

## Reading List

- ❖ Shepherd, Laura J. 2022. "(Why) Gender Matters in Global Politics." In *Gender Matters in Global Politics*, 3rd ed., 15. London: Routledge.

**Abstract:** *This chapter begins with a discussion of gender theory, exploring how sex and gender have been variously conceptualised and arguing that everyone has a theory of gender – a set of ideas about the representation and regulation of bodies in accordance with assumptions about how bodies should behave or be acted upon in society. Theorists of gender in global politics have paid close attention to which bodies (embodying specific gendered identities) have been permitted in, or barred from, political institutions and other forms of political space, as well as examining how assumptions about bodies and behaviour inform other kinds of political engagement. This chapter uses two cases of global political practices – social justice movements and the development of nuclear weapons technology – to show how gendered logics shape and influence global politics and why it is important to pay attention to how gendered power operates if we want to fully understand the world.*

- ❖ Choi, Shine. 2022. "Creativity and Feminist Knowledge." In *Gender Matters in Global Politics*, 3rd ed., 12. London: Routledge.

**Abstract:** *This chapter explores the effects of feminist practices on producing knowledge and the political and ethical questions that arise. It turns in particular to the role and meaning of creativity in feminist knowledge practices and politics. It argues that creative thinking, writing and doing happen everywhere, and a creative mode is always there, always waiting for an outing if we slow down and pay attention to the basics of what it means to ask questions, to write, to think, to act and to be. The chapter traces how institutionalised power constrains this possibility and how despite these constraints, new questions continue to emerge in feminist spaces. These 'new' questions emerge despite neglect, and despite the closed doors. The chapter invites readers and students of feminist global politics to pay greater attention to this mechanism, to find ways – creatively – to buck history and the effects of power. One important way this can happen is by asking curious feminist questions early (and often!) so we can tell fuller stories and extend the role of stories in feminist politics and theorising.*

- ❖ Holmes, Georgina. 2024. "Digital Peacekeeping, Cyborg Soldiers and Militarised Masculinities: A Posthuman Critique." *Peacebuilding* 12 (4): 483–501. doi:10.1080/21647259.2024.2384203.

**Abstract:** *This article contends that digital technologies are profoundly altering peacekeeping practices as well as peacekeeper consciousness and modes of being. It is proposed that combining postcolonial humanist and post-humanist ontological perspectives when undertaking ethnographic research enriches investigations into global race and gender power relations in peacekeeping. Drawing on posthumanism and Bourdieusian practice theory, the article examines how 16 British infantry soldiers articulate reconnaissance and civilian protection experiences and construct their militarised masculinities prior to and after deployment to United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilisation Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) in 2020–2021. Findings show that deployment to a high-risk, stressful mission*

*and functioning as 'information processing devices' in an increasingly centralised UN peacekeeping system disempowers and emasculates the men. The peacekeepers respond by engendering and racializing the British Army's 'gender-neutral' cyborg soldier figuration and draw on virtual gaming syntax and framings to create relational distance between themselves, female colleagues and local populations.*

- ❖ Aggestam, Karin, and Annika Bergman-Rosamond. "Gendering Foreign Policy: A Comparative Framework for Analysis." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 16, no. 2 (April 2020): 143–162. <https://doi.org/10.1093/fpa/orz026>.

**Abstract:** *This article seeks to explain the rise of pro-gender norms and feminist strategies in foreign policy, which are increasingly salient in global politics. How can this trend be theorized? In what ways is this development resisted and contested by other states and international actors? To what extent can we trace continuity and change in regard to gender and foreign policy? To address these major research questions and to spur cross-national comparative studies, this article advances a theoretical framework on gendering foreign policy. It draws on two strands of research, which rarely engage with one another: international feminist theory (IFT) and foreign policy analysis (FPA). We identify three ways in which comparative analysis of gender in foreign policy can be advanced: first, by highlighting the variations of pro-gender norms and enhancing the analytical assessment of cross-national trends; second, by generating a more robust explanation of the rise, embeddedness, and continuity of, as well as resistance to, pro-gender norms in foreign policy in similar and diverse contexts; and third, by examining both continuity and change in pro-gender norms in order to reveal the contestation around gender, which is at the heart of foreign policy*

- ❖ Bilodeau, Antoine, and Colin Scott. "Gender Gaps in Immigrants' Political Participation within and across Borders: Political Socialization or Opportunity Structures?" *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies* 23, no. 2 (2025): 210–229.

