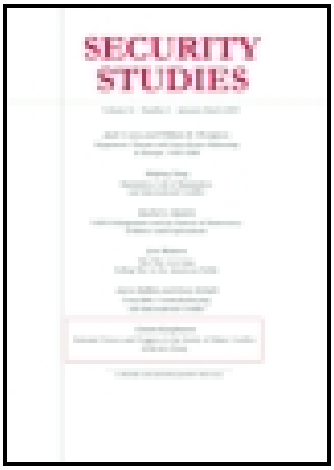

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Introduction to *Security Studies*: Feminist Contributions

LAURA SJOBERG

In 1988, *Millennium* published a special issue on "Women and International Relations" now widely recognized as the start of a research program of feminist approaches to International Relations (IR). In a critique of Hans Morgenthau's political realism in that issue, Ann Tickner pointed out that "international relations is a man's world, a world of power and conflict in which warfare is a privileged activity."[1] Based on this realization, Robert Keohane characterized feminist International Relations as "likely to begin a productive debate involving international relations scholars, feminist thinkers, and others concerned about security in the most inclusive sense."[2] Feminist scholars aspired to "move the suspicion of officially ungendered IR texts

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The Special Issue as a whole has benefited from funding for this project provided by the Women and Public Policy Program at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, the International Studies Association, and the Department of Political Science at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. Two anonymous reviewers were gracious enough to read the entire project (twice), and tireless work has been put in to this project by Susan Peterson, Michael Desch, and William Wohlforth at *Security Studies*. Others, including Christine Sylvester, Carol Cohn, Annick Wibben, Lene Hansen, and Jacqueline Berman, have read and commented on substantial parts of this work. Important insights about the structure and content of this introduction came from all of the contributors to the special issue, as well as Amy Eckert, Caron Gentry, Ilja Luciak, Janice Bially Mattern, Swati Parashar, Spike Peterson, and Ann Tickner. Any mistakes remain my own.

[1] J. Ann Tickner, "Hans Morgenthau's Principles of Political Realism: A Feminist Reformulation," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 17, no. 3 (December 1988): 429–40.

[2] This is Robert Keohane's endorsement on the back cover of Ann Tickner's book, *Gender in International Relations: Feminist Approaches on Achieving Global Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), back cover.

to their subversion and to replace their theories,"[3] and several IR scholars predicted that their insights should "fundamentally change IR's greatest debates."[4]

In the intervening decades, feminist scholars have critiqued and reformulated many of the foundational theoretical assumptions of IR. Still, the productivity of conversations between feminists and other IR scholars has been more mixed than original predictions envisioned. In some areas of IR, scholarship that uses gender as an analytical category has successfully engaged in dialogue with more "mainstream"[5] approaches. In other areas of study, however, feminists have experienced "awkward silences and miscommunications" brought about by a lack of understanding between IR audiences and feminist speakers.[6]

Security Studies is one area of IR where unsatisfactory encounters "illustrate a gendered estrangement that inhibits more sustained conversations" between feminists and IR scholars.[7] As Ann Tickner laments, "feminist theorists have rarely achieved the serious engagement with other IR scholars for which they have frequently called."[8] In many ways, the theory and practice of international security remain a man's world.[9] The material result of this

[3] Christine Sylvester, "Feminists and Realists on Autonomy and Obligation in International Relations," in *Gendered States: Feminist (Re)Visions on International Relations Theory*, ed. V. Spike Peterson (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1992).

[4] Robert Keohane, "International Relations Theory: Contributions of a Feminist Standpoint," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 18, no. 2 (1989): 245–53.

[5] I do not use this term with any essential content and am hesitant to use it at all for fear of reifying/reproducing a dichotomy the existence of which is problematic for me and for the other authors in this special issue. Still, as discussed below, there are problems with ignoring disciplinary power dynamics and terminology as well. The "mainstream" for the purposes of this article refers to what Ole Waever labels the "neo-neo synthesis" where "during the 1980s, realism became neo-realism and liberalism neoliberal institutionalism. Both underwent a self-limiting redefinition towards anti-metaphysical, theoretical minimalism, and they became thereby increasingly compatible . . . no longer were realism and liberalism 'incommensurable'—on the contrary they shared a 'rationalist' research programme." See Ole Waever, "The Rise and Fall of the Interparadigm Debate," in *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond*, eds., Steve Smith, Ken Booth, and Marysia Zalewski (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 149–85.

[6] J. Ann Tickner, "You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements Between Feminists and IR Theorists" *International Studies Quarterly* 41, no. 4 (December 1997): 611–32; and V. Spike Peterson, "Transgressing Boundaries: Theories of Knowledge, Gender, and International Relations," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 21, no. 2 (June 1992): 183–206.

[7] Tickner, "You Just Don't Understand," 613; Cynthia Weber argues that "wherever the feminist body of literature threatens to overflow the boundaries within which the discipline of International Relations has sought to confine it . . . [the mainstream] works to reimpose these boundaries or invent new ones." See Cynthia Weber, "Good Girls, Little Girls, Bad Girls: Male Paranoia in Robert Keohane's Critique of Feminist International Relations," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 23, no. 2 (June 1994): 337–49, 337.

[8] Tickner, "You Just Don't Understand," 628.

[9] Women in privileged positions in international security policy making remain rare (and are often identified primarily by their gender when they do reach those positions), and entire scholarly texts can be found with no reference to women or gender at all.

dynamic is that less than forty out of more than five thousand articles in the top five security journals over the last twenty years explicitly address gender issues as a major substantive theme.[10] No gender-based article has appeared on the pages of *Security Studies* as of the time we are compiling this issue.

This lack of communication between the field of Security Studies and feminist scholars exists despite the growing influence of feminist thought and practice in the policy world. The passage and implementation of United States Security Council Resolution 1325 (which mainstreams gender in Security Council operations and obligates member-states to include women in peace negotiations and post-conflict reconstruction), and similar initiatives throughout the United Nations, the World Bank, and the IMF, show that gender is a salient concern in global governance.[11] Furthermore, specific international phenomena all show not only women's significance in international security, but also the relevance of gender as a factor in understanding and addressing security matters—such as, the increase in female suicide bombers,[12] growing evidence of the use of sexual violence as a tool of war in conflicts from South Korea to the Democratic Republic of Congo,[13] women's participation as soldiers in armed conflicts around the globe,[14] and women's activism and protests against conflicts (including the war in Iraq).[15] Practitioners interested in peacekeeping,[16] the study and

[10] This statistic counts *International Security*, *Security Studies*, *International Security Review*, *Issues in International Security*, and *Security Dialogue* as of early 2006. The statistic makes it appear as if the first four journals do a better job on this issue than they do and is unfair to *Security Dialogue*, which published more than half of the security work which addressed issues of gender. These observations are the result of a personal count and any counting error is mine alone.

[11] Jacqui True, "Gender Mainstreaming in Global Public Policy," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 5, no. 3 (2003): 368–96; and Jacqui True and Michael Mintrom, "Transnational Networks and Policy Diffusion: The Case of Gender Mainstreaming," *International Studies Quarterly* 45, no. 1 (March 2001): 27–57.

[12] Laura Sjoberg and Caron Gentry, *Mothers, Monsters, Whores: Women's Violence in Global Politics* (London: Zed Books, 2007).

[13] Claudia Card, "Rape as a Weapon of War," *Hypatia* 11, no. 4 (Fall 1996): 5–18.

[14] Cynthia Enloe, *Does Khaki Become You? The Militarisation of Women's Lives* (Boston: South End Press, 1983); see also Megan MacKenzie and Sandra McEvoy's articles in this special issue.

[15] Concerning Iraq, see Judy El-Bushra, "Feminism, Gender, and Women's Peace Activism," *Development and Change* 38, no. 1 (January 2007): 131–47; generally, see Alice Cook and Gwyn Kirk, *Greenham Women Everywhere: Dreams, Ideas, and Actions from the Women's Peace Movement* (London: Pluto Press, 1983).

[16] See Dyan Mazurana, "International Peacekeeping Operations: To Neglect Gender is to Risk Peacekeeping Failure," in *The Postwar Moment: Militaries, Masculinities and International Peacekeeping*, eds., Dubravka Zarkov and Cynthia Cockburn (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 2002); and Dyan Mazurana, Angela Raven-Roberts, and Jane Parpart, ed., *Gender, Conflict, and Peacekeeping* (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005).

management of refugees,[17] and protecting noncombatants in times of war[18] reveal the increasing importance of gender sensitivity to many of the actors that we study in global politics. As Spike Peterson explains, "'real world' events are not adequately addressed by androcentric accounts that render women and gender relations invisible."[19]

This special issue was assembled with the goal of improving the quality and quantity of conversations between feminist Security Studies and Security Studies more generally, in order to demonstrate the importance of gender analysis to the study of international security, and to expand the feminist research program in Security Studies. The articles included in this special issue not only challenge the assumed irrelevance of gender, they argue that gender is not a subsection of Security Studies to be compartmentalized or briefly considered as a side issue. Rather, feminists argue that gender is conceptually, empirically, and normatively essential to studying international security. As such, accurate, rigorous, and ethical scholarship cannot be produced without taking account of women's presence in or the gendering of world politics.

In this introduction, I provide a brief discussion of what it means to approach IR from a feminist perspective and a brief overview of questions of epistemology and method in feminist theorizing. I then give a summary of some of the accomplishments of and common themes in feminist Security Studies to this point and situate feminist work in the larger field of Security Studies. Finally, I introduce the articles in this special issue as analyses of traditional issues in Security Studies through feminist lenses, explorations of the roles that women play in conflict and conflict resolution, and the introduction of new or previously neglected Security Studies issues that resulted from taking gender seriously.

