

Department of Political Science and International Studies

Gender in World Politics, POLS 341, 08 22879 2017-18

Module Description

This course is comprised of two inter-linked modules. There are a range of perspectives and related literatures on gender in international politics, which collectively provide novel approaches to and critical insights into a range of issues and areas conventionally regarded as falling within the domain of international relations and international politics. These include the state; citizenship, constructions of identities and boundaries of political community; ethics; war, peace and security; international institutions; political economy and development and human rights. Contemporary constructivist approaches in IR, including feminist and queer theory have also expanded the field of study to include, for example, the role of emotion in politics and the significance of aesthetics and the visual in understanding the domain of world politics. In this course, an eclectic approach to gender is utilised to interrogate a range of discrete areas and issues within the ambit world politics. There are no lectures on this course. In the first semester, seminars are tutor led. Each week, the tutor will provide a brief overview of the topic under discussion, followed by a focused discussion of key related readings. In the second semester, seminar discussions will be student-led. Each week one or more students (depending on class size) will give a presentation. This will be followed by focused discussion based around key questions identified by the presenters.

Learning outcomes

By the end of the module the student should be able to:

- Have a deep understanding of the concept of gender and the various ways in which the concept has been employed in the study of world politics
- Will be able to distinguish between gender as a category within the study of international relations and gender as an approach to the study of international relations.
- Will be able to locate feminist international relations scholarship within a broader range of constructivist and critical approaches to international relations.
- Will be able to critically interrogate a range of core concepts employed within the study of international relations and world politics, from the perspective on gender.
- Will demonstrate in-depth knowledge on one discrete area of study on the syllabus.

The Module at a Glance

Semester One

Week	Seminar topic
1	Introduction to gender in world politics
2	Gender in IR or feminist IR?
3	Gender is not a synonym for women: masculinities
	and sexualities
4	States, nations and citizenship
5	Gender, sexualities and human rights
6	Reading week
7	Preparing you research outline: approaches and
	methods
8	The gender of conflict and violence
9	Security and peacekeeping
10	Gender in political economy
11	Gender politics in transnational and global
	perspective

Semester Two

Week	Seminar topic
1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	Student Presentations
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11	

Teaching Methods

In semester 1, the course consists in one short lecture + one seminar each week – on the same topic. On any given topic, you will therefore have had the opportunity to listen to the short lecture a short time before the seminar.

Students must read the compulsory material prior to the seminar. The seminars in semester 1 will, in the main, be based around small-group exercises, that are distributed during the seminars themselves. Many, if not most, of these exercises will make little sense without the prior reading in mind. It is, for that reason, additionally imperative that students come to the seminars fully prepared, on the basis of that 'individual' exercise. To help give 'structure' to the prior reading, it is also highly advisable that students carefully consider that reading in connection with the basic 'seminar topics', as listed.

Methods of Assessment

Basic

Presentation (10%)

1,000 word research outline (10%)

4,000 word essay (80%)

Detailed Explanation

The assessment on this course is designed to 'test' the learning outcomes as described above. As such, it is, in one sense, 'standard'. In another sense, the organisation is specific to the material covered on the module and the various skills to be developed (i.e. research and writing skills, presentation skills).

The 'standard' element is that the course is assessed by one 4000 word essay/research paper. This is weighted at 80%. During reading week in semester 1, you are required to work on an outline for your research paper. This should provide a title and short description of your research topic. The outline should also include: the approach (e.g. Queer Theory or feminist poststructuralism); the methodology (if and as appropriate); the context (i.e. how your research speaks to a core theme on gender in world politics covered in the syllabus); an indicative bibliography (i.e. the key texts-books, articles, reports that you have drawn upon in preparing the outline): The research outline is due in January, 2018. The essay is due in April, 2018. You will be given the grade and feedback for your presentation within 14 days of the date you present.

