

**INTL4475: War & Gender**  
University of Georgia – Spring 2019  
MWF 11:15-12:05, MLC 247

**Dr. Maryann E. Gallagher**

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Office: Candler 202

Office Hours: Wed. 3:30-5pm & Thursday 10-11:30am, by appointment.



Course Overview:

The purpose of this course is to study the recursive relationship between conflict and gender, and to familiarize students with the ways scholars use gender as a lens when analyzing international conflict. Throughout the course we will consider how gender(ed) norms shape conflict and are likewise shaped by conflict. Students will learn how to apply a gender lens to their understanding of international affairs. They will be able to analyze how the construction, performance, and symbolic representations of masculinities and femininities shape international relations.

The course will begin by examining why, despite variance in conflict types and genders, have gender roles in conflict been constant. That is, why have women historically been absent from combat? We will consider various theories to explain this outcome, cases that refute this relationship, and evaluate changes to women's combat participation around the world. Students will consider how norms about gender and violence shape the behavior of warring parties during conflict, with regard to treatment of civilians as well as soldiers. Students will also consider the role of gender in conflict resolution, and how international norms and laws about equality have affected the establishment and maintenance of peace.

This course will be largely discussion based and requires students to come to class prepared to discuss the assigned readings. A significant component of your grade in this course will come from an op-ed related to conflict and gender that you will publish to an online blog. This project will require significant research, with the intention that it provides you some expertise on a topic, may lay the foundation for a future CURO research project, and will help you think about how to present the academic literature on conflict and gender to popular audiences.

Course Requirements:

- **Readings:** You are expected to complete the readings listed on the syllabus *prior* to coming to class. Failure to do so will be evident in your lack of participation during class discussions. Occasionally an article relevant to the topic we are covering will be published and I will assign it on short notice. In that case I will post the article to the "ANNOUCEMENTS" section of the class ELC page. **\*\*PLEASE REGISTER FOR ANNOUCEMENTS NOTIFICATIONS\*\***

There are 2 **required** texts:

Joshua S. Goldstein. 2003. *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa*. Cambridge University Press.  
ISBN: 978-0521001809

Jenny Nordberg. 2015. *The Underground Girls of Kabul: In Search of a Hidden Resistance in Afghanistan*. Broadway Books. ISBN: 978-0307952509

**\*\*All other readings can be found on ELC, unless otherwise noted.** You will be required to have all major reading in class with you (we'll discuss this in class).

**\*\*You are also required to keep up with current events – see below\*\***

- **Grading:**

- Final Exam - 25%
- Journal – 20%
- Quizzes – 20%
- Participation – 10%
- Op-Ed – 25%

Letter grades correspond to the following 0-100 scale:

94-100	A	74-76	C
90-93	A-	70-73	C-
87-89	B+	67-69	D+
84-86	B	64-66	D
80-83	B-	60-63	D-
77-79	C+	00-59	F

- **Written Assignments:** All assignments are to be typed and handed in at the **START** of class on the due date (unless otherwise noted). Late assignments will be **penalized 1% of your overall grade for each day late**. All written assignments should meet the following formatting requirements: 12-point font, double spaced, 1” margins, and page number in bottom right hand corner.
- **Quizzes:** There will be 6-10 unannounced quizzes throughout the semester that will cover assigned readings and current events. You may use your notes, but not the readings. Quizzes will be administered in the **first 5 minutes of class** – if you are late to class you will not be given additional time to complete the quiz. **There are no makeup quizzes.** Your lowest quiz grade will be dropped. Students who miss more than one quiz will have their first missed quiz dropped and receive a grade of **zero** for any additional missed quizzes.
- **Journal:** Each student will maintain an online journal where they can reflect on the issues discussed in the readings and class. You are free to draw on current events or pop-culture to motivate your post, however each post should make an **explicit reference** to at least one **reading/lecture (include citation using CMS)**. Student must have **8 journal entries of at least 250 words with no more than 1 entry per week (the week starts on**

**Monday)** – you may not submit entries for Weeks 1, 2 & 15. Late posts and those without proper citation/editing will not receive full credit.

