

## Gender and the Politics of National Security

Chris McIntosh  
[cmcintos@bard.edu](mailto:cmcintos@bard.edu)  
OH: Wednesdays 2:30-4:30, Albee 215

Political Studies 206  
MW 10:10-11:30  
Olin 204

This course will introduce students to major theories and issues concerning gender and international security affairs. We will begin by examining the interdisciplinary literature on gender theory and applying its insights to international politics. What does it mean to conduct a “gendered analysis” of global affairs? How do gendered discourses produce our understanding of what is and is not understood as a national security problem? Why has traditional security studies failed to incorporate gender into its analysis? Then, we apply these theoretical frameworks to important security issues such as, the cultural effects of nuclear weapons, the targeting of civilians during armed conflict, sexual violence in war, torture and the war on terrorism, nationalism and the state, human security and development, and post-conflict societies, to name a few. Throughout, the gendered nature of security issues will be explored from multi-disciplinary perspectives drawn from anthropology, sociology, philosophy, politics and rhetoric in order to highlight the complex interconnections among states, societies and individuals. Historical and contemporary case studies will be drawn from a number of countries across the globe. In reexamining key concepts in the study of international politics—namely, sovereignty, the state and insecurity—this course has two goals. First, to expose how gendered discourses of security that focus on the state render invisible a multitude of threats to individual security. Second, to question the role of the state as a security provider by highlighting the insecurities individuals and societies experience as a consequence of state-centered national security policy.

### Grading and Requirements

This class will be run primarily as a seminar. Attendance at class is mandatory and participation is a critical component of the final grade. Without informed participation that demonstrates an engagement with the texts covered so far, you cannot do well in this class—and more importantly, the class as a whole will suffer. This class is designed to familiarize you with questions of gender, but equally to get you to think deeply about important issues of national security and global politics—the process of preparation, interaction and critical engagement with the ideas covered is of primary import.

There will be two papers, as well—one at the midpoint and one at the end of the semester. While the topic is flexible, the paper should present a deeper engagement with some of the issues raised in class. External research is not required, but a demonstrable engagement with issues and texts covered in class is. I will provide suggested topics but if there is a particular topic you wish to explore, you may write on it but *only* with consent of the instructor

All written assignments should be entirely your own work and are not collaborative; ideas drawn from other sources should be properly cited. Plagiarism of any kind is unacceptable and will result in an automatic failing grade on the assignment and in the course, as well as referral to the College for disciplinary action. Please consult the Bard Student Handbook for the College’s official policy on plagiarism and academic dishonesty.

Participation: 30%  
Midterm Paper (5-7 pages): 30%  
Final Paper (10-12 pages): 40%

### *Participation:*

Attendance—Each student is allowed 2 absences, no questions asked. Every unexcused absence beyond that will lower your participation grade by a 1/2 a letter grade (excused absences do not count toward this total).

### *Reaction Posts*

In order to help our discussion, *for each class*, you should post a contribution to the Moodle site. That contribution can go one of two ways. You can engage one of the questions/issues to think about that I will provide *or* you can post a question/comment about the text along with a related passage. Either way you choose, the contribution need not be especially long (a paragraph or less) or even something you necessarily desire to be covered during class (perhaps it simply struck you as worth discussing but not necessarily worth the main focus of the class). These passages *must* be posted by the day prior to class.

The postings to Moodle have three purposes. First, they are a way to set up the discussion for class by getting you a head start on thinking about some of the crucial themes to be covered in class through informal writing. Second, they are a way to set the agenda for discussion by giving everyone (myself and the seminar as a whole) an idea of what we find most interesting—this works best when you have read others contributions in addition to offering your own. Third, and finally, the Moodle posts are intended as a way for everyone to contribute *every class*. It is unlikely that we can cover everyone's contribution to the Moodle site each class, but even if we are not covering your posts directly, they are your easiest way of demonstrating to me your continual participation and work in the class. Everyone is allowed to miss posting for *two* sessions over the course of the semester—anything beyond that will negatively affect your grade.

Contribution to the Moodle site is a critical part of your participation grade—without satisfactory completion the highest grade you can receive in participation is a B-.

### **Books for Class**

- Jill Steans, *Gender and International Relations* (New York: Polity, 2013) **\*\*3<sup>rd</sup> Edition\*\***

**\*If a reading does not come from this book it will be on electronic reserve (reservesdirect.bard.edu).**

### **Syllabus and Course Outline: Themes, Expectations, Introductions**

*January 30<sup>th</sup> (M)*

#### **I. Gender, International Relations, and Security Studies**

### **Introduction: Gender, Feminism, and International Relations**

*February 1<sup>st</sup> (W)*

- Jill Steans, "Gender in International Relations" in *Gender and International Relations*, Chapter 1: 7-24
- Jill Steans, "Feminist International Relations" in *Gender and International Relations*, Chapter 2: 25-46