Textbooks

(In disability accessible form)

- 1. Steans, Jill (2013) (3rd ed.) Gender and International Relations: Theory, Practice, Policy, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- 2. Chowdhry, G. and Nair, S. (2002) (eds) Postcolonialism and International Relations: Race, Gender and Class. London: Routledge
- 3. Weber, C. (2016) *Queer International Relations: Sovereignty, Sexuality and the Will to Knowledge,* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 4. Ackerly, B. Stern, M. and True, J. (2006) Feminist Methodologies for International Relations, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Relevant academic journals and websites

KEY JOURNAL

International Feminist Journal of Politics

OTHER USEFUL JOURNALS

British Journal of Politics and International Relations

Feminist Review

Gender and Development

Gender and Society

Global Society

International Studies Perspectives

International Studies Review

Media, Culture and Society

Millennium: Journal of International Studies

New Political Economy

Review of International Political Economy

Review of International Studies

Sexualities

Signs

Women's Studies International Forum

Weekly Readings

Week 1: Orientation to the Course

This session introduces the various approaches to studying gender in world politics; feminist and non-feminist.

Week 2: Gender in IR or Feminist IR?

In this session, we will consider critiques of approaches to gender in IR that conflate gender with women and consider the varied ways in which the study of both masculinities and sexuality enriches our understanding of world politics.

Essential Reading

Steans, Jill (2013) (3rd edition) Gender and International Relations, Cambridge: Polity Press (chapters 1 and 2).

Weber, Cynthia 'Good Girls, Bad Girls and Little Girls: Male Paranoia in Robert Keohane's Critique of Feminist International Relations', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 23, 2 (1994), 337–49.

Caprioli, Mary 'Primed for Violence: The Role of Gender Inequality in Predicting Internal Conflict', *International Studies Quarterly*, 49 (2005), 161–78.

Nash, Jennifer C. 'Rethinking Intersectionality', *Feminist Review*, 89 (2008), 1–15.

Seminar Questions

- 1) How does gender as a category inform policy making?
- 2) What does Cynthia Weber mean when she says that one is 'never outside gender'?
- 3) 'You say *ideology*, I say *discourse*.' Does this distinction matter? If so, how and why does It matter?
- 4) What is meant by *intersectionality* and why does intersectionality matter?

Week 3: Gender is not a synonym for women: Masculinities

Essential Reading

Steans, Jill (2013) (3rd edition) Gender and International Relations, Cambridge: Polity Press (chapter 2).

Jones, Adam 'Does "Gender" Make the World Go Around? Feminist Critiques of International Relations', *Review of International Studies*, 22, 4 (1996), 405–29.

Seminar Questions

- 1) Adam Jones has complained about the marginalization of men and masculinities in feminist IR. On the basis of your study of gender in IR so far, do you think this is a fair criticism or not?
- 2) What might it mean to bring in men and masculinities into practice/policy-making in any one given area of gender in world politics (e.g. political economy, human rights or security)?

Week 3: Gender is not a synonym for women: Sexualities

In this session, we will consider critiques of approaches to gender in IR that conflate gender with women and consider the varied ways in which the study of both masculinities and sexuality enriches our understanding of world politics.

Essential Reading

Steans, Jill (2013) (3rd edition) Gender and International Relations, Cambridge: Polity Press (chapter 2).

Carver, Terrell 'Gender/Feminism/IR', *International Studies Review*, 5, 2 (2003), 288–90.

Weber, C. (2016) Queer International Relations, Oxford: OUP, chapters 1 and 2

Manuela Lavinas Picq, Markus Thiel (2016) (Eds) Sexualities in World Politics: How LGBTQ claims shape International Relations, London: Routledge (chapter 1)

Seminar Questions

- 1) What is Queer Theory? How is it/might it be helpful in the study of gender in world politics?
- 2) What is meant by 'culture wars' and how do culture wars impact on LGBTI rights in specific contexts?

Week 4: States, Nations and Citizenship

This session focuses on gender as constitutive of political community. It considers how discourses on both states and nations draws upon and exploits gendered language, symbolism and imagery and how gender is also relevant to concrete policy and practices around citizenship and the politics of belonging.

Essential Reading

Steans, Jill (2013) (3rd edition) Gender and International Relations, Cambridge: Polity Press (chapter 3).

Benhabib, Seyla (2004) *The Rights of Others*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. Nagel, Joanne (2004) 'Masculinities and Nations', in: Michael S. Kimmel, Jeff Hearn and Raewyn Connell (eds.) *Handbook of Studies on Men and Masculinities*, London, Sage, 420–41.

