Women's Studies 285, Section 2, Winter, 2010 Thursdays 2-5, Rm. Rolfe 3118 Office Hrs. 10-12 Thurs. and by appt. other days For campus mail/drop offs, use Hale box in main Anthro. Dept. office, Haines 341 Instructor: Sondra Hale Hale Office: Haines 329B Phone/voice mail: 310-206-6505 Email: sonhale@ucla.edu

Women in Conflict Zones: War, Genocide, Occupation, and Militarization

Abstract: In this seminar we will explore various conflict zones (with an emphasis on the Middle East and Africa) where women may be actors, warriors, victims, pawns, perpetrators, collaborators, and icons or symbols. The course looks secondarily at women's participation in social movements such as revolutions and liberation struggles (secondarily because these topics are taught by Hale at both the undergraduate and graduate levels as "Women and Social Movements"). What is not dealt with in any other courses at UCLA are the conditions of women's lives as occupiers and occupied, their participation in wars, and their diverse roles as victims and/or as complicit actors in genocide and terrorism, as in other conflicts. Throughout the course, which is contemporary in its context, we will stress the growing militarization of people's lives the world over, and the gendered nature of that global phenomenon.

Course Statement: At the end of the Twentieth Century many scholars and pundits proclaimed it to be **the** century of wars, revolutions, genocides, and occupations, as well as other modernist social movements. However, at the beginning of the 21st century, we still see even more violent conflicts and the uses of terror and sabotage in many parts of the world. A number of these conflicts may be seen as "perpetual conflicts" in which the boundary between "war" and "peace" is blurred or could be seen as a continuum. We will bear in mind that the meaning of the word "front" is constantly in flux, and we will scrutinize the concept of "terrorism." Genocidal aggression, brutal occupations, violent state repression, armed insurgency, terrorism, and full-scale war and civil war are altering and/or destroying people's lives and cultures—whether or not these communities or individuals are seen as "victims" or "perpetrators." With the process of globalization, this violence is increasingly dispersed and transnational. The arms trade flourishes worldwide, fueling these conflicts and creating ever greater instability.

Although gender-based sexual violence is prominent in contemporary analyses of conflicts, what is under-theorized is the diversity of the spaces where violence against women occurs: e.g., in the everyday of occupation (e.g., in Iraq and Palestine), in prisons

(e.g., in Iran, the U.S.), and in the memory-slates generated for women by men (e.g., in Sudan and in nearly every conflict). However, while this seminar is about violence against women spatially and temporally, it is also about women's resistance to that violence and also about women's participation in it.

Although more recently an increased awareness of the impact of war, armed conflict, revolution/liberation movements, genocide, terrorism, and occupation on women has emerged, the new attention given to this issue is lacking in demonstrating how deeply and intimately structures of gender—gendered beliefs, policies, and practices—are woven into the causes and execution of present-day conflicts and in the militarization of many societies. Daily reportage, witnesses, and testimonies have informed us that in Bosnia and Rwanda, and currently in Darfur and the Congo, rape and other forms of "sexual" violence have been turned into weapons of war. Although more recent studies have tended to make more prominent gender-based sexual violence in conflicts, nonetheless, these atrocities are under-theorized. What is often left under-examined is the fact that such violence often depends on antecedent gender discriminatory attitudes by both the perpetrators and the receivers, in which women are seen as reproductive vessels (to supply new combatants or replenish the population after a conflict) or symbols of the culture, not only for individual men, but for an entire armed group, ethnic group, state, or nation. What is also under-theorized is the extent to which rape can be both an erasure and a marker of "difference" in these conflicts, with women's bodies being written on as political acts.

A new kind of scholarship that is emerging is feminists analyzing contemporary U.S. wars. See, for example, a book that is strongly recommended but not required for this course: R. Riley, C. Mohanty, and M. Pratt, eds., Feminism and War: Confronting U.S. *Imperialism* (2008). The contributors to this volume analyze the feminist geopolitics of war; feminists mobilizing critiques of war; and feminists organizing against imperialism and war. Clearly, the U.S. wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, among others, have inspired this scholarship. Furthermore, the rhetoric of the U.S. "War on Terror" has frequently disseminated received codes of gender, having the effect of rigidifying these extant codes, or extending, distorting, or exacerbating them. For example, the discourse of women's rights was loudly invoked (by U.S. feminists, popular media, and others) to justify the U.S.-led invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq. But the effect on women of these arrogant interventions is, again, under-researched and under-theorized. The struggle to construct and secure a "new Iraq," for example, has involved an intense and rigorous policing of gender roles. Iraqi women's bodies have, in effect, become markers of non-Western morals, politics, and statehood, at the same time that women's bodies are subject to Western sexist ideologies. The ironic consequence of the U.S. intervention has been a mass disenfranchisement of Iraqi women at all levels of employment and education, effectively removing women from much of public life, a distinct change from large regions of pre-invasion Iraq. To underscore the points above, although antecedent gendered norms and practices may be part of the undergirding of these developments, they have been exacerbated by the conflict. Part of our agenda in this seminar should be figuring out why and in what ways conflict alters gender stratification.

