

POL3 322s, Sex and War  
Spring 2009

Ivan Arreguín-Toft

iarregui@wellesley.edu

Office hours: Tuesday, 10–11:30 a.m. (by appointment only), PNE 131

v1.0

### Sex and War

The course examines the biological and social determinants of aggression, violence, and war. Some topics include gender biases in international relations theories, women in combat, homosexuals in the military, discourse, attitudes towards war, rape, and female and male roles in the conduct of war. The course also assesses the roles of women as leaders, actors, and objects of foreign policy.

### Course Requirements

There are three course requirements:

1. Class participation (15%)
2. Weekly summaries of readings (35%); and
3. A term paper (50%).

Seminar participants will be required to turn in a one page summary of the week's readings at the beginning of each seminar.

I recognize that public speaking is not a requirement of good scholarship and good analysis, but the true strength of the seminar format is intense and directed discussion. Seminar participants are therefore expected to contribute arguments, criticism, and opinions to the discussion; engaging major themes of the course on an ongoing basis.

Finally, participants will be asked to write a fifteen-page term paper exploring one of the major themes of the course. Seminar participants should feel free to work together both to develop suitable paper topics and to critique each others' work, but these papers must in the end represent each individual participant's own work.

### Readings

#### Books (the following are required and should be purchased at the College bookstore)

- Goldstein, Joshua, *War and Gender* (Cambridge University Press, 2003).
- Tickner, J. Ann, ed., *Gender in International Relations* (Columbia University Press, 1992).
- Wrangham, Richard and Dale Peterson, *Demonic Males* (Mariner Books, 1997).

#### Articles & Book Chapters

- Aaron Belkin et al. "A Modest Proposal: Privacy as a Flawed Rationale for the Exclusion of Gays and Lesbians from the U.S. Military," *International Security*, Vol. 27, No. 2, Fall 2002, pp. 178-197. (20 pp)
- Ahmad, Yvette and Peter K. Smith. "Bullying in Schools and the Issue of Sex Difference," ed. John Archer, *Male Violence* (Routledge, 1994), pp. 70-86. (17 pp)
- Arkin, William and Lynne R. Dobrofsky. "Military Socialization and Masculinity" *Journal of Social Issues*, Vo. 34, No. 1, 1978, pp. 151-168. (18 pp)
- Bahdi, Reem. "Iraq, Sanctions and Security: A Critique," *Duke Journal of Gender Law and Policy*, Vol. 9, 2002, pp. 237-252. (16 pp)
- Barkawi, Tarak, et. al. "Rights and Fights" Sexual Orientation and Military Effectiveness," *International Security*, Vol. 24, No. 1, Summer 1999, pp. 181-201. (21 pp)
- Bourke, Joanna. *An Intimate History of Killing* (Basic Books, 2000), chapter 1, pp. 1-31. (32 pp)