FEMINIST APPROACHES TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

It has been argued that all scholars approach their particular subject matter with lenses that "foreground some things, and background others."[20] In

[17] See Nira Yuval-Davis, and Pnina Werbner, ed., *Women, Citizenship, and Difference* (London: Zed Books, 2006); and Doreen Indra, "Gender: A Key Dimension of the Refugee Experience," *Refugee* 6, no. 3 (1987).

[18] See Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Just War Theory*: *Readings in Social and Political Theory* (New York: New York University Press, 1992); Judith Gardam and Hilary Charlesworth, "Protection of Women in Armed Conflict," *Human Rights Quarterly* 22, no. 1 (February 2000): 148–66; Laura Sjoberg, *Gender, Justice, and the Wars in Iraq* (New York: Lexington Books, 2006); and Laura Sjoberg, "The Gendered Realities of the Immunity Principle: Why Gender Analysis Needs Feminism," *International Studies Quarterly* 50, no. 4 (December 2006): 889–910.

[19] Peterson, "Transgressing Boundaries," 197.

[20] V. Spike Peterson and Anne Sisson Runyan, *Global Gender Issues* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999), 21.

other words, scholars' investigations start with the variables that they find meaningful in global politics. For the studies in this special issue, that lens is gender.[21] As Jill Steans explains, "to look at the world through gendered lenses is to focus on gender as a particular kind of power relation, or to trace out the ways in which gender is central to understanding international processes."[22]

In order to understand feminist work in IR, it is important to note that gender is not the equivalent of membership in biological sex classes. Instead, gender is a system of symbolic meaning that creates social hierarchies based on perceived associations with masculine and feminine characteristics. As Lauren Wilcox explains, "gender symbolism describes the way in which masculine/feminine are assigned to various dichotomies that organize Western thought" where "both men and women tend to place a higher value on the term which is associated with masculinity."[23] Gendered social hierarchy, then, is at once a social construction and a "structural feature of social and political life" that "profoundly shapes our place in, and view of, the world."[24]

This is not to say that all people, or even all women, experience gender in the same ways. While genders are lived by people throughout the world, "it would be unrepresentative to characterize a 'gendered experience' as if there were something measurable that all men or all women shared in life experience."[25] Each person lives gender in a different culture, body, language, and identity. Therefore, there is not one gendered experience of global politics, but many. By extension, there is not one gender-based perspective on IR or international security, but many. Still, as a structural feature of social and political life, gender is "a set of discourses that represent, construct, change, and enforce social meaning."[26] Feminism, then, "is neither just about women, nor the addition of women to male-stream constructions; it is about transforming ways of being and knowing" as gendered discourses are understood and transformed.[27]

Though feminist scholars approach IR through these "gendered lenses," it is important to note that there is not one feminist approach to international relations theory.[28] Instead, like other IR theorists, feminists can approach

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[21] Ibid., 2.

[22] Jill Steans, *Gender and International Relations: An Introduction* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1998), 5.

[23] Lauren Wilcox, "Gendering the 'Cult of the Offensive,"' in *Gender and International Security: Feminist Approaches*, ed. Laura Sjoberg (New York: Routledge, forthcoming).

[24] Wilcox, "Gendering the 'Cult of the Offensive."'

[25] Sjoberg and Gentry, *Mothers, Monsters, Whores*, 16.

[26] R. W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995); and J. K. Gibson-Graham, "'Stuffed if I Know!' Reflections on Post-Modern Feminist Social Research," *Gender, Place, and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography* 1, no. 2 (September 1994): 205–44.

[27] Peterson, "Transgressing Boundaries," 205.

[28] A detailed description of typologies of feminist theories can be found in Ann Tickner and Laura Sjoberg, "Feminism," in *International Relations Theories*, eds., Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki, and Steve Smith, 2nd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

global politics from a number of different perspectives, including realist, liberal, constructivist, critical, poststructural, postcolonial, and ecological. These perspectives yield different, and sometimes contradictory, insights about and predictions for global politics. Similar diversity, however, is a feature of all of the major research programs in international relations.[29]

Feminist work from a realist perspective is interested in the role of gender in strategy and power politics between states.[30] Liberal feminist work calls attention to the subordinate position of women in global politics and argues that gender oppression can be remedied by including women in the existing structures of global politics. [31] Critical feminism explores the ideational and material manifestations of gendered identity and gendered power in world politics.[32] Feminist constructivism focuses on the ways that ideas about gender shape and are shaped by global politics.[33] Feminist poststructuralism focuses on how gendered linguistic manifestations of meaning, particularly strong/weak, rational/emotional, and public/private dichotomies, serve to empower the masculine, marginalize the feminine, and constitute global politics.[34] Postcolonial feminists, while sharing many of the epistemological assumptions of poststructural feminists, focus on the ways that colonial relations of domination and subordination established under imperialism are reflected in gender relations, and even relations between feminists, in global politics and academic work.[35] Ecological feminism, or "ecofeminism," identifies connections between the treatment of women and minorities on one

[29] See, for discussion, Colin Elman and Miriam Fendius Elman, "Lessons from Lakatos," in *Progress in International Relations Theory: Appraising the Field*, eds., Colin Elman and Miriam Fendius Elman (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003).

[30] Most typologies leave out a feminist/realist approach from their list of types of feminist theories. Still, several feminists have suggested that the research programs have potentially fruitful commonalities—for example, Sandra Whitworth, "Gender and the Interparadigm Debate," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 18, no. 2 (June 1989): 265–72; Laura Sjoberg, "Feminism and Realism, Strategy in (Apparently) Gender-Emancipatory Policies," paper presented at the 2007 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Chicago, Illinois, 28 February-3 March 2007; and Jacqui True, "Feminism and Realism," paper presented at the 2008 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, San Francisco, CA, 26–29 March 2008.

[31] For example, liberal feminists have tested the relationship between woman-inclusive policies at the domestic level and a state's violence internationally, arguing that states will be less violent if and when women are integrated into their structures. See Mary Caprioli and Mark Boyer, "Gender, Violence, and International Crisis," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45, no. 4 (August 2001): 503–18.

[32] Critical feminism builds on the work of Robert Cox, studying the interacting forces of material conditions, ideas, and institutions, committed to understanding the world in order to change it. See Sandra Whitworth, *Feminism and International Relations* (London: MacMillan, 1994); and Christine Chin, *In Service and Servitude: Foreign Female Domestic Workers and the Malaysian Modernity Project* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

[33] See Elisabeth Prugl, *The Global Construction of Gender* (New York: Columbia, 1999).

[34] See Charlotte Hooper, *Manly States: Masculinities, International Relations, and Gender Politics* (New York: Columbia, 2001).

[35] See Chandra Mohanty, "Under Western Eyes," in *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*, eds., Chandra Mohanty, Anne Russo, and Lourdes Torres (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1991), 51–80; and Geeta Chowdhry and Sheila Nair, ed., *Power, Postcolonialism, and International Relations: Reading Race, Gender, and Class* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

hand and the nonhuman environment on the other.[36] While each of the articles in this special issue approach international security from a feminist perspective, each of their feminist perspectives differ.

Still, feminists looking at global politics share a normative and empirical concern that the international system is gender-hierarchical. Gender hierarchy is seen as a normative problem, which can be revealed and analyzed through scholarly evaluation. This tenet of feminist approaches to IR (and specifically international security) has been the source of debates between feminists and those who argue that it is possible to study gender without feminism (and therefore without an understanding of gender hierarchy as a normative problem).

For example, Charli Carpenter has argued for the value of studying gender in international relations from a nonfeminist standpoint. Carpenter's interest in such an endeavor grew out of her recognition that, while critical feminist IR continued to grow as a subfield, "mainstream" IR remains largely silent about gender.[37] She argues that this disparity can be explained by a discipline-wide perception that gender studies in IR is largely synonymous with feminist IR.[38] Carpenter contends that this is a misperception that deprives conventional IR of observations about gender that do not stem from feminist insights.[39] In the alternative, Carpenter argues that nonfeminists who study gender would undertake insightful studies that feminists would miss because they are critical of the positivist methodologies necessary to obtain meaningful results.

Scholars who take an explicitly feminist approach to studying IR contend that Carpenter has misidentified the problem: it is not (only) the methods of "mainstream" scholarship that feminist IR scholarship problematizes; it is the incompleteness of its substantive analysis. It is not the incorporation of gender as a variable in "mainstream" IR that feminist work critiques; it is that many "mainstream" scholars who use gender as a variable do so with what feminists argue is an insufficient understanding of the meanings and implications of gender in global politics. Too many scholars who use gender as a variable use it as a proxy for women (or men), failing to take account of the complexity of the levels and ways that gender operates in global politics.

Marysia Zalewski explains that "the driving force of feminism is its attention to gender and not simply to women. To be sure, for many feminists the concern about the injustices done to women because of their sex is

[36] See Maria Mies and Vandana Shiva, *Ecofeminism* (London: Zed Books, 1993); and Karen Warren, ed. *Ecofeminism: Women, Culture, Nature* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997).

[37] R. Charli Carpenter, "Gender Theories in World Politics: Contributions of a Nonfeminist Standpoint?" *International Studies Review* 4, no. 1 (Spring 2002): 153–65, 153.

[38] Ibid., 155.

