**Gender and Conflict in International Relations**

**PSCI261/WGSS262**

Professor Phoebe Donnelly

Spring 2019

Class times: Tu/Th 11:20am-12:35pm

Email: pgd3@williams.edu

Office: Schapiro 327

Office Hours: Tues 2:30pm-4:30pm or by appointment

This course explores gender dynamics in modern conflicts from the perspective of civilian societies, state militaries and rebel groups. The course will look at gender roles, relations, and symbols, throughout different phases of conflict including the precursors to conflict, during a conflict, and finally in the aftermath of active conflict.

The topic of gender and conflict relies on literature from several fields including political science, women’s and gender studies, sociology, and anthropology; the readings for this class will reflect that diversity. As the course title indicates, this course is grounded in the discipline of international relations, and therefore it is useful to have some background in this field. We will also use policy documents and reports from non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to demonstrate the relationship between scholarship, policy, and events on the ground.

Throughout the course, we will draw on examples from case studies across the globe and these case studies will help us apply the theoretical frameworks we are using. The conflict in northern Uganda will be a case study we will use throughout the course to illustrate different themes.

In this course, students also have the chance to practice their gender analysis skills in a policy simulation using design thinking. This activity allows students to apply an academic skill to real world challenges with the goal of encouraging students to recognize how they might use gender analysis in future professional environments. Communication skills are also an important part of gender analysis and therefore we will spend class time developing our critical reading and writing skills.

Course Goals

By the end of this class students should be able to:

* Conduct their own gender analysis of different conflict patterns and situations
* Write succinctly and clearly about gender and conflict for different audiences
  + Academics –midterm/final
  + Policymakers – policy memo
  + Public – blog post
* Understand significant theories/debates in the field of gender and conflict
* Practice applying your gender analysis skills to policy challenges
* Recognize key authors, concepts, and frameworks related to gender and conflict
* Cite examples and apply the theories we are studying to different case studies and environments
* Develop their own feminist curiosity

Course Texts

There are two assigned books for this course:

* Evelyn Amony, *I am Evelyn Amony* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2015) [abbreviated in syllabus as “Evelyn Amony”]. You must have read the entire book by **Tues March 12** when we will be discussing it in class. I strongly encourage you to start the book far in advance of that class and space out your reading of it before our class discussion.
* *Women and Wars* ed. Carol Cohn (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013) [abbreviated in syllabus as: Cohn – Women and Wars followed by chapter author and title]

All other readings are in the course packet. I may also send short news articles in advance of particular class sessions.

Class Requirements and Format

15% class participation

15% blog post

20% policy memo

20% midterm paper

30% final paper

*Class participation:* This is a seminar style class and will not work without consistent input from all students. I will begin most classes with some background and context related to the day’s topic and readings, but a good proportion of the class will be guided by student discussion and analysis of the readings and topic for that day. Students should come to class prepared with questions and insights related to the class topic. You will take turns leading class discussions and therefore you should not only come prepared to further your own learning and grade in this course, but also a courtesy to your classmates who will be relying on your participation when they lead class discussion.

This is a “reading heavy” class, but in our first class session we will talk about skills for efficient reading of academic literature. In sum, **you should not read every word of the assigned reading and instead should read for the main points.**

*Blog post:* You will pick a session to write a blog post and you will be “on call” in class that day to help lead discussion. You are expected to read the blog post by your peers each day before class. **Blog posts should be posted by 9pm the day before your assigned class.**

Come prepared to sign-up for your 1st and 2nd topics in class on Tues Feb 5 (topic list will be on GLOW). Blog posts will start on Tues Feb 12.

*Policy memo:* you will be required to write a policy memo after our policy simulation classes on Tues Feb 19 and Thurs Feb 21. I will distribute guidelines and a rubric on this assignment before we begin the class activity. Policy memos are due in class on **Thurs Feb 28**.

