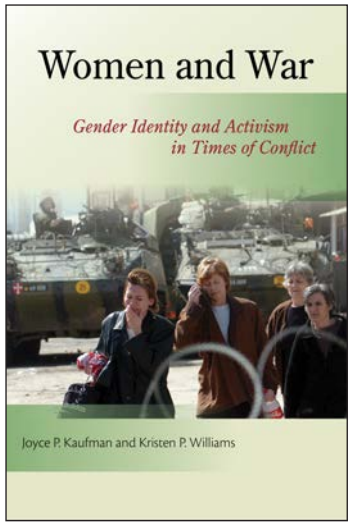
EXCERPTED FROM

Women and War: Gender Identity and Activism in Times of Conflict

Joyce P. Kaufman and
Kristen P. Williams



ISBNs: 978-1-56549-310-0 hc
978-1-56549-309-4 pb

Kumarian Press
A Division of Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc. • Boulder & London

1800 30th Street, Suite 314
Boulder, CO 80301 USA
telephone 303.444.6684
fax 303.444.0824

Contents

Chapter 1

Introduction

Women have long struggled with issues of citizenship, identity, and the challenge of being recognized as equal members of the society. The same society that values and reveres women as symbols used to create national identity ("mother country") as well as for their responsibility for producing the next generation also diminishes or minimizes the role that they play as productive contributors to the society. This duality that surrounds the perception of women is often exaggerated in times of war and conflict where the symbolism—or myths—of womanhood are essential to the very survival of the country. Yet the political reality is such that the decisions regarding war and conflict are generally made by men within the political system from which women are excluded.

The patriarchal nature of most social and political systems often provides barriers to women's involvement in the formal political process, a place in which women could effect significant change. Women frequently are imbued with essentialist characteristics such as peaceful and collaborative, which could be beneficial to the political system under any set of circumstances. At the same time, women are blocked from participating in the political processes that could bring about peace in times of conflict, or that could alter the structure of the system that resulted in the conflict initially.

This leads to a series of questions regarding the political options that are available to women who are affected by conflicts but who are also removed from the political decision-making process that led to the conflict in the first place. Depending on the circumstances, women have four major options for responding to situations of conflict: (1) do nothing, (2) become politically active to help resolve the conflict, (3) actively participate in the conflict as belligerents engaged in violence, or (4) flee the fighting as refugees. Regardless of which option ultimately is selected, women are forced to deal with the situation in some way that requires a conscious choice. And in responding, women have agency.

For this research our primary questions pertain to the ways in which women interact with and then react to the political processes and decisions that affect them

at various stages from before the onset of conflict, to the conflict situation, and then the process of conflict resolution and the peacebuilding that follows (in this book we focus on internal/intrastate rather than interstate conflicts). Underlying these series of questions are a number of other equally important questions about women's political activism, specifically what prompts women to take political action at various stages of a conflict, what types of actions they take, and how they can—and do—have an impact when the reality is that, for the most part, they are excluded from political decision-making and mainstream avenues of political power. In this research our focus is primarily on option two of women's possible responses, specifically, women who choose to become politically active in such a way as to help resolve the conflict and then work toward the reconstruction of the post-conflict society.

The central question that has guided the creation of this research is, What happened to the women? We mean that in a number of different ways. What happened to women as a society was building toward war, often something that women can see yet are powerless to stop because of their exclusion from the centers of decision-making? What happens to women during conflict, and how do they react to and cope with situations of conflict? What happened to women during the process of conflict resolution? Do women participate? Do they get seats at the negotiating table? Can and do they make a difference? And, perhaps our most important question, what happened to these same women who engaged in political action specifically to resolve the conflict or for peace during situations of conflict after the violence ends? Do they become part of the system that had previously excluded them? Or do they remain outside the formal political system either by choice or because of structural constraints, or both?