[39] Ibid.

paramount, but the concept, nature and practice of gender are key."[40] Helen Kinsella is concerned that scholars approaching gender from a nonfeminist standpoint "necessarily presuppose that gender is not already constructed."[41] Scholars looking through gender lenses "ask what assumptions about gender (and race, class, nationality, and sexuality) are necessary to make particular statements, policies, and actions meaningful."[42] In other words, gender is not a variable that can be measured as a "yes" or "no" (or "male" or "female" question), but as a more complicated symbolic and cultural construction.[43]

The difference between "feminist IR" and "nonfeminist studies of gender" can be seen in the example of the debate between feminist scholars and Charli Carpenter on the nature and manifestations of the noncombatant immunity principle.[44] For example, Carpenter observes the (repeated and almost exclusive) use of women and children to represent civilians in the donor-seeking literature of transnational advocates for the civilian immunity principle.[45] Feminist scholars have not focused their criticisms on the observational content of those results or the method with which they were collected. Instead, feminists have argued that analyzing those observations without an understanding of gender subordination produces an incorrect understanding of what is actually going on.[46] Carpenter concludes that these representations mean that transnational advocacy networks (and other purveyors of aid to civilians) protect women while neglecting men.[47] Feminists challenge this conclusion, arguing that

[40] Marysia Zalewski, "Well, What is the Feminist Perspective on Bosnia?" *International Affairs* 71, no. 2 (April 1995): 339–56.

[41] Helen Kinsella, "For a Careful Reading: The Conservativism of Gender Constructivism," *International Studies Review* 5, no. 2 (June 2003): 287–302.

[42] Wilcox, "Gendering the Cult of the Offensive."

[43] Feminists have argued that Carpenter's approach to studying "gender from a non-feminist perspective" relies on failing to interrogate the naturalness of sex, making it fundamentally at odds with feminist approaches whose work is built on a critique of the assumed immutability of the male/female dichotomy. Lauren Wilcox makes this argument most articulately in a yet-unpublished manuscript, "What Difference Gender Makes: Ontologies of Gender and Dualism in IR."

[44] R. Charli Carpenter, "Women, Children, and Other Vulnerable Groups: Gender, Strategic Frames, and the Protection of Civilians as a Transnational Issue," *International Studies Quarterly* 49, no. 2 (June 2005): 295–355; R. Charli Carpenter, *Innocent Women and Children: Gender, Norms, and the Protection of Civilians* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); Laura Sjoberg, "The Gendered Realities of the Immunity Principle"; Helen Kinsella, "Securing the Civilian: Sex and Gender in the Laws of War," in *Power in Global Governance*, eds., Michael Barnett and Raymond Duvall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 249–72; and Lauren Wilcox, "What Difference Gender Makes."

[45] Carpenter, "Women, Children, and Other Vulnerable Groups."

[46] Marysia Zalewski explains the problem as an issue of not paying attention to existing theorizing, asserting that "to suggest that one might make scholarly inquiries about woman or man through gender that do not engage the abundance of existing theoretical analyses runs the risk of saying nothing at all." Zalewski's concern is that (when it is not about feminism) entirely ignoring a canon of literature decades in the making is generally a losing method for theoretical development. See Marysia Zalewski, "'Women's Troubles' Again in IR," *International Studies Review* 5, no. 2 (June 2003): 287–302.

[47] Carpenter, "Women, Children, and Other Vulnerable Groups."

> a woman and child on the front of a Red Cross brochure *means something* about gender; it means more than that there is no man in the picture. It means that women are seen as vulnerable, as less than, and as a liability in war. It means that men will fight to protect women. It means that women's viewpoints and women's suffering are incompletely understood. Carpenter successfully recognizes the empirical phenomena of gender essentialism. Without the tools of feminist analysis, however, she is unable to explain either its causes or its effects.[48]

Where Carpenter sees "enabling and legitimizing the targeting of adult civilian men and older boys,"[49] feminists see enabling and legitimizing a social system and a war system based on gender hierarchy.[50] This gender subordination renders the immunity principle ineffective for men, women, and children. In the noncombatant immunity puzzle, feminism adds explanatory power where nonfeminist theories lack deep enough insight, and it provides a moral basis for theoretical reformulations that answer the puzzle's most perplexing questions. As Helen Kinsella explains, "the [non-feminist] scholarship that does engage in analysis of gender and the laws of war focuses primarily on the protection of women within the law rather than the production of women in the law, and, more importantly, the production of the laws of war themselves."[51] It is for these reasons that Terrell Carver characterizes nonfeminist gender studies as "virtually an oxymoron."[52]

In other words, while gender hierarchy is a normative problem, the failure to recognize it presents an empirical problem for IR scholarship. Failing to recognize gender hierarchy makes IR scholarship less descriptively accurate and predictively powerful for its omission of this major force in global politics. In the study of IR, "feminist theories begin with a different perspective and lead to further rethinking. They distinguish 'reality' from the world as *men* know it."[53] Scholars looking through gender lenses "ask what assumptions about gender (and race, class, nationality, and sexuality) are necessary to make particular statements, policies, and actions meaningful."[54] Even though gender representations differ, the patterns of valorizing masculinities over femininities that are reflected and reproduced in genderings in global politics demonstrate the importance of feminist analysis.

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[48] Sjoberg, "The Gendered Reality of the Immunity Principle," 900.

[49] Carpenter, "Women, Children, and Other Vulnerable Groups," 296.

[50] Sjoberg, "The Gendered Realities of the Immunity Principle," 902.

[51] Kinsella, "Securing the Civilian," 289.

[52] Terrell Carver, "Gender/Feminism/IR," *International Studies Review* 5, no. 2 (June 2003): 287–302.

[53] V. Spike Peterson and Jacqui True, "New Times and New Conversations," in *The Man Question in International Relations*, eds., M. Zalewski and J. Parpart (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998). Many feminists critique the implicit naturalness of the categories of male and female that are often used to label both sex and gender. See, for example, V. Spike Peterson, "Sexing Political Identities/Nationalism as Heterosexism," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 1, no. 1 (November 1999): 34–65, 38.

[54] Wilcox, "Gendering the Cult of the Offensive."

EPISTEMOLOGY AND METHOD FOR FEMINIST APPROACHES TO SECURITY

Feminist scholars have argued that "gender matters in what we study, why we study, and how we study global politics."[55] Epistemologically, feminists have long recognized that "whatever knowledge may ostensibly be about, it is always in part about the relationships between the knower and the known."[56] In other words, feminist scholars often see knowing not in terms of the dichotomy between objective knowledge (fact) and subjective knowledge (opinion), but instead relationally—knowledge is necessarily contextual, contingent, and interested.[57] Instead, objective knowledge is only the subjective knowledge of privileged voices disguised as neutral by culturally assumed objectivity, "where the privileged are licensed to think *for* everyone, so long as they do so 'objectively.'"[58] This understanding of the relationship between the knower and the known in feminist thought means that some feminists "are asking questions that could probably not be asked within the epistemological boundaries of positivist social scientific approaches to the discipline."[59]

The feminist recognition of a relationship between the knower and the known means that many if not most feminist scholars see (all) knowledge-building as a political enterprise.[60] Feminist scholars have argued that all IR scholarship has political commitments, even though most of the discipline hides its politics behind claimed objectivity.[61] Feminist scholars, however, emphasize that all knowledge is interested, and express a political

[55] Brooke Ackerly, Maria Stern, and Jacqui True, ed., *Feminist Methodologies for International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 5.

[56] Naomi Scheman, *Engenderings: Constructions of Knowledge, Authority, and Privilege* (New York and London: Routledge, 1993); Sandra Harding, *Is Science Multicultural? Postcolonialisms, Feminisms, and Epistemologies* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998); and Mary Hawkesworth, "Knowers, Knowing, Known: Feminist Theory and Claims of Truth," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 14, no. 3 (Spring 1989): 533–57.

[57] Mary Maynard and June Purvis, ed., *Researching Women's Lives from a Feminist Perspective* (London: Taylor and Francis, 1994); Anne Marie Goetz, "Feminism and the Claim to Know: Contradictions in Feminist Approaches to Women in Development," in *Gender and International Relations*, eds., Rebecca Grant and Kathleen Newland (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1991); and Evelyn Fox Keller, *Reflections on Gender and Science* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985). The idea that knowledge is "interested" comes from Jurgen Habermas, *Knowledge and Human Interests* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1972).

[58] Sjoberg, *Gender, Justice, and the Wars in Iraq*, 39.

[59] J. Ann Tickner, "Feminism Meets International Relations: Some Methodological Issues," in *Feminist Methodologies for International Relations*, 41.

[60] Christine Sylvester, *Feminist International Relations: An Unfinished Journey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 275; and J. Ann Tickner, *Gendering World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

[61] Jill Steans, *Gender in International Relations* (London: Routledge, 1998), 29.

commitment to understanding the world from the points of view of marginalized peoples and actors.[62]

These epistemological understandings have methodological implications for feminist work in IR generally and Security Studies specifically. Feminists in IR are looking not only to understand the international arena but also to highlight its injustices, and to change those injustices. For this reason, feminists have led the way in introducing and applying "hermeneutic, historically contingent, sociological, or ethnically based" and "ethnographic, narrative, or cross-cultural methodologies."[63] The frequent appropriateness of multiple methods to answer feminist questions makes feminist method not an event or a performance but a journey—a journey of critique, revealing, reformulation, and reflexivity.[64] It is substance, not methodological commitments, that dictate the contents of that journey.

Different feminists hold different perspectives on the degree to which feminism is necessarily a methodological and epistemological critique of "mainstream" IR. For example, Mary Caprioli argues that it is possible to "build a bridge among feminist and traditional worldviews" by providing a rationale for the incorporation of feminism into conventional IR using a quantitative approach.[65] On the other hand, others argue that "reason itself is more deeply implicated in our oppression; [therefore] the problem is not one that can be solved by a shift in emphasis . . . the core idea is that a rational stance is itself a stance of oppression or domination, and accepted ideals of reason both reflect and reinforce power relations that advantage white privileged men."[66] Ontological and epistemological concerns influence

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[62] J. Ann Tickner, *Gender and International Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992); see also Sarah Brown, "Feminism, International Theory, and International Relations of Gender Inequality," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 17, no. 3 (December 1988): 461–75. This commitment is inherent in feminisms for two main reasons. First, feminists are critical of the personal/political divide that obscures the suffering of many marginalized people in global politics. See Jean Elshtain, "Reflections on War and Political Discourse: Realism, Just War, and Feminism in a Nuclear Age," *Political Theory* 13, no. 1 (February 1985): 39–57. Instead, Cynthia Enloe explains that the personal is international and the international is personal. See Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990). Second, feminists observe the oppression of women, and thus have a concept of the material and ideational properties of subjugation which, if not universal in quantity/quality, can and should inspire empathy. See Fiona Robinson, *Globalizing Care: Ethics, Feminist Theory, and International Relations* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999), 31; and Marianne H. Marchand and Anne Sisson Runyan, ed., *Gender and Global Restructuring: Sightings, Sites, and Resistances* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000).

