

Women Citizenship and conflict

1. War and femininity

War have always been conceptualised as male affairs conducted by men and for men and women, when considered at all have been seen as victims rather than perpetrator. This seminar will look at the impact of such notions on the lives of women that are active combatants and those who are not so defined

1. Why does feminism have an important contribution to make to the analysis of wars and conflicts?
2. Is war only about men and battles? If not why not?
3. What are the contributions that women can and do make at war times?

Abdo, Nahla, and Lentin, Ronit, editors, *Women and the Politics of Military Confrontation: Palestinian and Israeli Gendered Narratives of Dislocation*, New York & Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2002, p.61

Afshar, Haleh and Eade, Deborah (eds) (2004) *Development, Women, and War*. London: Oxfam.

Cockburn, Cynthia *Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence*. London: Zed Books.

Brownmiller, S. (1975) *Against our Will: Men, Women and Rape*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Carter, C., Branstron G., & Allan S. (1988) *News, Gender and Power*. London: Routledge.

Caprioli, M. (2000) 'Gendered conflict' *Journal of Peace Research* vol 37

Cleaver, F. (ed) *Masculinities matter: men, gender and development*. London: Zed Books.

Cleaver T & Wallace M 1990 *Namibia: Women in War* London Zed Books

Corrin, Chris (1996) *Women in a Violent World*, Edinburgh University Press

Cooke, Miriam, (1994) "Arab Women Arab Wars", in Gocek, Fatma Muge, and Balaghi, Shiva, editors, *Reconstructing Gender in the Middle East: Tradition, Identity and Power*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Cooke, M & Woolcott, A. (1994) (eds) *Gendering War Talk*. Princeton UP.

Enloe Cynthia (1988) *Does Khaki Become You? The Militarization of Women's Lives* London: Pluto Press.

Enloe Cynthia (1990) "Women and children: making feminist sense of the Persian Gulf crisis" *Village Voice* Sept 25

Goldstein, Joshua (2001) *War and Gender, How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gottschang Turner, Karen *Even Women Must fight; Memories of War from North Vietnam* (1998) New York: John Wiley.

Human Rights Watch / Africa (1996) *Shattered Lives. Sexual Violence During the Rwandan Genocide and its Aftermath*. London: Human Rights Watch.

International Feminist Journal of Politics (2006) Issue on 'Feminist international relations in the age of war on terror: Ideologies, religions and conflicts' vol 8 no 1

Jacobs, Susie, Jacobson, Ruth & Marchbank, Jennifer (eds) (2000) *States of Conflict. Gender, Violence and Resistance*. London: Zed Books.

Jayawardena, Kumari and Malathi de Alawis 1996 *Embodied Violence: Communalising Women's Sexuality in South Asia*. New Delhi: Kali for Women.

Jospeh, Ammu and Sharma, Kalpana (eds) (2003) *Terror and Counter Terror: Women Speak Out* London Zed Books

Matthews Jenny (2003) *Women and War* Pluto Press

Moser, Caroline O.N. & Clark, Fiona (eds), (2001) *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors?*

Reardon's Betty (2000) "Sexism and the War System" in David P. Barash (ed) *Approaches to Peace* Oxford U P,

Resources for Feminist Research, 2004 Vol. 30, Nos 3/4 Special issue on Women in a World of War and Militarization edited by Himani Bannerji and Shahrzad Mojab

Shehadeh, Rustum, Lamia (ed) (1999) *Women and War in Lebanon* University Press of Florida Gainesville

Shepherd, Laura (2006) "Veiled References: Construction of gender in the Bush Administration discourse on the attacks on Afghanistan post 9/11" *International Feminist Journal of Politics* vol 8 no 1

Sutton, Constance (ed) *Feminism, Nationalisms and Militarism* American Anthropology Association, Arlington

Taylor, Sandra, C. (1999) *Vietnamese Women at War* University press of Kansas

Turkshen, Meredith & Twagiramaryia, Clotilde (eds) (1998) *What Women Do in Wartime, Gender and conflict in Africa* Zed Press London

Vickers, Jean *Women and War* Zed Books

Where are the Girls? Girls in fighting forces in Northern Uganda, Sierra Leone and Mozambique <http://www.ichrdd.ca/english/commdoc/publications/women/Girls/girlsmainEN.html>

Warnock, Kitty (1990) *Land before Honour: Palestinian Women in the Occupied Territories*, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan.