*Papers:* This course will have two papers that will involve answering a question prompt (you will have a choice in what prompt you answer). You will have one week to complete a midterm paper covering material from the first half of the semester and one week to complete a final paper which focuses on material from the entire semester (although focused on subjects covered in the second half of the semester). You must work on these exams **independently** and **cannot consult any other individuals about the exam**. If you have questions about what the paper prompt is asking or how you might structure your paper I am happy to answer them in office hours. However, I will not review drafts of the paper assignments.

Be sure to read the questions carefully and to carefully proofread your submissions. When I distribute the paper prompts, I will also distribute a grading rubric which I encourage you to review while you are working on your exam and before you submit your exam.

In order to do well on these papers you must keep up with the assigned reading because the paper prompts will ask questions related to the assigned readings and you must incorporate assigned readings into your answers.

The midterm paper is due in class **Tues March 12.**

The final exam is due by email no later than 8pm on **Tues May 14.**

\*Please mark the exam due dates and the due date for your response paper in your calendars and plan accordingly. I do not grant extensions on assignments.

Course Policies

*Attendance:* You can miss two classes without penalty and without needing to provide an explanation for why you have missed class. If you miss more than two class sessions, you will lose 5 points per missed class meeting from your participation grade. Students who need to miss more than two classes for illness or other extenuating circumstances should speak with the dean and notify me. If you miss a class, it is your responsibility to do the readings and assignments for that date and to request notes from a classmate. You *cannot succeed* in this class if do not attend class sessions. It is in your best interest if you are well enough and physically able to attend class to be here.

*Late work:* Late work will receive one letter grade deduction for each day it is late. If you have an emergency that prevents you from turning in your assignment on time you must first notify the dean who will contact me. I do not grant extensions and therefore I recommend you begin your assignments far in advance of the due date (which is why I have provided all assignment information in advance).

*Academic Integrity and Honor Code:* This class is about producing your own piece of academic writing and therefore I take plagiarism and cheating very seriously. We will review guidelines for citation practices to ensure that all students are clear on how to properly cite outside resources. However, if you have specific questions about the Honor Code, please feel free to come to talk to me or to consult the resources the College provides.

In the written work you submit: put in quotation marks any direct text you are using from a source, use footnotes or parenthetical citations, and use Chicago Style guidelines (<http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide.html)>. I encourage you to review the library’s citation guide for additional useful resources (<https://libguides.williams.edu/citing/basics>).

*Accommodations:* Students with disabilities of any kind who may need accommodations for this course are encouraged to contact Dr. GL Wallace (Director of Accessible Education) at 597-4672. Also, students experiencing mental or physical health challenges that are significantly affecting their academic work or well-being are encouraged to contact the deans who can help them find the appropriate support. The deans can be reached at 413-597-4171.

*Writing and Research Support:* I encourage you to utilize the Williams Writing Workshop for additional writing support throughout the semester (<https://writing-programs.williams.edu/writing-workshop/>).

*Inclusivity:* The Williams community embraces diversity of age, background, beliefs, ethnicity, gender, gender identity, gender expression, national origin, religious affiliation, sexual orientation, and other visible and nonvisible categories. I welcome all students in this course and expect that all students contribute to a respectful, welcoming and inclusive environment. If you feel that you are not being welcomed, included, or accepted in this class, please come to me or a college administrator to share your concern. Class discussions will be guided by our agreed upon ground rules that we will establish in our first-class meeting.

*Communication:* I will communicate with you by email regarding updates on the course and additional short readings. Please plan to check your email at least once a day. I will respond to emails within 24 hours, however, please consider if the topic is best covered by email or in-person. For questions that require a discussion or explanation, please plan to come to office hours.

*GLOW site:* I will use the course glow sites to post any resources I hand out in class as well as PDFs of all readings. You must check the course GLOW website before each class (starting Feb 12) to review the blog posts of your peers.

*Office Hours:* My office hours are on Tuesday from 2:30pm-4:30pm or by appointment. You should plan to attend my office hours *at least once* during the semester to discuss your paper. I encourage you to come to see me in office hours during the semester.