[63] J. Ann Tickner, "Continuing the Conversation," *International Studies Quarterly* 42, no. 3 (September 1998): 205–10; and Tickner, "Feminism Meets International Relations."

[64] Steans, *Gender and International Relations*; Sjoberg, *Gender, Justice, and the Wars in Iraq*; and J. Ann Tickner, "What is Your Research Program? Some Feminist Answers to International Relations Methodological Questions," *International Studies Quarterly* 49, no. 1 (March 2005): 1–27.

[65] Mary Hawkesworth, "Feminist IR Theory and Quantitative Methodology: A Critical Analysis," *International Studies Review* 6, no. 2 (June 2004): 253–69.

[66] Sally Haslanger, "On Being Objective and Objectified," in *A Mind of One's Own: Feminist Articles in Reason and Objectivity*, eds., Louis M. Anthony and Charlotte Witt (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2002).

different feminist theorists (and different feminist projects) in different ways. What feminist projects share is a self-reflexivity about ideas and methods based on observations of gender inequalities not only in the real world of global politics, but also in the communities that study that world and the methods they use to do so.

Though some scholars view feminist IR as methodologically limited, Brooke Ackerly, Maria Stern, and Jacqui True argue that "what makes scholarship . . . feminist is the research question and the theoretical methodology and not the tool or particular method used."[67] Feminist research finds tools "for moving beyond the knowledge frameworks that construct international relations without attention to gender."[68] These tools are means to "making the invisible visible, bringing women's lives to the center, rendering the trivial important, putting the spotlight on women as competent actors, and understanding women as subjects rather than the objects of men."[69] In this way, including gender as a central area of analysis "transforms knowledge in ways that go beyond adding women" to critiquing, complicating, and improving Security Studies.[70]

Including gender as a central category of analysis means characterizing it as both constitutive of and a causal factor in international politics. It is useful to look to the work of Alexander Wendt for a review of this distinction.[71] Wendt explains that "causal theories answer questions of the form 'why?' . . . 'why did the Protestant Reformation occur?' 'Why did Gorbachev move to end the Cold War?"'[72] In response to these questions, "in saying that 'X causes Y,' we assume three things: 1) that X and Y exist independent of each other, 2) that X precedes Y in time, and 3) that but for X, Y would not have occurred."[73] On the other hand, "constitutive theories have a different objective, which is to account for the properties of things by reference to the structures in virtue of which they exist . . . . Their goal is to show how the properties of the system are constituted."[74] As such, constitutive questions usually take the form of "how-possible?" or "what?" . . . . "what we seek in asking these questions is insight into what it is that instantiates some phenomenon, not why that phenomenon comes about."[75]

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[67] Ackerly, Stern, and True, *Feminist Methodologies*, 5.

[68] Tickner, "You Just Don't Understand," 621.

[69] Shulamit Reinharz, *Feminist Methods in Social Research* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 248.

[70] Tickner, "You Just Don't Understand," 621.

[71] Alexander Wendt, "On Constitution and Causation in International Relations," *Review of International Studies* 24, no. 1 (January 1998), 101–22.

[72] Ibid., 104.

[73] Ibid., 105.

[74] Ibid., 105. As such, Wendt argues, "the answers to constitutive questions must support a counterfactual claim of necessity, namely that in the absence of the structures to which we are appealing the properties in question would not exist." Ibid., 105–106. Still, the counterfactual proof for constitutive claims is different than that for causal claims, it is "conceptual or logical, not causal or natural." Ibid., 106.

[75] Ibid., 105.

In this issue, Megan MacKenzie's "Securitization and Desecuritization: Female Soldiers and the Reconstruction of Women in Post-Conflict Sierra Leone" demonstrates a causal relationship between the desecuritization of former female combatants and the inefficacy of the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) process in Sierra Leone. Sandra McEvoy's article, "Loyalist Women Paramilitaries in Northern Ireland: Beginning a Feminist Conversation about Conflict Resolution," shows that including Loyalist combatant women in the negotiation of various agreements (or, as her interviewees characterize them, "disagreements") could have had serious implications not only for the content of those agreements but also for the success of negotiated cease-fires between belligerent groups. In "Peacebuilding Through a Gender Lens and the Challenges of Implementation in Rwanda and Côte d'Ivoire," Heidi Hudson contends that an African feminist consciousness in including women in peacebuilding could make those processes more efficient. Despite their being about gender, many of the claims in this special issue are the sort of claims (causal) backed up by the sort of evidence (case studies and interviews) that frequent the pages of this and other security journals.

On the other hand, Brigit Locher and Elisabeth Prugl hold up Cynthia Enloe's work on gender and militarism as an example of constitutive feminist argumentation.[76] Enloe "claims that relationships between governments depend on the construction and reconstruction of gender and that such relations produce certain notions of femininity and masculinity. Gender in her work emerges as constitutive of international relations and vice versa."[77] In the debate about the noncombatant immunity principle, feminists argue that gender constitutes the noncombatant immunity principle, as opposed to Charli Carpenter's characterization of gender as an intervening causal variable. Jennifer Lobasz's article in this special issue, "Beyond Border Security: Feminist Approaches to Human Trafficking," shows that gender constitutes the concept of "human trafficking" because prevalent understandings of human trafficking "(1) discount women's agency, (2) establish a [gendered] standard for victimization that most trafficked persons cannot meet, and (3) unjustly prioritize the sexual traffic of white women over the traffic of women and men of all races who are trafficked for purposes including, but not exclusive to, the sex trade." Lauren Wilcox's "Gendering the Cult of the Offensive" also makes a constitutive claim, arguing that gender constitutes potential belligerents' perceptions of the offense-defense balance, which are shaped not by quantitative or qualitative military advantage, but instead by gendered perceptions of technology, gendered nationalism, and the "protection racket."

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[76] Birgit Locher and Elisabeth Prugl, "Feminism and Constructivism: Worlds Apart or Sharing the Middle Ground?" *International Studies Quarterly* 45, no. 1: (March 2001): 111–29.

[77] Ibid., 116.

While some of the articles in this volume focus on causal claims and others on constitutive claims, together they demonstrate that constitution and causation are not distinct and separable categories. The constitutive claims in this and other feminist theorizing have causal implications: determining the nature of the perceived offense balance, or the publically consumed content of human trafficking, or the noncombatant immunity principle, has implications for how those phenomena influence and are influenced by global politics. Likewise, many of the causal claims in this and other feminist theorizing have constitutive implications or rely on constitutive arguments. For example, Sandra McEvoy's assertion in this issue that the peace processes in Northern Ireland would be substantively improved by the inclusion of women combatants is a cause and effect argument, but it is reliant on evidence about the constitution of what a combatant is and what a woman is in the context of that conflict and more generally.

SEEING GENDER IN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Though, as noted above, conversations between feminists who study security and the field of Security Studies have been limited, feminist scholars have developed important and sophisticated analyses of many key issues in international security. Based on this literature, and looking ahead to feminist conversations with the "mainstream," this section discusses some of the contributions of feminist Security Studies and then lays out four of the foundational arguments of feminist theories of international security.

Feminists have analyzed traditional concepts and theories in Security Studies. In doing so, they have demonstrated the gender bias in security's core concepts, such as the state, violence, war, peace, and even security itself, urging redefinition in light of that bias.[78] For example, Jacqui True has pointed out that the state is constructed on the dual gendered dichotomies of inside/outside and public/private.[79] Women's lives and gender subordination are trapped in the inside, private dimension of that dichotomy, where abuse is invisible.[80] From a feminist perspective, the state can be seen as a misleading construction that purports to protect its citizens but often perpetuates the subordination of women.[81] A gender-based analysis, then, questions the unitary nature of state security by arguing that secure states often only achieve security by sacrificing the security of some of their citizens, namely,

[78] Tickner, *Gendering World Politics*; and Peterson, *Gendered States*; and J. J. Pettman, *Worlding Women: A Feminist International Politics* (London: Routledge, 1996).

[79] Jacqui True, "Feminism," in *Theories of International Relations*, eds., Scott Burchill and Andrew Linklater (London: Macmillian, 1996), 229–30.

[80] See also Susan B. Boyd, ed. *Challenging the Public/Private Divide* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997).

[81] True, "Feminism." See also John Hoffman, *Gender and Sovereignty: Feminism, the State, and International Relations* (London: MacMillan, 2001).

women.[82] In place of the focus on state security, feminists have suggested an approach to security that begins its analysis at the margins of social and political life.[83]

Feminist scholars have also gained empirical and theoretical insights from analyzing the various roles of women and gender in conflict and conflict resolution. Feminists have found gender-based language and assumptions at the foundation of debates about nuclear strategy,[84] the noncombatant immunity principle,[85] peacekeeping,[86] and various aspects of militarization and soldiering.[87] For example, Galia Golan's work on the gendered nature of Israeli militarization demonstrates the crucial role that gender plays in security politics and policy.[88] Golan notes that, given the "prolonged armed conflict and chronic absence of peace" in Israel, "the military as an institution plays a central role" in society.[89] She notes that, despite the impression that Israeli society is more egalitarian because both women and men are subject to compulsory services, "this central and socializing institution . . . is the quintessence of a patriarchal institution, reinforcing and perpetuating the stereotypical role of women as subordinate."[90] Golan points out that, in the Israeli military, women are barred from combat positions.[91] Given that "status in the army is determined by one's relationship to combat," and status in the army is linked to status in Israeli society more generally, women's inequality in the military both entrenches inequality in society more generally and results in the devaluation of peaceful policies in Israeli politics.[92] Golan demonstrates not only that Israeli militarization is gendered, but also that the gendering of Israeli militarization affects choices of security policies.

