**New York University SPS**

**M.S. in Global Affairs**

GLOB1-GC3075 sec.001

Women, Peacemaking & Peacebuilding

**Wednesday  6:30PM-9:10PM**

Spring 2022

3 Credits

**Classroom: Woolworth 232**

**Instructor: Dr. Anne Marie Goetz
E-mail:** amg22@nyu.edu

**Class Schedule:** Wednesdays, 6:30pm -9:10pm, 14 sessions

**Office Hours:** Wednesdays, 1pm - 6pm; Thursdays, 1pm – 6pm (WW, Rm. 442)
**Pre-requisites:** none specified

**Course Structure:** On-site lecture/seminar

**Course description**

Armed conflict – particularly civil war and terrorist attacks - seems to be on the rise, and related to this is an increase in militarization, with some countries expanding armies, or limiting civil liberties in the name of ‘national security’. Shockingly, both of these processes seem to have intensified during the COVID pandemic period – military spending rose to almost $2 trillion in mid 2021, a 2.6% increase on the previous year and the biggest single year increase in over a decade. Meanwhile the ‘illiberal drift’ away from democracies in many countries was marked by increasing government repression and surveillance.

Whether conflict is simmering and cyclical (Pakistan, Somalia, Lebanon, Israel/Palestine, Iraq, Myanmar) or intense and active (Afghanistan, Syria, South Sudan, Yemen, parts of Eastern Congo, Eastern Mindanao/Philippines, Crimea/Ukraine), or even ‘frozen’ (Nagorno-Karabakh, Abkhazia), gender shapes how people are affected and get involved in fighting or in building peace. The headline treatment of this gender difference is usually limited to a focus on women as victims, and usually as victims of one particular type of violence: systematic rape. We hear much less about women’s roles as peace-makers, or indeed about their roles as belligerents.

That conflict affects women and men, girls and boys in different ways is hardly a major insight, yet security sector analysts and policy-makers continue to have considerable difficulty accepting that this gendered impact of conflict ought to shape international, regional, or local policies aimed at conflict prevention, resolution, or peacebuilding. Even more challenging is the suggestion that gender relations could be one of the drivers of conflict, or could affect the long-term sustainability of peacebuilding efforts. An immediately obvious consequence is that women and girls figure in popular and policy treatments of conflict mainly as victims, and the roles they play as soldiers, spies, medics, communications officers, let alone as rebuilders and peace leaders, are obscured or ignored. This has resulted in their exclusion from decision-making in peace negotiations and post-conflict recovery processes including transitional justice and economic recovery. Recovery processes can therefore re-entrench or even strengthen conservative or pre-conflict versions of gender relations and women’s rights.

The course will be linked to current policy debates on this issue in international peace and security institutions, notably the United Nation’s Security Council, and the UN’s Peacebuilding Commission.  The major focus will be women’s role in conflict resolution, reconciliation, and long-term peace building.   Students will be encouraged to analyze the politics of international policy-making in the security field and to simulate policy-advocacy through persuasive argumentation (for instance in Op Eds and briefings and a simulation exercise).

**Course prerequisites:**

No prerequisite for this course

**Course Structure:**

A combination of lectures, discussions and debates form the backbone of the course but this course also includes a simulation game on peace negotiations in a fictional context. If possible, I will arrange for a class site visit to the Security Council itself to observe a relevant debate (likely the annual Open Debate on Women, peace and security in late October.

You will be expected to deliver a class presentation on gender issues in a specific conflict context. The other assignments are discussed in detail below. You should constantly check the course site on Brightspace for updates on readings, information about relevant events in NYC, updates on assignments and due dates, announcements from me, and postings from classmates.

***Learning Outcomes***

By the end of this course the students should:

1. Have a strong grasp of the normative framework for a gender-sensitive approach to peace and security policy (knowledge of relevant international treaties, agreements, and Security Council resolutions);
2. Understand what it means to have a gender-aware approach to peace-making and peacebuilding, including an understanding of the implications of gender-blind approaches for long-term peace;
3. Be able to undertake critical gendered analysis of contemporary peacebuilding processes (such as economic recovery programs in Sierra Leone, UN mission draw-down in Liberia, reparations programs in Bosnia, stabilization efforts in Somalia, conflict-prevention efforts in fragile states and regions, natural resource management in fragile states, ’feminist’ foreign policy, etc.);
4. Articulate an evidence-based policy position in relation to gender, peace and security and present an argument succinctly and precisely in oral and written form.

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**Course AT A GLANCE:**

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| **Class** | **Date** | **TOPIC** |
| 1 | January 26 | Overview of course – Gender, war, and conflict resolution |
| 2 | Feb 2 | Sexual violence in conflict – from a humanitarian problem to a tactic of warfare – guest lecturer: Dr Castillo-Diaz, UN Women |
| 3 | Feb 9 | Women’s Peace Activism – case studies |
| 4 | Feb 16 | The normative framework: UN Security Council resolutions, the Beijing Platform for Action, CEDAW General Recommendation 30 |
| 5 | Feb 23 | The ‘peace dividend’ I: : Disarmament and Demobilization – Dealing with the Spoilers; what happens to women fighters (Nepal, Liberia, Aceh, Sri Lanka)  |
| 6 | March 2 | The ‘peace dividend’ II: Peacebuilding/reconciliation as constitutional / governance reform – challenges and priorities for women |
| 7 | March 9 | The ‘peace dividend’ III: Economic recovery Guest lecturers: **Marla Gitterman, Strategic partnership Advisor and Board Director of B-Peace, and Alexandra Salas, CEO B-Peace** |
|  | March 10 | Op Ed Due |
| 8 | March 16 | NO CLASS |
|  | March 16 | Proposed term paper topic and outline due |
| 9 | March 23 | Gender and violent extremism |
| 10 | March 30 | Humanitarian crises, Guest lecturers: **David Coffey and Arpita Varghese from UN Women** |
|  | April 2 | Country brief for the Security Council simulation due |
| 11 | April 6 | Simulation exercise: Security Council negotiation of 2122 |
| 12 | April 13 | Transitional justice – alternative approaches to justice and reparations for war-related gender crimes |
| 13 | April 20 | National Action Plans |
| 14 | April 27 | Feminist foreign policy |
| 15 | May 4 | Wrap up  |
|  | May 6 | Final paper due at 5 pm |

 ***Recommended Core Readings***

***There is no core text for this course. However, we will rely heavily on the United Nations 2015 Global Study on 1325: PREVENTING CONFLICT, TRANSFORMING JUSTICE, SECURING THE PEACE. This is available on:*** [***http://wps.unwomen.org/~/media/files/un%20women/wps/highlights/unw-global-study-1325-2015.pdf***](http://wps.unwomen.org/~/media/files/un%20women/wps/highlights/unw-global-study-1325-2015.pdf)

***and can be obtained in hard copy from UN Women (220 East 42 street 17th floor).***

***We will also use the 2012 UN Women Sourcebook on women, peace and security which is a collection of papers relevant to the course and will be distributed on the first day of class. (***UN Women, 2012, Sourcebook on Women Peace and Security: <http://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2012/10/un-women-sourcebook-on-women-peace-and-security>)

***You may also wish to refer to or obtain one of these, as they are valuable resources:***

* Fionnuala Ní Aoláin, Naomi Cahn, Dina Francesca Haynes, and Nahla Valji (eds), *Oxford Handbook of Gender and Conflict, OUP. $94.24 (don’t buy this – terribly expensive, but do read online chapters available from Bobst)*
* Kathryn Sikkink, 2011, *The Justice Cascade*, (WW Norton & Co.). $19.12
* Robin Chandler, Linda Fuller and Lihua Wang, 2010, *Women War and Violence: Personal perspectives and Global Activism*, Palgrave Macmillan. I**SBN-13:** 978-0230103719, $57.00
* Dyan Mazurana, Angela Raven-Roberts and Jane Parpart, 2005, *Gender, Conflict and Peacekeeping*, Rowman and Littlefield, **ISBN-13:** 978-0742536326, $34.01.
* Annika Kronsell and Erika Svedberg (eds.), 2012, Making Gender Making War: Violence, Military and Peacekeeping Practices. Routledge, New York, London
* Hudson, Valerie et al. 2012. *Sex and World Peace (*Columbia University Press). ISBN: 978-0-231-13182-7*$25.18\**
* Gulay Caglar, Elisabeth Prugl, Susanne Zwingel (eds) 2013, *Feminist Strategies in International Governance, Routledge*, ISBN-13: 978-1138022706 . $37.99
* Kenneth Cain, Heidi Postlewait and Andrew Thomson, 2004, *Emergency Sex and Other Desperate Measure*s, New York: Miramax, available used in paperback for *$2.99*

If you have never studied gender issues before, you might find the following slim volume of use:

Mary Evans. (2017) *The Persistence of Gender inequality*. Cambridge: Polity Press. ISBN-10: 0745689922

 $21.80 on Amazon.

\*Prices listed from Amazon.com

**Additional readings:**

Largely from NYU-held e-journals and other on-line sources, URLs for which will be supplied. Some will be selections posted to the course site.