Before we can begin to answer the questions surrounding what happened to the women, it is important to understand the genesis of them. In an earlier book[1] we explored questions about citizenship and nationalism, and the ways in which these become gendered concepts. Major areas of interest were to understand the ways in which women become politicized and how that political activism is manifested, especially in societies in conflict. In the course of looking at the four cases that we studied—the United States, former Yugoslavia, Israel/Palestine, and Northern Ireland—we came to some interesting conclusions that led us to ask, What happened to the women? In effect, what we saw was that although war and conflict affect women directly, they are generally removed from the decisions that lead to political violence. Yet, they are also affected by conflict and war in ways that are different from men who are engaged in the actual fighting. For example, women experience sexual violence such as rape and forced pregnancy, widowhood and becoming heads of household, all of which are largely unique to women.

As a country moves toward war, whether interstate or intrastate, the social and political structure changes, as do the economic priorities, all of which have a direct

effect on women. In fact, as a government begins to make the "guns and butter" economic trade-offs that are necessary for a society at war, the social safety net upon which many women depend is removed, leaving them vulnerable while also relatively politically powerless. Cynthia Cockburn notes that the militarization of society "is accompanied by high expenditure on arms." The expenditure on weapons "is often at the expense of spending on public services, including health and education."[2] This is quantifiable and is something that the "average" citizen would notice and experience. Furthermore, these costs are usually borne by women long before war breaks out. According to Jodi York, "Poor women pay it [the costs of conflict] daily when governments divert funds from social services that benefit the poor to defense spending. . . . Since the poor are predominantly women and children, it is from their mouths that social spending is diverted to feed war-making capabilities."[3] Given the economic impact that conflict situations and even the pre-conflict buildup have on women, the question remains what can—or what do—women do to address this?

Similarly, as women work in the community and talk to their neighbors, they are perhaps more sensitive to the changes between or among groups that could escalate into ethnic, religious, or nationalist conflict. Yet, they have few options in addressing these changes. In fact, we could argue, it is women's ability to "dialogue across differences," in the words of Elisabeth Porter,[4] that makes them less willing to accept the notion of "the other"—which has contributed to the proliferation of ethnic and religious conflicts we have seen since the end of the Cold War—and more willing to work for peace.

Once conflict or war erupts within a country, and in this book we focus on internal conflicts rather than interstate conflicts, it is often women who take the lead in pushing for resolution of that conflict or moving the country toward a situation of peace. Research has shown that it is not that women are simply seeking an end to the conflict, but, in fact, that they want to see the post-conflict reconstruction of society address the structural issues that contributed to the outbreak of violence.[5] For women, seeking peace is not just about ending war; it is also about ensuring a system of social justice and equality, eliminating John Galtung's idea of "structural violence,"[6] so that further acts of political violence will be less likely in the future.

There has been a significant amount written about the impact of conflict on women, and we recognize the value of the work that has been and continues to be done in this area.[7] In this volume we draw on a rich body of work but focus specifically on the types of political activism that women engage in at various stages in order to make their voices heard specifically to resolve the conflict. It is important that we make the point here that in describing women's political activism or the ways in which they respond politically to situations of conflict we do not mean to suggest that women were or are passive victims of a situation thrust upon them,

although in some cases that might be the case. Rather, our starting assumption is that because women generally have limited input into political decision-making, any actions that they take will be *after* and generally in response to the larger political decisions that were made to engage in conflict at all. In fact, it is in the determination to take action, and in deciding upon the types of actions to engage in, that women gain political power and agency.[8] Or, as Haleh Afshar writes, "Conflicts can both empower and disempower women, since women can be at the same time included in practice and yet excluded ideologically, or they may be both victims and agents of change—though they often have no effective choice in these matters."[9] Women may opt to fight or take action, or they may choose to do nothing. Regardless of which they choose, they will not be untouched or unscathed by the conflict around them.

Similarly, although we generalize and refer to "women" throughout this book, we in no way assert that women are a monolithic group and that all women feel and respond the same ways. In fact, one of the criticisms leveled against mainstream or traditional international relations by feminist IR (international relations) theorists is exactly that: the tendency to generalize across "women" (when women are mentioned at all) thereby minimizing the impact of individual women or groups of women, and also distorting the range of positions that various women hold. Not only do we recognize these differences, but we value the range of opinions and points of view that women have. However, for purposes of our analysis, it is important to identify and generalize the most important strands of thought that women follow while also acknowledging that doing so cannot possibly capture the complexity of the reality.