- **Op-Ed** – each student will write a 900-1200 word op-ed on some issue related to conflict and gender that to be shared on a public blog (students may post anonymously). Details on the assignment will be given in class.
- **Participation:** This course will require a great deal of discussion and active listening. ***Simply showing up to class does not constitute participation.*** Your participation grade will be evaluated based on your *ability to draw upon insights from the readings*, the *depth of the thoughtfulness* of your questions/comments, and your *activeness* in class, on discussion boards, and/or on twitter using **#WomenWP**
  - The nature of the topics we will discuss may often be contentious. Everyone is expected to be respectful of others’ perspectives and experiences.
  - Some topics may be emotionally challenging. Please know that you are always free to step outside the classroom if you need a break.
- **Attendance:** I will take attendance every class and I expect you to be present. You are allowed **three** absences without penalty. You can use these as you like (e.g. illness, sports travel, interviews, sleep, conferences). Each absence beyond these three will result in a **1-point deduction from your final overall average**. Please see me immediately if there are extenuating circumstances that may lead to you having more than 3 absences.

Other important information:

- **Current Events:** Students are **required** to stay up to date on world politics. I suggest that you browse the world news sections of the *New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Guardian* (UK), or the *Washington Post* on a **regular basis**. You can subscribe to various daily world news briefs and have them emailed to you (I highly recommend CFR’s daily email). CFR also has a monthly bulletin on Women & Foreign Policy.
- **Technology:**
  - **Laptops** are **not** welcome in class, unless I instruct you to bring one. Should you need to use a laptop please provide proper documentation from UGA’s DRC.
  - All **cell phones** should be **shut off** or set to **silent** – NOT VIBRATE – before arriving to class. The use or interruption of these devices during regular class time will result in a **reduction of your participation grade**.
- **Communication and Email:** I will keep you updated about the course and any changes to the syllabus through the “ANNOUNCEMENTS” board on the class ELC page – **PLEASE REGISTER FOR NOTIFICATIONS!**
  - When emailing me please use your UGA email account and include your course number in the subject line. In most cases I will respond to emails within 24 hours. Importantly, before you email me **please check the syllabus** and the **announcements board** on ELC to be sure that your question has not been previously addressed.
  - *A note on etiquette:* please use appropriate **salutations**, including my name in the opening and your name in the closing. (Hint: you can’t go wrong with “Hi Professor Gallagher”). For further guidance see <http://www.wikihow.com/Email-a-Professor>.
- **Office Hours** – I will be available to meet with students during the office hours listed above, however the only way to guarantee that we will have time to meet is for you to

sign up for an appointment using the following link (also posted to the ELC page): <https://docs.google.com/document/d/11V8EtwJbmKJ8ah9eIUtH0Yryf0B7wFSLWYWUS3j4GTc/edit>.