You should download, as and when relevant, publications from international security institutions. In 2015 three significant ‘high-level’ reviews were conducted on peace and security at the UN and you need to be familiar with their contents:

* *1. Uniting Our Strengths for Peace,* the Report of the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations – see <http://peaceoperationsreview.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/HIPPO_Report_1_June_2015.pdf>
* *2*. *The Challenge of Sustaining Peace*, the Report of the Advisory Group of Experts for the 2015 Review of the UN’s Peacebuilding Architecture. Peacebuilding, see <http://www.un.org/pga/wp-content/uploads/sites/3/2015/07/300615_The-Challenge-of-Sustaining-Peace.pdf>
* *3*. the Global Study on the Implementation of UN Security Council resolution 1325. [http://wps.unwomen.org/resources/](http://wps.unwomen.org/resources)

There are core normative documents that define the Women Peace and Security field. You should read these. They include:

All 9 UN Security Council resolutions on Women, peace and security. These are accessible on the Peacewomen site:

<http://peacewomen.org/resolutions-texts-and-translations>

United Nations, Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against women, 2015, General Recommendation No. 30 on women in conflict prevention, conflict and post-conflict situations, at:

<http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/HRBodies/CEDAW/GComments/CEDAW.C.CG.30.pdf>

**Other useful sources:**

Georgetown University and Prio, 2017, The Women Peace and Security Index, <https://giwps.georgetown.edu/the-index/>

you can read my review of it here: <https://theglobalobservatory.org/2018/03/what-does-wps-index-measure/>

World Bank, 2011 World Development Report, Conflict, Security and Development

<http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTWDRS/Resources/WDR2011_Full_Text.pdf>

There are a number of excellent websites with resources on women peace and security – one of the best (you can even get a phone app for it) is the Peacewomen site: <http://peacewomen.org/>. This contains the text of all the WPS Security Council resolutions, interesting blogs, and texts and transcripts of country statements at Security Council debates – a great research resource.

Also look at: <http://www.stoprapenow.org/> to familiarize yourself with the UN’s approach to “conflict related” sexual violence, including the work of the Special Representative of the Secretary General (SRSG) on Sexual Violence in Conflict, as well as various departments and agencies. This site includes links to key documents, such as UN Security Council Resolutions 1820, 1888, and 1960 – the last requesting an annual update report from the Special Representative’s office on sexual violence (see next reading).

**OECD:** States of Fragility 2016 report:

[**http://www.oecd.org/dac/conflict-fragility-resilience/states-of-fragility-2016.htm**](http://www.oecd.org/dac/conflict-fragility-resilience/states-of-fragility-2016.htm)

**The Peace Portal**: http://www.peaceportal.org/home

(this has resources on a wide range of peace-making initiatives as well as data on conflict such as the 2017 Global terrorism Index; [https://www.peaceportal.org/blogs/-/blogs/released-global-terrorism-index-2017?\_33\_redirect=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.peaceportal.org%2Fblogs%3Fp\_p\_id%3D33%26p\_p\_lifecycle%3D0%26p\_p\_state%3Dnormal%26p\_p\_mode%3Dview%26p\_p\_col\_id%3Dcolumn-1%26p\_p\_col\_count%)](https://www.peaceportal.org/blogs/-/blogs/released-global-terrorism-index-2017?_33_redirect=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.peaceportal.org%2Fblogs%3Fp_p_id%3D33%26p_p_lifecycle%3D0%26p_p_state%3Dnormal%26p_p_mode%3Dview%26p_p_col_id%3Dcolumn-1%26p_p_col_count%25))

**Uppsala Conflict Data program** (One of the most trusted sources of data on changing levels of conflict): <http://ucdp.uu.se/>

Swisspeace: http://www.swisspeace.ch/typo3/en/publications/index.html

The United States Institute of Peace: [www.usip.org](http://www.usip.org)

The Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue: <http://www.hdcentre.org/>

**NEWS and podcasts:**

Finally, since this is a course about conflict as well as gender, you should be up to date on news about war and peace every week. Each class will start with a review of relevant news and I do h=keep track of how well people are keeping informed.

You should read major regular analytical posts on international security such as **Foreign Policy** (for instance this new year review of ten conflicts to keep an eye on: [http://foreignpolicy.com/2018/01/02/10-conflicts-to-watch-in-2018/)\\](http://foreignpolicy.com/2018/01/02/10-conflicts-to-watch-in-2018/%29%5C%5C)

You should listen to a news podcast at least once a day (I recommend **BBC World news** but there are many others).

***Student Assessment and Assignments***

The final grade is based on several components:

**1. Op-Ed**

Please write an 800 word op-ed or speech of publishable quality on a current gender and security issue. The topic choice is yours – for instance you could analyze whether the focus on women in efforts to counter violent extremism will simply endanger them more severely than before, or whether the focus on sexual violence in conflict frames women as victims, not agents of change. You could comment on a recent development in the peace process for Syria or Colombia or you could talk about women’s involvement in political transitions in Nepal or Sri Lanka. Please clear your topic with Professor Goetz by the third week of class. Indicate in your heading the imagined/intended publication for the blog (NYT; Le Monde; Washington Post; Financial Times; BBC Global News; The Guardian; Huffington Post; Open Democracy; Institute for War And Peace Reporting; International Crisis Group; etc). Your Op Ed should take issue with a policy position or should shine a new light on popular certainties and challenge them. It should not be descriptive. It should be provocative and indicate a grasp of the issues in the area that you are addressing.

**DUE: February 23: Worth 35% of the final mark**

**2. Final Project: Analytical Paper**

For your final project you are asked to write an analytical paper to a maximum of 4000 words length (excluding bibliography, Annexes and footnotes/endnotes).

My expectations about quality and structure of an analytical paper are spelled out in the Annex to this syllabus.

Your paper should address an issue relevant to the course and should contain a clear expression of the problem or mystery or contradiction that you are investigating (for instance: Why is it that although women were at the frontline of the Arab Spring democracy protests their presence diminished substantially in the process of institutionalizing these democracy revolutions in Egypt or Tunisia? Or: Are the indicators to measure progress in women’s security in the 1325 framework adequate? What is missing? Or: does the effort to encourage women to join armies contradict feminist foreign policy principles or feminist anti-war efforts? Or you could write in detail about women’s peace activism or conflict resolution efforts or recovery efforts or refugee issues in a particular context. E.g.: Do plans for full drawdown and exist from Afghanistan make women hostage to an inevitable fate of restricted rights and violence? etc).

**Essay topics and brief outline must be submitted to Prof. Goetz by March 16; the final paper is DUE May 6. Worth 45% of the final mark**

**3. Simulation exercise:** The class will engage in a simulation exercise through which we will learn skills in negotiation and strategy – it will be a simulation of a Security Council negotiation over a new WPS resolution. You will be assigned a role and will be given instructions regarding the interests that you are pursuing via these negotiations. Part of this work involves drafting a position paper (due April 2) on behalf of your own country regarding your national position on the issues advanced in resolution 2122. This paper will be graded.

**Student preparation and performance will be assessed: 10% of the final mark**

**4. Seminar Attendance, Author/critic presentations:**

Class participation is a key element of the course and can take many forms: making informed comments, asking or responding to questions, and generally showing that you have thought about a topic or a case. During every class students will be asked to mention current events in the past week that are of relevance for the course and you are invited to post links to articles or your own commentary on the Brightspace Forum page for the class. It is a good idea to read a major international newspaper daily (NYT, The Guardian, Le Monde or similar) and I expect everyone to listen to a global news podcast once a day (Al Jazeera and BBC offer excellent daily news summaries that you can listen to on your phone).

IN **ADDITION**, there is a **weekly ‘author/critic’ debate** in which students will prepare and present summaries of a key reading and a critique of that reading. Each week a different pair of students will take this role, one as author, one as critic. Every student in the class will have a role once as the author and once as the critic.

1. *Roles/Process*: One student will be the author, and give a five to ten-minute summary of her/his article/chapter/report (doing his/her best to “sell” the document’s key arguments). The other student is the (friendly, collegial, but still incisive) critic, and gets five minutes to critique some portion of the author’s work. The author then gets several minutes to rebut the charges. The rest of the class, which should have been taking notes (and will have read the article/chapter anyway), will then join in the debate on the merits of the reading(s) under discussion.
2. *Partnership*: The nature of the assignment requires the two students to coordinate in advance. Begin communicating with your presentation collaborator as soon as possible. Get email addresses from one another in class. An important planning consideration is that the author cannot develop a rebuttal until s/he discusses the critique with the critic.

