



UNIVERSITY *of*  
DENVER

**Gender, Security, and Human Rights (INTS 4670)**  
**Winter 2023**

**Instructor: Dr. Marie Berry**  
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**Josef Korbel School of International Studies**  
**Mondays: 9:00 am – 11:50 am**  
**Sie Complex 3015**

Office Hours: By Appointment (in person or via zoom)  
<https://calendly.com/marie-berry-1/15min>

**Why study Gender, Security, and Human Rights?**

This course examines the gendered dimensions of security and human rights. Gender equality has been at the heart of human rights and development efforts over the past half-century. International institutions and actors have created legal and normative frameworks to address the ongoing marginalization of women, girls, and sexual and gender minorities (SGM) around the world, including the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the 1995 Beijing Platform of Action, and the UN Women, Peace, and Security framework.

Yet despite these frameworks, gender-based violations and inequalities continue to exist around the globe with alarming pervasiveness. Moreover, there remain profound gaps between legal provisions aiming to promote gender equality (or better, gender justice) and the lived experiences of women, men, and non-gender conforming individuals in their daily lives. Drawing from critical gender analyses and postcolonial feminist thinking, this class will introduce you to the concept of gendered rights, challenge you to think about intersectionality as a way of considering “rights,” and introduce you to many of the contemporary human rights and security crises unfolding around the world today. Critically, this class will encourage you to think about the gendered insecurity that exists, the strengths (and limits) or current frameworks to address this inequality, and the more radical and bottom-up ways that communities are fighting to secure their survival and wellbeing. Importantly, this class takes an inclusive view of “gender,” examining the security and human rights of *all* people through an intersectional lens where we map and identify the multiple and overlapping oppressions that keep people on the margins. We will pay particular attention to how power operates to keep these oppressions in place—and identify where and how people are actively pushing back to fight for liberation.

The course is roughly divided into three sections:

The first two sessions of the course focus on clarifying the concepts and theories that we will employ throughout the quarter (and beyond), including: gender, feminisms, masculinities, femininities, intersectionality, colonialism, inequality, power, privilege, and so forth.

The next five course sessions are focused on themes that reflect some—although certainly not all—of the major substantive topics in discussions of security and human rights. These topics move from the body outwards to the collective and include: (1) sexual and reproductive rights and the carceral state; (2) labor, trafficking, forced migration, and borders; (3) gendered insecurity *during* war; (4) gendered insecurity *after* war; (5) eco-crisis and climate collapse. For each class session, you will typically have several readings that expand on the issue accompanied by several case studies (often through organizational reports or news articles) that ground the ideas from the academic readings in particular cases.

During the final three classes of the quarter, we will turn to the limitations of our current frameworks for understanding security and human rights; we will also critically assess various approaches and movements which aim to dismantle some of the oppressive systems involved in perpetuating gendered insecurities and violations. The final class period will be a chance for group reflection on the issues discussed and researched throughout the quarter.

Throughout, we will talk about how security is a distinct concept from human rights or human development, but we will also discuss how all are necessary and related. We will explore feminist approaches to international security and critically engage concepts like militarization, imperialism, and intervention. We will emphasize the importance of looking at structural causes of insecurity and at the linkages between various forms of insecurity. We will pay particular attention to the agency of local actors and to the strategies employed by grassroots movements to oppose war, secure peace, and promote human security.

### **Objectives:**

By the end of this course, you should be able to:

1. Conceptualize gender not as an equivalent of sex or “women,” but rather a system of social constructs that creates social hierarchies associated with masculine and feminine characteristics;
2. Explore the relationship between gender and other intersecting forms of oppression, including race, class, ethnicity, ability, language, and so forth;
3. Evaluate current human rights and international security frameworks from a feminist perspective and understand the limitations of these frameworks, with a commitment to understanding how all knowledge is entangled in power relationships;
4. Appreciate the underlying systems of inequality that structure the world today; discuss how and why power operates to maintain these systems; and be able to suggest ways of dismantling them;
5. Conduct a(n intersectional) gender analysis of a contemporary human rights or security issue.

## **Requirements:**

**Personal Narrative (10%):** For the second week of the quarter, please prepare a personal narrative of approximately 1,000 words which describes your interest in this course and critically reflects on your own career goals in relation to the goals of this class. What motivated you to take this course? What experience do you have thinking or working about issues related to gender, security and human rights? What do you hope to gain from the class?

**Op-Ed Assignment (15%):** You will write one short essay in the style of a New York Times Op-Ed. This Op-Ed must be approximately 800 words and turned in via Canvas by the beginning of class during Week 7 (**Feb 20<sup>th</sup>**). This piece should use the literature from class to critique and comment on a contemporary human rights or security issue, stating a firm position and backing it up with evidence. These Op-Eds should be inspired by the literature while engaging contemporary issues. It should not be a summary of the readings. A critical approach is encouraged, and I expect each to make an argument and back up the argument with evidence. I will provide a model in class.

