

Gender, Politics, and Violence

POS 6933 - Special Topics

Professor: Juliana Restrepo Sanín, Ph.D.

Class meetings: Wednesday, 11:45-2:45

Format: Hybrid

Zoom meeting information: On en Canvas

Password: FEMINISM

Office hours: Tuesday, 12:00-2:00 pm

Contact: via Canvas

Course description and learning goals

This course examines the gendered and political dimensions of violence. The seminar juxtaposes traditional definitions, conceptualizations, and measurements of violence in politics, with feminist ideas about violence. The main goal is to understand how feminist research has challenged these traditional views of violence and how we understand the relationship between violence and politics. We will explore different manifestations of violence in politics and "out" of politics, in conflict-afflicted countries and "peaceful" countries, and analyze whether these diverse manifestations and forms of violence are related. The course takes an intersectional approach. The course will begin by understanding violence as conceptualized by political science. Then we will analyze how feminists in political science, international relations, and other disciplines have challenged the traditional ways violence has been understood.

Assessment

Participation and engagement (20%)

As a graduate seminar, this class will be driven by students' thoughtful and active participation. Students are expected to participate in all sessions. You must come to class prepared to discuss the readings. To get full participation credit, students must post discussion questions about the readings at least five times during the semester. There is a forum on Canvas for this purpose. Questions can be about specific readings or the topic for the week. We will discuss these questions during the class meeting. You are free to choose which weeks you will post questions (and it is okay if you post simultaneously as other students) as long as you post on at least five weeks. **You should post discussion questions to Canvas BEFORE class.**

Peer review and discussant (10%)

On Apr. 7, students will present a draft of their final paper. You will serve as a discussant for one of your classmate's presentations. Discussants serve an essential role in academic conferences. They provide a critical view of the paper, highlight places where the author did a great job, and make suggestions for improvement. When you serve as a discussant, you should read the paper in advance and prepare comments for the author. **You should upload these comments to Canvas the night before.** You will then present the comments to the author as you would do in an academic conference. These comments should be kind and constructive but should give the author suggestions for improvement,

note parts of the argument that are unclear, not very original (for example, other authors have already made that argument), or that may not be supported by the data provided. The discussant should also note issues with the research design or overall organization of the paper. Again, these comments should be constructive in nature –not just note where the paper falls short, but suggest ways to improve it. You should also highlight parts of the paper where you think the author did a good job. Receiving enthusiastic support from other academics – because the topic is important and the research is interesting, even when there is room for improvement, helps academics move projects forward.

Paper draft and research presentation (20%)

You will present your research twice: first as a draft on Apr. 7 and then as a final version on Apr. 21. These presentations serve two purposes: first, you will present your final paper to your classmates, receive feedback from a discussant, and engage with your classmates' comments, questions, and suggestions. You should take the discussant and your classmates' comments seriously and incorporate them in your final paper. The second purpose is a professionalization goal. This presentation will prepare you to present your work at academic conferences and other formal professional settings. The presentation of the draft will be IN PERSON (unless you are not cleared to come to campus, please discuss this in advance). Receiving constructive (and sometimes not so constructive) feedback is a fundamental part of academic and professional life, and you should get used to it. Academics have their work criticized continuously by others, and it is essential to learn how to not take those comments personally. You should also learn how to respond to criticism graciously, even when you find it offensive or disagree with the person commenting. That is not to say that you should agree with every point made by the discussant or your classmates or that you should not integrate every single piece of advice in your papers. Rather, you should accept that your papers are works in progress, that you might not have all the information necessary to address a topic, that your perspective is limited, and that sometimes you are wrong. This does not mean that you or your work have no value. It means that there is always room for improvement, and other people's perspectives sometimes (but not always) help your work move toward that direction.

Research paper (50%)

Your final paper is a research paper.

You will work on your paper in stages:

You should discuss the topic and approach with me in advance. Please schedule an office hours meeting. This meeting is 10% of your final grade. During this meeting, you should present a plan for writing your paper that includes working on the literature review, research design, and what you think your argument will be.