Furthermore, nationalist projects throughout the world have tended to endorse and rigidify heterosexuality and heterosexual reproduction, to the extent that even in times of relative peace, national militaries actively suppress or prohibit same-sex sexual activities or relationships. Another question to be explored, then, is why heterosexuality seems to become even more compulsory in times of conflict. Is it only related to the reproduction of future armies, to the conventional formation of the "family" as the presumed unit to hold the fabric of society together, or to the maintenance of the esprit de corps within military ranks as it has conventionally been constructed?

We will discuss what Mahmood Mamdani has referred to as the "politics of naming," which is an epistemological process in the sense that we can ask who is given the authority to name something as "genocide," for example. Who controls the knowledge that produces a document like the Convention on Genocide (1948) that still controls what can be classified as "genocide"? And what does having a conflict labeled as "genocide" do to the behavior of those said to be the "perpetrators" and the "victims"? Does such a label change the power dynamic of the conflict? Does it change gender stratification?

Often we assume that genocides are carried out by the powerful over the weak, the oppressed. We need to examine our assumptions about these processes. Nicholas Robins and Adam Jones have edited a book entitled, *Genocides by the Oppressed:* Subaltern Genocide in Theory and Practice (Indiana, 2009). We should consider these phenomena; they are too frequent to be exceptions.

We will explore the profound effects that many contemporary conflicts have had on men, women, and children. We will ask the vexing question if, for women, there is ever an "aftermath." We will also read and discuss the ideas of those who problem-solve about possible conflict mediating factors. What is often missing, however, is a search for indigenous peace mechanisms or a resuscitation of these indigenous mediating tools during the conflicts and certainly after.

In this seminar we will take on these and other similarly pressing contemporary developments shaped by the intersections of gender, war, and militarism (and other intersecting variables such as race, ethnicity, sexuality), but also shaped by international media, faith-based organizations and other NGO's. These interventions and interruptions have to be analyzed within the larger framework of Empire.

Primary Texts

Giles, Wenona and Jennifer Hyndman, eds. *Sites of Violence: Gender and Conflict Zones* (University of California, 2004).

Hinton, Alexander Laban, *Annihilating Difference: The Anthropology of Genocide* (University of California, 2002).

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

Meintjes, Sheila, Anu Pillay, and Meredith Turshen, eds., *The Aftermath: Women in Post-Conflict Transformation* (Zed, 2001).

Waller, Marguerite and Jennifer Rycenga, eds., Frontline Feminisms: Women, War, and Resistance (Routledge, 2000).

Strongly Recommended:

Riley, Robin L. and Chandra Talpade Mohanty, and Minnie Bruce Pratt, *Feminism and War: Confronting U.S. Imperialism* (Zed: 2008).

Another Strongly Recommended Work Not Yet Available in the U.S.

Al-Ali, Nadje Sadig and Nicola Pratt, eds. Women and War in the Middle East: Transnational Perspectives

About the Book: Women and War in the Middle East provides a critical examination of the relationship between gender and transnationalism in the context of war, peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction in the Middle East. Critically examining the ways in which the actions of various local and transnational groups - including women's movements, diaspora communities, national governments, non-governmental actors and multilateral bodies - interact to both intentionally and inadvertently shape the experiences of women in conflict situations, and determine the possibilities for women's participation in peace-building and (post)-conflict reconstruction, as well as the longer-term prospects for peace and security. The volume pays particular attention to the ways in which gender roles, relations and identities are constructed, negotiated and employed within transnational social and political fields in the conflict and post-conflict situations, and their particular consequences for women.

Contributions focus on the two countries with the longest experiences of war and conflict in the Middle East, and which have been subject to the most prominent international interventions of recent years - that is, Iraq and the Occupied Palestinian Territories.

Issues addressed by contributors include the impact of gender mainstreaming measures by international agencies and NGOs upon the ability of women to participate in peace-building and post-conflict resolution; the consequences for gender relations and identities of the US-led invasion and occupation of Iraq; and how transnational feminist movements can most effectively support peace building and women's rights in the region.

Based entirely on original empirical research. Women and War in the Middle East brings together some of the foremost scholars in the areas of feminist international relations, feminist international political economy, anthropology, sociology, history and Middle East studies.

Contents

1. Introduction - Nadje Al-Ali & Nicola Pratt

Part 1: Revisiting Trans/national Women's Activism in the Context of Conflict, Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Peace-building

- 2. The Challenges of Gender Mainstreaming and Feminist Organizing in the Middle East *Isis Nusair*
- 3. Gender and the Post Conflict in Palestine Rabab Abdelhadi
- 4. Problematizing Diaspora Mobilization of Iraqi Women Activists *Nadje Al-Ali*

Part 2: Citizenship, Gender and Conflict

- 5. Fragmented Citizenship: Communalism, Ethnicity and Gender in Iraq *Martina Kamp*
- 6. Citizenry at the Margins of Conflict: On Gendered Citizenship Practices among the Palestinians *Riina Isotalo*

