HOW CAN A GENDER-AWARE ANALYSIS CONTRIBUTE TO OUR UNDERSTANDING OF SECURITY?

A Master's Thesis

by

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"HOW CAN A GENDER-AWARE ANALYSIS CONTRIBUTE TO OUR
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I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in (International Relations).

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ABSTRACT

**HOW CAN A GENDER-AWARE ANALYSIS CONTRIBUTE TO OUR
UNDERSTANDING OF SECURITY?**
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July 2006

This thesis discusses the possible contribution of a gender-aware analysis to our understanding of security. Within the discipline of International Relations, there is a great diversity in the range of perspectives on analyzing security. They have different answers to what is being secured, what is being secured against and who provides for security. In Security Studies, empirically based positivist perspectives, explicitly or implicitly specify what the referent of their studies is. It can be the system, state, society, and individuals. On the other hand, in feminist theory, it is all about rethinking concepts, rethinking models. It may appear that gender can have little to contribute to the study of security. However, this is not the case. The gender awareness in the study of security challenges the basic understanding of security. Structures and practices that are taken as given by traditional approaches within a patriarchal discourse serve only to obscure the inequalities and insecurities. In this thesis, through adding gender as a category of analysis, it is attempted to illustrate the gendered constructions of conflict, militarism and militarisation. Without making invisible visible, our understanding of security can only be partial.

Keywords: Gender, Security, Conflict, Militarism, Militarisation

ÖZET

TOPLUMSAL CINSIYET BILINÇLI ANALIZ GÜVENLIK ANLAYISIMIZA NASIL KATKIDA BULUNUR?

Sahin, Hande

Master, Uluslararasi Iliskiler Bölümü

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Temmuz 2006

Bu çalisma, toplumsal cinsiyet bilinçli analizin güvenlik anlayisimiza olasi katkilarini tartismistir. Uluslararasi Iliskiler disiplininde güvenlik analizi yapan perspektifler çesitlilik gösterir. Her bir perspektif, "kimin güvenligi?", "kime karsi güvenlik" ve "güvenligi kim saglar?" sorularini farkli cevaplar. Güvenlik Çalismalarinda, deneye dayali pozitivist perspektifler, çalismayi seçtikleri kavramlari açik veya örtülü olarak belirlerler. Bu kavramlar sistem, devlet, toplum veya kisiler olabilir. Öte yandan, feminist kuram bu kavramlari ve modelleri yeniden degerlendirir. Toplumsal cinsiyetin güvenligin çalisilmasina katkisi az gibi görünebilir. Fakat, durum böyle degildir. Toplumsal cinsiyet bilinçli analiz, temel güvenlik anlayisina meydan okur. Ataerkil söylemde dogal olarak kabul edilen yapilar ve uygulamalar sadece varolan esitsizlikleri ve güvensizlikleri örter. Bu tez, toplumsal cinsiyeti güvenlik anlayisimiza bir analiz kategorisi olarak ekleyerek, çatismanin, militarizmin ve militarizasyonun toplumsal cinsiyetle nasil yapilandirildiklarini göstermeyi amaçlamistir. Görünmeyeni görünür kilmadan güvenlik anlayisimiz kismi olacaktir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Toplumsal Cinsiyet, Güvenlik, Çatisma, Militarizm, Militarizasyon

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Since the 1980s, Security Studies as a Cold War sub-discipline became an established academic field.[1] It is dominated by neorealism that takes the existence and legitimacy claims of nation-states as pre-given for granted.[2] Other approaches and theories that have already existed during the Cold War have begun to challenge traditional approaches by offering new insights to security studies after the end of the Cold War.[3] Furthermore, the emergence of international terrorism and other new threats, ethnic conflicts, concepts and strategies of international security policy have brought fundamental changes to Security Studies scholarship by calling for rethinking and redefining security.[4]

Although the concept of security has a central importance in International Relations, it is difficult to provide a common definition of this concept. Security

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[1] Ayse Gül Altinay, <u>The Myth of the Military- Nation: Militarism, Gender and Education In Turkey</u>, (Palgrave Macmillan: New York, 2004), 2.

[2] Kenneth Waltz, <u>Theory of International Politics</u> (New York: Random House, 1979), 1-128.

[3] Pinar Bilgin, 'Individual and Societal Dimensions of Security', <u>International Studies Review</u> 5(2003), 203.

[4] Ken Booth, 'Security and Self: Reflections of a Fallen Realist', in <u>Critical Security Studies:Concepts and Cases</u>, Keith Krause and Micheal Williams, eds. (London: UCLPress, 1997) 83-119; Stephan Walt, 'The Renaissance of Security Studies', <u>International Studies Quarterly</u>, 25 (1991), 211-239; Ken Booth, 'Security and Emancipation', <u>Review of International Studies</u>, 17 (1991), 313-326.

might be broadly defined as "a state of being secure, safe, free from danger, injury, harm of any sort"[5] by feminist scholars. However, many International Relations scholars would not accept this definition. Traditional approaches of the Cold War years, namely realism and neorealism, have dominated debates on security. They define security in terms of the overriding need to ensure the survival of nation-states in an anarchical international order in which state is the mainstay of security.[6] Power was considered as the essence of security in times of conflict.[7] On the other hand, critical approaches have broadened the security agenda. Moving beyond statist approaches of Cold War, they have provided new accounts for understanding the international system and security. They draw upon a number of critical perspectives to build a critique of the discourse of state security which constructs a hostile 'other' to legitimize state power.[8]

Notwithstanding such contributions, until recently, critical International Relations approaches had not included gender as a category of analysis. Feminism is different from these critical approaches including postmodernism, critical theory, historical sociology and normative theory because feminist approaches use gender as a central category of analysis.[9] Feminist studies look at the world through gender lenses in order to focus on gender as a particular kind of power relation and to find out the ways in which gender is central to

[5] Jill Steans, Gender and International Relations: An Introduction (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998), 107.
[6] Kenneth Waltz, 'The Anarchic Structure of World Politics', in International Politics:Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues, eds. Robert Art and Robert Jervis (New York: Longman, 6th ed., 2003), 50-60.
[7] Waltz, 'The Anarchic Structure of World Politics',60; Steans, Gender and International Relations, 107.
[8] Booth, 'Security and Self: Reflections of a Fallen Realist', 83-119; Alexander Wendt, 'Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Poltics', International Organization, 46:2 (Spring 1992), 423; Cynthia H. Enloe, The Morning After : Sexual Politics at the End of the Cold War, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).
[9] J. Ann Tickner, Gender in International Relations : Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Security (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992); Enloe, The Morning After; Vivienne Jabri and Eleanor O'Gorman, Women, Culture and International Relations, (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999), 5-9; V. Spike Peterson and Anne Sisson Runyan, Global Gender Issues (Oxford: Westview Press, 1999), 25-26.

understanding international processes.[10] Despite their differences in defining gender, feminists argue that taking gender as a category of analysis leads scholars to ask different questions about the social practices involved in the construction of nation-states. They all examine gender constructions, divisions and exclusions and implicitly deal with the oppositional construction of masculine and feminine gender identities. They point out to bias and exclusion in International Relations theory. They ask questions about whether it is possible to develop less biased approaches to understand international politics and to achieve more theoretical inclusivity.[11]

On the other hand, traditional International Relations theory remains silent on gender. This is as "a consequence of methodological individualism which begins with a high level of abstraction, taking the state to be the key actor"[12]. However, as R. Charli Carpenter argues, "if reality is socially constructed and material outcomes depend largely on shared beliefs, the ubiquity and salience of beliefs about gender in areas relevant to International Relations are worthy of study".[13]

Accordingly, one of the feminist contributions to International Relations is to show the extent to which the field itself is gendered. Feminist scholars focus on how ideas about gender are constructed and used to legitimize and perpetuate inequalities. According to feminist approaches, the range of subjects studied, the boundaries of the discipline, its central concerns and motifs, the content of empirical research, the assumptions of theoretical models, and the lack of female practioners in academic, elite political and economic circles reinforce each

[10] Peterson and Runyan, Global Gender Issues, 25-26; J.Ann Tickner, 'Foreword', in Gendered States: Feminist (Re)Visions of International Relations Theory, V.Spike Peterson, ed., (London: Lyne Rienner), ix; Tickner, Gender in International Relations, 1-25.
[11] Tickner, Gender in International Relations, 1-25; Peterson and Runyan, Global Gender Issues, Steans, Gender and International Relations, 1-15.
[12] Steans, Gender and International Relations, 46.
[13] R. Charli Carpenter, 'Gender Theory in World Politics: Contribution of a Nonfeminist Standpoint?' International Studies Review 4:3 (Fall 2002), 153.

other to marginalize women. All of these often make women's roles and concerns invisible.[14] It is a man's world because of the predominance of men in practice and the masculinist underpinnings of the discipline. Therefore, it can be said that a significant role is played by International Relations in the creation and maintenance of masculine identities. Only the constructed masculine virtues of power, autonomy and self-reliance are valorized by traditional approaches of the discipline. Therefore, it can be argued that International Relations is a gendered discourse.[15]

The major aim of this thesis is to consider J. Ann Tickner's question 'how the discipline of international relations look like when gender was included as a category of analysis'[16], and with reference to Security Studies in particular, the thesis will discuss how our understanding of security is shaped by gender. In order to reveal the contribution of a gender-aware analysis to our understanding of security, this study is composed of five chapters. The first chapter looks at the possible contribution of a gender-aware analysis to International Relations. It first focuses on theoretical and methodological aspects of the field of International Relations. Traditional approaches to security studies, in general, are evaluated. The positivism- versus- post-positivism debate is also briefly discussed. A critique of realist and neorealist assumptions from a feminist perspective is provided. In the second part of the chapter, feminist approaches are evaluated. It is argued that despite significant differences between feminist approaches to International Relations, they all aim to discover the degree to which International Relations has a gendered discourse.

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[14] Charlotte Hooper, <u>Manly States: Masculinities, International Relations, and Gender Politics</u>, (New York: Columbia University Pres, 2001), 1; Peterson and Runyan, <u>Global Gender Issues</u>, 1-14-62; Tickner, <u>Gender in International Relations</u>, 1-25.

[15] Steans, <u>Gender and International Relations</u>, 46; Peterson and Runyan, <u>Global Gender Issues</u>, 1-62; Tickner, <u>Gender in International Relations</u>, 1-25.

[16] Tickner, <u>Gender in International Relations</u>, 5.

Next, the concept of gender is examined and finally, the contribution of gender-aware analysis to International Relations is discussed. It is stated that in the early years of feminist thought, gender was defined as a personal attribute. The study of gender was largely confined to the study of character traits and sex roles. Some feminists have defined gender as a biological attribute while those feminists, who adopted a post positivist methodology, have considered gender as socially constructed rather than biologically determined.[17] Despite their different definitions on gender, they all argue that traditionally International Relations is a discipline in which gender is rendered invisible. As a consequence of the institutionalization of gender differences in societies and the exclusion of women from high politics, traditional approaches have only dealt with the lives and identities of men. Thus, taking gender as a category of analysis in the discipline of IR is a fundamental challenge to the field and a way to examine the relationship between the practices of international politics and gender inequalities.[18]

In Chapter 2, in order to reveal the contribution of a gender-aware analysis to our understanding of security, the importance of integrating women and gender into the study of conflict is considered. In order to do so, firstly, gender as a category of analysis in understanding conflict is examined. Different understandings of essentialist and non-essentialist feminists on conflict are provided. A gender-aware analysis of conflict enables the possibility of understanding gender roles in conflict and its aftermath, as armed and political conflicts tend to challenge gendered identities. Gender-aware analysis also offers that women

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[17] Jabri and O'Gorman, <u>Women, Culture and International Relations</u>, 3; Jane Flax, 'Postmodernism and Gender Relations in Feminist Theory', <u>Signs</u>, 12:4 in <u>Within and Without: Women, Gender and Theory</u> (Summer, 1987), 634; Tickner, <u>Gender in International Relations</u>, 1-25; Peterson and Runyan, <u>Global Gender Issues</u>, 29.
[18] Tickner, <u>Gender in International Relations</u>, 19.

are not only passive victims in conflict situations but perform different activities and have different stakes and interests in the given conflict.

Next, gender identities during and after conflicts are evaluated. It is argued that the aim of broadening the understanding of the intersection of gender and conflict is to recognize and address forms of gender-specific disadvantages that are overlooked by conventional, gender-blind representations of armed conflict and its aftermath. In the third part of the chapter, the gendered identities during and after conflict and the relation between women and conflict are analyzed. Gendered identities are rooted in the perception that men are soldiers or aggressors and women are wives, mothers, nurses, and social workers. These dominant understandings of gender roles lead to the inequality that women face during and after conflict.[19] An analysis of why and how the construction of gender has served to legitimize the subordination of women and how hegemonic structures exist within patriarchal ideology is provided. Gender is central to understanding the way the nation is constructed in that it plays a role in influencing the strategies and goals and identities of participants in nationalist struggles. The perceptions of appropriate behavior, appearance and attitude for women to be wives, mothers, and nurturers undermine the position of women in societies and lead to further subordination of women during and aftermath of conflicts. While they are incorporated to masculinist structures of society in war-making, patriarchal structures of society reinforce women to turn back to their traditional roles during times of state building in peace time. Both processes are gendered and masculinity is defined as an opposite to femininity, the 'other'. However, the key to understand how women are excluded lies in understanding gender as a set of cultural institutions and practices that constitute norms and standards of masculinity and femininity.

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[19] Nira Yuval Davis, Gender and Nation (Sage publications: London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi, 1997).

Finally, in Chapter 2, the relevance of masculinity in gender-aware analysis of conflict is discussed. Since feminists have pointed to male-dominated and masculinist character of International Relations, they often focus on the subordination and marginilization of women. Until recently, the experiences of men as 'men' had been neglected by a number of feminist scholars. However, in this chapter, it is argued that without examining the diverse experiences of men, our analysis of the interplay between gender and conflict will remain partial. In order to understand existing divisions of power and the role of gender in times of conflict, an examination of varieties of both old/new gender identities and the changes they face over time and in relation to the conflict is needed.[20] Feminist scholars, who studied the contribution of a gender-aware analysis to understanding conflict, also look at militarism and militarisation in order to consider the relevance and importance of gender to our understanding of security. They argue that militarism as a discourse and militarisation as a process are both gendered.

Chapter three illustrates these gendered characters of militarism and militarisation. First, feminist approaches to militarism and the importance of gender in militarism are discussed. It is argued that feminist theorizing is unique in studying militarism because it posits gender, the social construction of masculinity and femininity, as a critical factor in the construction of militarism. Feminist studies address the lack of gender-aware analyses of militarism and militarisation. In order to fulfill this void, feminist theorists analyze soldiers' experiences in the military, cultural and political significance of military service in contemporary societies, women's varied roles in the military system as wives, girlfriends, prostitutes and soldiers, soldiering and violence against women, the impact of militaries and war preparations in particular areas, the relationship between soldiering, gender and

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[20] Simona Sharoni, 'Gendering Conflict and Peace in Israel/Palestine and North of Ireland' <u>Millennium: Journal of International Studies</u>, (1998), 1072; Peterson and Runyan, <u>Global Gender Issues</u>, 163-211; Ange- Marie Hancock, 'Review Essay: Perspectives in Gender and Conflict Resolution', <u>Peace Review</u>, 13:4 (2001), 600.

citizenship in the nation-state system.[21] Feminist analyses reveal that ideas about gender and gender inequality are integral to the way in which militarism works. Feminist scholars examine the relationship between masculinity and femininity in the process of militarisation. According to feminist scholars, women and feminine traits are used for the militarisation of society in both material and ideological terms. Through the subordination of women, men are encouraged to learn how to act like men. Women's incorporated roles, listed above, have served to reinforce the masculinity of war and justify militarism.