*Electronic Device Policy:* Laptops, cell phones, and other electronic devices are not allowed in class. Please print any material you plan to use during class. If you use an electronic device in class, it will result in a deduction in your participation grade. I suggest you put your cell phones on do not disturb mode.

*Challenging Course Material:* This course is about gender dynamics in conflict and it requires us to confront the realities of violence and insecurity. As a result of the course topic, some of the material we will read and topics we discuss, are emotionally challenging. If you have any concerns about learning about this material, please see the professor and the dean at the beginning of the semester to assess if this course is the best fit for you right now. You are encouraged to take care of our own emotional health and it is okay to step out of the classroom during our class sessions if you need a break.

Schedule

1. **Wed Jan 30 - Introduction to course**

**Frameworks for Understanding Gender and Conflict**

1. **Tues Feb 5 - Introduction to gender analysis and efficient reading skills**

**\*discussion of blog post assignment & select 1st and 2nd topic choices**

Required readings:

* Cohn – Women and Wars: Cynthia Enloe, “Forward: Gender Analysis Isn’t Easy”
* Cohn – Women and Wars: Carol Cohn, “Women and Wars: Towards a Conceptual Framework”
* Cynthia Enloe, “Being Curious about Our Lack of Feminist Curiosity,” *The Curious Feminist* (2004), pp. 1-12.
* J. Ann Tickner, “Gendering Security Studies and Peace Studies,” in *A Feminist Voyage through International Relations* (2014), pp. 19-35.

1. **Thurs Feb 7 - Intersectionality and queer studies**

Required readings:

* Nira Yuval-Davis, “Intersectionality and Feminist Politics,” *European Journal of Women’s Studies* 13, no. 3, 2006: 193-209.
* Chandra Talpade Mohanty, “’Under Western Eyes’ Revisited: Feminist Solidarity through Anticapitalist Struggles,” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 28, no. 2, 2002: 499-530.
* Darcy Leigh, “Queer Feminist International Relations: Uneasy Alliances, Productive Tensions,” *Alternatif Politika* 9, no. 3 2017: 343-360.

1. **Tues Feb 12 - Women, Peace and Security (WPS)**

Required readings:

* J. Ann Tickner, “Peace and Security from a Feminist’s Perspective,” *The Oxford Handbook of Women, Peace, and Security* eds. Sara E. Davies and Jacqui True (Dec 2018).
* UN Security Council, *Security Council Resolution* 1325, October 13, 2000.
* UN Women, “Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace: A Global Study on the Implementation of The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325,” pp. 1-35.
* Jamie J. Hagen, “Queering Women, Peace and Security in Colombia,” *Critical Studies on Security* 5, no. 1: 125-129, 2017.

1. **Thurs Feb 14 - Preventing Violent Extremism (PVE) and Countering Violent Extremism (CVE)**

Required readings:

* Sri Wiyanti Eddyono and Sara E. Davies, “Women’s Roles in CVE,” *The Oxford Handbook of Women, Peace, and Security* (2018).
* Rafia Bhulali, Allison Peters, and Christina Nemr, “From Policy to Action: Advancing an Integrated Approach to Women and Countering Violent Extremism,” Global Center on Cooperative Security and Inclusive Security, Policy Brief, June 2016.
* Sanam Naraghi Anderlini, “Extremism’s Earliest Critics.” *Foreign Affairs*, February 17, 2017.