- **Academic Dishonesty** – As a University of Georgia student, you have agreed to abide by the University’s academic honesty policy, “A Culture of Honesty,” and the Student Honor Code. All academic work must meet the standards described in “A Culture of Honesty” found at: <http://www.uga.edu/honesty>. Lack of knowledge of the academic honesty policy is not a reasonable explanation for a violation. Any student caught cheating or plagiarizing will be referred to Judicial Affairs, as required by university policy. The most common issue of academic dishonesty I have come across is plagiarism. To be clear, plagiarism is copying from any source material (direct or paraphrasing of ideas), published or unpublished (this includes 4ikipedia!), without giving proper credit. I will post a link to the Chicago Manual of Style citation format on ELC.
- **Students with Disabilities:** UGA is committed to providing equal access to academic programs and university-administered activities and reasonable modifications to students with disabilities. Students in need of special accommodations need to request such services from the Disability Resource Center located at 114 Clark Howell Hall (for more information visit [www.drc.uga.edu](http://www.drc.uga.edu)) and should make an appointment to see me with their appropriate paperwork from DRC within the **first two weeks** of classes.
- UGA’s code of conduct protects student privacy and intellectual property and thus prohibits recording and digital release of classroom lectures and conversations unless a student has an accommodation from the DRC. If this is your situation, please let me know and we will devise an accommodation that protects your right to privacy, that of your classmates, and everyone’s intellectual property.
- UGA has a vast array of resources to support students facing a variety of challenges. Please don't hesitate to come speak with me or contact these resources directly:
  - **Office of Student Care & Outreach** (coordinate assistance for students experiencing hardship/unforeseen circumstances) – 706-542-7774 or by email [sco@uga.edu](mailto:sco@uga.edu)
  - **Counseling and Psychiatric Services (CAPS)** - 706-542-2273 (during regular business hours) *After Hour Mental Health Crisis:* 706-542-2200 (UGA Police—ask to speak to the CAPS on-call clinician)
  - **Relationship and Sexual Violence Prevention** – 706-542-SAFE (Please note, faculty and staff are obligated to report any knowledge of sexual assault/relationship violence to UGA’s Equal Opportunity Office. The advocates at RSVP can provide student confidentially).
- **This syllabus is subject to changes throughout the semester.**

## CLASS SCHEDULE AND READINGS

### **WEEKS 1 &2: Introduction to the Field**

Wed., January 9 (class 1) – Introduction

- TURN NOTIFICATIONS ON FOR COURSE!

Fri., January 11 (class 2) – Understanding “Gender” and “War”

- Carol Cohn. 2013. “Women and Wars: Toward a Conceptual Framework” in *Women and Wars*. Pp.1-30

Mon., January 14 (class 3) – Feminist IR Theories

- Goldstein pp. 34-52
- Ann Tickner. 1997. “You just Don’t Understand: Troubled Engagements Between Feminists and IR Theorists” *International Studies Quarterly*. Pp. 611-632

Wed., January 16 (class 4) – Traditional Explanations for War

- Frieden, Lake, and Schultz. 2012. *World Politics: Interests, Interactions, Institutions*. Ch. 3: Why are there wars?

Fri., January 18 (class 5) – Gendered Security Discourse

- Carol Cohn. 1987. “Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals.” *Signs*.

**WEEK 3: Women’s Absence & Participation in War**

Mon., Jan. 15 – No Class: MLK Day of Service

Wed., January 23 (class 6) – The Participation (And absence) of women in War

- Goldstein Ch. 1 pp. 1-11
- Goldstein Ch. 2
  - **\*\*GET STARTED EARLY!**
- Women and Men’s support for war: <http://www.e-ir.info/2012/01/19/men-and-womens-support-for-war-accounting-for-the-gender-gap-in-public-opinion/>
- Women’s Perception of Drones: <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2013/07/25/big-gender-gap-in-global-public-opinion-about-use-of-drones/>

Fri., January 25 (class 7) – Biological basis for the absence of female combatants

- Goldstein Ch. 3

**WEEK 4: Explaining Women’s Exclusion in Combat**

Mon., January 28 (class 8) – Examining Social Hierarchy and Sex Segregation

- Goldstein Ch. 4 (you can skip p. 184-194 on primates)

Wed., January 30 (class 9) – War: The Making of Masculinity

- Goldstein Ch. 5

Fri., February 1 (class 10) – Catching Up & Discussing Op-Ed Project

- No reading

**WEEK 5: Women’s Inclusion in Combat**

Mon., February 4 (class 11) – The U.S.’s Decision to Lift the Ban on Women in Combat

- “Putting Women in Combat is a Disastrous Decision.” Available at: <http://www.usnews.com/debate-club/should-women-be-allowed-to-fight-in-combat/putting-women-in-combat-is-a-disastrous-decision>