Next, in Chapter 3, the conscription system in different states and its effects on the construction of collective and gender identities is analyzed. It is argued that the military plays a special role in the ideological structure of patriarchy because the notion of combat is central to the construction of manhood and the justification of the superiority of men in the social order. One of the most important sites when citizenship becomes gendered and militarized is military service. There is a link between military and citizenship. This link between military and citizenship reinforces and justifies the exclusion of women from the public realm and has provided a strong justification for the subordination of women. Since rights and duties of citizenship are related with bearing arms, women have often been denied full citizenship. Conscription is defined as an extreme practice which prepares, men especially, for war, and one by which citizens soldiers learn how to kill and risk being killed. Since it is the most basic way of defending the nation, it is the duty of every (male) citizen in many countries in the world.[22] Therefore, it is argued that conscription constructs and reinforces gendered identities. These gendered identities become militarized. The patriarchal military system uses the

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[21] Cynthia Enloe, Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics (Berkeley & Los Angeles: UC Press, 1990); Altinay, The Myth of the Military, 6; Hancock, 'Review Essay', 601.
[22] Cynthia Enloe, Maneuvers: The International Politics of. Militarizing Women's Lives, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 1-48; Annika Kronsell, Erika Svedberg, 'The Duty to Protect: Gender in the Swedish Practice of Conscription', Cooperation and Conflict (36)2 (2001),154; Altinay, The Myth of the Military, 71-86; Peterson and Runyan, Global Gender Issues, 118-130.

compulsory conscription system to dominate both men and women. Moreover, men, by serving in the military, gain the status of first class citizenship since it is their duty to sacrifice their lives for the nation-state. On the other hand, femininity and women are used to reinforce the masculinist, militarist ideologies. Considered as second-class citizens, women, without getting involved in high politics, can only appreciate men's responsibilities.

In the third part of Chapter 3, the socially and militarily constructed gender roles and their relation to forms of violence are examined. By drawing up Simona Sharoni's article, "Homefront as Battlefield: Gender, Military Occupation and Violence against Women"[23], different forms of violence and their relation with each other are discussed. As J. Ann Tickner argues, all forms of violence exercised, whether international, national or domestic realms are interconnected.[24] Some men, who learn to use violence against the other during military service or during conflicts and wars, continue to use his violent practices back home against women. Masculine violence has become embedded, institutionalized and legitimized in the modern practice of militarisation.

The overall aim of Chapter 3 is to illustrate that a gender-aware analysis provided by feminist scholars contributes to our understanding of how militarism, military service, compulsory conscription, militarisation of women and civilians are naturalized and constructed within the discourses of national and international security. By making invisible visible, they challenge the military that is one of the most autonomous patriarchal institutions. They criticize its unquestionable authority and its masculinist foundations. Without a gender-aware analysis, it is impossible to reveal how masculinist the discourses of militarism and the practices of militaries are and how they depend on the control of gender identities to exist.

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[23] Simona Sharoni, 'Homefront as Battlefield: Gender, Military Occupation and Violence Against Women' in Women and the Israeli Occupation:The Politics of Change, Tamar Mayer, ed., (Routledge: London, 1994).
[24] Tickner, Gender in International Relations, xi.

The concluding chapter of this study first summarizes the thesis. Later on, in the light of precedent chapters, the questions of 'how the discipline of international relations might look like if gender was included as a category of analysis'[25] and how our understanding of International Relations is shaped by gender are evaluated. This thesis is not definitive but suggestive. It is attempted to suggest to what extent and in what ways our understanding of security is gendered. It illustrates the extent and structure of gender inequality, and the role of gender in structuring and constructing the identities of women and men vis-à-vis conflict, militarism and militarisation.

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[25] Tickner, Gender in International Relations, 5.

CHAPTER 2

HOW CAN A GENDER-AWARE ANALYSIS CONTRIBUTE TO OUR UNDERSTANDING OF SECURITY?

2.1 Introduction

After the Cold War, traditionally defined threats were replaced by conflicts that are over ethnic and religious issues, or issues of national identity and national liberation. These new threats to security call for new solutions. State's autonomy and its military power are no longer offering solutions to insecurities of people because conflicts take place mostly within states' boundaries instead of between two or more states. These changes bring about fundamental challenges to the dominant IR theories of the Cold War. Alternative ways of thinking about security that are developed during the Cold War bring about new understandings to the study of International Relations. This chapter is going to discuss the possible contribution of gender-aware analysis to our understanding of security. In order to illustrate the contribution of a gender-aware analysis, first, theoretical and methodological aspects of the field of International Relations will be briefly discussed. In the second part of the chapter, feminist approaches will be evaluated. Next, the concept of gender will be examined and finally, the contribution of gender-aware analysis will be discussed.

2.2 The Field of International Relations

International Relations is a discipline in which various perspectives offer different understandings and explanations of world politics.[26] Early International Relations scholarship, namely idealism, aimed to promote respect for the norms of international society and institutions that could strengthen and uphold international law in order to prevent future conflicts after World War I. It is concerned with how the world should be. It aimed to improve the world through the abolition of war.[27] However, the collapse of the League of Nations and the outbreak of World War II challenged idealism. Thereafter, realism started to dominate both the theory and the practice of International Relations.[28]

Realism offers new ways of thinking about international politics. Early realist scholars reacted against the failure of what they called the "idealist" tradition of the early twentieth century.[29] Their basic assumption is that the world is a dangerous place in which an overarching authority is crucial to keep the peace. Instead of dealing with how the world should be, realists were concerned with how the world is. They consider the conflict to be inevitable. To this end, they argue that the best way to assure the security of states is to prepare for war. Critical of the idealist tradition of the early twentieth century, realism considers the state as the unitary actor and claims that the interaction of states within an

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[26] Mark Neufield, <u>The Restructuring of International Relations Theory</u>, (Cambrsdge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

[27] Ngaire Woods, 'The Uses of Theory in the Study of International Relations', in <u>Explaining International Relations Since 1945</u>, Ngaire Woods, ed., (Oxfo   rd: Oxforf University Pres, 1999), 9-31; E.H. Carr, <u>The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations</u>, (London:Papermac, 1981 [1939]), 22-94.

[28] J. Ann Tickner, <u>Gender in International Relations : Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Security</u> (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992); Jill Steans, <u>Gender and International Relations: An Introduction</u> (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998)

[29] Carr, <u>The Twenty Years' Crisis</u>, 22-94; Hans J. Morgenthau, 'A Realist Theory of International Politcs', <u>Politics Among Nations</u> (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1985).

anarchic system is the main source of threat. Realists define security in terms of the state's capacity to protect its territorial boundaries and its sovereign ability to act.[30] Accumulation of power and military strength are crucial in assuring state survival, the protection of an orderly domestic space and the pursuit of legitimate national interest beyond one's territorial border.[31]

Methodologically, in an objectivist framework, realism aims to provide universalistic explanations for the behavior of states across time and space.[32] These universalistic explanations are expected to offer prediction of state behaviour in an anarchic international environment.

Realists' methods were challenged by behavioralism in the late 1950s. While behavioralism did not provide an alternative theory through challenging the basic assumptions of the realist theory, it brought about a scientific methodology to the field with an emphasis on the collection and analysis of data.[33] As a response to those critics, the positivist methodology of behavioralism was adopted by neorealism in order to build an objective science of International Relations.[34] Through borrowing models from the economics, in particular, neorealists tried to provide universal explanations for the behavior of states in an anarchic international system.[35] Therefore, the traditional realist approach that saw the world from the perspective the statesman or diplomat was replaced with the quest for rigorous and scientific methods in the study of International Relations.

According to positivism, certain facts about the world are 'out there', as objective truths, waiting to be discovered. These truths can be determined and understood by empirical

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[30] Terrif, Croft, James, Morgan, <u>Security Studies Today</u>, 175.
[31] Tickner, <u>Gender in International Relations</u>, 11.
[32] Tickner, <u>Gender in International Relations</u>, 11.
[33] Steans, <u>Gender and International Relations</u>, 42.
[34] Kenneth Waltz, 'The Anarchic Structure of World Politics', in <u>International Politics:Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues</u>, eds. Robert Art and Robert Jervis (New York: Longman, 6th ed., 2003), 50-60; Tickner, <u>Gender in International Relations</u>, 11.
[35] Waltz, 'The Anarchic Structure of World Politics', 50-60; Tickner, <u>Gender in International Relations,</u> 12.

research, and the rigorous testing of theories. Thus, thorough neo-positivism, realism can offer

unbiased universal truths that are mostly associated with scientific theories.[36] Furthermore, in

this way, other theories are underestimated because of being idealistic, wishful thinking,

ideological and unsciencial.[37]

It is sometimes argued that the political behavior of the great powers during periods of

high political tension is best described by realism after World War II. However, the decrease

in the intensity of the Cold War in the early 1970s and the oil crisis challenged the dominant

theory of International Relations.[38] New ways of thinking and new methods emerged as a

result of the quest for explaining these new issues of world politics. For instance, according to

some interdependence scholars, the changes in the international system revealed the

importance of the issues related with economic interdependence and the activities of non-state

actors. Marxism challenged realist theory more fundamentally. Instead of issues of order and

control, their agenda is based upon issues of equality and justice. They are concerned about

the marginalized areas of the world system and class divisions within the world market.[39] In

addition to this, the term structural violence was begun to be used by peace researchers in

order to emphasize insecurities of people who are on the margins of the international system.[40]

Despite of new ways of thinking to understanding world politics, positivism is rarely

questioned by analysts in International Relations. Approaches that aim to provide a different

insight into the social sciences and into the International Relations and into its subfield

Security Studies adopted post-positivist methodology. They challenge positivists who consider

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[36] Waltz, 'The Anarchic Structure of World Politics', 50-60; Steans, Gender and International Relations, 43.
[37] Steans, Gender and International Relations, 44.
[38] Tickner, Gender in International Relations, 12.
[39] Immanuel Wallerstein, The Modern World System, (New York: Academic Press, 1974); Fernando Cardoso, Enzo Faletto, Dependency and Development in Latin America, (Berkeley: University of California press, 1979).
[40] Johan Galtung, 'A structural Theory of Imperialism', Journal of Peace Research 8(2) (1971), 81-117.

power inequalities as rooted in material reality and take them as given.[41] Post-positivists

consider inequalities as socially constructed. These inequalities are not given and need to be

problematized. They further argue that as the reality is socially constructed, theory is a

fundamental part of this reality. Since there is no objective world to be known, there cannot be

a division between theory and practice. Knowledge can be a part of the reality but it is socially

constructed. Thus, instead of a single objective truth and reason, there are socially defined

truths and reason. Post-positivists reject empiricism, for there cannot be a distinction between

observer and the observed. As a consequence, they assume that theory and practice cannot be

separated from each other.[42]

Within the discipline of International Relations, there is a great diversity in the range

of perspectives on analyzing security. They have different answers to what is being secured,

what is being secured against and who provides for security. In Security Studies, empirically

based positivist perspectives explicitly or implicitly specify what the referent of their studies

is. It can be the system, state, society, and individuals. For instance, in realist conceptions of

security, the state is the referent while most neo-realists take the system and its anarchic nature

as a referent. In contrast to this, each post-positivist perspective, in its particular way, aims to

discover structures of power and domination that are rendered invisible because of the focus

on states. Post-positivists argue that focusing on a specific referent at the expense of others

hides structures that are needed to be uncovered. While positivists start their analyses with a

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[41] Terrif, Croft, James, Morgan, Security Studies Today, 99.
[42] Terrif, Croft, James, Morgan, Security Studies Today, 101; J.Ann Tickner, 'What is Your Research Program?: Some Feminist Answers to IR's Methodological Questions', The Boston Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights Working Paper Series, 3 (2003), 5-39; Steve Smith, 'The Self-Images of a Discipline', in International Relations Today, Ken Booth and Steve Smith, eds., (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), 24-25; Marysia Zalewski and Cynthia Enloe, 'Questions About Identity in International Relations', in in International Relations Today, Ken Booth and Steve Smith, eds., (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), 298-299.

particular referent or empirical challenge, post-positivists' starting point is epistemological.[43] In other words, post-positivists do not privilege one referent over another. Defining various categories based on a specified referent contradicts the methodology of many post-positivist analyses on security. However, this does not mean that post-positivists do not identify particular referents. In their analysis, they aim to include all levels and units in order to expose all the structures. Even if they examine the international level and the state or the sub-state level and the individual, their examinations are not only limited to these units.[44] For instance, feminists analyze the gender specific nature of violence. They argue that a broad perspective of security is crucial in understanding international relations. Feminist perspectives on security assume that violence, whether it is exercised in the international, national or family realm, is interconnected.

As was argued above, whereas the perspectives that are different from the top-down approaches of the Cold War were interested in different understandings of methods, research and policies in order to explain the world system and security system, little or no attention was paid to gender as a category of analysis in the subject matter of International Relations.[45] Therefore, it is worth mentioning that because of its focus on gender as the defining factor in all relations, feminism is unique in International Relations and Security Studies. Feminism offers a bottom-up approach in which women's experiences are valued and in which power is defined beyond the usual relationship of domination and submission in military terms in order to deconstruct patriarchal practices that oppress 'other` entities and to achieve egalitarian and non-hierarchical international structures.

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[43] Terrif, Croft, James, Morgan, <u>Security Studies Today</u>, 185; Tickner, 'What is Your Research Program?', 5; Smith, 'The Self-Images of a Discipline', 24-25.
[44] Terrif, Croft, James, Morgan, <u>Security Studies Today</u>, 183.
[45] Tickner, <u>Gender in International Relations</u>, 14.

In order to analyze the potential contribution of Feminist approaches to International Relations and Security Studies, one should first examine different approaches in feminist theorizing. To this end, in the following part, these different approaches will be evaluated.

2.3 Feminist Approaches to International Relations

There are different understandings of feminism in International Relations that are built upon normative/political commitments, substantive focus, and conceptual frameworks.[46] Early feminist approaches differ from recent feminist approaches. They define gender as biologically determined while recent feminist scholars treat gender as a social construct. It can be said that their difference is rooted in their methodological starting points in analyzing gender. In addition to methodological differences, different approaches to feminism analyze various dimensions of world politics in relation to gender inequalities.

In their book *Global Gender Issues*, V. Spike Peterson and Anne Runyan analyze gender and distinguish between substantive and conceptual aspects of gender by defining them as two interactive sides of the gender coin. The substantive aspect of gender indicates the effects of international relations on gender or the position of women, that is 'where and how women are situated differently than men as a consequence of the practices, processes, and institutions we identify as world politics'.[47] On the other hand, conceptual aspects indicate interest in the power of concepts and language. In other words, it is the power of gender which

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[46] V. Spike Peterson and Anne Sisson Runyan, Global Gender Issues (Oxford: Westview Press, 1999), 25-26.
[47] Peterson and Runyan, Global Gender Issues, 10-26.

is defined as 'how gender is a category of our mental ordering (a filter or lens) that has consequences for practices, processes, and institutions that we think of as world politics'.[48]

After clarifying the substantive and conceptual aspects of gender, Peterson and Runyan analyze epistemological positions in relation with these aspects. They state that since in a positivist methodology, subject and object is separated and meaning systems are taken as given, positivists do not consider gender as a theoretical category so that the role of gender in the construction of meaning and lenses are undermined. In other words, although sex can be considered as a variable, gender is not treated as a relevant factor in how we think. Different from this epistemological position, the power of language and the centrality of gender both empirically and conceptually are recognized by post-positivists.[49] Feminist thought can be divided into two groups: positivists and post- positivists.

Some feminist approaches which have an emphasis on position of women, adopt positivism in order to reveal the irrationality of woman's exclusion from or marginalization within male-dominated fields like science, economics and international relations.[50] They consider gender as biologically determined. They argue that the historical nexus of manhood, citizenship and military activity make war and security exclusively male domains. Women could not have significant roles in these fields because of their sex, race and class. Since the reality 'out there' is analyzed by an observer who has masculinist attributes and values through the scientific method; sex, race, or class of the observer would affect the processes of inquiry. They argue that other perspectives that employ positivism but not using gender as a category of analysis are biased in observing the reality.[51]

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[48] Peterson and Runyan, Global Gender Issues, 10-26.
[49] Peterson and Runyan, Global Gender Issues, 26.
[50] Peterson and Runyan, Global Gender Issues, 26.
[51] Peterson and Runyan, Global Gender Issues, 27.

On the other hand, many other feminists use a post-positivist methodology to reveal 'how the marginalized and subordinated position of women is inextricably tied to the power of gender as a value and valuing system that permeates our concepts and meaning systems and hence our actions'.[52] Post-positivist feminists, different from positivists, acknowledge the centrality of meaning systems and seek to discover the mutual constitution of agents and structures subjects and objects. The power of gender in shaping the production of knowledge is rendered invisible by claims of value -neutrality. However, a social practice cannot be value-free and knowledge is a socially constructed.[53] Post-positivist feminists argue that domination and exclusion of women and all who are constructed as 'other' do not occur as a result of essential and atemporal qualities but as a result of socially constructed, historically contingent practices. According to them, gender as a category enables to analyze meanings imposed on the body and understands how feminine and masculine traits are made. Femininity and masculinity are not ahistorical but rather ongoing, complex and contradictory processes.[54]

In addition to their methodological differences, different approaches to feminism examine various dimensions of world politics in relation to some aspects of gender inequality. Early approaches of feminist theory build their agenda within the framework of women's oppression. For instance, liberal feminism was interested in women's exclusion from political power, Marxist feminism on class inequalities and radical feminism on sociocultural practices that undermine the feminine and control women's sexuality. Later on, political and economic sources of oppression were recognized by socialist feminism. Post-colonial feminism recognizes ethnicity as the primary source of female oppression, mostly in Third World

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[52] Peterson and Runyan, <u>Global Gender Issues</u>, 27; Tickner, 'What is Your Research Program?', 5; Smith, 'The Self-Images of a Discipline', 24-25; Zalewski and Cynthia Enloe, 'Questions About Identity in International Relations', 297-298.