**Class participation and preparedness (author/critic work) is worth 10% of the final mark.**

Summary of **Course Requirements and Grading:**

One ~1000 word op-ed//blog 35% March 10

Analytical paper (3 to 4000 words)

* Topic due March 16
* Draft: April 20
* Final paper: 45% May 6

Simulation game (country position paper due) 10% April 2

Seminar participation and preparedness 10%

**Evaluation Criteria**

* ***Research Paper:*** Clear evidence of wide and relevant research and critical thinking about the data and sources; a strong thesis or problem to address; effective analysis that leads to a compelling conclusion; good, accurate and persuasive writing.
* ***Op Ed::*** Clear evidence of wide and relevant research and critical thinking about the data and sources; a strong thesis or problem to address; effective analysis that leads to a compelling conclusion; good, accurate, succinct and persuasive writing.
* ***Article review:*** succinct and accurate summary of the article, identification of several points of concern/dispute/agreement. Raise fair challenges to the evidence or the interpretation in the article in question.
* ***In-Class Exercises:*** Contributions of insight to the analysis; raising questions showing insight into the implications of the analysis; accurate work.
* ***Presentation:*** Clear understanding of the issues at hand; ability to present them in an interesting, lucid, brief and professional manner appropriate to the audience.
* ***Class Participation:*** Active, respectful and collegial engagement in class discussion; evidence of reading and preparation.

**SPS Statement on Academic Integrity and Plagiarism**

“*Plagiarism is presenting someone else’s work as though it were one’s own. More specifically, plagiarism is to present as one’s own a sequence of words quoted without quotation marks from another writer; a paraphrased passage from another writer’s work; creative images, artwork, or design; or facts or ideas gathered, organized, and reported by someone else, orally and/or in writing and not providing proper attribution. Since plagiarism is a matter of fact, not of the student’s intention, it is crucial that acknowledgement of the sources be accurate and complete. Even where there is no conscious intention to deceive, the failure to make appropriate acknowledgment constitutes plagiarism. Penalties for plagiarism range from failure for a paper or course to dismissal from the University.*

**NYU Brightspace**

All written work must be submitted via the Assignment Tool on NYU Brightspace to be scanned through Turnitin.

**Communication Policy:**

The first element of my communication policy is my expectation that you will come and consult with me at least twice, ideally more often, during the semester to tell me about your own particular subject interests in the course (whether geographic or thematic) and also to discuss assignments. I have office hours on Tuesdays (12:30 pm to 6 pm) and Wednesdays (10 am to 6 pm), and am also available by appointment at other times that might be more convenient to you. Credit students must use the NYU email to communicate. Brightspace course-mail supports student privacy and FERPA guidelines. I will respond to emails within 24 hours of receiving them, unless for some reason it is physically impossible to do so i.e. when travelling.

My expectations:

I expect students to communicate to me either in any challenges they may be facing that need my attention. By this I mean any difficulties you face in accessing course materials, understanding course content, or researching a topic for an assignment. I expect that when I ask students to submit proposed topics for the term paper and a proposed outline that they will take advantage of this opportunity for support through reflection on the topic and ways to develop it.

I expect that communications in both directions will be respectful and constructive.

**NYUSPS Policies**

“NYUSPS policies regarding the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA), Academic Integrity and Plagiarism, Students with Disabilities Statement, and Standards of Classroom Behavior among others can be found on Brightspace for all course sites as well as on the University and NYUSPS websites. Every student is responsible for reading, understanding, and complying with all of these policies.”

The full list of policies can be found at the web links below:

* University: <http://www.nyu.edu/about/policies-guidelines-compliance.html>
* NYUSPS: <http://sps.nyu.edu/academics/academic-policies-and-procedures.html>

**CGA Attendance and Lateness Policy**

All students must attend class regularly. Your contribution to classroom learning is essential to the success of the course. Any more than two (2) absences (with an explanation or not) will likely lead to a need to withdraw from the course or a failing grade.

**Incomplete Policy**

Incompletes are only granted in extreme cases such as illness or other family emergency and only where almost all work for the semester has been successfully completed. A student’s procrastination in completing his/her paper is not a basis for an Incomplete.

**SPS Grading Scale**

<https://www.sps.nyu.edu/homepage/student-experience/policies-and-procedures.html>

\*Then go to Graduate > Grades

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| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Letter** | **%** | **Quality Points** | **Descriptions** |
| A | 95-100 | 4.0 | Exceptional |
| A- | 90-94 | 3.7 | Excellent |
| B+ | 87-89 | 3.3 | Very Good; exceeds course standards |
| B | 83-86 | 3.0 | Good; meets course standards |
| B- | 80-82 | 2.7 | Somewhat Satisfactory; meets some course standards and requires improvement |
| C+ | 77-79 | 2.3 | Less than Satisfactory; requires significant improvement |
| C | 73-76 | 2.0 | Unsatisfactory; requires substantial improvement |
| C- | 70-72 | 1.7 | Unsatisfactory; requires extensive improvement |
| F | Below 70 | 0.0 | Fail |

**Additional Student Resources:**

* Accommodations for Disabilities: Any student who needs a reasonable accommodation based on a qualified disability is required to register with the Moses Center for Student Disabilities for assistance ([www.nyu.edu/csd](file:///%5C%5C%5C%5Cfileshare.scps.nyu.edu%5C%5Cglobal%20affairs%5C%5CCGA%20Share%20Drive%5C%5C4.%20%20Faculty%5C%5CMSGA%5C%5CCommunications%5C%5CSyllabi%20One-Pagers%5C%5Cwww.nyu.edu%5C%5Ccsd)).
* Student Resources: <http://www.nyu.edu/life/resources-and-services.html>
* Virtual Computer Lab: <https://vcl.nyu.edu/vpn/index.html>
* International Student Support Center: <https://www.sps.nyu.edu/homepage/student-experience/International-Students.html>

**Course Outline:**

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| **Date** | **Week** | **TOPIC** |
| **January 26** | **1** | Overview of course  |
| Why is armed conflict – and its resolution – such a male-dominated business, why are women’s roles in conflict so invisible? What are the consequences of women’s exclusion from conflict prevention, exclusion and recovery? How does the international normative framework seek to challenge this invisibility and related exclusions, and how does it sometimes reproduce the same gender essentialisms that produce this invisibility? |
| **Required reading** | Please read the short foundational UN Security Council resolution on WPS: resolution 1325, passed in 2000. You will find it on this site:<http://peacewomen.org/resolutions-texts-and-translation>[**Thania Paffenholz**](http://www.inclusivepeace.org/node/140)**,**[**Nick Ross**](http://www.inclusivepeace.org/content/nicholas-ross)**,** Steven Dixon, Anna-Lena Schluchter, Jacquie True, 2016, ‘Making Women Count, not just counting women: Assessing Women’s Inclusion and Influence on Peace Negotiations’ <http://www.inclusivepeace.org/sites/default/files/IPTI-UN-Women-Report-Making-Women-Count-60-Pages.pdf>Please compare these two briefs on conflicts/crises to watch in 2022:International Crisis Group: 10 Conflicts to Watch in 2022 <https://www.crisisgroup.org/global/10-conflicts-watch-2022>AndInternational rescue Committee: The Top 10 Crises the world can’t ignore in 2022: <https://www.rescue.org/article/top-10-crises-world-cant-ignore-2022> |
| **Recommended** | **UN Women 2021,** Women’s Participation in Peace Negotiations: Connections between Presence and Influence, https://www.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/Headquarters/Attachments/Sections/Library/Publications/2012/10/WPSsourcebook-03A-WomenPeaceNegotiations-en.pdf\[**https://commons.com.ua/en/right-resist-feminist-manifesto/**](https://commons.com.ua/en/right-resist-feminist-manifesto/)John Gray, 2015, Steven Pinker is wrong about violence and war (The Guardian)<https://www.theguardian.com/books/2015/mar/13/john-gray-steven-pinker-wrong-violence-war-declining>Steven Pinker, 2017, Has the Decline of Violence Reversed since The Better Angels of Our Nature was Written? <https://stevenpinker.com/files/pinker/files/has_the_decline_of_violence_reversed_since_the_better_angels_of_our_nature_was_written_2017.pdf>Ch. 2, Cockburn, Cynthia, “Gender Relations as Causal in Militarization and War: A Feminist Standpoint in Kronsell, Annika and Erika Svedberg (eds.), 2012, Making Gender, Making War: Violence, Military and Peacekeeping Practices. Routledge, New York, London.Cohn, Carol, Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals, Signs, 1987, 12(4), 687-718.True, Jacqui. 2012. “From Domestic Violence to War Crimes” & “Losing Entitlement, Regaining Control: Masculinities and Competitive Globalization” In The Political Economy of Violence Against Women (pp. 3-16 & 34-52). Oxford: Oxford University Press. (Isidore)Valerie Hudson et al, 2013, What is there to see, and why aren’t we seeing it?’ (chapter 2); ‘When we do see the global picture, we are moved to ask how this happened’ (chapter 3), *In Sex and World Peace*, Columbia University Press.Anasuya Sengupta & Muriel Calo (2016) Shifting gender roles: an analysis of violence against women in post-conflict Uganda, Development in Practice, 26:3, 285-297, DOI: [10.1080/09614524.2016.1149151](https://doi.org/10.1080/09614524.2016.1149151)Martha Thompson. “Women, Gender, and Conflict: Making the Connections.” Development in Practice, Vol. 16, No. 3/4 (Jun., 2006), pp. 342-353 |
| **Video** | WILPF video on women in peace deals<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EWNON4SBcPk&feature=youtu.be><https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RJXGe4_Eh1A>Madeleine Rees TED talks – militarism/ |