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[82] Tickner, *Gendering World Politics*, 51; and Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation* (London: Sage, 1997).

[83] Ackerly, Stern, and True, *Feminist Methodologies for International Relations*; Christine Sylvester, *Feminist Theory and International Relations in a Postmodern Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); and Tickner, *Gender in International Relations*.

[84] Carol Cohn, "Sex and Death in the World of Rational Defense Intellectuals," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 12, no. 4 (Summer 1987): 687–718.

[85] Sjoberg, *Gender, Justice, and the Wars in Iraq*.

[86] Sandra Whitworth, *Men, Militarism, and Peacekeeping* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004).

[87] For example Cynthia Enloe, *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000).

[88] Galia Golan, "Militarization and Gender: The Israeli Experience," *Women's Studies International Forum* 20, no. 5/6 (September-December 1997): 581–86. For in-depth coverage of the gendered dimensions of the Israel/Palestine conflict, see Simona Sharoni, *Gender and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: The Politics of Women's Resistance* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1994).

[89] Golan, "Militarization and Gender," 581.

[90] Ibid.

[91] Ibid., 582. Additionally, it is easier for women to get an exemption from service, women serve far less time, women complete a shorter basic training, and women do virtually no reserve duty (while men are obligated to the reserves for thirty years). The result is that even this military, which conscripts women, is male-dominated, both in absolute numbers and in terms of positions of power. Ibid., 583.

[92] Ibid., 585–86.

In addition to critiquing concepts traditionally employed in the study of security, gender-based perspectives have also uncovered new empirical knowledge about sexual violence in war and gendered participation in armed conflict.[93] For example, feminist scholars have pointed out that rape is more prevalent in times of war than in times of peace.[94] In addition to pointing out the serious threat to women's security posed by wartime rape,[95] feminists have demonstrated that rape is institutionalized in war, as recreational and as a weapon.[96] For these reasons, feminist scholars have pushed wartime rape onto the agenda of Security Studies, arguing that "wartime rape is . . . a collective security problem. Rape happens, not as a question of thoughtlessness, provocative or unfortunate behavior, but as a question of national warfare."[97]

Feminist theorists have contributed to the field of Security Studies through analyses and reformulations of the traditional contents of Security Studies, explorations of the roles that women and gender play in combat and combat resolution, and bringing attention to new or neglected subjects revealed by taking gender seriously. This special issue aims to consolidate and build on these gains. In order to begin that process, I will lay out some of the common tenets of work in feminist Security Studies.

The first common tenet is a broad understanding of what counts as a security issue, and to whom the concept of security should be applied. Feminist approaches to security define security broadly in multidimensional or multilevel terms. In this view, security threats include not only war and international violence, but also domestic violence, rape, poverty, gender subordination, and ecological destruction.[98] Feminist scholars not only broaden what is meant by security but also who merits security. Fueled by the recognition that secure states often contain insecure women, feminists analyze the security of individuals and communities as well as of states and international organizations. Feminist studies of international security have demonstrated how the security of individuals is related to national and international politics, as well as how international politics impacts the security of individuals at the local level. Feminists have argued that "the personal is international

[93] See for example, Card, "Rape as a Weapon of War," 5; Anne Barstow, ed. *War's Dirty Secret: Rape, Prostitution, and Other Crimes Against Women* (Cleveland, OH: Pilgrim Press, 2000); Caroline O. N. Moser and Fiona C. Clark, ed.,*Victims, Perpetrators, or Actors? Gender, Armed Conflict, and Political Violence* (New York: Zed Books, 2001); and Cynthia Enloe, *The Morning After: Sexual Politics at the End of the Cold War* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993).

[94] Enloe, *The Morning After*; and Steans,*Gender and International Relations*.

[95] Lene Hansen, "Gender, Nation, Rape: Bosnia and the Construction of Security," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 3, no. 1 (April 2001): 55–75; and Gardam and Charlesworth, "Protection of Women in Armed Conflict."

[96] Peterson and Runyan, *Global Gender Issues*, 127.

[97] Hansen, "Gender, Rape, and Nation," 59.

[98] Tickner, *Gender in International Relations*.

[and] the international is personal."[99] A good example of this argument is Katherine Moon's work on military prostitution in the United States-South Korea security relationship.[100] Moon argues that United States-South Korea negotiations for the maintenance of the United States military presence in South Korea have several times turned on the United States' demands that the South Korean government regulate prostitution in camp towns near United States military installations; specifically, that the South Korean government decrease levels of venereal disease among prostitutes in the 1970s.[101] Moon demonstrates that individual women's bodies and behaviors impacted the relationship between the United States and South Korea. Further, Moon demonstrates that the presence of bases created a demand for a prostitution industry servicing (almost exclusively) soldiers, and that the "clean-up" rules negotiated by the United States and implemented by the South Koreans created classes of prostitutes within those camp-towns and left many women even more vulnerable to the demands of pimps and customers.[102] In this way, Moon demonstrates that, not only is the personal international, but the international is personal.

The second common theme in feminist Security Studies is an understanding of the gendered nature of the values prized in the realm of international security. If "masculinism is the ideology that justifies and naturalizes gender hierarchy by not questioning the elevation of ways of being and knowing associated with men and masculinity over those associated with women and femininity,"[103] then the values socially associated with femininity and masculinity are awarded unequal weight in a competitive social order, perpetuating inequality in perceived gender difference. Social processes select for values and behaviors that can be associated with an idealized, or hegemonic, masculinity.[104] This selection occurs because traits associated with hegemonic masculinities dominate social relations while other values are subordinated. This cycle is self-sustaining—so long as masculinity appears as a unitary concept, dichotomous thinking about gender continues to pervade social life.[105] This dichotomous thinking about gender influences how scholars and policy makers frame and interpret issues of international security.

A third common theme for feminist Security Studies is the broad and diverse role that feminist scholars see gender playing in the theory and

[99] Enloe, *Maneuvers*.

[100] Katherine Moon, *Sex Among Allies: Militarized Prostitution in* US*-South Korea Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997).

[101] Ibid., 113.

[102] Ibid., 190.

[103] Charlotte Hooper, "Masculinist Practices and Gender Politics: The Operation of Multiple Masculinities in International Relations," in *The 'Man' Question*, 31.

[104] Hooper, *Manly States*; and Connell, *Masculinities*.

[105] Hooper, *Manly States*, 48.

practice of international security. In each of these articles, gender matters in the theory and practice of international security in three main ways: it is necessary, conceptually, for understanding international security, it is important in analyzing causes and predicting outcomes, and it is essential to thinking about solutions and promoting positive change in the security realm. First, gender can be a constitutive category which defines (and is defined by) international actors' understandings of their security as well as those left out of security analyses. For example, Cynthia Enloe makes the point that many of the things that we take for granted—among them security—could not exist in their current form without gender hierarchy. For example, the international political economy is reliant on taking women's unpaid labor for granted (and thus entrenching gender subordination).[106] Similarly, international security practice often relies on the invisibility of women (both as labor and as a casus belli) specifically and gender generally.[107] Second, gender can be a causal variable, which causes (or is caused by) states' security-seeking behavior. For example, feminist scholars have argued that states' foreign policy choices are guided by their identities, which are based on association with characteristics attached to masculinity, manliness, and heterosexism.[108] Finally, feminists' interest in remedying gender subordination could be epistemologically constitutive for the theory and practice of security. For example, if we were to re-envision security as starting from the perspective of individual women's lives, it would change not only what security is, but how it is conceptualized, operationalized, and acted on. The articles in this special issue argue that gender adds something to Security Studies, but that it is also a transformative force in the constitution of security generally and security scholarship specifically.

These observations lead to a final common theme for feminist Security Studies: that the omission of gender from work on international security does not make that work gender-neutral or unproblematic. Instead, feminist work on issues of international security has served to "question the supposed nonexistence of and irrelevance of women in international security politics," interrogate "the extent to which women are secured by state 'protection' in times of war and peace," contest "discourses where women are linked unreflectively with peace," and critique "the assumption that gendered security practices address only women."[109]

[106] See V. Spike Peterson, *A Critical Rewriting of Global Political Economy* (New York: Routledge, 2003); and Catherine Hoskyns and Shirin Rai, "Recasting the Global Political Economy: Counting Women's Unpaid Work," *New Political Economy* 12, no. 3 (September 2007): 297–317.

[107] Enloe, *Maneuvers*.

[108] See Peterson, "Sexing Political Identities"; and Hooper, *Manly States*.

[109] Eric Blanchard, "Gender, International Relations, and the Development of Feminist Security Theory," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 28, no. 4 (Summer 2003): 1,289–1,313, 1,290.

SITUATING FEMINIST APPROACHES IN SECURITY STUDIES

Feminist scholars' claims that research that omits gender is not gender-neutral but gender-biased have often received a strong reaction from IR scholars. Scholars have often responded to feminist critiques of IR generally and international security specifically by arguing that feminist critiques of the gendered logic and/or structure of their theories are the equivalent of shooting the messenger, because "mainstream" analyses reflect the gendered world rather than creating the gendered assumptions themselves. These scholars make the valid point that their work reflects the real world which is "primarily engaged by men, and governed by norms of masculinity" while appearing gender-neutral.[110] A feminist perspective, however, does not argue that IR scholars are wrong to observe a world of gender hierarchy; instead, feminist theorists argue that they are wrong to observe such a world as if those gender hierarchies did not exist.

