FIFTH EDITION

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GLOBAL GENDER POLITICS

Anne Sisson Runyan

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Global Gender Politics

Accessible and student-friendly, *Global Gender Politics* analyzes the gendered divisions of power, labor, and resources that contribute to the global crises of representation, violence, and sustainability. The author emphasizes how hard-won attention to gender and other related inequalities in world affairs is simultaneously being jeopardized by new and old authoritarianisms and depoliticized through reducing gender to a binary and a problem-solving tool in global governance. The author examines gendered insecurities produced by the pursuit of international security and gendered injustices in the global political economy and sees promise in transnational struggles for global justice.

In this new re-titled edition of a foundational contribution to the field of feminist International Relations, Anne Sisson Runyan continues to examine the challenges of placing inequalities and resisting injustices at the center of global politics scholarship and practice through intersectional and transnational feminist lenses. This more streamlined approach includes more illustrations and discussions have been updated to reflect current issues. To provide more support to instructors and readers, *Global Gender Politics* is accompanied by an e-resource, which includes web resources, suggested topics for discussion, and suggested research activities also found in the book.

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Global Gender Politics

Fifth Edition

Anne Sisson Runyan

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

NEW YORK AND LONDON

For my husband, Albert Adrian Kanters, and my sisters everywhere

Contents

4 Gender and Global Security   82

Feminist Approaches to Security 84
Gendered Security 86
Women, Militaries, and Political Violence 89
Men, Militaries, and Gender Violence 96
Gendered Peacemaking, Peacekeeping, and Peace-building 103
(De)Militarizing Feminism 106
Disarming Security 109

5 Gender and Global Political Economy   112

Gendering and Gendered Development Processes 115
Gendering and Gendered Neoliberal Globalization 120
Gendering and Gendered Financialization 128
Gendering and Gendered Climate Change and
  Resource Destruction 132
Toward Resisting Neoliberalism 136

6 Engendering Global Justice   139

Transnational Feminist Politics for Global Justice 141
Conclusion: Toward Engendering Global Justice 155

Illustrations

Acknowledgments

New times have brought a new title, a new publisher, and my single-authorship of this book that began life in the early 1990s as *Global Gender Issues*. In the early days of the rise of feminist International Relations (IR) scholarship, V. Spike Peterson and I embarked on the project of mapping what such inquiry entailed and how it challenged conventional thinking in IR and about world politics. Through four editions that spanned the end of the Cold War, when women appeared virtually absent in state-centric world politics and gender analysis was only nascent in the discipline of IR, to the era of neoliberal global governance, in which women's empowerment became a fulcrum for addressing global problems and feminist IR, which also opened spaces for queer and trans IR, had become well established, we tracked such momentous changes. However, we did so critically, finding that, in fact, the more things change, the more they remain the same, and can even worsen.

The presence of women has substantially increased in many national and international structures, the latter of which have also expanded dramatically in terms of both intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations (IGOs and NGOs), and the advancement of gender equality as key to the advancement of more representative governance, human rights, peacemaking, and sustainable development is a common refrain within IGOs and NGOs. However, as we found through an intersectional feminist lens and this book continues to find through that lens, inequalities have actually widened and deepened among women and among men within and across states, while equality between women and men is far from being achieved. Despite some increased international recognition of the rights of women, workers, ethnic and indigenous peoples, and sexual and gender minorities, some decline in interstate warfare since the twentieth century accompanied by increasing understandings about the relationship between international and gender violence, some amelioration of the most absolute poverty, and some consensus on the costs of climate change, wealth concentration at the top has risen exponentially around the world. This concentration of private wealth has been at the expense of public funding for rights enforcement, social welfare, human security, and environmental protection and, thus, the realization of rhetorical norms forged at the international level by transnational feminist and other social movements seeking greater global justice. The resulting incapacitation of public structures to significantly address widening and deepening inequalities and injustices has paved the way for the rise of what has been called new authoritarianisms, which have joined older ones in both the global North and South.

It is in the moment of the ascendancy of the far-right, particularly in Western democracies, that this book was written. Earlier editions did document the trends leading to this, including signaling that civil society within and across states can always contain regressive elements, made more so and more susceptible to divide-and-conquer narratives in times of economic anxiety. The undermining of not only public systems and services, but also democratic

principles by neoliberalism and imperialist wars in the early twenty-first century was also observed. Still, what we did not wholly anticipate was this particularly virulent development of today. The last edition I alone reworked tracked a time of more progressive popular uprisings, such as the Arab Spring in resistance to authoritarianism and the Occupy movement in resistance to neoliberalism. Although the former has since mostly deteriorated, the latter has taken new forms, which are also more visibly feminist and intersectional, such as the 2017 global Women's March, for the rights of women and peoples in all their diversity that are now subject to considerable roll-backs in a range of national contexts but particularly in the US, which, under Trump, seeks roll-backs in international human rights (and particularly women's reproductive and LGBTQ rights), peacebuilding, and climate change amelioration norms, all of which entail gender agendas to realize them.

One could argue that this very open assault will result in even greater resistances and more widespread activism for global justice. That is the hope of this edition, retitled *Global Gender Politics*, to emphasize an intersectional gender analysis-informed global politics for social justice. This more streamlined edition, now published by Routledge, not only updates the repositioning of women and men (including those who identify as one or the other or neither) in global politics in the context of trends in gender and gendered divisions of power, violence, and labor and resources, but also addresses how crises of representation, insecurity, and sustainability arising from these divisions are being exacerbated by the democratic crisis reflected by the rise of the far-right or the new authoritarianism that has been constituted by neoliberalism in combination with the deep and persistent ideological and structural forces of masculinism, heteronormativity, gender normativity, racism, classism, and neocolonialism that neoliberalism has not excised, and, in many ways, has been built upon. The power of gender, shorthand for the dichotomizing and stratifying moves in thought and action that derive from hierarchical oppositional constructions of sex and gender and operate in other hierarchical oppositional categorizations, remains a conceptual fulcrum of the book. More visuals appear in the book and more suggestions for discussion and activities as well as more resources are included in the book and in the e-resource that accompanies this book, a new innovation for this edition.

The reorganization of and greater explicit attention to feminist IR in relation to other critical and conventional IR in this book is a reflection of my own shift back to teaching in a political science department after leading and teaching in women's, gender, and sexuality departments and programs for many years. I was motivated to do this by the opportunity to be a part of a critical mass of feminists that now make up the Department of Political Science at the University of Cincinnati (UC) and to launch and direct a Political Science doctoral concentration in Feminist Comparative and International Politics there, the first of its kind as far as we know and a testament to decades of struggle to change the study of IR. In addition to teaching graduate courses that contribute to this concentration, I also now teach an online Global Gender Politics course. Members of that course in Spring 2017, including students at UC and at the Future University of Egypt in Cairo with which my department is partnered and where I also lecture on occasion, made suggestions as to how to revise this text. Suggested revisions were also offered by several anonymous faculty reviewers who had used past editions. I could not incorporate all suggestions, but I did what I could and am so grateful for all the insights and feedback of student and faculty reviewers alike. I also am grateful for the assistance of editorial staff at Westview Press who asked me to prepare a fifth edition, helped me to finalize my revision plan, and executed my contract. Once Westview was bought by Taylor & Francis while I was completing the manuscript, editorial staff at Routledge, who I also greatly thank, have assisted me in the final production.

Special thanks go to my graduate research assistants, Crystal Whetstone, Murat Yilmaz, and Sayam Moktan, all doctoral students or candidates in Political Science at UC, who worked with me from Spring through Fall 2017, to update empirical material, develop visuals, add new references and resources, and generally support this effort. They have been a joy to work with on this project, and each are engaging in critical and/or feminist comparative and international politics inquiry in their own work. It is also my privilege at present to serve on the doctoral dissertation committees for Crystal and Murat, from whom I have learned so much.

I am also so gratified that several of my graduate students and colleagues at UC in both Political Science and Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies participated in the fifth annual conference of the *International Feminist Journal of Politics* (*IFJP*), which I, as an associate editor of that journal, organized and hosted at UC in 2016 on the theme of decolonizing knowledges in feminist world politics. This brought my campus and professional communities together, and I am pleased that the work of some of my students and colleagues appear in the March 2018 special issue of that journal arising from the conference, which I guest-edited and to which I contributed some of my current work on the relationship between gender and nuclear colonialism visited on indigenous peoples. My *IFJP* community, which includes members of the Feminist Theory and Gender Studies section and the LGBTQA and Women's caucuses of the International Studies Association, has been integral not only to the advancement of feminist IR, but also to my work and well-being as a scholar, activist, and person. The scholarship this community has generated and the friendships and collaborators I enjoy within it, too numerous to list here, have made this book, its previous permutations, and all of my other past and ongoing work possible. The sabbatical and UC Taft Research Center fellowship that extended it, which were awarded to me with the support of my department, as well as a Fulbright research chair fellowship I recently held in Canada at York University have also enabled me to complete this book in the midst of other projects.

My deepest thanks, as always, go to Spike Peterson. Our work together on past editions is still reflected within this one, and our friendship and mutual support transcends space and time. Should some future editions of this book be desired, I know she joins me in hoping future generations of feminist IR scholars will carry it on for us.

Finally, and as always, I am most grateful to Albert Kanters, my partner in life for over 43 years, to whom this book is dedicated for his consistent and loving support of my work and life throughout. He lost his dear father and last parent as I prepared this, one of many family members and friends we have lost on our journey together. But through thick and thin, we are always there for each other and hope for a world in which all have the support and care of not only loved ones but also a larger world based on social justice and compassion.