As Inger Skjelsbaek describes feminism in her report on gendered battlefields: "The feminist activist movement fought for liberation for *all* women in the same manner. In order to achieve this it was important to portray women as a coherent group with similar qualities and problems. It was also important to show that women's interests were qualitatively different from those of men."[10] Hence, generalizing across groups of women becomes an important heuristic device that will allow us to draw important conclusions.

One of the critical decisions that women make is in determining the *type* of actions in which to engage: women supporting war, women opposed to war by virtue of their "motherist" position (that is, building on a more traditional, and essentialist, social role), and those opposed to war for overtly feminist reasons (who may also oppose war in their role as mothers). In the cases of women who opposed war and worked for peace, whether they were motivated by their traditional roles as wives or mothers or because as feminists they opposed the militaristic decisions made by male decision-makers, the immediate goal was the same, and that was to bring an end to the conflict. Yet one can also discern differences in long-term goals. Feminist activists seek to change the patriarchal structure of society and bring about

a more just and equal society after the conflict ends. We are interested in the ways women self-identified, and therefore we placed their actions into one of these categories. We are also interested in the *manner* in which women worked for peace. For example, did they work together to begin to facilitate support within their own community? Did they seek to influence the political system by trying to get elected and working within the system as the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition did in responding to the conflict between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland? Or did they remain outside the formal political process but seek to effect change by lobbying or bringing various forms of pressure to bear? And what did women want to accomplish beyond just ending the conflict?

Our earlier research led us to conclude that during conflict, although there are cases where women "clearly put their nationalist identity above gender identity, in many cases those women who were most politically active pursued an agenda that furthered gender identity."[11] In fact, there are numerous cases of women and women's groups who integrated positions that pertained to issues of gender as part of their campaign for peace. For example, initially founded in Israel in 1988 to protest Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, over time Women in Black broadened its agenda "to protest war, rape as a tool of war, ethnic cleansing, and human rights abuses all over the world."[12]

Conversely, Cockburn addresses the cases of women who elevate their national identity when she writes that "women cannot . . . claim clean hands in the matter of war. They often support belligerent movements." And she supports that claim with some very specific cases, such as "the entirely female elite battalion of suicide bombers of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam" in Sri Lanka who fought for independence for the Tamils. One of these female suicide bombers assassinated the Indian prime minister, Rajiv Gandhi, in 1991.[13] During the Bosnian War in the early 1990s, which pitted Serbs, Croats, and Muslims against one another, all female militias were also created based on women's national identities.[14]

Clearly, these examples illustrate the range of options open to women in deciding how to respond to or take action regarding their society in conflict. York makes another interesting point about the ways in which women can support war and conflict, albeit implicitly if not explicitly, through the roles that they play in many societies. Oftentimes, women might not see these actions as supporting the conflict as much as taking on important social roles. She notes that "women's support is as necessary to war as that of men; women serve as nurses, prostitutes, primary school teachers who glorify war and patriotic mothers who raise their sons to be soldiers."[15] One could even argue that women are necessary contributors to conflict and war while, at the same time, using many of those traditional roles to fight against it.

Our prior research indicates that during conflict, women often coalesce around a more traditional gender identity, allowing them to pursue issues "as wives" or as "mothers," identities seen as less threatening in a patriarchal structure already deeply

divided.[16] This does not preclude women political activists from taking positions and roles that are more overtly political. For example, in Northern Ireland, women were placed on government commissions, such as the Parades Commission and the District Policing Partnerships as well as the Human Rights Commission, all overtly political positions that allowed them to address broader political issues head on.[17] But those tend to be representative of a smaller number of cases than the number of women who joined together in opposition to conflict using a more traditional gender identity as the coalescing force as seen in Northern Ireland and in other countries as well.

