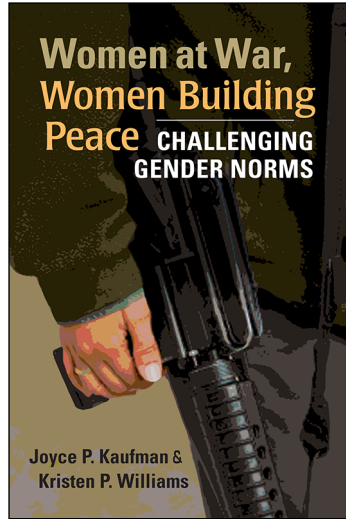


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Women at War,
Women Building Peace:
Challenging Gender Norms

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1

Challenging Gender Norms

GENDER NORMS, OR GENDER-BASED EXPECTATIONS, OF WOMEN'S BEHAVIOR include such descriptors as nurturing, caregiving, and peaceful. In cases of interstate and intrastate conflicts, women often engage in peace activism, such as protests, silent vigils, public speeches, and political and economic boycotts.¹ In doing so, women's actions reinforce gender norms, yet peace activism can also be seen as a challenge to gender norms as women move from the perceived private sphere of the home (women's domain) into the public sphere (men's domain). For example, the feminist network Women in Black, which began in Israel as a response to the first intifada, holds silent vigils in public spaces to protest "against any manifestation of violence, militarism or war."² This very public display of women's political activism can be seen as challenging existing gender norms.

At the same time, women also serve as combatants, participating in state-sanctioned violence (as members of militaries) as well as non-state-sanctioned violence (members of rebel groups, paramilitary organizations, and militias, and as suicide bombers). This form of political activism—as combatants rather than as peacemakers—challenges gender norms about women's "proper" roles and behavior. A plethora of headlines relatively recently has raised attention to the role of women as active participants in ongoing conflicts. For example, in July 2008 the front page of the *New York Times* ran a story titled "Despair Drives Suicide Attacks by Iraqi Women."³ What was especially striking about the story was not the fact that the woman identified was the eighteenth female suicide bomber to

strike in Diyala province. Rather, the emphasis was on the question of why women in this relatively conservative society are resorting to a type of violence traditionally associated with men. In yet another case, in March 2010 two female suicide bombers were identified as having carried out the deadly attacks on a Moscow subway. Again, the headline is telling: "Russia Says Suicide Bomber Was Militant's Widow."⁴ The picture that accompanied the story was of the young woman, seventeen years old, posing with her husband, "a 30-year-old militant leader who lured her from her single mother, drew her into fundamentalist Islam and married her. He was killed by federal forces in December, driving her to seek revenge."⁵ The second suicide bomber was "a 28-year-old teacher from a predominantly Muslim region of southern Russia who was married to an extremist leader."⁶

Both of these stories attribute the women's actions in part to their being "lured" by men who drew them into fundamentalism. According to this interpretation, when the men were killed, the women became suicide bombers as a way to get revenge. This depiction suggests that the women's actions were not the result of the choices they made but of decisions made for them by their spouses. While it is true that many suicide bombers, men and women, are motivated by a desire to avenge the death of a loved one, in this case the articles overlook the fact that women *chose* this path and that these women acted for political reasons. Thus, what is surprising is not that some women are turning to suicide bombing as a means of political expression, but rather why so little attention has been given to the role of women who engage in political violence. Using violence as a means of political action or activism is not a new option for women. It is one way in which women who live in circumstances of political violence can express agency. In fact, politically violent action is a way women can engage in politics.

In responding to situations of conflict and war, women have a number of strategies available to them, including becoming politically active to help resolve the conflict through peace activism, becoming actively engaged in support of conflict through nonviolent resistance, engaging in violence in support of the conflict as combatants or even as suicide bombers, or becoming refugees or internally displaced persons. Importantly, these are not mutually exclusive categories. We consider women's responses to conflict and war a form of political activism, which can be considered as taking place along a *continuum of political activism/action*. In this way, there is not a binary of peace and violence, or peace activism and political violence, per se, but a range of actions available to women.

One way women can engage in peace activism is at the local grass-roots level in their communities. An example of this is Women in Black in Israel noted earlier. Women's activism in this group is focused on nonviolent action, such as protests, vigils, public speeches, and boycotts. Women can also engage in peace activism through participation in the formal political system, such as the creation of political parties. The Northern Ireland Women's Coalition is one such example. This political party was created to cross communal lines of Protestant/Unionists/Loyalists and Catholics/Nationalists/Republicans to have a voice at the peace negotiations that led to the 1998 Good Friday Agreement to end the conflict in Northern Ireland.

Our previous work looked at women's decisions to work for peace as a conscious choice and form of political activism, sometimes driven by feminist goals (defined as promoting political, social, and economic equality of women and men, and overturning patriarchal political, economic, and social structures) and sometimes by more traditional values (specifically a wife or mother who wants peace in her community). In most cases, the primarily male patriarchal structure of political decision making excluded women from the initial decisions to engage in some form of political violence. Women respond to that situation as political actors—working for peace is one of those strategies.⁷