Acronyms

1325	United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325
9/11	attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001
AIDS	acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (*see* HIV/AIDS)
BCE	before common era
BPA	Beijing Platform for Action
CEDAW	United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
COP	Conference of the Parties
DAV	Disabled American Veterans
DDR	disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration
DOD	Department of Defense (US)
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ECOSOC	United Nations Economic and Social Council
EPZs	export-processing zones
EU	European Union
F(I or G)PE	feminist international or global political economy
FMF	Feminist Majority Foundation
FSS	feminist security studies
GAD	gender and development
GBV	gender-based violence
GDI	Gender-Related Development Index
GDP	gross domestic product
GEM	Gender Empowerment Measure
GFC	Great Financial Crisis
GI	military, non-civilian serviceperson (*formerly* government issue)
GII	Gender Inequality Index
GJM	global justice movement
GPE	global political economy
HIV/AIDS	human immunodeficiency virus/acquired immunodeficiency syndrome
HR Council	Human Resources Council
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICERD	International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination
ICJ	International Court of Justice
ICTR	International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda

ICTs	information and communications technologies
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia
IDEA	Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IDPs	internally displaced persons
IDWN	International Domestic Workers Network
IFIs	international financial institutions
IFJP	*International Feminist Journal of Politics*
IGLHRC	International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission (now OutRight International)
IGOs	intergovernmental organizations
ILGA	International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, and Intersex Association
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INSS	The Institute for National Security Studies
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
IR	International Relations
IRA	Irish Republican Army
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
ITC	International Trade Center
IUF	International Union of Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco, and Allied Workers' Associations
IWRAW	International Women's Rights Action Watch
LGBT	lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans
LGBTQ	lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, queer
LGBTQIA	lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, queer, intersex, asexual
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals (United Nations)
MPs	members of parliament
MST	military sexual trauma
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCRW	National Council for Research on Women (now part of International Center for Research on Women)
NGOs	nongovernmental organizations
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OSAGI	Office of the Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women (UN)
PMSCs	private military and security companies
PR	proportional representation
PTSD	post-traumatic stress disorder
R&R	rest and recreation
R2P	Responsibility to Protect
RAWA	Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan
SAPs	structural adjustment programs
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SERNAM	Servicio Nacional de la Mujer (National Office for Women's Affairs)
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
SOFAs	Status of Forces Agreements
SOGI	Declaration on Human Rights, Sexual Orientation, and Gender Identity

TFNs	transnational feminist networks
TNCs	transnational corporations
TSNs	transnational social networks
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
UNDAW	United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNDRIP	United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
UNEP	United Nations Environment Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UN-INSTRAW	United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
UN-SWAP	United Nation System-Wide Action Plan
UN Women	United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organization
US	United States (of America)
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WCAR	World Conference Against Racism (UN)
WEDO	Women's Environment and Development Organization
WEF	World Economic Forum
WHO	World Health Organization
WID	women in development
WIIS	Women in International Security
WILPF	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
WPS	Women, Peace, and Security
WSIS	World Summits on the Information Society
WTO	World Trade Organization

1 Introduction: Gender and Global Politics

Why does gender matter in global politics? What difference does it make to view global politics through a gendered lens? What becomes visible when we see "international relations" as interconnected relations of inequality—among genders, races, classes, sexualities, and nationalities—as opposed to simply interactions between and among self-interested states? What are the costs of being inattentive to gendered dynamics in global politics for addressing a myriad of world problems that ultimately affect us all?

In this introductory chapter, an overview is presented of the contemporary relationships between gender and global politics. It begins with a conceptual discussion of gender as a dichotomous power relation and normative ordering power, referred to as the *power of gender*, a *meta-lens* that fosters dichotomization, stratification, and depoliticization in thought and action through the processes of *masculinization* and *feminization*, thereby sustaining global power structures and crises that prevent, militate against, or reverse meaningful advances in social equality and justice. It then addresses why adopting not only a *gender lens*, but more importantly a *gendered lens*, informed by *intersectional* thinking, is important for understanding how the gender interacts with other power relations, such as race, class, sexuality, and nationality (including power relations among nations as well as those based on national origin) to produce both *gender* and *gendered divisions of power*, *violence*, and *labor and resources* in global governance, global security, and global political economy, the principal areas of inquiry in the study of International Relations (IR). These divisions, in turn, keep in place and exacerbate the *crises of representation*, *insecurity*, and *sustainability* in global politics, which are also introduced.

In the remainder of this introductory chapter, how gender politics became more salient in national and international policymaking in recent decades is raised. A host of international institutions have been adopting some understandings produced by gender-centered research in IR that make links between raising the status of women worldwide and addressing global crises, including democratic deficits, armed conflict and other violence, and poverty and environmental degradation. However, as also raised, the deepening of such crises has also led to a backlash not only against international institutions, but also with respect to nascent attention to women's rights with the recent rise of ethnic, economic, and belligerent nationalisms in several parts of the world. This rise of such new authoritarianisms associated with "strong man" politics, as also pointed out, is also a feature of contemporary global gender politics. Thus, a gendered lens is required to better understand these conflicting responses to global crises and the insufficiencies and problematics of both to address them.

With these foundations, the chapter then moves to the central conundrum or dilemma focused on in this text: despite some elevation of gender issues on national and international policymaking agendas that have led to some gains by some women, there have also been

significant setbacks not only to achieving greater social equity and justice for most women and many men, but also with respect to stemming global crises that, in part, result from the gendered nature of global politics and are, in part, producing more virulent gendered global politics. The central argument throughout this text is that this conundrum arises from the superficial ways in which gender has been taken up in national and international policymaking—namely, simply "adding women" for the most part while leaving global crises in place—thus paving the way for more authoritarian responses to these crises, which, among other things, attempt to reassert so-called traditional social hierarchies. This text further contends that this superficial *repositioning of some women and men* in global politics that leaves global crises unabated, which, in turn, breed desires for re-establishing rigid social hierarchies, is rooted in the power of gender. The power of gender is not fundamentally disturbed by mere repositionings of some women and men within gendered divisions of power, violence, and labor and resources present in global governance institutions, global security apparatuses, and global political economy formations. Moreover, inattention to the intersecting nature of these inequalities has resulted in problematic gender equality policymaking. Such policymaking tends to target only women and fails to take into account inequalities among women and among men. It further deflects attention from such interlocking forces as democratic deficits, militarization, and globalization, which, on the one hand, have, minimized equality and social justice efforts at the international and many national levels, and, on the other hand, have led to authoritarian anti-equality responses to global crises that such forces foment.

The chapter ends with a mapping of the text, briefly outlining the subsequent chapters. While throughout the text, it is emphasized that global crises remain unabated in no small measure as a result of the underlying and as yet undisturbed power of gender to order thought and action in dichotomous and hierarchical ways, the text concludes with the ways diverse women and men are resisting the power of gender, gendered divisions, and the global crises that flow from them at local, national, and transnational levels.

Gender as a Power Relation, the Power of Gender, and a Gender Lens

Gender "is not a synonym for women" (Carver 1996). Rather, it generally refers to the socially learned behaviors, repeated performances, and idealized expectations that are associated with and distinguish between the proscribed gender roles of masculinity and femininity. As such, it is not the same as and may be wholly unrelated to sex, which is typically defined as the biological and anatomical characteristics that distinguish between women's and men's bodies. Contemporary gender studies, informed by feminist, queer, and trans(gender) thought, find that sex, too, is socially constructed because it is only through the meanings given to and the marshaling of particular biological and anatomical characteristics that sex difference, as an unequivocal binary, is naturalized and enforced, including surgically when children born with ambiguous sexual organs are made into either "girls" or "boys" to sustain the idea that there are only two sexes (Fausto-Sterling 1992, 2000). As a result, gender analysts challenge not only the biologically determinist idea that dualistic gender identities and roles arise from natural sex difference, but also the notion that sex difference itself is natural and dualistic, calling into question even our assumptions about a world made up of only "females" and "males," "girls" and "boys," "men" and "women."

Trans movements and scholars (see, for example, Stryker and Whittle 2006) have particularly countered such assumptions, expressing and arguing for the fluidity and diversity of sex and gender forms and identifications and putting into question "cisgender" norms based on the lining up of sexed bodies with gender identifications and roles. They have also

complicated reference to any singular categories of "women" and "men" in recognition of trans as well as ciswomen and cismen, the former of which experience particular and particularly harsh forms of gender discrimination and violence (Spade 2015). Queer or LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, queer) or sexual minority movements and scholars (see, for example, Peterson 2014; Picq and Thiel 2015; Weber 2016) challenge both gender normativity and heteronormativity, which assume an "essentialized" (natural, universal) binary of sex difference (male and female only), privilege exclusively heterosexual desire (for the "opposite" sex), and maintain that the only natural and hence appropriate or respectable expressions of desire, intimacy, sexual identity, marriage, and family formation are heterosexual. The rigid gender dichotomy presumed in both ideologies fosters the demonization and even criminalization of non-gender normative identities and non-heterosexual relations Thus, the study of gender is as much about the socially constructed and normative categories of "men" and masculinity as it is about the socially constructed and normative categories of "women" and femininity and the heteronormativity that attends such gender normativity.[1]

But gender is also not confined to a "set of ideas" that divide humans up into socially constructed, binary, and gender- and hetero-normative categories of male and female, masculine and feminine, heterosexual and non-heterosexual, but is "more broadly, a way of categorizing, ordering, and symbolizing power" (Cohn 2013: 3). As such, it is a "structural power relation" which "organizes access to resources, rights, responsibilities, authority and life options" (Cohn 2013: 5). Indeed, without attending to the *structural power relation of gender*, we "gravely underestimate both the amount and the kinds of power it has taken to create and to perpetuate the international political system we are living in today" (Enloe 2014: 9). The rise of feminist perspectives in IR (which are addressed in the next chapter) brought about the investigation of gender as a significant power relation in global politics by documenting the institutionalization of gender difference as a major underpinning of structural inequalities in much of the world. Through a complex interaction of identification processes, symbolic and material systems, and social institutions (explored more in-depth in subsequent chapters), gender differences are produced—typically in the form of a *dichotomy* that not only opposes masculinity to femininity but also translates these oppositional differences into *gender hierarchy*, the privileging of traits and activities defined as masculine over those defined as feminine. A *gender lens* (explored more in the next chapter) reveals the political nature of gender as a system of difference construction, hierarchical dichotomy production, and norms enforcement that constitutes virtually all contemporary societies. Gender is about power, and power is gendered. How power operates in this way starts to become visible in an examination of the relationship between masculinity and femininity.

Although the specific traits that mark gender-appropriate behavior vary cross-culturally, they constitute systems of politically significant structural power in the following interacting ways. First, males are expected to conform to models of masculinity (that are privileged) and females to models of femininity (which are subordinated). There are multiple models of masculinity within cultures, but one typically has hegemonic status as the most valued and esteemed model, and it is associated with elite (class, race, and culturally privileged) males. Within particular cultures, these expectations are taken very seriously because they are considered fundamental to who we are, how we are perceived by others, and what actions are appropriate. In this sense, gender ordering is inextricable from social ordering of power, authority, work, leisure, and pleasure.

Second, because masculine activities are more highly valued or privileged than are feminine activities in most of the world most of the time, the identities and activities associated with men and women are typically unequal. Thus, the social construction of gender is actually a

system of power that not only divides the world into "men" and "women" and masculine and feminine, but also typically places some men and masculinity above most women and femininity. Consider, for example, how consistently institutions and practices that are male-dominated and/or representative of hegemonically masculine traits and style (politics, making money) are valued more highly and considered more important than institutions and practices associated with femininity (families, caring labor). This elevation of what are perceived as masculine traits and activities over those perceived as feminine is a central feature of the ideology or system of belief of *masculinism*.

Third, because the dichotomy of masculine and feminine constructs them as polarized and mutually exclusive, when we favor or privilege what is associated with masculinity, we do so at the expense of what is associated with femininity. Politics, as conventionally defined, is about differential access to power—about who gets what and how. Therefore, the privileging of masculinity is political insofar as relations of inequality, manifested in this case as gender inequality, represent men's and women's unequal access to power, authority, and resources.