After this meeting, you should submit the following sections of the paper:

- Working title and abstract → Due Feb. 10
- Working reading list for literature review → Due Feb. 24
- 3-page literature review → Due Mar. 17
- Paper draft → Due Mar. 26
- Final paper → Due Apr. 21

These assignments (except the final paper) will be graded pass/fail. No late submissions are accepted. Failing to submit all sections in a timely manner will affect the grade of your final paper.

Policies

Grading Scale

>=93 A
90-92 A-
87-89 B+
83-86 B
80-82 B-
77-79 C+
73-76 C
70-72 C-
67-69 D+
63-66 D
60-62 D-
<= 60 E

Plagiarism and Academic Integrity:

UF students are bound by The Honor Pledge which states, "We, the members of the University of Florida community, pledge to hold ourselves and our peers to the highest standards of honor and integrity by abiding by the Honor Code. On all work submitted for credit by students at the University of Florida, the following pledge is either required or implied: "On my honor, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid in doing this assignment." The Honor Code specifies a number of behaviors that are in violation of this code and the possible sanctions. Furthermore, you are obligated to report any condition that facilitates academic misconduct to appropriate personnel. If you have any questions or concerns, please consult with the instructor in this class.

Attendance

For successfully passing this course, your attendance via Zoom is expected. Students must be prepared to discuss the readings listed for that day. You should substantively and critically engage the topics. To be prepared for class discussion, you should take notes, ask questions, and find similarities and points of contention between the different readings.

Technology

Most of the sessions for this class will be done virtually, via Zoom. Details and information about the Zoom meetings are posted on Canvas. Even though this is a hybrid class, you are expected to take notes and be engaged with the class during the whole time you are on Zoom. You are

Online Evaluation

Students are expected to provide feedback on the quality of instruction in this course by completing online evaluations at <https://evaluations.ufl.edu>. Evaluations are typically open during the last two or three weeks of the semester, but students will be given specific times when they are open. Summary results of these assessments are available to students here.

Students with Disabilities

Students with disabilities requesting accommodations should first register with the Disability Resource Center (352-392-8565, www.dso.ufl.edu/drc/) by providing appropriate documentation. Once registered, students will receive an accommodation letter, which must be presented to the instructor when requesting accommodation. Students with disabilities should follow this procedure as early as possible in the semester.

Class schedule -- subject to change

Class 1 – Jan. 13

Introduction: What is gender and what does it have to do with violence

<http://www.raulpacheco.org/2020/12/how-to-prepare-for-a-reading-intensive-undergrad-or-graduate-seminar-for-students-and-how-to-design-a-syllabus-that-offers-reading-guidance-to-students-for-faculty/>

Viveros Vigoya, Mara. Sex/Gender. In Handbook of Feminist Theory

Crenshaw, Kimberlé. 1989. Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color.

Class 2 – Jan. 20

Introduction to violence and politics

How has Political Science conceptualized and operationalized 'violence' and 'political violence'?

Valentino, Benjamin. 2014. Why we Kill: The Political Science of Violence against Civilians. Annual Review of Political Science. 17: 89-103.

Kalyvas, Stathis. 2003. "The Ontology of Political Violence". *Perspectives on Politics*. Vol. 1, No. 3, pp 475-494.

Yashar, Debora. 2018. *Homicidal Ecologies*. Ch. 1-3

Class 3 – Jan. 27

Violence and politics: other approaches

In what ways has political science conceptualized 'violence'? What are the implications of these definitions?

This week, we will read several articles from the special issue on "The uses of violence" published by the journal Perspectives on Politics.