Part 3: Gendering the Neo-liberal, Imperial Project

- 7. Gendering Informal Economies in the Context of Iraq Spike Peterson
- 8. The United States and 'Women's Empowerment' in post- 2003 Iraq Nicola Pratt
- 9. Women's NGOs in the No-War-No-Peace Zone of Iraqi Kurdistan Shahrzad Mojab
- 10. Conclusion Nadje Al-Ali & Nicola Pratt

About the Editors:

Dr Nadje Al-Ali is Reader in Gender Studies and Chair of the Centre for Gender Studies at SOAS, University of London. She is the author of numerous articles and book chapters on women and gender issues in the Middle East as well as migration and diaspora mobilization. Her recent publications include Secularism, Gender and the State in the Middle East (2000), New Approaches to Migration (2002), Iraqi Women: Untold Stories from 1948 to the Present (2007) and, co-authored with Nicola Pratt, What kind of Liberation: Women and the Occupation in Iraq (2009). She is a founding member of Act Together: Women's Action for Iraq (www.acttogether.org).

Nicola Pratt is Associate Professor at the University of Warwick, where she teaches in the areas of Middle East politics and international relations. She is author of *Democracy* and Authoritarianism in the Arab World (2007) and co-author with Nadje Al-Ali of What Kind of Liberation? Women and the Occupation of Iraq (2009), in addition to a number of articles on democratization, human rights, and gender and politics in the Middle East. Her current research interests are in gender and insecurity in the Middle

East. She is also a member of Stop the War and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

Other Collateral Readings

Gregory, Derek and Allan Pred, eds., *Violent Geographies: Fear, Terror, and Political Violence* (Routledge, 2007).

Levene, Mark, Genocide in the Age of the Nation State, Vol, I, The Meaning of Genocide (I.B. Tauris, 2008).

Hinton, Alexander Laban, ed., *Genocide: An Anthropological Reader* (Blackwell, 2002). Robins, Nicholas A. and Adam Jones, eds., *Genocides by the Oppressed: Subaltern Genocide in Theory and Practice* (Indiana, 2009).

Semelin, Jacques, *Purify and Destroy: The Political Uses of Massacre and Genocide* (Columbia, 2007)

Thematics and Reading Schedule

Weeks 1 and 2, January 7 and 14

I. Introduction: Gender and Violence

- A. **Domestic Violence**—not the subject matter of this course, except for a few factors
 - 1. Increase in domestic violence by military men when returning home
 - 2. Pressure on women to become pregnant, therefore often forced sex
 - 3. Question of whether or not domestic violence is qualitatively or quantitatively different from other forms of violence. Is there an overlap with state violence?
 - 4. Is doing nothing a form of violence?
- B. **Internal State Violence** (e.g., in prisons, forced sterilization, police brutality, etc.); again, if the state is doing nothing to prevent violence, is that a form of violence, i.e., failure to protect as a form of violence?
- C. Terrorism and Sabotage (internal and external)
- D. Nationalism, Colonialism, and Imperialism
- E. Large Scale Violence: war, invasion/occupation, revolution, genocide, civil war, colonialism, irredentist struggles, terrorism, ethnocide, gendercide, mass murder, genocidal massacres, etc.
- F. Rationales for Large-Scale Violence: liberation from colonialism or occupation; to claim or reclaim (irredentism) territory/land; to settle border disputes; because of ethnic/religious hatred; to carry out nationalist claims; to annihilate difference (e.g., "ethnic cleansing"); to reinforce sameness or belonging (forced assimilation/incorporation), to claim or defend resources (from material, strategic, to human), to enslave others for gain/labor/booty/spoils; revenge; to pre-empt; to protect the nation or some national resource; security; preventative; and many more.

- G. **The Nature of Violence**: rape or other forms of sexual violence; murder; torture; incarceration (e.g., confinement in "camps"); bombing and other forms of military attacks; execution; occupation; expulsion; slavery; forced marriage/concubinage; sexual slavery; dismemberment; annihilating culture (e.g., forcing name changes of people and places, removing historical landmarks, withholding education; forbidding local/vernacular languages; forcing religious conversion, etc.); forced circumcision or other body markings imposed or removed; extermination; terrorism; humiliation (especially sexual); destruction of homes/property-/livestock/crops; destruction of economy; withholding food; forced relocation; police-state violence, etc.
- H. Continuum of Violence ("perpetual conflict"); there are always many "fronts."
- I. Consider Definitions and Debates: e.g., over "genocide," "occupation," "civil war," etc.
- J. **The Voyeurism of Violence**: the pornography of violence (e.g., media distribution of images of atrocities)
- K. The Gendered Memory of Violence (the politics of memory)
- L. Case Studies: Darfur and the Nuba Mountains in Sudan: Hale "case studies."

Reading for Weeks 1 and 2: Parts I and II from *Sites of Violence: Gender and Conflict Zones*, Wenona Giles and Jennifer Hyndman, eds.