[53] Peterson and Runyan, <u>Global Gender Issues</u>, 27.

[54] V. Spike Peterson, <u>Gendered States: Feminist (Re)Visions of International Relations Theory</u> (Boulder: Lyne Rienner), 9.

countries. Post-modernist feminism is critical of positivist and modernist assumptions and the power relation that they sustain. They do not reduce women or gender into simplistic, homogeneous categories.[55] For post-modernist feminists, gender is a socially constructed concept and its meaning can vary over time and across cultures. They are critical of all hidden presuppositions and assumptions that aim to theorize or tell `One True Story` about the human condition.[56]

To sum up, it can be said that despite of the significant differences between feminist approaches to International Relations, they all aim to discover the degree to which International Relations have a gendered discourse. Therefore, it is crucial to understand how gender is defined and treated as a category of analysis by different feminist approach in order to realize 'how the discipline of international relations might look like if gender was included as a category of analysis'[57] and how our understanding of International Relations is shaped by gender. To this end, in the next part of the chapter, different feminist approaches' treatment of gender will be examined.

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[55] Peterson and Runyan, Global Gender Issues, 27-28-29.
[56] Steans, Gender and International Relations, 25.
[57] Tickner, Gender in International Relations, 5.

2.4 Gender in Feminist Approaches

Early feminist scholars, namely essentialist feminists, consider gender as biologically determined. [58] In other words, gender and gender differences are considered to be derived from differences in biological sex. The study of gender is related to the study of character traits and sex roles. Particular characteristics of each sex made men and women suitable to the performance of particular social roles.[59] It was thought that because they are biologically determined, these characteristics are inherent and immutable. While men, in nature, are war-prone, women are more peaceful because of their role of giving birth and nurturing.[60] They argue that because of their pacifist nature, women have to fill higher ranks in both national and international grounds in order to achieve peace and security.

In contrast, non-essentialist feminists treat gender as a social construct. In their definition, gender refers to a set of culturally shaped and defined characteristics associated with masculinity and femininity instead of referring to biological differences between women and men.[61] While genetic and anatomical characteristics determine biological sex identity, socially learned gender is an acquired identity through performing prescribed gender roles.[62] Through culturally specific socialization, people learn numerous characteristics that are associated with masculinity and femininity and ways to develop and consider the identities of men and women. Furthermore, whereas these characteristics of masculinity and femininity can

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[58] Terrif, Croft, James, Morgan, Security Studies Today, 82.
[59] Steans, Gender and International Relations, 11.
[60] Terrif, Croft, James, Morgan, Security Studies Today, 83; ; Jane Flax, 'Postmodernism and Gender Relations in Feminist Theory', Signs, 12:4 in Within and Without: Women, Gender and Theory (Summer, 1987), 628- 634; V.Spike Peterson, 'Feminist Theories Within, Invisible to and Beyond IR', Brown Journal of World Affairs Vol.X(2) (Winter/Spring 2004), 40.
[61] Tickner, Gender in International Relations, 7; Terrif, Croft, James, Morgan, Security Studies Today ,83.
[62] Peterson and Runyan, Global Gender Issues, 5.

change across cultures and history, gender differences often expose inequality and the domination of women by men.[63]

Gender differences are produced by a complex interaction of identification processes, symbol systems and social institutions. These gender differences in the form of a dichotomy not only oppose masculinity to femininity but also translate these oppositional differences into gender hierarchy, that is the privileging of traits and activities defined as masculine over those defined as feminine. Therefore, acknowledging 'the cultural variation in how gender differences are formed and expressed' is as important as acknowledging 'the political nature of gender as a system of difference construction and hierarchical dichotomy production.'[64] As Peterson and Runyan put it 'gender is about power and power is gendered'.[65]

In order to make this power visible, Peterson and Runyan first analyze masculinity and femininity as interdependent categories instead of treating them as independent categories. Masculinity and femininity are interdependent because these categories are defined in opposition to each other.[66] This means that if a man acts different from the associated characteristics of masculinity and show emotion, passivity or weakness instead of being rational, active and strong, he will be considered as nonmasculine. Similar to this, a woman with masculine traits can be identified as masculine.[67]

Secondly, Peterson and Runyan suggest that the relationship between masculinity and femininity demonstrate that greater value is assigned to masculine traits and lesser value is assigned to feminine ones. In this way, a hierarchical relationship, referred to as a dichotomy,

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[63] Tickner, Gender in International Relations, 7.
[64] Peterson and Runyan, Global Gender Issues, 7.
[65] Peterson and Runyan, Global Gender Issues, 7.
[66] Peterson and Runyan, Global Gender Issues, 7.
[67] Peterson and Runyan, Global Gender Issues, 8.

is formed.[68] This means that masculine traits like rationality, hardheadedness, ambition and strength are accepted as positive and admired whereas feminine traits are considered as less desirable. This denial of feminine traits and the absence of women lead to the dominant presence of men.[69]

This interdependent relationship between masculinity and femininity enable us to learn more about men and women while studying gender. A gender analysis of women's life experiences, while adding something about women, also 'transforms what we know about men and the activities they undertake'.[70] From this point of view, it can be argued that the goal of feminist perspectives for taking gender as a category of analysis is not a role reversal in which women gain power over men or giving more value to femininity over masculinity. Feminist perspectives aim to challenge the social construction of gender inequality and insecurities. Through making women's experiences visible, they display how gender relations have contributed to the way in which the field of International Relations is conventionally constructed and reexamine the traditional boundaries of the discipline.[71]

2.5 Gender-aware Analysis in International Relations

After evaluating various feminist approaches and gender, in this part of the chapter, the potential contribution of a gender-aware analysis to the discipline of International Relations (IR) and especially to Security Studies will be discussed. Although feminist approaches vary

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[68] Peterson and Runyan, Global Gender Issues, 8.
[69] Peterson and Runyan, Global Gender Issues, 8-9.
[70] Peterson and Runyan, Global Gender Issues, 9.
[71] Tickner, Gender in International Relations, xi.

in their emphasis on gender, they contribute to the understanding of many of the concerns of International Relations as traditionally defined. They challenge traditional approaches to the discipline. Traditionally, IR discipline studied relations between sovereign states. It has been male-centered and abstract and it has mostly relied on assumptions and concepts derived from Western experience. While states and interstate relations are not the only concerns of many IR perspectives, gender often stays in the margins of the discipline and little or no attention has been paid to gender as a category of analysis in the study of IR.

The study of security has traditionally been realist. As was mentioned before, according to realist assumptions, states are the main actors in the world politics and foreign and domestic spheres are separated from each other. International Relations is about struggle of power among sovereign states. Since it is in man nature to try to dominate and oppress others, conflict between states is considered as inevitable.[72] State autonomy and power are key concepts of realism. Therefore, power maximization is crucial in order to be self-sufficient and militarily strong vis-à-vis other states in an anarchic environment where there is no central authority. In addition to these, realists employ an objectivist methodology that could offer universalistic explanations for the behavior of states across time and space.[73]

Feminist approaches can bring new insights into the behavior of states and the needs of individuals. Instead of injecting women's experiences into different disciplines, they confront the basic concepts of the disciplines themselves. In International Relations theory, concepts like power, sovereignty and security are explained as masculinized concepts so that in order to achieve new ways for solving current insecurities, a fundamental reformulation of these concepts is necessary. Taking gender as a category of analysis in the discipline of IR is a

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[72] Waltz, 'The Anarchic Structure of World Politics', 50; Steans, Gender and International Relations, 40.
[73] Waltz, 'The Anarchic Structure of World Politics', 50; Tickner, Gender in International Relations, 11.

fundamental challenge to the field and a way to examine the relationship between the practices of international politics and gender inequalities.[74]

J. Ann Tickner, in her book *Gender in International Relations*, criticizes the realist approach to International Relations. She argues that strength, power, autonomy, independence and rationality, which are the key concepts of realism, are characteristics associated with men and masculinity. Therefore, it is men who conduct foreign policy and the defense of national interest, and are the protector of their homelands, their women, and their children. Perceived attributes of women such as weakness and emotionality have no place in the politics when issues of national security are at stake. It is claimed that 'manliness' has a greater value and importance over 'womanliness`.[75]

The traditional Western academic discipline of IR privileges issues that are related with men's experiences because of its focus on the high politics of war and Realpolitik.[76] In mainstream literature, the dichotomy associating women with peace, nurturance, and passivity and men with war, violence and agency obscure women's participation in war and militarism. The roles traditionally given to women, in reproduction, in households and even in the economy, are not considered as relevant to the traditional construction of the field. Furthermore, since the state is treated as the main actor in the world politics, knowledge about the world is constructed from the 'point of view` of the state as an actor. Therefore, as Jill Steans argues, challenging the orthodoxy in IR means challenging the notion that the state is

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[74] Tickner, Gender in International Relations, 19; Enloe, The Morning After; Vivienne Jabri and Eleanor O'Gorman, Women, Culture and International Relations, (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999), 5-9; Peterson and Runyan, Global Gender Issues, 25-26.

[75] Tickner, Gender in International Relations, 3; Peterson, 'Feminist Theories', 39; Peterson and Runyan, Global Gender Issues, 48;

[76] Tickner, Gender in International Relations, 4; Tickner, 'What is Your Research Program?', 11; Peterson, 'Feminist Theories', 36; Smith, 'The Self-Images of a Discipline', 14.

the subject of knowledge.[77] On the same line with Steans, Tickner states that 'all knowledge is partial and is a function of the knower`s lived experience in the world'.[78] Since assumptions that grow out of men's experiences constitute knowledge about the behavior of states in the international system, a large body of human experience that can increase the range of options and can offer new ways of thinking about inter-state practices is ignored.[79]

Realist theory is gender biased because of the use of male identified roles in the model of state as actor, and because of the use of male identified roles as the basis for political identity while rejecting that the knowledge can be based on specific identities and interests. However, feminist critique of realism is not only about the unspoken assumptions about the position and social roles of women and men in realist theory. In addition to this, they analyze the ways in which ideas about gender are constructed and used to legitimize and perpetuate inequalities. They challenge realist knowledge claims as to what constitutes reality and the real world. A distinctly masculinist way of 'knowing the world' is adopted by realism. Sovereign man is considered as a rational choice-making individual and the subject of knowledge. He is able to legitimize violence.[80] Feminist critiques suggest that there are no universal truths or knowledge about the real world. No objective, unproblematic, social and political reality 'out there' is waiting to be discovered. Intersubjective understanding of a complex social and political world constitutes reality.[81] The construction of theories from particular perspectives and the effects of the social, political and historical context in which theorists operate show that there are multiple realities and multiple perspectives on the world.[82]

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[77] Steans, Gender and International Relations, 3.
[78] Tickner, Gender in International Relations, 17.
[79] Tickner, Gender in International Relations, 17.
[80] Steans, Gender and International Relations, 53.
[81] Steans, Gender and International Relations, 2.
[82] Steans, Gender and International Relations, 52.

A gender-aware analysis of security, as well as examining the position of women and how their immediate security is compromised, puts emphasis on the patriarchal philosophy behind its reification and violence and how this relates to Security Studies.[83] It is argued that violence is reproduced and glorified as a natural expression of masculine and nation-state identities by the ideological and cultural conflation of manhood, combat and militarism.

The significance of cultural and historical differences is recognized because the analysis is inclusive and complex instead of being monolithic.[84] Tickner comes up with a new definition of international relations. Different from the traditional male-dominated politics of war and realpolitik and the realist concepts of autonomy, abstraction and independence, she offers a more community-based, interdependent concept that includes views from the margins of power. It can be argued that feminist approaches to security see the world as interdependent. They also move away from the dichotomies of war and peace to a broad and positive peace. Moreover, they underline gendered structures of power and security relations.[85]

An alternative perspective to top-down approaches to security is a bottom-up approach in which understandings of power relations are broadened; women's and men's experiences are validated and accepted; and different models of power beyond the usual relationship of domination and submission are proposed. As Tickner argues, this vision of IR is 'dynamic, multidimensional and based on contextual and personal relations, as opposed to the abstract, top-down, system-level analysis of traditional IR'.[86] In addition, Betty Reardon indicates two

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[83] Terrif, Croft, James, Morgan, <u>Security Studies Today</u>, 86.
[84] Terrif, Croft, James, Morgan, <u>Security Studies Today</u>, 88.
[85] Terrif, Croft, James, Morgan, <u>Security Studies Today</u>, 93.
[86] Terrif, Croft, James, Morgan, <u>Security Studies Today</u>, 94.

key feminist principles of security which are inclusivity -security is indivisible- and holism –a multi-level approach that indicates different, interconnected constituent elements of security.[87]

Feminists also challenge the ways realist treat states. According to V. Spike Peterson, state is not a 'thing' but it is an ongoing process. It is not a fixed, ideological entity. It is an ongoing dynamic and a changing set of aims. In other words, states are not static objects but continuing projects that must be analyzed in spatial, temporal, and cultural context.[88]

The goal of the feminist analysis is to challenge and deconstruct patriarchal practices that oppress and degrade any other entity and to establish practices and processes that are egalitarian and non-hierarchal. It confronts how power functions and the way that political decisions are taken. Furthermore, it argues that personal is political and embraces the private, emotive and subjective. [89] It adds to the theory subjective, individual-level understandings. Instead of constructing a consensus, the aim behind is to prevent any objectification and the construction of an 'enemy' entity defined as other.[90]

2.6 Conclusion

According to traditional realists, feminist approaches to Security Studies make the discipline dispersed and broad. In their point of view, international relations can only be understood by concentrating on purely international actors. They understand the dynamics of the

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[87] Terrif, Croft, James, Morgan, <u>Security Studies Today</u>, 96.
[88] Peterson, <u>Gendered States</u>, 4.
[89] Terrif, Croft, James, Morgan, <u>Security Studies Today</u>, 96.
[90] Terrif, Croft, James, Morgan, <u>Security Studies Today</u>, 97.

international arena only in terms of states and their relative threat capabilities.[91] In contrast to realism, instead of dominating one view over others, feminism tries to find a way of understanding the world with different lenses. Feminist approaches do not try to abandon the traditional conception of 'military-state security' of realism and strategic studies but they critically examine the creation and implications of such conceptions.[92] The security of the nation-state's territorial integrity is not privileged in feminist theory. Instead, they are concerned with the structures within the state.[93]

In feminist theory, it is all about rethinking concepts and models. It may appear that gender can have little to contribute to the study of security. However, this is not the case. In Peterson's words: 'Stated simply, those who do not "see" the field as gendered also cannot "see" the significance of feminist lenses and analyses. Similarly, as long as gender is "invisible", it is unclear what "taking gender seriously" can mean'.[94] Gender puts women as a group within International Relations. The gender awareness in the study of security challenges the basic understanding security. Structures and practices that are taken as given within a patriarchal discourse serve only to obscure the inequalities. Feminism, with a gender-aware analysis, challenges and deconstructs the status quo and reveals the gendered constructions of knowledge and understandings of power. Our understanding cannot be complete until we realize that the hierarchal structure of all relationships is determined by gender.

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[91] Terrif, Croft, James, Morgan, Security Studies Today, 97.
[92] Lene Hansen and Louise Olsson, 'Guest Editors' Introduction', Security Dialogue: Special Issue on Gender and Security, 35(4) (2004), 406.
[93] Terrif, Croft, James, Morgan, Security Studies Today, 98.
[94] Peterson, Gendered States, 1.