Okin, Susan (1999) 'Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?' In: Joshua Cohen, Mathew Howard and Martha Nussbaum (eds.) *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?* Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Nira Yuval-Davies (2006) Situated Politics of Belonging, London, Sage.

Seminar Questions

- 1) Is Nancy Hartsock's conception of the state as a 'barracks community' useful when interrogating the state?
- 2) Is there a contradiction in the postcolonial claim that identities are complex and multi-faceted and their insistence that it is sometimes necessary for collectivities (including nations) to speak with one voice?
- 3) What does Nancy Fraser mean by the 'danger of displacement and reification' in contemporary feminist theory? Is her approach to the 'politics of recognition' persuasive?
- 4) What do you see as the arguments for and against FGM as a ground for asylum?

Week 5: Gender, Sexualities and Human Rights

This session covers debates about gender bias in international human rights law, the possible tensions between universal human rights claims and cultural difference and recent developments in both the women's human rights agenda and LGBTI rights.

Essential Reading

Steans, Jill (2013) (3rd edition) Gender and International Relations, Cambridge: Polity Press (chapter 4).

Ackerly, Brook 'Women's Rights Activists as Cross-Cultural Theorists', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 3, 3 (2001), 311–46.

Buss, Doris, and Didi Herman (2003) *Globalizing Family Values*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.

Charlesworth, Hilary, and Christine Chinkin (2000) *The Boundaries of International Law: A Feminist Analysis*, Manchester, Manchester University Press.

Seminar Questions

- 1) What do you see as the advantages and disadvantages of adopting women's human rights agenda as a strategy for improving the position of women within specific societies?
- 2) In regard to issues of gender and sexuality, is Donnelly's presumption in favour of 'universality' justified? Or is this an assumption of Western cultural superiority?
- 3) Are 'dialogic' approaches to human rights useful in negotiating differences within and across specific societies? Or might 'dialogue' only reproduce existing disparities in power between participants?

Week 7: Preparing you research outline: Approaches and Methods

In this session you will be asked to make a very short (5 minute) presentation to the class sketching out your initial thoughts and ideas on your research project. You will be given a handout on 'How to Write a Research Paper' and invited to ask questions about it.

In the following seminar classes you will be asked to divide into small groups, according to topic area, to further discuss approach, methodology and, crucially, the relationship between the two.

Essential Reading

Ackerly, Brooke, Maria Stern and Jacqui True (2006) Feminist Methodologies for International Relations, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Hansen, Lene (2010) 'Ontologies, Epistemologies, Methodologies'. In: Laura Shepherd (ed.) Gender Matters in Global Politics: A Feminist Introduction to International Relations, London, Routledge.

Week 8: The Gender of Conflict and Violence

In this session we will consider and discuss the literature and some of the general debates surrounding gender, conflict and political violence.

Essential Reading

Steans, Jill (2013) (3rd edition) Gender and International Relations, Cambridge: Polity Press (chapter 5).

Brunner, Claudia 'Occidentalism Meets the Female Suicide Bomber: A Critical Reflection on Recent Terrorism Debates; A Review Essay', *Signs*, 32, 4 (2005), 957–71.

Cockburn, Cynthia (2007) From Where We Stand: War, Women's Activism and Feminist Analysis, London, Zed Books.

Confortini, Catia Cecilia 'Doing Feminist Peace', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 13, 3 (2011), 349–70.

Jones, Adam (2009) Gender Inclusive: Essays on Violence, Men and Feminist International Relations, London, Routledge.

Seminar Questions

- 1) Is feminist standpoint theory essentialist?
- 2) Can the historical prohibition against homosexual service personnel be explained simply in terms of social prejudice? Or do the reasons run deeper than this?
- 3) Connell contends that violence is thus part of a complex involving institutions, social relations and the way they are organized. What does she mean by this?
- 4) Does the representation of women in political violence-e.g. suicide terrorism- challenge or reinforce gender stereotypes of women and men's relationship to political violence?

Week 9: Security and Peacekeeping

This session will review feminist literatures on security, consider the international architecture of the WPS (women, peace, and security) agenda, including UNSCR 1325 and interrogate different perspectives on the relevance of gender to peacekeeping activities.

Essential Reading

Steans, Jill (2013) (3rd edition) Gender and International Relations, Cambridge: Polity Press (chapter 6).