Week 2, January 14

II. Continuation of above General and Overarching Themes, plus continuation of Hale Lecture on **Darfur and Nuba Mountains Study (Sudan)**

Two facilitators for the readings for January 7 and 14, i.e., Parts I and II of *Sites of Violence*

A.	Facilitator_	
В.	Facilitator_	
C.	Facilitator_	

Week 3, January 21

III. Militarization and Masculinity—Two facilitators for the reading for Jan. 21

Reading for Jan. 21: Cynthia Enloe, *The Morning After: Sexual Politics at the End of the Cold War*, Introduction and all Chapters; and Saundra Sturdevant, Chap. 11 in *Frontline Feminisms: Women, War, and Resistance*, M. Waller and J. Rycenga, eds.; and Chaps. 9 and 12 in *Frontline Feminisms*.

A.	Facilitator
B.	Facilitator
C.	Facilitator
Week 4, Ja	anuary 28
IV.	Genocide—
	Annihilating Difference: The Anthropology of Genocide, Introduction and Chaps. 6, 12, 13, 14, 15; Trauma, Memory, Coping Reading: Chaps 11.
A.	Facilitator
B.	Facilitator
C.	Facilitator
Week 5, I	February 4
V.	The Example(s) of the Ex-Yugoslavia
	Chaps. 2, 3, 4, 5, 16, 20, and 25 in Frontline Feminisms; and Chap. 8 in ing Difference; and Chap. 11 in The Aftermath: Women in Post-Conflict ation
A.	Facilitator
В.	Facilitator
C.	Facilitator

Week 6, February 11

VI. **There Is No Aftermath for Women**: Violence Continuum; Trauma and Healing; Truth and Reconciliation

Frontline Feminisms
A. Facilitator
B. Facilitator
C. Facilitator
Week 7, February 18
VII. The Politics of Memory (revisiting previous chapters/articles, and additional reading to be distributed)—Hale commentary (using Boyarin, Slyomovics and others)
A. Facilitator
B. Facilitator
Week 8, February 25
VIII. Start Student Presentations of Case Studies
A. Two Longer Presentations of Case Studies (that will serve as preliminary presentation of final papers:
1
2
Brief Preliminary Paper Presentations
1
2

Reading: Chaps. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12 in *The Aftermath*; and Chaps. 5 and 7 in

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Grading System and Final Paper

Seminar students will be graded 10% on general participation in class (e.g., bringing the reading into the discussion every week); attendance 10% (two misses without medical excuse will bring down grade automatically); 20% for oral presentation as facilitator; 20% for preliminary paper presentation; and 40% for final paper of not more than 20 pages (topic to be approved by Hale). *Final papers due Friday March 19*, by **NOON**, to be left at the front desk (there will be a box with the class information on it) in the main office of the Anthropology Department, Haines 341. Do <u>not</u> leave papers under my office door, in my Women's Studies box, or send them to me electronically, please.

Final papers (case studies preferred, but exploration of theoretical issues would be approved) should be related to the themes of the class, and students should use the required readings and suggested readings below. Readings outside these lists may be used, but readings on your topic contained on these lists should be consulted.

Various Reading Lists Follow [Books mentioned above are incorporated into this list]

Gender, War, Genocide, and Militarism Other Sources	
Accad, Evelyne, Sexuality and War: Literary Masks of the Middle East	
Addis, Elisabetta, Valeria E. Russo, and Lorenza Sebesta, eds., Women Soldiers: Images and Realities	
Amnesty International Publications	
Arendt, Hannah, The Origins of Totalitarianism	

Ben-Porath, Sigal R., Citizenship Under Fire: Democratic Education in Times of Conflict

2001.

Bannerji, Himani, Shahrzad Mojab, and Judy Whitehead, eds., *Of Property and Propriety: Gender and Class in Nationalism and Imperialism*. University of Toronto,

Camaroff, Jean and Comaroff, John, eds. Law and Disorder in the Postcolony

Chalk, Frank and Kurt Jonassohn, *The History and Sociology of Genocide: Analyses and Case Studies*

Dallaire, Romeo, Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda

Enloe, Cynthia, Does Khaki Become You?; Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics; Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives [and others].

Enloe, Cynthia, The Morning After: Sexual Politics at the End of the Cold War (University of California, 1993).

Giles, Wenona and Jennifer Hyndman, eds. *Sites of Violence: Gender and Conflict Zones* (University of California, 2004).

Giles, Wenona, Malathi de Alwis, Edith Klein, and Neluka Silva, eds., Feminists Under Fire: Exchanges Across War Zones

Giles, Wenona, Helene Moussa, and Penny Van Esterik, eds., *Development and Diaspora: Gender and the Refugee Experience*. Artemis Enterprises, 1996.

Goodman, Amy, Exception to the Rulers: Exposing Oily Politicians, War Profiteers, and the Media That Love Them

Goodman, Amy, Static: Government Liars, Media Cheerleaders, and the People Who Fight Back

Gottschalk, Marie, The Prison and the Gallows: The Politics of Mass Incarceration

Gregory, Derek and Allan Pred, eds., Violent Geographies: Fear, Terror, and Political Violence (Routledge, 2007).

Harlow, Barbara, Barred: Women, Writing, and Political Detention

Hinton, Alexander Laban, *Annihilating Difference: The Anthropology of Genocide* (University of California, 2002).