Situations of conflict can also cause women to move beyond those traditional roles and take on new ones. As Donna Pankhurst notes, in some cases the circumstances of war and conflict resulted in "moments of liberation from the old social order. As the need arose for them [women] to take on men's roles in their absence, so they had to shake off the restrictions of their culture and live in a new way."[18] In fact, what this means is that whether they wanted to or not, women were often thrust from the private realm into the public, and many found it not only liberating but life changing. It is that political and social empowerment that can take place during conflict that emboldens women to take political action not only during the conflict but subsequently. In this way the binary divide between the private and public spheres is not so clear cut. Rather, the public versus private spheres are better understood as a continuum, with women crossing these spheres.[19]

The essentialist "motherist" position or reliance on a more traditional women's role has advantages for women who opt for political action in both the position it takes (bring an end to the conflict that is killing our husbands and children) and the representation or symbolism that goes with it. This is especially important given the symbolic roles that women often play in spurring a country, a society, or a particular group toward conflict, for example, fighting for the "mother country," or the recognition of "gold star mothers" who sacrifice one or more children for their country.[20] Who, within a society, could object to parents uniting against what many perceived as the unjust Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 (Parents Against Silence), or to the creation of a women's peace movement in Northern Ireland founded by two women "as a response to the deaths of three children struck by an IRA car, whose driver had been shot by an army patrol"?[21] Sanam Naraghi Anderlini's work shows that activists such as the Argentine Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo used their motherhood identity as a means to challenge the authoritarian government's policy of dealing with political dissent in which people "disappeared." A society and regime that espouses "motherhood as the ultimate virtue" faces difficulty in responding to such activism in a heavy-handed manner.[22] Thus, drawing on their common and traditional roles as women often allows groups to coalesce and bring attention to the need to end a conflict in a way that is not perceived as threatening—or is perceived as less threatening—to the dominant

political culture or group. Moreover, in "embrac[ing] their gender essentialism," women are expressing their agency.[23]

But as York also notes, this approach poses problems in that "it accepts women's subordinate role in our society. Some argue that doing 'women's work,' rather than making life better or increasing the likelihood of peace, merely collaborates with patriarchy by ameliorating its worst aspects, making patriarchal and militaristic oppression more bearable."[24] Even with agency, using gender essentialisms really only "reinforces patriarchal values and hierarchies." Moreover, as feminists have noted, when women's movements utilize their traditional domestic roles as their identity, these movements, according to Elissa Helms, "are too easily co-opted by patriarchal, male-dominated nationalist movements."[25]

This approach also raises the danger that once the conflict ends, as many scholars have shown, women will be expected to shrink from the spotlight and to return to their traditional (and subordinate) roles once again.[26] However, this traditional route might be the best—or only—option open to engage women in trying to influence the political process, especially women who had not been involved prior to the outbreak of conflict. The challenge is whether long-term structural changes in the society that will elevate women's status and equality can be achieved. Evidence from scholars suggests that such achievement is elusive.

In trying to engage with the political system or with the larger society as a whole prior to or during a situation of conflict, women have another barrier that they need to overcome: "The propaganda machines used by states are too powerful and more prepared than women, who are often stepping into the fray for the first time. National security, typically defined within a military discourse, is not a domain in which women civil society activists feel comfortable."[27] This, too, often propels women to act within the confines of the areas that they know best and in which they are most comfortable, that is, as wives and mothers or within the boundaries of their community, where they can work with a small group of people and can build situations of trust.