This debate shapes the relationship between feminist IR and the "mainstream" in IR generally and in Security Studies specifically. The relationship between feminist scholarship and realist/liberal approaches seems at first glance easy enough to understand. Feminist scholarship is explicitly normative, while the "neo-neo" synthesis maintains that objective or apolitical research is still possible.[111] Rationalism sees the purpose of theory as bringing order and meaning to global politics and increasing knowledge through the logical development of empirical hypotheses;[112] feminist scholarship finds this view problematic and continues to challenge the core assumptions, concepts, and ontological presuppositions of the field.[113] Many "mainstream" scholars have come to see women as important variables within existing theories; feminists argue that efforts to integrate women into existing theories and consider them equally with men can only lead to a theoretical cul-de-sac that reinforces gender hierarchy. Feminists do their research by combining bottom-up and top-down explanations in multilevel analysis; realism and liberalism remain (with some exceptions) systemic-level theoretical discussions. Feminists argue that people are worth studying as people in global politics (that all life merits recording);[114] "mainstream" security scholars focus their attention on those powerful actors capable of directly influencing the causal chain of interstate conflict (if they focus on actors at all). Feminists study

[110] Carol Cohn and Sara Ruddick, "A Feminist Ethical Perspective on Weapons of Mass Destruction," in *Ethics and Weapons of Mass Destruction*, eds., Steven Lee and Sohail Hashmi (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002), 3.

[111] See for example, Gary King, Robert Keohane, and Sidney Verba, *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

[112] Robert Keohane, in his 1988 International Studies Association Presidential Address, "International Institutions: Two Approaches," described a divide between "rationalists" and "reflectivists."

[113] Tickner, "Continuing the Conversation."

[114] Cynthia Enloe, "Margins, Silences, and Bottom Rungs," in *International Relations Theory*.

structural as well as direct violence; "mainstream" scholars tend to neglect structural violence.

As a result of these differences, Ann Tickner has pointed out that "the effect [of feminist IR] on the mainstream discipline, particularly in the United States, continues to be marginal."[115] As Spike Peterson explains:

> The scale and complexity of what is at stake may invite disbelief ('the challenge is unintelligible or overstated'), disdain ('this is irrelevant to the 'real' work of international relations'), and/or distrust ('surrendering empirical/evaluative ground is too dangerous'). As long as marginal terrain is seen as incoherent, it is easier to remain—if that is where you begin—at the centre.[116]

Jill Steans echoes this concern, noting that "at best, mainstream scholars have engaged selectively with feminist IR, ignoring or even disparaging the work of scholars who work with unsettled notions of gender subjectivities."[117] Peterson explains that, in "mainstream" IR, "critiques of reason, objectivity, and foundational ontologies are frequently understood as entailing their opposites: irrationality, subjectivity or relativism, and nihilism."[118] Though the feminist project is transformative, the alternatives that it offers are productive rather than destructive for the knowledge-building enterprise.

Still, "mainstream" Security Studies has been reluctant to accept and include gender issues. Stephen Walt has argued that a broader field of Security Studies might not be able to maintain its integrity.[119] Though Walt acknowledged that "nonmilitary phenomena can also threaten states," he argued that the study of security is mostly if not entirely about interstate wars.[120] Other scholars have accepted parts, but not all, of feminist theorizing. For example, in his debate in *International Studies Quarterly* with Ann Tickner, Robert Keohane argued that feminism would be accepted into IR when and only when feminist scholarship came to take on the epistemological and methodological identities of the "mainstream" of the discipline.[121] Jill Steans, on the other hand, worries that "ultimately, the legitimacy of feminist work will only be recognized as a part of 'the discipline' when it is rethought in ways that disturb the existing boundaries of both what we claim to be

[115] Tickner, "You Just Don't Understand," 611.

[116] Peterson, "Transgressing Boundaries," 187.

[117] Jill Steans, "Engaging from the Margins: Feminist Encounters with the Mainstream of International Relations," *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 5, no. 3 (August 2003): 428–54.

[118] Peterson, "Transgressing Boundaries,"187.

[119] Stephen Walt, "The Renaissance of Security Studies," *International Studies Quarterly* 35, no. 2 (June 1991): 213.

[120] Ibid.

[121] Keohane, "International Relations Theory: Contributions of a Feminist Standpoint"; and Robert Keohane, "Beyond Dichotomy: Conversations Between International Relations and Feminist Theory," *International Studies Quarterly* 42, no. 1 (March 1998): 193–98.

relevant in international politics and what we assume to be legitimate ways of constructing knowledge."[122] While critical security theorists Keith Krause and Michael Williams urge openness, arguing that there is "a need for all scholars to consider seriously the issues central to approaches other than their own,"[123] others are content to marginalize feminist approaches to the pages of gender-based journals and the panels of feminist organizations. The question of whether feminist approaches will be accepted into the IR cannon remains unanswered as feminist IR enters its third decade of research and teaching.

To be sure, feminist IR differs from "mainstream" IR in important ways, ontologically, epistemologically, and methodologically. The question of how to define the relationship between the two, given the tendency of the "mainstream" not to engage with feminist concerns, has caused substantial controversy among IR feminists. Some feminists have argued that the project of reconciling with "mainstream" IR is insidious and poses danger to the integrity of feminist theory and feminist theorists.[124] As Sarah Brown explains:

> The danger in attempts to reconcile international relations and feminism is twofold. Most immediately, the danger lies in the uncritical acceptance by feminists of objects, methods, and concepts which presuppose the subordination of women. More abstrusely, it lies in the uncritical acceptance of the very possibility of 'gender equality.'[125]

Many IR feminists today heed Brown's warning, but see it as a caution instead of as a barrier prohibiting conversations between feminist and rationalist approaches to IR.

A second approach feminist scholars have used is to ignore that an IR orthodoxy exists and proceed with their own work as they please. As Judith Squires and Jutta Weldes propose, "scholars are now actively reconstructing IR without reference to what the mainstream asserts rightly belongs inside the discipline. In so doing they show that it is more effective to refuse to engage in disciplinary navel-gazing inspired by positivist epistemological angst."[126] Still, many feminist scholars problematize this approach (which has come to be known in the UK as G/IR (Gender/IR)) for ignoring the disciplinary power-relationships that feminist scholars have revealed over the last two decades to its own detriment. Some have even gone so far as to suggest that

[122] Steans, "Engaging from the Margins," 445.

[123] Keith Krause and Michael C. Williams, "Broadening the Agenda of Security Studies: Politics and Methods," *Mershon International Studies Review* 40, no. 2 (October 1996): 247.

[124] Brown, "Feminism, International Theory."

[125] Ibid., 470.

[126] Judith Squires and Jutta Weldes. "Beyond Being Marginal: Gender and International Relations in Britain," *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 9, no. 2 (May 2007): 185–203, 185.

it functions "to endorse/reproduce conventional heteronormative gendered arrangements in the discipline of IR."[127]

A third way to deal with the distance between feminist IR and IR's "mainstream" is a strategy I will call "constructive engagement." A constructive engagement strategy proposes that feminists, while remaining cognizant of the intellectual risks of engagement and the power relationships in the discipline, talk to (and, when possible, with) "mainstream" IR.[128] An example of the use of this strategy can be seen in the work of Ann Tickner.[129] Tickner, while maintaining that feminist insights should fundamentally transform the ontological, epistemological, and methodological foundations of IR, consistently engages "mainstream" scholars' ideas about the factors that make global politics. In her work, Tickner painstakingly demonstrates how IR scholars would benefit from incorporating a feminist perspective in their research and teaching, in terms of issues of import to them, including increased explanatory leverage and more nuanced conceptual operationalization.[130] Variants of this constructive engagement strategy have brought the writers in this special issue to their articles which talk to (and hopefully spark discussion with) the ("mainstream") field of Security Studies.

If there is an uncertain relationship between IR feminism and the "mainstream" of the discipline, there is more complexity and confusion about how IR feminism relates to other critical approaches in the discipline. Many early readers of this collection of articles have struggled with what is the "value added" of feminist critiques as compared to other critiques of the IR orthodoxy. In other words, in a field that has come to accept some of the insights of critical theorists, why are feminist approaches also necessary?

These questions can be contextualized given feminist theories' entry into the discipline of IR in the late 1980s and early 1990s, associated with the more general "third debate."[131] This debate in IR coincided with the end of the Cold War, as the discipline looked to make sense of the end of the Cold War. In the third debate, "certain scholars began to question

[127] Marysia Zalewski, "Do We Understand Each Other Yet? Troubling Feminist Encounters With(in) International Relations," *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 9, no. 2 (May 2007): 302–12.

[128] Tickner, "Continuing the Conversation," 207. Tickner notes these difficulties, explaining, "in the U.S. at least, where to locate oneself epistemologically or methodologically depends not only on the condition of world politics, the state of knowledge, and the nature of the problem to be investigated, as Keohane claims, but also on deeper issues of disciplinary legitimacy and career risks to which I referred earlier."

[129] For example, Tickner, *Gender in International Relations*; and Tickner, *Gendering World Politics*.

[130] For example, in *Gender in International Relations*, Tickner uses a wealth of examples in chapters on security, political economy, and the environment. This "constructive engagement" strategy (my words, not theirs) was common in early work in feminist IR, including (but not limited to) the work of Spike Peterson, Anne Runyan, Sandra Whitworth, Cynthia Enloe, and Francine D'Amico.