Hinton, Alexander Laban, ed., Genocide: An Anthropological reader

Jacobs, Susie, Ruth Jacobson, and Jen Marchbank, eds., States of Conflict: Gender Violence, and Resistance

Levene, Mark, Genocide in the Age of the Nation State, Vol, I, The Meaning of Genocide (I.B. Tauris, 2008).

Lorentzen, Lois Ann and Jennifer Turpin, eds., *The Women and War Reader*. New York University, 1998.

Lindee, M. Susan, Suffering Made Real: American Science and the Survivors of Hiroshima

Lutes Hillman, Elizabeth, Defending America: Military Culture and the Cold War Court-Martial

Malkki, Liisa, Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory, and National Cosmology among

Hutu Refugees in Tanzania

Matthews, Jenny, Women and War [photos and text].

Meintjes, Sheila, Anu Pillay, and Meredith Turshen, eds., *The Aftermath: Women in Post-Conflict Transformation* (Zed, 2001).

Meznaric, Silva, "Gender as an Ethno-Marker: Rape, War and Identity Politics in the Former Yugoslavia, in V. Moghadam, eds. *Identity, Politics and Women*. Westview, 1994.

Moallem, Minoo, Norma Alarcon, and Caren Kaplan (eds.), Between Woman and Nation: Nationalisms, Transnational Feminisms, and the State

Mojab, Shahrzad, *Women in Politics and War: The Case of Kurdistan*. Women in International Development Publication Series, Working Paper no. 145. Michigan State University, 1987.

Nordstrom, Carolyn and Antonius C.G.M. Robbin, eds., Fieldwork under Fire: Contemporary Studies of Violence and Survival

Power, Samantha, "A Problem from Hell": America and the Age of Genocide

Prunier, Gerard, Darfur: The Ambiguous Genocide

Riley, Robin L., Chandra Talpade Mohanty, and Minnie Bruce Pratt, *Feminism and War: Confronting U.S. Imperialism* (Zed: 2008).

Robins, Nicholas A. and Adam Jones, eds., *Genocides by the Oppressed: Subaltern Genocide in Theory and Practice* (Indiana, 2009).

Semelin, Jacques, *Purify and Destroy: The Political Uses of Massacre and Genocide* (Columbia, 2007).

Sharoni, Simona, Gender and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: The Politics of Women's Resistance. Syracuse University, 1995.

Sharpley-Whiting, T. Denean and Renee T. White, eds. *Spoils of War: Women of Color, Cultures, and Revolutions*. Rowman and Littlefield, 1997.

Sutton, Constance, ed., Feminism, Nationalism, and Militarism

Turpin, Jennifer and Lois Ann Lorentzen, eds., The Gendered New World Order:

Militarism, Development and the Environment. Routledge, 1996.

Turshen, Meredith and Clotilde Twagiramariya, eds., What Women Do in War Time: Gender and Conflict in Africa. Zed, 1998.

Waller, Marguerite and Jennifer Rycenga, eds., *Frontline Feminisms: Women, War, and Resistance* (Routledge, 2000).

Women and Violence. Special Issue of Signs, 8, 3 (1983).

Other Related Sources:

Agah, Azadeh, Sousan Mehr, and Shadi Parsi, We Lived to Tell: Political Prison Memoirs of Iranian Women

Agosin, Marjorie and Betty Jean Craige (eds.), To Mend the World: Women Reflect on 9/11

Agosin, Marjorie, A Map of Hope: Women's Writing on Human Rights

Al-Ali, Nadje Sadig, Iraqi Women: Untold Stories from 1948 to the Present

Allison, Aimee and David Solnit, Army of None: Strategies to Counter Military Recruitment, End War, and Build a Better World

Amadiume, Ifi and Abdullahi An-Na'im, The Politics of Memory: Truth Healing and Social Justice

Andreopoulos, George, ed., *Genocide: Conceptual and Historical Dimensions*. University of Pennsylvania, 1988.

Arkov, Dubravka, The Body of War: Media, Ethnicity, and Gender in the Break-Up of Yugoslavia

Batstone, David, Not for Sale: The Return of the Global Slave Trade--and How We Can Fight It

Bennett, Olivia, Jo Bexley, and Kitty Warnock, eds., Arms to Fight, Arms to Protect: Women Speak Out about Conflict

Black, Jeremy, Why Wars Happen

Bloom, Mia, Dying to Kill: The Allure of Suicide Terrorism

Bourke, Joanna, Rape: Sex, Violence, History

Bowman, Kirk S., Militarization, Democracy, and Development: The Perils of Praetorianism in Latin America

Bricmont, Jean, Humanitarian Imperialism: Using Human Rights to Sell War

Brodsky, Anne E., With All Our Strength: The Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan

Chorbajian, Levon and George Shirinian, eds. Studies in Comparative Genocide

Cock, Jacklyn, Women in War in South Africa

Cockburn, Cynthia, From Where We Stand: War, Women's Activism, and Feminist Analysis

Cockburn, Cynthia, The Space Between Us: Negotiating Gender and National Identities in Conflict

cooke, miriam and Angela Woollacott, eds., Gendering War Talk

Corrin, Chris, ed. Women in a Violent World

Cubilie, Anne, Women Witnessing Terror: Testimony and the Cultural Politics of Human Rights