1. **Tues Feb 19 - Class Simulation: gender analysis in policy and programming**

**\*\*\*It is important that you are at this class and the following class because it will be the foundation for your policy memo assignment. If you know you will not be in this class, please let me know immediately.**

Required readings:

* Inter-Agency Standing Committee: Gender Handbook in Humanitarian Action, “Women Girls, Boys, and Men: Different Needs – Equal Opportunities,” p. 1-13.
* Mia Bloom and Hilary Matfess. “Women as Symbols and Swords in Boko Haram’s Terror.” *Prism: A Journal of the Center for Complex Operations* 6, no. 1 (2016): 104-121.
* *Additional short readings and policy memo assignment information will be sent by email in advance of class.*

1. **Thurs Feb 21 - Class simulation: gender analysis in policy and programming**

* *Additional short reading assignments will be sent in advance of class by email*

1. **Tues Feb 26 - Gender as a cause of war**

Required readings:

* Mary Caprioli, “Primed for Violence: The Role of Gender Inequality in Predicting Internal Conflict,” International Studies Quarterly 49(2), 2005: 161–178.
* Valerie M. Hudson and Andrea Den Boer, “A Surplus of Men, A Deficit of Peace: Security and Sex Ratios in Asia's Largest States,” International Security 26(4), 2000: 5-38.
* Valerie M. Hudson and Hilary Matfess, “In Plain Sight: The Neglected Linkage between Brideprice and Violent Conflict,” International Security42, no.1 (Summer 2017): 7-40.

1. **Thurs Feb 28 - Masculinities**

**DUE IN CLASS: Policy memos**

Required readings:

* + Maleeha Aslam, *Gender-Based Explosions: The Nexus Between Muslim Masculinities, Jihadist Islamism and Terrorism*, (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2012), p. 30-37 and p. 81-89.
  + David Duriesmith, “Is Manhood a Causal Factor in the Shifting Nature of War?” *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 16, no. 2, 2014: 236-254.
* Chris Dolan, “Collapsing Masculinities and Weak States – a Case Study of Northern Uganda.” In *Masculinities Matter! Men, Gender and Development*, edited by F. Cleaver, (London & New York: Zed Books, 2002), 57-83.

**Gendered Actors in Conflict**

1. **Tues March 5 - Gender in state military forces**

**\*Paper prompt distributed at the end of class**

Required readings:

* + Cohn – Women and Wars: Jennifer G. Mathers “Chapter 6: Women and State Military Forces”
  + Megan Mackenzie, “Let Women Fight: Ending the U.S. Military’s Female Combat Ban,” *Foreign Affairs* 91, no. 6, November/December 2012: 32-42.
  + Cynthia Enloe, *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women’s Lives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), *“*Ch. 7: Filling the Ranks: Militarizing Women as Mothers, Soldiers, Feminists, and Fashion Designers.”
  + Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches & Bases* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014) “Ch. 4: Base Women.”

1. **Thurs March 7 - Women in rebel groups**

Required readings:

* Cohn – Women and Wars: Dyan Mazurana, “Women, Girls, and Non-State Armed Opposition Groups,” in *Women & Wars* ed. Carol Cohn, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013), p. 146-168.
* Alexis Henshaw, “Where Women Rebel: Patterns of Women’s Participation in Rebel Groups 1990-2008,” *International Feminist Journal of Politics* (2015), pp. 1-22.
* Alison, Miranda, “Women as Agents of Political Violence: Gendering Security,” Security Dialogue 2004 35:447.

1. **Tues March 12 - Women in rebel groups**

**DUE IN CLASS: Midterm papers**

Required readings:

* *I am Evelyn Amony –* we will be discussing the book in class today
* Phoebe Donnelly, “The Interactive Relationship between Gender and Strategy,” *Global Society* (2018), pp. 1-20.

**Gender-Based Violence**

1. **Thurs March 14 - Sexual violence in conflict: key debates**

Required readings:

* Dyan Mazurana and Keith Proctor, “Gender and Humanitarian Action,” *Handbook on Humanitarian Action* (Routledge 2014), eds. Roger Mac Ginty and Jenny H. Peterson, pp. 49-61.
  + Margaret Urban Walker, “Gender and Violence in Focus” in The Gender of Reparations: Unsettling Sexual Hierarchies while Redressing Human Rights Violations, (ed.) Ruth Rubio, Cambridge University Press (2009).
* Aisling Swaine, “Beyond Strategic Rape and Between the Public and Private: Violence against Women in Armed Conflict,” *Human Rights Quarterly* 37, 2015: 755-786.
* Marie Berry, “#16Days: Eliminating Violence Against Women,” Blog Post on Political Violence at a Glance, November 29, 2018.