- Bernhard, Michael, and Daniel O'Neill. 2020. "The Uses of Violence." *Perspectives on Politics* 18 (3). Cambridge University Press: 701–5. doi:10.1017/S1537592720002194.
- Moncada, Eduardo. 2020. "The Politics of Criminal Victimization: Pursuing and Resisting Power." *Perspectives on Politics* 18 (3). Cambridge University Press: 706–21. doi:10.1017/S153759271900029X.
- Epperly, Brad, Christopher Witko, Ryan Strickler, and Paul White. 2020. "Rule by Violence, Rule by Law: Lynching, Jim Crow, and the Continuing Evolution of Voter Suppression in the US" *Perspectives on Politics* 18 (3). Cambridge University Press: 756–69. doi:10.1017/S1537592718003584.
- Hunt, Stacey L. 2020. "Public Emotions and Variations of Violence: Evidence from Colombia." *Perspectives on Politics* 18 (3). Cambridge University Press: 788–804. doi:10.1017/S1537592720000055.

Class 4 – Feb. 3

Feminist perspectives on violence

In what ways have feminist scholars in political science and other disciplines challenged traditional definitions of 'violence'? What are their arguments? How do these challenges transform our understanding of violence? What are the implications of this transformation?

- Hunnicut, Gwen. "Varieties of Patriarchy and Violence Against Women: Resurrecting 'Patriarchy' as a Theoretical Tool." *Violence Against Women* 15, no. 5 (May 2009): 553–73. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801208331246>.
- Cynthia Cockburn (2010) Gender Relations as Causal in Militarization and War, *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 12:2, 139-157, DOI: 10.1080/14616741003665169
- Davies, Sara E, and Jacqui True. "Reframing Conflict-Related Sexual and Gender-Based Violence: Bringing Gender Analysis Back In." *Security Dialogue* 46, no. 6 (December 2015): 495–512. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010615601389>.
- Patricia Hill Collins (2017) On violence, intersectionality and transversal politics, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 40:9, 1460-1473, DOI: 10.1080/01419870.2017.1317827
- Cunniff Gilson, Erinn. "Vulnerability and victimization: Rethinking key concepts in feminist discourses on sexual violence." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 42, no. 1 (2016): 71-98.

Class 5 – Feb. 10

Working title and abstract for the final paper due

Measuring violence: feminist and non-feminist perspectives

How is violence operationalized in Political Science? How have feminist scholars challenged traditional/mainstream ways of measuring violence? What are the implications of these differences?

- Jelke Boesten (2017) Of exceptions and continuities: theory and methodology in research on conflict-related sexual violence, *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 19:4, 506-519, DOI: [10.1080/14616742.2017.1367950](https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2017.1367950)
- Merry, Sally Engle. "Cultural dimensions of power/knowledge: the challenges of measuring violence against women." *Sociologie du travail* 58, no. 4 (2016): 370-380.

Gutiérrez-Sanín, Francisco, and Elisabeth Jean Wood. 2017. "What Should We Mean by 'Pattern of Political Violence'? Repertoire, Targeting, Frequency, and Technique." *Perspectives on Politics* 15 (1). Cambridge University Press: 20–41. doi:10.1017/S1537592716004114.

Jacqui True (2015) Winning the Battle but Losing the War on Violence, *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 17:4, 554-572, DOI: 10.1080/14616742.2015.1046269

Class 6 – Feb. 17

Violence as a continuum

What does it mean to understand violence as a continuum? What are the methodological and practical implications of conceptualizing violence this way? What are the limitations?

Kelly, Liz. *The continuum of sexual violence*. 1987.

Denisa Kostovicova, Vesna Bojicic-Dzelilovic & Marsha Henry (2020) Drawing on the continuum: a war and post-war political economy of gender-based violence in Bosnia and Herzegovina, *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 22:2, 250-272, DOI: 10.1080/14616742.2019.1692686

Forester, Summer, and Cheryl O'Brien. 2020. "Antidemocratic and Exclusionary Practices: COVID-19 and the Continuum of Violence." *Politics & Gender* 16 (4). Cambridge University Press: 1150–57. doi:10.1017/S1743923X2000046X.

Krook, Mona Lena, and Juliana Restrepo Sanín. 2020. "The Cost of Doing Politics? Analyzing Violence and Harassment against Female Politicians." *Perspectives on Politics* 18 (3). Cambridge University Press: 740–55. doi:10.1017/S1537592719001397.