**Reading Reflections (3 at 5% each):** You will write three short (250 words max) reading reflections during the quarter in reaction to a set of weekly readings. These reflections should engage, reflect, critique, and analyze the readings—you might comment on the merits of an author’s argument, find a common thread between readings, note contradictions in or limits of an author’s argument, or pose further questions that were generated from the readings. These reflections should engage at least three of the readings in a given week. They should not be summaries of the readings, but should rather reflect on and engage the substance of the readings. These should be uploaded to the Canvas site under the “discussions” tab by 5 pm on Sunday before class.

**Participation (15%):** This seminar will be driven by the active and thoughtful participation of all students. You must come to class prepared to discuss the readings and ready to comment on the specifics of each case we study. You are also asked to comment and engage with the reading reflections that your classmates post each week, and will be invited to attend (optional) additional reading groups, films, and events. While I don’t take attendance, your presence and participation in class and evidence that you’ve done the reading is the primary factor determining this grade.

**Final Report (45%):** The capstone assignment for the course will be to conduct a gender analysis of a contemporary human rights or security issue. This report should critically trace the structural and historical factors that produce the selected contemporary human rights issue or security crisis. The report will then analyze the issue/crisis through an intersectional lens (e.g., identifying sex- and other-disaggregated data, control versus access to resources, beliefs and perceptions shaping issue, laws and policies at play), note areas for action, and suggest concrete steps that governments, international NGOs, the UN, and other institutions might take toward remedying these violations, looking systematically at interventions at all levels. This analysis should apply concepts from the course readings and class discussion (e.g., intersectionality, colonialism, patriarchy) to the particular topic. I will provide additional details in class, and I strongly encourage each student to discuss your topic with me at some point in

the quarter during my office hours. **DUE Wednesday, March 15<sup>th</sup>, 2023 at 5 pm MST online through Canvas. Each day late results in a 10% reduction in your overall grade.**

### **My classroom commitment:**

This class can be intellectually rigorous and personally challenging. We will be critiquing some fundamental constructs of gender, patriarchy, capitalism, racism, sexism, and more, so I ask you to come to the material prepared to interrogate your own biases and engage from a well-informed, thoughtful, and respectful position. We will also be addressing topics that can be intellectually and emotionally triggering and exhausting. I will do my best to add a “Content Note” to materials on the syllabus which may be particularly difficult for some students. That said, please know that many of our lectures and readings deal with difficult topics like racism, sexism, violence, and violence against women. I invite you to skip readings, take time out from class, skip class, and generally take care of yourself if anything become too overwhelming or if you are experiencing any sort of distress. I am always available to discuss your needs further.

I do not expect you to share the intellectual position of the authors of the course readings, me (the instructor), or your classmates. Instead, I ask you to thoughtfully analyze the arguments of the texts using the provided empirical evidence, assume that all of your classmates are doing the best they can at this point in time, and engage in thoughtful, informed discussion. Please also see the Canvas module on participating in an inclusive and respectful classroom.

As your instructor, I unconditionally reject every form of bigotry, discrimination, hateful rhetoric, and hateful action, whether directed towards one’s race, gender, gender identity, sexual orientation, religion, national origin, disability, citizenship, political views, socioeconomic status, veteran status, immigration status, or any other form of difference, in class and out. For any member of this class (or the wider DU community) who may feel fear or oppression, my doors are open and I am ready to help. I also affirm people of all gender expressions and gender identities. If you prefer to be called a different name than what is indicated on the class roster, please let me know anytime. Feel free to offer your preferred gender pronouns (I prefer she/her/hers).

Finally, I honor that fact that the University of Denver occupies unceded Cheyenne and Arapaho land. In the spirit of healing, I acknowledge this injustice and embrace a decolonial pedagogy that rejects any attempts to erase this violent history. To learn more about DU’s complicity, recognition, and reconciliation of their involvement in the Sand Creek Massacre, please review the [John Evans report](#).

### **COVID Policies**

While the University has largely relaxed all COVID precautions, I am very familiar with the fear and risk this causes, particularly for vulnerable and immunocompromised members of our community. I invite you to mask up in class and insist that you stay home if you are not feeling well. That said, it is the expectation that you attend class in person unless DU alert levels change (see here: [DU Public Health Website](#)), or if you have made alternative arrangements with me prior to the start of class due to illness, medical reasons, or the need to

isolate or quarantine due to COVID-19. As in any in-person course, attendance and participation are crucial for a complete understanding of course material. In choosing to attend the University of Denver, you've chosen to join a larger Community of Care, which means you have agreed:

- Not to attend class when you're sick.
- Not to attend class when you've been exposed to people who have or may have COVID-19.

While this course doesn't have a formal hybrid option, if you are testing positive for COVID but are not very ill, you are welcome to coordinate with a friend to zoom you into class. That said, if you are sick, please just rest and get better. We can make up your assignments later. Please take care of yourself and your fellow classmates as the top priority.

### **Honor Code**

All students are expected to abide by the [University of Denver Honor Code](#). These expectations include the application of academic integrity and honesty in your class participation and assignments.