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| **Date** | **Week** | **TOPIC** |
| **February 2** | **2** | **Sexual violence in conflict – from a humanitarian problem to a tactic of warfare**  |
| **Guest lecturer: Dr. Castillo-Diaz**One of the most significant developments in both the WPS and POC agendas in recent years is the Security Council’s recognition of sexual violence as a tactic of warfare – meriting therefore a political and a security response. In this session we review what it means to see command responsibility behind war rape, we consider recent developments in the area of combatting conflict-related sexual violence, we address war rape of men and boys, and we consider the impact that the work on sexual violence has had on the whole agenda of 1325. |
| **Required reading** | ‘Prevention and response to conflict-related Sexual Violence: Scenario-based training for military peacekeepers’: Scenario 1: Democratic Republic of the Congo(on Brightspace Resources page)from the UN Women Sourcebook, 2012: Addressing conflict-related sexual violence, <http://www2.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2012/10/wpssourcebook-04d-addressingsexualviolence-en.pdf?v=1&d=20141222T221204>Young Women are Agents of Change: Countering the Sexual Violence Narrative (DRC) [*https://ogiporg.wixsite.com/home/post/young-women-are-agents-of-change-countering-the-sexual-violence-narrative?platform=hootsuite*](https://ogiporg.wixsite.com/home/post/young-women-are-agents-of-change-countering-the-sexual-violence-narrative?platform=hootsuite) |
| **Author/critic reading (required)****(Class debate)** | Chris Dolan, 2015, ‘Letting go of the gender binary: Charting new pathways for humanitarian interventions on gender-based violence’, ICRC International Review 894:[**https://www.icrc.org/en/international-review/article/letting-go-gender-binary-charting-new-pathways-humanitarian**](https://www.icrc.org/en/international-review/article/letting-go-gender-binary-charting-new-pathways-humanitarian)vs:Jeanne Ward, 2017, It’s not about the gender binary, it’s about the gender hierarchy: A reply to “Letting Go of the Gender Binary”, ICRC, International review 901.<https://www.icrc.org/en/international-review/article/its-not-about-gender-binary-its-about-gender-hierarchy-reply-letting-go> |
| **Recommended** |  Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict Dataset - <http://www.sexualviolencedata.org/dataset/>. See also: Cohen, Dara Kay and Ragnhild Nordås. 2014. “[Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict: Introducing the SVAC dataset, 1989–2009](http://jpr.sagepub.com/content/51/3/418?etoc).” Journal of Peace Research 51(3): 418-428. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0022343314523028?etoc=>Philip Schulz, 2018, ‘Displacement from gendered personhood: Sexual violence and masculinities in northern Uganda’, *International Affairs*, Vol 94, Issue 5 pp: 1101 -1119*Report of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict*, 2018<https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/N1808325-1.pdf>Rhonda Copelon, 2011, ‘Toward accountability for violence against women in war: Progress and Challenges’, in Elisabeth Heineman, Sexual Violence in conflict zones: From the ancient world to the era of human rights;, pages 232- 256.DeLaet, Debra, ‘Gender, sexual violence and justice in war‐torn societies’, Global Change, Peace & Security, 20:3, 2008. pp. 323 —338. Dana Kay Cohen 2013 ‘Female combatants and the perpetration of violence’, *World Politics* July.Elisabeth Jean Wood, “Armed Groups and Sexual Violence: When Is Wartime Rape Rare?” *Politics & Society,* Vol. 37 (March 2009), pp. 131-161.Mark Drumbl, 2013, ‘She Makes Me Ashamed to Be a Woman': The Genocide Conviction of Pauline Nyiramasuhuko, 2011’, [*Michigan Journal of International Law, 2013*](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2155937##) , [*Washington & Lee Legal Studies Paper No. 2012-32*](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2155937##), <http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2155937> .Rob Jenkins and Anne Marie Goetz, 2010, ‘Addressing Sexual Violence in Internationally Mediated Peace Negotiations’, *International Peacekeeping*, vol. 17, April 2010. |
| **Video** | ‘The Greatest Silence’ (Dir: Lisa Jackson) ‘Lumo’In the Land of Blood and Honey (2011) |

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| **Date** | **Week** | **TOPIC** |
| **February 9** | **3** | **Women’s peace activism – case studies**  |
| Around the world women are the mainstays of anti-war movements, including efforts to stop the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. This has been the case for a long time, and certainly at least since 1915. We will examine some examples of the effectiveness of their efforts, and analyze their methods. Why have so few of these women peace leaders participated in formal conflict resolution or in post-conflict recovery? We will pay particular attention to women’s peace activism in Ireland and Liberia.*“While injustices and inequalities embedded in gender relations are a long-term threat to development and stability, gender equality represents a safeguard to the spread of radicalization and violent extremism. It is critical, therefore, that women’s leadership be tapped into as a critical resource for peace.”* *– Submission of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women to the Global Study* |
| **Required reading** | From the **UN Women reader:** UN Women 2012, ‘Women’s Participation in Peace Negotiations: Connections between presence and Influence’, <http://www2.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2012/10/wpssourcebook-03a-womenpeacenegotiations-en.pdf?v=1&d=20141222T221159>Marie O’Reilly, Andrea O’Sullebhain, and Thania Paffenholz, 2015, Reimagining Peacemaking: Women’s Roles in Peace Processes, International Peace Institute<https://www.ipinst.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/IPI-E-pub-Reimagining-Peacemaking-rev.pdf> |
| **Author/critic reading (required)** | Hilary Charlesworth, 2008, ‘Are Women Peaceful? Reflections on the Role of Women in Peace-Building’, *Feminist Legal Studies* no.15: 347-361 |
| **Recommended** | United Nations, 2015, ‘ PREVENTING CONFLICT, TRANSFORMING JUSTICE, SECURING THE PEACE’, Chapter 3: ‘Women’s Participation and a Better Understanding of the Political’.Section IV, V, VI: The Women’s Coalition: Jacqueline Nolan-Haley and Bronagh Hinds, ‘Problem-Solving Negotiation: Northern Ireland's Experience with the Women's Coalition’, Journal of Dispute Resolution, 2003, Vol. 2003, Issue 2.Patty Chang, Mayesha Alam, Roslyn Warren , Rukmani Bhatia, Rebecca Turkington , 2015, WOMEN’S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN PEACE PROCESSES: A close examination of experiences in Guatemala, Northern Ireland, Kenya and the Philippines , Georgetown Institute of Women’s peace Studies, Washington DC, Mimeo.Chapters from: Cynthia Cockburn, 2012, *Antimilitarism: Political and gender dynamics of peace movements*, Palgrave MacmillanCh. 14, Fidelma Ashe, “Re-envisioning Masculinities in the Context of Conflict Transformation: The Gender Politics of Demilitarizing Northern Ireland Society” in the Kronsell and Svedberg reader.Christine Bell, 2011 Women and Peace Agreements Dataset:<http://www.peacewomen.org/portal_resources_resource.php?id=1288>Baines, Erin K, 2005, ‘Les femmes Aux Milles bras: Building peace in Rwanda’, in *Gender, Conflict and Peacekeeping,* ed Dyan E. Mazurana, Angela Raven-Roberts and Jane Parpart, Rowman and Littlefield, 306 – 337.Nilsson, Desiree, “Anchoring the Peace: Civil Society Actors in Peace Accords and Durable Peace,” International Interactions 38, No. 2 (2009): 243–266. See also Anthony Wanis-St. John and D. Kew, “Civil Society and Peace Negotiations: Confronting Exclusion,” International Negotiation 13(1): 55–72; Thania Paffenholz, “Civil Society and Peace Negotiations: Beyond the Inclusion-Exclusion Dichotomy,” Negotiation Journal (January 2014): 69–91.*From the Ground Up: Gender and conflict analysis in Yemen. Oxfam.* <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/rr-yemen-gender-conflict-analysis-201016-en_0.pdf> |
| **Video** | I will arrange a screening of ‘Pray the Devil back to Hell’ – Director Gini Rieteker, Producer Abbey DisneyWILPF video on women in peace deals<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EWNON4SBcPk&feature=youtu.be>*For Sama,* Syria. Available on PBS Frontline - <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/for-sama/>. |