Like other social hierarchies, gender inequality is maintained by various means, ranging from psychological mechanisms (engaging in sexist humor, blaming the victim, internalizing oppressive stereotypes), sociocultural practices (objectifying women, creating "chilly climates" for women's advancement, harassing women sexually, trivializing women's concerns), structural discrimination (denial of equal rights, job segregation, marginalization of reproductive health issues), to direct violence (domestic battering, rape, femicide, or the systematic murder of women). Also, like many social hierarchies, gender inequality is "justified" by focusing on physical differences and exaggerating their significance as determinants of what are in fact socially constructed, learned behaviors. Thus, Arthur Brittan has argued that by denying the social construction of gender, masculinism serves to justify and "naturalize" (depoliticize) male domination because

> it takes for granted that there is a fundamental difference between men and women, it assumes that heterosexuality is normal, it accepts without question the sexual division of labor, and it sanctions the political and dominant role of men in the public and private spheres.
>
> (Brittan 1989: 4)

Like the abstract concepts of family, race, and nation, gender "in the real" sense is always inflected by such dimensions as race/ethnicity and class, which vary depending on culture and context. What does not appear to vary is the *power of gender* to conceptually and structurally organize not only gender identities and sexual practices, but also virtually all aspects of social life in all cultures. Indeed, a gender lens reveals that masculine and feminine "natures" are not simply inscribed on what are assumed to be distinct male and female bodies, but also are applied to other objects, including things, non-human beings, groups, institutions, and even nations and states. Consider references to a ship or car as "she," invocations of "mother nature," characterizations of opposing sports teams as "wimpy" while one's own is "mighty," notions of "motherlands" and "fatherlands," and categorizations of "strong" and "weak" states. Everyday parlance is rife with gender appellations and metaphors, *masculinizing* and *feminizing* subjects, objects, and even concepts. This constant gendering of natural, artificial, and social worlds through language and, thus, thought, is no trivial matter. It directs us to how the power of gender operates to set up and reinforce dualistic, dichotomous, or either–or thinking *and* to foster hierarchical thinking in which those people and objects assigned masculine qualities are valued or given power over those assigned feminine qualities.

Thus, this approach foregrounds not only how a gender lens reveals the nature and extent of gender and other related inequalities (explored more in this chapter) that structure and are structured by global politics, but also, and most insidiously, how the power of gender operates as a *meta-lens* that orders and constrains thinking and thus social reality and action, thereby serving as a major impediment to addressing inequalities and the global crises (also begun to be explored in this chapter) that stem from, sustain, and even worsen inequalities. On one level, the power of gender upholds masculinist ideology, which refers to individuals, perspectives, practices, and institutions that embody, naturalize, and privilege the traits of masculinity at the expense of feminized and other alternatives and are thus engaged in producing and sustaining relations of gender inequality. On another level, the power of gender works to pervade our everyday naming, speaking, clothing, working, entertainment, and sports, but most importantly, as this text argues, dominant approaches to knowledge production, governance, security, and economic relations. At its deepest level, the power of gender as a meta-lens continually normalizes—and hence depoliticizes—essentialized stereotypes, dichotomized categories, and hierarchical arrangements. In these multiple and overlapping ways, the power of gender is political: it operates pervasively to produce and sustain unequal power relations. Thus, lenses that ignore or obscure how gender operates systemically and structurally are conceptually inadequate for understanding how power works in global politics and politically inadequate for challenging interrelated social injustices and global crises.

Intersectional Gender Analysis

Contemporary gender studies that partake of intersectional analysis, which holds that gender cannot be understood in isolation from other identity categories and relations of inequality, recognize that there are multiple genders, as well as sexes, in part because race/ethnicity, class, sexuality, and other cultural variations shape gender identities and performances. The concept of intersectional analysis emerged from the work of black US feminist theorists in the 1980s and beyond (Crenshaw 1991; Collins 1991) who recognized that the lives and experiences of women of color were underrepresented in dominant Western feminist theories about women's subordination that were based on the experiences of largely white, Western, middle-class, and/or working-class women.

Because the particular characteristics associated with femininity and masculinity vary significantly across cultures, races, classes, and age groups, there are no generic women and men, cis or trans. Our gender identities, loyalties, interests, and opportunities are intersected and crosscut by countless dimensions of "difference," especially those associated with ethnicity/ race, class, national, and sexual identities. "Acting like a man" (or a "woman") means different things to different groups of people (e.g., trans people, heterosexual Catholics, Native Americans, British colonials, agriculturists versus corporate managers, athletes versus orchestra conductors, combat soldiers versus military strategists) and to the same group of people at different points in time (e.g., nineteenth- versus twentieth-century Europeans, colonized versus postcolonial Africans, pre-puberty versus elderly age sets, women during war versus women after war). Men may be characterized as feminine (e.g., Mahatma Gandhi, "flamboyant" gay men) and women as "masculine" (e.g., Margaret Thatcher, "butch" lesbians). Gender is shaped by race (models of masculinity and femininity vary among Africans, Indians, Asians, Europeans), and race is gendered (gender stereotypes shape racial stereotypes of Africans, Indians, Asians, whites). Moreover, because masculinities and femininities vary (by class, race/ethnicity, sexuality, age), some expressions of gender (Hispanic in the US, Muslim in India, Turkana in Kenya) are subordinated to *dominant* constructions of

gender (Anglo, Hindu, Kikuyu). There are thus multiple masculinities that not only vary across cultures but also confer different levels of power. What is referred to as "hegemonic masculinity" (Connell 1987, 1995) is the ideal form of masculinity performed by men with the most power attributes, who not incidentally populate most global power positions. These are typically white, Western, upper-class, straight cismen who have conferred on them the complete range of gender, race, class, national, and sexuality privileges. "Subordinated masculinities" (Connell 1987, 1995) are embodied by those who lack one, some, or all these privileges and are consequently rendered *feminized and thus devalorized* (a process explored more in this chapter) on these scores. Although all femininities are subordinated to all masculinities, it is also the case that some femininities are subordinated more than or differently from others. The idealized image of Western femininity remains associated with Victorian notions of womanhood that celebrated the gentility, passivity, decorativeness, and asexuality imposed on white, middle- to upper-class women, who were the only ones who could enact such standards. Working-class women, women of color, and/or lesbians or trans women are either denied the (dubious) status of feminine because they cannot meet these standards or are feminized in other ways through processes of *racialization* and/or *sexualization*. For example, since the times of slavery and colonization, women of color have been labeled as naturally oversexed, thereby not only being unworthy of (white) male protection but also particularly open to (white) male sexual exploitation.

But beyond such an example, it is important to stress that racialization and sexualization can carry two meanings that are often in tension. They refer in one sense to processes of identifying an individual or group as one or another sexuality (straight, gay, queer) or race (white, black, Asian) by attributing to them particular and often stereotypical ideas and practices associated with that label. In a second sense, the attributing process often emerges from a position of normative privilege and presumed superiority, which effectively stigmatizes (or "others") the objects of attribution, especially by constructing them unidimensionally—as "only" their race, class, or sexuality. It is in this sense that privilege permits whites to be less aware of "having a race" themselves and more often to "racialize" others, even as the social construction of "race" permits some who are excluded from "whiteness" through economic or religious discrimination at one juncture to be "whitened up" by altered alignments at another (southern Europeans, Jews, Irish). Thus, the moniker of "white," particularly when used in this text, can also refer to those who gain the status of "whiteness," regardless of actual skin color, as a result of class and other privileges.

Finally, the specific meanings and values conferred on masculinity and femininity have also changed over time as well as across cultures. For example, Western ideals of "manliness" have undergone historical shifts: from the early Greeks through the feudal period, the emphasis of idealized masculinity was on military heroism and political prowess through male bonding and risk-taking; whereas more modern meanings of masculinity have stressed "competitive individualism, reason, self-control or self-denial, combining respectability as breadwinner and head of household with calculative rationality in public life" (Hooper 1998: 33). This does not mean, however, that older meanings have gone away, as unbridled military toughness and financial risk-taking can come once again to the fore in times of war and economic restructuring. Moreover, not all cultures have associated such conceptions of masculinity with leadership qualities: "queen mothers" in Ghana and "clan mothers" in many Native American societies have been accorded power and leadership roles in these matrilineal contexts on the basis of the feminine quality of regeneration of the people and the land (Okojo 1994: 286; Guerrero 1997: 215). Furthermore, there is some play in gender roles even within patrilineal or patriarchal cultures, given that men are not exclusively leaders and warriors and women are

not exclusively in charge of maintaining the home and caring for children. Cultures also vary in the play allowed to the display of non-conforming gender behavior, such as that not associated with a person's assigned sex; sometimes even "third genders" are revered. Polities also vary in terms of acceptance of and resources available to people who choose to change their assigned sex. Due to the variation in meanings attached to femininity and masculinity, we know that expressions of gender are not "fixed" or predetermined; the particulars of gender are always shaped by context.

Because models of appropriate gender behavior are diverse, we know that femininity and masculinity are not timeless or separable from the contexts in which they are embodied, acted out, and observed. This illustrates how gender rests not on biological sex differences but on *interpretations* or constructions of behavior that are culturally specific, that shift as contexts change, and that typically have little to do with biological differences, which themselves are not fixed as some bodies are born neither "male" nor "female" and gender and sex assignments can be altered. In short, there are multiple genders and gender orderings, but gender is always raced, classed, sexualized, and nationalized, just as race, class, sexuality, and nationality are always gendered. Hence, gender analysis must avoid stereotyping (or reducing people to unfounded caricatures), essentializing (or assuming "natural" and unchanging characteristics), and singling out any one identity as descriptive of a whole person. Instead, gender analysis must adopt intersectional analyses to make sense of our multiple, crosscutting, and differentially valorized identities. However, these variations still rest on concepts of gender differences and do not necessarily disrupt the power of gender as an oppositional dichotomy and as a relation of inequality.

Gendered Power Relations Through a Gendered Lens

Here, intersectional analysis is expanded on to go beyond a gender to a *gendered lens*. First, as has already been argued, women and men, cis and trans, have multiple identities simultaneously, describing themselves or being described not only by gender but also by race, class, sexual, and national markers, such as a black, American, working-class, gay male. Second, these identity markers, however, are not just additive, merely descriptive, or politically or socially neutral. Some parts of our identities carry privilege, and others do not. For example, male privilege, which an individual may be able to exercise in the home over women and children, is offset in other, more public arenas if the individual is a racial minority in the larger demographic and thus subject to racism; a sexual minority within the person's own race or a wider demographic and thus subject to homophobia; and/or not a member of the owning or managerial class and thus subject to classism. Being an American may confer some privileges, such as citizenship rights, including voting rights, that are denied to non-naturalized immigrants (of color or not), but we also know that racism (and classism) can trump those formal citizenship rights, as in the case of black Americans who were routinely kept from voting through Jim Crow laws, poll taxes, and literacy tests long after they won the formal right to vote.