Consequently, engaging women in a political response in periods of conflict forces women to address an area that is traditionally defined not only as masculine, but one that is virtually the exclusive domain of men. This further excludes women from decision-making. For that reason, examples abound of women who work within their own communities, often across existing social/ethnic/religious divisions, in order to try to effect change. While this might not change the outcome of the decision to engage in war, conflict, or societal violence, according to Patrick Regan and Aida Paskeviciute, such activities provide additional avenues within which women can have an influence on the political process. They note that "women's potential involvement in the political process" can provide a constraint on the timing of the start of war; in other words, when men make the decision to initiate war. They found that even at the community level, where women's involvement is most

likely, women "can have an important influence on government's decisions to get involved in military disputes regardless of regime type."[28]

A country or a society that is in conflict often asks or requires women to take a stand. It is virtually impossible to remain neutral in the face of civil violence that completely disrupts the order of society and where that violence has a direct impact on the women and their families. But, as we saw in our earlier work, even when women do take a stand, they are also often described as "invisible," a word that was used in reference to some women's groups in Northern Ireland[29] and is a theme also seen in a book on women's roles in the Solidarity movement in Poland, for example.[30] Thus, one of the challenges facing women who undertake political action is whether or how to make themselves visible and their presence known at all stages in the continuum from peace to pre-conflict, to war, negotiations, and then, hopefully, back to peace.

In this book, to frame our analysis we draw on traditional IR theories as well as work within the field of feminist international relations. Traditional IR theory does a relatively good job of dealing with issues pertaining to state-building and national security. However, as Tickner notes, "Characteristics associated with femininity are considered a liability when dealing with the realities of international politics." She continues, "When realists write about national security, they often do so in abstract and depersonalized terms, yet they are constructing a discourse shaped out of these gendered identities."[31] When women are injected into the discussion of international relations and issues of conflict, negotiations, and peace, it is often in gendered terms, for example, linking women and pacifism or presenting women as victims.

Utilizing a gendered analysis, feminist IR scholarship provides a challenge to traditional IR to examine the ways that "gender differences permeate all facets of public and private life."[32] As Wenona Giles and Jennifer Hyndman state, "Feminists have long argued that private/public distinctions serve to depoliticize the private domestic spaces of 'home' compared to more public domains."[33] Such scholars have shown that despite the fact that women are often marginalized politically (because women are primarily located in the private sphere), the symbolism of women becomes essential to the survival of the state and nation. Women need to be defended and protected, and it is men who are the protectors, thereby prompting men to support the state's call to war. The private sphere becomes all the more important for control by the public sphere, thus perpetuating the pattern. Even when women enter the public sphere, patriarchy continues.[34]

Consequently, in examining women's behavior and political activism (thereby crossing the private-public divide, or politicizing the private sphere), feminist scholars demonstrate that women engage in antiwar activism for myriad reasons. What is important to keep in mind, as feminist scholars such as Cockburn will attest, is that "feminism sees gender power relations as systemic, not contingent or incidental."[35]

Thus, in examining women's antiwar activism, feminist scholars recognize the gender power dynamics at play. Importantly, feminist scholars use a gender analysis to account for women's activism that opposes war and patriarchy, but also women's activism that supports and reproduces patriarchy, as well as war and militarism.[36]

When women in Northern Ireland, or Israel, or South Africa work for peace in their respective states on the basis of the traditional claims of motherhood (that is, as a mother, I want to assure a better and more peaceful world for my children), they do not necessarily self-identify their actions as feminist per se. Many would argue that they are simply taking a political stand as wives and mothers who want to make the world (or their community, on a more micro level) a safer place for those they love. For these women, feminist political activism is not necessarily their stated rationale for their actions nor is it the way in which they define their actions.[37]

In this research, as we look for answers to what we think are important questions, we are trying to understand the options available to women and why they chose the actions that they did. Importantly, we examine the issue of women's agency. Additionally, we illustrate that the conventional dichotomies of the private versus public spheres are often misleading. Instead, we argue, while patriarchal societies may deem the private sphere the domain of women, what happens in the public sphere affects women as well. Women engaging in political activism further cross that divide when they overtly participate in the public sphere regardless of whether in community-based work, informal political activism, or formal politics.

This research draws on the work of numerous authors who have explored aspects of war and conflict, negotiations, peacemaking and peacebuilding. Where we think this book makes an important contribution is in the ways in which we use women as the central variable. Hence, as we reviewed the literature on peace negotiations, for example, we noticed that it tended to focus on the negotiations per se, without any mention of *who* was sitting at the table or why. In other cases the literature we draw on specifically looked at women's roles in negotiations, but often without placing the negotiations into a broader theoretical framework.