CHAPTER 3

GENDER AND CONFLICT

3.1 Introduction

Conflicts caused by ethnic, religious and civil strife have changed the very nature of the security system based on the nation-state as both an actor and a guarantor of peace and security. Groups, like civilians, that have traditionally been excluded from combat have become participants and targets. It is argued that the changed nature of conflict requires a change in our understanding of actors and instances of action. New cooperations between traditional conflict prevention actors and civil society would enable a more comprehensive and multi-layered framework for understanding, preventing and ending conflicts.[95] Within this framework, the importance of integrating women and gender into conflict analysis has become clearer. This is due to the lack of analysis of gender and women's participation in most studies on political violence and armed conflict.[96]

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[95]Tatjana Silcoska and Juliet Solomon, 'Introducing Gender in Conflict Prevention: Conceptual and Policy Implications', <u>INTRASAW United Nations Working Papers</u>, 1.
[96] Cynthia Enloe, <u>The Morning After : Sexual Politics at the End of the Cold War</u>, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

Traditional theories of conflict and conflict prevention are not interested in the importance of gender specific relationships with, and the responses to, different conflict factors. Some argue that the causes of conflict are rooted in human nature while others emphasize the competition between groups for the pursuit of power and resources. According to these scholars, humans are rational actors that make rational decisions. They argue that when competing groups' goals, objectives, needs or values collide, conflict occurs. They view the parties to the conflict as unitary actors. They do not pay attention to their internal composition or to identity conflicts within.[97] They fail to take into consideration the fact that, apart from ethnic, class, religious identities that determine the stake and action in conflicts, gender identity also determines different stakes and activities in conflict and conflict prevention. In other words, the recognition of gender difference that is socially, culturally and historically constructed illustrates that women and men have different goals, objectives, needs and values due to their gender identities.[98] Feminist scholars argue that due to the issues of identity and power, men and women experience conflict and post-conflict situations differently. Because of national and gendered identities and women's disadvantageous location within global and local power structures, women face problems and cannot always voice their security problems.[99] Due to local and global gender inequality, women's security is politically and analytically marginalized.[100] As a consequence of created gender roles and norms, women's security problems are different from men's security problems.[101] This is because of the dominant gender context that is typically patriarchal or, as Connell puts it,

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[97] Simona Sharoni, 'Gendering Conflict and Peace in Israel/Palestine and North of Ireland' Millennium: Journal of International Studies, (1998), 1061.
[98] Sikoska and Solomon, 'Introducing Gender in Conflict Prevention', 4.
[99] Lori Handrahan, 'Conflict, Gender, Ethnicity and Post-Conflict Reconstruction', Security Dialogue: Special Issue on Gender and Security, 35(4) (2004), 429.
[100] Handrahan, 'Conflict, Gender, Ethnicity and Post-Conflict Reconstruction', 431.
[101] Handrahan, 'Conflict, Gender, Ethnicity and Post-Conflict Reconstruction', 431.

"hegemonic masculinity" affects women's and men's behaviors, experiences and lives differently.[102]

By adding gender as a category of analysis, analysts can better understand what is happening to women and men during conflict and how their traditional roles and identities are being shaped and reinforced in order to sustain the newly developing social fabric under conflict situations. Moreover, a gender-aware analysis allows analysts to consider not only relations between men and women but also other social relations especially based on unequal divisions of power and privilege.[103] This chapter is going to discuss the contribution of gender-aware analysis in analyzing both conflict and post-conflict contexts. In order to do so, firstly, gender as a category of analysis in conflict will be examined. Next, gender identities during and aftermath of conflicts will be evaluated. In the third part of the chapter, the relation between women and conflict will be analyzed. Finally, the relevance of masculinity in gender-aware analysis of conflict will be discussed.

3.2 Gender as a category of analysis in conflict analysis

An important aspect of individual and group identities, like ethnicity, race, class and religion, is gender. Since conflicts are about fulfilling different needs, interests and perception of needs and interests, in creating and maintaining violent conflicts and wars, gender is also an important determinant that usually remains unnoticed. [104]

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[102] Handrahan, 'Conflict, Gender, Ethnicity and Post-Conflict Reconstruction', 431.
[103] Sharoni, 'Gendering Conflict and Peace', 1061.
[104] Sikoska and Solomon, 'Introducing Gender in Conflict Prevention', 2.

Feminist studies have attempted to describe the gendered nature of conflicts by incorporating gender into their analysis of conflict.[105] As was discussed in Chapter 1, there are different approaches in feminist theory that define gender differently. They treat gender as biologically determined or socially constructed. Since essentialist gender theorists define gender as behavior, attitudes and values of women and men that are considered to be biologically determined, they consider gender identity and gender differences as a static entity. In other words, all men are masculine and all women are feminine. Therefore, the issue of gender and conflict is explained by a simple dichotomy which indicates men as the aggressors and perpetrators of conflict and women as victims, passive observers and bearers of the social burden of societies devastated by conflict. Furthermore, women are considered as closer to peace and men are considered as closer to war by nature. For instance, according to Sarah Ruddick, who is an essentialist feminist, because of their roles as nurturing mothers and caretakers, women are peaceful while men have an aggressive nature associated with violence and war. Therefore, political violence and armed conflict remain male domains. Decision-makers often argue that women's contribution to conflict prevention is limited to mothering role, that is educating and raising children according to the norms and culture of society and creating conditions for their protection. It can be argued that the essentialist argument simplifies gender identities to biological difference between masculinity and femininity. This argument causes a misrepresentation of women's involvement and participation in armed conflicts and reconstruction processes at the end of the conflicts. While women and girls have

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[105] Patricia Kameri-Mbote, 'Gender, Conflict and Regional Security' in Makumi Mwagiru (ed.) <u>African Regional Security in the Age of Globalization</u> (Nairobi: Henrich Boll Foundation, 2004), 1; Simona Sharoni, 'Rethinking Women's Struggles in Israel-Palestine and in the North of Ireland', in Caroline Moser and Fiona Clark, eds., <u>Victims, Perpetrators or Actors: Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence</u> (London: Zed, 2001), 85.

become active agents in conflicts as soldiers or as other service providers[106], they are excluded from formalized peace negotiations in spite of being indiscriminately affected by conflicts because of such essentialist and traditional understandings.[107]

In contrast to essentialist theories, some feminist theorists argue that gender and gender identities are socially constructed, and that they are not natural or pre-determined. They argue that gender identity is not static and that it changes upon historical and cultural processes and conditions.[108]

Marysia Zalewski, in her article "Well, What is the Feminist Perspective on Bosnia?" states the difference that feminist theories can make to the discipline of international relations through analyzing the issues of gender, human rights, the military and war. Starting with the socially-constructed nature of gender, she argues that beliefs and assumptions on what constitutes masculinity and femininity need to be analyzed rather than taken as givens in order to understand "the important role played by beliefs and myths about gender in creating, maintaining and ending wars."[109] As she points out:

> Women have to be defined as women. We are not the social opposite, not of a class, a caste or of a majority…but of a sex: men. We are a sex and categorization by gender no longer implies a mothering role and subordination to men, except as a

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[106] Miranda Alison, 'Women As Agents of Political Violence: Gendering Security', <u>Security Dialogue: Special Issue on Gender and Security</u>, 35(4) (2004), 447; Handrahan, 'Conflict, Gender, Ethnicity and Post-Conflict Reconstruction', 430-432; Marie-Jane Fox, 'Girl Soldiers: Human Security and Gendered Insecurities', <u>Security Dialogue: Special Issue on Gender and Security</u>, 35(4) (2004).

[107] V. Spike Peterson and Anne Sisson Runyan, <u>Global Gender Issues</u> (Oxford: Westview Press, 1999), 163-211; Ange- Marie Hancock, 'Review Essay: Perspectives in Gender and Conflict Resolution', <u>Peace Review</u>, 13:4 (2001), 600; Laurence McKeown and Simona Sharoni, 'Formations and Transformations of Masculinity in the North of Ireland and in Israel- Palestine', unpublished paper, (2002), 1; Alison, 'Women As Agents of Political Violence', 447; Fox, 'Girl Soldiers: Human Security and Gendered Insecurities', 56; Handrahan, 'Conflict, Gender, Ethnicity and Post-Conflict Reconstruction', 432; Kameri-Mbote, 'Gender, Conflict and Regional Security', 5.

[108] Sharoni, 'Gendering Conflict and Peace', 1088; Chris Corrin, 'Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Gender Analysis in Kosova', <u>International Feminist Journal of Politics</u>, 3(1) (2000), 78; Gunhild Hoogensen and Svein Vigeland Rottem, 'Gender Identity and the Subject of Security', <u>Security Dialogue</u>, 35(2) (2004), 156; Handrahan, 'Conflict, Gender, Ethnicity and Post-Conflict Reconstruction', 430.

[109] Marysia Zalewski, 'Feminism and War: Well, What is the Feminist Perspective on Bosnia?' <u>International Affairs</u> 71(2) (1995), 339.

> social role and relation recognized as such, as socially constructed and socially imposed…The emphasis on the constructed nature of these categories is meant to signify that there is nothing natural, inherent or biologically inevitable about the attributes, activities and behaviors that come to be defined as either masculine or feminine. [110]

These feminist scholars also challenge the essentialist views that equate women with peace. They reject the ideas that accept aggressiveness as inherently male and peacefulness as inherently female. Instead, in order to achieve a gender-aware analysis of conflicts, they analyze sexual violence against women, displaced and refugee women, women's testimonies of their experiences as soldiers, girl soldiers, role of women organizations in post conflict processes, men's experiences as victims and perpetrators of violence and the role of both masculinity and femininity.[111]

The use of gender analysis not only focuses on the impact of conflict on women or women's issues but also helps us to see gender roles, identities and relations that shape conflict and more broadly international politics. The origins of conflict are found in patriarchal structures. Gender analysis of conflict emphasizes unequal gender power relations and the struggle over power and resources. This is because the root causes of gender inequality and fundamental changes in gender relations and identities are illustrated through more gender-sensitive analysis on conflict and post-conflict situations with long-term perspectives rather than expecting radical changes in the short-term. Gender-blind understandings of conflict and reconstructions are far from recognizing or addressing gender-specific disadvantages faced by women.[112] The aim of broadening the understanding of the intersection of gender and conflict

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[110] Zalewski, 'Feminism and War', 341-347.

[111] Alison, 'Women As Agents of Political Violence', 460; Lene Hansen, 'Gender, Nation, Rape: Bosnia and the Construction of Security', International Feminist Journal of Politics, 3:1 (2001), 58.

[112] Amani El-Jack, 'Gender and Armed Conflict', Bridge Report. (Brighton: the Institute of Development Studies: University of Sussex, 2003), 3; Handrahan, 'Conflict, Gender, Ethnicity and Post-Conflict Reconstruction', 432; Alison, 'Women As Agents of Political Violence', 458; Hansen, 'Gender, Nation, Rape', 56; Paul Higate and Marsha Henry, 'Engendering (In)Security in Peace Support Operations', Security Dialogue (Special Issue on Gender and Security), 35(4) (2004), 482.

is to recognize and address forms of gender-specific disadvantages that are overlooked by conventional, gender-blind representations of armed conflict and its aftermath.

3.3 Gender identities during and in the aftermath of conflicts

Since most analyses of conflict are gendered, they fail to recognize the ways in which the international and national structures of power and patterns of resource allocation are based on gender inequalities.[113] In times of conflict, the militarisation of societies shapes definitions of masculinity and femininity and the allocation of men is and women's gendered responsibilities.[114] In situations of militarisation, traditional gender roles, the so-called ideal models of gender identities, are stressed. Social, political, economic, cultural and religious contexts shape stereotypical perception of roles for men and women. During armed conflict, men's masculinity is used to encourage them to take up arms in defense of their country, ethnic group or political cause, and in defense of their women while prescribed role for women is to support them at the home front.[115] For instance, in her analysis of the Israeli-Palestinian experience, Nira Yuval Davis states that by biology and by tradition, women are considered to be the keepers of hearth and home to nurture and teach children the ways that society is built upon.[116] It is rooted in the perception that men are soldiers or aggressors and women are wives, mothers, nurses, and social workers.

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[113] Handrahan, 'Conflict, Gender, Ethnicity and Post-Conflict Reconstruction', 432; Alison, 'Women As Agents of Political Violence', 458; Hansen, 'Gender, Nation, Rape', 56.
[114] Enloe, The Morning After, 29.
[115] Sharoni, 'Gendering Conflict and Peace', 1088; Corrin, 'Post-Conflict Reconstruction', 78; Hoogensen and Rottem, 'Gender Identity and the Subject of Security',156.
[116] Nira Yuval Davis, Gender and Nation (Sage publications: London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi, 1997).

These dominant understandings of gender roles lead to the inequality that women face during and after conflict.[117] The perceptions of appropriate behavior, appearance and attitude for women to be wives, mothers, and nurturers undermine the fact that in practice, women are active as soldiers and aggressors, while men can be both combatants and victims during armed conflicts.[118] Moreover, whether they are mothers and wives or active combatants, women face discrimination because of the unequal power structures that govern their relationships with men. In the next part of the chapter, the situation of women vis-à-vis conflict will be discussed in order to illustrate gendered inequalities that are constructed and reproduced during conflict situations.

3.4 Conflict and Women

When security is defined in military-focused terms, it serves to exclude women's perspectives and concerns.[119] The traditional definition of security has implications for women. It justifies war as necessary to protect a nation's women and children so that women become object of national security. In addition to this, this definition excludes women as political actors.[120] Women's prescribed roles are limited within the private sphere. There is little or no room for women to act in the public sphere.[121] Hence, moving beyond essentialist views of gender, feminist analysis of gender identities can contribute to the understanding of shifting gender

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[117] El-Jack, 'Gender and Armed Conflict', 3.
[118] El-Jack, 'Gender and Armed Conflict', 6.
[119] Handrahan, 'Conflict, Gender, Ethnicity and Post-Conflict Reconstruction', 432; Alison, 'Women As Agents of Political Violence', 458; Hansen, 'Gender, Nation, Rape', 56.
[120] Donna Ramsey Marshall, 'Women in War and Peace: Grass roots Peace Building', Peaceworks no.34, (August 2000),10; Sharoni, 'Rethinking Women's Struggles', 85 Alison, 'Women As Agents of Political Violence', 447.
[121] Higate and henry, 'Engendering (In)Security', 493; Sharoni, 'Rethinking Women's Struggles', 85.

relations and roles in times of conflict and under militarisation. Considering women merely as victims of war and justifying war to protect the community's women and children serve to obscure the multitude of roles that women play in situations of conflict as well as to downplay the real damage war makes on women's everyday lives.[122]

Those contemporary conflicts that many parts of the world continue to experience are characterized, among other things, by rape, forced impregnation, forced abortion, trafficking, sexual slavery and the spread of sexually transmitted infections including HIV/AIDS. No matter what the kind of conflict is, the practice of men going to fight and women staying at home with children and the elderly, does not explain the reality of war. War comes to women during conflicts as they are at home, at the work place or at refugee camps. They are displaced and/or killed along with their children.[123] Physical and sexual violence, especially against women, have become features of conflict. Perspectives that are critical of traditional approaches argue that violence against women has become an intended practice, a tool for the subordination, humiliation, and intimidation of enemies. Women turn into the targets of soldiers. Although there are reported rapes of men as well, women in conflict areas suffer the most from rape. In the context of conflict, violence and rape against women are not only about the exercise of power over women but also soldiers. Raping women who are considered as the representatives of purity, honor and cultures of the nation, symbolically rape the nation itself because male honor and national identity are to be found within women and the body's of women are exploited as vehicles for the symbolic depiction of political purpose.[124] In other

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[122] Marshall, 'Women in War and Peace', 10; Sharoni, 'Rethinking Women's Struggles', 85-86; Handrahan, 'Conflict, Gender, Ethnicity and Post-Conflict Reconstruction', 432; Alison, 'Women As Agents of Political Violence', 458; Hansen, 'Gender, Nation, Rape', 56.
[123] El –Jack, 'Gender and Armed Conflict', 9.
[124] Hansen, 'Gender, Nation, Rape', 35-56-65; Rodgers, 'Bosnia and Kosovo', 183-189.

words, rape is used as a conscious instrument of the process of intimidation. [125]   In this way, they prove that men of that particular nation could not fulfill their duty both as men and as protectors of women and they dehumanize them as "the other". Women turn into another form of property claimed by the winning side.[126] Therefore, rape and sexual violence are actual weapons that make both men and women victims. For instance, as experienced in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo, during conflict, sexual violence was used as a weapon for ethnic cleansing by Serbian soldiers.[127]

Another point is that in conflict zones, government and society can have contradictory demands from women. Nations expect women to participate in nationalist struggles as members of the national collective because their support, labor and services are needed. There are women who have participated in war activities as in Ethiopia, Somalia and Sudan, to create peace opportunities among warring factions of men.[128] Women become part of conflicts and destruction by risking their lives and opposing the regimes that are responsible for war and destruction like in the cases of Israel-Palestine and Yugoslavia.[129] On the other hand, as was mentioned above, their socially constructed roles of mothers and guardians of the culture put limits on their activism in conflict and post-conflict reconstruction processes.[130] Their gendered roles as mothers and guardians of the culture make them victims so that the intensified use of power and violence in the name of protecting them is somehow justified.[131] In contrast, rape victims are often rejected by family or community and are marked as

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[125] Handrahan, 'Conflict, Gender, Ethnicity and Post-Conflict Reconstruction', 435, 437; Hansen, 'Gender, Nation, Rape', 35,56,65; Rodgers, 'Bosnia and Kosovo', 183-189.