- Brittain, Victoria. "The impact of war on women," *Race and Class*, Vol. 44, No. 4, 2003, pp. 41-51. (11 pp)
- Caprioli, Mary. and Mark Boyer. "Gender, Violence, and International Crisis," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 45, No. 4, August 2001, pp. 503-518. (16 pp)
- Clausewitz, Karl. *On War* (New York: Penguin), pp. 101-103. (3 pp)
- Cohn, Carol. "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, Vol. 12, No. 4, 1987, pp. 687-718. (32 pp)
- Cohn, Carol and Cynthia Enloe. "A Conversation with Cynthia Enloe: Feminists Look at Masculinity and the Men Who Wage War," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, Vol. 28, No. 4, 2003, pp. 1187-1207. (21 pp)
- Coker, Christopher. "Humanizing Warfare, or why van Crevelde May Be Missing the Big Picture," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 2, 2000, pp. 449-460. (12 pp)
- Ehrenreich, Barbara, et. al. "Fukuyama's Follies: So What if Women Ruled the World?" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 78, No. 1 Jan/Feb 1999), pp. 118-
- Ehrenreich, Barbara. *Blood Rites: Origins and History of the Passions of War* (Henry Holt and Company, 1998), chapter 1, pp. 7-35. (29 pp)
- Eichenberg, Richard C. "Gender Differences in Public Attitudes toward the use of force by the United States, 1990-2003," *International Security*, Vol. 28, No. 1, September 2003, pp. 110-141. (32 pp)
- Elshtain, Jean Bethke. "The Problem with Peace," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 3, 1988, pp. 441-449. (9 pp)
- Elshtain, Jean Bethke. "Shooting at the Wrong Target: A Response to Van Crevelde," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 2, 2000, pp. 443-448. (6 pp)
- Fukuyama, Francis. "Women and the Evolution of World Politics," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 77, No. 5 Sept/Oct 1998, pp. 24-40. (17 pp)
- Gabriel, Richard A. "The Biology of War," In *The Culture of War: Invention and Early Development* (Greenwood Press, 1990), pp. 1-18. (19 pp)
- Gat, Azar. "Female Participation in War: Bio-Cultural Interactions," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (December 2000), pp. 21-31. (11 pp)
- Grossman, Dave. *On Killing* (Little Brown and Company, 1996), excerpts.
- Hallock, Daniel William. "The Change is Forever," in *Hell, Healing and Resistance: Veterans Speak*, 1998, pp. 92-113. (22 pp)
- Hudson, Victoria and Andrea Den Boer. "A Surplus of Men, A Deficit of Peace: Security and Sex Ratio in Asia's Largest States," *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 4, Spring 2002, pp. 5-38. (34 pp)
- Huntingford, F. A. "Animals fight, but do not make war," in *Aggression and War: Their Biological and Social Bases*, eds. Jo Groebel and Robert Hinde (Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 25-34. (10pp)
- Kier, Elizabeth. "Homosexuals in the U.S. Military: Open Integration and Combat Effectiveness," *International Security*, Vol. 23, No. 2, Fall 1998, pp. 5-39. (35 pp)
- Lomsky-Feder, Enda. "The Meaning of War through Veterans' Eyes," *International Sociology*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (December 1995), pp. 463-482. (20 pp)
- McDermott, Rose and Jonathan Cowden. "The Effects of Uncertainty and Sex in a Crisis Simulation Game," *International Interactions*, Vol. 27, 2001, pp. 353-380. (28 pp)
- Regan, Patrick and Aida Paskeviciute. "Women's Access to Politics and Peaceful States," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 40, No. 3, 2003, pp. 287-302. (16 pp)
- Scheper-Hughes, Nancy. "Maternal Thinking and the Politics of War," *Peace Review*, Vol. 8, No. 3, 1996, pp. 353-358. (9 pp)
- Schiessel, Christoph. "An Element of Genocide: Rape, Total War, and International Law in the Twentieth Century," *Journal of Genocide Research*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (2002), pp. 197-210. (14 pp)
- Skjelsbaek, Inger. "Is Femininity Inherently Peaceful? The Construction of Femininity in War," *Gender, Peace, and Conflict*, pp. 47-67. (21 pp)

- Tickner, J. Ann. "Why Women Can't Run the World: International Politics According to Francis Fukuyama," *International Studies Review*, Vol. 42, 1999, pp. 3-11. (9 pp)
- van Creveld, Martin. "The Great Illusion: Women in the Military," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 29, 2000, pp. 429-442. (14 pp)
- Wright, Quincy. *A Study of War* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press), chapter 2, pp. 20-50. (31 pp)

### **3FEB09 Session 1: Overview (sex vs. gender) [91]**

1. Goldstein. *Gender and War*, pp. 1-58. (59 pp)
2. Cohn. "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals," pp. 687-718. (32 pp)

#### *Issues*

- What is sex and what is gender?
- Are men and women different?
- If men and women are different, how if at all do those differences matter?
- Is war a male phenomenon?

### **10FEB07 Session 2: the Nature of War and Killing [101]**

1. Clausewitz. *On War*, pp. 101-103. (3 pp)
2. Elshtain. "The Problem with Peace," pp. 441-449. (9 pp)
3. Huntingford. "Animals fight, but do not make war," pp. 25-34. (10 pp)
4. Gabriel. "The Biology of War," pp. 1-18. (19 pp)
5. Ehrenreich. *Blood Rites*, pp. 7-35. (29 pp)
6. Bourke. *An Intimate History of Killing*, pp. 1-31. (32 pp)

#### *Recommended*

Hinde, Robert A. "Aggression and War: Individuals, Groups, and States" in Tetlock, et al, eds. *Behavior, Society, and International Conflict* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 9-70. (62 pp)

#### *Issues*

- Is killing natural?
- Why the obsession with war?