Bayard de Volo, Lorraine, and Lynn K. Hall. "'I wish all the ladies were holes in the road': The US Air Force Academy and the gendered continuum of violence." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 40, no. 4 (2015): 865-889.

Class 7 – Feb. 24

Gender, race, and violence

Working reading list for literature review due

What is the relationship between gender, racism, and violence? In what ways does taking racism seriously transform our understanding of violence? What are the implications?

Patricia Hill Collins (1998) The tie that binds: race, gender and US violence, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 21:5, 917-938, DOI: 10.1080/014198798329720

Angelique M. Davis & Rose Ernst (2019) Racial gaslighting, *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, 7:4, 761-774, DOI: 10.1080/21565503.2017.1403934

Tiffany Willoughby-Herard (2014) More expendable than slaves? Racial justice and the after-life of slavery, *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, 2:3, 506-521, DOI: 10.1080/21565503.2014.940544

Carter, Niambi M. 2012. "Intimacy without Consent: Lynching as Sexual Violence." *Politics & Gender* 8 (3). Cambridge University Press: 414–21. doi:10.1017/S1743923X12000402.

[Why Race Matters in International Relations](#). Foreign affairs. 2020

Class 8 – Mar. 3

Men, masculinities, and violence

What is the relationship between masculinity and violence? How can we use gender to understand violence perpetrated against men?

Carpenter, Charli. (2006). "Recognizing Gender-based Violence against Men and Boys in Conflict Situations," *Security Dialogue* 37(1): 83-103.

Aaron Belkin & Terrell Carver (2012) Militarized Masculinities and the Erasure of Violence, *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 14:4, 558-567, DOI: [10.1080/14616742.2012.726099](https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2012.726099)

Man, the state, and war: Gendered perspectives on national security. J Ann Tickner. In *Gender in Int'l relations*. Columbia University Press; p. 27-66.

Aleksandra Sasha Milićević (2006) Joining the war: Masculinity, nationalism and war participation in the Balkans war of secession, 1991–1995, *Nationalities Papers*, 34:3, 265-287, DOI: [10.1080/00905990600766487](https://doi.org/10.1080/00905990600766487)

Class 9 – Mar. 10

Gender, terrorism, and armed conflict

How can we use gender to understand international/domestic armed conflict?

Pain, Rachel. "Everyday terrorism: Connecting domestic violence and global terrorism." *Progress in Human Geography* 38, no. 4 (2014): 531-550.

Swaine, Aisling. "Beyond Strategic Rape and Between the Public and Private: Violence Against Women in Armed Conflict." *Human Rights Quarterly* 37, no. 3 (2015): 755-786. doi:10.1353/hrq.2015.0043.

Cockburn, Cynthia. 1999. "Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence." Background Paper for Gender, armed conflict and political violence, The World Bank, Washington, DC, June 10-11.

Kimberly Theidon. (2009). "Reconstructing Masculinities: The Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration of Former Combatants in Colombia." *Human Rights Quarterly*, 31: 1-34.

Class 10 – Mar. 17

3-page literature review for final paper due

Women as perpetrators of violence

How can we understand women's involvement in violence?

Gentry, Caron and Laura Sjoberg. (2015). *Beyond Mothers, Monsters Whores: Thinking about Women's Violence in Global Politics*. New York, NY: Zed Books **Selections**

Linda Åhäll (2012) Motherhood, Myth and Gendered Agency in Political Violence, *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 14:1, 103-120, DOI: [10.1080/14616742.2011.619781](https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2011.619781)

Marysia Zalewski & Anne Sisson Runyan (2013) Taking Feminist Violence Seriously in Feminist International Relations, *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 15:3, 293-313, DOI: [10.1080/14616742.2013.766102](https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2013.766102)

Dara Cohen. (2013). "Female Combatants and the Perpetration of Violence: Rape in the Sierra Leone Civil War," *World Politics* 65(3): 383-415

Class 11 – Mar. 24

No class, recharge day. – work on paper draft

Mar. 26 – Final paper draft due

Class 12 – Mar. 31

Anti-queer violence

How can we understand violence against LGBTQ communities? In what ways is this violence' political'?