[126] Terry Terrif, Stuart Croft, Lucy James and Patrick M. Morgan, Security Studies Today (Oxford: Polity, 1999), 87.

[127] El-Jack. , 'Gender and Armed Conflict',16; Hansen, 'Gender, Nation, Rape', 35,56,65; Rodgers, 'Bosnia and Kosovo', 183-189.

[128] El-Jack. , 'Gender and Armed Conflict', 18.

[129] Sharoni, 'Gendering Conflict and Peace', 1061; Sharoni, 'Rethinking Women's Struggles', 85-98.

[130] El-Jack, 'Gender and Armed Conflict', 11; Sharoni, 'Rethinking Women's Struggles', 86.

[131] El-Jack, 'Gender and Armed Conflict', 11; Sharoni, 'Rethinking Women's Struggles', 86.

"damaged goods", thereby being encouraged to commit suicide or being killed by their relatives to clean the purity, honor and culture of the nation.

Alongside these negative effects of conflict on women's lives, it is also argued that "conflict may be a springboard for women".[132] Since men's roles change as the political and an armed conflicts escalate, women's greater political involvement and its relative acceptance by the communities come into the picture. Their participation is considered both as a sign of their loyalty to the men in their families and to the society.[133] Women gain new opportunities and greater responsibilities both within the household and in public. Their participation and their active roles during conflicts liberated them because they take on men's roles and challenge the restrictions of their cultures. For instance, in the case of Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the women's movement was wedded to the struggle for national liberation and the fight against Israeli occupation. The Intifada give Palestinian women an opportunity and excuse to join the women's movement and to use what they learned in literacy programs and skill-training courses that are operated by women's committees. Mass participation of women in the Intifada was enabled by the experience, social legitimacy and institutional bases of the women's committees.[134] The large-scale political mobilization of Palestinian women was considered as a necessary and valuable contribution to the national struggle instead of being viewed as a challenge to social stability. On the other side of the conflict, Israeli women established exclusively female peace groups that tried to mobilize the public opinion in Israel and abroad against the Israeli occupation and establish relations with Palestinian women in the

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[132] Sharoni, 'Gendering Conflict and Peace', 1063; Alison, 'Women As Agents of Political Violence', 452.
[133] Sharoni, 'Gendering Conflict and Peace', 1065.
[134] Sharoni, 'Rethinking Women's Struggles', 89.

West Bank and Gaza Strip.[135] Women's committees of the four Israeli political parties supported the resistance of Palestinians.

In Northern Ireland, during the early years of conflict, women started to mobilize and replaced men in the local branches of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association with the introduction of internment.[136] The responsibilities that were assumed gave them a sense of self-confidence and independence. Both Palestinian and Irish women's responses are considered to be accidental activism that is defined by Monica Williams as "born out of immediate experience of social injustice, rather than as a consequence of a pre-existing ideological belief".[137] Women, who were never previously involved in the public sphere and politics, turned into advocates and agents for social change.

Some feminist theorists argue that such changes would promote greater political participation by women in post-conflict societies which would lead to social transformation and gender equality.[138] For instance, in Africa, women's liberation is considered as an integral part of the general struggle for social justice by many liberation movements. The political agenda of these movements includes women's issues. While men are fighting, women gain new economic roles due to the income-generating development programs and social responsibilities as leaders of their households and communities in the absence of men. It is claimed that these changes in gender roles during conflict could transform social patterns and promote gender equality after the conflict.[139] Weakened patriarchal social structures and post-conflict foreign interventions that promote democratization are considered as an opportunity to transform gender relations. However, as Sharoni and Enloe argue, this transformation does not

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[135] Sharoni, 'Gendering Conflict and Peace', 1064.
[136] Sharoni, 'Gendering Conflict and Peace', 1064.
[137] Sharoni, 'Gendering Conflict and Peace', 1064 -1065.
[138] Hansen, 'Gender, Nation, Rape', 58; Alison, 'Women As Agents of Political Violence', 452.
[139] S.Baden and B. Byrne, 'Gender, Emergencies and Humanitarian Assistance' <u>Bridge Report</u>. (Brighton: the Institute of Development Studies: University of Sussex),1995.

often take place. Existing gender relations are reinforced because of various reasons to be discussed in the following section.

3.5 Gender roles in the post-conflict era

Conflict has contradictory consequences for women. Very often, the autonomy that women have gained during the conflict no longer continues in its aftermath. If the traditional patriarchal authority becomes stronger as the state weakens during conflicts, women have to follow patriarchal orders because of their subordinate position in the society. Women are forced to revert to their traditional roles, namely mothering and nurturing in the post-conflict context.

Despite women's emancipated role within the conflict, patriarchal gender relations may prevail after the conflict. As was mentioned before, most of the time, conflicts have rearranged and reinforced pre-existing gender inequality and patriarchal ideologies. According to feminist theorists, the end of the conflict with the signing of peace agreements does not mean that violence ends. The potential to redefine gender relations after a conflict is not realized because of the lack of appropriate funding, support and resources dedicated to promoting gender equality in all aspects of reconstruction. Otherwise, oppressive and discriminatory patriarchal institutions and practices are re-established.[140] Because of these patriarchal structures women are seen as victims and their capacity to contribute to the

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[140] El-Jack, 'Gender and Armed Conflict', 41; Alison, 'Women As Agents of Political Violence', 458; Kameri-Mbote, 'Gender, Conflict and Regional Security', 3.

maintenance of security is undermined.[141] This is due to the fact that the state, relief projects and reconstruction processes reinforce traditional roles. Although many countries adopt new constitutions that guarantee equal political, social and economic rights for both men and women, in practice, women's empowerment and gender equality do not happen because of the unchanged political culture and social norms. Women are forced by society itself to return to their traditional gender roles. Although they fight for their country and gain public roles during conflict, in the post conflict period, they do not have a guarantee for positive changes in the direction of women's empowerment. Because of the political and socio-cultural resistances to new social transformation, legal and constitutional changes cannot promote women's empowerment or the achievement of gender equality either at the community or at individual levels.

Gender awareness is crucial in the structures that govern armed conflict and post conflict reconstruction.[142] It is argued that gender-awareness is achieved through better cooperation between international institutions, states and NGOs. However, international laws and conventions intended to protect the human rights of women and promote gender equality are not enforced by states and organizations. Governmental, non-governmental or multilateral assistance providers are slow to deal with the rise of women's rights abuses during and after conflict. The development of gender-sensitive initiatives are discouraged or prevented by decision-makers.[143] For instance, in Angola, Sudan, Somalia and Uganda, the Agency for Co-operation and Research in Development (ACORD) conducted case studies on autonomy and gender equality. They concluded that despite broadened women's economic roles and greater

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[141] Kameri-Mbote, 'Gender, Conflict and Regional Security', 3.
[142] Corrin, 'Post-Conflict Reconstruction', 84-96.
[143] El-Jack, 'Gender and Armed Conflict', 14.

autonomy, their political influence and gender equality did not increase in the post-conflict era.[144]

Programs and policies that lack consideration of gender relations are likely to reinforce existing gender inequality. Some of them ignore women or take a gender-blind approach or define women in traditional ways or analyze them without considering gender relations. Women can be breadwinners and activists and mothers at the same time. When interventions that are designed to help them do not have gender-sensitive lenses, their needs are considered to be limited to those of a mother. This kind of understanding refuses that people, especially women, can take multiple roles and responsibilities and face a wide range of negative effects in times of social upheaval. In order to prevent this reinforcement of the society and government on gender roles, the UN and other organizations that engage in disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) has to begin to incorporate gender analysis in their policies and programs.

The human rights of women and girls are protected by international human rights instruments and international humanitarian laws. All forms of violence against women are condemned. Furthermore, these laws and resolutions, like UNSC Resolution 1325, make specific references to the inclusion of a gender component in peace and security.[145] They emphasize the adoption of a gender-sensitive perspective to negotiations and implementations of peace agreements in order to protect women and girls during conflict and post-conflict reconstruction.[146] However, these laws and resolutions are limited in their application. Various forms of gender-specific violations are denied by states. Gender is excluded from their policies through a range of cultural, historical and patriarchal justifications. These international

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[144] El-Jack , 'Gender and Armed Conflict',15-16.
[145] Hoogensen and Rottem, 'Gender Identity and the Subject of Security', 167.
[146] El-Jack, 'Gender and Armed Conflict', 23.

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commitments are not ratified by many states. Moreover, they are not clear on the definition of a gender perspective. For instance, in Resolution 1325, the term gender is used interchangeably with women and girls. The use of the term gender interchangeably with women and girls make invisible the ways in which gender inequality and power imbalances between men and women intensify their disadvantage.

There is a lack of analysis about gendered identities that are reproduced in conflict.[147] An understanding of how existing power imbalances between women and men are experienced during and after armed conflict and how these inequalities might be removed to improve gender relations are crucial concerns when overcoming gender bias.[148] Thus, it can be said that gender analysis is about moving beyond providing women's short-term needs like food, water and health services toward their long-term needs like equal representation in decision-making processes and access to public sphere. Interventions have short-term scopes and deal with only stereotypical needs and concerns and non-traditional roles played by women are mostly ignored. It is important that immediate necessities such as food, shelter and income generating activities are provided in conflict-torn societies, especially for women who have the responsibility of providing their families. However, in order to transform gender relations and improve women's lives, international organizations and NGOs have to extend their scopes beyond short-term and immediate needs of women and society and design gender-aware long-term development assistance.[149] Moreover, a clear definition of what is a gender-aware perspective is crucial because dealing with gender issues superficially or adding

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[147] Hoogensen and Rottem, 'Gender Identity and the Subject of Security', 156; Hansen, 'Gender, Nation, Rape', 66; Higate and Henry, 'Engendering (In)Security', 492-493.
[148] El-Jack, 'Gender and Armed Conflict', 24.
[149] El-Jack,'Gender and Armed Conflict', 27.

women's points of view to a larger strategy does not mean that their works are gender-sensitive.

Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) is a program that aims to reintegrate ex-combatants back into post-conflict society. The provision of training and support for ex-combatants to help them understand the way their society has changed as a result of conflict is one of the functions of DDR. Therefore, DDR is bound to remain limited without gender-aware frameworks for the enhancement of the equal participation of women and men, as ex-combatants, as family and community members being received as ex-combatants, in negotiating conflict resolution and peace-building processes,.[150] As combatants involved in a non-traditional role during conflict by entering a male domain, fighting for their causes, female soldiers are more marginalized than other groups of women both in private and public realms. They do not represent a fundamental societal change in gender roles, rather they are viewed as a necessary but temporary deviation in a time of national crisis and need. In the post-conflict context, as they are considered a threat to nation's and the state's ideological security and cohesion and the existing political culture because of destabilizing gender roles, they are highly marginalized.[151] DDR, without gender-sensitive lenses, contributes to the subordination of women, because without a gender-sensitive perspective, it is impossible for DDR to manage with non-traditional roles played by women as combatants during and after conflict.[152]

In addition to this, women are generally excluded from the public realm and therefore, from processes and institutions that are political. Women face the same problem of under-

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[150] El-Jack, 'Gender and Armed Conflict', 29.
[151] Alison, 'Women As Agents of Political Violence', 458; Handrahan, 'Conflict, Gender, Ethnicity and Post-Conflict Reconstruction', 430-435; Kameri-Mbote, 'Gender, Conflict and Regional Security', 3.
[152] El-Jack, 'Gender and Armed Conflict', 29; Fox, 'Girl Soldiers', 476.

representation in peacekeeping and peace building processes. Men once again protect them.[153]

On the other hand, women's involvement in the public sphere does not ensure gender-sensitivity. Women's actual engagement in peace building does not mean the integration of women's rights into the peace process because first of all, peace- building efforts usually cover short-term needs. Secondly, women who get involved in reconstruction processes are not always aware of what gender really is, that women themselves cannot stop the enforcement of traditional gender roles from being imposed on them.

On the other hand, women are active at the national and international levels as well as the local or community level in conflict prevention and peace building. For instance, a partnership between the Israeli organization Bat Shalom and the Palestinian Jerusalem Centre for Women called Jerusalem Link consider women's human rights as an important element of any lasting peace settlement. They work in cooperation both for the advancement of women's and human rights in the region and for the resolution of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict by promoting peace, democracy, human rights and women's leadership.[154] Another example is the African Women's Committee on Peace and Development (AWCPD). It has been formed by women's groups in Africa in order to broaden the peace agenda to include issues such as land reforms, economic and social justice and equal participation for women in political processes generally.[155]

So far, in this chapter, only women's experiences and inequalities are mentioned. Despite the prevailing view on feminism, feminist studies are not only about women. Recent

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[153]El-Jack, 'Gender and Armed Conflict', 30; Higate and Henry, 'Engendering (In)Security', 493; Sharoni, 'Rethinking Women's Struggles', 85.

[154] El-Jack, 'Gender and Armed Conflict', 39; Cynthia Cockburn, 'The Gendered Dynamics of Armed Conflict and Political Violence' in Moser and Clark (ed.) <u>Victims, Perpetrators or Actors?: Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence</u> (London and New York: Zed Books, 2001).

[155] El-Jack, 'Gender and Armed Conflict', 40.

feminist scholars deal with masculinity and men's experiences in order to provide a more accurate account of violence and inequalities caused by gendered identities.

3.6 Masculinity in gender-aware analysis of conflict

The focus of feminist scholarship on gender and conflict is primarily on women. The experiences of men as 'men' have been neglected until recently.[156] The tendency to use the terms gender and women interchangeably may be the cause of the lack of attention to men and masculinity. Men are usually treated as a monolithic entity. However, without examining the diverse experiences of men, our analysis of the interplay between gender and conflict will remain partial. In order to understand existing divisions of power and the role of gender in times of conflict, an examination of varieties of both old/new gender identities and the changes they face over time and in relation to the conflict is needed.[157]

To this end, recent studies on masculinity within the gender and conflict literature questioned the role of gender identities, particularly masculinity in the context of conflict.[158] Masculinities are socially and institutionally constructed ideas of being a man and exist in contrast to femininities.[159] Notions of masculinity and femininity are based on a relational power dynamics between men and women. These notions vary in different cultural and social contexts. Women's experiences are different from those of men because of the differences in

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[156] McKeown and Sharoni, 'Formations and Transformations of Masculinity', 1; Sharoni, 'Gendering Conflict and Peace', 1072.
[157] Sharoni, 'Gendering Conflict and Peace', 1072.
[158] Sharoni, 'Gendering Conflict and Peace', 1072.
[159] R. Connell, Masculinities, (Cambridge: Polity Press/ Blakwell, 1995), 68.

access to material and symbolic resources resulting from patriarchy.[160] Both men's and women's identities fluctuate and transform in response to external forces, i.e. conflict. The idea of "real" manhood consists of warrior images. During conflicts, men define themselves by violence and control of power to subordinate the others[161] and in the post-conflict context, men return to patriarchal tradition to reclaim their masculinity.[162] Women's changed roles during conflict tend to cause an identity crisis among men and force women towards traditional patriarchal culture. Women who actively participated in the conflict as combatants and breadwinners of their households during the conflicts disappear from the public sphere during the reconstruction process. Lack of gender-sensitive programs and secondary status of gender issues in post-conflict processes prevent women from participating in formal reconstruction processes.

