

## **Gender, Security and Militarism**

Central European University, Budapest  
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### **Course Description and Aims**

This course is concerned with gender 'in' International Relations. More specifically, it is concerned with how the primary function of the sovereign state, *security*, and the most visible manifestations of state security, *war* and *militarism*, both construct and are sustained by specific masculinities and femininities, and how these particular gender constructions impact on the lives of particular groups of men and women.

Since the late 1980s, feminist critiques of so-called 'Traditional' International Relations (IR) have been some of the most sustained, accusing the discipline not only of having maintained an almost total gender blindness, but also of an active resistance on the part of many IR scholars to the import of feminist works. And nowhere has such resistance been strongest than in the field of Security, or more accurately, Strategic Studies.

Set against this, the aim of the course is mainly threefold: firstly, to (re)introduce how the discipline has traditionally thought about war and peace; secondly, to reveal the gender constructions, biases, and inequalities that mark the traditional scholarship; and thirdly, to evaluate the specific contribution that feminist critiques have made as part of the so-called 'Critical Turn' in IR.

### **Course Structure**

The first part looks at how IR has been constituted and sustained by a number of so-called 'hegemonic' masculinities'. Although for some an initial focus on masculinity may well represent an unwanted move away from the feminist project, for others, because International Relations is constructed around men and masculinity, destabilising the subject of 'man' necessarily also destabilises the IR field in ways that the so-called 'add women' approach perhaps cannot. In the second part, however, the focus then shifts more to how 'malestream' IR has excluded certain femininities (if not women); in particular, it looks at how women can be both the agents and the victims of militarisation and the practices of security.

## **Learning Outcomes**

The course is designed to produce the following main learning outcomes:

The ability to identify IR's traditional assumptions informing thinking about war and peace;

The ability to comprehend the gendered nature of what makes war and thinking about war possible;

The ability to recognise in what way feminist-informed critiques of IR both constitute and contribute to debates as part of so-called Critical Security Studies;

The ability to both recognise and formulate questions that contribute to such existing debates.

## **Teaching Method**

For this course, there are no lectures. Instead, students will participate in seminars where they are expected to form their own opinions through 'critical' evaluation of the readings. Seminar discussion will be structured around a short presentation of the topic, in which students will (briefly) summarise and then critique the readings. For each seminar, there will be one or two key texts (which are in the course reader). The purpose of the seminar is to 'evaluate' assumptions and arguments. For the topics discussed, there is not necessarily a right answer. What is important is to focus on the way that people think.

## **Method of Assessment**

Each student will be assessed through a combination of seminar contribution, oral presentation, and written work. In terms of written work, one short term paper is required. The number of oral presentations is dependent on the number of students taking the class, but is likely to be either one (relatively high number) or two (relatively low number). The topic of the term paper, approximately 2,500 words in length, is of the students own choosing, although it should be written on something different to the oral presentation(s).

For the final grade, should there be **one** oral presentation, then: 65% is given to the term paper, 25% to the oral presentation, with the final 10% being allotted to seminar attendance and contribution. Should there be **two** oral presentations, then: 40% is given to the term paper, 25% to each oral presentation (total 50%), and 10% to seminar attendance and contribution.

## **Week 1/Seminar 1. Introduction**

The first seminar will act as a brief introductory class where the nature of the course is discussed, together with the expectations of both the professor and students. Here, initial oral presentations will be assigned.

Although there is no oral presentation for this first seminar, the following texts will help students to familiarise themselves with the general nature of the debate.

Further Reading:

Adam Jones, 'Does 'Gender' Make the World Go Round? Feminist Critiques of International Relations', *Review of International Studies*, vol.22, no.3, 1996.

J. Anne Tickner, 'You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements Between Feminists and IR Theorists', *International Studies Quarterly*, vol.41, no.4, 1997.

Tickner, 'What is Your Research Program? Some Feminist Answers to International Relations Methodological Questions', *International Studies Quarterly*, vol.49, no.1, 2005.

Gillian Youngs, 'Feminist International Relations: A Contradiction in Terms? Or: Why Women and Gender are Essential to Understanding the World We Live In', *International Affairs*, Vol.80, no.1, 2004.

Robert O. Keohane, 'Beyond Dichotomy: Conversations Between International Relations and Feminist Theory', *International Studies Quarterly*, vol.42, no.1, 1998.

Craig N. Murphy, 'Seeing Women, Recognizing Gender, Recasting International Relations', *International Organization*, vol.50, no.3, 1996.

**(Hegemonic) Masculinities in International Relations**

**Week 1/Seminar 2. A Question of Men?**

Key Text:

Charlotte Hooper, 'Masculinities in IR and the 'Gender Variable': A Cost-Benefit Analysis for (Sympathetic) Gender Sceptics', *Review of International Studies*, vol.25, no.3, 1999.