### **Mental Health & Wellness**

As part of the University's Culture of Care & Support we provide campus resources to create access for you to maintain your safety, health, and well-being. We understand that as a student you may experience a range of issues that can cause barriers to learning, such as strained relationships, increased anxiety, alcohol/drug concerns depression, difficulty concentrating and/or lack of motivation. These stressful moments can impact academic performance or reduce your ability to engage. The University offers services to assist you with addressing these or ANY other concerns you may be experiencing. If you or someone you know are suffering from any challenges, you should reach out for support. You can seek confidential mental health services available on campus in the Health & Counseling Center (HCC). Another helpful resource is Student Outreach & Support (SOS), where staff work with you to connect to all the appropriate campus resources (there are many!), develop a plan of action, and guide you in navigating challenging situations. If you are concerned about one of your peers you can submit a report through our Pioneers Care System. More information about HCC, SOS, and Pioneers CARE can be found at:

[Health & Counseling Services](#)

[My SSP 24/7 confidential services for students \(Links to an external site.\)](#)

[Student Outreach & Support \(SOS\) and SOS Referrals](#)

### **Religious Accommodations**

University policy grants students excused absences from class or other organized activities or observance of religious holy days, unless the accommodation would create an undue hardship. Please notify me by the end of the second week of classes if you have any conflicts that may require an absence. It is your responsibility to make arrangements with me in advance to make up any missed work or in-class material.

## **Title IX**

Gender violence can happen to anyone regardless of race, class, age, appearance, gender identity, or sexual orientation. The University of Denver is committed to providing an environment free of discrimination on the basis of sex (gender), including sexual misconduct, sexual assault, relationship violence, and stalking. [The Center for Advocacy, Prevention and Empowerment \(CAPE\)](#) provides programs and resources to help promote healthy relationships, teach non-violence and equality, and foster a respectful and safe environment for all members of the University of Denver community. All services are confidential and free of charge. For assistance during business hours, call 303-871-3853 and ask to speak to the Director of CAPE. After hours, please call the Emergency & Crisis Dispatch Line at 303-871-3000 and ask to speak to the CAPE advocate on call.

[The Center for Advocacy, Prevention, and Empowerment](#) (CAPE) provides advocacy and support services to all student, staff, and faculty survivors of sexual assault, relationship violence, stalking, and sexual harassment. They also offer consultation and resources to people who are supporting a survivor. All services are confidential and free of charge. For assistance during business hours, call 303-871-3853. You can also email [cape@du.edu](mailto:cape@du.edu). For assistance after hours to speak to a mental health counselor on-call, please call 303-871-2205.

## **Supporting Academic Success**

If you have a disability/medical issue protected under the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) and Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act and need to request accommodations, please visit the [Disability Services Program website](#). You may also call (303) 871-2372, email them at [dsp@du.edu](mailto:dsp@du.edu), or visit them in person on the 4th floor of Ruffatto Hall; 1999 E. Evans Ave., Denver, CO. I will happily work with you to support your needs, whatever they may be.

DU also has several programs that provide support for neurodiverse learners, and I encourage you to take advantage of them. For instance, see the [Learning Effectiveness Program \(LEP\)](#) which has been operating for 40 years. The [Student Support Office](#) also has many resources. Some students benefit from using [Speechify](#) to read their assigned readings out loud, or the [Kurzweil 3000](#) platform that can assist with many learning strategies. I also encourage you to make an appointment with me to discuss what I can do to support your learning.

**\*All course readings will be provided via Canvas\***

## **COURSE SCHEDULE**

### **Week 1 (Jan 9): Introduction to Core Concepts in Gender, Security, and Human Rights**

Questions: What is gender, and how is it different from sex? How does this shape the way we examine security and human rights in our world today? What is security, and how is it defined and understood? What are human rights, and what is the legal framework through which we understand them? What are some of the limitations of these frameworks? What do we mean when we talk about power, and how can we make sense of how it operates?

#### Readings

*Please familiarize yourself with these international frameworks before coming to class:*

UN Declaration of Human Rights: <http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/instate/b1udhr.htm>

Convention on the Elimination on All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW): <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/cedaw.htm>

UN Women, Peace and Security Framework summary (read UNSCR 1325 & 1820)

Millennium Development Goals and Sustainable Development Goals

*\*Hot tip -- get started on the readings for week 2 because there are a lot!*

### **Week 2 (Jan 16 – MLK Day, we will reschedule class): Feminist Approaches to Security and Human Rights**

**\*Due: Personal Reflection Essay via Canvas**

#### **In class case study: Indigeneity and First Nations in the Americas**

Questions: How are systems of power and oppression integrally linked to gendered dimensions of security and human rights? How can we pursue security and human rights through a feminist, intersectional lens? What is the relationship between masculinities/feminities/power/privilege/race/indigeneity/colonization/neoliberalism/patriarchy and security and human rights? What do all these concepts mean?

Films to watch:

Gloria Steinem, *Women Series*. "Canada, the Missing First Nations" CN\* for sexual violence and violence against women

OR

*End of the Line: The Women of Standing Rock* (streaming on Peacock and Fuse+)

Readings:

Audre Lorde. (1984; 2007). *Sister Outsider*. "The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House." Chapter 12, page 112 – 114.