Third, different parts of our identities become politically salient at different times. This casts us into pigeonholes that deny the complexity of our identities, and when some aspects of our identities are given rights, but others are not, it can create a kind of schizophrenia within the individual and divisive mentalities within and between seemingly cohesive social groups. Consider the case of suffrage for African American women. The common notion is that African Americans were given the vote before women in the US, but in fact only African American men were enfranchised first; African American women had to await the

enfranchisement of women generally. Thus, their gender separated them from the category of "African American," which was coded as meaning only black men. At the same time, although many white women suffragists had been abolitionists, their anger over the enfranchisement first of only black men prompted racist arguments as to why white women were better entrusted with the vote to uphold white civilizational values. This effectively discounted black women, who had to organize separately. Thus, because of their race, African American women were also separated from the category of "women," which was coded as meaning only white women (Giddings 1984). A more contemporary example is the idea that a black man cannot also be gay because dominant constructions of black men's sexuality, foisted by whites and internalized by blacks from slavery on, are so tied to images of aggressive heterosexuality.

This leads to a fourth meaning of intersectional analysis—namely, the kind of masculinity or femininity one is assumed to have rests on the meanings given to one's race, class, sexuality, and nationality. For example, Africans brought as slaves to the Americas were defined by their captors as subhuman with largely animal instincts, which included the assumption that animals mate indiscriminately. The idea that slaves, whether men or women, were "oversexed" was a convenient mythology for male slaveholders who could thereby justify their sexual assaults on female slaves while upholding slavery and, later, lynchings in the name of protecting white women from "naturally" sexually predatory black men. As noted earlier, the contemporary terms for this kind of thinking are the gendered racialization and sexualization of groups to render them as "other" or different and less than the groups doing the labeling. As also raised earlier, hegemonic masculinity—currently identified with and exercised by those individuals, groups, cultures, organizations, and states coded with the full privileges of Western-ness, whiteness, wealth, and cismaleness born out of long histories of conquest and colonization—carries the highest representational (or labeling) power to render others "other." If we focus only on a narrow definition of gender or singular notions of masculinity and femininity, we miss the complexity of unjust social orders and fail to see how they are upheld often by pitting subordinated groups against each other, especially when such groups are coded as homogeneous without both crosscutting and conflicting interests within them that hold potential for coalitions and more comprehensive resistance to unjust social (and world political) orders.

Contemporary feminist scholars engage in intersectional analysis to avoid the practice of "essentialism," or the assumption that, for example, all women or all men or all those within a given race or class share the same experiences and interests. Only by recognizing how, for example, some women have benefited by the racial, class, sexual, and national origin oppression of other women, whereas many men subordinated by these very characteristics still exercise gender oppression, can we advance a more comprehensive notion of gender equality that sees it as indivisible from racial, class, and sexual equality and equality among nations. Thus, a sole focus on gender equality can fail to address other sources of inequality (such as race and class discrimination) that disadvantage certain groups of women. At the same time, when such efforts blame only men, and mostly non-elite men, for gender inequality and fail to address forms of discrimination that subordinated men experience (based on class, race, and/or sexuality), then subordinated men may withhold support for gender equality. A narrow focus on gender equality also maintains the power of gender, even as the socioeconomic positionings of some women and men may be somewhat altered, as is addressed more in this chapter.

Another reason to avoid essentialism is also to avoid "universalism," or universal prescriptions for how to achieve comprehensive gender equality. Not only do women not share the

same experiences or interests as a result of their multiple identities derived from their differing social locations in the world, but also the sociopolitical, cultural, and historical contexts in which women live vary significantly, requiring varying strategies for social change. These complex realities have made many feminists skeptical of resorting to "global" solutions just as they have recognized that "global" problems take many and differing "local" forms to which agents of social change must be attentive to create context-specific and context-sensitive solutions that do not backfire (Grewal and Kaplan 1994).

Thus, it is important to attend to the ways in which race, class, sexual, and national power relations intersect with gender power relations to produce multiple and differing subordinated femininities and masculinities, significantly complicating how to address and redress what are, in fact, interrelated inequalities. However, it is also important to recognize how masculinism operates to justify not only gender hierarchies, but also hierarchies of ethnicity/race, class, nation, and sexuality through the process of *feminization* as the central mechanism of the power of gender. Underpinning this claim is the observation that, although structural hierarchies vary by reference to the "differences" emphasized and the disparate modalities of power involved, they typically share a common feature: their denigration of feminized qualities attributed to those who are subordinated (lacking reason, control, etc.). Because the "natural" inferiority of the feminine is so taken for granted, invoking it plays a powerful—though not exhaustive—role in "legitimating" these hierarchies. In a second sense, not only subjects (women and marginalized men) but also concepts, desires, tastes, styles, ways of knowing, cultural expressions (art, music), roles, practices, work, and nature can be feminized. This effectively reduces their legitimacy, status, and value, and fuels stereotypical characterizations that can be deployed to depoliticize unequal valorizations. In both senses, *devalorization through feminization* powerfully normalizes—with the effect of legitimating—the subordination, exploitation of, and various forms of violence against feminized concepts, skills, activities, and persons.

In short, a central argument of this text is that the more an individual or a social category is feminized, the more likely (although not invariably) its categorical difference and devaluation are assumed or presumed to be "explained." This insight contributes to intersectional analysis by enabling us to see how diverse hierarchies are linked and ideologically naturalized by the feminizing of individuals and subordinated social categories. To be clear, however, feminization is only one among a number of normalizing ideologies, nor is gender hierarchy the primary oppression or the most salient or powerful hierarchy in any particular context. As Nira Yuval-Davis notes, "In specific historical situations and in relation to specific people . . . some social divisions . . . are more important than others" (2006: 203). At the same time, some social divisions (e.g., age, gender, ethnicity/race, class) "tend to shape people's lives in most social locations," whereas other divisions (e.g., castes, status as indigenous or refugee persons) profoundly affect those subject to them but "tend to affect fewer people globally" (Yuval-Davis 2006: 203). The objective is not to prioritize the subordination of women or deny the different organizing logics or modalities of power operating in racism, classism, nationalism, and so on. It is, rather, to note that even as social divisions have different bases, they are not historically independent of each other and gender is an important linkage among them, especially with reference to the political project of normalizing, hence depoliticizing, hierarchical (de)valorizations. What distinguishes feminization is the unique extent to which it invokes the deeply embedded, internalized, and naturalized binary of sex difference and gender dichotomy. Despite significant lived experience and intellectual challenges to sex and gender as binaries, most people most of the time take "sex difference" completely for granted—as biologically "given," reproductively necessary, and psychosocially "obvious." As argued earlier, however,

sex difference is a mistakenly essentialized binary that falsely "grounds" gender as a system of difference construction and hierarchical dichotomy production. The naturalization of sex difference naturalizes dichotomized gender differentiations (pervading all social life) and thinking in hierarchical, categorical oppositions more generally. Insofar as these naturalizations and masculinist (not necessarily male) privilege constitute common sense, their ideological power is then "available" (through, for example, cultural assignments of reason, agency, and governing to masculinity and irrationality, dependence, and being governed to femininity) for legitimating other forms of domination (for example, colonialism, racism, classism, and homophobia).

The power of gender produces a common sense of privileging the masculine and devaluing the feminine that is culturally and collectively internalized to such an extent that we are all variously complicit in its reproduction. It is also implicitly and explicitly manipulated to reproduce inequalities as if they were natural and inevitable, thus undercutting critique and resistance. In these ways, devalorizing through feminizing produces even as it obscures vast inequalities of power, authority, and resource distribution.

Examples of how the power of gender, as an ordering system that valorizes or privileges what is deemed masculine and devalorizes or subordinates what is deemed feminine in order to naturalize inequalities and power relations, extends beyond hierarchically dividing women and men to hierarchically dividing peoples, places, cultures, practices, institutions, and even ideas and concepts in the global system can be seen in Table 1.1. The processes of *masculinization as valorization* and *feminization as devalorization* powerfully organize our thinking as to what is valued and thus prioritized and what is not valued and thus denigrated in the study (explored more in Chapter 2) and practice (explored more in Chapters 3, 4, and 5) of global politics. To better see how gender as a power relation combines in complex ways with other structural power relations, such as colonialism, imperialism, militarism, racism, and economic and environmental exploitation, to normalize social, political, and economic divisions, inequalities, and injustices, a *gendered lens* is necessary. The term "gendered" is used in this text, unless otherwise specified, as a shorthand to signal the application of an intersectional analysis to examine interlocking relations of inequality in global politics. The next section provides an overview of how hierarchical gender divisions that foreground the normative masculine–feminine dynamic are intertwined with gender*ed* hierarchical divisions that foreground how gender is never separate from and powerfully informs hierarchical

Table 1.1 Gender and Gendered Divisions of Power, Violence, and Labor, and Resources

Masculinized	Feminized
Men	Women
Normative genders	Non-normative genders
Heteronormative majority	Sexual minorities
White(ned)	Racialized
(Neo)colonizing	(Neo)colonized
Western	Non-Western
Global North	Global South
War	Peace
International	Domestic
States	Families/communities/social movements
Market economy	Care economy

divisions based on race, ethnicity, class, sexuality, nationality, age, ability, and so on. Adopting a gendered lens also more fully reveals how these divisions are productive of and reproduced by global crises, also introduced in the following section.

Gender(ed) Divisions of Power, Violence, Labor, and Resources and Global Crises

This section introduces the core matrices covered in more depth in later chapters through which gender and gendered, or intersectional, power relations operate in the conventional study of IR and in the conduct of *global politics-as-usual*. These matrices—*gender(ed) divisions of power, violence, labor, and resources*—not only constitute and sustain power relations between and among diverse women and men across the globe, but also are productive and reproductive of the interactive global *crises of representation*, *insecurity, and sustainability* that reinforce gendered divisions and power relations and are upheld by the power of gender.

Gender(ed) Divisions of Power and the Crisis of Representation

Masculinism pervades politics. Wendy Brown writes,

> More than any other kind of human activity, politics has historically borne an explicitly masculine identity. It has been more exclusively limited to men than any other realm of endeavor and has been more intensely, self-consciously masculine than most other social practices.
>
> (Brown 1988: 4)

In IR, as in political science generally, power is usually defined as "power over," specifically, the ability to get someone to do what you want. It is usually measured by control of resources, especially those supporting physical coercion. The appropriate analogy might be power understood as tools: if you have them, you can use them to get certain things done if and when you choose, and some have more of these tools than others. This definition assumes measurable capacities, privileges instrumental rationality, and emphasizes separation and competition: those who have power use it (or its threat) to keep others from securing enough to threaten them. The emphasis on material resources and coercive ability deflects attention from the fact that power reckoning is embedded in dominant conceptual orders, value systems, disciplinary practices, and institutional dynamics.