### **17FEB09 [no class]**

### **24FEB09 Session 3: A Male Violence Gene? [201]**

1. Wrangham and Peterson, *Demonic Males*, read chapters 1, 4, 6, 8-12, (146 pp), skim other chapters.
2. Goldstein. *Gender and War*, pp. 128-182. (55 pp)

#### *Recommended*

Manning, A. "The Genetic Basis of Aggression," in *Aggression and War: Their Biological and Social Bases*, eds. Jo Groebel and Robert Hinde (Cambridge University Press, 1989), chapter 5, pp. 48-57. (10 pp)

Barash, David P. "Evolution, Males, and Violence," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, Vol. 34, No. 37, 2002. (6 pp)

#### *Issues*

- Is killing a male act?
- What role do women, reproduction, status, territory and food play?

### **3MAR09 Session 4: Men as Killers [174]**

1. Goldstein. *Gender and War*, pp. 183-249 and pp. 251-301. (118 pp)
- e 2. Ahmad and Smith. "Bullying in Schools and the Issue of Sex Difference," pp. 70-86. (17 pp)
- e 3. Arkin and Dobrofsky. "Military Socialization and Masculinity," pp. 151-168. (18 pp)
- e 4. Cohn and Enloe. "A Conversation with Cynthia Enloe: Feminists Look at Masculinity and the Men Who Wage War," pp. 1187-1207. (21 pp)

#### *Recommended*

- Gillmore, David. *Manhood in the Making* (Yale University Press, 1990), chapter 1, pp. 9-29, and chapter 9, pp. 201-217. (38 pp)
- Klein, Uta. "'Our Best Boys': The Gendered Nature of Civil-Military Relations in Israel," *Men and Masculinities*, Vol. 2, No. 1, July 1999, pp. 47-65. (19 pp)
- Levy-Schreiber, Edna and Eyal Ben-Ari. "Body-Building, Character-Building and Nation-Building: Gender and Military Service in Israel." *Studies in Contemporary Jewry*, Vol. 16, 2000, pp. 171-90. (20 pp)
- Donna, Winslow. "Rites of Passage and Group Bonding in the Canadian Airborne" *Armed Forces and Society*, Vol. 25, No. 3, 1999, pp. 429-457. (28 pp)
- van Creveld, Martin. "Armed but not Dangerous: Women in the Israeli Military," *War in History*, Vol. 7, No. 1, January 2000, pp. 82-98. (17 pp)

#### *Issues*

- Is violence natural for males?
- Is male violence the result of socialization?

### **10MAR09 Session 5: Women as Peacemakers? [71]**

1. Goldstein. *Gender and War*, pp. 301-331. (30 pp)
2. Scheper-Hughes. "Maternal Thinking and the Politics of War," pp. 353-358. (9 pp)
3. Gat. "Female Participation in War: Bio-Cultural Interactions," pp. 21-31. (11 pp)
4. Skjelsbaek. "Is Femininity Inherently Peaceful? The Construction of Femininity in War," pp. 47-67. (21 pp)

#### *Recommended*

- Enloe, Cynthia E. "The Politics of Constructing the American Woman Soldier" in Addis, Russo, Sebesta *Women Soldiers: Images and Realities*, 1994, pp. 81-110. (30 pp)
- McGlen, Nancy and Meredith Ried Sarkees. "Organizational Factors: Tokens in Diplomacy and War-Making," in *Women in Foreign Policy* (Routledge, 1993), chapter 2, pp. 60-121. (62 pp)
- Pankhurst, Donna. "The 'Sex War' and Other Wars: Towards a Feminist Approach to Peace Building" *Development in Practice*, Vol. 13, Nos. 2 and 3, 2003, pp. 154-177. (24 pp)
- Swerdlow, Amy. "Motherhood and the Subversion of the Military State: Women Strike for Peace Confronts the House Committee on Un-American Activities" in *Women, Militarism and War*, eds. Jean Elshtain and Sheila Tobias (Rowman and Littlefield, 1990), pp. 7-31. (24 pp)
- York, Jodi. "The Truth(s) About Women and Peace" *Peace Review*, Vol. 8, No. 3, 1996, pp. 323-329. (7 pp)

#### *Issues*

- Are women naturally peacemakers or is this a role they have been socialized into?