Cuellar, Francisco Ramirez, The Profits Of Extermination: How U.S. Corporate Power is Destroying Colombia

Dawes, James, That the World May Know: Bearing Witness to Atrocity

Djebar, Assia, The Tongue's Blood Does Not Run Dry: Stories

Docherty, Jayne Seminare, The Little Book of Strategic Negotiation: Negotiating During Turbulent Times

Dowell, Leilani, Dustin Langley, and Sara Flounders (eds.), We Won't Go: The

Truth on Military Recruiters and the Draft- A Guide to Resistance

Drakulic, Slavenka, S: A Novel About the Balkans

Eagleton, Terry, Sweet Violence: The Idea of the Tragic

Eisenstein, Zillah, Sexual Decoys: Gender, Race, and War in Imperial Democracy

Elshtain, Jean Bethke and Sheila Tobias (eds.), Women, Militarism, and War: Essays in History, Politics, and Social Theory

Elshtain, Jean Bethke, Women and War

Ensign, Tod, America's Military Today: The Challenge of Militarism

Ensler, Eve, Necessary Targets: A Story of Women and War

Falk, Richard, Crimes of War: Iraq

Faludi, Susan, The Terror Dream: Fear and Fantasy in Post-9/11 America

Feinman, Ilene Rose, Citizen Rites: Feminist Soldiers and Feminist Anti-Militarists

Flint, Julie and Alexa De Waal, Darfur: A Short History of a Long War

Francis, Diana, Rethinking War and Peace

Friman, Richard H., Human Trafficking, Human Security, and the Balkans

Fry, Douglas P., Beyond War: The Human Potential for Peace

Gallately, Robert and Ben Kiernan, The Spector of Genocide: Mass Murder in Historical Perspective

Glasser, Ronald J., Wounded: Vietnam/Iraq

Goldberg, Elizabeth Swanson, Beyond Terror: Gender, Narrative, Human Rights

Goldstein, Joshua S., War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa

Greener, Peter et al., The No-Nonsense Guide to Conflict and Peace

Gutman, Roy et al., Crimes of War: What the People Should Know, Revised and Expanded Edition

Hagan, John, Wenona Rymond-Richmond, Patricia Parker, "The Criminology of Genocide: The Death and Rape of Darfur," *Criminology* 43,3 (2005)

Hartung, William D., How Much Are You Making on the War, Daddy?: A Quick and Dirty Guide to War Profiteering in the Bush Administration

Hawken, Paul, Blessed Unrest: How the Largest Movement in the World Came Into Being and Why No One Saw It Coming

Hedges, Chris, War Is a Force That Gives Us Meaning

Hedges, Chris, What Every Person Should Know About War

Hernandez-Truyol, Berta Esperanza, Moral Imperialism: a Critical Anthology

Hillman, James, A Terrible Love of War

Hinde, Robert A. and Joseph Rotblat, War No More: Eliminating Conflict in the Nuclear Age

Hunt, Swanee, This Was Not Our War: Bosnian Women Reclaiming the Peace

Husain, Sarah, Voices of Resistance: Muslim Women on War, Faith, and Sexuality

Joachim, Jutta M., Agenda Setting, the UN, and NGOs: Gender Violence and Reproductive Rights

Jok, Jok Madut, War and Slavery in Sudan

Keen, David, Endless War?: Hidden Functions of the "War on Terror"

Klein, Naomi, The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism

Kolko, Gabriel, Another Century of War?

Korac, Maja, Linking Arms: Women and War in the Post-Yugoslav States

Laufer, Peter, Mission Rejected: U.S. Soldiers Who Say No to Iraq

Lederach, John Paul, Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies

Lederach, John Paul, The Little Book of Conflict Transformation

Lentin, Ronit, ed., Gender and Catastrophe. Zed, 1997.

Ling, Bettina and Sarah Buscher, Mairead Corrigan and Betty Williams: Making Peace in Northern Ireland

London, Charles, One Day the Soldiers Came: Voices of Children in War

MacDonald, Sharon, Pat Holden, and Shirley Ardener, eds., Images of Women in Peace and War: Cross-Cultural and Historical Perspectives

MacKinnon, Catharine A., Are Women Human?: And Other International Dialogues

Majrouh, Sayd Bahodine, Songs of Love and War: Afghan Women's Poetry

Mandel, Michael, How America Gets Away with Murder: Illegal Wars, Collateral Damage and Crimes Against Humanity

Merry, Sally Engle, Human Rights and Gender Violence: Translating International Law into Local Justice

Meyer-Knapp, Helena, Dangerous Peace-Making

Moussa, Helene, Storm and Sanctuary: The Journey of Ethiopian and Eritrean Women refugees, Dundas, Ontario: Artemis Enterprises, 1993.

North, Liisa and Alan Simmons, eds., *Journeys of Fear: Refugee Return and National Transformation in Guatemala*. McGill-Queen's Press, 1999.