Further Reading:

Marysia Zalewski & Jane Papart (eds.), *The "Man" Question in International Relations* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1998), Chapter 3: Steve Smith, "'Unacceptable Conclusions" and the "Man" Question: Masculinity, Gender, and International Relations'; Chapter 5: Murphy, 'Six Masculine Roles in International Relations and their Interconnection: A Personal Investigation'.

Jan Jindy Pettman, *Worlding Women: A Feminist International Politics* (New York: Routledge, 1996), Chapter 5: 'Men, Masculinities and War'.

Hooper, *Manly States: Masculinities, International Relations and Gender Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), Chapter 2: 'Masculinities and Masculinism'; Chapter 3: 'Masculinities in International Relations'.

Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagerman, & John Tosh (eds.), *Masculinities in Politics and War* (Manchester: MUP, 2004), Chapter 3: Tosh, 'Hegemonic Masculinity and the History of Gender'.

### **Week 2/Seminar 3. Militarised Masculinity: The Politics of Soldiering**

#### Key Text:

Cynthia Enloe, *The Morning After: Sexual Politics at the End of the Cold War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), Chapter 3: 'Beyond Steve Canyon and Rambo: Histories of Militarized Masculinity'.

#### Further Reading:

Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Women and War* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1987), Chapter 6: 'Men: The Militant Many: The Pacific Few'.

Miriam Cooke & Angela Woollacott (eds.), *Gendering War Talk* (Princeton: PUP, 1993), Chapter 4: Lynda E. Boose, 'Techno-Masculinity and the "Boy Eternal": From the Quagmire to the Gulf'.

Zalweski & Papart (eds.), *The "Man" Question in International Relations*, Chapter 6: Steve Niva, 'Tough and Tender: New World Order Masculinity and the Gulf War'.

### **Week 2/Seminar 4. Militarised Masculinity: The Politics of Peacekeeping**

#### Key Text:

Sandra Whitworth, *Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2004), Chapter 4: 'Canada: Peacekeeping Country Par Excellence?'

#### Further Reading:

Ken Booth (ed.), *Critical Security Studies and World Politics* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2005), Chapter 4: Whitworth, 'Militarized Masculinities and the Politics of Peacekeeping'.

Whitworth, *Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping*, Chapter 6: 'Militarized Masculinity and Blue Berets'; Chapter 7: 'Conclusion: Do Warriors Make the Best Peacekeepers?'

Paul Highgate & Marsha Henry, 'Engendering (In)security in Peace Support Operations', *Security Dialogue*, vol.35, no.4, 2004.

Enloe, *The Morning After*, Chapter 1: 'Are UN Peacekeepers Real Men? And Other Cold War Puzzles'.

### **Week 3/Seminar 5. Militarised Masculinity (?): Gays in the Military**

#### Key Text:

Elizabeth Kier, 'Homosexuals in the U.S. Military: Open Integration and Combat Effectiveness', *International Security*, vol.23, no.2, 1998.

Further Reading:

Aaron Belkin & Melissa Sheridan Embser-Herbert, 'A Modest Proposal: Privacy as a Flawed Rationale for the Exclusion of Gays and Lesbians from the U.S. Military', *International Security*, vol.27, no.2, 2002.

Tarak Barkawi & Christopher Dandeker, Melissa Wells Petry, Elizabeth Kier, 'Right and Fights: Sexual Orientation and Military Effectiveness', *International Security*, vol.4, no.1, 1999.

Zalewski & Papart (eds.), *The "Man" Question in International Relations*, Chapter 7: Carol Cohn, 'Gays in the Military: Texts and Subtexts'.

**Week 3/Seminar 6. Militarised Masculinity: 'Defence Intellectuals'**

Key Text:

Carol Cohn, 'Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defence Intellectuals', *Signs*, vol.12, no.4, 1987.

Further Reading:

Cooke & Woollacott (eds.) *Gendering War Talk*, Chapter 10; Cohn, 'Wars, Wimps, and Women: Talking Gender and Thinking War'.

Cohn & Sara Ruddick, 'A Feminist Ethical Perspective on Weapons of Mass Destruction', *Boston Consortium on Gender, Security, and Human Rights*, Working Paper no.4, 2003.

Cohn, Felicity Hill, & Ruddick, 'The Relevance of Gender for Eliminating Weapons of Mass Destruction', *Disarmament Diplomacy*, no.80, 2005.

