: Engendering the Privatization of Security." Paper presented at the International Studies Association Annual Conference: "Bridging Multiple Divides," San Francisco, March 26-29.

Abstract:

The growing privatization of security and violence and its differing effects on men and women is an under-researched area of security sector reform. This paper will examine what international or regional instruments and laws mandate the integration of gender and human rights issues into the privatization of security. It will further provide the context of gender concerns in post-conflict situations, in developing and developed countries. We argue that mainstreaming gender concerns through targeted initiatives will increase operational effectiveness of private security companies and mitigate the negative impacts of these companies in the absence of regulation. (*Abstract from original source*)

Snell, Angela. 2011. "The Absence of Justice: Private Military Contractors, Sexual Assault, and the U.S. Government's Policy of Indifference." *University of Illinois Law Review* 2011 (3): 1125-64.

Abstract:

As the United States remains in Iraq and Afghanistan, stories of abuse by private military contractors (PMCs) have flooded the news. This Note focuses on an area of PMC crime that has garnered less public attention and censure: sexual crimes against civilians in nonwar zones. Emphasizing the lack of legal recourse for victims of sexual crime by PMCs and the systematic failure of the United States to punish sexual crime perpetrated by its own PMCs, the author argues that the United States should be held liable for the sexual crimes that its contractors commit, including those that occur outside of war zones.

This Note first explains the exponential growth in the United States' use of PMCs and highlights that governmental supervision of PMCs has not kept pace with the number of contractors that the United States employs. Noting that PMCs generally employ former members of the military, the author traces a culture of violence against women back to attitudes learned in the U.S. military, and then shows that PMCs are even more likely to be involved in crimes of sexual violence than U.S. soldiers.

The Note details and analyzes the possibility of responding to PMC sexual violence against civilians outside of war zones under U.S. military law, U.S. criminal law, criminal law where the crime occurs, International Human Rights Law, International Criminal Law, and the U.S. Alien Tort Statute (ATS). The author determines that these methods, as they stand now, are inadequate because of problems of limited jurisdiction, U.S. reluctance to prosecute contractors and

willingness to protect U.S. nationals from prosecution abroad, requirements that violence be widespread or systematic before triggering international prosecution, and the absence of state liability for the actions of private individuals, unless the state condones the activities. The author calls for a three-fold solution: first, victims should file complaints against the United States in international courts, under the theory that the United States is liable for its contractors' acts, because it has condoned them by failing to punish them and even actively discouraging their prosecution; second, victims should sue individual perpetrators in the United States under the ATS, both to compensate victims and to deter contractors from future violence; third, and finally, the United States must act to close the jurisdictional gap that allows PMCs to escape prosecution by signing and supporting international treaties, developing its own stricter system of criminal liability for PMCs, and using contract mechanisms to enforce standards of conduct for PMCs. (*Abstract from original source*)

Sperling, Valerie. 2011. "Private Military Contractors, Peacekeepers, and the Sexual Exploitation of Women in Conflict Zones." Paper presented at the International Studies Association Annual Conference: "Global Governance: Political Authority in Transition," Montreal, March 16-19.

Abstract:

Peacekeeping missions – typically including some portion of private military contractors – often take up residence in post-conflict zones, where state capacity is weak. In this circumstance, the struggle to provide military security in fragile conflict zones can have unintended consequences for women's human security in those areas. In this paper, I describe how employing private military companies (PMCs) on peacekeeping missions has had negative implications for accountability to local populations. The use of U.S.-based PMCs as part of the peacekeeping mission in Bosnia, for instance, has allowed contractors to violate human rights with impunity, even as it has spurred changes to U.S. legislation in an effort to increase contractor accountability to local citizens. I also discuss the ways in which the United Nations has been challenged to address accountability issues in peacekeeping operations over the past 15 years, exploring UN responses to allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse of women by peacekeepers from Cambodia to the Congo. The cases examined here illustrate the problematic relationship between transnational military forces and accountability. Although the use of transnational (and even private) military force can stabilize frail states, PMCs are more likely to undercut than to strengthen the ties of political accountability between citizens and their governments, and transnational military forces in general – including peacekeepers – often lack accountability to the populations with whom they interact. (*Abstract from All Academic* <https://www.allacademic.com/>)

Stachowitsch, Saskia. 2012. "Military Gender Integration and Foreign Policy in the United States: A Feminist International Relations Perspective." *Security Dialogue* 43 (4): 305–21.