Chandra Talpade Mohanty. (1986). "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses." In *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*, C.T. Mohanty, A. Russo, et. al.

Kimberle Crenshaw. (1991). "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review*, 43(6): 1241-1299.

Oyeronke Oyewumi. (2002). "Conceptualizing Gender: The Eurocentric Foundations of Feminist Concepts and the Challenge of African Epistemologies." *JENDA*. 2(1): 1-5.

Lila Abu-Lughod, (2002). "Do Muslim women really need saving? Anthropological reflections on cultural relativism and its others." *American Anthropologist* 104.3 (2002): 783-790.

Johanna Hedva. (2016). "Sick Woman Theory." *Mask Magazine*. 1-18.  
<http://www.maskmagazine.com/not-again/struggle/sick-woman-theory>

Chelsea (Métis) Vowel. (2012). "Language, culture, and Two-spirit identity." *Law, language, life: A Plains Cree speaking Métis woman living in Montreal*. 1-5.  
<http://apihtawikosisan.com/2012/03/language-culture-and-two-spirit-identity/>

Akwaeke Emezi. (2018). "Transition." *The Cut*. 1-6.  
<https://www.thecut.com/2018/01/writer-and-artist-akwaeke-emezi-gender-transition-and-ogbanje.html>

*Optional and recommended:*

Enloe, Cynthia. (2014). *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. University of California Press.

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



Oyeronke Oyewumi. (1997). *The Invention of Women: Making An African Sense of Western Gender Discourses*.

Gwen Hunnicutt. (2009). "Resurrecting 'Patriarchy' as a Theoretical Tool." *Violence Against Women*, 15(5): 553-573.

Eric Blanchard. (2003). "Gender, International Relations, and the Development of Feminist Security Theory." *Signs*, 28(4): 1289-1312.

R. W. Connell, *Masculinities*. University of California Press.

### **Week 3 (Jan 23): Sexual & Reproductive Rights in a Carceral World**

#### **In class case studies: Ireland, Eastern Europe, El Salvador, and the U.S.**

Questions: What are sexual and reproductive rights? What is reproductive justice? Are how are these concepts related to human rights or security? In what parts of the world are such rights under threat? And, for whom are these rights threatened? How does the state interfere with gendered subjects' bodily autonomy? How are punishment regimes linked to issues of security and human rights? How are reproductive rights always racialized and classed?

Film (watch before class): 13<sup>th</sup> (available on Netflix—let me know if you need help to access)

*\*Optional film substitute for a reading below: No Más Babes\**

#### Reading:

Michelle Alexander. (2010). *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*. The New Press. Introduction, p. 1-20.

Julia Sudbury. (2005). *Global Lockdown: Race, Gender, and the Prison-Industrial Complex*. Routledge. Introduction, Pp. xi-xxviii.

Angela Davis. "Racism, Birth Control, and Reproductive Rights," in *The Post-Colonial Feminist Reader* (eds. Lewis & Mills). Chapter 4.1, p. 352-367.

Jocelyn Viterna. (2014). "Conceiving While Poor, Imprisoned for Murder." *NACLA Report on the Americas*, 47(3): 34-37.

Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor. (2022). "How Black Feminists Defined Abortion Rights." The New Yorker. <https://www.newyorker.com/news/essay/how-black-feminists-defined-abortion-rights>

*Optional and recommended:*

Susila Gurusami. (2017). Working for Redemption: Formerly Incarcerated Black Women and Punishment in the Labor Market. *Gender & Society*, 31(4), 433–456.

Sara Haley. (2016). *No Mercy Here: Gender, Punishment, and the Making of Jim Crow Modernity*. University of North Carolina Press. Introduction and Chapter 1, p. 1-57.

Audre Lorde. (2007). “The Uses of Anger,” in *Sister Outsider: Essays & Speeches by Audre Lorde*. Berkeley: Crossing Press, p. 124-133.

Angela Davis. (2003). *Are Prisons Obsolete?* New York: Seven Stories Press.

Gail Kligman. (1992). “Abortion and International Adoption in Post-Ceausescu Romania.” *Feminist Studies*, 18(2), p. 405-419.

Amnesty International. (2015). “She Is Not a Criminal’: The Impact of Ireland’s Abortion Law.” Summary Report, Amnesty:  
<https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/EUR2915982015ENGLISH.pdf>

Beth E. Richie. (2012). *Arrested Justice: Black Women, Violence, and America’s Prison Nation*. New York: NYU Press.

Assata Shakur. (1987). *Assata: An Autobiography*. Westport, CT: Lawrence Hill.

Juanita Díaz-Cotto. (1996). *Gender, Ethnicity, and the State: Latina and Latino Prison Politics*. Albany: SUNY Press.

The Sentencing Project, 2014. *Facts about Prisons and People in Prisons*. Washington, D.C.