- Dardent and Szekely. 2015. "Warfare Isn't Just a Man's Game Anymore." *WaPo*. Available at: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2015/02/09/warfare-isnt-just-a-mans-game-anymore/>
- Ellen Haring and Megan MacKenzie. "Exclusive Access to Marine Corps Study Show it Misses the Mark." [http://meganhmackenzie.com/2015/10/14/exclusive-access-to-marine-corps-study-shows-it-misses-the-mark/?preview\\_id=456](http://meganhmackenzie.com/2015/10/14/exclusive-access-to-marine-corps-study-shows-it-misses-the-mark/?preview_id=456)
- Megan MacKenzie. "True Grit: The Myths and Realities of Women in Combat." *Foreign Affairs*.
- "For 3 Women, Combat Option Came a Bit Late." 1/26/13. *NYT*. Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/01/27/us/for-3-women-combat-option-came-a-bit-late.html?ref=jamesdao&r=1>

Wed., February 6 (class 12) – Female Engagement Teams and CSTs

- Synne Dyvik. 2013. Women as 'Practitioners' and 'Targets': Gender and Counterinsurgency in Afghanistan." *International Feminist Journal of Politics*.

Fri., February 8 (class 13) – Organizations and Incentives

- Miranda Alison. 2004. "Women as Agents of Political Violence: Gendering Security." *Security Dialogue*. 447-463.

**WEEK 6: Women's Participation in Political Violence**

Mon., February 11 (class 14) – "Idealized Militarized Femininity"

- Laura Sjoberg. 2007. "Triple Transgressions at Abu Ghraib." In *Mothers, Monsters, and Whores*.
- Laura Sjoberg. 2007. "Agency, Militarized Femininity, and Enemy Others: Observations from the War in Iraq." *International Feminist Journal of Politics*.
  - **\*\*Read only** p. 85-87 (the Jessica Lynch story) and 92-99.

Wed., February 13 (class 15) – Women and Armed Rebellion

- Alexis Henshaw. 2015. "Where Women Rebel: Patterns of Participation in Armed Rebel Groups 1990-2008." *International Feminist Journal of Politics*.

Fri., February 15 (class 16) – NO CLASS – Working on Op-Ed Assignment

*\*\*Part 1 of op-ed assignment due at noon Saturday, February 16.*

**WEEK 7: Terrorism**

Mon., February 18 (class 17) – Gender and Terrorism

- Sjoberg, Cooke and Neal. 2011. "Introduction: Women, Gender, and Terrorism" in *Women, Gender, and Terrorism*.
  - **\*\*Read only** p. 1-15 (esp. pay attention to definitions terrorism).
- Lindsey O'Rourke. 2009. What's Special About Female Suicide Terrorism? *Security Studies*.
  - **\*\*Read only** 681-700

- Brigitte L. Nacos. 2005. The Portrayal of Female Terrorists in the Media: Similar Framing Patterns in the News Coverage of Women in Politics and in Terrorism. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*. 435-451.

Wed., February 20 (class 18) – The Terrorist in Their Own Words: Agency or Exploitation?

- Caron E. Gentry. 2011. “The Committed Revolutionary: Reflections on a Conversation with Leila Khaled” in *Women, Gender, and Terrorism*.
- Lihi BenShitrit. 2015. Excerpt on Reem Riyashi in *Righteous Transgressions*. Pp. 168-179.