Abstract:

The article investigates the relevance of foreign policy discourse and practice for military gender relations. The link between women's status in military institutions and the gendering of foreign policy has so far not been thoroughly addressed in military and gender research or foreign policy analysis. Feminist international relations provides a research strategy to show how foreign policy doctrines and debates are gendered and how they are connected to gender (in)equality in central state institutions such as the military. The article thus applies feminist international relations as a theoretical framework that transcends the constructed dichotomy between national and international levels of analysis. In a case study of the USA from the Clinton to the Obama administrations, patterns of military gender integration are established as a phenomenon incorporating both domestic and international dimensions. Foreign policy discourses and practices in this time period are related to shifts in military gender policies and discourses on gender integration. It is argued that the gender order in military institutions is linked to international politics and state behaviour in the international arena. (*Abstract from original source*)

Stachowitsch, Saskia. 2013. "Military Privatization and the Remasculinization of the State: Making the Link between the Outsourcing of Military Security and Gendered State Transformations." *International Relations* 27 (1): 74–94.

Abstract:

This article examines the gendered implications of military privatization and argues that the outsourcing of military functions to the private sector excludes women from newly developing private military labour markets, impedes gender equality policies and reconstructs masculinist gender ideologies. This process constitutes a remasculinization of the state, in the course of which the nexus between state-sanctioned violence and masculinity is being reaffirmed. Recent research has introduced the concept of masculinity to the study of the private security sector. Building upon these approaches, the article integrates feminist theories of the state into the research field and evaluates their potential contributions to the analysis of military privatization. In an exemplary case study of the US military sector, this privatization is embedded within debates on the neo-liberal restructuring of the state and addressed as a gendered process through which the boundaries between the public and the private are being redrawn. The implications of these transformations are investigated at the levels of gender-specific labour division, gender policy and gender ideologies. (*Abstract from original source*)

Stachowitsch, Saskia. 2014. "The Reconstruction of Masculinities in Global Politics: Gendering Strategies in the Field of Private Security." *Men and Masculinities* 18 (2): 363-86.

Abstract:

The concept of masculinities has been central to the analysis of private security as a gendered phenomenon. This research has either focused on the identity constructions and practices of security contractors as men or on masculinity as a theoretical and ideological framework for making sense of security outsourcing. This article aims to overcome this dualism by developing a relational, strategic, and discursive understanding of masculinities and focusing on the gendering strategies that create them. These strategies are identified as masculinization of the market and feminization of the state, feminization and racialization of (some) security work, hypermasculinization as a critical or affirmative discourse, romanticizing the autonomous male bond, and militarization of private security. It is argued that private security as well as critical discourses on it integrate business, humanitarian, and militarized masculinities in a way that ultimately legitimizes masculinism and reconstructs masculinity as a privileged category in international politics. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: private security; feminist international relations; PMSCs; gendering strategies; masculinism

Stachowitsch, Saskia. 2019. "Beyond 'Market' and 'State' Feminism: Gender Knowledge at the Intersections of Marketization and Securitization." *Politics & Gender* 15 (1): 151-73.