3.7 Conclusion

Conflict does not create new gender identities. It only reinforces the existing masculinities and femininities. On the other hand, after the conflict, women are encouraged to return to their traditional feminine roles and identities. Eliminating violence and creating a new understanding of peace and gender equality certainly requires a change in masculinity and traditional prescriptions. To define peace and create that is not only the end of physical violence and military confrontations, a gender-aware analysis of the contents and multiple effects of peace agreements, the processes designed for their implementation and the obstacles

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[160] Sikoska and Solomon, 'Introducing Gender in Conflict Prevention', 3.
[161] Cockburn, 'The Gendered Dynamics of Armed Conflict', 20.

faced by governments, international organizations and NGOs is necessary. A broader conceptualization of peace that includes the elimination of all forms violence, and formation of new social and political institutions based upon equality and justice can be built by this analysis.[163] A gender-aware analysis of conflict raises the possibility of understanding gender roles in conflict and its aftermath, as armed and political conflicts tend to challenge gender relations. Conflict prevention has to defy the masculine norms in order to create conditions for long-term peace. Gender-aware analysis also offers that women are not only passive victims in conflict situations but perform different activities and have different stakes and interests in the given conflict. Therefore, these play an important role in the analysis of risks and opportunities for the prevention of conflict. Conflict prevention should challenge the existing traditional roles that subordinate women and promote norms that will bring about change in the status of women in society as well as that meet women's needs in conflict and post-conflict contexts.

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[163] Sharoni, 'Gendering Conflict and Peace', 1089.

CHAPTER 4

MILITARISM, MILITARISATION AND GENDER

4.1 Introduction

With the end of the Cold War, practices of scaling down of states' defense capabilities and demilitarization begin to prevail. While this is considered to be as an unproblematic process by the traditional approaches, critical approaches, especially, those of feminist scholars look at the picture from a different angle. From a feminist perspective, since this process questions and challenges established constructions of gendered identity, it is far beyond being unproblematic. Militarism, understood as the advocacy of an ever stronger military as a primary goal of society at the cost of other social priorities and liberties, is a gendered process. It shapes gender relations of both men and women, and subordinates and silences women for the sake of constructing the masculinity it requires.

Until the early 19th century, women constituted a part of European military forces as not in combat roles but as service providers. However, the capitalist economy and the spread of colonialism made warfare a large scale, centralized and bureaucratized project. Consequently, women were excluded from the military environment; sexual and family lives of soldiers were regulated and the service family emerged. Despite the fact that in times of war

and emergency situations, women crossed these social boundaries because of their recruitment for military service, in the post-war era, the reconstruction of men in arms, women at home most often prevails.[164] Male-oriented, macho subculture of the military continues to reproduce the inequalities, give a higher social status to combat troops and rebuilt a gendered division of inequality.

This chapter will examine the gendered aspects of militarism by first discussing feminist approaches on militarism and the importance of gender in militarism. Next, the conscription system in different states and its effects on the construction of collective and gender identities will be analyzed. In the third part of the chapter, the socially and militarily constructed gender roles and their relation to forms of violence will be examined.

4.2 Feminism, Militarism, Militarisation

Feminist studies address the lack of gender-awareness in analyses of militarism and militarisation. In order to fulfill this void, feminist scholars analyze soldiers' experiences in the military, cultural and political significance of military service in contemporary societies, women's varied roles in the military system as wives, girlfriends, prostitutes and soldiers, soldiering and violence against women, the impact of militaries and war preparations in particular areas, the relationship between soldiering, and gender and citizenship in the nation-state system.[165]

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[164] Simona Sharoni, 'Homefront as Battlefield: Gender, Military Occupation and Violence Against Women' in Women and the Israeli Occupation:The Politics of Change, Tamar Mayer, ed., (Routledge: London, 1994), 7.
[165] Ayse Gül Altinay, The Myth of the Military- Nation: Militarism, Gender and Education In Turkey, (Palgrave Macmillan: New York, 2004), 6.

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Those feminists who represent women as essentially pacifist end up, however unintentionally, contributing to the traditional roles of women that subordinate and victimize women.[166] Elshtain, in her book entitled *Women and War*, deals with the major role played by the constructions of femininity and masculinity in the discourse of war and battle. Instead of supporting the essentialists' argument that greater female and less men involvement in politics worldwide would lead to a better world, she argues that it is crucial to understand how socially-constructed gender roles produce and reproduce gendered nationality identities. It is the only way to realize that what is assumed to be natural is actually constructed.

Definitions of militarism and militarisation as political and analytical concepts are not new. Various definitions of these have been provided since the 1860s. Scholars dealt with the issues like the introduction of compulsory conscription as a modern practice in the nineteenth century, the impact of the two world wars, the debates on Japanese and German militarisms, the differentiation between liberal and Marxist critiques of militarism, the civil-military relations debates in the Third world and the "military-industrial complex" in the West.

Recent feminist scholarship has differentiated between military as a social institution, militarism as an ideology, and militarisation as a social process. Altinay defines militarism as a 'set of ideas and structures that glorify practices and norms associated with militaries'[167]. Militarisation, in Enloe words, is

> a step-by-step process by which a person or a thing gradually comes to be controlled by the military or comes to depend for its well-being, on militaristic ideas. The more militarization transforms an individual or a society, the more that individual or society comes to imagine military needs and militaristic presumptions to be not only valuable but also normal.[168]

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[166] Annika Kronsell and Erika Svedberg, 'The Duty to Protect: Gender in the Swedish Practice of Conscription', Cooperation and Conflict (36)2 (2001),157.
[167] Altinay, The Myth of the Military- Nation , 2.
[168] Altinay, The Myth of the Military- Nation , 2.

When militarisation reaches a discourse of normalcy in public discussions surrounding the power of the military in civilian life, politics, economics, and people's self-understandings, it becomes successful. It becomes ahistorical; military ideology is both naturalized and culturalized so that the gendered aspect of militarism and militarisation become invisible or not worth mentioning. For instance in Turkey, by a variety of discourses, this normalization has been achieved. According to Altinay, it is reinforced by a lack of academic curiosity and scrutiny. She argues that except for the works of political theorist Taha Parla, "militarism" and "militarisation" were not a part of the vocabulary of Turkish social science and cultural criticism until very recently.[169]

One of the tools that militaries use in the normalization process of militarism is the conscription system. Throughout history, there has been a connection between the duty to protect the territory, to kill and die, and masculinity. As a type of gendered institution, conscription implies specific patterns of practice.[170] Defending and protecting the women are considered as a natural component of masculinity. However, it is both theoretically and practically a gendered institution that is compulsory for men and not for women. Men and women are separated and therefore a gendered civil citizenship is created and re-created across generations.[171]

Certain disciplinary patterns of conformity and subservience to authority have traditionally been tied to militarism. Hegemonic masculinity, composed of hierarchical chains of command and unquestioned authority, has ruled Western militaries.[172] Exclusively men worked in the defense and security sectors. Kronsell and Svedberg argue that Elshtain's theory

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[169] Altinay, The Myth of the Military- Nation , 2.
[170] Robert Connell, 'Masculinities and Globalization', Men and Masculinities 1(1):3, (1998), 11.
[171] Kronsell and Svedberg, 'The Duty to Protect',158.
[172] Connell, 'Masculinities and Globalization'.

of "just warriors" and "beautiful souls" is an important starting point for understanding the gendered dimension of militarism.

Elshtain treated the relational but unequal identities of men and women vis-à-vis the state as re-created categories of protectors and protected that are represented in the images of just warriors (soldiers) and beautiful souls (non-combatants). The "just warrior" signifies the identity of soldier who dedicates his life for the good of the state and the nation.[173] Since women are not considered as soldiers, their roles and positions within the state system are different from those of men. In Ruth Lister's words:

> The citizen is the male individual who acts in the public sphere, representative of the household which he heads through the hierarchical institution of marriage, the locus of male citizens' power over female non-citizens.[174]

In other words, as was discussed before, through the construction of male citizenship, mothering role and being beautiful souls are imposed on women as their traditional roles. While the natural role of the female citizen is to serve the nation unselfishly by caring and nursing, the privilege and duty of the male citizen and soldier is to be willing to sacrifice his own life for the sake of the nation.[175] It can be said that sacrificing his life for the nation is the unquestionable duty of a soldier. These prescribed roles of female and male citizens are very important for both national security and the constructed national identities. They lead to gender inequalities in domestic, political and international realms.

Micaela Di Leonardo, in her article "Morals, Mothers and Militarism: Antimilitarism and Feminist Theory", argues that women that are traditionally excluded from the warrior role and from military decision-makings. These women, who are excluded from the warrior role

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[173] Kronsell and Svedberg, 'The Duty to Protect', 162.
[174] Ruth Lister, Citizenship-Feminist Perspectives , London: Macmillan, 1997, cited in Kronsell and Svedberg, 'The Duty to Protect', 162.
[175] Kronsell and Svedberg, 'The Duty to Protect', 162.

and from military decision-makings, analyze the meaning and functioning of military institutions and are debating whether to participate or to end them. She states that a new theoretical debate is taking place on the meaning of feminism. In this debate, the revival of the historic association of pacifism and feminism is analyzed.

Similar to Elshtain, Di Leonardo criticizes essentialist feminist approaches that have historically associated feminism with pacifism. For instance, she critizes Sarah Ruddick's construction of a new theory of feminist pacifism based on the concept of "preservative love" for encouraging women both to remain at home with young children and at the same time to fight militarism.[176] She argues that both feminists and non-feminists use the same "language that implies a belief that woman as mothers, close to nature and responsible for human reproduction will reform warring males."[177] She questions the reasons why there is so little distinction between feminist and non-feminist uses of it. This brings the 'Moral Mother', who is nurturing, compassionate and politically correct, to the picture. The beliefs of women as inherently pacifist and men as inherently aggressive are presented by the 'Moral Mother'. She argues that nineteenth and twentieth century feminists manipulated images of women as morally superior mothers and wives in order to claim the right to enter the public world as moral reformers and social housekeepers. Following the 'Moral Mother' discussion, Di Leonardo analyzes the criticism of the 'Moral Mother' by second wave feminist scholars point of view. They argue that "using the Moral Mother image to enter the public world also meant that it could be used against women to push them back into the home."[178] Feminist theory and activism in relation to militarism are challenged by the powerful image of selfless maternality

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[176] Micaela di Leonardo, 'Moral Mothers, and Militaries: Antimilitarism and Feminist Theory', <u>Feminist Studies</u> , 11(3), (Autumn, 1985), 601.
[177] di Leonardo, 'Moral Mothers, and Militaries', 602.
[178] di Leonardo, 'Moral Mothers, and Militaries', 602.

and the symbolic associations of women-children-earth versus men-bomb-annihilation. Gender and status divisions are repeatedly reinforced even as women are integrated into new military areas.[179] In other words, women's oppression and subordination continue to exist.

Due to the oppression and subordination of women, deciding the place of "women in men's wars" is critical to feminist theory and politics. The themes of conventional war, the nuclear threat, militarism and gender are the focus of feminist research. The constructions of gender implicit practices in the "barracks community" of classic political theory are examined by feminist approaches.[180]

One of the feminist scholars who examine gender implicit practices is Jacklyn Cock. She examines the connection between militarisation and gender. Militarisation is a gendering process. She argues that in order to understand this connection, one should move beyond the position of women in armies and military institutions. According to her, the root cause of women's oppression is militarism, which uses and maintains the ideological construction of gender in the definitions of masculinity and femininity. While masculinity is defined within the framework of the patriarchal practices of dominance, power, aggression and violence; peace, caring, sensitivity, justice and equality are values associated with femininity. In order to support her argument, Cock looks at the South African case. She states that the South African case is important in understanding the relationship between gender and militarisation because it shows women's contribution to militarisation, the similarities in the position of women in both conventional and guerilla armies, the durability of patriarchy and the fragility of the gains made for women during periods of war.[181]

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[179] di Leonardo, 'Moral Mothers, and Militaries', 608.
[180] di Leonardo, 'Moral Mothers, and Militaries', 600.
[181] Jacklyn Cock, 'Women, the Military and Militarisation: Some Questions Raised by the South African Case', Center for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, Seminar no.7, (1992), 1.

Cock argues that both sexism and feminism, two competing perspectives, have obscured and mystified the role of women in militarisation. This is because women are excluded from war on the basis of having different and special qualities from men. While sexism excludes women because of their physical inferiority and unsuitability, essentialist feminists unintentionally reinforce the existing status quo through emphasizing women's nurturing qualities, their creativity and pacifism. As a consequence, war has been understood as a male affair.

In contrast to these perspectives, Cock argues that military is a patriarchal institution that excludes and victimizes women. According to her, as gender is socially constructed, an important agency of this socialization is military training. In this regard, combat is basic to the development of manhood and male superiority.[182] To turn men into soldiers, 'women hating' is used by the military combat training, which is a process in which a man has to learn to dehumanize 'other' and make it a target.[183] The ultimate test of masculinity is combat by which the image of manhood is defined as aggressive and dominant. Since the role of men as protector and defender is affirmed through combat, for maintaining the ideological structure of patriarchy, it is essential to exclude women, 'the other', from combat roles.[184] Although in South Africa, in both conventional and guerilla armies, there is greater incorporation of women, women are usually excluded from combat roles. They are also underrepresented in positions of leadership and authority. It can be said that dominant models of masculinity and femininity remain unchallenged despite the progressive incorporation of women.

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[182] Cynthia Enloe, Does Khaki Become You? The Militarization of Women's Lives (Boston: South End Press, 1983).
[183] Cock, 'Women, the Military and Militarisation', 5.
[184] Cock, 'Women, the Military and Militarisation', 15.

Cynthia Enloe makes another argument on the role of women in the military. According to Enloe, militaries use women for solving their problems of "manpower" availability, quality, health, morale and readiness. In order to expose the character and operations of the military as an institution, militaries, rather than concentrating on male soldiers, focus on women, be they prostitutes, military wives, military nurses, soldiers, defense industry workers or "civilianized" defense workers. By analyzing these women who are exploited by militaries, feminist scholars try to find out how and at what cost women become militarized.[185]

Enloe argues that women are needed for militaries because they play their militarized roles such as boosting morale, providing comfort during and after wars, reproducing the next generation, serving as symbols of a homeland worth risking one's life for, and replacing men when the number of recruits are low. However, not all women were expected to play all of these roles. Military officials divide women into categories based on their class, race and age. While some groups of women have to fulfill the duty of reproducing the next generation, others have to perform other militarized functions. For instance, military prostitutes and soldiers' wives have different responsibilities towards the military and the reconstruction of masculinity. Women as soldiers are used to serve the military's own operational goals and sustain the culture of militarized masculinity.[186] Furthermore, women can perform their supporting militarized roles only if military has sufficient control over women. This control is achieved by defining women as people who are marginal to the military's core identity.[187] When military officials feel threatened by the existence of women in military areas or when

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[185] Altinay, The Myth of the Military- Nation , 44.
[186] Cynthia H. Enloe, The morning after : sexual politics at the end of the Cold War, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 263.
[187] Altinay, The Myth of the Military- Nation , 45.

they start to lose control over the bodies and minds of women, they try to get rid of them or find new solutions to re-subordinate them.

Another point examined by Enloe is the bond between the state and the military as an institution. The military is similar to other patriarchal institutions in many ways. However, it is also very distinct because of its intimate relationship with the state. No other institution is so close to the state. Through this close relationship, the military gains power of influence and privilege. In Enloe's words:

> It can keep secrets; it can create its own court system; it can conscript the labor it needs; it can own or control vast complexes of research and manufacture; it can be exempted from laws requiring nondiscrimination; it can run its own universities; it can back up its policy directives with tanks; it can form its own alumni associations; it can operate its own hospitals; it can have its own representatives placed in the government's overseas embassies.[188]

Moreover, this extraordinary status vis-à-vis the state enables the military to define national security. The definition of national security includes not only the protection of the state and its citizens from external threats but also the maintenance of the social order that includes gender definitions that empower ideological militarism.[189] Therefore, because of this greater autonomy, the military can control civilian life, family structures, and define the roles of men and women in the society. This is because this autonomy renders the gendered aspects of militarism invisible so that every aspect of the lives of civilians and especially the lives of women are militarized.

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[188] Altinay, The Myth of the Military- Nation , 46.
[189] Altinay, The Myth of the Military- Nation , 46.