[131] Tickner, "You Just Don't Understand." For extensive discussion of whether or not feminist IR belongs in the "third debate," see Sandra Whitworth, "Gender in the Inter-Paradigm Debate"; and Marianne H. Marchand, "Different Communities/Different Realities/Different Encounters: A Reply to J. Ann Tickner," *International Studies Quarterly* 42, no. 1 (March 1998): 199–204.

both the epistemological and ontological foundations of a field which, in the United States especially, had been dominated by positivist, rationalist, and materialist theories."[132] Many feminists "share the postpositivist commitment to examining the relationship between knowledge and power."[133] As such, feminist approaches have substantially more in common with a number of postpositivist approaches than they do with the "IR orthodoxy" as such.[134] While it is important to note these commonalities, it is equally important to recognize that feminisms still have differences with other approaches that arose during the third debate, and that feminist theory makes an independent and unique contribution to IR and Security Studies.

The major difference between feminist approaches and other critical theoretical approaches is that feminists see gender subordination as constitutive of the global political world. As Ann Tickner and I have noted, "IR postpositivists have been as slow as positivists to introduce gender into their research."[135] For example, as Christine Sylvester points out, the "Critical Approaches to Security in Europe" (CASE) Manifesto published in *Security Dialogue* lists feminist approaches (along with other "hard-core postmodernists") as relevant to critical security, but only in a footnote. In other words, the authors of the Manifesto judged feminist ideas as not worthy of discussion in an article detailing the key tenets of critical approaches to international security.[136] Still, critical theories' failure to embrace feminism does not in itself answer the question of what the intellectual and practical differences are between those approaches and feminist approaches. I will discuss these differences in some detail as corresponds to two theoretical approaches that feminist security work has been compared to: human security approach and Copenhagen School approach.

Feminist theories in IR have often been compared to or understood as part of human security approaches. Human security is a scholarly and policy framework that has its intellectual foundations in the capabilities approach developed by Martha Nussbaum and Amartya Sen.[137] In the 1994 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Report, which launched human security on the international stage, it was defined as "freedom from fear and freedom from want" encompassing seven categories of security: economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community, and

[132] Tickner and Sjoberg, "Feminism," 5.

[133] Ibid., 6.

[134] See Peterson, "Transgressing Boundaries"; and Steans, "Engaging from the Margins."

[135] Tickner and Sjoberg, "Feminism," 6.

[136] C.A.S.E. Collective, "Critical Approaches to Security in Europe: A Networked Manifesto," *Security Dialogue* 37, no. 4 (December 2006): 443–87; and Christine Sylvester, "Anatomy of a Footnote," *Security Dialogue* 38, no. 4 (December 2007): 547–58.

[137] Martha Nussbaum and Amartya Sen, ed., *The Quality of Life* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

political.[138] This approach has substantial commonalities with feminist approaches that pay attention to the safety of people at the margins of global politics. As Ann Tickner notes, these approaches share that "'bottom-up' modes of analysis are crucial for understanding security issues and that emancipatory visions of security must get beyond statist frameworks."[139] This commonality, along with other common theoretical and political goals, makes the two approaches look similar and leads IR scholars familiar with the human security approach to suspect that it subsumes and obliterates the need for feminist theorizing. Still, "feminist approaches differ in that they adopt gender as a central category of analysis for understanding how unequal social structures, particularly gender hierarchies, negatively impact the security of individuals and groups."[140] In other words, feminists critique the human security approach's failure to recognize the humans as gendered.

Feminist work also complicates the referent in a broadened notion of security. Human security theorists advocate focusing on the security needs of individuals. Those who have taken account of gender in a human security framework have focused on the security needs of individuals as they identify themselves with particular groups. Feminist scholars have argued for "a feminist standpoint which takes as its point of departure the conception of security as the human experience in everyday life mediated by a variety of social structures."[141] In other words, a feminist approach to security recognizes human security not as individual security but as social security, based on feminist understandings of human interdependence and relational autonomy.[142] Feminist work "highlights the need to link a normative approach to human security (the human being as the key referent to the human security policy framework) with an interpretive approach (i.e., which human beings are we talking about, in what context, where and to what effect) that recognizes the complexity of the operation of power within and across categories of gender, ethnicity, and generation."[143]

Instead of being subsumed by human security approaches, feminist work in security offers a paradigmatic alternative to human security that retains most of its benefits and avoids many of its pitfalls. The human security

[138] United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), *Human Development Report 1994: New Dimensions of Human Security*, accessed at http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/global/hdr1994/, 19 October 2008.

[139] Tickner, *Gendering World Politics*, 48.

[140] Ibid.

[141] Thanh-Dam Truong, Saskia Wieringa, and Amrita Chhachhi, ed., *Engendering Human Security* (London: Zed Books, 2006), xii.

[142] Tickner, "Hans Morgenthau's Principles"; Christine Sylvester, *Feminist International Relations in a Postmodern Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

[143] Truong, Wieringa, and Chhacchi, *Engendering Human Security*, xxi; Gunhild Hoogensen and Svein Rottem, Gender Identity and the Subject of Security, *Security Dialogue* 35, no. 2 (June 2004): 155–71; and Gunhild Hoogensen and Kirsti Stuvoy, "Gender, Resistance, and Human Security," *Security Dialogue* 37, no. 2 (June 2006): 207–28.

approach has been criticized for being atheoretical,[144] indeterminate,[145] and risking a return to a top-down approach as it tries to identify thresholds for which humans' security receives priority.[146] Feminist theory, on the other hand, provides a theoretical basis for broadening Security Studies inspired by a concern for gender subordination and political marginality. Feminist theory also suggests a counter-hierarchical foundation for developing policy priorities within a broadened notion of security. For example, Jennifer Lobasz's article in this volume, which details feminist approaches to human trafficking, demonstrates that feminist theorizing provides a more complicated and justifiable way to look at trafficking as an issue of individual security, and that it is important, if not crucial, to understand trafficked persons not only as individuals but also as gendered individuals in order to fully grasp both their ordeals and the complexities of trafficking as a phenomenon.

Another critical approach with which feminist approaches have been associated is the Copenhagen School.[147] The Copenhagen School has been identified by its emphasis on the social dimensions of international security. Copenhagen School scholars have criticized traditional understandings of security as "underdeveloped" and "simple-minded,"[148] and argued that scholars who write about security are often not sufficiently aware of its internal contradictions or the degree of interdependence required to understand security.[149] In contrast to traditional security approaches, Copenhagen School scholars argue that security is affected by five sectors: military, political, economic, societal, and environmental,[150] and several levels of analysis including the individual, substate actors, state actors, the international subsystem, and the international system.[151] The claim to fame for the Copenhagen School, however, is the concept of "securitization," which has been characterized as "one of the most innovative, productive, and yet controversial avenues of research in contemporary Security Studies."[152]

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[144] Roland Paris, "Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?" *International Security* 26, no. 2 (Fall 2001): 87–102.

[145] Barry Buzan, "What is Human Security? A Reductionist, Idealistic Notion that Adds Little Analytical Value," *Security Dialogue* 35, no. 3 (September 2004): 369–70.

[146] Truong, Wieringa, and Chhacchi, *Engendering Human Security*, xxv.

[147] This term was coined in Bill McSweeney, "Identity and Security: Buzan and the Copenhagen School," *Review of International Studies* 22, no. 1 (January 1996): 86–93.

[148] Barry Buzan, *People, States, and Fear: The National Security Problem in International Relations* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), 1, 2. This book has been republished (edited, with different subtitles) several times since its original publication. I use this version to chronicle the development of the Copenhagen School.

[149] Ibid., 2.

[150] Ibid., 19.

[151] Barry Buzan, Ole Waever, and Jaap de Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (Boulder Colorado: Lynne Rienner Press, 1998), 5.

[152] Michael C. Williams, "Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and International Politics," *International Studies Quarterly* 47, no. 4 (December 2003): 511–31.

According to the Copenhagen School, security is not a fixed concept and cannot be defined in a static manner. Instead, it is argued that security is constructed by securitizing actors[153] through the "speech act" of naming an issue a security concern. Once a matter has been securitized, it is prioritized above "normal politics," and "extraordinary means" are necessary to address the problem.[154] As a result of this prioritization, securitization "has clear political implications."[155] Recognizing particular events or issues as security concerns heightens their profile and increases the amount of attention given to the issue in terms of policy making, funding, and media attention.

Feminist scholars have embraced the Copenhagen School's interest in broadening what counts as security and whose security matters. Also, like the Copenhagen School, feminists pay attention to the production of security rather than assuming that current security dynamics are somehow natural.[156] Nonetheless, feminists have been critical of the Copenhagen School for its omission of gender as a consideration.[157] Feminists have also critiqued the Copenhagen School for its failure to analyze the power dynamics inherent in the concept of securitization. Lene Hansen expresses concern that the Copenhagen School's epistemological reliance on speech act theory "presupposes the existence of a situation where speech is indeed possible" and neglects those who "are constrained in their ability to speak security and are therefore prevented from being subjects worthy of consideration and protection."[158] Hansen is also concerned that the Copenhagen School pays insufficient attention to the emotional dimensions of security/securitization.[159] Hansen argues

> two elements prevent possible gendered security problems from registering within a Copenhagen School analysis: the focus on speech produces problems in situations where the possibilities of speaking security are constrained, and the conditions for becoming a referent object are such that gender security is almost excluded from qualifying. Hansen suggest

[153] Securitizing actors are defined by Buzan et al. as someone, or a group, who performs the speech act. This could be governments, individuals, military groups, etc.

[154] Barry Buzan and Ole Wæver, *Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security* (London: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

[155] Rita Abrahamson, "Blair's Africa: the Politics of Securitization and Fear," *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 30, no. 1 (January-March 2005): 55–80

[156] See for example, Anna M. Agathangelou and L. H. M. Ling, "The House of IR: From Family Power Politics to the *Poisies* of Worldism," *International Studies Review* 6, no. 4 (December 2004): 21–50.

