

PECO 5501F/PSCI 5501F/SOCI 5504F
FEMINISM, PEACE, AND WAR: INTERSECTIONALITIES

Professor H. Simten Cosar
Office: Room 1503 Dunton Tower

Tuesdays, 2:30-5:30
Classroom TBA

Scope of the Course: Twenty-first century has so far hosted incessant, worldwide—but not necessarily world—wars. Contemporary wars can be discerned as continuation of those in the latter part of the twentieth century. But they should also be considered in terms of the most recent crisis of capitalism and related redrawing of the boundaries of the asymmetrical power relations at the global scale. The calls for peace, pacifism, and pro-peace activism have also evolved in accordance with the shifts and relocations in the global distribution of power. The aim of this course is to inquire, interrogate and elaborate on the continuities and shifts in the way wars are launched, legitimized, reproduced in the twenty-first century from a feminist perspective. In so doing, the course also elaborates on the feminist approaches to peace. More specifically, the course is built on the critical analysis of the official discourses on (just-)war, peace, conflict, militarism, strategy, (in)security in terms of the socio-political context in which they and counter-discourses are embedded. In this respect, the course starts from different feminist approaches to the topics at hand, and proceeds to inquire about the feminist practices in terms of wars and peace. Within the scope of the course, we will read, among others, Carl Schmitt, Carl von Clausewitz, Jane Addams Cynthia Enloe, Cynthia Cockburn, V. Spike Peterson, Judith Butler, and Charles Tilly.

The main questions this course will ask are: 1) What are the junction points between conceptualizations of war and peace in official discourse of the nation-state? 2) What are the (in)direct connections among the global capital flows, global power distribution and the policies on war and peace? 3) What are the crosscutting gendered, class-based, and ethnic dimensions of the official discourses on war and peace, and related policies? 4) What are the basic features of the counter-discourses on war and peace? 5) How can one conceptualize the distinctions and parallelisms among different discourses on war and peace in terms of actual domestic and foreign policies? The topics will evolve in relation to these questions not so much to seek ultimate answers but to critically approach the state of affairs in today's *peacefully* war-thorn global order.

At the end of the term the students will have accumulated knowledge of different theoretical approaches to war and peace, alternative readings on the dialectics of peace and war, feminist critical analysis on the dominant and/or hegemonic masculinist conceptualizations of peace and war.

Course Evaluation:

Participation: This course is designed as a seminar course where student participation to class discussions is essential. Participation is worth **10%**.

Presentation: Students will have one presentation during the term. The presentation will be in the form of moderation on the readings assigned for a week. The presentation is worth **10%**. Students will submit the lecturer 3 options for the weeks in which they prefer to moderate by the **third** week of the course (**September 18-22, 2017**).

Film Reviews: Students will write two reviews on the movies that we will watch together in the class on war by feminist directors. The reviews are worth **(total) 10%**.

Maximum 5 pages, TNR, 12, double space, justified.

Journals: Students will write two monthly journals (for October and November). The journals will involve students' reflections on the reading material and relate the topics of each week to their daily mediated observations. The journals are worth **(total) 20%**.

Due dates: First journal –**November 6, 2017**; Second journal – **December 4, 2017**.

Maximum 6 pages, TNR 12, double space, justified

Research Paper: Students will submit three possible topics they would like to study in this course to the professor on the **third** week of the course (**September 18-22, 2017**). On the basis of the discussion with the professor, students will determine their topic and prepare preliminary research questions to be submitted to the professor for the **fourth** week of the course (**September 25-29, 2017**). Students will submit the title of their research paper on the **fifth** week (**October 2-6, 2017**), their tentative bibliography on the **sixth** week (**October 9-13, 2017**) and the table of contents on the **seventh** week (**October 16-20, 2017**). These stages of the research project are worth **10%** in total. The research paper will be submitted on **December 8, 2017**. Research paper is worth **40%**.

Maximum 20 pages; TNR, 12, double space, justified.

WEEK I (September 6-8)– *Can one make an introduction to structural and/or organized violence?*

- Basics for modern war
- Feminists tell different stories

Reading material:

1. Carl von Clausewitz, 'What is War?' *Book I – On the Nature of War* <https://www.clausewitz.com/readings/OnWar1873/BK1ch01.html#a> Accessed: March 24, 2017.
2. Jane Addams, 'Personal Reactions in Time of War,' in *The Jane Addams Reader*, Jean Bethke Elshtain (Ed.) (New York: Basic Books, 2002).
3. Jane Addams, 'Women's Memories—Challenging War,' in *The Jane Addams Reader*, Jean Bethke Elshtain (Ed.) (New York: Basic Books, 2002).
4. UN Security Resolution 1325 –

<https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N00/720/18/PDF/N0072018.pdf?OpenElement>

5. World Civility Report, 2017

<http://reports.peaceworldwide.org/download-civility-report-2017/>

WEEK II (September 11-15) *Modern war and the state of being for nation-states*

- Inevitability of wars?
- Wars not natural, but constructed?