4.3 The Turkish Case

Ayse Gül Altinay, in her book entitled *The Myth of the Military-Nation*, in examining the Turkish case, points to how military culture and military-nation are the products of history, artifacts of a century of practices and discourses. She also highlights the silences and visible transformations through which military needs and militaristic presumptions in Turkey have become normalized in the past century. She argues that the military as a force of coercion is surrounded by masculinity. Militarism is intertwined both with nationalism and militarisation. It shapes culture, politics, and identities in Turkey. Turkish nationalism and the practices of military service and education produce and maintain the military-idea as a gendered discourse.[190]

Focusing on the formative years of the Turkish Republic, that is the 1920s and 1930s, Altinay argues that the myth of "Turkish nation is a military nation"[191] become a state ideology in this period. This myth is supported by the Turkish History Thesis. It is an official account of Turkish history that defines state-building and military service as cultural/national/racial characteristics. It is based on a racialized conception of the history of all civilization at the center of which Turkish race, culture and language. The Turkish race is glorified as the basis of civilization and high culture in world history.[192] Altinay argues that military service in Turkey has been established by this discursive move as a cultural practice rather than a state practice or a citizenship obligation.[193] Military service and military itself are naturalized by the Turkish nation and state-making process through the claim that no other

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[190] Altinay, The Myth of the Military- Nation , 3.
[191] Altinay, The Myth of the Military- Nation , 13.
[192] Altinay, The Myth of the Military- Nation , 23.
[193] Altinay, The Myth of the Military- Nation , 6-7.

nation has established more states in history than the Turks because they are a military-nation.[194]

In many countries, as well as in Turkey, military service is naturalized and as presented as an ahistorical, cultural practice because of the lack of attention to military service.[195] The Turkish History Thesis and the myth of the military-nation as the basis of Turkish cultural, national, and racial character throughout history establish the citizen-army of the Turkish Republic. Military service, which is an obligation, set by the nation-state for its citizens since 1927 become an invented tradition, combining cultural and political realms in the body of military nation.[196] In other words, military service has been constructed as an essential characteristic of the Turkish nation, an authoritative tradition as opposed to a historical necessity, by the myth that Turkish nation is a military nation and every man is born as a soldier. This ahistorical character of Turkish militarism puts the military outside of political debate.[197] Military values, ethos, principles, and attitudes are unquestioningly embraced.[198]

Furthermore, this authoritative discourse is a gendered discourse with an emphasis on gendered citizenship and self-identification. Military service, that is invented during the French Revolution and is perfected by Prussia in the nineteenth century, defines first-class citizenship and has shaped the lives of men and women throughout the world.[199] While militarism defines Turkish culture, military service and conscription practices define Turkish masculinity. In order to become a man, male Turkish citizens have to serve in the military. Therefore, it can be said that masculinity contributes to the culturalization and naturalization of military service. As Turkish culture that is defined through the military, Turkish

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[194] Altinay, The Myth of the Military- Nation , 25.
[195] Altinay, The Myth of the Military- Nation , 15.
[196] Altinay, The Myth of the Military- Nation , 30.
[197] Altinay, The Myth of the Military- Nation , 32.
[198] Altinay, The Myth of the Military- Nation , 31
[199] Altinay, The Myth of the Military- Nation , 7.

masculinity is defined through military service. It is mostly considered that a man becomes "man" only after completing the military service.

The Grand National Assembly passed the law of conscription in 1927 and this law applies to only male citizens. Altinay argues that military service is not only about national defense; it also defines the relationship between men and women and their states. Since only men can be soldiers, male citizenship and masculinity are defined by military service and thus they constitute an opposition to female citizenship.[200] Men reach the position of first class citizenship. When men's compulsory participation in the military is considered as a cultural, national, and racial characteristic of Turkishness, not only military service but also this state-sponsored political differentiation between male and female citizens is naturalized.[201]

Like many feminist scholars, Altinay questions the place and roles of women, who do not serve in the military, in the military-nation. She dedicates the second chapter in her book to Sabiha Gökçen, adopted daughter of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the first female war pilot, in order to examine how militarism shaped Turkish history and self-understanding alike.[202] She examines the connections established between conceptions of citizenship and the military, as well as between male and female citizenship starting with the early years of the Turkish Republic. She argues that a major gender difference administered by the state has been created by the practice of compulsory military service.[203]

Altinay suggests that women become a part of the discourse on the Turkish nation being a military nation not only as mothers and wives of military men but also as daughters of the military-nation. They are expected to perform the duties of reproducing and supporting the

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[200] Altinay, The Myth of the Military- Nation , 33.
[201] Altinay, The Myth of the Military- Nation , 34.
[202] Altinay, The Myth of the Military- Nation , 32.
[203] Altinay, The Myth of the Military- Nation , 7.

nation's military force more directly. In the story of Sabiha Gökçen, she became a first female combat pilot in order to protect her country. However, on the other hand, it was expected from her to protect her honor as a young girl. In order to go into war, she had to accept that in case that her plane crashed, she had to kill herself so as not to surrender to the enemies. In other words, her honor was the nation's honor, and as a young woman, her sexuality needed to be protected and negotiated.[204] As Gökçen's story shows, some women could become active agents of the military nation. However, the basic traditional role of women is defined as motherhood. In addition to this, the honor of Turkish women is defined as the honor of the military nation. This symbolic interpretation reinforces the gendered character of the military-nation. While male soldiers have to sacrifice their lives for their nation, women soldiers are expected to sacrifice their lives both for their nation and the honor of the nation.

To sum, it can be said that one of the most important sites by which citizenship becomes gendered and militarized is military service. The state and society becomes masculinized through the conscription system. In the next part of the chapter, the conscription system and the construction of identities will be evaluated.

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[204] Altinay, The Myth of the Military- Nation , 39.

4.4 Conscription and the Construction of Identities

According to Vivienne Jabri, identity that is "expressed" in the social positioning of men and women is constructed and also reproduced by daily encounters and activities. In addition to this, a common national identity is constructed through discursive and institutional norms and patterns which give meaning to daily practices.[205] Conscription is one of the important practices of national identity formation. According to Kronsell and Svedberg, the different ways in which men and women have been situated within the discourses of nationalism and militarism constitute the basis of collective identity construction. Conscription is defined as a practice which prepares, especially men, for war and where citizen soldiers learn how to kill and risk being killed. Since it is the most basic way of defending the nation, it is considered as the duty of every (male) citizen in many countries in the world.[206] The discourses on the nation, collective identity and security issues are "manifested" and "ascertained" by conscription as seen in the Turkish case in the previous part.

To explain the workings of this process, Kronsell and Svedberg look at Swedish militarism and conscription system. The Swedish conscription system is based on a gendered construction of collective identity. In the case of Sweden, the neutrality doctrine and the building of the welfare state have shaped a collective identity. It has become the Swedish way of expressing itself to the world.[207] According to military officials, conscription is essential to Sweden's neutrality and geo-strategic position. This is because of Sweden's status of a non-aligned state. It needs its own army in wartime. It could not be externally supported. Within the discourse of Swedish militarism, because of their neutrality policy, a soldier is defined as

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[205] Vivienne Jabri, <u>Discourse on Violence</u>, (Manchaster: Manchaster University Press,1996), 99.
[206] Kronsell and Svedberg, 'The Duty to Protect', 154.
[207] Kronsell and Svedberg, 'The Duty to Protect', 154.

just and virtuous, one who fights only as a defensive measure if Sweden is attacked.[208] The second reason provided by the military officials for Swedish militarism is that because of its vast and sparsely populated territory, Sweden needs constant surveillance. Therefore, training all able-bodied men is regarded as less costly than building an army of paid soldiers. It also makes possible the defense of Sweden's territory. Furthermore, they also believe that after basic military training, men would spread important security ideas to the rest of the population and be prepared to protect their country.[209]

Although nationalism and militarism are two different discourses, militarism has often been linked with nationalism as seen above in the Turkish case as well. According to Jabri, "Militarism is a wider form of discourse which sees war and the preparation for war as a constitutive province of the state".[210] The gendered dichotomy of men-protector and women-protected is one of the main element of militarism. Collective identities are influenced by compulsory conscription and discourses of militarism and nationalism. Vis-à-vis the nation state, men and women are located in separate spaces. Men enter adult male life in society by accepting the great sacrifice that is risking one's life for its nation-state. Therefore, it can be said that the male collective identity is highly affected by conscription.[211]

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[208] Kronsell and Svedberg, 'The Duty to Protect', 163.
[209] Kronsell and Svedberg, 'The Duty to Protect', 159.
[210] Jabri, Discourse on Violence, 99.
[211] Kronsell and Svedberg, 'The Duty to Protect', 166.

4.4.1 The Case of Sweden

Since, in Sweden, until 1995, men had exclusively trained for military, male conscripts had taken for granted the masculine character of their military experience. They have somehow come to the conscription. According to Commander-in-Chief, Bengt Gustafsson, conscription has significance both at the collective and the individual levels. He argues that the compulsory conscript system contributes to the stability in society. A boy living with his parents turns in to a grown-up man who is integrated into working life following the completion of his military service.[212] Similar to Sweden, on manuals of the Israeli army, there is information about the Israeli military and these information reflect the common knowledge that is "the army will make a man out of you."[213] On the other hand, everyday practices of the military construct female identity as different and deviant.[214] Hyper aggressive notions of masculinity demean women, weaker men and civilians in general, and tie maleness with citizenship.[215]

Kronsell and Svedberg argue that the bond between the nation, military security and collective identity formation in the practice of conscription underlines the relevance of gender analyses.[216] In Sweden, conscription is essential to defense and security policy. Since 1811, eight million able men have been involved in the military. Still, Swedish authorities are not strict as Turkish authorities on male compulsory conscription and only one-third of the young men get basic military training.[217] However, in theory, every able man who turns 18 is subjected to compulsory conscription until the age of 47. Women's role in the defense sector is basically that of giving birth to next generations in order to increase the size of armed

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[212] Kronsell and Svedberg, 'The Duty to Protect', 163-164.
[213] Sharoni, 'Homefront as Battlefield', 15.
[214] Kronsell and Svedberg, 'The Duty to Protect', 171.
[215] Lesley Gill, 'Creating Citizens, Making Men', Cultural Anthropology, 12:4 (November, 1997), 528.
[216] Kronsell and Svedberg, 'The Duty to Protect', 156.
[217] Kronsell and Svedberg, 'The Duty to Protect', 154.

forces. Since 1980, when women were admitted to the military, they have held auxiliary functions such as employees in the civil sector of the armed forces, in the administration, canteens and the health care professions or as volunteers on a number of functions. This illustrates the gendered aspect of citizenship. In Sweden, women have limited role in the military overall.[218]

To sum up, it can be argued that a gendered construction of protector and protected constitutes an important part of collective identity formation. The military has a gendered division of male and female. Hence, the public arena is associated with the protectors of the state and masculinity while femininity belongs to private sphere where beautiful souls can perform their duties like caring, nursing and nurturing. They reproduce their non-masculine character. Although the two spheres are opposed and separated from each other, they are interrelated and interdependent. When women take part in the conscription system, the imagery of just warrior is challenged because those who are considered as in need of protection join the protectors and become one of them. Thus a woman in arms is a provocative contradiction that challenges an important aspect of the discourse of militarism. [219]

4.4.2 The Bolivian Case

The Bolivian case is one of the examples that illustrates the role of military in the construction of masculine identities. Writing on the Bolivian case, Lesley Gill questions the reasons behind the eagerness of young men to serve and the social pressure on them to enlist. In the case of

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[218] Kronsell and Svedberg, 'The Duty to Protect', 159.
[219] Kronsell and Svedberg, 'The Duty to Protect', 166.

Bolivia, all able-bodied Bolivian men have to perform military service as a legal obligation. It is also a prerequisite for many forms of urban employment as in Turkey. Bolivian young male military conscripts mostly are from the most powerless sectors of society like Quechua, Aymara and Guarani peasant communities and poor urban neighborhoods. Gill states that in Bolivian society, there are two reasons for a man to be a part of military. The first one is the importance of the military booklet which indicates the successful completion of military duty. It is needed for key transactions with the state –registering with the state, acquire a national identity card, obtaining a passport, etc. – and for obtaining work in urban factories and businesses. The second reason is to increase their value as men in the eyes of families, peers and communities as in Turkey and Sweden.[220]

Through military service, the Bolivian state create citizens out of Indians, who are the minorities working under white landowners, and men out of boys. It also uses conscription and militarized conceptions of masculinity to further their agendas. Masculinity, bravery, competence and patriotic duty is constructed. Through this masculinity, men gain the respect of women and men since they become the defenders of the nation and responsible male citizens who can make decisions and lead the others, as it is the case both in Turkey and Sweden.[221] Moreover, especially for the rural male population, military service provides rights to power and citizenship. It gives men the courage to deal with daily life challenges. Subaltern men develop a "dignified sense of masculinity" while facing dominant males and an economic system which offers them mostly the least desirable occupations.[222]

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[220] Gill, 'Creating Citizens, Making Men', 537.
[221] Gill, 'Creating Citizens, Making Men' , 527.
[222] Gill, 'Creating Citizens, Making Men', 527-528.

According to Enloe, beliefs about masculinity and femininity sustain the military and the way that militarism is enacted.[223] In Bolivia, during the military service, young men's lives are controlled and regimented and they have no ties to the broader society. In other words, as it is the case in Turkey and Sweden, in order to become a man and a soldier, they have to be away from home, the care and ingivence of their mothers and they should be under the control of older, unrelated males. By this way, their individualities are subordinated to the identity of the male group and the military instills strict conformity and compliance with military values.

Lesley Gill considers basic training as "a gendered process of moral regulation in which the armed forces define the parameters of appropriate male behavior and link masculinity and citizenship to the successful completion of military service."[224] Acceptable forms of militarized masculinity are aggressivity, male camaraderie, discipline, autonomy and obedience to authority. In order to impose these forms of militarized masculinity, in the Bolivian military system, the first three months of military service cover basic training which includes endless drills, marching, using weapons and preparing to fight. During this time, new recruits are abused by the commanding officers and by the more experienced group of conscripts. They are both verbally and physically punished because of violations of military discipline, misunderstanding commands and not carrying out required exercises. Moreover, the symbolic humiliation of women and homosexuals shape this militarized masculinity. Young conscripts "are called putas (whores), maricones (faggots), senoritas (little ladies) and other gendered insults."[225] A way of punishment may be dressing as a woman and parading around the base. An ideology of male equality and bonding is a part of this hierarchy. Soldiers "share the same food and living accommodations, wear the same uniforms, display identical

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[223] Enloe, <u>The Morning After</u>, 29.
[224] Gill, 'Creating Citizens, Making Men', 533.
[225] Gill, 'Creating Citizens, Making Men', 534.

shaved heads, conform to the same rigid codes of behavior and are trained for war, the ultimate test of their manhood."[226] Afterwards, military tales are used by men to increase the importance of their own militarized identities. They exclude both women, young men, and those who have not served in the military by telling their stories of military training.[227]

To sum up, it can be said that conscription constructs and reinforces gendered identities. Men and women become militarized. The patriarchal military system uses the compulsory conscription system to dominate both men and women. Moreover, men, by serving in the military, gain the status of first class citizenship since it is their duty to sacrifice their lives for the nation-state. On the other hand, femininity and women are used to reinforce the masculinist, militarist ideologies. Women, as second-class citizens, can only appreciate men's responsibilities without getting involved in high politics. Their place is home where they can perform their traditionally prescribed roles. On the other hand, men gain the respect of their family, women and society by becoming a soldier. According to feminist theories, these militarily and socially constructed identities reinforce the structures that subordinate the 'other'. There is a lack of gender-aware analysis of militarism and militarisation.

As was discussed above, these constructed and gendered identities subordinate women and promote violence against women. Men who learn to be soldiers in the military bring the violent patterns of barrack community to their daily lives. In the next part, this issue will be examined.

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[226] Gill, 'Creating Citizens, Making Men', 534.
[227] Gill, 'Creating Citizens, Making Men', 541.

4.5 Gendered Roles and Forms of Violence

Sharoni, in her article, "Homefront as Battlefield: Gender, Military Occupation and Violence against Women", starts with the story of Gilad Shemen, an Israel-Jewish man doing his military service. He killed a seventeen-year-old Palestinian woman in Gaza during his military service and was released after an appeal. Two years later, he shot and killed his girlfriend. Sharoni argues that there is a correlation between these two murders. According to Sharoni, this story illustrates the complex relationship between sexism, militarism and violence against women. In her article, she examines the impact of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip on women's lives by dealing with the connection between the social construction of gender identities and gender relations in Israel and the use of violence in the Occupied Territories and on the Israeli home front. Both the Palestinian women as the 'other' and the Israeli women as 'us' belong to a high-risk population because they both live "in the line of fire of an Israeli man who had learned how to use a gun to deal with crises and difficult situations."[228]

Like many other feminists, Sharoni discusses the social construction of gender identities and gender relations in Israel. She argues that violence is not a set of practices to with which men are born. Through education and social interaction, men acquire and reinforce these practices. Sharoni analyses the use of violence in the Occupied Territories and at the Israeli "home front". She examines the dominating role of the Israeli military in all spheres of the Israeli society and the social and political implications of militarisation and violent conflict

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[228] Sharoni, 'Homefront as Battlefield', 1.

for women's lives both in Israel, in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.[229] Sharoni states that violence against women is intimately related to other forms and practices of violence.