### **Foundational Texts: Tickner and Security**

February 6<sup>th</sup>, (M)

- J. Ann Tickner, "Engendered Insecurities" and "Man, The State and War: Gendered Perspectives on National Security" in *Gender in International Relations* (New York: Columbia, 1992)

### **Feminist Philosophy and Security—Normative Questions**

February 8<sup>th</sup> (W)

- Eric Blanchard, "Gender, International relations, and the Development of Feminist Security Theory." *Signs* 2003 28(4): 1289-1312
- Judith Butler, *Frames of War* (New York: Verso, 2009) selections\*

### **Critical Theory, Feminism, and IR**

February 13<sup>th</sup> (M)

- Laura J. Shepherd, "The State of the Disciplines" in *Gender, Violence, and Security* (New York: Zed Books, 2008) Chapter 3: 34-79
- Ettliger, Nancy. "Precarity Unbound," *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 2007 32(3): 319-340. (Optional)

## **II. Nations, Nationalism, States, and Citizenship**

### **The "Nation" in "National Security"**

February 15<sup>th</sup> (W)

- Joane Nagel, "Masculinity and Nationalism: Gender and Sexuality in the Making of the Nations," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 1998 21(2): 242-69.
- Jill Steans, "States, Nations, Citizenship" in *Gender and International Relations* Chapter 3: 47-69

### **States and Sovereignty**

February 20<sup>th</sup> (M)

- Michel-Rolph Trouillot, "The Anthropology of the State in the Age of Globalization," *Current Anthropology* 2001 42(1): 125-138.
- Laura Sjoberg, "Gender, States, and War(s)" in *Gendering Global Conflict* (New York: Columbia, 2013) Chapter 5: 133-156
- Cynthia Weber, "Performative States," *Millennium* 1998, 271(1): 77-95

**\*No class\***

Wednesday, February 22<sup>nd</sup>

### **Women and Nationalism: Empirical and Critical Approaches**

February 27<sup>th</sup> (M)

- Jill Vickers, "Bringing Nations in: Some Methodological and Conceptual Issues in Connecting Feminisms with Nationhood and Nationalisms" *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 2006, 8(1)

- Nira Yuval-Davis, "Theorizing Gender and Nation", in *Gendering the Nation* (London: Sage, 1997) Chapter 1

### III. Gender, War, and Armed Conflict

#### Militarism

March 1<sup>st</sup> (W)

- Nicole Detraz *International Security and Gender* (Cambridge: Polity, 2012), Chapter 2 "Gendered Militarization and Militarism" 24-63

#### Conceptualizing War in IR

March 6<sup>th</sup> (M)

- Laura Sjoberg *Gendering Global Conflict* (New York: Columbia, 2013) "The (Genderless) Study of War in International Relations" Chapter 1: 13-43

#### Masculinity, War, and Violence

March 8<sup>th</sup> (W)

- Kimberly Hutchings, "Making Sense of Masculinity and War," *Men and Masculinities*, 2008, 10(4): 389–404.
- Valerie Hudson et al, "What is There to See and Why Aren't We Seeing It?" in *Sex and World Peace* (New York: Columbia, 2012) Chapter 2: 17-53

#### Sexual Violence in War I

March 13<sup>th</sup> (M)

- Inger Skjelsbaek, "Sexual Violence and War: Mapping out a Complex Relationship." *European Journal of International Relations* 2001 7(2): 211-237.
- Paul Kirby, "How is Rape a Weapon of War?: Feminist International Relations, Modes of Critical Explanation and the Study of Wartime Sexual Violence." *European Journal of International Relations* (2012).

**\*No Class\*: Work on Your Papers!**

March 15<sup>th</sup> (W)

**\*\*Midterm Paper Due at 5:00, March 17<sup>th</sup> (F) to Albee 215\*\***

**\*No Class\*: Spring Break**

March 20<sup>th</sup> (M), March 22<sup>nd</sup> (W)

#### Sexual Violence in War II

March 27<sup>th</sup> (M)

- Stacy Banwell, "Rape and Sexual violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo: a Case Study of Gender-Based Violence." *Journal of Gender Studies* 2014 23(1): 45-58
- Anna Maedl, "Rape as Weapon of War in the Eastern DRC?: The Victims' Perspective." *Human Rights Quarterly* 2011 33(1): 128-147.

### **Civilian Targeting**

March 29<sup>th</sup> (W)

- Charli Carpenter, "“Women, Children and Other Vulnerable Groups”: Gender, Strategic Frames and the Protection of Civilians as a Transnational Issue." *International Studies Quarterly* 2005 49(2): 295-334.
- Laura Sjoberg, "Gendered Realities of the Immunity Principle: Why Gender Analysis Needs Feminism," *International Studies Quarterly* 2006 50(4): 889-910.

