

**Middlebury College**  
**Gender in International Relations (PSCI 372/GSFS 372)**  
**Spring 2014: Feb 10 – May 8**

**Professor: Kemi Fuentes-George**

**Class Location:** Old Chapel 401

**Time** : TR 9:30 - 10:45am

**My Office** : Munroe 316

**Phone** : 443-5574

**Office Hours** : M 11:00 – 12:30pm  
Th 1:00 – 2:30pm  
And by appointment

**Dept.:** [www.middlebury.edu/academics/ps](http://www.middlebury.edu/academics/ps)

**Blog:** <http://blogs.middlebury.edu/fuentesgeorge/>

### **Aims**

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This course is at the intersection between international relations, peace studies, security studies, human rights and gender studies. It will first seek to explore some of the mainstream theories on international politics and security, the feminist perspectives on security, as well as feminist theorizing about international politics. We will then examine the gender dimensions of violence in the private and public spheres, both in wartime and “peacetime,” and both by state and non-state agents. We will also analyze how gender is shaped by and shapes economic relations, ideas of development, and issues like human rights and nuclear proliferation. We will address specific issues such as gender-based crimes, the militarization of women, national identities, and gender in conflict zones. We will also examine the international context and the evolution of peacebuilding policies since the mid-1990s. In this respect, we will analyze the United Nations responses to the violation of women’s human rights (Resolution 1325), as well as the violations of women’s human rights by the UN themselves. Finally, we will explore how notions of masculinity are shaped by violence and economic relationships between states.

The following syllabus is tentative and subject to change at the discretion of the instructor. Students with learning disabilities will be accommodated as necessary upon provision of appropriate documentation.

### **Turning in Assignments:**

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In the interest of sustainable use of resources, and with the exception of the midterm and the posters, ALL assignments are to be turned in electronically to Moodle unless otherwise indicated.

### **Response Paper**

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Over the course of the semester, each student is to submit **1 RESPONSE PAPER**. Please read the following CAREFULLY: The response papers are intended for you to demonstrate that you have comprehensively examined the readings, and can write a synthetic response incorporating the main points raised. The papers should be well organized, present a clear train of thought, and include your own analysis/reflection on the readings. They are not supposed to be summaries.

For the first few weeks, we will spend a lot of time covering the main theoretical approaches in IR theory. The first thing you may notice is that the theories differ dramatically in the way that they explain outcomes and processes in international politics. Choose one of the readings and critically analyze it to the specifications set in the syllabus.

#### *Response Paper Formatting*

1,000 – 1,500 words

12 point font (Times New Roman, Cambria, or Garamond)

1" margins

Single-spaced

MLA/APA citation style

In your analysis, you should thoroughly assess the author's argument. Some of the things you might think about are: do you agree with his/her conclusions, or not? Why? Are you critical of the author's theoretical assumptions, or do you think the evidence provided is incorrectly interpreted? Or both? What assumptions make the most sense to you, and why? Make sure that you clearly take a position and defend it, and that you use the terminology appropriate to the class.

### **Presentation and Follow-Up Papers**

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Each student will do **2 PRESENTATIONS** of no more than 45 minutes each over the course of the semester to be scheduled later. In the presentation, you (and your partners, if done as a group presentation) should 1) highlight the main points of the readings; 2) explain how the readings and points relate to previous material (either in support or in opposition); 3) explain why it is important that we pay attention to the readings covered in the presentation.

PLEASE NOTE: The format of the presentation is completely open. You can present as a mock debate, conversation with the class, with a video, slideshow, or any other format you wish. It's entirely up to you, as long as you engage substantively with the readings and material.

After each presentation, we will have an in-class discussion/seminar on the readings and other material. You should submit a presentation follow-up 1 week after your presentation wherein you respond to the points raised in class by the other students and professor (for a total of **2 FOLLOW-UP PAPERS**). The follow-up papers can be written in a more informal style, but should be formatted to the following specifications:

#### *Presentation Follow-Up Formatting*

500 – 750 words

12 point font (Times New Roman, Cambria, or Garamond)

1" margins

Single-spaced

### **Media/Policy Document Analysis**

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Each student is to complete **1 MEDIA/POLICY DOCUMENT ANALYSIS**. In this paper, you will find a media report or a policy document on some issue relevant to international relations – international security, terrorism, trade, globalization, peacekeeping, human rights organizations, environmental management, and so on. You should then write an analysis explaining how the study of gender gives insight to the report you have chosen. For example, if the report ignores the effect of some process on gender, you could explain or raise questions about the implications that it has ignored. Conversely, if the report focuses on gender and you feel that this focus is misguided or gives no analytic utility, you could take this viewpoint and defend it. Analyses should be formatted to the following specifications:

#### *Document Analysis*

500 – 750 words

12 point font (Times New Roman, Cambria, or Garamond)

1" margins

Single-spaced

### **Final Paper: Due on the Last Day of the Exam Period**

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The Final Paper is a research project, designed with the assistance of the professor. You will choose, in consultation with the professor, any issue-area in which international politics has been affected by, or affects, gender that interests you. You will then write a research paper explaining how gender matters in this area, with some indication of how we as scholars should think about it – should we strengthen international institutions to correct an emerging problem? Should we promote global women’s organizations? Should we rethink how we look at the military? You should do this in a manner that 1) demonstrates mastery of the concepts and ideas introduced, and 2) adds something new to the material presented in class.

The final paper should be formatted to the following guidelines. Points will be lost for incorrect formatting (including violating the word count requirements): Please note: if you want feedback for different stages of your paper, you must follow the timeline.

12pt Times New Roman/Cambria/Garamond font

1" margins

Single-spaced

MLA/APA/Chicago style

3,750 – 5,000 words

### **Participation**

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Participation is an important component of your final grade. Regular attendance is a necessary, but not sufficient requirement. In order to get full points for participation, you must contribute regularly to in-class discussion. You should demonstrate satisfactorily that you have at least attempted to complete and understand the readings. Substantive questions and questions for clarification are appropriate means of participating; requests for in-class summaries of the readings are not. I understand that some people are reticent about participating verbally in class. Too bad. You will *have* to do this if you want to get full marks.

Please note that there are absolutely NO EXTRA CREDIT assignments available, under any conditions for this class. If you are having personal or other difficulties that are interfering with your ability to complete the assignments, you must let the instructor know as soon as possible so that accommodations can be made as necessary. Please do not request extensions after the fact.

**Midterm: Blackboard/In-class**

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The midterm will be a blue book exam given in class on the date according to the syllabus. It will combine conceptual identifications and essays to test your understanding of the theories presented to date, as well as how they explain different aspects of global governance in areas covered.

Grade item		due dates	% of grade
Participation (showing up, preparedness, discussion board, etc.)		Throughout	15%
Response Paper		March 14th	10%
2 Presentations		TBD	20%
2 Follow-Up Papers		TBD	10%
Mid-Term Test		April 1 <sup>st</sup>	15%
Media/Policy Document Analysis		May 2 <sup>nd</sup>	5%
Research project	Topic proposal	March 21 <sup>st</sup>	25%
	Annotated bibliography	April 18 <sup>th</sup>	
	Rough draft	May 9 <sup>th</sup>	
	Final paper	TBA	

**Textbooks and Reading Materials:**

*The following textbooks are REQUIRED and have been ordered at the Middlebury College bookstore.*

Steans, Jill. 2013. *Gender and International Relations (Third Edition)*. Cambridge: Polity Press

Al-Ali, Nadjie, and Nicola Pratt. 2010. *What Kind of Liberation? Women and the Occupation of Iraq*. University of California Press

*The following textbooks are REQUIRED and are available online:*

Carl von Clausewitz. 1873. *On War* (translated by James John Graham). Available online at <http://www.clausewitz.com/readings/OnWar1873/>

Moon, Katherine. 1997. *Sex Among Allies: Military Prostitution in US/Korea Relations*. New York: Columbia University Press. Available through Davis Library online e-book collection.

Enloe, Cynthia. 2000. *Bananas, Beaches, & Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1989 edition available through Davis Library online e-book collection.

UN. 2013. *The Millennium Development Goals Report: 2013*. Available online at <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/pdf/report-2013/mdg-report-2013-english.pdf>

NB: The Moon and Enloe books have also been ordered at the Bookstore. The remaining readings will be made available on Moodle.