Fri., February 22 (class 19) – Daesh and State Responses to Terrorism

- Meredith Loken and Anna Zelenz. Explaining Extremism: Western Women in Daesh. *European Journal of International Security* Vol. 3:1. pp.45-68
- Audrey Alexander and Rebecca Turkington. 2018. Treatment of terrorists: How does gender affect justice? *CTC Sentinel*. Vol 11: 8. p. 24-29. Available: <https://ctc.usma.edu/treatment-terrorists-gender-affect-justice/>

**WEEK 8: Gender and State Security**

Mon., February 25 (class 20) – Gender Inequality and Conflict

- Mary Caprioli. 2005. Primed for Violence: The Role of Gender Inequality in Predicting Internal Conflict. *International Studies Quarterly*.
- Valerie Hudson. 2012. “What Sex Means for World Peace.” *Foreign Policy*.
- Zezima, et. al. Dec 2018. “Domestic Slayings: Brutal and Foreseeable.” WaPo. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2018/investigations/domestic-violence-murders/?utm\\_term=.adc7e20a6de0](https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2018/investigations/domestic-violence-murders/?utm_term=.adc7e20a6de0)

Wed., February 27 (class 21) – Masculinity, Bride Price, and Terrorism

- Valerie Hudson and Hilary Matfess. 2017. In Plain Sight: The Neglected Linkage Between Bride Price and Violent Conflict. *International Security*. Pp. 7-40.

Fri., March 1 (class 22) – Gender Norms During War

- R. Charli Carpenter. 2003. ‘Women and Children First’: Gender, Norms, and Humanitarian Evacuation in the Balkans 1991-95. *International Organization*.

**Week 9: Gender and Conflict Resolution**

Mon., March 4 (class 23) – Getting Women to the Table

- Sandra McEvoy. 2009. Loyalist Women Paramilitaries in Northern Ireland: Beginning a Feminist Conversation about Conflict Resolution. *Security Studies*.
- Carol Cohn and Ruth Jacobson. 2013. “Women and Political Activism in the Face of War and Militarization” in *Women and Wars*. 102-123.
- “Where Women Are Leading The Peace” <http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/09/30/where-women-are-leading-the-peace-security/>

Wed., March 6 (class 24) – “Pray the Devil Back to Hell”

- Sanam Naraghi Anderlini. 2007. “Getting to the Peace Table” (excerpt from *Women Building Peace*)

Fri., March 8 (class 25) – Finish & Discuss “Pray the Devil Back to Hell”

- No Reading (but be prepared to discuss Anderlini reading from Wed)

SPRING BREAK MARCH 11-15

### **WEEK 10: WPS to GPS**

Mon., March 18 (class 26) – UNSCR 1325 & The Gender Peace and Security Agenda

- Paul Kirby and Laura Shepherd. 2016. The Futures Past of the Women, Peace, and Security Agenda. *International Affairs*. 373-392.
- UNSCR 1325 Available at:  
[http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view\\_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1325%282000%29](http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1325%282000%29)

Wed., March 20 (class 27) – Transgender Experience in Conflict

- Jamie Hagan. 2016. Queering Women, Peace, and Security. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*.
- Agnes Gereben Schaefer. “RAND’s Research Finding Regarding Transgender Military Personnel Policy.” Available at: <https://www.rand.org/blog/2018/03/on-rands-research-findings-regarding-transgender-military.html>

**\*\*Withdrawal Deadline – March 21\*\***

Fri., March 22 (class 28) – Op-Ed Workshop

- Full draft due in class with at least 3 copies – one to submit and two for reviewers

### **WEEKS 11 & 12: Sexual Violence and Conflict**

Mon., March 25 (class 29) – Rape as a “weapon” of War?

- Carter. 2010. Should International Relations Consider Rape a Weapon of War? *Politics & Gender*. 343-371
- Letter from the Missing Peace Young Scholar Network:  
<http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/files/UK-ESVC-Letter-20140609.pdf>
- Elisabeth Jean Wood. 2015. Conflict-Related Sexual Violence and the Policy Implications of Recent Research. *International Review of the Red Cross*. Pp. 457-478.