[157] See Lene Hansen, "The Little Mermaid's Silent Security Dilemma and the Absence of Gender in the Copenhagen School," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 29, no. 2 (June 2000): 285–306; and Hansen, "Gender, Nation, Rape"; and Hoogensen and Rottem, "Gender, Identity, and Security."

[158] Hansen, "The Little Mermaid," 285.

[159] Ibid., 286. Here, Hansen is interested in how securitization is consumed—arguing that emotion is necessary to understand how people come to believe something is a security issue.

> broadening the Copenhagen school's approach to account for not only speech but performativity.[160]

The crucial differences between feminist approaches to security and the Copenhagen School can be found in a broader reading of Hansen's critique. The Copenhagen School should be credited for developing an analysis of security as an endogenous process in global politics. The concept of securitization demonstrates security as authored rather than objective and as constructed rather than omnipresent. Still, the Copenhagen School fails to ask the critical questions that inspired feminist IR's critique of the discipline more generally. If securitization is a process, who does the securitizing? Who is securitized, and who is marginalized? What are the power relations in the process of securitization? Megan MacKenzie's article in this volume is a crucial example of the value added when feminist approaches revise and reconstruct the Copenhagen School's concept of security. MacKenzie shows that a gender-neutral concept of securitization does not show that securitization (and thus prioritization) is a privileged position in local and global politics, often distributed on the basis of gender. Feminist work can use and expand on the Copenhagen School's concept of securitization, but cannot be limited to it or subsumed within it.

SECURITY STUDIES: FEMINIST CONTRIBUTIONS

Much like the traditions of scholarship that have been developing in feminist Security Studies, the articles in this special issue contribute to the field of Security Studies by exploring topics traditionally featured in "mainstream" IR from a feminist perspective, by foregrounding the role of women and gender in conflict and conflict resolution, and by demonstrating the importance of new or previously marginalized topics to Security Studies by taking gender seriously.

The special issue opens with Lauren Wilcox's article, "Gendering the Cult of the Offensive," which explores a topic that has long been of interest to traditional scholars in Security Studies, the offense-defense balance. Wilcox focuses on the claim in offense-defense theory that misperceived offensive dominance has been the cause of numerous international conflicts, including, but not limited to, the First World War. Her essay starts with a question offense-defense theory has not definitively answered: why do states misperceive the dominance of the offense? Wilcox suggests that the roots of these misperceptions can be found in a combination of states' "gendered perceptions of technology, gendered nationalism, and definitions of citizenship

[160] Ibid., 291.

and honor based on the gendered concept of protection."[161] In other words, Wilcox explains that "gender may provide the missing link in explaining the cult of the offensive."[162] Through the analysis of offense-defense theory, Wilcox demonstrates that gender is constitutive of perceptions of military strength. This article shows that a feminist analysis of offense-defense theory is one instance in which gender can add explanatory leverage to "mainstream" security theories and suggest a transformative agenda for the theory and practice of international politics.

The next three articles, by Megan MacKenzie, Sandra McEvoy, and Heidi Hudson, foreground the role of women in conflict and conflict resolution to gain theoretical and empirical insights that address some concerns of "mainstream" security theorists while demonstrating the relevance of new subject matter to the discipline. Megan MacKenzie's article, "Securitization and Desecuritization: Female Soldiers and the Reconstruction of Women in Post-Conflict Sierra Leone," is based on fifty interviews with female former combatants in Sierra Leone. Her analysis focuses on the gendered construction of "soldier" and "victim" in the DDR process in Sierra Leone, based on her interviews and her observation that reintegration agencies are reluctant to acknowledge women who participated in the war as soldiers. Instead, in the language of the Copenhagen School, MacKenzie recognizes that men and masculinity are securitized post-conflict, while women former soldiers are desecuritized. The result is that services focus on the reintegration of men into society as essential for the transition to peace, and women's reintegration, when considered at all, is treated as a social issue. MacKenzie argues that the gendered perceptions of former combatants in Sierra Leone not only cause the DDR process to be less effective for women, but to be less effective more generally. Using this information, MacKenzie critiques the concept of securitization through gendered lenses, arguing that gendered power dictated who was securitized and who was desecuritized (that is, ignored) in the post-conflict reconstruction process in Sierra Leone.

Sandra McEvoy's article, "Loyalist Women Paramilitaries in Northern Ireland: Beginning a Feminist Conversation about Conflict Resolution," challenges traditional conceptions about conflict resolution by foregrounding the experiences and opinions of women combatants. McEvoy argues that the conflict in Northern Ireland remained intractable in part because the peace negotiators' perceptions of the conflict were flawed by their exclusion of the perspectives of Loyalist women combatants. The article reveals the unique perceptions of Loyalist women paramilitaries on the four cross-border agreements between 1974 and 2007, arguing that the inclusion of combatant women in their negotiation and execution would have made

[161] Wilcox, "Gendering the 'Cult of the Offensive"', PG. NO.
[162] Ibid., PG. NO.

these agreements more likely to succeed. McEvoy's analysis demonstrates to conventional accounts of conflict resolution that women should not be left out of the process. This article also points out to feminists that they should not only be asking whether women are involved in peace processes, but also asking which women are invited to the table when women are included. Like the women that MacKenzie interviewed in Sierra Leone, the women that McEvoy interviewed in Northern Ireland commit the double transgression of being involved in conflict and doing so against inherited expectations of women's behavior. Reading these women's experiences, McEvoy argues for a theoretical and practical reformulation of both gender role expectations and conflict resolution processes, in Northern Ireland and beyond.

Heidi Hudson's article, "Peacebuilding Through a Gender Lens and the Challenges of Implementation in Rwanda and Côte d'Ivoire," looks at peacebuilding processes from a different perspective, through the lens of African feminisms with special attention to the cases of Côte d'Ivoire and Rwanda. Building on previous work proposing that "gender mainstreaming" be adopted in peacebuilding processes,[163] Hudson contends that mainstreaming strategies, while important to peacebuilding, needs to take account not only of including women in peace processes, but also of the cultural context in which a conflict occurs. Using examples from several African conflicts, Hudson contends that the success of peacebuilding generally depends on the inclusion of women, and that the success of the inclusion of women depends on the cultural sensitivity of the mainstreaming process, the strength and commitment of local women's movements, and the translation of international legal frameworks to local contexts. Hudson demonstrates that neither peacebuilding nor gender emancipation are cookie-cutter processes, and that both gender and cultural sensitivity could "have substantial payoffs in terms of gender rights . . . [and] could serve as the missing link to lend coherence to peacebuilding processes."[164] Hudson's feminist analysis also shows that post-conflict security requires the interaction of a number of actors, including states, social movements, and individuals (women) who "make various and important contributions to modeling and implementing African peacebuilding processes."[165] Like the other two essays that focus on women's roles in conflict and conflict resolution, Hudson's essay provides both new empirical information and new theoretical insights which both speak to issues that traditional security theorists are interested in (conflict resolution) and introduce new topics to Security Studies

[163] See True, "Gender Mainstreaming in Global Public Policy."

[164] Hudson, "Peacebuilding Through a Gender Lens and the Challenges of Implementation in Rwanda and Côte d'Ivoire," PG. NO.

[165] Ibid., PG. NO.

by taking gender seriously (such as women's movements and indigenous processes).

The last two articles in this special issue focus on the introduction and framing of issues traditionally excluded from the canon of Security Studies literature. Jennifer Lobasz's article, "Beyond Border Security: Feminist Approaches to Human Trafficking," addresses an issue rarely considered by "mainstream" scholars in international security: human trafficking. Lobasz points out that when addressing human trafficking, traditional security approaches "emphasize border security, migration controls, and international law enforcement cooperation."[166] She contends that feminist perspectives reject both the marginalization of human trafficking in traditional security approaches and those approaches' policy priorities in dealing with trafficking. Instead, Lobasz uses feminist theory to argue that trafficking should be a high-priority security issue and that key issues concerning trafficking to be addressed include the security of trafficked persons, the security threats posed by both traffickers and states, and the sexist and racist stereotypes that are used to categorize trafficking victims in the policy world. Lobasz's article demonstrates that trafficking deserves attention in Security Studies and that "mainstream" approaches to trafficking as a security issue can be improved and transformed by the addition of feminist analysis.

This special issue concludes with Nicole Detraz's "Environmental Security and Gender: Necessary Shifts in an Evolving Debate." Detraz argues that gender analysis can shed helpful light on the question of the links between the environment and security. For years scholars in Security Studies have asked if the environment is a security issue, but as Detraz points out, gender has not been incorporated into these debates in a meaningful way. Combining theoretical analysis with two case studies, Detraz uses feminist lenses to demonstrate that not only is the environment a security issue, it is a gendered security issue. In other words, Detraz argues that the framing that security theorists use to deal with the environment (when they deal with the environment) is problematic. This article reformulates the environmental security approach from a feminist perspective, presenting a combination of feminist and environmental security that provides more theoretical leverage than either approach does separately. It demonstrates the relevance of an issue traditionally considered outside the "mainstream" security realm and (much like Lobasz's essay does for human trafficking) proposes a different—and uniquely feminist—way of viewing this new issue of environmental security.

Separately, these essays reformulate "mainstream" approaches to traditional security issues, foreground the role of women in conflict and conflict

[166] Lobasz, "Beyond Border Security," PG. NO.

resolution, and introduce new issues that demonstrate that taking gender seriously is relevant to international security. Together, they show that, conceptually, gender analysis is necessary for understanding international security, important for analyzing causes and predicting outcomes, and essential to thinking about solutions and promoting positive change in the security realm.