1. **Tues April 2 – Sexual violence in conflict: explanations of patterns**

Required readings:

* Dara Kay Cohen, Amelia Hoover Green and Elisabeth Wood, USIP Special Report 323,“Wartime Sexual Violence: Misconceptions, Implications and Ways Forward,” United Institute of Peace, February 2013.
* Maria Eriksson Baaz and Maria Stern, *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War: Perceptions, Prescriptions, Problems in the Congo and Beyond* (Zed Books, 2013), pp. 1-7, 42-64.
* Elisabeth Jean Wood, “Armed Groups and Sexual Violence: When is Wartime Rape Rare?” *Politics and Society* 37, no. 31, 2009.

1. **Thurs April 4 - Sexual violence in conflict: men and sexual minorities as survivors**

Required readings:

* + R. Charli Carpenter, “Recognizing Gender-Based Violence Against Civilian Men and Boys in Conflict Situations.” *Security Dialogue* 37, no. 1 (2006): 83–103.
  + Philipp Schulz, “Displacement from Gendered Personhood: Sexual Violence and Masculinities in northern Uganda,” *International Affairs* 94, no. 5 (2018): 1101-1119.
  + International Alert, “When Merely Existing is a Risk: Sexual and Gender Minorities in Conflict, Displacement and Peacebuilding,” 2017, p. 1-22.

1. **Tues April 9 - Forced marriage**

Required readings:

* Annie Bunting, Benjamin M. Lawrance, and Richard L. Roberts, “Something Old, Something New? Conceptualizing Forced Marriage in Africa,” in *Marriage by Force Contestation over Consent and Coercion in Africa* (2016), pp. 1-40.
* Erin Baines, “Forced Marriage as a Political Project: Sexual Rules and Relations in the Lord’s Resistance Army,” *Journal of Peace Research* 51, no. 3, 2014: 405-417.

**Gendered effects of conflict**

1. **Thurs April 11 - Political economy of war**

Required readings:

* + Cohn – Women and Wars: Angela Raven-Roberts, “Ch. 2: Women and the Political Economy of War”
  + Carolyn Nordstrom, *Shadows of War: Violence, Power, and International Profiteering in the Twenty-first Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), Ch. 1 + Ch. 3
* V. Spike Peterson, “Gendering Insecurities, Informalization, and ‘War

Economies,’” Gender, Violence, and Human Security, (ed.) Ail, Mari Tripp, Myra Marx Ferree, and Christina Ewig, New York University Press (2013), pp 50-75.

1. **Tues April 16 - Displacement**

Required readings:

* + Cohn – Women and Wars: Wenona Giles, “Ch. 4: Women Forced to Flee: Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons.”
  + Roxanne Krystalli, “’I followed the flood’: a gender analysis of the moral and financial economies of forced migration,” *Disasters* (2018), pp. S17-S39.
  + Sylvanna Falcón, “’National Security’ and the violation of Women: Militarized Border Rape at the US-Mexico Border,” in *Color of Violence: The Incite! Anthology* (2016), pp. 119-129.

1. **Thurs April 18 – Political representation and conflict**

Required readings:

* + Aili Mari Tripp, *Women and Power in Postconflict Africa* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), Preface + Ch. 1.
  + Marie Berry, “Barriers to Women’s Progress After Atrocity: Evidence from Rwanda and Bosnia-Herzegovina,” *Gender & Society* 31, no. 6, December 2017: 830-853.