**Abstract:** *This study assesses gender gaps in political participation within the host country and in transnational activities among immigrants, using a survey of more than 1000 immigrants in Quebec (Canada). More specifically, the study examines whether premigration experiences with gender equality shapes immigrants' political participation. We find no evidence of gender gaps in political activities in the host country but observe a gender gap in transnational political activities varying in size depending on levels of gender equality in immigrants' countries of origin. The analyses suggest that structural opportunities, more than political socialization, might account for this gender gap.*

- ❖ Wurtz, Heather M., Tara F. Abularrage, Mienah Z. Sharif, and Goleen Samari. "Structural Gendered Racism as Conceptualized by Immigrant Women in the United States." *Social Science & Medicine* 351, Supplement 1 (2024)

**Abstract:** *This article explores how immigrant women in the United States perceive and experience structural gendered racism in their daily lives. Through qualitative interviews, the authors highlight the intersecting impacts of racism and sexism on women's health, economic opportunities, and social integration. The study reveals that immigrant women face unique barriers shaped by both their gender and racialized status. The authors call for more nuanced policies and interventions that address these overlapping forms of discrimination.*

- ❖ Alcalde, M. Cristina. "Migration and Class as Constraints in Battered Women's Attempts to Escape Violence in Lima, Peru." *Latin American Perspectives* 33, no. 6 (2006): 147–164.

**Abstract:** *This article examines how migration and socioeconomic class create significant barriers for battered women in Lima, Peru, who attempt to leave abusive relationships. Through the case study of Daisy, an indigenous migrant woman, Alcalde illustrates how migration often leads to increased isolation and poverty, making it harder for women to access support networks or resources needed to escape violence. The study highlights that these external obstacles, stemming from both class and migration status—prolong women's exposure to intimate partner violence. Alcalde calls for greater attention to the intersecting impacts of migration, class, and structural violence in shaping women's vulnerability and their options for safety.*

- ❖ Story, Kaila Adia. "On Why the Rainbow Ain't Never Been Enuf." In *The Rainbow Ain't Never Been Enuf: On the Myth of LGBTQ+ Solidarity*, 1st ed., 1-6. Boston: Beacon Press, 2025.
- ❖ Story, Kaila Adia. "On the Myth and Reality of the Rainbow." In *The Rainbow Ain't Never Been Enuf: On the Myth of LGBTQ+ Solidarity*, 1st ed., 7-13. Boston: Beacon Press, 2025.

**Abstract:** *Both the chapters critically interrogate the notion of unity symbolized by the rainbow flag within LGBTQ+ communities. The author exposes how racism, antiblackness, transphobia, and misogyny persist even in queer spaces, often sidelining Black, Latinx, and trans voices. Drawing on Black feminist theory and personal narrative, she challenges the myth of seamless solidarity and highlights the erasure of queer and trans people of color from mainstream LGBTQ+ history. The chapters call for an honest reckoning with internal divisions and urge the community to move beyond symbolic gestures toward genuine intersectional justice and inclusion. Story ultimately advocates for centering marginalized experiences to achieve true solidarity and equity within queer and trans politics.*

- ❖ Das, Rajorshi. "'Jai Hijra, Jai Jai Hijra': Self-Respect and Performance during the 2015 Telangana Swabhimana Walk." *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 31, no. 1 (2025): 29–56.

**Abstract:** *This article focuses on the 2015 Telangana Queer Swabhimana Walk to explore the relationality of trans activism to questions of culture and region. Documented by Moses Tulasi's film, *Walking the Walk* (2015), this pride march can be read as a site of decolonial theory-making that reorients the gaze of the mainstream public to hijra and other trans people's*

*historic attachment to land and their fight for justice. The article employs podcast interviews with Tulasi and one of the organizers of the walk, Rachana Mudraboyina, to unpack the distinctiveness of swabhimana (roughly translates to “self-respect”) from globalized notions of pride and caste-based understanding of dignity and respect. In the process, it highlights how working-class trans activists “disidentify” with the Hindu caste system as well as Dalit and anti-caste critiques of sex work to rally for the dignity of their labor and everyday living.*

- ❖ Gifkins, Jess, and Dean Cooper-Cunningham. "Queering the Responsibility to Protect." *International Affairs* 99, no. 5 (2023): 2057–2078.

**Abstract:** *Research on the Responsibility to Protect has become increasingly intersectional with over two decades of research; however, there remains a blind spot on the persecution of queer people. This is surprising given that queer people have been persecuted in atrocity crimes as far back as the Holocaust. While the field of genocide studies has recently begun to engage with this area, we frame queer persecution more broadly around the four R2P crimes. In this article we set out the rationale and urgency for including a queer lens in the prevention of atrocity crimes. This is not only about a focus on queer people; we argue for a queer politics and ethics that ceaselessly interrogates all relations of power. We outline the scale of the gap in academic research, policy and state understandings of R2P. Since R2P is often framed as a foreign policy matter by western states, with the global South as the object of R2P, we include two case-studies on escalating persecution against LGBTI+ people in Europe: the United Kingdom and Hungary. We argue that the R2P research and policy communities should remove what we call the ‘cishetronormative blindfold’ and engage more broadly with intersectional approaches to atrocity prevention.*

- ❖ DasGupta, Debanuj, and Eyad Jaabary. "Queer Epistolary as Method in Migration Studies." *global-e* 15, no. 14 (July 3, 2024). <https://globalejournal.org/global-e/july-2024/queer-epistolary-method-migration-studies-0>.