In IR, the concept of "political actor"—the legitimate wielder of society's power—is derived from classical political theory. Common to constructions of "political man"—from Plato and Aristotle to Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau—is the privileging of "man's" capacity for reason. Rationality ostensibly distinguishes man from other animals and explains his pursuit of freedom—from nature and "necessity" as well as from tyranny. Feminist scholarship has exposed how models of human nature presupposed in constructions of political man are not in fact gender-neutral but are *androcentric*, based on exclusively male (especially elite male) experience and perspective. With reference to gender divisions of power, "woman" is excluded conceptually from political power by denying her the rationality that marks "man" as the highest animal. Substantively, women have historically been excluded from political power by states' limiting citizenship to those who perform military duty and/or are property owners. Under these conditions, most women are structurally excluded from formal politics, even though individual women in exceptional circumstances have wielded considerable

political power. Women worldwide have largely won the battle for the vote, though definitions of citizenship continue to limit women's access to public power and women's political power is circumscribed by a variety of indirect means (discussed more in Chapter 3). Most obvious are the continued effects of the dichotomy of public–private that privileges men's productive and "political" activities over women's reproductive and "personal/familial" activities. For example, sovereign man and sovereign states are defined not by connection or relationships but by (masculinist) autonomy in decision-making and putative freedom from interdependence and collective responsibilities. Although Aristotle acknowledged that the public sphere depends upon the (re)production of life's necessities in the private sphere, he denied the interdependence that this implies in articulating political theory.

With reference to gender*ed* divisions of power, "political man" also presupposed "civilizational" status: early Greek texts excluded "barbarians" and Persians; premodern European texts excluded "primitives" and racialized "others" within Europe and outside it as colonization proceeded. Indeed, racialization is historically inextricable from the expansionary and colonizing practices of European elites who deployed Enlightenment ideas ("reason," "science") and new technologies (gunpowder, steam engine) to enhance their power over foreign populations, thus enabling the extraction of resources and labor to fuel European "modernization" and geopolitical dominance. "Eurocentrism" is an ideology of European superiority that arose from this conquest and is often used interchangeably with "Western-centrism" in more recent times. "Orientalism" (Said 1979) is one effect of Eurocentrism (or "Occidentalism"), consigning the "non-West" to the status of cultural, political, economic, and technological backwardness. Such backwardness is assumed, in Eurocentric and Orientalist thinking, to need stimulation from the West to "develop" or "modernize" or "progress." Thus, men and women of various colonized, racialized, and classed groups have been excluded over time from political power by various means: barred on the basis of property claims, denied leadership in their own lands by colonial domination, displaced to other lands and denied power through slavery and debt bondage, and more generally excluded from citizenship rights based on criteria related to birth location, "appropriate" documentation, or "economic" status. Although after World War II resistance to direct colonial rule was largely successful, more indirect "neocolonial" or "neoimperial" rule (sometimes referred to as "recolonization"), in which former colonial or newer superpowers control or seek to control the polities and economies of formerly colonized nations, has continued. Such labels as "developed" versus "developing" countries or the terms "First" and "Third" Worlds attest to the maintenance colonial logics that construct the West (or the North more broadly) as more advanced politically and economically than the rest. Colonial logics also continue through sexualized as well as racialized divisions of power, justifying the invasion or control of "others" by coding the West as uniquely moral and "respectable," as well as racially superior.

Today, most people have a "right" to political participation, but the most powerful decision-makers in global politics are those occupying positions of power in national and international governmental institutions and transnational corporations. Occupants of these positions now include elites from both the global North and the global South, terms used in this text to avoid such problematic and inaccurate references as developed vs. developing countries or First vs. Third Worlds. Such elites, regardless of their geographic origin, continue to reflect privileged statuses, especially of national and economic power, which are derived from being members of the dominant ethnicity/race, class, gender, and sexuality.

Gender divisions of power, which equate being political, acting in the public realm of reason, and exercising power-over with normative masculinity and being apolitical, powerless, and sequestered in the private realm of emotion and necessity with femininity, in

combination with gendered divisions of power, which feminize or devalorize colonized, racialized, classed, and sexualized peoples in today's global politics, are reflective of and instrumental in producing a *crisis of representation*. This entails still gross inequalities in political representation, not only in formal power structures such as states and intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), but also in nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and social movements. While problematic in terms of constraining the political agency and voice of large swaths of people, even in "democracies," without a range of perspectives from varying social locations, solutions proposed by the few (and most privileged) more often benefit them while causing harm to those un- or under-represented. "Democracy" is strategically promoted while its radical promise is undermined by fraudulent elections, political machinations, imperial impositions, and gendered rule. As addressed in greater detail in Chapter 3, "global governance" sounds good and is presumably desirable in some form, but its current form obscures the predominantly nondemocratic and unaccountable forms of international rule.

In these senses, analyzing gendered divisions of power requires greater attention to political, economic, and sociocultural forces below and above the level of the state, thereby revealing the greater complexity of global politics, which cannot be reduced to the actions of state elites and their international organizations or the top-down "problem-solving" orientation they advocate. Such a lens reveals inequalities as a source of conflict in global politics and illuminates divisions within groups—as well as linkages among groups—not only along national lines but also along gender, race, class, sexuality, and culture lines. The corollary of this, addressed in the final chapter, is that many people are resisting global-politics-as-usual by finding common cause with each other across national boundaries and "identity politics" and thus creating a different kind of international relations from that of elite policymakers.

As discussed in Chapter 2, elite power-wielders in global politics (and many who study them) have an interest in stability and, thus, act to maintain current divisions of power and their corollary forms of (nondemocratic) political representation. Non-elites around the world (and most who study them) focus on divisions of power that are created in the name of stability but undermine democracy and accountability and compromise the security of the global majority. People around the world struggling against the tyrannies of sexism, homophobia, racism, classism, militarism, and/or imperialism seek justice, which requires upsetting the status quo. The danger is that even when people struggle for social change, the power of gender typically prevents them from seeing beyond particular interests and oppositional politics to the collective interests of all planetary inhabitants and the complex politics of social justice. It thus (re)produces a crisis of representation by (re)producing global gender and gendered divisions of power.

Gender(ed) Divisions of Violence and the Crisis of Insecurity

Essentializing claims about men's superior strength are favored justifications for gender hierarchy. But such claims are misleading. On the one hand, men's strength varies cross-culturally and within cultures, and a considerable number of women are, in fact, stronger than men. On the other hand, why do we consider men's upper-body muscular strength more significant than women's burden-carrying strength and greater endurance? Decades ago Ashley Montagu undertook a comprehensive review of scientific literature and concluded that "the female is *constitutionally* stronger than the male": she has greater stamina, lives longer, fights disease better, and endures "all sorts of devitalizing conditions better than men: starvation, exposure, fatigue, shock, illness and the like" (Montagu 1974: 61–62).

Historically, the upper-body strength of (some) males was presumably an important factor when the success of hunting large game or the outcome of conflicts depended on this particular strength. Modern technologies, however, have dramatically altered the relationship of muscular strength to success in battle or in the workplace. Yet a cultural preoccupation with power and strength defined in masculine terms endures. With reference to gender divisions of violence, stereotypes of superior male strength are inextricable from hegemonic constructions of masculinity that cultivate male arrogance and overweening power. Most models of masculinity, historically and presently, include elements of courage, competition, assertiveness, and ambition that are difficult to disassociate from physical aggression and even violence, especially when males are systematically placed in situations where proving their manhood involves aggressive behavior. Willingness to engage in violence is then easily mobilized, whether against feminized intimates (lovers, wives) or feminized "others" (opponents, enemies). As one effect, across national contexts, many more men (especially of particular ages) engage in violent behaviors more frequently and with more systemically destructive effect than do most women.

Moreover, gender divisions of violence assure that security is understood not in terms of producing and sustaining life but of acquiring sufficient power to protect "one's own" and keep "others" at bay. The Hobbesian notion that human nature is universally competitive and hostile that undergirds conventional IR thinking is revealed as problematic when we ask how helpless infants ever become adults. Through a lens on child-rearing practices—necessary for life everywhere—it makes more sense to argue that humans are naturally cooperative, for without the cooperation required to nurture children, there would be no men or women.

With reference to gender*ed* divisions of violence, Europeans manipulated ideologies of superior (masculinist) "strength" to justify colonial wars and obscure their racist, economic, and heteronormative dynamics.[2] What surfaces repeatedly are characterizations of the colonized as feminine: weak, passive, irrational, disorderly, unpredictable, and lacking self-control. This afforded European power-wielders (not only men or all men) a justification for military interventions by casting themselves in favorable masculinist terms: as uniquely rational, sexually and morally respectable, and more advanced economically and politically. In colonial wars and geopolitical "othering," civilization became a code word for European heteronormative masculine superiority. Through this lens, imperial violence was perhaps a regrettable but nonetheless necessary component of "enlightening" and "civilizing" primitive, unruly, feminine "others." As Zillah Eisenstein observes, although Europeans extolled the virtues of reason as a progressive force, they positioned rationality "against savagery (natives), emotionality (women), and sexuality (racialized others)" (Eisenstein 2004: 75).

At the same time—and complicating simplistic models of gender—the development of European nationalisms and normalization of bourgeois respectability produced an idealized model of (bourgeois) femininity: passive, pure, dutiful, maternal. This superficial valorization of femininity did less to empower women than it did to render them perpetual dependents, as feminine virtue and morality were best assured by confining these qualities and "good women" to a private sphere of domesticity and assigning men the public-sphere responsibility of defending and protecting feminized dependents. The patronizing and protectionist logic of bourgeois norms provided imperial governments a moral—as well as rational—justification for militarized colonization: the barbarity of "other" men was proven by their (allegedly) oppressive treatment of women, and this *called for* the rescue of victimized females by honorable, civilized men. In short, the defense of idealized femininity—to paraphrase Gayatri Spivak's (1988) apt analysis—justified wars by white men to "save" brown women from

brown men.[3] This protectionist and crusading rhetoric obscured exploitative agendas and appeared to legitimate militarized violence. As discussed in Chapter 4, it resurfaces, with particular vengeance and new complexities, in contemporary global security practices, including increased militarism, particularly on the part of new (and older) authoritarians, and militarization—the extension of military thinking and practices into civilian life—and imperialist projects, such as the ongoing "war on terror."

Today's *crisis of insecurity* relates not only to the *direct violence* of international conflict, but also to the *structural violence* of political, economic, and social priorities and inequalities that leave much of the world's people subject to unemployment and underemployment, poverty, disease, and malnutrition as well as other forms of direct violence—namely domestic and sexual violence. The link between direct and structural violence is revealed particularly when we consider how military spending and war-making undermines access to basic human needs. As a result of debts racked up by runaway "defense" spending for the "war on terror" that reduce social welfare spending, massive displacements of peoples within and beyond state borders as the result of war-fighting, and the destruction of land and resources entailed by war and preparations for it that undermine people's lives and livelihoods, more and more people are becoming insecured. Structural violence disproportionately affects women and groups subordinated culturally and economically, and when we ignore this, we ignore the insecurity of the planet's majority and the planet itself.