## SCHEDULED READINGS

### SECTION I: Introduction to Concepts and Debates in the Study of Gender in IR

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*Feb 11: Introduction to the Course*

- No Readings Assigned

*Feb 13: What is the Study of Gender and Feminism in IR?*

- *Gender and International Relations*, Chapters 1 & 2
- *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases*, Chapter 1: Gender Makes the World Go Round
- Youngs, Gillian. 2004. Feminist International Relations: A Contradiction in Terms? *International Affairs*, 80 (1): 75-87
- Carver, T. 2003. Forum on Gender and International Relations. *International Studies Review*, 5 (2): 287-302
- UN System. 2000. Gender and Racial Discrimination: Report of the Expert Group Meeting. Available online at: <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/genrac/report.htm>

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*Feb 18: Theory Should Explain What "Is," Not What Should Be*

- Morgenthau, Hans J. "Six Principles of Political Realism." Excerpt from *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*. Available online at: <https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/morg6.htm>
- Excerpt from E. H. Carr. 1946. *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919 – 1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations*
- Moravcsik, Andrew. 1997. Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics. *International Organization* 51 (4): 513-553
- Walt, Stephen. 1998. International Relations: One World, Many Theories. *Foreign Policy* 110: 29-46

*Feb 20: It Depends on What the Meaning of "Is" Is*

- Keohane, Robert. 1998. Beyond Dichotomy: Conversations between International Relations and Feminist Theory. *International Studies Quarterly* 42 (1): 193 – 197
- *Gender and International Relations*, Chapter 3 & 7

- Tickner, J. Ann. 1997. You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements between Feminists and IR Theorists. *International Studies Quarterly* 41 (4): 611-632
- Zalewski, M. 2007. Do We Understand Each Other Yet? Troubling Feminist Encounters within International Relations. *British Journal of Politics and IR*, 9 (2): 302-312

*Recommended Reading:*

- Jones, A. 1996. Does 'Gender' Make the World Go Round? Feminist Critiques of International Relations. *Review of International Studies*, 22 (4): 405-429

## **SECTION II: Women, Warriors, and Gendered Notions of International Security**

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*Feb 25: War and the State in a Condition of Anarchy*

- Carl von Clausewitz. "What is War?" From Book I of *On War*.
- Grieco, Joseph. 1988. Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism. *International Organization*, 42 (3): 485-507
- Jervis, Robert. 1999. Realism, Neoliberalism, and Cooperation. *International Security*, 24 (1): 42-63
- Mearsheimer, John J. 1994/95. The False Promise of International Institutions. *International Security* 19 (3): 5-49
- Start reading *What Kind of Liberation?*

*Feb 27: The State as 'Protector' of the Feminine*

- *Gender and International Relations*, Chapter 5: Conflict, Peace, and Violence
- Harrison-Quintana, Jack and Jody Herman. 2013. Still Serving in Silence: Transgender Service Members and Veterans in the National Transgender Discrimination Survey. <http://tinyurl.com/transmilitary>
- Fukuyama, Francis. 1998. Women and the Evolution of World Politics. *Foreign Affairs* 77 (5): 24-40
- Blanchard, E. 2003. Gender, International Relations, and the Development of Feminist Security Theory. *Signs*, 28 (4):
- Tickner, J. Ann. 1988. Hans Morgenthau's Principles of Political Realism: A Feminist Reformulation. *Millennium*, 17: 429-440
- "The Truth About Jessica." *The Guardian*, Thursday 15 May, 2003. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/may/15/iraq.usa2>

*Recommended Reading:*

- Carpenter, Charli. 2003. "Women and Children First": Gender Norms and Humanitarian Evacuation in the Balkans 1991 – 1995. *International Organization*, 57 (4): 661-694
  - Brown, George. 1988. Transsexuals in the Military: Flight into Hypermasculinity. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 17 (6): 527-537
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*Mar 4: Killer Women*

- Bunk, B. D. 2003. Revolutionary Warrior and Gendered Icon: Aida Lafluyente and the Spanish Revolution of 1934. *Journal of Women's History*, 15 (2): 99-122

- Bloom, Mia. 2007. Female Suicide Bombers: A Global Trend. *Daedalus*, 136 (1): 94-102
- “What Happens in War Happens.” *The Guardian*, Friday 2 January, 2009. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/jan/03/abu-ghraib-lyndie-england-interview>
- Ehrenreich, Barbara. 2007. Feminism’s Assumptions Upended. *South Central Review*, 24 (1): 170-173
- “British-educated Woman Becomes First Female Spokesman for Hamas.” *The Telegraph*, Tuesday 21 January, 2014. Available at: <http://tinyurl.com/hamaswoman>
- In-class video: “Jon Stewart’s Thumbs Up, Women”