Zalewski, Marysia (2005) "Gender ghosts in McGarry and O'Leary Representations of the conflict in Northern Ireland" in *Political Studies* 53/1 March.

Also consult <http://www.bridge.ids.ac.uk/reports.html>

Youngs Gillian (2006) "Feminist International relations in the age of the war on terror, ideologies, religions and conflict" *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 8/1

2. Front and Back

Traditional wars had been conceived of happening at the 'war front' with women staying 'back at home' to protect the hart. This seminar considers the relevance of such ideas in the context of contemporary wars.

1. Where are the battlefields and where are the women in them? Discuss giving specific examples.
2. What are the arguments denying the existence of fronts and backs to wars?
3. Are front and backs useful terminologies for understanding the situation of women and children in times of conflict?

Abdo, Nahla, and Lentin, Ronit, eds. (2002) *Women and the Politics of Military Confrontation: Palestinian and Israeli Gendered Narratives of Dislocation*, Berghahn Books.

Agustin, Ebba (1993) *Palestinian Women: Identity and Experience*. London: Zed Books.

Al-Radi Nuha (2003). *Baghdad Diaries: A Woman's Chronicle of War and Exile*. New York: Vantage Books.

Bennett, Olivia, Bexley, Jo, Warnock, Kitty (1995) *Arms to fight. Arms to Protect*, London: Panos,

Brownmiller, S 1975 *Against our Will: Men, Women and Rape*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Chew, H. A. (2005) Occupation Is Not (Women's) Liberation ZNet

<http://www.eldis.org/cf/rdr/rdr.cfm?doc=DOC18652>

KT Cockburn, Cynthia (2003), *The Line: Women, Partition and the Gender Order in Cyprus*. London: Zed Books

Cooke M. and Wollacott A. (eds) (Princeton, 1994) '*Gendering War Talk*'

Goldstein Joshua (2001) *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System* Cambridge U Press

- Dombrowski Daniel A. (2004) *Women and War in Twentieth Century* Routledge
- Enloe Cynthia (1990) "Women and children: making feminist sense of the Persian Gulf crisis" *Village Voice* Sept 25, 29ff
- KT** Enloe Cynthia (1992) *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* University of California Press
- Giles Wenona And Hyndman Jennifer Eds 2004 *Sites of Violence Gender and Conflict zones*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Haggith Gor, (2003) 'Education for War in Israel: Preparing Children to Accept War as a Natural Factor of Life.' In eds. Saltman, K. J. and Gabbard, D. A. *Education as Enforcement, The Militarization and Corporatization of Schools*, New York: Routledge,
- Hobson, M. (2005) *Girls in armed conflicts: the forgotten casualties of wars* Save the Children Fund <http://www.eldis.org/cf/rdr/rdr.cfm?doc=DOC17677>
- Lamb, Christine (2002) *The Sewing Circles of Herat* London: Flamingo
- Mayer, Tamar (ed) (1994) *Women and the Israeli Occupation; the politics of change* Routledge London
- Mikdadi (1983) *Surviving the siege of Beirut*
- KT** Nordstrom Carolyn (1997) *Girls and War zones. Troubling Questions*, Life and Peace Institute, Uppsala
- Nordstrom C and Martin J (eds) Carolyn (1992) *The Path to Domination, Resistance, and Terror* University of California Press, Berkeley
- Physicians for Human Rights (1998) *The Taliban's War on Women; a Health and Human Rights Crisis in Afghanistan* Physicians for Human Rights Washington
- Usher, Graham, "Palestinian women, the *intifada* and the state of independence: an interview with Rita Giacaman", *Race & Class*, 34, 3, 1992
- Sharoni Shirin "Homefront as a battlefield, gender, military occupation and violence against women" in Mayer T (ed) *Women and the Israeli Occupation; the politics of change* Routledge London 1994
- Usher, Graham, "Women, Islam and the law in Palestinian society", *Middle East International*, 23 September 1994
- Turshen Meredith & Twagiramariya, Clotilde (eds) 1998. *What women do in wartime : gender and conflict in Africa* London : Zed Books,
- Warnock, Kitty (1990) *Land Before Honour: Palestinian Women in the Occupied Territories*, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan,
- Young, Elise G, 1992 *Keepers of the History: Women and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, New York: Teachers College Press,
- Yuval-Davis, Nira (1987) "Front and rear: the sexual division of labour in the Israeli army" in Afshar H (ed) *Women, State and ideology; Studies from Africa and Asia* Macmillan Basingstoke