**Abstract:** *The article builds upon queer epistolary as a liberatory method, in order to carve a “theory in flesh,” (Moraga, 1983) about how queer migrants experience global apparatuses of migration, and how we are building a sense of belonging that is scattered across time and space. In conclusion we argue queer migration studies is predominantly engaged with questions about the law, asylum and refugee procedures and how activist communities are responding to such global regimes of migration. Whereas the embodied and affective dimensions of queer/trans refugee& migrant life is yet to be fully taken up in queer migration studies. In a series of exchanges via letters, our travel together to the “Fin del Mundo,” (the end of the world) and handmade Zines, we offer ways to think about how migration regimes leave a mark on our bodies and emotions, and how queer epistolary as an exchange between friends offers liberatory frameworks, a site for building transformative justice with each other.*

- ❖ Chávez, Karma R., and Eithne Luibhéid. "Introduction." In *Queer and Trans Migrations: Dynamics of Illegalization, Detention, and Deportation*, 1–18. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2020.

**Abstract:** *In this chapter, the authors frame the so-called “migration crisis” as a crisis of punitive state responses - such as illegalization, detention, and deportation, rather than of migration itself. They emphasize that queer and trans migrants, especially those marginalized by race, class, and gender, face heightened risks and vulnerabilities within these regimes. The chapter traces the emergence of Queer and Trans Migration Studies, highlighting the role of activism and art in challenging mainstream immigration politics. The authors call for centering LGBTQI migrants’ experiences and for reimagining migration and citizenship through a queer lens.*

- ❖ García Rodríguez, Diego. "Critiquing Trends and Identifying Gaps in the Literature on LGBTQ Refugees and Asylum-Seekers." *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 42, no. 4 (December 2023): 518–541. <https://doi.org/10.1093/rsq/hdad018>.

**Abstract:** *This article delivers a comprehensive review of the English-language literature concerning the experiences of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, transsexual, and queer (LGBTQ) refugees and asylum-seekers. Through an incisive synthesis and analysis, it identifies five pivotal themes: 1) journey and settlement; 2) legislation, policy, and charitable intervention; 3) health; 4) creative expression; and 5) religion, faith, and spirituality. This analysis uncovers gaps in the existing body of knowledge, charting innovative paths for future research and policy. This work transcends the boundaries of a traditional scholarly review to offer actionable recommendations aimed at guiding policy and practice. This involves pushing for strategies that are not just inclusive but also rooted in overcoming Western-centric approaches to gender and sexual identities.*

- ❖ Meltzer, Christine E., Pablo Jost, Christian Schemer, Simon Kruschinski, and Marcus Maurer. 2025. “How (Gendered) Media Portrayals of Refugees Affect Attitudes Toward Immigration. The Moderating Role of Political Ideology.” *Political Communication*, March, 1–19. doi:10.1080/10584609.2025.2472765.

**Abstract:** *This study investigates the impact of media coverage on attitudes toward immigrants by analyzing the frequency of media contact with refugee individuals, the gender of immigrants portrayed in the media, and the moderating role of preexisting political attitudes. Using a two-wave panel survey (N = 1,066 respondents) and a content analysis of 1,303 news items from Germany in 2018, we assess the influence of media coverage on individual attitudes. Our results show no significant main effects of media contact with refugee persons on attitudes toward immigrants in general nor do we find significant differences in the effects of media contact with men versus women refugees. Rather, our models suggest that respondents’ political orientation and refugees’ origin play a crucial role. Specifically, we found that more frequent media contact with refugees leads to more negative attitudes toward refugees from the Middle East among right-leaning respondents and to more positive views on refugees from Africa among left-leaning respondents.*

- ❖ Weber, Cynthia. "Queer Intellectual Curiosity as International Relations Method: Developing Queer International Relations Theoretical and Methodological Frameworks." *International Studies Quarterly* 60, no. 1 (March 2016): 11–23.

**Abstract:** *This article outlines two theoretical and methodological approaches that take a queer intellectual curiosity about figurations of "homosexuality" and "the homosexual" as their core. These offer ways to conduct international relations (IR) research on "the homosexual" and on international relations figurations more broadly, for example, from "the woman" to "the human rights holder." The first approach provides a method for analyzing figurations of "the homosexual" and sexualized orders of IR that are inscribed in IR as either normal or perverse. The second approach offers instructions on how to read plural figures and plural logics that signify as normal and/or perverse (and which might be described as queer). Together, they propose techniques, devices, and research questions to investigate singular and plural IR figurations including but not exclusively those of "the homosexual"-that map international phenomena as diverse as colonialism, human rights, and the formation of states and international communities in ways that exceed IR survey research techniques that for example, incorporate "the homosexual" into IR research through a sexuality variable.*