Our goal is to do both things: as we examine the stages of conflict (pre-conflict, conflict, and post-conflict) drawing on the relevant literature, we will also consciously inject the roles of and impact on women. We draw on a range of specific examples from different countries and parts of the world in order to support our conclusions, and from both feminist and traditional IR for our theoretical focus. The result will be a far more comprehensive understanding of women's political activism at all stages.

In order to draw our conclusions, in addition to referring to the relevant literature and applications, we have also been able to interview women who have been involved politically in different countries and at different stages of conflict (the results of some of the specific interviews are highlighted in boxes in Chapters 4 and 5). While these interviews are not meant to be exhaustive, they provide important

insights into various political systems, the perceptions of the women, the roles that they could—or could not—play, and the choices that they made once the conflict was resolved.

In Chapter 2 we provide the theoretical framework for this research within the context of both traditional and feminist international relations. The chapter examines the origins of the nation-state, traditional and feminist IR accounts of war, security, and women's political activism. We explore the connections between women's identities and their activism.

Chapter 3 examines the impact of conflict and violence against women in two ways. First, sexual violence, particularly rape, seems part and parcel of most, if not all, conflict. Women are specifically targeted for sexual violence by virtue of the fact that they are women. Whether a systematic policy by leaders or individual incidences of sexual violence, women are targeted during conflict. Second, conflict also affects women when they become refugees. When women flee the violence, they face many challenges, including finding housing, healthcare, employment, and so forth. Further, women refugees are often victims of sexual violence when they leave the refugee camp to find fuel and water.

Chapter 4 focuses on women's political activism during conflict. While the chapter does address women engaging in political activism as belligerents, the focus is on women peace activists. We look at the ways that women form networks at the grassroots level, which in many cases crosses ethnic/national divides. We further examine types of conflicts, both those societies in which conflict is overt and in societies in which there are social and political divisions (and conflict), but violent civil war is not present.

Chapter 5 explores women's political activism in the post-conflict period when women attempt to be active participants in the negotiating process to get to a peace settlement as well as maintaining a presence in the formal political arena. The chapter demonstrates that women also choose to remain in the informal political arena, as well, affecting change from the outside. The obstacles women face in getting a seat at the negotiating table are also presented.

The concluding chapter provides a recap of the main themes of the book, noting the similarities and differences in women's responses in the different stages of conflict, and answering the question, What happened to the women? The chapter briefly discusses areas for future research, particularly the other side of the coin: women who choose violence rather than peace in response to conflict.

Notes

[1] Joyce P. Kaufman and Kristen P. Williams, *Women, the State and War: A Comparative Perspective on Citizenship and Nationalism* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007).

[2] Cynthia Cockburn, "The Gendered Dynamics of Armed Conflict," in *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors? Gender, Armed Conflict, and Political Violence*, ed. Caroline O. N. Moser and Fiona C. Clark (London: Zed Books, 2001), 18.

[3] Jodi York, "The Truth about Women and Peace," in *The Women and War Reader*, ed. Lois Ann Lorentzen and Jennifer Turpin (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 23.

[4] Elisabeth Porter, "The Challenge of Dialogue across Difference," in *Gender, Democracy and Inclusion in Northern Ireland,* ed. Carmel Roulston and Celia Davis, 141–63 (New York: Palgrave, 2001).

[5] See for example, Tsjeard Bouta, Georg Frerks, and Ian Bannon, *Gender, Conflict, and Development* (Washington DC: The World Bank, 2004); Sanam Naraghi Anderlini, *Women Building Peace: What They Do, Why It Matters* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2007); Swanee Hunt and Cristina Posa, "Women Waging Peace," *Foreign Policy* 124 (May–June 2001): 38–47; Donna Pankhurst, "Women, Gender, and Peacebuilding," Working Paper 5, Center for Conflict Resolution (Bradford UK: University of Bradford, August 2000); and Azza Karam, "Women in War and Peacebuilding," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 3, no. 1 (April 2001): 2–25.