#### **Week 4 (Jan 30): Labor, Trafficking, and Forced Migration in a Globalized World**

##### **In class case studies: Migrant labor in the UAE; Garment factories in Bangladesh; Tobacco farms in the U.S.; Europe refugee crisis**

Questions: How central are labor rights to human security? What forms of gender-based violence exist in labor institutions around the globe? How is trafficking linked to labor exploitation? How are current efforts to mitigating trafficking helping (or hurting) so-called “victims” of trafficking? What are some of the limitations of the current approach? How is migration and the current refugee crisis linked to both of the above, and what are some of the gendered concerns that stem from the crisis?

Film in class: *Becky’s Journey*

*\*Optional substitute for a reading below: watch Maquilapolis\* (via Kanopy)*

Radio (listen before class):

This American Life: "The Out Crowd"

Readings:

Cynthia Enloe. "Women's Labor is Never Cheap," Chapter 7 in *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 250-304.

Harsha Walia. (2013). *Undoing Border Imperialism*. AK Press. Forward and Introduction, 1-23.

Achille Mbembe, (2018). "The Idea of a Borderless World." *Africa is a Country*, <https://africasacountry.com/2018/11/the-idea-of-a-borderless-world>

Sylvanna Falcón. (2006). "'National Security' and the Violation of Women: Militarized Border Rape at the US-Mexico Border." In *The Color of Violence: the Incite! Anthology*. Cambridge: South End Press. 119-129.

Diya Bose. (2016). Dhaka's 'victims of trafficking': locked up for their "own good". Open Democracy Blog: <https://www.opendemocracy.net/beyondslavery/diya-bose/victims-of-trafficking-in-bangladesh-locked-up-for-their-own-good>

Roxanne Krystalli, Allyson Hawkins, & Kim Wilson. (2018). "I Followed the Flood": A Gender Analysis of the Moral and Financial Economies of Forced Migration." *Disasters*. 42(S1): S17-S39.

*Optional:*

Lewis Turner. (2017). "Who will resettle single Syrian men?" *Forced Migration Review*, 29-31.

Elizabeth Bernstein. (2014). "Militarized Humanitarianism Meets Carceral Feminism: The Politics of Sex, Rights, and Freedom in Contemporary Anti-Trafficking Campaigns." *Signs*, 36(2): 45-71.

Kamala Kempadoo. (2005). "Victims and Agents of Crime: The New Crusade Against Trafficking." In *Global Lockdown* (Julia Sudbury, ed.). Chapter 3, 35-55.

Heather Johnson. (2011). "Click to Donate: Visual Images, Constructing Victims and Imagining the Female Refugee." *Third World Quarterly*, 32(6): 1015-1037.

BBC. (2016). Migrant Crisis in Europe: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34131911>

Multiple authors. (2014). "Selling People." *Contexts*, 13(1): 16-25.

Orlando Patterson. (2012). "Trafficking, Gender and Slavery: Past and Present," in Jean Allain, ed., *The Legal Understanding of Slavery: From the Historical to the Contemporary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Gail Kligman & Stephanie Limoncelli. (2005). "Trafficking Women After Socialism: From, To, and Through Eastern Europe." *Social Politics*, 12(1): 118-140.

Recommended films: *Lilya 4-ever* (CN)

## **Week 5 (Feb 6): Gender Insecurity During War**

### **In class case studies: Ukraine, Sudan, Iraq, and Rwanda**

Questions: How are periods of insecurity and violence gendered? What is gender-based violence? Why is it important to think of gender-based violence as not only something targeting women and girls? How common is it in armed conflict? Why is some violence considered "political" and other violence considered "personal"? How fluid are identities in wartime (and in peacetime)? How do intersecting oppressions shape wartime experiences? Are the boundaries between war and peace always clear? To echo Judith Butler, "What makes for a grievable life?"

CN\* for sexual violence, violence in general

#### Read this:

Cynthia Cockburn. (2010). "Gender Relations as Causal in Militarization and War." *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 12(2): 139-157.

#### And then pick three of these:

Riverbend. (2005). *Baghdad Burning: Girl Blog from Iraq*, New York, Feminist Press at the City University of New York. P. 1-48. CN\*

Aisling Swaine. (2015). "Beyond Strategic Rape and Between the Public and Private: Violence Against Women in Armed Conflict." *Human Rights Quarterly*, 37(3): 755-786. CN\*

Charli Carpenter. (2006). Recognizing Gender-Based Violence Against Civilian Men and Boys in Conflict Situations. *Security Studies*, 37(1):83-103. CN\*

Mats Utas. (2005). "Victimcy, Girlfriending, Soldiering: Tactic Agency in a Young Woman's Social Navigation of the Liberian War Zone." *Anthropological Quarterly*, 78(2): 403-430. CN\*

Aleksandra Sasha Milićević. (2006). "Joining the war: Masculinity, nationalism and war participation in the Balkans war of secession," *Nationalities Papers*, 34(3): 265-287.

Luna K.C., Gemma Van Der Haar, and Dorothea Hilhorst. (2017). "Changing Gender Roles: Women's Livelihoods, Conflict and Post-conflict Security in Nepal." *Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs*, 4(2): 175-195.

Dara Cohen. (2013). "Female Combatants and the Perpetration of Violence: Rape in the Sierra Leone Civil War," *World Politics* 65(3): 383-415.