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| **Date** | **Week** | **TOPIC** |
| **Feb 16** | **4** | **The normative framework – UNSC resolutions, CEDAW GR 30, National Action Plans on 1325, and more** |
| The UN’s Security Council shifted in its approach to peacekeeping after the genocidal conflicts of the 1990s towards a focus on protecting war-affected populations with an emphasis on preventing human rights abuses and adopting a sense that the international community has a responsibility to protect people from human rights abuses, including if perpetrated by sovereign states. This involved a significant shift in the focus of peacekeeping practice and in some ways laid the ground for the emergence of the women, peace and security agenda. This session looks at this evolution in international peacekeeping, the place of gender in the ‘protection of Civilians’ (POC) agenda, and the extent to which issues of protection of women are compatible with the commitment to promote their agency and gender equality. We review the normative framework: UN Security Council resolutions, the Beijing Platform for Action, CEDAW General Recommendation 30. We consider the current state of the POC agenda in light of the current US administration’s abdication of a sense of international responsibility and respect for human rights. We will also examine attempts to measure and track change on women peace and security matters. In particular we will read the new 2017 Women Peace and Security Index produced by the Georgetown Institute of WPS.  |
| **Required reading** | United Nations, Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against women, 2015, General Recommendation No. 30 on women in conflict prevention, conflict and post-conflict situations, at: <http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/HRBodies/CEDAW/GComments/CEDAW.C.CG.30.pdf>United Nations, 2015, Report of the High-level Independent Panel on PeaceOperations ‘Uniting our strengths for peace: politics,partnership and people’, <http://www.un.org/sg/pdf/HIPPO_Report_1_June_2015.pdf>Pages 9 – 26. Women Peace and Security Index 2017 – 2018, Georgetown Institute for WPS, <https://giwps.georgetown.edu/the-index/chapters/> (please read Chapters 1 and 2)Peace and Security Data Hub, 2022, **Historical Uniformed Personnel Contribution,** https://www.dropbox.com/s/s9bvwmjntxaw2y5/Screen%20Shot%202022-01-10%20at%205.57.18%20PM.png?dl=0 |
| **Author/critic reading (required)** | Valerie Hudson et al, 2014: The Heart of the Matter: The security of women and the security of states (chapter 4 of Sex and the State)Helen Kinsella and Laura Sjoberg, 2018, *‘*Family values? Sexism and heteronormativity in Feminist Evolutionary Analytic (FEA) research’ *Review of International Studies* (2018 |
| **Recommended** | United Nations, 2015, Report of the High-level Independent Panel on PeaceOperations ‘Uniting our strengths for peace: politics,partnership and people’, <http://www.un.org/sg/pdf/HIPPO_Report_1_June_2015.pdf>Pages 9 – 26.Laura Shepherd, 2011, ‘Sex, Security and Superhero(in)es: From 1325 to 1820 and Beyond’, International Feminist Journal of PoliticsUnited Nations, 2015, ‘PREVENTING CONFLICT, TRANSFORMING JUSTICE, SECURING THE PEACE’, executive summary and Chapter 2 (they are not long!)Valerie Hudson et al: The Heart of the Matter: The security of women and the security of states (in Brightspace resources page)Bruce Jones with Feryal Cherif, ‘Evolving Models of Peacekeeping: Policy Implications and Responses’, *Center for International Cooperation*, NYU. http://www.operationspaix.net/DATA/DOCUMENT/5880~v~Evolving\_Models\_of\_Peacekeeping\_\_Policy\_Implications\_and\_Responses.pdfTracy Fitzsimmons, 2005, ‘The post-conflict postscript: gender and policing in peace operations’, in Dyan Mazurana, Angela Raven-Roberts and Jane Parpart, *Gender, Conflict and Peacekeeping*, pages 256 – 278.Hilary Charlesworth, ‘Feminist Reflections on the responsibility to protect’, *Global Responsibility to Protect*, Vol. 2, Issue 3 (2010), pp. 232-249<http://ezproxy.library.nyu.edu:2360/content/journals/10.1163/187598410x500372>Sophie Huve, 2017, “The use of UN Sanctions to Address Sexual Violence in Conflict”, Georegtown Institute, <file:///Users/annemarie/Downloads/Use-of-UN-Sanctions-to-Address-Conflict-related-Sexual-Violence.pdf>Woman First, Soldier Second: Taboos and Stigmas Facing Military Women in UN Peace Operations LOTTE VERMEIJhttps://www.ipinst.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/2010\_Taboos-and-Stigmas-Facing-Military-Women-in-UN-Peace-Operations.pdfUSIP study of women in PK contributing to operational effectiveness<https://giwps.georgetown.edu/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/Gendered-Impacts-on-Operational-Effectiveness-of-UN-Peace-Operations.pdf> |
| **Other resources** | Video: ‘Side by Side: Women Peace and Security’<http://www.unwomen.org/en/news/in-focus/women-peace-security/2012>(look at the bottom of the page)<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2Whrat_Rn0I>video of UN home security |

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| **Date** | **Week** | **TOPIC** |
| **Feb 23** | **5** | **The ‘peace dividend’ I: DDR** |
| A major post conflict priority is to appease the potential ‘spoilers’ of the peace through access to economic and political opportunities, and to reduce risk of relapse into conflict by disarming former combatants and shrinking the numbers of people in security forces. These processes are called Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration. This process has fixated in the past on male combatants and on rebuilding a male breadwinner model after conflict, to the serious disadvantage of women fighters and workers. |
| **Required reading** | UN Women, 2015, chapter 7: ‘Building inclusive and peaceful societies in the aftermath of conflict’, in Global Study on Implementing resolution 1325<https://wps.unwomen.org/pdf/CH07.pdf>The whole chapter relates to this class and the next two classes so you should read the whole thing but if you are in a hurry please read from page 177 – 184.OR: Pick one chapter from, this book: (chapter on Ukraine or Kurdistan or Colombia)Alexis Henshaw, 2019, Insurgent Women: Female Combatants in Civil Wars (Georgetown University Press).Bobst library e-book:https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/nyulibrary-ebooks/detail.action?docID=5631977#goto\_toc |
| **Author/critic reading (required)** | Dana Kay Cohen 2013 ‘Female combatants and the perpetration of violence’, *World Politics* July. |
| **Recommended** | Arifah Rahmawati , 2021, ‘Questioning the Mantra ‘All for One and One for All’: The Reintegration of Aceh’s Female Ex-Combatants’, Chapter 2 in Elizabeth Prugl et al: Gender in PeacebuildingLocal Practices in Indonesia and Nigeria, Brill Njihoff, Leiden.https://library.oapen.org/viewer/web/viewer.html?file=/bitstream/handle/20.500.12657/52535/9789004498471.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=yUN Women, 2012, ‘Gender-Sensitive Police Reform in Post-Conflict Societies’, in the *UN Women Sourcebook on women peace and security*:<https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2012/10/wpssourcebook-04b-gendersensitivepolicereform-en.pdf?la=en&vs=1155>Megan H. MacKenzie’s 2018 *Foreign Affairs* article, [“Will Letting Women Fight Fix Gender Inequality?”](https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2018-04-23/will-letting-women-fight-fix-gender-inequality) Consider: Is including more women in the military good for women? If so, which women? Is it good for the military itself? Ortega, Luisa Maria Dietrich. "Transitional Justice and Female Ex-Combatants", in Cutter-Patel, Ana, DeGreiff, Pablo and Waldorf, Lars, (Eds.). "Disarming the Past: Transitional Justice and Ex-Combatants", Social Science Research Council, 2009. Chapter 5MacKenzie, Megan. “Securitization and De-securitization: Female Soldiers and the Construction of the Family,” Security Studies (summer 2009)Chris Coulter, 2008, ‘Female fighters in the Sierra Leone War: Challenging the Assumptions?’ *Feminist Review*, no. 88: 54-73.[UN Peacebuilding: An Orientation (2010).](https://www.un.org/peacebuilding/sites/www.un.org.peacebuilding/files/documents/peacebuilding_orientation.pdf)Laura Sjoberg and Caron Gentry, Chapter three, ‘Triple transgressions at Abu Graibh’, in Mothers,, Monsters, WhoresJakana L. Thomas and Reed Wood,  ‘The social origins of female combatants ‘ 2017 , Conflict Management and Peace Science, pp: e 1–18<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0738894217695524>Alexis Henshaw, 2017,  Why Women Rebel: Understanding Women’s Participation in Armed Rebel Groups (Routledge)  |
| **Video** | Video: Gender and Disarmament<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VHHavw5-_KM&feature=youtu.be>[Voices of Female Ex-Combatants from Aceh, Burundi, Mindanao, and Nepal](https://www.berghof-foundation.org/en/programmes/conflict-transformation-research/from-female-combatants-to-post-war-democratic-leaders/i-have-to-speak/) by the Berghof Foundation Discuss: Why do women and girls decide to fight? How does one’s gendered identity as a women or girl or mother/sister/daughter affect these decisions? How did these women’s stories challenge and/or reinforce your ideas about the role of women in combat? What are the lasting consequences for women who fight and try to return to society once the war ceases? |