Duncanson, Clare 'Forces for Good? Narratives of Military Masculinity in Peacekeeping Operations', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 11, 1 (2009), 63–80.

Higate, Paul R. 'Peacekeepers, Masculinities and Sexual Exploitation', *Men and Masculinities*, 10, 1 (2007), 99–119.

Pratt, Nicola, and Sophie Richter-Devroe (eds.) Special Issue, 'Critically Examining UNSCR 1325', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 13, 4 (2011), 489–611.

Seminar Ouestions

- 1) Why are feminist commentators often critical of 'problem-solving' measures such as those embedded in UNSCR 1325?
- 2) Is the *securitization* of women's rights and LGBT rights a positive development in international relations? If so, why? If not, why not?
- 3) Are approaches that focus on micro-narratives and everyday practices helpful in understanding gender in peacekeeping? How might such approaches be criticized?

Week 10: Gender and Political Economy

This session will discuss feminist and queer approaches to the environment and environmental politics. Via this lens the session will also critically examine and assess the implications of the gendering of environmental policy at an international level.

Essential Reading

Steans, Jill (2013) (3rd edition) Gender and International Relations, Cambridge: Polity Press (chapter 8).

Bakker, Isabella, and Stephen Gill (eds.) (2003) *Power, Production and Social Reproduction: Human In/security in the Global Political Economy*, London, Palgrave (chapter 1).

Cornwall, Andrea, Jerker Edstrom and Alan Greig (eds.) (2011) *Men and Development: Politicizing Masculinities*, London, Zed Books.

Hoskyns, Catherine, and Sharin M. Rai 'Recasting the Global Political Economy: Counting Women's Unpaid Work', *New Political Economy*, 12, 3 (2007), 297–317.

Seminar Questions

- 1) Why do feminists mean by the phrase 'global restructuring'? How is global restructuring gendered?
- 2) What is meant by 'social reproduction'? Why is social reproduction central to the study of political economy?
- 3) Why is political economy so important to postcolonial feminism?
- 4) In what ways do financial crises and economic recessions have gender-differentiated

effects?

Week 11: Gender Politics in Transnational and Global Perspective

In this final section we will review and discuss the nature of transnational alliances and transnational politics, consider the potential and limits of transnational solidarity and debate possible tensions between the privileging of identity politics and efforts to advance projects built around notions of social justice.

Essential Reading

Steans, Jill (2013) (3rd edition) Gender and International Relations, Cambridge: Polity Press (chapter 10).

Conway, Janet 'Transnational Feminisms and the World Social Forum: Encounters and Transformations in Anti-globalization Spaces', *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 8, 3 (2007), 49–70. *Transnational Feminist Politics* 229 Eschle, Catherine, and Bice Maiguashca (2010) *Making Feminist Sense of the Global Justice Movement*, New York, Rowman and Littlefield (chapter 1).

Seminar Questions

- 1) On what basis is it possible to construct a transnational feminist politics?
- 2) Why have human rights assumed such a prominent place in transnational feminist activism?
- 3) What is needed to make dialogue a genuinely open and participatory process?
- 4)The anti-globalisation movement and the WSF have been described as hospitable spaces for both feminist and LGBTI activism. Based on your reading for this class and earlier classes, do you think that this is likely to be the case? If so, why? If not, why not?

FURTHER READING

Gender as category and variable

Caprioli, Mary, and Mark A. Boyer 'Gender, Violence, and International Crisis', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 45, 4 (2001), 503–18.

Carpenter, Charli 'Surfacing Children: Limitations of Genocidal Rape Discourse', *Human Rights Quarterly*, 22, 2 (2000), 428–77.

Carpenter, Charli '"Women and Children First": Gender, Norms and Humanitarian Evacuation in the Balkans 1991–1995', *International Organization*, 57, 4 (2003), 661–94.

Carpenter, Charli "Women, Children and Other Vulnerable Groups": Gender, Strategic Frames and the Protection of Civilians as a Transnational Issue', *International Studies Quarterly*, 49 (2005), 295–334.

Carpenter, Charli 'Gender Theory in World Politics: Contributions of a Non-Feminist Standpoint?' *International Studies Review*, 4, 3 (2003), 153–66.