*Film*: “War Redefined,” the capstone installment of PBS’s Women, War and Peace documentary series

*Film*: “I Came to Testify”

*Film*: “Calling the Ghosts: A Story about Rape, War, and Women”

*Optional and recommended*:

Cynthia Cockburn and Cynthia Enloe. (2012). “Militarism, Patriarchy, and Peace Movements – A Conversation,” *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 14(4): 550-557.

Joshua Goldstein. (2001). War and Gender, Chapter 2: “Women Warriors: the historical record of female combatants.” (p. 59-127).

Caron Gentry & Laura Sjoberg, (2015). *Beyond Mothers, Monsters Whores: Thinking about Women’s Violence in Global Politics*. New York, NY: Zed Books.

## **Week 6 (Feb 13): Gender After War**

### **In class case studies: DDR and peacebuilding, continuums of violence**

Questions: How is the aftermath of armed conflict gendered? How do interventions—such as DDR programs, peacebuilding initiatives, or women’s empowerment schemes—help promote security and human rights in the aftermath? What are the limitations of these interventions? How are local initiatives part of these processes? How is trauma transformed after conflict?

Film: Please watch at least 2 of the short films that are part of *The Trials of Spring* documentary project, here: <http://www.trialsofspring.com/stories>

OR

Listen: *On Being*. Podcast: How Trauma Lodges in the Body, featuring Bessel van der Kolk. <https://onbeing.org/programs/bessel-van-der-kolk-how-trauma-lodges-in-the-body/>

\*Optional substitute for one reading below: *Something Necessary* (<https://iffrr.com/en/2013/films/something-necessary>)\*

### Readings:

Marie Berry and Milli Lake. (2021). “Women’s Rights After War: On Gender Interventions and Enduring Hierarchies.” *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*, 17:459-481.

Kimberly Theidon. (2009). "Reconstructing Masculinities: The Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration of Former Combatants in Colombia." *Human Rights Quarterly*, 31: 1-34.

Holly Porter. (2019). "Love and the Pursuit of Home After War." *Anthropology News*.

Claire Wamariya w/Elizabeth Weil. (2015). "Everything is Yours; Everything is not Yours." *Medium*, 1-37: <https://medium.com/matter/everything-is-yours-everything-is-not-yours-d6f66bd9c6f9>

Cynthia Cockburn. (2014). "Plotting for a women-shaped peace: Syrian and Bosnian women confer." OpenDemocracy: <https://www.opendemocracy.net/5050/cynthia-cockburn/plotting-for-woman-shaped-peace-syrian-and-bosnian-women-confer> & "Sexual Violence in Bosnia: how war lives on in everyday life" (2013): <https://www.opendemocracy.net/5050/cynthia-cockburn/sexual-violence-in-bosnia-how-war-lives-on-in-everyday-life>

Inter-Agency Working Group on DDR. (2012). "How-To Guide: Gender-Responsive Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration." (On course website).

International Alert (Henry Myrtilinen, Jana Naujoks, and Judy El-Bushra). (2014). "Re-Thinking Gender in Peacebuilding." [http://www.international-alert.org/sites/default/files/Gender\\_RethinkingGenderPeacebuilding\\_EN\\_2014.pdf](http://www.international-alert.org/sites/default/files/Gender_RethinkingGenderPeacebuilding_EN_2014.pdf)

*Optional and Recommended:*

ICTJ (Thomas Jaye). (2009). Transitional Justice and DDR: The Case of Liberia. <https://www.ictj.org/sites/default/files/ICTJ-DDR-Liberia-CaseStudy-2009-English.pdf>

Marie Berry & Milli Lake. (2017). "Gender & Power After War." *Political Violence @ A Glance*. <http://politicalviolenceataglance.org/2017/06/06/women-and-power-after-war/>

Katrin Bennhold. (2016). "On perilous migrant trail, women often become prey to sexual abuse." NY Times: [http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/03/world/europe/on-perilous-migrant-trail-women-often-become-prey-to-sexual-abuse.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/03/world/europe/on-perilous-migrant-trail-women-often-become-prey-to-sexual-abuse.html?_r=0)

## **Week 7 (Feb 20): Eco-Collapse and Climate Crisis**

### ***\*Op-Ed Due via Canvas***

Questions: How do we understand the continuums of violence as they emerge from dire changes to our climate? How does climate insecurity and the threat of eco-collapse create gendered insecurities?

*\*Optional substitute for one reading (not Nixon): This Changes Everything\* (film)*

Readings:

Rob Nixon (2011). *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor*. Introduction and Chapter 4.

Cara Daggett. 2018. "Petro-Masculinity: Fossil Fuels and Authoritarian Desire." *Millennium*, vol. 47, no. 1, pp. 25–44, doi:10.1177/0305829818775817.

Javier Auyero and Débora Alejandra Swistun. *Flammable: Environmental suffering in an Argentine Shantytown*. Oxford University Press, 2009. Selections.

Lauren Wolfe. 2020. Girls and women face increased violence due to climate change. Women's Media Center.