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Women in Conflict Zones—Check Out the Works of Some of These Scholars and Writers:

Nadje Al-Ali: She specializes in women and gender issues in the Middle East, especially women's movements and activism in Egypt and Iraq. She has also been working on the gendered aspects of transnational migration and diaspora mobilization with special reference to Bosnia and Iraq. Her publications include *Iraqi Women: Untold Stories from 1948 to the Present* (Zed Books 2007). Most recently, she has co-authored a book entitled *What Kind of Liberation? Women, Gender and Political Transition in Iraq* (University of California Press, forthcoming). Nadje Al-Ali is a founding member of Act Together: Women's Action on Iraq, a London-based group raising consciousness about the effect of war and occupation on women and gender relations in Iraq (www.acttogether.org).

<u>Victoria Bernal:</u> Her research has addressed a range of issues relating to gender, migration, nationalism, transnationalism, development, cyberspace, and Islam. She has carried out ethnographic research in Eritrea, Tanzania, and the Sudan. She is currently writing a book about diaspora and cyberspace, focusing on the Eritrean diaspora's engagement in national politics and their creation of a transnational public sphere on line. The project investigates the new kinds of political subjectivities and sovereignties emerging in the contexts of international migration and new media.

Ariane Brunet is the Founder of the Coalition on Women's Human Rights in Conflict Situations and is the Co-founder of the Urgent Action Fund. Brunet is currently the Coordinator of the Women's Rights Program at Rights and Democracy in Montreal. In addition, Brunet is the Coordinator of a Coalition project to monitor the work of the International War Crimes Tribunal for Rwanda on gender-based crimes against women. She is the author of numerous articles and has contributed to many edited books on women, war, rights, and citizenship.

R. Charli Carpenter: Her research and teaching interests include international norms and identities, gender and violence, war crimes, comparative genocide studies, and humanitarian action. She is the author of *Innocent Women and Children: Gender, Norms and the Protection of Civilians* (Ashgate 2006). Dr. Carpenter's current research focuses on the human rights network, investigating why certain issues but not others end up on the international agenda. She is particularly interested in the human rights of children born as a result of wartime rape and has recently edited a collection of essays on this topic entitled *Born of War: Protecting Children of Sexual Violence Survivors in Conflict Zones* (Kumarian 2007). Her current book project centers on the social construction of children's human rights during the war in the former Yugoslavia.

<u>Daša Duhaček</u>is a professor of Philosophy and coordinator of the Women's Studies Center in Belgrade, Serbia. She is co-author of *Common Passion, Different Voices: Reflections on Citizenship and Intersubjectivity* (2006) and has authored many articles in theoretical journals. Dasa Duhacek researches and writes in the area of feminist philosophy. Her primary focus is on the work of Hannah Arendt.

Cynthia Enloe: Her research and teaching explores feminist ways of making sense of women in globalized factories, war, militarism and international politics. Among her recent books are *Bananas, Beaches and Bases* (2000), *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives* (2000), *The Curious Feminist: Women in an New Age of Empire* (2004) and just published, *Globalization and Militarism: Feminists Make the Link* (2007).

<u>Inderpal Grewal:</u> Her research interests include transnational feminist theory; gender and globalization, human rights; NGO's and theories of civil society; theories of travel and mobility; South Asian cultural studies, postcolonial feminism; and Victorian imperial culture. She is the author of *Transnational America: Feminisms, Diasporas, Neoliberalisms* (2005), and (with Caren Kaplan) *Scattered Hegemonies: Postmodernity*

and Transnational: Feminist Practices (1994). Currently she is working on a book-length project on the relation between feminist practices and **security discourses**.

Sondra Hale: She is currently co-editing Sudan's Killing Fields: Perspectives on Genocide. She has also published Gender Politics in Sudan: Islamism, Socialism, and the State (1996) and many works on gender and social movements; women, war, conflict, and genocide; gender and citizenship; exile studies; international gender studies; and cultural studies. Her regional interests are in the Middle East and Africa. She is the coeditor of The Journal of Middle East Women's Studies and has contributed essays to Aftermath: Women in Post-War Reconstruction; to Frontline Feminisms: Women, War, and Resistance; and many other essays on these themes, such as "The State of the Women's Movement in Eritrea," in Journal of Northeast African Studies and "When a 'Revolution' Is Not Enough," Proceedings...National Union of Eritrean Women. Her work in progress is on rape (Darfur and the Nuba Mountains) as a weapon of war and genocide, gender and perpetual-conflict situations, and political organizing in exile.

Elizabeth L. Hillman: Her work focuses on United States military law and history, especially the definition and prosecution of military crime and the role of gender and sexuality in military culture. She is the author of *Defending America: Military Culture and the Cold War Court-Martial* (Princeton University Press 2005) and co-author of the casebook, *Military Justice: Cases and Materials* (LexisNexis 2007, with Eugene R. Fidell and Dwight H. Sullivan). Recent chapters and articles include "The Female Shape of the All-Volunteer Force" in *Iraq and the Lessons of Vietnam, Or, How Not to Learn from the Past* (2007); "Guarding Women: Abu Ghraib and Military Sexual Culture" in *One of the Guys: Women as Aggressors and Torturers* (2007); and "Gentlemen Under Fire: The U.S. Military and 'Conduct Unbecoming,'" 26 *Law & Inequality* (forthcoming 2007).