3. Women as revolutionaries, combatants and terrorists

The change of the role from housewife to combatant is seen as 'unnatural' and require different forms of justifications in different contexts; it also leads to very different outcomes. This seminar considers some of the relevant examples.

1. Are women failing in their duties when they become active participants in conflicts?
2. Is terrorism the exclusive domain of men? Can women remain feminine and be effective combatants?
3. Wars are fought by male warriors. Women, if they become warriors, will have to be so as inferior bearers of arms. Discuss

- African Rights (1995) *Rwanda Not So Innocent. When Women Become Killers*, London: African Rights
- KT** Cock, Jacklyn (1992) *Women and War in South Africa* Open Letters
- Cook David (2005) Women Fighting in Jihad? *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* Volume 28, Number 5 (September) pp. 375-384
- Corrin, Chris (1996) 'Women in a Violent World: Feminist Analyses and Resistance across Europe' *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* Volume 28, Number 5 (September) Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press
- D-Amico, Francine. 1998 'Feminist Perspective on Women Worriers.' In ed. Jennifer Turpin *Women and War Reader*, New York: NY University Press
- KT** Enloe Cynthia (1988) *Does Khaki Become You? The Militarization of Women's Lives* London Pluto Press
- Enloe Cynthia (2000) *Maneuvers The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*. Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press,
- Fox, Mary Jane (2004) "Girl soldiers, human security and gendered insecurity" *Security Dialogue* 35, 465-79
- Howes, Ruth H., and Stevenson, Michael R. (eds) (1993) *Women and the Use of Military Force*, Lynne Rienner.
- KT** MacDonald, Eileen. *Shoot the Women First: Inside the Secret World of Female Terrorists*. New York: Random House, 1991
- McKay Susan "Girls as "Weapons of Terror" in Northern Uganda and Sierra Leonean Rebel Fighting Forces" *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* Volume 28, Number 5 (September) pp. 385-397
- Brigitte Nacos (2005) The Portrayal of Female Terrorists in the Media: Similar Framing Patterns in the News Coverage of Women in Politics and in Terrorism *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* Volume 28, Number 5 (September) pp. 435-451
- Nasrallah, Emily (1992) *A House Not Her Own: Stories from Beirut* Charlottetown: Gynergy Books
- Ness Cindy(2005) "In the Name of the Cause: Women's Work in Secular and Religious Terrorism" *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* Volume 28, Number 5 (September) pp. 353-373
- Nivat Anne (2005) "The Black Widows: Chechen Women Join the Fight for Independence-and Allah" *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* Volume 28, Number 5 (September) pp. 413-419
- Nordstrom C and Martin J (eds) (1992) *The Path to Domination, Resistance, and Terror* University of California Press, Berkeley
- Nordstrom Carolyn "(Gendered) War" *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* Volume 28, Number 5 (September) pp. 399-411
- Taylor, Sandra, C. (1999) *Vietnamese Women at War* University press of Kansas
- KT** Turpin and Lorentsen (eds) 1998 *Women and War* NYU Press
- Seferdjeli, Ryme (2005) The French Army and Muslim Women During the Algerian War (1954-62) *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Volume 28, Number 5, September-October, pp. 413-419(7)
- Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* Volume 28, Number 5 (September 2005)
- Sutton, Constance (ed) (1997) *Feminism, Nationalisms and Militarism* American Anthropology Association, Arlington

4. Martyrdom, Marriage, Motherhood, Honour and the Media

Wars divide men and women into martyrs and mothers. Men are martyrs and women are producers of worriers. This seminar considers the implication of these ideas on women's lives

1. Consider critically the arguments that suggest that wars are fought to protect the home and hearth and “womenandchildren”.
2. If women are the guardians of the cradle and the graves, then they have to have a high profile as willing victims. Discuss the different positions that states and their people might have about this question.
3. Martyrdom as a motive of sacrifice devalues what women have to contribute to war efforts. Discuss
4. Is honour a masculine concept? Discuss giving specific examples
5. What is the part played by the media in perpetuating the myths of motherhood and martyrdom?