Cooper Drury, A. 'Women and Economic Statecraft: The Negative Impact of Economic Sanctions Visit on Women', *European Journal of International Relations*, 20 (2014) (forthcoming).

Hudson, Valerie, and Andrea M. Den Boer (2005) *Bare Branches: The Security Implications of Asia's Surplus Male Population*, London, MIT Press.

Keohane, Robert 'Beyond Dichotomy: Conversations between International

Relations and Feminist Theory', International Studies Quarterly, 42, 1 (1998), 193-8.

Keohane, Robert 'International Relations Theory: Contributions of a Feminist

Standpoint', Millennium: Journal of International Studies, 18, 2 (1989), 245–53.

Koch, Michael T., and Sarah A. Fulton 'In the Defence of Women: Gender, Office

Holding, and National Security Policy in Established Democracies', *Journal of Politics*, 73, 1 (2011), 1.

Wilcox, Clyde, Laura Hewitt and Dee Allsop 'The Gender Gap in Attitudes Towards the Gulf War: A Cross-National Perspective', *Journal of Peace Research*, 33, 1 (1996), 67–82.

Feminist critiques of 'mainstream' approaches to world politics

Tickner, J. Ann 'Continuing the Conversation', *International Studies Quarterly*, 42, 1 (1998), 205–10.

Tickner, J. Ann 'You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements between Feminists and IR Theorists', *International Studies Quarterly*, 41, 4 (1997), 611–32. Zalewski, Marysia '"Women's Troubles" Again in IR', *International Studies Review*, 5, 2 (2003), 291–4.

Zalewski, Marysia 'Do We Understand Each Other Yet? Troubling Feminist Encounters with(in) International Relations', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*.

Steans, Jill 'Engaging from the Margins: Feminist Encounters with the "Mainstream" of International Relations', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 5, 3 (2003), 428–54.

Feminist International Relations

Chowdhry, Geeta, and Sheila Nair (eds.) (2002) *Postcolonialism and International Relations: Race, Gender and Class*, London, Routledge.

Connell, Raewyn (1995) Gender and Power, Cambridge, Polity Press.

Ling, Lily H., and Anna Agathangelou (2009) *Transforming World Politics: From Empire to Multiple Worlds*, London, Routledge.

Spike Peterson, V. 'Transgressing Boundaries: Theories of Knowledge, Gender and IR', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 21, 2 (1992), 183–206.

Shepherd, Laura (2009) Gender Matters, London, Routledge Introduction).

Sylvester, Christine (2001) Feminist International Relations: An Unfinished Journey, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Nira Yuval-Davis 'Intersectionality and Feminist Politics', *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 13, 3 (2006), 193–209.

Youngs, Gillian 'Feminist IR: A Contradiction in Terms? Or: Why Women and Gender are Essential to Understanding the World "We" Live In', *International Affairs*, 80, 1 (2004), 75–87.

Zalewski, Marysia (2009) Feminism and the Transformation of International Relations, London, Routledge.

Masculinities in IR

Hooper, Charlotte (2001) *Masculinities, International Relations and Gender Politics*, New York, Columbia University Press.

Jones, Adam Gender Inclusive: Writings on Violence, Men, and Feminist International Relations, London: Routledge, 2008.

Jones, Adam 'Engendering Debate', *Review of International Studies*, 24, 2 (1998), 299–303.

Carver, Terrell, Molly Cochran and Judith Squires 'Gendering Jones', *Review of International Studies*, 24, 2 (1998), 283–97.

Parpart, Jane L., and Marysia Zalewski (eds.) (2008) *Rethinking the Man Question: Sex, Gender and Violence in International Relations*, London, Zed Books.

Pease, Bob, and Keith Pringle (2001) A Man's World? Changing Men's Practices in a Globalised World, London, Zed Books.

LGBTI and Queer Theory

Manuela Lavinas Picq, Markus Thiel (2016) (eds) Sexualities in World Politics: How LGBTQ claims shape International Relations, London: Routledge

Foucault, Michel (1998) (Translation Robert Hurtley) *The History of Sexuality: The Will to Knowledge* vol. I, London, Penguin.