Tami Amanda Jacoby: She has published numerous articles on the Arab-Israeli conflict, women's movements in the Middle East, Terrorism, and Canadian Foreign Policy. She is the author of *Bridging the Barrier: Israeli Unilateral Disengagement* (Ashgate 2007), *Women in Zones of Conflict: Power and Resistance in Israel* (McGill-Queen's University Press 2005), and co-editor of *Redefining Security in the Middle East* (Manchester University Press 2002).

<u>Caren Kaplan:</u> She is the co-editor of Scattered Hegemonies: Postmodernity and Transnational Feminist Practices (Minnesota 1994), and Between Woman and Nation: Transnational Feminisms and the State (Duke 1999). Her current research focuses on visual culture, militarization, and technologies of location and navigation. The recipient of a 2006-07 ACLS Digital Innovation fellowship, Professor Kaplan's multimedia scholarship includes "Dead Reckoning: Vision, Mobility, and the Social Construction of Targets," Vectors 2:2 (Jan. 2007) http://vectors.iml.Annenberg.edu/ and the forthcoming "Precision Targets" http://www.precisiontargets.com.

<u>Catherine Lutz:</u> She is the author of *Homefront: A Military City and the American Twentieth Century* (Beacon 2001), a historical case study of the effects of Fort Bragg on Fayetteville,

NC. She is editor of the forthcoming *The Bases of Empire: The Struggle against US Military Outposts* (Pluto Press with The Transnational Institute 2008).

Dyan Mazurana: Her areas of specialty include women's human rights, war-affected children and youth, armed conflict, and peacekeeping. Mazurana is one of the primary authors of *Women, Peace and Security: Study of the United Nations Secretary-General as Pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1325* (United Nations 2002). Most recently she co-authored *Where are the Girls? Girls in Fighting Forces in Northern Uganda, Sierra Leone and Mozambique: Their Lives During and After War* (Rights & Democracy 2004) and co-edited *Gender, Conflict, and Peacekeeping* (Rowman & Littlefield 2005). Her research focuses on the experiences of armed conflict on youth combatants and civilian populations and their efforts for justice and peace. She has worked in Afghanistan, the Balkans, and southern, west and east Africa. Her current research focuses on Uganda and South Sudan.

<u>V. Spike Peterson:</u> Her research interests include feminist international relations theory, global political economy, and critical poststructuralist and feminist theorizing. Her most recent book, *A Critical Rewriting of Global Political Economy: Integrating Reproductive, Productive and Virtual Economies* (2003), introduces an alternative analytics for examining intersections of ethnicity/race, class, gender and national hierarchies in the context of today's globalizing—and polarizing--dynamics. Her current research investigates informalization and 'coping, combat and criminal economies' in conflict zones.

Raka Ray: Her areas of specialization are gender and feminist theory, domination and inequality, cultures of servitude and social movements. Publications on social movements include *Fields of Protest: Women's Movements in India* (University of Minnesota 1999); "Women's Movements in the Third World: Identity, Mobilization and Autonomy" with Anna Korteweg (*Annual Review of Sociology* 1999) and *Social Movements in India: Poverty, Power, and Politics*, co-edited with Mary Katzenstein (Rowman and Littlefeld 2005).

Susan Shepler: She carries out research on the reintegration of former child soldiers and changing models of childhood and youth in post-war Sierra Leone. She has published articles on performance and child rights, on the special concerns of girl child soldiers, on transnational child fosterage in West Africa, and on education and politics in Sierra Leone.

Laura Sjoberg: Her research is in the area of gender and international security, focusing on analysis of war-making and war-fighting. Dr. Sjoberg's first book, *Gender, Justice, and the Wars in Iraq* (Rowman and Littlefield 2006), presents a feminist reformulation of just war theory and an application of that reformulated theory to the wars in Iraq since the end of the Cold War. She is also author (with Caron Gentry) of *Mothers, Monsters, and Whores: Women's Violence in Global Politics* (Zed Books 2007). Her current work has two directions: deriving feminist explanatory hypotheses for the causes of war, and analyzing the gendered discourses of war ethics.

Jennifer Terry: She is writing a book on "Killer Entertainments: Militarism and Consuming Desires of American Empire." The project focuses on the history of military morale management in the US during the expansion of the nation into an international empire by theorizing the dynamics of governmentality and sentimentality as they manifest in the mutual provocations between entertainment forms, hygienic technologies, and militarism. A multi-media excerpt of "Killer Entertainments" appears in *Vectors: Journal of Culture and Technology in a Dynamic Vernacular, Special Issue on Difference* (Fall 2007).

<u>Elisabeth Jean Wood:</u> In her research on civil wars—patterns of political violence, the logic of collective action, the conditions for robust negotiated settlements—she draws on ethnographic field research, formal modeling, and analysis of macroeconomic, human rights violations, and other data. Her research currently focuses on patterns of sexual violence during war. She is the author of *Forging Democracy from Below: Insurgent Transitions in South Africa and El Salvador* (Cambridge University Press 2000) and *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador* (Cambridge University Press 2003).

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