Wed., March 27 (class 30) – Complicating the Perpetrator/Victim Binary

- Cohen, Dara Kay. 2013. Female Combatants and the Perpetration of Violence: Wartime Rape in the Sierra Leone Civil War. *World Politics*. 383-415.
- “The Rape of Men: The Darkest Secret of War.” 7/16/11. *The Guardian*.  
<http://www.theguardian.com/society/2011/jul/17/the-rape-of-men>



Fri., March 29 (class 31) – \*\*No Class: SPIA Undergraduate Research Colloquium

- Attendance at one panel (operating on regular class schedule) with a short 250 word response uploaded to ELC discussion forum by 10pm Sunday, 3/31.

*\*Op-Ed uploaded by noon Saturday, March 30*

Mon., April 1 (class 32) – Sexual Assault in the Military

- Elisabeth Jean Wood and Nathaniel Toppelberg. 2017. The Persistence of Sexual Assault Within the US Military. *Journal of Peace Research*. Pp. 620-633.
- “In the War Against Sexual Assault, the Army Keeps Shooting Itself in the Foot.” 12/19/15. WaPo.  
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2015/12/19/in-the-war-against-sexual-assault-the-army-keeps-shooting-itself-in-the-foot/>
- Nathaniel Penn. 2014. “Son, Men Don’t Get Raped.” *GQ Longform*. Available at: <http://www.gq.com/long-form/male-military-rape>

Wed., April 3 (class 33) – TBD

Fri., April 5 (class 34) – Peacekeepers and Sexual Violence

- Sam Bell, Michael Flynn, and Carla Martinez Machain. 2018. U.N. Peacekeeping Forces and the Demand for Sex Trafficking. *International Studies Quarterly*. P. 643-655.

**WEEK 13: Gendering the Post-Conflict State**

Mon., April 8 (class 35) – Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration

- Megan MacKenzie. 2009. Securitization and Desecuritization: Female Soldiers and the Reconstruction of Women in Post-Conflict Sierra Leone. *Security Studies*. Pp. 241-261.

Wed., April 10 (class 36) – Post-War Gender (Re)Construction

- Nadjé Al-Ali. 2005. Reconstructing Gender: Iraq between dictatorship, war, and occupation. *Third World Quarterly*. 739-758.

Fri., April 12 (class 37) – Gendered Refugee Experiences

- Alison Gerard and Sharon Pickering. 2013. Gender, Securitization and Transit: Refugee Women and the Journey to the EU. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 27, No.3. 338-359.

*Suggested:*

- Jane Freedman. 2016. “Engendering Security at the Borders of Europe: Women Migrants and the Mediterranean ‘Crisis’” *Journal of Refugee Studies*.

**WEEK 14: TUGK**

Mon., April 15 (class 38) – Introduction to The Underground Girls of Kabul (TUGK)

- Nordberg p. 1-62

Wed., April 17 (class 39) –

- Nordberg – pgs. 63-129

Fri., April 19 (class 40) TUGK

- Nordberg – pgs. 130-160

### **WEEKS 15: TUGK & Conclusion**

Mon., April 22 (class 41) – TUGK

- Nordberg – pgs. 163-223
- “US Soldiers Told to Ignore Sexual Abuse of Boys by Afghan Allies.” 9/20/15. *NYT*  
<http://www.nytimes.com/2015/09/21/world/asia/us-soldiers-told-to-ignore-afghan-allies-abuse-of-boys.html? r=0>

Wed., April 24 (class 42) – TUGK

Nordberg – pgs. 224-274

Fri., April 26 (class 43) – – TUGK Conclusion

- Nordberg – pgs. 275-311

Mon., April 29 (class 44) – Wrap-Up

- Meredith Loken. July 2018. “No, Your Trump-is-gay-for-Putin Jokes Aren’t Funny”  
[https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/posteverything/wp/2018/07/17/no-your-trump-is-gay-for-putin-jokes-arent-funny/?utm\\_term=.2586560bc063](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/posteverything/wp/2018/07/17/no-your-trump-is-gay-for-putin-jokes-arent-funny/?utm_term=.2586560bc063)

**\*\*\*Final Exam due Monday, May 6 at noon**