Afshar (1982), "Khomeini's teachings and their implications for women." *Feminist Review* No.12, Summer pp. 59-73.

Banerjee Sikata (2006)“Armed Masculinity, Hindu nationalism and female political participation in India: heroic mothers, chaste wives and celibate warriors *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 8/1

Engineer Asghar Ali (March 2001) *Tragedy Of Kerbala And Importance Of Martyrdom*. Institute of Islamic Studies and Centre for Study of Society and Secularism

Peteet, Julie (2002) “Icons and Militants: Mothering in the Danger Zone”, in Saliba, Therese, Allen, Carolyn, and Howard, Judith A, editors, *Gender, Politics and Islam*, Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press.

Ruddick, Sara (1989) *Maternal Thinking: Toward a Politics of Peace*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Sayigh, Rosemary, 2002 “Remembering Mothers, Forming Daughters: Palestinian Women’s Narratives in Refugee Camps in Lebanon”, in Abdo, Nahla, and Lentin, Ronit, editors, *Women and the Politics of Military Confrontation: Palestinian and Israeli Gendered Narratives of Dislocation*. Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Sen, Sanita 1993 ‘Motherhood and mothercraft: gender and nationalism in Bengal’ *Gender and History* 5/2: 231-43.

KT Swerdlow, Amy (1993) *Women Strike for Peace: Traditional Motherhood and Radical Politics in the 1960s*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

5. Identity and citizenship

Women have for too long been identified in terms of their decedents from and dependence on men, this may explain their marginalisation. This seminar considers the construction of national identity and citizenships for women both where they are the majority and where they are in minority situations

1. Discuss critically the view that women’s attenuated identity as citizen has been important in making them seem as a minority even in countries where they are the majority
2. If motherhood and domesticity become important identifiers of women , then the battle to gain equal citizenship rights become almost impossible
3. Discuss the view that given the double burden of paid work and domestic work, women’s struggles to be recognised as equal citizen add an third and unacceptable burden for them to carry.