*Recommended:*

Naomi Klein (2015). *This Changes Everything: Capitalism versus the Climate*. Simon and Schuster.

Maria Tanyag, "Resilience, Female Altruism, and Bodily Autonomy: Disaster-Induced Displacement in Post-Haiyan Philippines," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 43, no. 3 (Spring 2018): 563-585.

**Week 8 (Feb 27): Contradictions: Limits of Rights**

Questions: What are some of the limitations of a rights-based framework for promoting gender equality, security, and human rights? What are the costs and benefits of practicing rights? How are women often positioned as vulnerable subjects within security and human rights discourses?

In class: Debate

Read this:

Wendy Brown. (2000). "Suffering Rights as Paradoxes." *Constellations*, 7(2): 230-241.

And then pick three of these:

Marie Berry. (2015). "When 'Bright Futures' Fade: Paradoxes of Women's Empowerment in Rwanda." *Signs*, 21(1): 1-27.

Arundhati Roy, in conversation with John Cusak, "Things That Can and Cannot Be Said." Excerpt.

Mahmood Mamdani. (2010). "Responsibility to Protect or Right to Punish?" *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, 4(1): 53-67.

Hae Yeon Choo. (2012). "The Cost of Rights: Migrant Women, Feminist Advocacy, and Gendered Morality in South Korea." *Gender & Society*, 27(4): 445-468.

Kate Cronin-Furman, Nimmi Gowrinathan, & Rafia Zakaria. (2017). "Emissaries of Empowerment." Report, City University of New York. 1-21.

Milli Lake. (2017). "Building the Rule of War: Postconflict Institutions and the Micro-Dynamics of Conflict in Eastern DR Congo." *International Organization*. 281-315.

Elena Shih. (2017). "Freedom Markets: Consumption and Commerce across Human-Trafficking Rescue in Thailand." *Positions, Asia Critique*, 25(4): 769-794.

Jocelyn Viterna. (2012). "The Left and Life in El Salvador." *Politics & Gender*, 8(2): 248-254.

### **Week 9 (March 6): What now? Radical, Bottom-up Approaches of Mobilizing for (Feminist) Change**

Questions: Given the limitations of rights-based frameworks, how are various people and groups mobilizing to address some of these security and human rights issues from a feminist, progressive, gender-sensitive perspective? Where are the strengths and weaknesses of these movements? What seems to be successful, and what has failed? What are some of the innovations we see in approaches to mobilizing for change?

In class: Arundhati Roy's The NGO-ization of Resistance (short)

Films (watch before class):

*Budrus* (<https://www.justvision.org/budrus/watch>)

**In-class case studies:** Please select 2 of the following 5 reading clusters and come to class prepared to discuss both in small groups for an in-class exercise. You are encouraged to read beyond the readings listed here.

Case studies:

#### **1) Rojava:**

- a. Radio Kobani: <https://vimeo.com/ondemand/radiokobani> (CN\* violence)
- b. Carne Ross (2017). "The 'Most Feminist Revolution the World Has Ever Witnessed.'" Vice: <https://www.vice.com/en/article/43dmgm/the-most-feminist-revolution-the-world-has-ever-witnessed>
- c. Haris Zargar. (2019). "A Bold, Democratic Feminist Experiment is Under Threat." New Frame: <https://www.newframe.com/a-bold-democratic-feminist-experiment-is-under-threat/>



- d. James Gelvin (2019). “Turkish Attack on Syria Endangers a Remarkable Democratic Experiment by the Kurds.” The Conversation:  
<https://theconversation.com/turkish-attack-on-syria-endangers-a-remarkable-democratic-experiment-by-the-kurds-125105>

## 2) Climate Action

- a. The Ecocide Project ‘Ecocide is the missing 5th Crime Against Peace’.  
[https://space.sas.ac.uk/4830/1/Ecocide\\_research\\_report\\_19\\_July\\_13.pdf](https://space.sas.ac.uk/4830/1/Ecocide_research_report_19_July_13.pdf) and  
<https://ecocidelaw.com/>
- b. Nylah Burton, (2019). “Meet the young activists of color who are leading the charge against climate disaster.”  
<https://www.vox.com/identities/2019/10/11/20904791/young-climate-activists-of-color>
- c. Fridays for Future. <https://www.fridaysforfuture.org/>
- d. Idle No More. <http://www.idlenomore.ca/> Read the Manifesto
- e. The Leap: What is a Green New Deal? <https://theleap.org/portfolio-items/green-new-deal-2/>
- f. Sunrise Movement:  
<https://www.sunrisemovement.org/?ms=SunriseMovement-WeAreTheClimateRevolution>
- g. Change Everything Podcast: Naomi Klein, Coronavirus Capitalism, and a People’s Bailout Now! <https://change-everything.simplecast.com/episodes/naomi-klein-coronavirus-capitalism-and-a-peoples-bailout-now>