Reading material:

1. Carl Schmitt, 'The Turn to the Discriminating Concept of War (1937),' in *Writings on War*, Timothy Nunan (Ed. and trans.) (UK and USA: Polity Press, 2011).
2. Judith Butler, 'Sexual Politics, Torture and Time,' in *Frames of War, When Is Life Grievable?* (London and New York: Verso, 2009).

WEEK III (September 18-22) – *The story never ends: States, markets and wars*

***3 options for the moderation week**

***3 options for research topic**

- War as a matter of institutionalization

Reading material:

1. Charles Tilly, 'War Making and state Making as Organized Crime,' in *Bringing the State Back In*, Peter Evans, Dietricj Rueschemeyer and Theda Skocpol (Eds.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
2. Angela Raven Roberts, 'Women and the Political Economy of War,' in *Women and Wars*, Carol Cohn (Ed.) (UK and USA: Polity Press, 2013).

WEEK IV (September 25-29) – *Subjects of War and Peace*

***Research Topic –finalized**

***Preliminary Research Questions**

- Institutions and actors in the making of wars

Reading Material

1. Linda Kerber, 'May All Our Citizens Be Soldiers and All Our Soldiers Be Citizens: The Ambiguities of Female Citizenship in the New Nation,' in *Women, Militarism and War, Essays in History, Politics and Social Theory*, Jean Bethke Elshtain and Sheila Tobias (Eds.) (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman Littlefield, 1990). *he Birth of Biopolitics*, Lecture 8 (March 7, 1979).
2. Emma Sinclair-Webb, 'Our Bülent is Now a Commando: Military Service and Manhood in Turkey,' *Imagined Masculinities: Male Identity and Culture in the Modern Middle East*, G. Mai and E. Sinclair-Webb (Eds.) (London: Saqi Books, 2000).
3. Carol Cohn, 'Wars, Wimps, and Women: Talking Gender and Thinking War,' in *Gendering War Talk*, Miriam Cooke and Angela Wollacott (Eds.) (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993).
4. Ayşegül Altınay, 'Becoming a Man, Becoming a Citizen,' in her *The Myth of the Military Nation, Militarism, Gender and Education in Turkey* (USA: Palgrave Macmillan, 204).

WEEK V (October 2-6) - Accounting the Facts? -1

***Title-Research Paper**

- Facts of Militarism as Gendered Domination

Reading material

1. Cynthia Enloe, 'All the Men Are in the Militias, All the Women Are Victims: The Politics of Masculinity and Femininity in Nationalist Wars,' in her *The Curious Feminist: Searching for Women in a New Age of Empire* (California: University of California Press, 2004).
2. Cynthia Enloe, 'Spoils of War,' in her *The Curious Feminist: Searching for Women in a New Age of Empire* (California: University of California Press, 2004).
3. Joshua S. Goldstein, 'Heroes: The Making of Militarized Masculinity,' in his *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa* (UK and USA: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
4. Joshua S. Goldstein, 'Conquests: Sex, Rape, and Exploitation in Wartime,' in his *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa* (UK and USA: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

WEEK VI (October 9-15) – Accounting the Facts? – 2

***Tentative Bibliography**

- Drawing the Borders

Reading material

1. Carol Cohn, 'Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals,' *Signs*, 12 (4) (1987), pp. 687-718.
2. Carol Cohn, "How Can She Claim Equal Rights When She Doesn't Have to Do As Many Push-Ups As I Do?": The Framing of Men's Opposition to Women's Equality in the Military,' *Men and Masculinities*, 3 (2000), pp. 131-151.
3. Cynthia Enloe, 'Margins, Silences, and Bottom Rungs: How to Overcome the Underestimation of Power in the Study of International Relations,' in *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond*, Steven M. Smith, Ken Booth, Marysia Zalewski (Eds.= (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Recommended:

Spike V. Peterson, 'Gendered Identities, Ideologies and Practices in the Context of War and Militarism,' in *Gender, War and Militarism*, Laura Sjoberg and Sandra Via (Eds.) (Santa Barbara, CA: ALC-CLIO Press, 2010).

WEEK VII (October 16-20) – NARRATIONS WITH TRUTH CLAIMS?