1. **Tues April 23 - Gender and Ending Conflict**

Required readings:

* Cohn – Women and Wars: Carol Cohn and Ruth Jacobson, “Chapter 5: Women and Political Activism in the Face of War and Militarization.”
* Robert Ulrich Nagel, “Talking to the shameless? Sexual violence and mediation in intrastate conflicts,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (January 23, 2019), pp. 1-28.
* Sanam Naraghi Anderlini, *Women Building Peace: What They Do, Why it Matters* (Boulder: Lynne Reinner Publisher, 2007), Chapter 3: Getting to the Peace Table.

**gender and “post-conflict”**

1. **Thurs April 25 - Gender in peace processes**

Required readings:

* Cohn – Women and Wars: Malathi de Alwis, Julie Mertus, and Tazreena Sajjad, “Chapter 8: Women in Peace Processes”
* Marie O’Reilly, et al. “Reimagining Peacemaking: Women’s Roles in Peace Processes,” International Peace Institute, June 2015, <http://www.ipinst.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/IPI-E-pub-Reimagining-Peacemaking.pdf>.
* Cynthia Enloe, “Syrian Women Resist Peace Table Patriarchy,” in *The Big Push* (University of California Press, 2017), pp. 24-47.

1. **Tues April 30 - Peacekeeping and sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA)**

Required readings:

* Karin Landgren, “WPS and Gender Mainstreaming,” *The Oxford Handbook of Women, Peace and Security* eds. Sara E. Davies and Jacqui True (Dec 2018), pp. 1-12.
* Kathleen M. Jennings, “Conditional Protection? Sex, Gender, and Discourse in UN Peacekeeping,” *International Studies Quarterly* (2019), 1-13.
* Sabrina Karim and Kyle Beardsley, “Explaining Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in Peacekeeping Missions: The Role of Female Peacekeepers and Gender Equality in Contributing Countries,” *Journal of Peace Research* 53, no.1, 2016: 100-115.
* Dyan Mazurana and Phoebe Donnelly, “Executive Summary: STOP the Sexual Assault against Humanitarian and Development Aid Workers,” Feinstein International Center (May 2017), pp. 1-6.

1. **Thurs May 2 - DDR and SSR**

Required readings:

* + Cohn – Women and Wars: Dyan Mazurana and Linda Eckerbom Cole, “Ch. 9: Women, Girls, and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR).”
  + Sabrina Karim, “Restoring Confidence in Post-Conflict Security Sectors: Survey Evidence from Liberia on Female Ratio Balancing Reforms,” *B.J. Pol.S.*, 2017, 1-23.
  + International Civil Society Action Network (ICAN) and UNDP, “Invisible Women: Gendered Dimensions of Return, Rehabilitation and Reintegration from Violent Extremism,” 2019, Executive Summary + Introduction, pp. 8- 26.

1. **Tues May 7 - Gender and transitional justice**

**\*Final paper prompt distributed at the end of class**

Required readings:

* + Catherine O’Rourke, “Gender and Transitional Justice,” in *Handbook on Gender and War* eds. Simona Sharoni, Julia Welland, Linda Steiner, and Jennifer Pedersen(Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2016).
  + Kimberly Theidon,“Gender in Transition: Common Sense, Women, and War,” *Journal of Human Rights* 6 no. 4, 2007, 453-478.
  + Baines, Erin K. ““Today, I want to speak out the truth”: Victim agency, responsibility, and transitional justice.” International Political Sociology 9.4 (2015): 316-332.

1. **Thurs May 9 - Conclusion and discussion of “post-conflict”**

Required readings:

* + Cohn – Women and Wars: Ruth Jacobson, “Ch. 10: Women ‘After’ Wars”
  + Cynthia Enloe, *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women’s Lives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000),“Conclusion: Decisions, Decisions, Decisions.”
  + Sheila Meintjes, Anu Pillay, and Meredeth Turshen, “There is no Aftermath for Women,” in *The Aftermath: Women in Post-Conflict Transformation* eds. Sheila Meintjes, Anu Pillay, and Meredeth Turshen (London: Zed Books, 2001).

**\*Final papers due by email by 8pm on Tues May 14.**