Fryer, David Ross (2010) *Thinking Queerly*, Boulder, Colo., Paradigm Publishers. Green, Adam 'Gay But Not Queer: Toward a Post-Queer Study of Sexuality', *Theory and Society*, 31, 4 (2002), 521–45.

Wilchins, Riki (2004). Queer Theory Gender Theory, Los Angeles, Alyson Books.

Citizenship

Afshar, Haleh, Rob Aitken and Myfanwy Franks 'Feminisms, Islamophobia and Identities', *Political Studies*, 53, 2 (2005), 262–83.

Anker, Deborah E. 'Refugee Law, Gender, and the Human Rights Paradigm', *Harvard Human Rights Journal*, 15 (2002), 134–54.

Eschele, Catherine 'Engendering Global Democracy', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 4, 3 (2002), 315–41.

Freedman, Jane (2007) *Gendering the International Asylum and Refugee Debate*, London, Palgrave.

Hofman, John (2001) Gender and Sovereignty, Basingstoke, Palgrave.

Kandiyoti, Deniz (2001) 'The Politics of Gender and the Conundrums of Citizenship',

in: Suad Joseph and Susan Slyomovics (eds.) *Women and Power in the Middle East*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press.

Kantola, Johanna 'The Gendered Reproduction of the State in International Relations', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 9, 2 (2007), 270–83.

Kofman, Eleonore 'Migration, Citizenship and the Reassertion of the Nation-State in Europe', *Citizenship Studies*, 9, 6 (2005), 453–67.

Lloyd, Moya 'Women's Rights: Paradoxes and Possibilities', *Global Society*, 33, 1 (2007), 91–103. Oosterveld, Valerie L. 'The Canadian Guidelines on Gender-Related Persecution: An Evaluation', *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 8, 4 (1996), 569–96.

Oleksy, Elzbieta, Jeff Hearn and Dorota Golanska (eds.) (2011) *The Limits of Gendered Citizenship: Contexts and Contradictions*, London, Routledge.

Richardson, Diane 'Constructing Sexual Citizenship: Theorizing Sexual Rights', *Critical Social Policy*, 20, 1 (2000), 105–35.

Special Issue, 'Citizenship', Gender and Development, 19, 3 (2011).

Voet, Rian (1998) Feminism and Citizenship, London, Sage.

Conflict and Political Violence

Alison, Miranda 'Wartime Sexual Violence: Women's Human Rights and Questions of Masculinity', *Review of International Studies*, 33 (2007), 75–90.

Carpenter, Charli 'Surfacing Children: Limitations of Genocidal Rape Discourse', *Human Rights Quarterly*, 22, 2 (2000), 428–77.

Carpenter, Charli "Women, Children and Other Vulnerable Groups": Gender,

Strategic Frames and the Protection of Civilians as a Transnational Issue',

International Studies Quarterly, 49 (2005), 295–334.

Carpenter, Charli "Women and Children First": Gender, Norms and Humanitarian Evacuation in the Balkans 1991–1995, *International Organization*, 57, 4 (2003),

661-94.

Capriolo, Mary, and Mark A. Boyer 'Gender, Violence, and International Crisis', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 45, 4 (2001), 503–18.

Cockburn, Cynthia 'Gender Relations as Causal in Militarization and War',

International Feminist Journal of Politics, 12, 2 (2010), 139–57.

Cohn, Carol 'Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defence Intellectuals', *Signs*, 12, 4 (1987), 687–718.

Conway, Daniel (2012) Masculinities, Militarisation and the End Conscription Campaign: War Resistance in Apartheid South Africa, Manchester, Manchester University Press.

Enloe, Cynthia (2007) *Globalization and Militarism: Feminists Make the Link*, Oxford, Rowman and Littlefield.

Goldstein, Joshua (2003) War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Helms, Elissa 'Women as Agents of Ethnic Reconciliation? Women's NGOs and International Intervention in Postwar Bosnia-Herzegovina',

Women's Studies International Forum, 26, 1 (2003), 15–33.

Hooper, Charlotte (2001) *Masculinities, International Relations and Gender Politics*, New York, Columbia University Press.

Jacobs, Susie, Ruth Jacobson and Jennifer Marchbank (eds.) (2000) *States of Conflict: Gender, Violence and Resistance*, London, Zed Books.