***Table of Contents-Research Paper**

- Narrating Manhood and Womanhood

Reading material

1. Dubravka Zarkov, 'Exposures and Invisibilities: Media, Masculinities and the Narratives of Wars in an Intersectional Perspective,' in *Framing Intersectionality: Debates on a Multi-Faceted Concept in Gender Studies*, Helma Lutz, Maria-Tereze Herrera Vivar and Linda Supik (Eds.) (Burlington, VT.: Ashgate, 2011).
2. Afsaneh Najmabadi, 'The Erotic *Vatan* [Homeland] as Beloved and Mother: To Love, To Possess, and To Protect,' *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 39 (3) (July 1997), pp. 442-467.
3. Claire Duncanson, 'Forces for Good? Narratives of Military Masculinity in Peacekeeping Operations,' *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 11 (1) (2009) pp. 63-80.

WEEK VIII (October 23-27) – READING WEEK

WEEK IX (October 30-November 3) – TRESPASSERS-1

- Women asking for peace
- Feminists questioning the peace through war discourse

<http://womeninblack.org>

Reading material:

1. V. Spike Peterson, 'Gendering Insecurity, Informalization and 'War Economies',' in *Gender, Violence, and Human Security: Critical Feminist Perspectives*, Aili Mari Tripp, Myra Marx Ferree and Christina Ewig (Eds.) (New York: New York University Press, 2013).
2. Cynthia Cockburn, 'Against Imperialist Wars: Three Transnational Networks,' in her *From Where We Stand: War, Women's Activism and Feminist Analysis* (London and New York: Zed Books, 2007).
3. Cynthia Cockburn, 'Gender, Violence and War: What Feminism Says to War Studies,' in her *From Where We Stand: War, Women's Activism and Feminist Analysis* (London and New York: Zed Books, 2007).
4. Cynthia Enloe, 'Demilitarization—or More of the Same? Feminist Questions to Ask in the Postwar Moment,' in her *The Curious Feminist: Searching for Women in a New Age of Empire* (California: University of California Press, 2004).

WEEK X (November 6-10) – TRESPASSERS-2

- The state of the *field* – *De-masculinizing the narrations?*

Reading material:

1. Nadire Mater, 'I Love All Human Beings; Even the Terrorists We Captured,' in her *Voices from the Front* (USA: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998).
2. Nadire Mater, 'I Became A Terrorist, Like They Said, A Real Terrorist...,' in her *Voices from the Front* (USA: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998).
3. Michael S. Kimmel, 'Globalization and Its Mal(e) Contents: The Gendered Moral and Political Economy of Terrorism,' in *Handbook of Studies on Men and Masculinities*, Michael Kimmel, Jeff Hearn and R.W. Connell (Eds.) (Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage, 2005).
4. Michael Flood, 'Men's Collective Struggles for Gender Justice: The Case of Antiviolence Activism,' in *Handbook of Studies on Men and Masculinities*, Michael Kimmel, Jeff Hearn and R.W. Connell (Eds.) (Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage, 2005).

WEEK XI (November 13-17) – *Is a feminist peace off the war possible?*

- Potentials of feminist conceptualizations of peace

Reading Material

1. Halek Afshar, 'women and Wars: Some Trajectories Toward a Feminist Peace,' *Development in Practice*, 13 (2&3) (May 2003), pp. 178-188.
2. Azza Karam, 'Women in War and Peace-Building: The Roads Traversed, the Challenges Ahead,' *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 3 (1) (April 2001), pp. 2-25
3. Lila Abu-Lughod, 'Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving?,' *American Anthropologist*, (Ethics Forum: September 11, and Ethnographic Responsibility), 104 (3) (September 2002), pp. 783-790.

WEEK XII (November 20-24) – Postscript: Reading Structures through Intersectionalities?

- Structural approach to peace – structural peace
- Problematizing structural violence

Reading Material

1. Johan Galtung, 'Violence, Peace and Peace Research,' *Journal of Peace Research*, 6(3) (1969), pp. 167-191.
2. Catia C. Confortini, 'Galtung, Violence and Gender: The Case for a Peace Studies/Feminism Alliance,' *Peace and Change: A Journal of Peace Research*, 31 (3) (July 2006), pp. 333-367.