- Abu-Lughod, L (ed) (1998) *Remaking Women; Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East* Princeton University Press, Princeton
- Aisha Gill (2004) *Honour-Based Violence*, London: Change Kvinnoforum.
- Al-Bahr, Zahra, "Women of the camps: a special way of life", *Middle East International*, 20 March 1987.
- Amin, Michael 2002 *The Making of the Modern Iranian Woman; Gender, State Policy and Popular Culture 1865-1946* University Press of Florida
- Balakrishnan Gopa (ed) 1996 *Mapping the Nation* New York Verso
- KT** Bhavnanai, Kum-Kum Foran John and Kurian Priya, (eds) 2003 *Feminist Future Re-imagining Women, Culture and Development* London Zed books
- Beasley Chris, Bacchi Carol 2000 Citizen Bodies: embodying citizens – a feminist analysis *International Feminist Journal of Politics* Volume 2, Number 3 / December p 337 – 358
- Bickham Mendez, Jennifer 2002 Gender and Citizenship in a Global Context: The Struggle for Maquila Workers' Rights in Nicaragua *Ethnic and Racial Studies* Volume 9, Number 1 / January-March pp 7-38
- G. Bock & S. James (Eds) (1992) *Beyond Equality and Difference: citizenship, feminist politics feminist subjectivity* (London, Routledge).
- KT** Botman, Selma 'Engendering Citizenship in Egypt' Margaret L. Meriwether and Judith E. Tucker (eds), *A Social History of Women and Gender in the Modern Middle East*
- Buijs, (ed.) (1996) *Migrant Women Crossing Boundaries and Changing Identities*. Washington, D.C. BERG
- Chatterjee Partha 1993 *The Nations and Its Fragments* New York Oxford University Press
- Cohen Anthony (ed.) (2000) *Signifying Identities: Anthropological perspectives on boundaries and contested values*. London: Routledge.
- DeCosta-Willis Miriam *Daughters of the Diaspora: Afra-Hispanic Writers*
- Einhorn, Barbara 1993 *Cinderella goes to market; Citizenship, Gender and Women's Movements in Eastern Europe* New York Verso
- Esther Scheley-Newman (2002) *Our Lives are but stories; Narratives of Tunisian –Israeli women* Wayne State University
- Heitlinger A (ed.) (1999). *Émigré Feminism*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press
- KT** Kandiyoti, D (2001) "The Politics of Gender and the Conundrums of Citizenship" in S. Joseph and S. Slymovics (eds.) *Women and Power in the Middle East*, Penn.: University of Pennsylvania Press, pp.52-58.
- Hobson, B. (2000) *Gender and Citizenship in Transition* (New York, Routledge).
- James, S. (1992) 'The Good enough Citizen: Feeyond Equality and Difference London Routledge S. James (eds)
- Joseph, S. (1996) 'Gender and Citizenship in Middle Eastern States' , *Merip*, 6(1)pp 4-11.
- Joseph S & Sylomovics S (eds) *Women and Power in the Middle East* Philadelphia University of Pensilvania Press
- KT** Lister, Ruth, (2003) *Citizenship : feminist perspectives*;. Basingstoke : Palgrave,.
- Lovell Nadia (ed) (1998) *Locality and Belonging*. Routledge.
- Mojab Shahrzad and Abdo Nahla (eds) 2004 *Violence in the Name of Honour: Theoretical and Political Challenges* Bilgi University Press: Istanbul, Turkey
- Monica Mookherjee (2005) "Affective citizenship: feminism, postcolonialism and the politics of recognition" *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Volume 8, Number 1, March, pp. 31-50(20)
- Moser, C O N (1992) "Adjustment from below" in Afshar H and Dennis C *Women and Adjustment* (Macmillan)
- Nash, Kate (2001) *Feminism and Contemporary Liberal Citizenship: The Undecidability of 'Women' Citizenship Studies* Volume 5, Number 3 / November 1 pp255 – 268

Nayak Meghana (2006) "Orientalism and 'saving' US identity after 9/11" *International Feminist Journal of Politics* vol 8 no 1

Peece, Julia 2002 Feminist Perspectives on the Learning of Citizenship and Governance *Compare*, Vol. 32, No. 1

Prokhovnic, R. (1998) Public and private citizenship: from gender invisibility to feminist inclusiveness, *Feminist Review*, 60, pp. 84–104.

Ray Kathryn 2003 "Constituting 'Asian women': Political representation, identity politics and local discourses of participation" *Ethnic and Racial Studies* Volume 26, Number 5 / September pp 854 – 878

KT Sunder Rajan, Rajeswari 2003 *The Scandal of the State: Women Law and Citizenship in postcolonial India* Durham NC Duke University Press

KT Thompson, Elizabeth *Colonial Citizens: Republican Rights, Paternal Privilege, and Gender in French Syria and Lebanon*

Vertovec Steven and Rogers Alisdair (eds) (1998) *Muslim European Youth: Reproducing ethnicity, religion, culture*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Walby, S. (1994) Is citizenship gendered? *Sociology*, 28(2), pp. 379–395.

Wilford, Rick and Miller Robert L. (1998) *Women, Ethnicity and Nationalism; the Politics of Transition* London Routledge

Women, War, Diaspora and Learning <http://www.utoronto.ca/wwdl>

Yuval-Davis (1977) 'Women citizenship and difference' *Feminist Review* 57:4027

6. Citizenship and nationalism

Citizenship has generally been seen as a male attribute. This seminar considers some feminist perspectives on post war definition of citizenship.