[6] Johan Galtung, "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research," *Journal of Peace Research* 6, no. 3 (1969): 171.

[7] Works on the impact of war and conflict on women over the last few decades are numerous, and address intrastate and interstate wars, both in general and in specific case studies. Examples include Cynthia Cockburn, *The Space between Us: Negotiating Gender and National Identities in Conflict* (London: Zed Books, 1998); Joshua S. Goldstein, *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Krishna Kumar, ed., *Women and Civil War: Impact, Organizations, and Action* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2001); Lois Ann Lorentzen and Jennifer Turpin, eds. *The Women and War Reader* (New York: New York University Press, 1998); Julie A. Mertus, *War's Offensive on Women: The Humanitarian Challenge in Bosnia, Kosovo, and Afghanistan* (Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press, 2000); Caroline O. N. Moser and Fiona C. Clark, eds., *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors? Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence* (London: Zed Books, 2001); Vesna Nikolic-Ristanovic, ed., *Women, Violence and War: Wartime Victimization of Refugees in the Balkans* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2000); Rosemary Ridd and Helen Callaway, eds. *Caught Up in Conflict: Women's Responses to Political Strife* (London: Macmillan, 1986).

[8] See Karam for a discussion on the debate regarding women's victimhood versus agency (Karam, "Women in War and Peace-building"), 7.

[9] Haleh Afshar, "Part One: Introduction, War and Peace: What Do Women Contribute," in *Development, Women, and War: Feminist Perspectives,* ed. Haleh Afshar and Deborah Eade (Oxford, England: OXFAM GB, 2004), 2.

[10] Inger Skjelsbaek, "Gendered Battlefields: A Gender Analysis of Peace and Conflict," PRIO Report (Oslo: International Peace Research Institute, October 1997), 11.

[11] Kaufman and Williams, *Women, the State, and War*, 195.

[12] See http://womeninblack.net/mission.html.

[13] Cynthia Cockburn, "Gender, Armed Conflict, and Political Violence," originally prepared as a background paper for the World Bank (June 1999), 10. A revised version of this

paper was later published as "The Gendered Dynamics of Armed Conflict," in Moser and Clark, *Victims, Perpetrators, or Actors?*

[14] Obrad Kesic, "Women and Gender Imagery in Bosnia: Amazon, Sluts, Victims, Witches, and Wombs," in *Gender Politics in the Western Balkans: Women and Society in Yugoslavia Successor States*, ed. Sabrina P. Ramet (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 189.

[15] York, "The Truth about Women and Peace," 22. For an extensive examination of the ways that women are militarized in support of war and conflict, see Cynthia Enloe, *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000).

[16] Kaufman and Williams, *Women, the State, and War*.

[17] The authors wish to thank Margaret Ward for this astute observation in the case of Northern Ireland.

[18] Pankhurst, "Women, Gender, and Peacebuilding," 5.

[19] Tickner makes clear that feminist scholars view the public/private divide as problematic, that the divide reinforces the view that women belong in the private realm and men in the public, and with that conventional view comes the assumption that therefore the public sphere is more important (and worthy of study) than the private sphere. J. Ann Tickner, "You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements between Feminists and IR Theorists," *International Studies Quarterly* 41 (1997): 622.

[20] See Pnina Werbner and Nira Yuval-Davis, "Women and the New Discourse of Citizenship," in *Women, Citizenship, and Difference*, ed. Nira Yuval-Davis and Pnina Werbner (London: Zed Books, 1999). Also see V. Spike Peterson, "Gendered Nationalism: Reproducing 'Us' versus 'Them,'" in Lorentzen and Turpin, *The Women and War Reader*, 41–49.

[21] Begona Aretxaga, *Shattering Silence: Women, Nationalism, and Political Subjectivity in Northern Ireland* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 181n1.

[22] Anderlini, *Women Building Peace*, 38–39.