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| **Date** | **Week** | **TOPIC** |
| **March 2** | **6** | **The Peace Dividend II: Peacebuilding/reconciliation as constitutional and governance reform – challenges and priorities for women** |
| Critical to sustained peace is a political settlement that ensures fair power-sharing between social groups – particularly where there have been extremes of social inequality and exclusion. What does the post-conflict political settlement mean for women? What are the opportunities and challenges represented by post-conflict elections, constitutional reform processes, and governance reform? Is statebuilding and governance reform approached as if women mattered as participants in public decision-making, and beneficiaries of decisions about public goods? Many peace agreements set up federal governance arrangements as the preferred approach to power-sharing. What do federal arrangements mean for women’s chances of participating in decision-making, or for wresting control from traditional leaders on matters such as reproductive and sexual rights, marriage and inheritance (including property ownership), culture and education, and justice in cases of abuses of women’s rights? |
| **Required reading** | UN Women, 2012, ‘Gender and Post Conflict Governance’, <http://www2.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2012/10/wpssourcebook-05c-genderpostconflictgovernance-en.pdf?v=1&d=20141222T221159>(hard copy in your sourcebook)We will also read the text of several post-conflict constitutions or accords – Nepal, Mindanao, Myanmar, possibly the new constitution for Sri Lanka, if it is ready. There will be a handout on federalism in Yemen. |
| **Author/critic reading (required)** | Siobhan Byrne & Allison McCulloch, 2012, ‘Gender, Representation and Power-Sharing in Post-Conflict Institutions’, International Peacekeeping, (in Brightspace) |
| **Recommended** | Allison McCulloch, 2020, ‘Power-sharing: A gender intervention’ International Political Science Review 2020, Vol. 41(1) 44–57Katrina Lee-Koo, 2018, ‘The Gendered State and the Emergence of a Postconflict, Post disaster, Semiautonomous State: Aceh, Indonesia, in Swati Parashar, J. Ann Tickner, and Jacqui True, Revisiting Gendered States: Feminist Imaginings of the State in International Relations, Oxford: Oxford University Press.United Nations 2015: THE CHALLENGE OF SUSTAINING PEACE REPORT OF THE ADVISORY GROUP OF EXPERTS FOR THE 2015 REVIEW OF THE UNITED NATIONS PEACEBUILDING ARCHITECTUREMelani Cammet and Edmund Malesky, 2012, ‘Power Sharing in Postconflict Societies: Implications for Peace and Governance’, in Journal of Conflict Resolution, July 2012.Susan Harris Rimmer, 2009 ‘Surfacing Gender in the Constitution of Timor Leste’Please download from: https://works.bepress.com/susan\_harris\_rimmer/43/Aili Mari Tripp: 2015, ‘Women’s Rights in Post-Conflict Constitutions’, Chapter 7 of: Women and Power in Post Conflict Africa, Cambridge University Press |

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| **Date** | **Week** | **TOPIC** |
| **March 9** | **7** | **The Peace Dividend III: Economic Recovery** |
| Fragile post conflict states often attract aid support – often without strict conditions on aid management. This desperately-needed ‘peace dividend’ is an incentive to sustain the peace process – this is what the Peacebuilding Fund was set up for in the first place. Jobs, livelihood support, and the recovery of food security are crucial to efforts to defuse social tensions. The ‘New Deal’ for fragile states is the most recent generation of international efforts to improve aid management in conflict-prone states and has important potential openings for women to link their interests to the expressing of ‘national ownership’ over the recovery process. In contrast, the ready money available from China (in terms of high interest loans) comes with no human rights conditions and offers post-conflict states an alternative to the liberal peacebuilding model. |
| **Required reading** | UN Women/Patricia Justino, 21012, ‘Women Working for Recovery: The Impact of Female Employment on Family and Community Welfare after Conflict’, UN Women.available on: <http://www.unwomen.org/~/media/Headquarters/Media/Publications/en/05BWomenWorkingforRecovery.pdf>Explore the website of the UN Peacebuilding Fund and look in particular at the effort to spend more on gender/women and youth:<https://www.un.org/peacebuilding/policy-issues-and-partnerships/policy/women> |
| **Author/critic** | Clare Duncanson, 2016 , ‘Feminist Critiques of Neoliberal Peacebuilding’, Chapter 3 of Gender and Peacebuilding, Polity Press. |
| **Other Recommended** | Report of the UN Secretary-General, 2018, *Peacebuilding and Sustaining Peace* (A/72/202 – S/2018/43);https://reliefweb.int/report/world/peacebuilding-and-sustaining-peace-report-secretary-general-a72707-s201843CORDAID 2013: ‘Focus on fragility: Cordaid and the post-2015 agenda’, <http://www.cordaid.org/media/publications/FocusonFragility_new.pdf> and on course siteTheodora-Ismene Gizelis, “Gender Empowerment and United Nations Peacebuilding,” *Journal of Peace Research*, 2009, vol. 46, no. 4, pp. 505-523.Paul Collier, 2009, ‘Post-Conflcit Recovery: How should Strategies be Distinctive?’, Journal of African Economies, Vol 18, AERC Supplement 1, pp i99- i131. |

March 10: Op Ed Assignment Due

Week 8, March 16: NO CLASS

March 16 - Term Paper topic proposal and brief outline due

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| **Date** | **Week** | **TOPIC** |
| **March 23** | **9** | **Countering Violent Extremism from a gender perspective** |
| Violent extremists today often make explicit declarations about their intentions to restrict women’s rights as part of their state building projects.   Women in areas under their control suffer greatly from prohibitions on their freedom of movements and expression (including prohibitions on women and girls’ employment, education, and visibility).  These groups also cultivate a violent and exploitative masculinity that rains horrors on women considered to have transgressed, or on ‘infidel’ women – as was seen in the capture and sale of Yazidi women by ISIS forces. Yet these extremists also attract female followers.    Countering violent extremism (CVE) is a huge growth area in international conflict prevention work.  Arguably, gender analysis has found a more prominent place in these early days of the field because of concerns about the cultivation of violent masculinities and the attacks on women’s rights. This session reviews the understandings of gender and the use of gender analyses as they are being deployed in CVE agendas, examining the ways in which discourses of “violent masculinities” may enhance or may undermine feminist approaches to conflict prevention work and the reduction of violent extremism. |
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| **Required reading** | Katherine E Brown, 2013, “Gender and counter-radicalization: Women and emerging counter-terrorist measures” , in Margaret L Satterthwaite et al, Gender, National Security ad Counter-Terrorism, Taylor and FrancisNelly Lahoud, 2018, “Empowerment or Subjugation? An Analysis of ISIL’s Gendered Messaging”, <http://www2.unwomen.org/-/media/field%20office%20arab%20states/attachments/publications/lahoud-fin-web-rev.pdf?la=en&vs=5602> |
| **Author/critic reading (required)** | Vasuki Nesiah, “Feminism as Counter-Terrorism: The Seduction of Power,” in *Gender, National Security, and Counter-Terrorism: Human Rights Perspectives*, ed. Margaret L. Satterthwaite and Jane Huckerby, Human Rights Perspectives (Routledge, 2013), 127–51.  |
| **Recommended** | Sofia Patel 2016, ‘The Sultanate of Women: Exploring female roles in perpetrating and preventing violent extremism’ Australian Strategic Policy Institute, <https://s3-ap-southeast-2.amazonaws.com/ad-aspi/import/SR100_Sultanate-of-women_v2.pdf?7BtsSZBgI0DezLXkbPXgQXW.A5UiIYFz>AGATHE SARFATI AND PHOEBE DONNELLY , 2022, ‘Protection Dilemmas Arising from the Reintegration of Former Combatants and the Impact of the Terrorist Designation’ https://www.ipinst.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/01/2201\_Protection-Dilemmas.pdfAubrey, M., R. Aubrey, F. Brodrick and C. Brooks (2016). ‘Why Young Syrians Choose to Fight: Vulnerability and resilience to recruitment by violent extremist groups in Syria - Research Summary’. London, International Alert.Katherine E. Brown, 2018, ‘Violence and Gender Politics in the Proto-State “Islamic State”, in Swati Parashar, J.Ann Tickner, and Jacqui True, Revisiting Gendered States: Feminist Imaginings of the State in International Relations, Oxford: Oxford University press.United Nations 2015, *Global study on 1325*, Chapter 9: Countering Violent Extremism While Respecting the Rights and Autonomy of Women and Their Communities Carolyn Hoyle. Alexandra Bradford, Ross Frenett, 2015, Becoming Mulan? Female Western Migrants to ISIS <http://www.strategicdialogue.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/ISDJ2969_Becoming_Mulan_01.15_WEB.pdf> |