Gendered and gender divisions of violence are deeply implicated in these multiple aspects of the crisis of security. The masculinized and feminized poles of self vs. other and us vs. them constructs a world shaped by fear of difference and justifies war or other forms of violence against "othered" nations or groups placed on the devalued feminized pole. At the same time, gender divisions of violence that associate masculinity with aggression and soldiering, and femininity with passivity and victimhood, construct a world in which war can be further justified in the name of protecting those feminized (and deemed worthy of protection) from such "others." In this self-perpetuating cycle, threats (real or fictive) increase preparations for defense and/or retaliation that are inextricable from conditions of structural violence, perpetuating inequalities. This cycle further disallows thinking and acting nonviolently as that is also feminized—seen as soft and ineffectual—under the gendered division of violence. Moreover, while gender and gendered inequalities provide motives for conflict and fuel militarization, wars also provide profit-making opportunities for some that delay the resolution of conflicts and deepen the crisis of insecurity for all.

Gender(ed) Divisions of Labor and Resources and the Crisis of Sustainability

Divisions of labor within households and the global workforce and divisions of the planet's resources are shaped by masculinist and capitalist ideologies, both of which entail relations of inequality and exploitative dynamics. Gender divisions of labor rest on how "work" is defined and "counted," what kinds of work are most valued, who does what work, and how much—if anything—they are paid. Hierarchical gender dichotomies of public–private, productive–reproductive, mental–manual, skilled–unskilled, formal labor–informal labor, and provider–dependent generate quite rigid labor patterns not only between men and women, but also between the rich and poor and North and South under gendered divisions of labor. Just as the public is seen as (politically) more important than the private (ostensibly less skilled), reproductive, manual, and informal (low-end, self-employed) labor is monetarily devalued, accorded less status, and rendered less visible, even though such labor underpins and makes possible what "more important" workers—especially elite men—do. And just as

women are deemed feminine by their dependence within the family, "less developed" nations and their people are "unmanned" by their position of dependence in the global economy.

As examined in greater detail in Chapter 5, for the past several decades geopolitical elites have promoted neoliberal, or market-based, policies that effectively restructured production and financial arrangements worldwide. Many conventional IR scholars, who draw on neo-classical economic theory to study the global political economy, have endorsed neoliberalism as the optimal strategy not only for pursuing economic growth and prosperity but also for promoting "democracy" worldwide. Neoliberal commitments to deregulation and economic liberalization, most associated with the process of globalization, were assumed to be the most efficient and, therefore, most desirable approach to national and international economic relations. Deregulation has favored private capital at the expense of public provisioning and shifted risks and responsibilities from the collective to the individual. Increasing "flexibiliza-tion" and feminization of work arrangements has dramatically reduced not only many women's but also more men's access to paid, safe, and secure ("formal," long-term, with benefits) forms of employment. With reference to gender*ed* divisions of labor, male workers in general face increasing un- and underemployment (work "below" their skill level), and the poorest workers in the global North and South face declining prospects for any "meaningful" work or income sufficient to escape poverty. Greater numbers of men and women are on the move globally in search of work, and these racialized flows alter identity politics and heighten conflicts over immigration. Women virtually everywhere are increasingly entering the workforce, but for the vast majority, they find work only in low-status and poorly paid jobs.

Although women often seek paid work because males in the household are un- or under-employed, the gender division of labor in the household is rarely transformed when women work outside the home. Rather, studies worldwide confirm that women who work for pay rarely do less unpaid work at home because even when men are unemployed, they resist doing "women's work" in the home. One effect is a global trend of women doing more work than ever: still carrying the primary responsibility for child care, the emotional and physical well-being of family members, and everyday household maintenance, but now also earning income for the family and often being called upon to nurture community survival networks in the face of worsening socioeconomic conditions. This is consistent with masculinist branding of "women's work" as that which serves others—both at home and in the workplace. Women are seen to work "for love" or as secondary income earners to sustain families, rather than primarily for income or status as most cultures expect men to do.

The larger problem, however, is not simply a failure of men to "do their share" but the effects that neoliberal capitalism has had on the viability of social reproduction, or the capacity to meet basic human needs that enable people to live and work. In the context of deteriorating economic conditions and reduced public support, there are ultimately limits to how far and how long women can "stretch" their energy and labor to meet survival needs and ensure the daily repro-duction of social life. Isabella Bakker and Stephen Gill refer to "a global contradiction between the extended power of capital (and its protection by the state) and not only sustainable but also progressive forms of social reproduction for the majority of the world's population" (Bakker and Gill 2003: 4). The increasing breakdown of social reproduction in daily life is also the result of environmental degradation arising from gender and gendered divisions of resources.

Gender divisions of resources are problematically revealed when we consider how women are assigned primary responsibility for social reproduction, which requires basic resources, but they have little control over how local and global resources are used, distributed, and controlled. Worldwide, but particularly in the global South and among the poor, females are more dramatically affected by environmental degradation than are males. As food providers,

women find their workload increases when water, food, and fuel resources deteriorate; as last and least fed, they suffer most from starvation and malnutrition; and as caretakers, they have to work harder when economic, health, and environmental conditions deteriorate and when families and communities are victims of toxic pollution and environmental disasters brought on of late by climate change. As a result, women's bodies are rendered more disposable, too.

Gender*ed* divisions are institutionalized with the growth of science and industrial technologies in service to capitalist and colonial projects. At the core, the modernist, Eurocentric ideology of limitless growth presupposes a belief in (white, Western) "man's" dominion over nature (promoted, for example, in Christian and capitalist belief systems) and the desirability of (white, Western) "man's" exploiting nature to further his own ends. Conquering nature, digging out "her" treasure and secrets, proving (white, Western) man's superiority through control over and manipulation of nature—these are familiar and currently deadly refrains. The feminization of nature is not an accident but a historical development that is visible in justifications by elites for territorial and intellectual expansion. Exploitation is most readily legitimated by objectifying who or what is exploited. Understanding people or nature as "objects" denies them agency, purpose, feelings, intelligence, a right to exist and/or to warrant respect. Through the ideology of (white, Western) man's dominion, it is taken for granted that natural resources are there for humans to exploit and control: no questions asked; such resources are "there for the taking." In various ways throughout history, aboriginal peoples, women, colonies, and the earth's bounty have all been treated as such natural resources (Mies, Bennholdt-Thomsen, and von Werlhof 1988). Such gendered divisions of resources as subject–object, culture–nature, and users–exploitable and disposable resources feminize the natural environment and are all associated with it at great cost to human and ecological sustainability.

Thus, the contemporary global *crisis of sustainability* is two-fold. It is a crisis of both social reproduction, borne of gender(ed) divisions of labor, and of resource depletion, borne of gender(ed) divisions of resources. The (over)valorization of skills, work, and "production" associated with hegemonically masculine identities and activities presuppose (white) man's dominion over feminized people and nature, as well as capitalist commitments to neoliberal restructuring. But as also suggested in this section, the crises of representation, insecurity, and sustainability are all interrelated. The power of gender to naturalize and normalize hierarchical dichotomies through processes of masculinization and feminization sets up the ideological and material gender(ed) divisions of power, violence, and labor and resources. These disempower much of the world's people to have meaningful and more equitable says in what constitutes security and how to better sustain livelihoods and human and non-human life; disable alternatives to armed conflict and other forms of violence that destroy lives, livelihoods, and ecosystems and militates against equitable decision-making and economic redistribution from "guns to butter"; and undermine not only the capacities of people to make decent livings and provide care for each other, which are prerequisites for active political participation and senses of security, but also the carrying capacity of the planet on which all depend. Thus, the crises of representation, insecurity, and sustainability have to be addressed together and through an understanding that the power of gender significantly underpins them all.

Global Crises, Gender Agendas in International Policymaking, and the Repositioning of Women and Men

As many have observed, the language of crisis has beset the world in recent times. Invocations of crises, ranging from the Great Financial Crisis (GFC) and North Korean nuclear crises to the global refugee crisis and the climate change crisis, are calling forth a sense of

"emergency" on many fronts (Sjoberg, Hudson, and Weber 2015: 530). Too often such crises are not seen as connected, some crises deflect attention from others, and what may be actually more serious crises do not rise to the level of being seen as crises on the world stage. The invocation of crisis can also lead to top-down emergency responses that worsen some crises while trying to "fix" others and/or reproduce the sources of the crisis trying to be addressed. In this section, a preliminary discussion is provided on why gender has begun to be taken seriously in crisis-ridden global politics, but also why gender agendas in international policymaking are insufficient and problematic, leading only to some *repositioning of women and men* in global politics without disrupting the deeper problem of the power of gender and gender(ed) divisions and global crises it breeds. This core argument of the text is expanded upon in subsequent chapters, which are mapped at the end of this introductory chapter.

Decades of feminist IR scholarship (addressed in detail in Chapter 2) and the centuries of international feminist thought and activism most catalyzed during and since the United Nations (UN) Decade for Women (1975–1985) are most responsible for putting gender inequality on the map of global politics. But it was only with the inauguration of the UN Decade for Women that gender inequality begun to be taken seriously in international policymaking. High-level attention to gender can be traced to tracking the positionings of women in world affairs that became possible when governments around the world—since the first UN conference on women, held in 1975—committed to provide data regularly to the UN that disaggregated the roles men and women play in state governance, militaries, diplomatic machineries, and economies. By the end of the last millennium, the data regarding how men and women are situated differently around the world revealed, starkly, the extent of gender inequality. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) unequivocally concluded that "no society treats its women as well as its men" (UNDP 1997: 39). Such a conclusion was based on reports to the UN Committee on the Status of Women that, although women composed one-half of the world's population, they performed the majority of the world's work hours when unpaid labor was counted, yet in aggregate were poorer in resources and poorly represented in elite positions of decision-making power (Tickner 1993: 75).

Such findings precipitated a host of gender equality measures dedicated largely to *repositioning women*, which were championed by the UN and adopted, albeit very unevenly, incompletely, and selectively, by national governments. Examples of such measures (detailed more in subsequent chapters) include, first, the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW),[4] initially adopted in 1979 following the UN Decade for Women and going into force in 1981, which recognized that women have human rights and that women's human rights expand definitions of human rights. By 2000, only 25 countries (including, most glaringly, the US, as well as a smattering of Muslim and the poorest countries) had failed to ratify CEDAW, making it the second most widely ratified human rights convention (UN 2000: 151). As of 2017, only the US, Iran, Sudan, Somalia, Palau, and Tonga remain as outliers (see Chart 1.1). Through CEDAW and subsequent UN conferences on human rights, particularly throughout the 1990s, women's movements and NGOs made the case that "women's rights are human rights," achieving international recognition that reproductive and, to some degree, sexual rights are just as important as and connected to political and economic rights. As long as women are denied choices about if, when, and under what conditions they bear children or terminate pregnancies, are subject to sexual and domestic abuse, and are limited in their sexual expressions and orientations, they will not be able to exercise their political and economic rights. Although women's and other human rights continue to be violated on a massive scale, the widespread ratification of CEDAW has
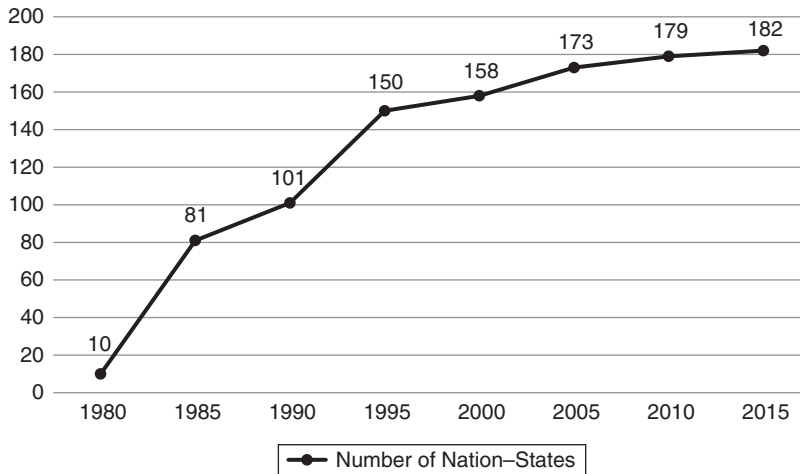
given women's movements throughout much of the world a major tool through which to hold
their governments accountable for continued abuses.