*Mar 6: Sexual Violence in War*

- Stern, Maria. 2009. Why Do Soldiers Rape? Masculinity, Violence and Sexuality in the Armed Forces in the Congo (DRC). *International Studies Quarterly*, 53: 495-518
- Carpenter, Charli. 2006. Recognizing Gender-Based Violence Against Civilian Men and Boys in Conflict Situations. *Security Dialogue*, 37 (1): 83-103
- “My Lai, Sexual Assault and the Black Blouse Girl: Forty-Five Years Later, One of America’s Most Iconic Photos Hides Truth in Plain Sight.” *BagNews Notes*, October 29, 2013. Available online at: <http://tinyurl.com/bagnewsnotes>
- “Abu Ghraib Abuse Photos ‘Show Rape.’” *The Telegraph*, 27 May 2009. Available at: <http://tinyurl.com/abughraibmen>
- UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women. Available at: <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/48/a48r104.htm>
- UN Resolution A/RES/48/143. Available at: <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/48/a48r143.htm>
- Kosovar Civil Society Report to the UN. Available [PDF] at: <http://tinyurl.com/kosovarreport>

*Mar 11: Sexual Violence in Peace Part I: Using Masculine Institutions for Peace*

- *Gender and International Relations*, Chapter 6: Security and Peacekeeping
- “Peacekeepers Gone Wild: How Much More Abuse Will the UN Ignore in Congo?” *The Globe and Mail*, Friday August 3, 2012. Available at: <http://tinyurl.com/globeandmailcongo>
- “Report Reveals Shame of UN Peacekeepers.” *The Guardian*, Thursday, 24 March, 2005. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2005/mar/25/unitednations>
- US Institute of Peace. 2013. Criminalizing Sexual Exploitation and Abuse by Peacekeepers. Special Report 335. Available at: <http://tinyurl.com/usipreport>
- Duncanson, Clare. 2009. Forces for Good? Narratives of Military Masculinity in Peacekeeping Operations. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 11 (1): 63-80
- UN Security Council Resolution 1325. Available at: <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/wps/>

*Mar 13: Sexual Violence in Peace Part II: What’s a Little Exploitation Among Friends?*

- *Sex Among Allies*, Chapters 1, 2, and 6.
- *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases*, Chapter 4: Base Women
- “Okinawa Rape Suspect’s Lawyer Gives Dark Account.” *Los Angeles Times*, October 28, 1995. Available at: [http://articles.latimes.com/1995-10-28/news/mn-62075\\_1\\_japanese-girl](http://articles.latimes.com/1995-10-28/news/mn-62075_1_japanese-girl)

\*\*\*RESPONSE PAPER DUE – MAR 14 – RESPONSE PAPER DUE\*\*\*

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*Mar 18: Documentary Screening and Discussion*

- Start watching “The Invisible War.”

*Mar 20: Documentary Screening and Discussion Continued*

- Finish watching “The Invisible War.”
- Class discussion of documentary

\*\*\*TOPIC PROPOSAL DUE – MAR 21 – TOPIC PROPOSAL DUE\*\*\*

### **Week 7: SPRING BREAK**

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*Mar 25 – 27: MID-TERM BREAK*

- No Class – SPRING BREAK – No Class
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*Apr 1:*

- REVIEW TEST – No Readings Assigned – REVIEW TEST

*Apr 3: The Logic and Rational Pursuit of Nuclear Proliferation*

- Jervis, Robert. 2003. The Utility of Nuclear Deterrence. From Art and Jervis, *International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues*. New York: Addison Wesley
- Mearsheimer, John J. 1993. The Case for a Ukrainian Nuclear Deterrent. *Foreign Affairs*, 72 (3): 50-66

### **Section III: International Security/Women in the Global Political Economy**

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*Apr 8: Phallogentrism and the Sexy Allure of Global Destruction*

- Cohn, Carol. 1987. Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals. *Signs*, 12 (4): 687-718
- Sagan, Scott D. 1996/97. Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons? Three Models in Search of a Bomb. *International Security* 21 (3): 54-86
- Cohn, Carol and Sara Ruddick. 2003. A Feminist Ethical Perspective on Weapons of Mass Destruction. Boston Constortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights, Working Paper No. 104.
- In-class video: “The Best of George Carlin: We Like War”

*Apr 10: Capitalism and Globalization as Forces for Development*

- “Why the World is Flat.” *Wired Magazine*.
- Bhagwati, Jagdish. 2007. *In Defense of Globalization*, Chapters 2 and 7
- “Different Places Have Different Safety Rules and That’s OK.” *Slate Magazine*, April 24, 2013. Available at: [http://www.slate.com/blogs/moneybox/2013/04/24/international\\_factory\\_safety.html](http://www.slate.com/blogs/moneybox/2013/04/24/international_factory_safety.html)



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*Apr 15: Capitalism and Unequally Gendered Development*