1. What are the major contentions of feminist about the definitions of citizenships?
2. Do cultures and ideologies of nationalism necessarily marginalise women?
3. Do post war nations facilitate or hamper the development of a feminist approach to citizenship? Discuss giving specific examples

Anthias, Floya and Yuval Davis, Nira 1993 *Racialized Boundaries Race, Nation, Gender, Colour and Class and the Anti-Racist Struggle* Routledge

Balakrishnan Gopa ed 1996 *Mapping the Nation* New York Verso

Chatterjee Partha 1993 *The Nations and Its Fragments* New York Oxford University Press

Barry, Kathleen Vitna (1996) *Women in Transition* Macmillan Basingstoke Bhavnani, Kum-Kum Foran John and Kurian, Priya (eds) (2003) *Feminist Future Re-imagining Women, Culture and Development Edited* London Zed books

Brah, Avtar 1993 'Re-framing Europe: en-gendered racisms, ethnicities and nationalisms in contemporary Western Europe', *Feminist Review*, vol. 45, pp. 9–29

KT Cooke, Miriam (1988) *War's Other Voices Women Writers on the Lebanese Civil War* London Cambridge University Press

Kaufman, Joyce P and Williams Kristen P 2004 "Who belongs? Women marriage and citizenship; Gendered nationalism and the Balkan wars" in *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 6:3 September Key Texts photocopies, number P4468

- Minault, G. (ed.) (1989.) *The Extended Family: Women & Political Participation in India & Pakistan*, Delhi, Chanahya,
- KT Jayawardena, Kumari 1986 *Feminism and nationalism in the Third World* New York Zed books
- Kaplan, C Alrcon, N & Moallem M (eds) (1999) *Between Women and Nation- Nationalisms, Transnational Feminisms and the State*, Duke University
- Kantola Johanna 2006-*Feminists Theorize the State* Palgrave/Macmillan. (ISBN: 0230000258
- Lister, R. *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives* (2nd edn, 2003)
- KT Majaj, Lisa Suhair, Sunderman Paula W& Salibas Theresa *Intersections Gender Nation and Community in Arab Women's Novels* Syracuse University Press 2002
- KT Makdisi, Jean Said (1990) *Beirut Fragments: A War Memoire* New York Persia Books
- Milie, Andjelka 1993 'Women and Nationalism in former Yugoslavia' in *Gender Politics and Post-communism* edited by Nannette Funk and Magda Mueller New York Routledge
- Mojab Shahrzad (ed) 2001 *Women of a Non-State Nation: The Kurds* Mazda Publication Costa Mesa California
- KT Ranchod-Nilsson, Sita and Tereault, Mary Ann (eds) 2000 *Women, States and nationalism; a home in the nation?* Rutledge, London and New York
- Sawer, Marian Tremblay Manon Trimbl Linda (eds) *Representing Women in Parliament, A Comparative Study*,
- KT Sutton, Constance (ed) (1997) *Feminism, Nationalisms and Militarism* American Anthropology Association, Arlington
- Vickers (2006) "Bringing nations in: some methodological and conceptual issues in connecting feminisms with nationhood and nationalisms" *International Feminist Journal of Politics* vol 8 no 1
- Whitehead, S. (2000) Masculinities, race and nationhood: critical connections , *Gender and History*, 12(2),
- Wadud Amina *Inside the Gender Jihad; Women's Reform in Islam* Tauris 2006
- KT Yuval Davis, Nira 1997 *Gender and Nation* Sage

7. Post war and reconstruction

If wars are assumed to have been waged by men and for men so post war and reconstruction would also be so imagined. This seminar considers some of the problems for women emerging from this framework.

1. Women are seen as quintessentially peaceful yet they are not there during peace making. Why not?
2. Are there major differences between male and female perspectives on war and reconstruction? Discuss giving specific examples
3. What would women bring to the process of reconstruction that has not normally been included?