Since 1990 when the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) supported the goal
lobbied for by women's movements to have 30 percent of world decision-making positions
held by women by 1995, the adoption of gender quotas have become a "global trend"
(Dahlerup 2006b: 6). As of 2017, 48 countries had reached or exceeded the 30 percent target
in their national legislatures (IPU 2017b), with postgenocide Rwanda still topping the list at
56 percent (and in 2008 becoming the first country with more female than male legislators).
Almost all these have legal or party gender quota systems in combination with proportional
representation systems (defined and discussed in Chapter 3). Although quota systems vary
in form and efficacy, they were specifically promoted in the Platform for Action arising from
the UN Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing in 1995, which was unani-
mously supported by the world's governments, as the "fast-track" way to increase women's
political representation.[5] There are many reasons for this recent "contagion" of gender quo-
tas, but among them is a growing international consensus or norm, advocated by women's
movements worldwide and supported by feminist scholarship, that gender equality in the
form of women's greater political representation, ideally to the point of parity with men, is
necessary for polities claiming or aspiring to be modern and democratic. The wide use of
gender quotas has not yet had a significant effect on the numbers of women heads of govern-
ment given that, as of 2017, there are only 16 such women, most of whom rose to power in
the 1990s. However, greater pools of women aspiring to such office are enabled by quotas,
even though they are not sufficient alone to change the gender landscape at the highest
levels.

Gender mainstreaming also gained momentum and increasing acceptance during the same
period that gender quotas were advancing. Although definitions vary somewhat, gender
mainstreaming refers generally to integrating the principle of gender equality into any (inter)
governmental policy (not just those associated with so-called women's issues, such as family

and violence against women) to ensure that in practice it does not, wittingly or unwittingly, increase or sustain inequalities between women and men (Squires 2007: 39–40). Gender mainstreaming was first advocated in the context of economic development policies once feminist research revealed that approaches taken by funding bodies like the World Bank, such as the promotion of capital-intensive agriculture for export, tended to privilege men, who had or were given more access to capital, agricultural inputs and machinery, and land ownership. Women, although heavily involved in subsistence agriculture, which was the main source of family food consumption, were not seen as farmers or landowners and, thus, did not benefit from this kind of funding. This disparity not only increased men's power over women in agricultural work and families, but also contributed to producing more hunger and malnutrition when women's work of subsistence farming was increasingly so devalued and unsupported. The World Bank and a number of other supranational institutions, ranging from the UN and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) to the European Union (EU), as well as many development agencies within states in the North, have been convinced by such findings to adopt gender mainstreaming, also called for in the Beijing Platform for Action (BPA), to try to avoid such outcomes (Squires 2007: 42). There have been numerous downsides to this approach (which are addressed in Chapter 3), but its institutionalization represents a sea change in its recognition that gender is infused in all (world) political issues and legitimizes the need for "gender experts" in global politics.

No less than the UN Security Council, arguably the most male-dominated and masculinist body in the world (that is, steeped in the most hegemonic masculine values associated with power politics), has also acquiesced to giving some attention to gender. For example, Security Council Resolution 1325, passed in 2000 and followed by several more such resolutions that affirm it, calls for women to be present at peace negotiating tables, a goal long advocated by women's peace movements that have claimed women have greater interests and different stakes in ending war, and zero tolerance for wartime sexual violence. As explored in Chapter 4, it is not that women are inherently more peaceful, but rather that their predominantly civilian status means that they often bear the high structural costs of wars over time. In wars, some past and some present, in which there has been little separation between the battlefront and the home front and in which civilians are purposely targeted, civilians constitute the highest proportion of those left homeless, diseased, and hungry; turned into refugees; and made victims of sexual and domestic assault (by enemy and "friendly" combatants) as indirect consequences of warfare. Although for the past few centuries combatants have died from the direct violence of war-fighting in about the same numbers as civilians caught up in armed conflicts, civilian deaths in "total wars," such as the world wars, and in wars in which they are targeted for direct violence, such as massacres, have been higher, and the toll of civilian suffering and death from indirect warfare violence is staggering (Goldstein 2011: 258–260). Although women are increasingly combatants and civilian men suffer a range of similar violences arising from war as civilian women, women tend to be more subject to sexual and domestic violence (in times of war and "peace") and more vulnerable to deprivations as they have less resources and mobility even prior to conflict, and are made more responsible for the mending of postconflict societies through their roles in re-creating households and communities, albeit with few resources. Thus, UN Security Council resolutions, as part of the larger UN Women, Peace, and Security Agenda instigated by former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan as a result of the advocacy and lobbying of international women's peace movement NGOs and activists, constitute not only some recognition of the relationship between gender inequality and war, but also policies and programs to address it.

Predating this Security Council resolution was a significant codification and prosecution of rape as a war crime following the highly visible use of systematic rape in the early 1990s in the wars in the former Yugoslavia and in Rwanda. Systematic wartime rape not only neutralizes women as threats, but also seeks to weaken men's resolve to fight by "soiling their women" while also trying to wipe out an enemy culture or ethnicity by impregnating women with "alien" seed or keeping them from reproducing altogether. The assumption that rape was merely a natural "spoil of war" (for men) had kept it from being fully recognized as an international war crime until feminist activists and events in Bosnia and Rwanda made it clear that rape was a direct violation of women's human rights, rising to the level of torture as an instrument of warfare. However, this has not stopped rape in wartime, nor does it address it in so-called peacetime, which are among the problems with this addressed in Chapter 3.

Although feminist activists and scholars who have advocated for and performed research to legitimate and implement such international instruments for global gender equality did so for the purposes of uprooting gender and other social injustice, international gender policy agendas have been increasingly directed to empowering women as a solution to a crisis-ridden world. By 2010, a host of IGOs, NGOs, and corporate actors and economists reached a consensus: "Progress is achieved through women" (Kristof and WuDunn 2009: xx). Even national and international security experts had begun paying attention to gender on the basis of a perceived relationship between the marginalization of women in politics and society and the growth of "terrorism," particularly in Islamic countries.

> As the Pentagon gained a deeper understanding of counterterrorism, it became increasingly interested in grassroots projects such as girls' education. Empowering girls, some in the military argued, would disempower terrorists. When the Joint Chiefs of Staff hold discussion of girls' education in Pakistan and Afghanistan, you know that gender is a serious topic on the international affairs agenda.
>
> (Kristof and WuDunn 2009: xxi)

Even though this newfound interest at the highest levels of global political institutions in gender, but more accurately in women, can be read as a feminist success story, the instrumentalist way that gender has become so salient by being reduced to women's empowerment is problematic. For example, it was only when women entered into the formal labor force in huge numbers out of their own economic necessity and as a result of being seen and used as a preferred source of "cheap" and "obedient" labor to fuel the world's factories, that women suddenly were noticed by economic elites as a previously "untapped resource" and an "engine of growth" that could be better harnessed to serve national and transnational corporations and capitalism. "The basic formula was to ease repression, educate girls as well as boys, give girls the freedom to move to cities and take factory jobs, and then benefit from the demographic dividend as they delayed marriage and reduced childbearing" (Kristof and WuDunn 2009: xix). A further dividend of breaking down patriarchal authority in homes and communities and the violence against women and girls that is justified by patriarchal authority is assumed to be a reduction in women's and their children's poverty, as women and children make up the vast majority of the world's poor. As raised earlier and probed later in Chapters 4 and 5, this has instead led to women working even harder for still very little and even increased violence, while still denied comprehensive reproductive rights in many parts of the world. Similarly, women became visible to security elites only when it appeared that raising the status of girls and women could constitute a counterterrorism tool, not only denying that women, too,

engage in political violence as discussed in Chapter 4, but also ignoring the range of inter-connected global hierarchies, especially arising from the legacies of colonialism and effects of present-day neocolonialisms, that breed both non-state and state terrorism. Thus, the empowerment of women has become only a means to an end, not an end in itself—just the latest mechanism to "manage" serial crises as opposed to representing an actual commitment to gender equality and social justice required to get to the roots of the larger global crises identified in this text. That inequalities might be leavened through repositioning (some) women is secondary to shoring up global politics-as-usual priorities of capitalist economic growth and state and interstate security through simplistic, problematic, and always under-resourced approaches to empowering women. These priorities keep the lurching from crisis to crisis in place, for which empowering women becomes largely a panacea because gender inequality and social injustice are not themselves defined as global crises that would animate far more attention, resources, and serious structural change.

The expansion of serial crises and the deeper crises of representation, insecurity, and sustainability have also produced political backlashes, most visible in the last few years, destabilizing in some quarters the emergent international focus on the value of empowering women to solve global problems. A symptom of this can be seen in the rise of elected ultra-conservative, or "new authoritarian," leaders, some quite recently elected or re-elected and most on the right, in both the global North (such as in the US, the UK, Austria, Hungary, Russia, and Italy) and the global South (such as in the Philippines, Turkey, Venezuela, and Egypt). Although in other recent elections ultra-right-wing challengers failed to capture leadership in places like The Netherlands, France, and Germany, their parties gained in strength in, for example, the national legislature of Germany. Although research continues on how to account for such shifts to (or sustenance of) more illiberal democracies, particularly in the West, widening income inequalities, unemployment, and underemployment attributed to globalization appear to have a hand in the rise of ethnonationalist anti-immigrant and anti-internationalist fervor to which illiberal candidates and parties appeal and which they stoke. Wealth concentration is unprecedented today as there

> has been a 60 percent increase in the wealth of the top 1 percent globally in the past 20 years; at the top of that 1 percent the richest 100 billionaires added 240 billion to their wealth in 2012-enough to end world poverty four times over.
>
> (Sassen 2014: 13)

At the same time "2 billion people" are living in "extreme poverty" while "hunger is now growing in rich countries" (Sassen 2014: 147). As noted earlier, neoliberal economic restruc-turing has not only deleteriously affected women by superexploiting their productive and reproductive labor, but also has been implicated in many men "falling down" (or staying down on) the economic ladder. This *repositioning of (some) men* may be translating into the phenomenon of what countless media reports call "angry white males," particularly in the US but also in other parts of the West, who blame immigrants, people of color, women, LGBTQ people, and internationalizing forces like globalization that make borders more porous for the loss or diminution of jobs that white, working-class men used to more exclusively hold. "Strong man" political discourses, used also by some ultra-conservative female politicians, appeal to this kind of blaming by promising to expel immigrants, build border walls, crack down on crime which is (inaccurately) attributed to immigrants and racialized minorities, roll back women's and LGBTQ rights to restore patriarchal authority and the heteronormative family, and exit from international institutions and agreements that entail subscribing to

international cooperation (for such things as reducing violence, poverty, and climate change) and emergent, albeit still cramped, equality norms.