Bettcher, Talia Mae. 2007. "Evil Deceivers and Make-Believers: On Transphobic Violence and the Politics of Illusion." *Hypatia* 22 (3). Cambridge University Press: 43–65. doi:10.1111/j.1527-2001.2007.tb01090.x.

Lamble, S. Retelling racialized violence, remaking white innocence: The politics of interlocking oppressions in transgender day of remembrance. *Sex Res Soc Policy* 5, 24 (2008). <https://doi.org/10.1525/srsp.2008.5.1.24>

Cannon, Claire. "Illusion of inclusion: The failure of the gender paradigm to account for intimate partner violence in LGBT relationships." *Partner Abuse* 6, no. 1 (2015): 65-77.

Meyer, Doug. *Violence against queer people: Race, class, gender, and the persistence of anti-LGBT discrimination*. Rutgers University Press, 2015. Ch. 2

Class 13 – Apr. 7

Student present & discuss drafts (in person – Place TBD)

Class 14 – Apr. 14

Responses to violence: the WPS agenda

In what ways have women responded to violence and conflict? What is the Women Peace and Security Agenda and what are its origins? In what ways does the WPS agenda transform ideas about conflict resolution? Global North/South relations? Research/policy? Local/Global?

Laura J. Shepherd (she/her/hers) (2020) Situating Women, Peace and Security: theorizing from "the local", *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 22:4, 456-461, DOI: [10.1080/14616742.2020.1796262](https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2020.1796262)

Hannah Wright (2020) "Masculinities perspectives": advancing a radical Women, Peace and Security agenda?, *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 22:5, 652-674, DOI: [10.1080/14616742.2019.1667849](https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2019.1667849)

Berry, Marie; Lake, Millie. 2020. *On Inconvenient findings*. Duck of Minerva Blog. <https://duckofminerva.com/2021/01/on-inconvenient-findings.html#more-40515>

Pick one (divided among the whole class):

Paula Drummond (she/her/hers) & Tamyá Rebelo (she/her/hers) (2020) Global pathways or local spins? National Action Plans in South America, *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 22:4, 462-484, DOI: [10.1080/14616742.2020.1783339](https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2020.1783339)

Dipti Tamang (she/her/hers) (2020) Rethinking "participation" in Women, Peace and Security discourses: engaging with "non-participant" women's movements in the Eastern borderlands of India, *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 22:4, 485-503, DOI: [10.1080/14616742.2020.1803098](https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2020.1803098)

Shweta Singh (she/her/hers) (2020) In between the *ulemas* and local warlords in Afghanistan: critical perspectives on the "everyday," norm translation, and UNSCR 1325, *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 22:4, 504-525, DOI: [10.1080/14616742.2020.1810587](https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2020.1810587)

Míla O'Sullivan (she/her/hers) & Kateřina Krulišová (she/her/hers) (2020) "This agenda will never be politically popular": Central Europe's anti-gender mobilization and the Czech Women, Peace and Security agenda, *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 22:4, 526-549, DOI: [10.1080/14616742.2020.1796519](https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2020.1796519)

Diana Højlund Madsen (she/her/hers) & Heidi Hudson (she/her/hers) (2020) Temporality and the discursive dynamics of the Rwandan National Action Plans on Women, Peace and Security from 2009 and 2018, *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 22:4, 550-571, DOI: [10.1080/14616742.2020.1779600](https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2020.1779600)

Nicole George (she/her/hers) & Pauline Soaki (she/her/hers) (2020) "Our struggle, our cry, our sweat": challenging the gendered logics of participation and conflict transition in Solomon Islands, *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 22:4, 572-593, DOI: [10.1080/14616742.2020.1798798](https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2020.1798798)

Class 15 – Apr. 21

Final paper & student presentations due