Abdo, Nahla, *Engendering Compensation: Making Refugee Women Count*. Prepared for the Expert and Advisory Services Fund International Development Research Centre, Ottawa, March 2000, www.arts.mcgill.ca/MEPP/PRRN,abdo.html

African Centre for Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD) (2003) *Women, War And Peace* <http://www.eldis.org/cf/rdr/rdr.cfm?doc=DOC14476>

Ahmed Gosh Huma "Voices of Afghan women: human rights and economic development" *International Feminist Journal of Politics* vol 8 no 1

Amnesty International (AI) (2005): Afghanistan: Women Still Under Attack - A Systematic Failure to Protect <http://www.eldis.org/cf/rdr/rdr.cfm?doc=DOC19219>

- Blanchard Eric M (2003) "Gender , International relations and the development of feminist security theory" *Sign* pp 1289-1`312
- Bouta, Tsjard and Frerks Georg. *Women's Roles in Conflict Prevention, Conflict Resolution and Post-conflict Reconstruction: Literature Review and Institutional Analysis* The Conflict Research Unit of the Netherlands Institute of International Relations www.clingendael.nl/cru
- Byrne, Bridget, Marcus, Rachel and Powers-Stevens, Tanya (1996) *Gender, Conflict and Development. Case Studies*, BRIDGE Report No. 35, IDS, University of Sussex In Donini, A. Niland,N. and Wermester, K. (eds.) (2004) *Nation-Building Unraveled? Aid, Peace and Justice* Kumarian Press, Bloomfield CT
- Caprioli Mary (2004) "Democrnacy and human rights versasklwomen's security, a contradction?" *Security Dialogue* 35 411-28
- KT** Enloe, Cynthia *The Morning After Sexual politics at the end of the cold war*
- Feinnan, I. R. (1998) 'Women Warrior/Peace Makers: Until the Real Feminists Please Stand Up' in ed. Turpin J. *Women and Peace Reader*, New York: New York University press
- Goldblatt, Beth and Meintjes, Sheila (1996) 'Gender and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. A Submission to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission', May
- Gobodo-Madikizela, P. (2005) *Women's Contributions To South Africa's Truth And Reconciliation Commission* Women Waging Peace, Cambridge and Washington <http://www.eldis.org/cf/rdr/rdr.cfm?doc=DOC18623>
- Hamber, B Hillyard P et al (2006) "Discourses in Transition: Re-imagining women and security" *International Relations* vol 20 (4) pp 487-502
- Hudson Heidi (2005) "Doing" security as though humans matter: a feminist perspective on gender and the politics of human security" *Security Dialogue* 36 1550-74
- Korac, Maja (1998) *Linking Arms. Women and War in Post-Yugoslav States*, Life and Peace Institute, Uppsala
- KT** Lake A (ed) (1990) *After the Wars*, Transaction Publishers, New Jersey
- KT** Mayer, Tamar (ed) *Women and the Israeli Occupation; the politics of change* Routledge London 1994
- Meintjes, Sheila, Anu Pillay and Meredith Turshen (eds.) (2001) *The Aftermath: Women in Post-Conflict Transformation*. London: Zed Book
- Menon Ritu and Bhasin, Kamla (1998) *Borders and Boundaries: Women in India's Partition*. New Delhi: Kali for Women
- Nauphal, Naila, "Women and other war-affected groups in post-war Lebanon", in Date-Bah, Eugenia, Walsh, Martha, and others, editors, *Gender and Armed conflicts: Challenges for Decent Work, Gender Equity and Peace Building Agendas and Programmes*, Working Paper 2, Infocus Programme on Crisis Response and Reconstruction, Geneva: Recovery and Reconstruction Department, International Labour Organization, March 2001.
- Olsson, L.; Skjelsbaek, I.; Fredrikke Barth E.; Hostens, K(2004). *Gender Aspects Of Conflict Interventions: Intended And Unintended Consequences* International Peace Research Institute, Oslo(PRIO) Available online at: <http://www.eldis.org/cf/rdr/rdr.cfm?doc=DOC15081>
- Rojas, C. (2004) *Women Waging Peace*, Cambridge and Washington <http://www.eldis.org/cf/rdr/rdr.cfm?doc=DOC18612>
- KT** Pankhurst, Donna and Pearce, Jenny (1997) 'Engendering the Analysis of Conflict: Perspectives from the South', in Afshar, Haleh (ed), *Women and Empowerment*, Routledge Riverbend *Baghdad Burnin : Girl Blog From Iraq* Marion Boyars 2004
- Sharoni, Simona, "Gendering Conflict and Peace in Israel/Palestine and the North of Ireland", *Millennium Journal of International Studies*, Vol 27, No 4, 1998
- Sultan, M.; Powley, E.; Levine, C (2005). *From Rhetoric To Reality: Afghan Women On The Agenda For Peace* Women Waging Peace, Cambridge and Washington <http://www.eldis.org/cf/rdr/rdr.cfm?doc=DOC18563>
- UN (1998) Commission for the Status of Women,
UNIFEM *Resolution on Women and Armed Conflict Not A Minute More: Ending Violence Against Women* http://www.unifem.org/index.php?f_page_pid=207