Thus, just as some women are being repositioned upwards through international policy agendas and some national adherence to them, the repositioning of some men downwards, particularly in the global political economy, is producing extreme anti-equality (and related anti-democratic, anti-environmental, and anti-international) agendas in some states. That this is occurring in some very powerful Western states, which have largely been the architects of international institutions and the international order as well as the main beneficiaries of that (unequal) order, suggests that the "management" of serial crises under global politics-as-usual has done little to stem the deeper global crises of representation, insecurity, and sustainability. As this text argues throughout, these crises are a result of the gendered nature of global politics and are, in part, producing more virulent gendered global politics. The tinkering around the edges that adding and empowering women represents in international gender policy agendas neither significantly challenge nor uproot deeply ensconced gender and gendered power relations. These power relations, expressed in this text as gender(ed) divisions of power, violence, and labor and resources, are also not fundamentally disturbed by the repositioning of some women and some men in existing power structures. As building blocks of the crises of representation, insecurity, and sustainability, their perpetuation leaves these crises largely unabated. Moreover, because gender(ed) divisions are outcomes of the power of gender to naturalize and normalize dichotomous and hierarchical social relations and encourage dichotomous (either–or) and hierarchical (us–them) thinking and action, responses to them and the crises they breed have resulted in both the depoliticizing of inequalities as an instrumentalist and technical matter in international policymaking and political (illiberal, authoritarian) backlashes that attempt to (re)assert (often violently) what are claimed to be natural and essential social hierarchies. Without seeing intersecting inequalities and social injustice as global crises and the sources of many others, interlocking forces of democratic deficits, militarization, and globalization operant in global governance institutions, global security apparatuses, and global political economy formations under global politics-as-usual will continue to not only reproduce inequalities and social injustice, but also produce virulent anti-equality and anti-social justice responses that will only further deepen global crises.

Mapping the Book

To better understand what scholarship informs the analysis and empirical findings in this text and how it differs from conventional IR approaches, Chapter 2 on "Gender(ed) Lenses on Global Politics" provides somewhat of a primer on the development and current state of what is variously called gender and IR or feminist IR or feminist world politics. This is a subfield of IR, but also an interdisciplinary field of study. Feminist IR now appears alongside longer-legitimated conventional perspectives in IR, such as (neo)realism, idealism, or (neo)liberalism, and often in combination with more critical ones, such as older (neo-)Marxist and more recent perspectives, including constructivist, poststructural, postcolonial (including decolonial and anti-racist), and queer and trans perspectives, which also can combine in various ways. These critical perspectives, all of which emphasize social reality as constructed rather than given, and most of which are concerned with producing knowledge that brings about social change and justice, enable the positing of the power of gender and the intersecting power relations that flow from it as a significant, but too often unseen, normative ordering power in global politics.

The gender(ed), or intersectional feminist, lenses that arise from feminist in combination with other critical perspectives on global politics are applied to the traditional categories of global politics inquiry: global governance (Chapter 3), global security (Chapter 4), and global political economy (Chapter 5). It is within these chapters that historical and contemporary gender(ed) divisions of power, violence, and labor and resources and the global crises of representation, insecurity, and sustainability they spawn are fleshed out empirically and analytically. The employment of multiple feminist perspectives and the empirical research they are generating foregrounds the substantial body of work that now exists in feminist IR,[6] which is contributing to, as well as based on, data now being produced by IGOs and NGOs on the gender(ed) effects of global political priorities, processes, and institutions and attempts to ameliorate them. The diversity of feminist IR thought and research also affords more complex and sometimes conflicting gender or gendered analyses of global politics. The benefits of this diversity are that it militates against resorts to "quick fixes" that can do more harm than good and ensures no single or hegemonic analysis that forecloses debate and further investigation within feminist inquiry. At the same time, weaknesses in feminist inquiry and appropriations of gender analysis in policymaking are raised when they fail to address the gendered power relations among women and among men that forestall more comprehensive critiques and resistances to processes that widen and deepen global and local inequalities.

The final Chapter 6, "Engendering Global Justice," examines some resistances, both activist and conceptual, that seek to counter the inequalities between and among women and men and/or transform perspectives on and practices in global politics. Although varied, incomplete, and sometimes conflictual, such resistance strategies attempt to confront the crises of representation, insecurity, and sustainability through enabling more participatory and nonhegemonic governance, nonviolent forms of security, and more just and environmentally sustainable economies to develop less crisis-ridden and more just forms of global politics.

Users of this text are also encouraged to employ the questions for discussion and suggested research activities that appear at the end of each chapter to assist in developing a deeper understanding of the material in the text. These aids are also provided in the e-resource that accompanies this text (www.routledge.com/9780813350851). At the end of this text and in the e-resource are a host of links to additional resources.

Notes

1   Although this text often refers only to "women" and "men" or "males" and "females" or, on occasion, notions such as "both genders," it also at times differentiates between cis and trans women and men or refers to diverse genders in recognition that there are multiple sexes and genders and that "women" and "men" are themselves socially constructed and nonhomogeneous categories. Also frequently referred to are the ideologies of "heteronormativity" and "heterosexism," which assume an essentialized (natural, universal) binary of sex difference (male and female only), privilege exclusively heterosexual desire (for the "opposite" sex), and maintain that the only natural and, hence, appropriate or respectable expressions of desire, intimacy, sexual identity, marriage, and family formation are heterosexual. The rigid gender dichotomy presumed in both ideologies promotes masculinism, devalues what is feminized, and fosters the demonization and even criminalization of non-heterosexual relations. References to "sexual minorities" and "gender minorities" signify individuals and groups who contest or do not conform to heteronormativity and normative gender identifications. Although "queer" and "LGBTQ" can capture an array of sexual and non-normative gender identifications (lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, and queer identities), it is important to note that engaging in particular sexual practices need not constitute assuming a particular sexual identity, that these Western-originating terms are less widely circulated elsewhere, and that those who engage in same-sex or other minority sexual practices or non-normative gender expression do not necessarily identify as LGBTQ (particularly outside the global North) or fit into these categories (such as intersex people who are

born with ambiguous sex organs). A few other terms used in this text also bear explication here for reference. "Homonormativity" refers to the assumption that all sexual minorities do or should conform to Western conceptions of lesbian, gay, and bisexual identity and to Western forms of LGBTQ politics, which when imposed on other cultures and political contexts is often referred to as "global gay" politics. Gender "queer" can refer to a range of sexual minority identities, but "queering" more typically refers to analytical processes and social practices that defy heteronormative and homonormative readings of social reality and performances of normative sexual practices and gender identity. Heteronormative "patriarchy" refers not only to male-dominated or masculinist rule, but also to rule that enforces heterosexual norms to achieve that end.

2   Key works include Said (1979, 1993), Spivak (1987), McClintock (1995), and Eisenstein (2004).

3   Cultural generalizations of enemy groups or nations typically feminized them, and European notions of ethnic/racial hierarchies permitted selective valorization of men identified with "martial races" and "warrior" cultures. Without conceding any sense of their military superiority, imperial governments selectively allied with soldiers of particular cultural identities to advance colonial interests. The British, for example, recruited Nepali Ghurkas to fight their wars and now recruit Fijian men. In the "war on terror," the George W. Bush administration selectively allied with ethnically and religiously differentiated groups—without exception extremely masculinist—that best served its short-term military objectives, with little attention to the hierarchies—especially of gender and sexuality—these exacerbate.

4   On women's rights and/as human rights, see Cook (1994), Peters and Wolper (1995), Peterson and Parisi (1998), and Ackerly (2008). For critiques of this approach, see, for example, Hesford and Kozol (2005) and Hua (2011).

5   See Web and Video Resources at the end of this text (and in the e-resource accompanying it at www.routledge.com/9780813350851) for the online locations and full texts of a host of UN documents, conventions, and protocols referred to in this text, including the Beijing Platform for Action, as well as a host of videos that can supplement and deepen engagement with this text. A list of acronyms and their referents is provided at the front of this text for handy reference.

6   See, in particular, Shepherd (2015) for a useful feminist IR reader with some important works, past and present, as well as Steans and Tepe-Belfrage (2016) for the breadth of contemporary feminist IR thought and research.

Suggested Questions for Discussion and Activities for Research

Each of the chapters in this text begins with questions that not only organize the discussion, but also can serve as questions for discussion. Here and at the end of subsequent chapters are additional questions for discussion as well as some suggested and adaptable individual and/or group activities to prompt further research and discussion and to better engage with the text per chapter and in relation to the list of Web and Video Resources provided (in this text and in its e-resource).

Chapter 1

Questions for Further Discussion

1   What is the power of gender? How is it disturbed by trans, queer, and intersectional feminist perspectives?

2   Why is it important to use both a gender and gendered lens on global politics? How are they differentiated, but also related?

3   Why do gendered divisions of power, violence, labor, and resources persist despite recent attention to gender inequality in international policymaking, and how are they implicated in the rise of new authoritarianisms?

4   What are the relationships between gendered divisions of power, violence, labor, and resources and the crises of representation, insecurity, and sustainability?

Activities for Further Research

1   Go online (or consult your local newspaper), and search for a sample of mainstream news stories about contemporary international relations between states. What gendered patterns (such as the absence or presence of women or men, the positions of power men versus women hold, the "masculine"/hard or "feminine"/soft nature of the issues discussed, and which states are featured as dominant or subordinate) do you notice in these stories? Consider in your gender analysis who wrote the stories, what the stories are about, which states they focus on, what state leaders are featured, how their leadership is characterized, and whether or not domestic populations are mentioned, who among them are featured, and how they are portrayed.

2   Read the text of CEDAW online (www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/cedaw.htm), and consider why the US has not ratified it. Do you think the US needs gender (and even "diversity') quotas? Why or why not?

3   Watch this interview by Counter/Action Magazine with feminist IR scholar Cynthia Enloe entitled "Feminism in the Age of Trump"? at https://counteractionmag.com/current-issue/2017/7/12/feminism-in-the-age-of-trump-interview-with-cynthia-enloe. Why does she say it is important for feminists to focus not only on the Trump regime but also authoritarianisms elsewhere in the world and their interconnections? Find more examples of the gender and gendered effects of current authoritarian government actions in various parts of the world and how feminist and other social justice movements are responding to these.

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