### **17MAR09 Session 6: Women in Combat [101]**

1. Goldstein. *Gender and War*, pp. 59-127. (69 pp)
2. Coker. "Humanizing Warfare, or why van Creveld May Be Missing the Big Picture," pp. 449-460. (12 pp)
3. Elshtain. "Shooting at the Wrong Target: A Response to Van Creveld," pp. 443-448. (6 pp)
4. van Creveld. "The Great Illusion: Women in the Military," pp. 429-442. (14 pp)

#### *Recommended*

- El-Bushra Judy. "Fused in combat: gender relations and armed conflict," *Development in Practice*, Vol. 13, Nos. 2 and 3, 2003, pp. 252-265. (14 pp)
- DeGroot, Gerard. "A Few Good Women: Gender Stereotypes, the Military and Peacekeeping," *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 8, No. 2, Summer 2001, pp. 23-38. (11 pp)
- Miller, Laura and Charles Moskos. "Humanitarians or Warriors?: Race, Gender, and Combat Status in Operation Restore Hope," *Armed Forces and Society*, Vol. 20, No. 4, Summer 1995, pp. 615-635. (21 pp)
- Miller, Laura. "Feminism and the Exclusion of Army Women from Combat." Olin Institute paper, 1995. (36 pp)
- Nantais, Cynthia and Martha F. Lee. "Women in the United States Military: protectors or protected? The case of prisoner of war Melissa Rathbun-Nealy," *Journal of Gender Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 1999, pp. 181-191. (11 pp)
- Rosen, Leora N., et al. "Gender Composition and Group Cohesion in U.S. Army Units: A Comparison across Five Studies," *Armed Forces and Society*, Vol. 25, No. 3, Spring 1999, pp. 365-386. (22 pp)
- Segal, Mady Wechsler. "Women's Military Roles Cross-Nationally: Past, Present, and Future," *Gender and Society*, Vol. 9, No. 6, December 1995, pp. 757-775. (19 pp)
- Titunik, Regina F. "The First Wave: Gender Integration and Military Culture," *Armed Forces and Society*, 2000, pp. 229-257. (29 pp)

#### *Issues*

- Should women serve in combat?
- Which arguments for and against do you find most convincing?
- Socialization, physical strength, emotional strength, unit cohesion

### **24MAR09 Spring Break [no class]**

### **31MAR09 Session 7: Impact of War on Females [63]**

1. Goldstein. *Gender and War*, pp. 380–401. (22 pp)
2. Brittain. "The Impact of War on Women," pp. 41-51. (11 pp)
3. Bahdi. "Iraq, Sanctions and Security: A Critique," pp. 237-252. (16 pp)
4. Schiessel. "An Element of Genocide: Rape, Total War, and International Law in the Twentieth Century," pp. 197-210. (14 pp)

#### *Recommended*

- Benard, Cheryl. "Rape as Terror: The Case of Bosnia" *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 6, No. 1, Spring 1994, pp. 29-43. (15 pp)
- Enloe, Cynthia E. "Spoils of War" *Ms*, 1996. (5 pp)
- Littlewood, Roland. "Military Rape" *Anthropology Today*, Vol. 13, No. 2, April 1997, pp. 7-16. (10 pp)
- Sharlach, Lisa. "Rape as Genocide: Bangladesh, the Former Yugoslavia, and Rwanda." *New Political Science*, Vol. 22, No. 1, 2000, pp. 89-102. (14 pp)
- Turshen, Meredith. "The Political Economy of Rape: An Analysis of Systematic Rape and Sexual Abuse of Women during Armed Conflict in Africa" in eds. Caroline Moser and Fiona Clark *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors?* (Zed Books, 2001), pp. 55-68. (14 pp)

#### *Issues*

- Women as victims of war
- Rape, genocide, sanctions, social change and movement

### **7APR09 Session 8: Impact of War on Males [72]**

1. Selected Poetry from WWI (Sassoon, Graves, Owen)
2. Lomsky-Feder. "The Meaning of War through Veterans' Eyes," pp. 463–482. (20 pp)
3. Grossman. *On Killing*, excerpts, (30 pp).
4. Hallock. "The Change is Forever," pp. 92-113. (22 pp)

#### *Recommended*

- Karner Tracy Xavia. "Engendering Violent Men: Oral Histories of Military Masculinity" in *Masculinities and Violence*, ed. Bowker, 1998, pp. 197-232. (35 pp)
- Remarque, Erich Maria. *All Quiet on the Western Front*.