Walsh, Martha (2000) 'Aftermath: The Impact of Conflict on Women in Bosnia and Herzegovina' Working Paper No. 302, Centre for Development of Information and Evaluation, USAID, Washington

Zalewski Marysia and Parpart Jane (eds) 1998 *The 'Man' Question in International Relations*, Westview.

Women Waging Peace; International Alert (2004) *Gender, Conflict And Peace building. Inclusive Security, Sustainable Peace: A Toolkit For Advocacy And Action* Produced by: Women Waging Peace, Cambridge and Washington
<http://www.eldis.org/cf/rdr/rdr.cfm?doc=DOC18571>

8. Peace and feminisms

If peace is to be long lasting then it is necessary to re-examine the concept of peace to include women at its centre rather than the periphery

1. What does a feminist peace process ask of the parties in the conflict?
2. Is the process of reconciliation necessarily feminine?
3. What are the costs and benefits of pursuing a feminist peace politics?

Brock-Utne B (1985) *Education for Peace a Feminist Perspective* New York Pergamon
Breines, Ingeborg, Dorota Gierycz and Betty Reardon, (1999). *Towards a Women's Agenda for a Culture of Peace*. Paris: UNESCO

Butalis Urvashi (2002). *Speaking Peace: Women's Voices from Kashmir*. London: Zed Books.
Karram, Azza (2001) 'Women in War and Peace-Building: The roads traversed, the challenged ahead' *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 3:1 April

KT Ferris, Elizabeth (1993) *Women, War and Peace*, Life and Peace Institute, Research Report 14, Uppsala

Galtung, Johan (1995) 'Twenty-Five Years of Peace Research: Ten Challenges and Responses', *Journal of Peace Research*, 22

KT Harris, Adrienne, and Ynestra King, editors. (1989) *Rocking the Ship of State: Toward a Feminist Peace Politics*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press

Karame Kari and Bertinussen (2001) *Gendering Human Security: from marginalisation to the integration of women in Peace building* Oslo Norwegian Institute of International affairs and Fafo institute for Applied Social Sciences

Meintjes Sheila, Pillay Anu and Turshen Meredith, (eds), 2001 *The Aftermath: Women In Post-Conflict Transformation*: Zed Books, London and New York

Reardon, Betty. (1993) *Women and Peace: Feminist Visions of Global Security*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press,

Rehn, Elizabeth and Sirleaf, Ellen (2001) 'Women War and Peace: the independent experts' assessment of the impact of armed conflict on women and women's role in peace building in *Progress of the World's Women* vol 1
<http://www.unifem.undp.org/resources/assessment/index.html>

Ruddick, Sara. 1989. *Maternal Thinking: Toward a Politics of Peace*. Boston: Beacon Press,
Rustum Shehadeh, Lamia (ed) 1999 *Women and War in Lebanon* University Press of Florida Gainesville

Swerdlow, Amy. (1993). *Women Strike for Peace: Traditional Motherhood and Radical Politics in the 1960s* Chicago: University of Chicago Press,
UNIFEM 2003 *Portal on Women, Peace & Security*, 23 September

<http://www.womenwarpeace.org/>

UNIFEM (2006) *Iraq Gender profile : Women War and Peace***<http://www.womenwarpeace.org/iraq/iraq.htm>**

KT United Nations, 2002 *Women, Peace and Security*, study submitted by the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council resolution 1325 (2000), New York. United Nations. *UN Resolution 1325*

Turpin J. *Women and Peace Reader*, (1998) New York: New York University press

Vasantha Kannabiran Melkote, Rama ; Maheshwari, Uma; Tharu, Susie and

Shatrucna Veena (1989). *'We Were Making History...': Life Stories of Women in the Telangana People's Struggle*. London: Zed Books.