## 3) Anti-Occupation work in Israel-Palestine

- a. Sumud Freedom Camp: <https://sumudcamp.org/sumud-freedom-camp-of-palestinians-israelis-and-diaspora-jews-resisting-occupation-enters-its-c66b710380dd>; also read <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium.MAGAZINE-a-youth-led-palestinian-protest-movement-is-rocking-the-hills-south-of-jerusalem-1.9559356?v=d81f34b813f4c080804a7cb7a61c80c1&fbclid=IwAR1A4Pw9X7Hwk8p9rzW9havg-sqoKfBr-pKc12L8S8kvNFx7lZk1Y5eOgIw> and watch: <https://www.facebook.com/storytellingsouthhebronhills/videos/2936711556548308>
- b. Women Wage Peace: <http://womenwagepeace.org.il/en/> and read: *Thousands of Israeli, Palestinian Women March for Peace.*  
<https://www.timesofisrael.com/thousands-of-israeli-palestinian-women-march-for-peace/>
- c. Just Vision: Films and media for social change (look at organization’s model, tactic, and goals): <https://www.justvision.org/>
- d. *Activestills.* (2014). “Israeli women who have stood up to the occupation for 26 years.” <https://www.972mag.com/photos-israeli-women-who-have->

[stood-up-to-the-occupation-for-26-years/?fbclid=IwAR13jm4lfSl8TdWIJrHm0VmSBh\\_3RbE8uisRhGIWdayPqLkoan7vvXTqkkk](https://www.facebook.com/levelmedium.com/abortion-for-the-people-397ef29e3ca5)

#### 4) PIC Abolition

- a. Read anything/everything here: Abolition for the People (Kaepernick Publishing and LEVEL): <https://level.medium.com/abortion-for-the-people-397ef29e3ca5>
- b. Critical Resistance (2008). Abolition Now! Ten Years of Strategy and Struggle Against the Prison Industrial Complex. AK Press. Link: <http://criticalresistance.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/06/Critical-Resistance-Abolition-Now-Ten-Years-of-Strategy-and-Struggle-against-the-Prison-Industrial-Complex.pdf>
- c. Mariame Kaba (2020). “Yes, We Mean Literally Abolish the Police.” NYTimes: <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/12/opinion/sunday/floyd-abolish-defund-police.html>
- d. Watch: Ruth Wilson Gilmore and Mariame Kaba, “Change: A World Without Prisons” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oeQmVpnRMYE>

#### 5) Representing Violence and Rape Culture through Art (adapted from: Laura Ciolkowski’s Rape Culture Syllabus, found here: **CN\* for sexual violence.** <http://www.publicbooks.org/feature/rape-culture-syllabus>).

- a. Frida Kahlo, *A Few Small Nips* (painting, 1935)
- b. Käthe Kollwitz, *Raped* (etching, 1907)
- c. Emma Sulkowicz, *Self-Portrait* (performance, 2016); see also [Conversation: Emma Sulkowicz and Karen Finley \(YouTube video, 2016\)](#)
- d. Eve Sussman, *The Rape of the Sabine Women* (video-musical, 2007); Giambologna, *The Rape of the Sabine Women* (marble sculpture, 1583)
- e. Kara Walker, *My Complement, My Enemy, My Oppressor, My Love* (exhibition, 2007)
- f. Sue Williams, *Irresistible* (sculpture, 1992)

#### 6) The Pashtun Long March

- a. Saif Ullah Nasar, (2018). *War, Masculinity, and the Pashtun Long March*. The Daily Times: <https://dailytimes.com.pk/211891/war-masculinity-and-the-pashtun-long-march/>
- b. Noreen Nasser, (2018). *Women in the Pashtun Long March*. Women’s Regional Network: <https://www.womensregionalnetwork.org/single-post/2018/03/07/Women-in-Pakhtun-Long-March-Building-Peace-and-Challenging-Stereotypes>
- c. Mehreen Zahra-Malik, (2018). *In Pakistan Long Suffering Pashtuns Find Their Voice*. New York Times: <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/02/06/world/asia/pakistan-pashtun-long-march.html>

- d. Shadi Khan Saif, (2018). Pashtuns call for justice after years of ethnic targeting in Pakistan. The Globe Post:  
<https://theglobepost.com/2018/02/16/pakistan-pashtun-long-march/>
- e. And in two other contexts:
  - Mujib Mashal, (2018). *A Grass-Roots Afghan Peace Movement Grows, Step by Step*. The New York Times:  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/15/world/asia/afghanistan-peace-march-.html>
  - Women Cross DMZ, Who We Are (Short Video):  
<https://www.womencrossdmz.org/>

**Week 10 (March 13): Wrap up with in class discussion and presentation of reports**

No readings assigned – come to class prepared to discuss your final gender analysis project.

*Optional:* Rebecca Solnit, on hope and possibility during disaster -- On Being (podcast): [Falling Together](https://onbeing.org/programs/rebecca-solnit-falling-together/): <https://onbeing.org/programs/rebecca-solnit-falling-together/>

In class: Excerpts from Sara Ahmed's *Living a Feminist Life*, Rebecca Solnit's *Hope in the Dark*, and adrienne maree brown's *Emergent Strategy*.

**Finals Week: Final gender analysis DUE Wednesday, March 15 at 5 pm via Canvas.**