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| **Date** | **Week** | **TOPIC** |
| **March 30** | **10** | **Humanitarian crises****Guest lecturers: David Coffey and Arpita Varghese from UN Women** |
| During and after crises, pre-existing gender inequality and discrimination create particular challenges for women and girls. As a result, many endure extreme hardships, including increased insecurity, restricted mobility, sexual exploitation and abuse, and gender-based violence. Women’s livelihoods also tend to be disproportionally affected, and girls in crisis are more likely than boys to lose out on education. At the same time, the lack of healthcare in humanitarian settings has particular impact on women’s sexual and reproductive health needs: 60 per cent of preventable maternal deaths take place in emergency settings. Gendered social norms affect women’s and girls’ ability to make decisions, to propose solutions, and to lead, constraining women’s lives and choices. To what extent do humanitarian response institutions incorporate these concerns through the design and delivery of aid?  |
| **Required reading** | Julie Lafreniere, Caroline Sweetman and Theresia Thylin, July 2019, ‘Introduction: gender, humanitarian action and crisis response’, in *Gender and Development*, Vol 27: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13552074.2019.1634332> |
| **Author****/critic** | CARE and PROMUNDO, 2018,‘Men and boys in displacement: Assistance and protection challenges for unaccompanied boys and men in refugee contexts’<https://promundoglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/FINAL_CARE-Promundo_Men-and-boys-in-displacement_2017-1.pdf> |
| **Recommended** | Voice, 2021, We Must Do better: A Feminist Assessment of the Humanitarian Aid System’s support of women and girl-led organizations https://voiceamplified.org/report-summary/R. Charli Carpenter, 2005, ‘”Women, children and other Vulnerable Groups”: Gender, Strategic Frames and the Protection of Civilians as a transnational Issue’, in *International Studies Quarterly*, no. 49, 295-334.NYT on Myanmar military's use of Facebook: [https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/15/technology/myanmar-facebook-genocide.html](https://urldefense.proofpoint.com/v2/url?u=https-3A__www.nytimes.com_2018_10_15_technology_myanmar-2Dfacebook-2Dgenocide.html&d=DwMFaQ&c=slrrB7dE8n7gBJbeO0g-IQ&r=sAjp1RBA40rFgPapVWx6wCtqi4cr_GZJgI72fXivShg&m=KenAdySjEtOhTnmYzbpqa-3m4ytJl0JnVAR1b4fQl08&s=eRUBC3RB-SY5Os9vZtGLnlc1M_SFJ6AkH1DHDPYZ54o&e=)The Guardian on repatriation:  [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/nov/14/bangladesh-army-arrives-in-rohingya-refugee-camps-as-repatriations-loom?fbclid=IwAR0RiQiw3Z8RomIsZ87Y1rqA3KxrcedKPED10tJVnEqPFJ4CTdd2jsVF-\_w](https://urldefense.proofpoint.com/v2/url?u=https-3A__www.theguardian.com_world_2018_nov_14_bangladesh-2Darmy-2Darrives-2Din-2Drohingya-2Drefugee-2Dcamps-2Das-2Drepatriations-2Dloom-3Ffbclid-3DIwAR0RiQiw3Z8RomIsZ87Y1rqA3KxrcedKPED10tJVnEqPFJ4CTdd2jsVF-2D-5Fw&d=DwMFaQ&c=slrrB7dE8n7gBJbeO0g-IQ&r=sAjp1RBA40rFgPapVWx6wCtqi4cr_GZJgI72fXivShg&m=KenAdySjEtOhTnmYzbpqa-3m4ytJl0JnVAR1b4fQl08&s=M9p-JmeTDsarq2q6dhE6pPSupHagRYDYzIJDwdrvWmo&e=)Aljazeera on repatriation: [https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/11/mounting-confusion-forced-rohingya-repatriation-myanmar-181115013128968.html](https://urldefense.proofpoint.com/v2/url?u=https-3A__www.aljazeera.com_news_2018_11_mounting-2Dconfusion-2Dforced-2Drohingya-2Drepatriation-2Dmyanmar-2D181115013128968.html&d=DwMFaQ&c=slrrB7dE8n7gBJbeO0g-IQ&r=sAjp1RBA40rFgPapVWx6wCtqi4cr_GZJgI72fXivShg&m=KenAdySjEtOhTnmYzbpqa-3m4ytJl0JnVAR1b4fQl08&s=bVsIN3tC_KM8JHBK9s0jJc5fKMWhsyaPbiB77YJsOy0&e=) |

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| **Date** | **Week** | **TOPIC** |
| **April 6** | **11** | **Security Council resolution 2122 negotiation simulation exercise** |
| *This is an intensive round-table negotiation over the text of a resolution on women’s participation in conflict resolution. It is based on the positions of various countries on the Security Council and a real-life experience when this was negotiated a few years ago.* |
| **Required reading** | Soumita Basu, 2016, “Gender as National Interest at the Security Council”, *International Affairs* 92:2.Laura Shepherd, 2008 ‘Power and Authority in the production of UN Security Council resolution 1325’, *International Studies Quarterly,* [Volume 52, Issue 2,](http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/isqu.2008.52.issue-2/issuetoc) pages 383–404, June 2008Handouts will be supplied beforehand for each country delegation’s preparation |

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| **Date** | **Week** | **TOPIC** |
| **April 13** | **12** | **Transitional justice – alternative approaches to justice and reparations for war-related gender crimes** |
| The class will cover the evolving international normative framework on gender and transitional justice and review the core elements of transitional justice - truth, justice, reparations, and guarantees of non-repetition - from a gender perspective.  The emphasis will be on how TJ mechanisms have under-delivered on women's rights in both policy and practice, and recommendations for reforms which will bring the TJ field in line with the need to contribute to transformative justice and gender equality |
| **Required reading** | UN Women, Part 1, “Introduction” (pg.8-15) and Ch. 4 “Justice for Women During and After Conflict” (pp. 80-101) in UN Women, 2011, Progress of the World’s Women: In Pursuit of Justice, https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2011/7/progress-of-the-world-s-women-in-pursuit-of-justice UN, 2015, Global Study, chapter 5: ‘Towards an era of transformative justice ‘  |
| **Author/critic reading (required)** | Staggs Kelsall, Michelle and Stepakoff, Shanee. "‘When We Wanted to Talk About Rape’: Silencing Sexual Violence at the Special Court for Sierra Leone", in the *International Journal for Transitional Justice* (IJTJ) Vol. 1, 2007, 355-374. |
| **Recommended** | Aguirre, Daniel and Pietropaoli, Irene. "Gender Equality, Development and Transitional Justice: The Case of Nepal" in International Journal of Transitional Justice, (IJTJ) Vol. 2, 2008, 356-377.UN Women, Making TJ work for women - link <http://www.unwomen.org/~/media/Headquarters/Attachments/Sections/Library/Publications/2012/10/06B-Making-Transitional-Justice-Work-for-Women.pdf>Louise Chappell, Rosemary Grey and Emily Waller, “The Gender Justice Shadow of Complementarity: Lessons from the International Criminal Court’s Preliminary Examinations in Guinea and Colombia”, International Journal of Transitional Justice, Vol.7, No.3, 2013, pp.455-475.<http://ezproxy.library.nyu.edu:5306/content/7/3/455.full.pdf>Liu Centre report on: Women and Reintegration in Northern Uganda, Justice and Reconciliation Project Field Notes, N. 2, September 2006.Nairobi Declaration on Women's and Girls' Right to a Remedy and Reparation.Valji, Nahla. "Gender Justice and Reconciliation", in Building a Future on Peace and Justice: Studies on Transitional Justice, Peace and Development: The Nuremberg Declaration on Peace and Justice, June 2007.Nowrjoee, Binaifer. "Your Justice is Too Slow: Will the ICTR Fail Rwanda’s Rape Victims?", UN Research Institute for Social Development, Occasional Paper, No.10, November 2005.UN Women, 2012, *Reparations*, <http://www2.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2012/10/wpssourcebook-06a-reparationsdevelopmentgender-en.pdf?v=1&d=20141222T221158> |
| **Video** | ICC Prosecutor Fatou Bensouda on prosecutionsMax Marcus: Sexual violence investigations <http://www.unwomen.org/en/news/in-focus/women-peace-security/2012> (look at bottom of page) try to see the documentary: ‘The Uncondemned’, produced by Michelle Mitchel. <http://www.theuncondemned.com/> |

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| **Date** | **Week** | **TOPIC** |
| **April 20** | **13** | **National Action Plans** |
| **Required** | Aisling Swaine, 2010, ‘ASSESSING THE POTENTIAL OF NATIONAL ACTION PLANS TO ADVANCE IMPLEMENTATION OF UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1325’, Yearbook of International Humanitarian Law, Volume 12 – 2009 – pp. 403-433<https://www.gov.br/mre/pt-br/media/swaine.pdf>Read an actual NAP eg:Lebanon 2019 – 2022 National Action Plan on WPS: <file:///Users/annemaire/Downloads/Lebanon-NAP-1325-UNSCR-WPS-Summary.pdf>USA WPS ACT 2017:https://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/senate-bill/1141 |
| **Author/critic** | Alexis Henshaw  , 2022, Gendered labor in the making of United States policy on Women, Peace and Security: an interagency perspectiveInternational feminist journal of politics, January 4 2022 |
|  | Hanna L. Muehlenhoff (2022): ‘Unpacking the making of National Action Plans: governmentality, security, and race in the Dutch implementation of UNSCR 1325’, International Feminist Journal of PoliticsSirianne Dahlum, Tore Wig, 2020, ‘Peace Above the Glass Ceiling: The Historical Relationship between Female Political Empowerment and Civil Conflict’, International Studies Quarterly, Volume 64, Issue 4, Pages 879–893 |