**Week 4/Seminar 7. Militarised Masculinity: The Revolution in Military Affairs**

Key Text:

Cristina Masters, 'Bodies of Technology: Cyborg Soldiers and Militarized Masculinities', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, vol.7, no.1, 2005.

Further Reading

Chris Hables Gray (ed.), *The Cyborg Handbook* (New York: Routledge, 1995), Chapter 2.7: Ken Robins & Les Levidon, 'Socializing the Cyborg Self: The Gulf War and Beyond'; Chapter 6.6: Hables Gray and Steve Mentor, 'The Cyborg Body Politic'.

## **Where are the Women?**

### **Week 4/Seminar 8. Film: *Fahrenheit 9/11***

For this seminar, there will be a screening of Michael Moore's 2004 film *Fahrenheit 9/11*. The purpose is to provoke discussion (for week 5/Seminar 9 below) as to how, and with what implications, such a powerful critique of the Bush administration and the US-led war in Iraq nonetheless perpetuates certain hegemonic masculinities and, in doing so, largely marginalizes women's voices.

### **Week 5/Seminar 9: *Fahrenheit 9/11* continued: Where are the Women?**

#### **Key Texts:**

Sarah Rasmussen, 'Masculinity and Fahrenheit 9/11: The Temperature at Which My Feminist Temper Burns'; April Lidinsky, 'The Gender of War: What Fahrenheit 9/11's Women (Don't) Say'; Jasmine Champenois, 'God Bless the Army', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, vol.7, no.1, 2005.

#### **Further Reading:**

Various Authors, 'Women: Where are They in Wars and How Can They be Heard', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, vol.7, no.3, 2005.

Lois Ann Lorentzen & Jennifer Turpin (eds.), *The Women and War Reader* (New York: NYUP, 1998), Chapter 2: Jodi York, 'The Truth About Women and Peace'; Chapter 23: Ruddick, "'Women of Peace: A Feminist Construction'.

Christine Sylvester, *Feminist International Relations* (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), Chapter 10: 'Some Dangers in Merging Feminist and Peace Projects'.

Robin L. Riley, 'So Few of Us and So Many of Them: US Women Resisting Desert Storm', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, vol.7, no.3, 2005.

### **Week 5/Seminar 10. Femininities: The 'Feminisation' of the Military (?)**

#### **Key Texts:**

Martin Van Creveld, 'The Great Illusion: Women in the Military'; Elshtain, "'Shooting' at the Wrong Target: A Response to Van Creveld"; Christopher Coker, 'Humanising Warfare, or Why Van Creveld Might be Missing the Big Picture', *Millennium*, vol.29, no.2, 2000.

#### **Further Reading:**

Joshua Goldstein, *War and Gender* (Cambridge: CUP, 2001), Chapter 2: 'Women Warriors: The Historical Record of Female Combatants'.

Elisabetta Addis, Valeria E. Russo, & Lorenza Sebesta (eds.), *Women Soldiers: Images and Realities* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), Chapter 2: Sebesta, 'Women and the Legitimation of the Use of Force: The Case of Female Military Service'; Chapter 4: Patricia B. Hanna, 'An Overview of Stressors in the Careers of US Servicewomen'.

Lorentzen & Turpin (eds.), *The Women and War Reader*, Chapter 4: April Carter, 'Should Women be Soldiers or Pacifists?'; Ilene Rose Feinman, 'Women Warriors/Women Peacekeepers: Will the Real Feminist Stand Up!'

### **Week 6/Seminar 11. Femininities: Militarized Femininity**

#### Key Text:

Laura Sjoberg, 'Agency, Militarized Femininity and Enemy Others: Observations from the War in Iraq', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, vol.9, no.1, 2007.

#### Further Reading:

Enloe, *The Morning After*, Chapter 7: 'The Politics of Constructing the American Woman Soldier'.

Deepa Kumar, 'War Propaganda and the (Ab)Uses of Women: Media Constructions of the Jessica Lynch Story', *Feminist Media Studies*, vol.4, no.3, 2004.

### **Week 6/Seminar 12. Where are We Now? Feminist IR in the Age of the War on Terror**

#### Key Text:

Gillian Youngs, 'Feminist International Relations in the Age of the War on Terror: Ideologies, Religions, and Conflicts', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, vol.8, no.1, 2006.

#### Further Reading:

L.H.M. Lings, 'Power, Borders, Security, Wealth: Lessons of Violence and Desire From September 11', *International Studies Quarterly*, vol.48, no.4, 2004.

Laura J. Shepherd, 'Constructions of Gender in the Bush Administration Discourse on the Attacks on Afghanistan Post 9/11', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, vol.8, no.1, 2006.

Sjoberg, *Gender, Justice, and the Wars in Iraq* (New York: Lexington, 2006).