#### *Issues*

- Men as victims of war
- Dying, killing and their psychological impacts

### 14APR09 Session 9: Views of Diplomacy and War [105]

1. McDermott and Cowden. "The Effects of Uncertainty and Sex in a Crisis Simulation Game," pp. 353-380. (28 pp)
2. Eichenberg. "Gender Differences in Public Attitudes toward the use of force by the United States, 1990-2003," pp. 110-141. (32 pp)

#### *Debate*

3. Fukuyama. "Women and the Evolution of World Politics," pp. 24-40. (17 pp)
4. Ehrenreich et. al. "Fukuyama's Follies: So What if Women Ruled the World?" pp. 24-40 and pp. 118-129. (19 pp)
5. Tickner. "Why Women Can't Run the World: International Politics According to Francis Fukuyama," pp. 3-11. (9 pp)

#### *Recommended*

- Beer, Francis A., et al. "Peace Agreement, Intractable Conflict, Escalation Trajectory: A Psychological Laboratory Experiment," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 39, No. 3, September 1995, pp. 297-312. (16 pp)
- McGlen, Nancy and Meredith Ried Sarkees. "Gender Gap in Management Styles?," in *Women in Foreign Policy* (Routledge, 1993), chapter 6, pp. 262-297. (36 pp)
- Nincic, Miroslav and Donna J. Nincic. "Race, Gender, and War," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 39, No. 5, 2002, pp. 547-568. (22 pp)
- Tickner, J. Ann. "Feminist Perspectives on 9/11," *International Studies Perspectives*, Vol. 3, 2002, pp. 333-350. (28 pp)

#### *Issues*

- If women were in positions of power, would interstate affairs be "better"?

### 21APR09 Monday Schedule [no class]

### 28APR09 Session 10: International Relations Theory and Feminist Thought [69]

Tickner, ed. *Gender in International Relations*, chapters 1, 2 and 5.

#### *Recommended*

#### *Debate*

- Tickner, J. Ann. "You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements Between Feminists and IR Theorists," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 41, 1997, pp. 611-632. (22 pp)
- Keohane, Robert O. "Beyond Dichotomy" Conversations between International Relations and Feminist Theory," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 42, 1998, pp. 193-198. (6 pp)
- Marchand,, Marianne H. "Different Communities/Different Realities/Different Encounters: A Reply to J. Ann Tickner," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 42, 1998, pp. 199-204. (6 pp)
- Tickner, J. Ann. "Continuing the Conversation..." *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 42, 1998, pp. 205-210. (6 pp)

#### *Issues*

- How and to what extent is the field of international security dominated by masculine underpinnings?
- What is a feminist perspective?
- Can a feminist perspective help achieve stability?

## **5MAY09 Session 11: Societal Features and War Propensity [66]**

### *Sex ratios and war*

1. Hudson and Den Boer. "A Surplus of Men, A Deficit of Peace: Security and Sex Ratio in Asia's Largest States," pp. 5-38. (34 pp)

### *Equality and war*

2. Caprioli and Boyer. "Gender, Violence, and International Crisis," pp. 503-518. (16 pp)
3. Regan and Paskeviciute. "Women's Access to Politics and Peaceful States," pp. 287-302. (16 pp)

### *Recommended*

- Caprioli, Mary. "Gendered Conflict," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 37, No. 1, 2000, pp. 53-68. (16 pp)
- Divale, William T. "An explanation for primitive warfare: population control and the significance of primitive sex ratios," *New Scholar* (Fall 1970), pp. 173-192. (20 pp)

### *Issues*

- Under what conditions does the presence or absence of women influence the likelihood of conflict and war?
- In what ways does gender equality or inequality contribute to war and peace?

## **12MAY09 Session 12: Conclusions**

[no assigned readings]