WEEK XIII (November 27-December 1, 2017)

Discussions on pro-peace women's movements and/or anti-militarist women's movements

Examples: Women in Black, Madres de Plaza de Mayo, Cumartesi Anneleri (Saturday Mothers), Barış İçin Kadın İnisiyatifi (Women's Initiative for Peace),

Before the class the students are expected to watch the following documentaries:

1. *Las Madres: The Mothers of Plaza de Mayo*, by Susana Blaustein and Lordes Portillo, 1985, 64 minutes
2. *Can You Hear Me? Israeli and Palestinian Women Fight for Peace*, by Lilly Rivlin, Margaret Murphy, 2006

Recommended

Simten Coşar, 'Peace is the Name of an Unborn Child in Turkey,' in *Women, War, and Violence*, Robin M. Chandler, Lihua Wang and Linda K. Fuller (eds.) (New York: Plagrave Macmillan, 2010).

WEEK XIV (December 4-8)

***Research papers due**

Overview

In accordance with the Carleton University Graduate Calendar Regulations, the letter grades assigned in this course will have the following percentage equivalents:

A+ = 90-100	B+ = 77-79	C+ = 67-69	D+ = 57-59
A = 85-89	B = 73-76	C = 63-66	D = 53-56
A - = 80-84	B - = 70-72	C - = 60-62	D - = 50-52
F = Below 50	WDN = Withdrawn from the course		

ABS = Student absent from final exam

DEF = Deferred

FND = (Failed, no Deferred) = Student could not pass the course even with 100% on final exam

Academic Regulations, Accommodations, Plagiarism, etc.

University rules regarding registration, withdrawal, appealing marks, and anything else you might need to know can be found on the university's website, here:

<https://calendar.carleton.ca/undergrad/regulations/academicregulationsoftheuniversity/>

Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities

The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at **613-520-6608** or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send your **Letter of Accommodation** at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (*if applicable*).

For Religious Obligations:

Students requesting academic accommodation on the basis of religious obligation should make a formal, written request to their instructors for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory event.

Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student.

Students or instructors who have questions or want to confirm accommodation eligibility of a religious event or practice may refer to the Equity Services website for a list of holy days and Carleton's Academic Accommodation policies, or may contact an Equity Services Advisor in the Equity Services Department for assistance.

For Pregnancy:

Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a letter of accommodation. The student must then make an appointment to discuss her needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

Plagiarism

Plagiarism is the passing off of someone else's work as your own and is a serious academic offence. For the details of what constitutes plagiarism, the potential penalties and the procedures refer to the section on Instructional Offences in the Undergraduate Calendar.

What are the Penalties for Plagiarism?

A student found to have plagiarized an assignment may be subject to one of several penalties including: expulsion; suspension from all studies at Carleton; suspension from full-time studies; and/or a reprimand; a refusal of permission to continue or to register in a specific degree program; academic probation; award of an FNS, Fail, or an ABS.

What are the Procedures?

All allegations of plagiarism are reported to the faculty of Dean of FASS and Management. Documentation is prepared by instructors and/or departmental chairs.

The Dean writes to the student and the University Ombudsperson about the alleged plagiarism.

The Dean reviews the allegation. If it is not resolved at this level then it is referred to a tribunal appointed by the Senate.

Plagiarism and cheating at the graduate level are viewed as being particularly serious and the sanctions imposed are accordingly severe. Students are expected to familiarize themselves with and follow the Carleton University Student Academic Integrity Policy (See <http://www2.carleton.ca/sasc/advisingcentre/academic-integrity/>). The Policy is strictly enforced and is binding on all students. Plagiarism and cheating – presenting another's ideas, arguments, words or images as your own, using unauthorized material, misrepresentation, fabricating or misrepresenting research data, unauthorized co-operation or collaboration or completing work for another student – weaken the quality of the graduate degree. Academic dishonesty in any form will not be tolerated. Students who infringe the Policy may be subject to one of several penalties including: expulsion; suspension from all studies at Carleton; suspension from full-time studies; a refusal of permission to continue or to register in a specific degree program; academic probation; or a grade of Failure in the course.

Assistance for Students:

Student Academic and Career Development Services: <http://carleton.ca/sacds/>

Writing Tutorial Services: <https://carleton.ca/csas/writingservices/>

Peer Assisted Study Sessions (PASS): <https://carleton.ca/csas/group-support/pass/>

Important Information:

- Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).
 - Additional reading material might be added throughout the term.
 - The films that will be watched within the scope of the course might be changed on the demand of the students.
 - Students must always retain a hard copy of all work that is submitted.
 - All final grades are subject to the Dean's approval.
 - Please note that you will be able to link your MyCarleton account to other non-Carleton accounts and receive emails from us. However, for us to respond to your emails, we need to see your full name, CU ID, and the email must be written from your valid Carleton address. Therefore, it would be easier to respond to your inquiries if you would send all email from your Carleton account.
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