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

Pankhurst, Donna (ed.) (2007) Gendered Peace: Women's Struggles for Reconciliation and Justice, London, Routledge.

Parashar, Swati 'Feminist IR and Women Militants: Case Studies from Sri Lanka and Kashmir', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 22, 2 (2009), 235–56.

Segal, Lynne 'Gender, War and Militarism: Making and Questioning the Links', *Feminist Review*, 88 (2008), 21–35.

Shepherd, Laura 'Loud Voices Behind the Wall: Gender Violence and the Violent Reproduction of the International', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 34 (2006), 377–401.

Sjoberg, Laura, and Caron Gentry (2007) *Mothers, Monsters, Whores: Women's Violence in Global Politics*, London, Zed Books.

Jones, Adam (ed.) (2004) *Gendercide and Genocide*, Nashville, Vanderbilt University Press.

Parpart, Jane L., and Marysia Zalewski (eds.) (2008) *Rethinking the Man Question: Sex, Gender and Violence in International Relations*, London, Zed Books.

Stern, Maria 'Why Do Soldiers Rape? Masculinity, Violence and Sexuality in the Armed Forces in the Congo (DRC)', *International Studies Quarterly*, 53 (2009), 495–518.

Literature on Political Rhetoric, Representational Practices and War on Terror

Hunt, Krista, 2010, 'The 'war on terrorism', in Laura J. Shepherd (ed.) *Gender Matters in Global Politics*, London: Routledge.

Laura B. Wilcox (2015) *Bodies of Violence: theorising Embodied Subjects in International Relations*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Susan Owen, Sarah R Stein and Leah R. Vande Berg (2007) *Bad Girls: Cultural Politics and the Media Representation of Transgressive Women*, New York: Peter Lang Publishing.

Callahan, Kathe, Melvin Dubnick and Dorothy Olsfski 'War Narratives: Framing Our

Understanding of the War on Terror', Public Administration Review, 66, 1, (2006), 554–68.

Howard, John and Laura Prividera 'Rescuing Patriarchy or Saving "Jessica Lynch": The Rhetorical Construction of the American Woman Soldier', *Women and Language*, 27, 2 (2004), 89–97.

Richter-Montpetit, Melanie 'Empire, Desire and Violence: A Queer Transnational Feminist Reading of the Prisoner "Abuse" in Abu Ghraib and the Question of "Gender Equality",

International Feminist Journal of Politics, 9, 1 (2007), 38–59.

Shepherd, Laura, 2006, 'Veiled References: Constructions of Gender in the Bush Administration Discourse on the Attacks on Afghanistan post-9/11' *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 8(1), pp.19-41

Alloo, Fatma, et al., 2002, 'The Events of 11 September 2001 and Beyond' *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 4(1), 95-113.

Cloud, Dana L., 2004, "To Veil the Threat of Terror": Afghan Women and the <Clash of Civilizations> in the Imagery of the US War on Terrorism, in *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 90(3), pp.285-306.

Eisenstein, Zillah, 2007, Sexual Decoys: Gender, Race and War in Imperial Democracy, London: Zed

Enloe, Cynthia, 2004, 'Wielding Masculinity Inside Abu Ghraib: Making Feminist Sense of an American Military Scandal', *Asian Journal of Women's Studies*, 10(3), pp.89-102.

Enloe, Cynthia, 1990, 'Womenandchildren: Making Feminist Sense of the Persian Gulf Crisis', *The Village Voice*, 25/09/90

Enloe, Cynthia, 1983, *Does Khaki Become You? The Militarization of Women's Lives*, London: Pluto Press.

Grönfors, Martti, 2002, 'Could Osama Bin Laden Have Been a Woman? Masculinity and September 11', pp.200-205 in Phil Scraton (ed.), *Beyond September 11: An Anthology of Dissent* London: Pluto.

Hawthorne, Susan and Bronwyn Winter (eds.), 2002, September 11, 2001: Feminist Perspectives Melbourne: Spinifex.

Hunt, Krista, 2002, 'The Strategic Co-optation of Women's Rights: Discourse in the 'War on Terrorism', in *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 4(1), pp.116-121.

International Feminist Journal of Politics, Special Issue on Feminism and 'Fahrenheit 9/11', 7(1), pp.133-150.

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