### **Nuclear Weapons**

April 3<sup>rd</sup> (M)

- Carol Cohn, "Sex and Death in the World of Rational Defense Intellectuals," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 1987 12(4): 687-718.
- Carol Cohn and Sara Ruddick, "A Feminist Ethical Perspective on Weapons of Mass Destruction," *Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights Working Paper* 104 (2003).

## **IV. Contemporary Concerns: The War on Terrorism**

### **Terrorism as Concept**

April 5<sup>th</sup> (W)

- Nicole Detraz, "A Gendered Understanding of Terrorism" in *International Security and Gender* (Cambridge: Polity, 2012) Chapter 4: 94-130
- Rachel Pain, "Everyday Terrorism: Connecting Domestic Violence and Global Terrorism." *Progress in Human Geography* 2014 38(4): 531-550

### **W is for Women: The US Response**

April 10<sup>th</sup> (M)

- Michael L. Ferguson, "Feminism and Security Rhetoric in the Post-9/11 Bush Administration," in *W Stands for Women* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007) ed. Michael L. Ferguson and Lori Marso, 221-244
- J. Ann Tickner, "Gendered Perspectives on 9/11," *International Studies Perspectives* 2002 3(4): 333-350

### **Drones, Surveillance and Protection**

April 12<sup>th</sup> (W)

- Iris Marion Young, "The Logic of Masculinist Protection: Reflections on the Current Security State," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 2003 29(1): 1-25.
- Jasbir Puar, "Monster, Terrorist, Fag: The War on Terrorism and the Production of Docile Patriots" *Social Text* 2007 20: 117-148
- Loraine Bayard de Volo, "Unmanned Aerial Vehicles: Gender Recalibrations and the Rise of Drone Warfare," *Politics and Gender* 2015: 1-28

## V. Conceptualizing Peace: Gender, Human Security, and Post-Conflict

### Human Security

April 17<sup>th</sup> (M)

- Ghada Moussa, "Gender Aspects of Human Security." *International Social Science Journal* 2008 59(1): 81-100.
- Gunhild Hoogensen and Kirsti Stuvøy. "Gender, Resistance and Human Security," *Security Dialogue* 2006 37(2): 207-228

### UN Peacekeeping and Gender Mainstreaming

April 19<sup>th</sup> (W)

- Jill Steans, "Security and Peacekeeping," in *Gender and International Relations*, Chapter 6: 116-139
- Louise Olsson and Theodora-Ismene Gizelis. "An Introduction to UNSCR 1325." *International Interactions* 2013 39(4): 425-434.
- Fionnuala N Aolain, "What does Postconflict Security Mean for Women" in *Gender, Violence, and Human Security: Critical Feminist Perspectives* (New York: NYU Press, 2013) ed. Ali Marie Tripp, Christina Ewig, and Myra Marx Ferree

## VI. Different Feminisms, Feminist Differences: Postcolonial, Transnational, Queer, Trans-

### Global Feminism and Difference

April 24<sup>th</sup> (M)

- Jill Steans, "Transnational Feminist Politics" in *Gender and International Relations* Chapter 10: 209-229
- Heidi Hudson, "'Doing Security as Though Humans Matter: A Feminist Perspective on Gender and the Politics of Human Security.'" *Security Dialogue* 2005 36(2): 155-174

### Colonialism and Imperialism

April 26<sup>th</sup> (W)

- J. Ann Tickner, "Retelling IR's Foundational Stories: Some Feminist and Postcolonial Perspectives," in *A Feminist Voyage Through International Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014)
- Nicola Pratt, "Reconceptualizing Gender, Reinscribing Racial-Sexual Boundaries in International Security: The Case of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on 'Women, Peace and Security'" *International Studies Quarterly* 2013 57(4): 772-783
- Dean Spade and Craig Willse, "Sex, Gender, and War in an Age of Multicultural Imperialism." *QED: A Journal in GLBTQ Worldmaking* 2014 1(1): 5-29

### **\*No Class\*- Advising Day**

May 1<sup>st</sup>, 2016 (M)

### **Queer and Trans- IR I**

*May 3<sup>rd</sup> (W)*

- Cynthia Weber, "From Queer to Queer IR," *International Studies Review* 2014 16: 596–602
- Lauren Wilcox, "Queer Theory and the 'Proper Objects' of International Relations," *International Studies Review* 2014 16: 612–616
- Meghana Nayak, "Thinking About Queer International Relations' Allies," *International Studies Review* 2014 16: 615–623
- Cynthia Weber, "Why is there no Queer International Theory?" *European Journal of International Relations*, 2014: 1–25

### **Queer and Trans- IR II/Wrap-up**

*May 8<sup>th</sup> (M)*

- Laura Sjoberg, "Toward Trans-gendering International Relations?" *International Political Sociology* 2014 6(4): 337-354

**\*No Class\*- Social Studies Board Week**

*May 10<sup>th</sup> (W), May 15<sup>th</sup> (M)*

**\*\*\*Final Paper Due at 5:00, May 19<sup>th</sup> (F) to Albee 215\*\*\***