- *Gender and International Relations*, Chapter 8: “Global Political Economy.”
- Byrson, Valerie. 1995. Adjusting the Lenses: Feminist Analysis and Marxism at the end of the Twentieth Century. *Contemporary Politics* 1 (1): 10
- White, Sarah. 1997. Men, Masculinities, and the Politics of Development. *Gender and Development*, 5 (2): 14-22
- “The American Economy, Not Feminism, Is What’s ‘Ruining’ Masculinity.” *Forbes Magazine*, January 1, 2014. Available at: <http://tinyurl.com/forbesfeminism>

*Apr 17: Women’s Labour and Their Role in the Economy*

- Hoskyns, Catherine and Sharin M. Rai. 2007. Recasting the Global Political Economy: Counting Women’s Unpaid Work. *New Political Economy*, 12 (3): 297-317
- Benería, Lourdes and Gita Sen. 1981. Accumulation, Reproduction, and ‘Women’s Role in Economic Development’: Boserup Revisited. *Signs* 7 (2): 279-298
- *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases*. Chapter 2: On the Beach: Sexism and Tourism
- “The Women’s Crusade.” *New York Times Magazine*, 23 August 2009. Available at: <http://tinyurl.com/kristoffwudun>

\*\*\*ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY DUE – APRIL 18<sup>TH</sup> – ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY DUE\*\*\*

**Section IV: International Institutions, Transnational Movements, and Global Governance**

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*Apr 22: Gender Mainstreaming in International Institutions*

- Lorde, Audre. 1984. The Master’s Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master’s House. Available at <http://tinyurl.com/p5wy7sz>
- Moser, Caroline and Annalise Moser. 2005. Gender Mainstreaming Since Beijing: A Review of Success and Limitations in International Institutions. *Gender and Development* 13 (2): 11-22
- Read *Millennium Development Goals*, Goals 3, 4 and 5.
- UN ECOSOC. 2010. Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective into All Policies and Programmes in the United Nations System. Report of the Secretary-General. Available at: <http://tinyurl.com/genderreportun>
- Apodaca, Clair. 2002. The Effects of Foreign Aid on Women’s Economic and Social Human Rights. *Journal of Third World Studies*, 17 (2): 205-219

*Apr 24: Women, Gender, and the Environment*

- UNFPA and WEDO. 2009. Women at the Forefront: Report on Women and Climate Change.
  - Jackson, Cecile. 1993. Doing What Comes Naturally? Women and Environment in Development. *World Development*, 21: 1947-1963
  - UNDAW. 2005. Women and Water. Available at: <http://tinyurl.com/undaw>
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*Apr 29: Liberalist Universalism and Human Rights*

- Donnelly, Jack. 2007. The Relative Universality of Human Rights. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 29 (2): 281-306
- Donnelly, Jack. 1984. Cultural Relativism and Human Rights. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 6 (4): 400-419
- Huntington, Samuel. 1993. The Clash of Civilizations? *Foreign Affairs*, 72 (3): 22-50
- The Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Available at: <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/>

*May 1: Cultural Contingency of Women's Rights?*

- *Gender and International Relations*, Chapter 4
- Tamir, Yael. Hands Off Clitoridectomy. *Boston Review*, June 1, 2006. Available at: <http://tinyurl.com/kaovzgt>
- Tharoor, Shashi. 2000. Are Human Rights Universal? *World Policy Journal*, 16 (4). Available at: <http://www.worldpolicy.org/tharoor.html>
- The Beijing Declaration. Available online at: <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/declar.htm>
- Thompson, Karen Brown. 2002. Women's Rights are Human Rights. *Restructuring World Politics*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

\*\*\*POLICY DOCUMENT ANALYSIS DUE – MAY 2<sup>nd</sup> – POLICY DOCUMENT ANALYSIS DUE\*\*\*

## **Conclusions**

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*May 6: Transnational Feminism and Gendered Activism*

- *Gender and International Relations*, Chapter 10
- Alvarez, Sonia. 1999. Advocating Feminism. *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 2 (1): 181-209
- Conway, Janet. 2011. Activist Knowledges on the Anti-Globalization Terrain: Transnational Feminisms at the World Social Forum. *Interface*, 3 (2): 34
- Mindry, Deborah. 2001. Nongovernmental Organizations, 'Grassroots,' and the Politics of Virtue. *Signs* 26 (4): 1187-1211

*May 8: Conclusions and a Case Study in Iraq*

- Finish reading: *What Kind of Liberation? Women and the Occupation of Iraq*

\*\*\*ROUGH DRAFT DUE – MAY 9<sup>TH</sup> – ROUGH DRAFT DUE\*\*\*