[23] Elissa Helms, "Gender Essentialisms and Women's Activism in Post-War Bosnia-Herzegovina," in *Feminists under Fire: Exchanges across War Zones*, ed. Wenona Giles et al. (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2003), 181, 192.

[24] York, "The Truth about Women and Peace," 20.

[25] Helms, "Gender Essentialisms and Women's Activism in Post-War Bosnia-Herzegovina," 181.

[26] Karam, for example, notes that "once the struggle is over, women are expected to perform their national and peace-building duties by being good wives and mothers." Among the cases she cites to support this point are Algeria after its civil war, Zimbabwe, Palestine, "and to some extent, Nicaragua" (Karam, "Women in War and Peacebuilding," 10).

[27] Anderlini, *Women Building Peace,* 35.

[28] Patrick M. Regan and Aida Paskeviciute, "Women's Access to Politics and Peaceful States," *Journal of Peace Research* 40, no. 3 (May 2003): 290.

[29] In her study of Catholic women in Northern Ireland, Begona Aretxaga stresses the invisible role that many women played "behind the scenes" that provided the structure that allowed men to continue the fight (Aretxaga, *Shattering Silence*). Where Aretxaga studied primarily Catholic/nationalist women, Rachel Ward, in her study of Protestant/unionist

women, used much the same wording to describe women's political role on that side of the Troubles: "They [women] have varied political roles, although these are often invisible." Rachel Ward, *Women, Unionism, and Loyalism in Northern Ireland: From Tea-Makers to Political Actors* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2006), 11.

[30] Shana Penn, *Solidarity's Secret: The Women Who Defeated Communism in Poland* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005).

[31] J. Ann Tickner, *Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 41.

[32] Tickner, "You Just Don't Understand, 614.

[33] Wenona Giles and Jennifer Hyndman, "Introduction: Gender and Conflict in a Global Context," in *Sites of Violence: Gender and Conflict Zones*, ed. Wenona Giles and Jennifer Hyndman (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004), 3.

[34] See J. Ann Tickner, "Feminism Meets International Relations: Some Methodological Issues," in *Feminist Methodologies for International Relations*, ed. Brooke A. Ackerly, Maria Stern, and Jacqui True (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 38–39.

[35] Cynthia Cockburn, *From Where We Stand: War, Women's Activism, and Feminist Analysis* (London: Zed Books, 2007), 229.

[36] Ibid., 240–41. Contrary to Cockburn's assertion, Carla Koppell, director of the Institute for Inclusive Security at the Washington, D.C. office of Hunt Alternatives Fund, claims that much of the feminist literature makes certain assumptions about women's behavior and women's political activism. By presupposing that all women's political activism is overtly feminist, she argues that the literature misses some of the subtleties that would otherwise help us understand why and how women act in the ways in which they do. Furthermore, it often puts women's attitudes regarding "feminism" or "activism" into a Western understanding of the terms. While many in the West would demean or look down upon women who define their activism based on their roles as mothers, in a non-Western setting many cultures elevate that role, thereby giving women additional status and, with that, credibility to act (the authors thank Koppell for her insights). We have found that many feminist scholars do seek to understand the different motivations women have for engaging in political activism that may be explicitly feminist, or not. See, for example, Amina Jamal's article, which addresses the challenge for feminist scholars to account for women's involvement in Islamic fundamentalist movements in Pakistan. She notes that how these women self-identify "as Muslim blurs the personal and public in ways that conflicts with (Pakistani) feminist accounts of women's autonomy and emancipation and more directly threatens the feminist project in Pakistan. Thus, feminist scholars are forced to offer a different explanation for the religiously defined identity of Jamaat women when it takes the form of public political action than when it is a matter of women's 'personal choice.'" Amina Jamal, "Feminist 'Selves' and Feminism's 'Feminist Representations of Jamaat-e-Islami Women in Pakistan," *Feminist Review* 81 (2005): 67–68.

[37] For a discussion of women in antiwar activist organizations who do not see themselves as explicitly feminist in their activism, see Cockburn, *From Where We Stand*, 207–11.