In the case of Israeli-Palestine conflict, writes Sharoni, there are three particular distinctions. These are distinctions between men and women; between "us", the local-patriots, and "them", the "enemy"; and between "our" women and "their women". Israeli soldiers use the pretext of cultural and moral superiority to justify the excessive use of power over Palestinians.[230] Palestinian women have experienced violence both as members of the Palestinian community and as women since the outbreak of the first Intifada in 1987. On the Israeli side, the emphasis on cohesive, unified front and on national security not only justifies Israeli militaristic and expansionist policies and political practices but also neutralizes, legitimizes and reinforces existing inequalities between Israel's citizens in terms of gender, ethnicity, class and political affiliation.[231] Without certain gendered interpretations of the Israeli-Palestinian and the Arab-Israeli conflict, the institutionalization of Israeli Jewish women's roles as the primary caretakers of a nation would not have been possible.[232] The construction of Israel's national identity not only depends on the conflict with Palestinians but also it depends on the social construction of gender identities and roles. For instance, some Israeli men shout at Israeli women protestors of violence and war as "whores of Arafat" or "Arab lovers". This is an indication of the culture of militarism and sexism to which Israeli men are socialized.[233]

Sharoni argues that the centrality of the military among Israel social and political institutions has often been taken for granted. It is assumed to be natural. However, it has been

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[229] Sharoni, 'Homefront as Battlefield', 1.
[230] Sharoni, 'Homefront as Battlefield', 1.
[231] Sharoni, 'Homefront as Battlefield', 8.
[232] Sharoni, 'Homefront as Battlefield', 7.
[233] Sharoni, 'Homefront as Battlefield', 4.

established and reinforced through specific ideologies and practices. National security became a top priority by the establishment of the Israeli state and the elevation of its hegemonic Zionist ideology. Israeli national security definition does not only cover the survival of the country but also of the Jewish people at large.[234] The major agent for facilitating this process of ideological projection is the Israeli military. A cohesive, unified front has been established through the declared objectives of the Israeli doctrine of national security. Israeli state gives Israeli Jewish men a privileged status in society by making national security a top priority, by basing it on specific interpretations of Zionist ideology and by turning military service into a national duty.[235]

When national security is institutionalized as a top priority, it contributes to gender inequalities and legitimizes violence against Palestinians as well as Israeli women. While men have to be ready to serve as soldiers, as fighters on the battlefield, women have to adjust themselves to the collective experience. Women's expected roles contradict with each other. On one hand, feminine roles are constructed as "unconditional supporters, exceptional caretakers and keepers of the home front"[236]. On the other hand, it is expected from women to be vulnerable and in need of protection because it is one way of reproducing and protecting the masculinity that is needed by military as a patriarchical institution.[237] The military as a major agent of socialization for men shapes gender identities and gender relations. Militarized ideological frameworks —masculinity against femininity, men against women— serve to construct these gendered roles. The military must ensure that women play their prescribed

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[234] Sharoni, 'Homefront as Battlefield', 7.
[235] Sharoni, 'Homefront as Battlefield', 8.
[236] Sharoni, 'Homefront as Battlefield', 8.
[237] Sharoni, 'Homefront as Battlefield', 8.

roles, because otherwise men can choose not to enlist, obey orders, give orders, fight, kill, re-list, and convince their sons to enlist.[238]

There is a correlation between the violent patterns of behavior that are used by the Israeli army against Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and sexism, violence and oppression which Israeli women face daily in streets and in their homes. For instance, soldiers give significant women names to strategic targets during military training. This symbolizes that like military targets, women have to be protected as with Sabiha Gökçen example. As soldiers' duty to stop enemies from conquering their women, they have to fight, occupy and protect. They prove their readiness to sacrifice their lives for their nation-state on the battlefield, while Israeli women have no choice but sacrifice their lives, freedom and independence on the home front living in constant fear of violence rooted from militarism. [239] This is because the Israeli men who exercise violent practices against Palestinian men and women in the Occupied Territories with an official license from the state treat the women in their lives as their "occupied territories". Sharoni concludes: "in a context where every man is a soldier, every woman becomes an occupied territory".[240]

4.6 Conclusion

Feminist scholars, in order to achieve social change, challenge the silences and gaps in conventional scholarship and policy practices of militarism and analyze the relationship between militarism, violence and social construction of gender. Recent feminist scholarship

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[238] Sharoni, 'Homefront as Battlefield', 6.
[239] Sharoni, 'Homefront as Battlefield', 4.
[240] Sharoni, 'Homefront as Battlefield', 10.

also includes analyses of soldiers' experiences in the military; cultural and political significance of military service in contemporary societies. They emphasize women's varies roles in the military system as wives, girlfriends, prostitutes and soldiers; soldiering and violence against women; the impact of militaries and war preparations in particular locales; and the relationship between soldiering, gender and citizenship in the nation-state system.

Men and women have different places within the discourses of nationalism and militarism. This separation constitutes the basis of collective identity construction. Conscription system is one of the determinants of gendered collective identity formation and the construction of citizenship. Men learn how to be a man, how to kill and how to sacrifice their lives for their nation. Sacrificing life thought to be the primary duty of a good citizen. Citizenship is defined based on this criterion. Women become and have remained marginalized when understandings of masculinity and intertwine. One of the main elements of militarism is the gendered dichotomy of men to be the protector and women to be the protected. This is how the traditionally prescribed roles of femininity are further reinforced by militarism. Women's place is limited to the private sphere. What is expected from women is to perform their duties like caring, nursing and nurturing. As a consequence, when a woman becomes a soldier, she is considered as a challenge to the discourse of militarism if she cannot be dominated and subordinated by the patriarchal practices of the military discourse.

The lack of gender-aware analysis of militarism and militarisation is examined by feminism. Such analyses contribute to our understanding of how militarism, military service, compulsory conscription, militarisation of women and civilians are naturalized and constructed within the discourses of national and international security. By making the invisible visible, they challenge military that is one of the most autonomous patriarchal institutions. They criticize its unquestionable authority and its masculinist foundations.

Without a gender-aware analysis, it is impossible to reveal how masculinist the discourses of militarism and the practices of militaries are and how they depend on the control of gender identities to exist.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This thesis rests on the understanding that 'gender' is a social construct. Gender refers to a set of culturally shaped and defined characteristics associated with masculinity and femininity. Gender is not biologically determined. Hence, the characteristics of each sex are not inherent and immutable. Genetic and anatomical characteristics determine only biological sex identity. On the other hand, socially learned gender identity is gained through performing prescribed gender roles.

Analyzing socially constructed gender roles often expose inequality and the domination of women by men.[241] As Peterson and Runyan have put it, "gender is about power and power is gendered."[242] Making this power visible is the aim of many contemporary feminist scholars.[243] In other words, feminist theory analyzes gender relations: "how gender

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[241] J. Ann Tickner, Gender in International Relations : Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Security (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992); Jill Steans, Gender and International Relations: An Introduction (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998); Terry Terrif, Stuart Croft, Lucy James and Patrick M. Morgan, Security Studies Today (Oxford: Polity, 1999); V. Spike Peterson and Anne Sisson Runyan, Global Gender Issues (Oxford: Westview Press, 1999), 25-26.

[242] Peterson and Runyan, Global Gender Issues, 7.

[243] J. Ann Tickner, Gender in International Relations : Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Security (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992); Jill Steans, Gender and International Relations: An Introduction (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998); Terry Terrif, Stuart Croft, Lucy James and Patrick M. Morgan, Security Studies Today (Oxford: Polity, 1999); V. Spike Peterson and Anne Sisson Runyan, Global Gender Issues (Oxford: Westview Press, 1999), 25-26.

relations are constituted and experienced and how we think or, equally important, do not think about them"[244].

The aim of this thesis was to point to the contribution of a gender-aware analysis to our understanding of security by looking at conflict, militarism and militarisation. It discussed 'how the discipline of International Relations might look like if gender was included as a category of analysis'[245] and how our understanding of International Relations is shaped by gender.

Chapter 1, in the attempt to reveal the void of gender as a category of analysis in International Relations theory, focused on theoretical and methodological aspects of the field of International Relations. Traditional approaches and Security Studies, in general, were evaluated. The positivism versus post-positivism debate was also briefly discussed in order to show the contribution of post-positivist approaches to understanding the gendered aspects of world politics. A critique of realist and neorealist assumptions from a feminist perspective was provided in order to emphasize the importance of gender as a category of analysis to our understanding of security. In the second part of Chapter 1, feminist approaches were evaluated. It was argued that despite significant differences between feminist approaches to International Relations, they all aim to illustrate the degree to which International Relations have a gendered discourse. The understandings of security as shaped by traditional approaches were challenged in this part. It was argued that structures and practices that are taken as pre-given within a patriarchal discourse serve only to obscure the inequalities. Through making invisible visible, "gender-aware analysis enables us to "see" how the world is shaped by

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[244] Flax, 'Postmodernism and Gender Relations', 623.
[245] Tickner, Gender in International Relations, 5.

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gendered concepts, practices and institutions"[246]. A critical distance on existing gender

inequalities is gained by studying gender. This critical distance makes a space for reevaluating

and altering these inequalities.[247]

In order to provide an account of how gender is relevant to our understanding of

security, Chapter 2 dealt with the importance of integrating women and gender into conflict

analysis. It was argued that a gender-aware analysis of conflict points to the construction and

reproduction of gendered identities in conflict and its aftermath, as armed and political

conflicts tend to challenge gender relations. In addition to this, it is argued that gender-aware

analysis offers that women are not only passive victims in conflict situations but perform

different activities and have different stakes and interests in the given conflict. The aim of

broadening the understanding of the intersection of gender and conflict was to recognize and

address forms of gender-specific disadvantages that are overlooked by conventional, gender-

blind representations of armed conflict and its aftermath. The traditional understanding of

conflict is gendered because gendered identities are rooted in the perception that men are

soldiers or aggressors and women are wives, mothers, nurses, social workers. These dominant

understandings of gender roles lead to the inequality that women face during and after

conflict.[248] In order to understand existing divisions of power and the role of gender in times

of conflict, an examination of varieties of both old/new gender identities and the changes they

face over time and in relation to the conflict is needed.[249] Without taking gender into

consideration, our understanding of conflict can only be partial.

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[246] Peterson and Runyan, Global Gender Issues, 1.
[247] Flax, 'Postmodernism and Gender Relations', 623.
[248]Amani El-Jack, `Gender and Armed Conflict`, Bridge Report. (Brighton: the Institute of Development Studies: University of Sussex, 2003), 3.
[249] Simona Sharoni, `Gendering Conflict and Peace in Israel/Palestine and North of Ireland` Millennium: Journal of International Studies, (1998), 1072.

After the examination of gender as a category of analysis in understanding conflict, in Chapter 3, militarism and militarisation were analyzed. Since militarism as an ideology and militarisation as a process are gendered, they use gendered identities to oppress, subordinate and exclude 'the other'.[250] In order to illustrate the gendered aspects of militarism and militarisation, Chapter 3 focused on soldiers' experiences in the military, the cultural and political significance of military service in contemporary societies, and women's varied roles in the military system as wives, girlfriends, prostitutes and soldiers. Soldiering and violence against women, the impact of militaries in particular areas, the relationship between soldiering, gender and citizenship in the nation-state system are also considered.[251] In addition to this, Swedish, Bolivian and Turkish conscription systems were examined in order to illustrate how conscription constructs collective and gendered identities. Conscription, defined as an extreme practice which prepares, especially men, for war and where citizens soldiers learn how to kill and risk being killed is the duty of every (male) citizen in many countries in the world.[252] Therefore, it was argued that conscription constructs gendered identities. Militarisation subordinates and excludes women. The privileged traits and activities defined as masculine over those defined as feminine reinforce militarist ideologies. In addition to this, it was argued that man, who learns to use violence against the other during military service or during conflicts and wars, continues to use his violent practices back home against women. Masculine violence has become embedded, institutionalized and legitimized in the modern practice of militarisation.

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[250] Ayse Gul Altinay, The Myth of the Military- Nation: Militarism, Gender and Education In Turkey, (Palgrave Macmillan: New York, 2004); Jill Steans, Gender and International Relations: An Introduction (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998); Cynthia Enloe, Does Khaki Become You? The Militarization of Women's Lives (Boston: South End Press, 1983) Cynthia H. Enloe, The morning after : sexual politics at the end of the Cold War, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993)
    Altinay, The Myth of the Military- Nation , 6.
[252] Annika Kronsell, Erika Svedberg, `The Duty to Protect: Gender in the Swedish Practice of Conscription`, Cooperation and Conflict (36)2 (2001),154.

Through a gender-aware analysis, the ways in which militarism, military service, compulsory conscription, the militarisation of women and civilians are naturalized and constructed within the discourses of national and international security become visible. Without rendering the invisible visible, it is impossible to reveal how masculinist the discourses of militarism and the practices of militaries are and how they depend on the control of gender identities to exist.

To conclude, it can be said that a major underpinning of structural inequalities is the worldwide institutionalization of gender differences.[253] As discussed by V. Spike Peterson and Anne Runyan,

> Through a complex interaction of identification processes, symbol systems and social institutions, gender differences are produced –typically in the form of a dichotomy that not only opposes masculinity to femininity but also translates these oppositional differences into gender hierarchy.[254]

A gender- aware analysis outlines the gender hierarchy and demonstrates the power of gender in shaping our understanding of security and world politics. In order to deconstruct this gender hierarchy, traditional approaches are challenged by feminist scholars. Their assumptions and taken for granted categories and frameworks are enriched by the incorporation of gender as a category of analysis. Understandings of power are broadened and different models of power beyond the usual relationship of domination and submission are provided.

A gender-aware analysis illustrates how constructions of masculinity —agency, control, aggression— rely upon contrasting constructions of femininity — dependence, vulnerability and passivity. The dominant presence of men is achieved by the denial and absence of women. Due to this interdependence, a gender-aware analysis is not simply about adding something about women. It aims to transform the knowledge on men and the activities

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[253] Peterson and Runyan, Global Gender Issues, 7.
[254] Peterson and Runyan, Global Gender Issues, 7.

they undertake.[255] It deals with the ways by which the hierarchical dichotomy of masculinity-femininity is institutionalized, legitimated and reproduced. Therefore, it can be said that a gender-aware analysis enhances our understanding of power politics, conflict, militarism, militarisation and the discipline of International Relations. "Just as realism makes conflict more visible and idealism makes cooperation more visible"[256] a gender-aware analysis makes gender more visible in order to reveal the gendered structures of world politics.

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[255] Peterson and Runyan, Global Gender Issues, 9.
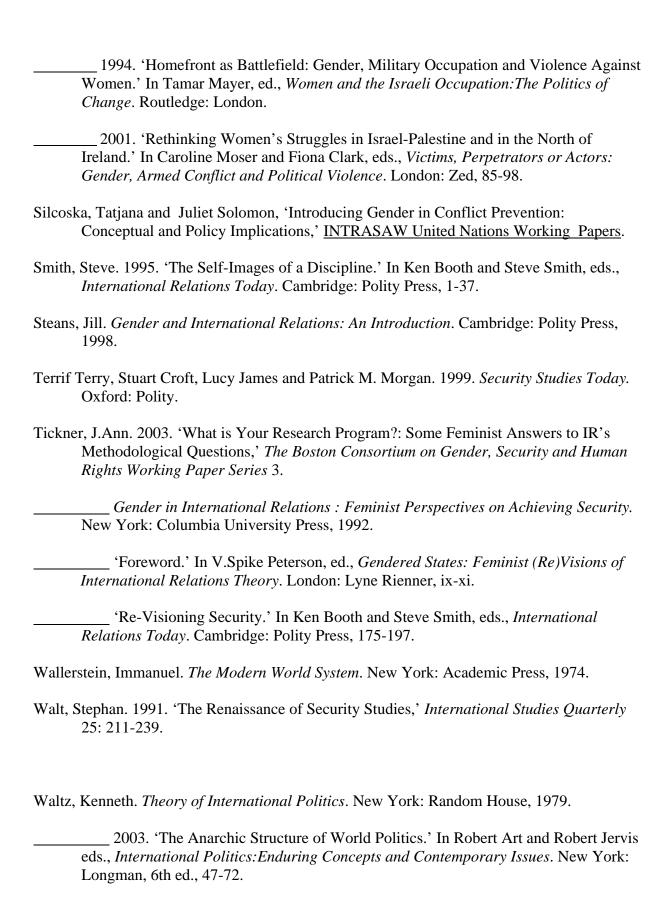[256] Peterson and Runyan, Global Gender Issues, 17.

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