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| **Date** | **Week** | **TOPIC** |
| **April 27** | **14** | **Feminist Foreign Policy** |
| When Margot Wallstrom announced in 2014 (October) that, as Sweden’s foreign minister, she would practice feminist foreign policy, few people knew what that meant After all, the pursuit of national interests and security on the global stage often means advancing national defense industries or trading with human rights abusers – surely this contradicts the notion of feminist foreign policy? Unheard of and almost Inconceivable just a few years ago, feminist foreign policy is now developing a doctrinal grounding and there is even a research center devoted to its study: <http://centreforfeministforeignpolicy.org/home>This is no flash in the pan – at least 20 countries are developing feminist foreign policy positions and these range from increasing aid for women’s empowerment in fragile states to stronger efforts to stop sexual violence in conflict. In 2017, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Belgium, the Netherlands, Canada, and Luxembourg joined [in pledging to raise $600m (£483m)](http://af.reuters.com/article/topNews/idAFKBN15O0MI) to replace money withdrawn by US President Donald Trump, when he banned funding for overseas health groups that support (or even mention) abortion. Then Sweden's Deputy Prime Minister, Isabella Lovin, became [a viral sensation](http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-38853399) after she was photographed surrounded by women members of the government, in what appeared to be a parody of Mr Trump signing the anti-abortion measure. In 2017 Canada announced its first feminist international-assistance policy, following hundreds of consultations and 10,000 written submissions. From 95 to 2015, only 2 percent of Canada’s bilateral international development assistance was allocated to projects whose primary objectives were gender equality and the empowerment of women. Now there is criteria to receive funding, consult women locally, involve them in decision-making and project implementation. They expect that by 2021, close to 95 percent of Canada’s aid and development budget will target the advancement of gender equality and the empowerment of women, 15 percent principally. 150 million, single largest boost to women’s rights organizations.At the same time as these positive developments, other countries have hardened their stance against women’s rights internationally. There is a new negotiating collective at the UN called the ‘Group of friends of the Family’ that appear determined to spoil norms on women’s rights and cut back advances in reproductive and sexual rights in particular. Women’s rights and gender equality are becoming areas on which states differentiate sharply in international negotiations. |
| **Required reading** | Kathy Gilsinan, 2016, ‘The Myth of the 'Female' Foreign Policy: As more women become heads of state, will the world actually change?’ **The Atlantic**, August 25<http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2016/08/-foreign-policy-clinton-may-thatcher-women-leadership/497288/>Browse for items of interest on Sweden’s feminist foreign policy – official government website/portal: <http://www.government.se/government-policy/feminist-foreign-policy/>Or see this campaign in the US: Coalition for a feminist foreign policyhttps://www.icrw.org/publications/toward-a-feminist-foreign-policy-in-the-united-states/Or look at this website for definitions of and documents about feminist foreign policy: <https://centreforfeministforeignpolicy.org/feminist-foreign-policy>Or look at this collection that addresses what FFP in South Asia would mean:<https://southasianvoices.org/feminist-foreign-policy-in-south-asia-a-kubernein-initiative-south-asian-voices-joint-series/> |
| **Author/critic** | Annike Bergman Rosamond, 2020, ‘Swedish Feminist Foreign Policy and “Gender Cosmopolitanism”’, in Foreign Policy Analysis, Volume 16, Issue 2, April 2020, Pages 217–235,https://academic.oup.com/fpa/article/16/2/217/5788425?login=true |
| **Recommended** | The Conversation, 2021, ‘How a feminist Foreign Policy Would Change the World’ **How a ‘feminist’ foreign policy would change the world**Valerie Hudson 2014 The Hillary DoctrineAggestam, Karin, and Annika Bergam-Rosamond, 2018 ‘Swedish feminist foreign policy in the making: Ethics, politics and gender’, Ethics and International Affairs, 30(3), pp 323-334.Anne Marie Goetz, 2020, ‘Feminist Principles in Global Affairs: Undiplomatic Practice’? In Christopher Ankersen and WPS Sidhu, The Future of Global Affairs, Springer Press,<https://link.springer.com/book/10.1007/978-3-030-56470-4>document is in BrightspaceAnne Marie Goetz 2015, ‘The New Cold War on Women’s Rights?’ UNRISD, [http://www.unrisd.org/beijing+20-goetz](http://www.unrisd.org/beijing%2B20-goetz) |

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| **Date** | **Week** | **TOPIC** |
| **May 4** | **15** | **Review** |
| We will revisit the objectives of the course, see what we have learned, and identify gaps for future teaching and learning. |

**May 5: Final Assingment, Analyitcial paper, due**

***Instructor***

Dr. Anne Marie Goetz, who joined CGA in January 2014, previously served at the United Nations since 2005 as Chief Advisor on Governance, Peace and Security, for UNIFEM and then UN Women. Prior to joining UNIFEM in 2005, she was a Professor of Political Science at the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex where she worked since 1991. She also served the United Nations Development Programme in Chad and Guinea in the mid-1980s. While at the UN over the past decade Dr. Goetz spearheaded initiatives to promote women’s empowerment in the UN’s peace building work in post-conflict situations, to build peacekeepers’ capacities to detect and prevent sexual violence in conflict, and to support women’s organizations’ efforts to participate in peace talks and post-conflict decision-making.

Dr. Goetz is a political scientist who specializes in research on development policies in fragile states to promote the interests of marginalized social groups, particularly poor women. She also researches conditions for democratization and good governance in South Asia and East Africa. This has included research on pro-poor and gender-sensitive approaches to public sector reforms, anti-corruption initiatives, decentralization, and state building in fragile states and post-conflict situations.

Professor Goetz is the author of eight books on the subjects of gender, politics and policy in developing countries, and on accountability reforms - the latest is a 2009 edited volume: *Governing Women*: *Women in Politics and Governance in Developing Countries* (Routlegde). In 2017 she was named by the Hague-based ‘Women’s Initiatives for Gender Justice’ as one of 151 individuals who over the past 125 years have advanced the cause of gender justice internationally (see: <http://4genderjustice.org/gender-justice-legacy-wall/>).

ANNEX

**Final assignment: Analytical paper**

Please submit a paper on a research question you have discussed and cleared with Dr Goetz on a subject relevant to the course.  The paper should be an analytical exploration of an issue that interests you.  The paper should be between 3,500 - 5000 words (15 - 25 pages) and must of course conform to academic standards regarding ethical use of sources.  Papers that will exceed the word length are not advised and must be cleared with Dr. Goetz at least a week prior to the due date.

**Structuring an Analytical Paper**

This is an analytical paper, which means that it is more academic than the two writing exercises so far. ‘More academic’ not only means correct use of citations and resources (in fact this is the least of the elements of relevance); it means that what is expected is a structured argument that does the following:

**Introduction**: Establishes what you are discussing and why it matters (matters politically, philosophically, legally, practically etc).

I.e.: what is the problem you want to address (can include a gap in the literature, gap in knowledge, unexplained phenomenon, a hypocrisy, a neglected area of policy, etc.)

It is useful to either outright state or hint at conclusion – in a tantalizing way, a ‘hook’ indicating something exciting, unexpected, controversial, or disturbing.

You can also provide a brief ‘roadmap’ to the structure and progression of the argument covered in the paper.

**Context-setting**: Show you know what you are talking about – where does your discussion fit in the context of literature in this area, or in the context of current policy debates or current political developments. This is to help your audience understand what you are talking about in case they do not know already

**Methodology**: This **is rarely needed for a term paper** but definitely needed for a thesis and you can consider adding a few points on how you generated or gathered evidence (ie: your sources).

*Hypothesis*: what is your postulated explanation for the problem or issue you are analyzing?

Who and what did you study?

Where and when?

Why did you pick that sample?

What tools did you use to collect data, and why? (include tools like an interview questionnaire in appendix)

Carefully describe how you used the tools.

Describe the analytical procedures (your own judgment? Double blind analysis? Initial simple coding and aggregation of similar responses? Coding and statistical analysis?)

**(If you have developed an investigation, generated evidence then you should have a section on):**

**Findings/results:**

Do not present raw data. Present a distilled version but by ALL MEANS DO use data if relevant, aggregated and assembled in charts/tables/graphs.

If you have used hypotheses – this is where you review and accept or reject/revise them

Bring in analysis to help sort/classify findings and lead towards broader observations/analysis in the next section.

**Discussion/ policy implications**

Do not repeat what is the in the findings

Offer principles, generalizations, broad patterns, relationships

Show how your findings or analysis is confirmed by or is contradicted by other studies

Discuss impact of your thoughts/analysis on theory or policy or practice

*Answer the question: so what?*

Identify points that cannot be explained and need more research

**Conclusion**

Re-state very briefly: How did you address the ‘problem’, knowledge gap, data gap, contradiction, legal issue, etc.?

Are there remaining gaps in knowledge?

What were the limitations of your study?

What can be done with the ideas you have offered?

(Remember to check back with the introduction – and it is even good practice to re-write it – when you get to this stage.)