Abstract:

This article assesses the implications of the shifting market-state relationship for feminism in the neoliberal era. In a case study of the private military and security industry as an actor that is uniquely positioned at the intersections of security governance and global markets, the analysis combines feminist security studies' critique of securitized gender discourses and feminist global political economy scholarship on corporate-led equality initiatives. Based on a critical discourse analysis of documents from industry and nongovernmental organizations, such as codes of conduct and policy recommendations, I argue that the discourses on gender put forward in the context of security privatization merge securitized and marketized discourses to the effect that the emancipatory potential of "gender" is further curtailed, raising new challenges for feminist knowledge in powerful organizations. The article thus contributes to the critical gender research on private security, debates on the neoliberalization and securitization of feminism, and the integration of feminist security studies and feminist global political economy. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: PMSCs; feminist knowledge; gender mainstreaming; feminist security studies; feminist global political economy; neoliberalization of feminism; private security; market-state relationship

Via, Sandra. 2010. "Gender, Militarism, and Globalization: Soldiers for Hire and Hegemonic Masculinity." In *Gender, War, and Militarism: Feminist Perspectives*, edited by Laura Sjoberg and Sandra Via, 42–56. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, LLC.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“In the study of gender, war and militarism, the increasing globalization of politics, in theory and in practice cannot be ignored. The gendered nature of militarism has been recognized in soldier training (Goldstein 2001), states’ understandings of the relationship between citizenship and military service (Elshtain 1987), stories of war criminals (Sjoberg and Gentry 2007), and stories of war heroes (Sjoberg, chapter 16, this volume). This chapter is interested in exploring those dynamics as they relate to globalization and the changing nature of militarism. As such, it uses as a starting point feminist work that frames gendered militarism in terms of the idealized or hegemonic masculinity in a given state or at a given time. Building on this analysis, this chapter argues that the atemporal and globalizing forces in current politics hybridize hegemonic masculinities, creating dissonance and conflict between gendered militarisms. It examines the interplay of economic globalization and globalized militarisms in contemporary international and intrastate conflicts, pointing out the complex evolution of the relationships between gender, war and militarism in an increasingly globalized world. It examines the neoliberal ideology that permeates many of the processes of political globalization, and the ways in which those processes reify the dominance of certain ideas about gender and conflict.

In these explorations, this chapter focuses on a particular aspect of militarism: the rise of private military corporations (PMCs), particularly the private security giant formerly known as Blackwater (first, Blackwater USA, then Blackwater World, now Xe). Focusing on Blackwater’s role as a contractor for the U.S. military and the Iraqi government in the ongoing conflict in Iraq and for the U.S. government in New Orleans, this chapter argues that, at the height of its involvement in Iraq, Blackwater and its contractors epitomized the hegemonic masculinities found in gendered militarisms, and their operations relied on the subordination of a feminized, racialized other. The chapter explores how Blackwater’s operations were based in hypermasculine ideas about security, both in Iraq and in New Orleans. It concludes by tracing the company’s purposeful change of face from its cowboy masculinity identity as “Blackwater” to its emphasis on a protective masculinity in its new identity as “Xe” (Via 2010, 42-3).

Vrdoljack, Ana F. 2010. “Women and Private Military and Security Companies.” In *War by Contract: Human Rights, International Humanitarian Law and the Regulation of Private Military and Security Companies*, edited by Francesco Francioni and Natalino Ronzitti. Oxford: Oxford University Press. doi:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199604555.003.0015.

Abstract:

Lack of clarity about the application of international law norms and inadequacies of existing regulatory regimes covering private military and security companies have reinforced concerns about transparency and accountability in respect of gender-related violence, harassment and discrimination. This chapter focuses on the main issues and legal concerns raised by the impact of the privatisation of war on women, both as PMSC employees and civilians. Part I highlights how armed conflict, civil unrest, occupation and transition have a detrimental effect upon the lives of women with particular reference to safety, displacement, health and economic disadvantage. Part II provides a summary of existing international humanitarian law and human rights provisions relating to women. Part III examines recent developments within the United Nations, the work of the ICRC, and international criminal law jurisprudence shaping these legal norms. Part IV considers the key recommendations of recent international and international initiatives covering PMSCs and women. *(Abstract from original source)*

Keywords: women; private military and security companies; gender; sexual assault; forced prostitution; human trafficking; sexual harassment; discrimination; international law; international humanitarian law; human rights