Yet, as demonstrated by the examples of the suicide bombers in Iraq and Russia noted at the beginning of this chapter, women also choose to engage in political activism in support of conflict and war, again along that continuum: participating in boycotts and protests, conducting surveillance, storing and transporting weapons, and becoming armed combatants and even suicide bombers. In essence, resistance and struggle come in various forms, from nonviolent resistance to overt violence, whether that violence is conducted by the state or by anti-state/nationalist/liberation movements. Moreover, evidence from a range of asymmetric conflicts shows that nonviolent resistance is very rarely only that; rather, as Veronique Dudouet argues, "In most cases, NVR [nonviolent resistance] has been used to various degrees in combination with more classical styles of asymmetric struggle." Examples abound: the African National Congress in South Africa in its struggle to overthrow Apartheid, ethnic Albanians in Kosovo seeking independence from Serbia, and Palestinians seeking to end the occupation in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.⁸

In this book, we explore cases of women's political activism as an act of political agency during civil or intrastate conflicts (we do not examine interstate wars). Some women choose to work for peace as a way to gain some sense of control over a situation of internal conflict or war, a decision

that most were not involved in making, while others clearly opt to support one side or the other in a political and military struggle whether in support of the state or the nationalist/liberation/self-determination movement. (Note that we are not going to address here the circumstances of women who were forced to participate in political violence through coercive means. The very nature of those circumstances means that women did not have choices; we are interested in the decisions women make.) Consequently, our research questions are as follows: (1) *Why* do some women get involved in political activism of any kind (this refers to women's motivations)? (2) *How* do they become involved in political activism (e.g., are they actively recruited by family and friends? Do they join on their own?); and (3) So what? Why does studying women and women's political activism matter?

We use a gender analysis to understand the why and how of women's political activism in times of conflict and war. This book contributes to the scholarship on women and conflict in a number of ways. Our work is synthetic and draws on existing research to elucidate what we think are some important points about women's decisions to engage in political activism. A great body of research looks at women working for peace, generally and in specific cases, such as in the former Yugoslavia and Israel-Palestine.⁹ There are also significant works on women engaging in political violence. For example, the work of Laura Sjoberg and Caron Gentry, Paige Whaley Eager, and Mia Bloom all focus on women and political violence, and they illustrate their arguments with case studies, including Chechnya and Rwanda.¹⁰ A good number of edited volumes address women and political violence from different theoretical and regional or geographical perspectives.¹¹ Other volumes focus specifically on women suicide bombers, such as the work of Bloom, but also Barbara Victor and Rosemarie Skaine.¹² And other work looks at women as combatants in specific regional or geographic cases, such as that of Miranda Alison (Sri Lanka and Northern Ireland) and Sandra McEvoy (Northern Ireland).¹³

All this is instructive and important research and has been valuable to us as we examine women as political actors responding to conflict. However, in the course of our own work we realized there is a dearth of information that looks at both sides of the issue, that is, why some women choose to work for peace and other women support and engage in conflict, in the same case being studied. Drawing on and synthesizing this research, which looks at one side and the other, will enable us to make an important contribution by allowing us to answer questions about women's choices and decisions regarding situations of civil conflict.

In drawing on the research of others, we are indebted to the qualitative data they have acquired through fieldwork, interviews, testimonials, and so forth, all of which are in line with feminist research methodology. In addition to using secondary sources, we have used primary sources in one of our cases, primarily archival work and interviews in Northern Ireland.¹⁴ Primary and secondary sources enable us to explore and analyze women's motivations and how they became involved in political activism. We recognize the limitations of drawing conclusions from small-*N* studies, as the qualitative data we cite from the various sources were small numbers of interviews with women. However, this does not negate the findings about women's activism. Women's stories can tell us much about women, gender, and international relations (IR).

The third research question we pose is: So what? Why does studying women and women's political activism matter? This question really gets to the heart of the research in this book. Studying women matters because mainstream IR theories tend to omit women and gender from their analysis of war and peace. Women are everywhere in the world; they are not invisible, and they are affected by wars and conflict. They are also affected by peace. Moreover, studying women matters because women organize *as women* to form women's movements engaged in political activism (one can think of women's organizations dedicated to peace activism but also others, such as all-women militias). This does not mean that all women are the same or they have the same issues and interests. What an exploration and understanding of women's activist organizations can do is recognize, as S. Laurel Weldon demonstrates in her work on women's activist organizations in democracies, that

claiming that women's organizations represent women as women does not imply that women share an identity or that they share all their interests as women. It merely suggests that women confront some similar issues as women. The system or set of women's organizations can be thought of as a mechanism for articulating women's perspective. . . . There is considerable ideological, racial, class, and other diversity across women's groups, but they focus on a set of overlapping issues that can be thought of as reflecting the social position of women. When women's groups raise these issues for discussion, they provide some representation for women. Again, this account focuses on women's organizations *taken as a group*. It does not claim that any particular organization represents or could represent all women (italics in the original).¹⁵

In this book we will focus on exploring the motivations for women's political activism and the discourses of political activism. In terms of the

motivations for women's political activism, we are interested in the questions of why and how women engage in such activism. What motivates some women to engage in peace activism, nonviolent resistance, and violence? At the same time, we are also interested in the gender discourse surrounding women's political activism. The discourse surrounding women and war is that women are by nature peaceful, while men are aggressive and prone to war. Men are the protectors, and women are the protected. These are essentialist assumptions—that women's peaceful natural disposition is because of their biology, given their childbearing capacity, and they need to be protected by men. When it comes to women engaging in political violence, Sjoberg and Gentry show “that gender discourses dominate today's increasing recognition of and concern for women's violence. In these gendered discourses, deviant women are set up in opposition to idealized gender stereotypes. They are characterized as the exception to clearly understood gender norms.”¹⁶ Thus, when women's violence in the international arena is discussed, “traditional gender norms remain intact and thriving.”¹⁷ Moreover, when discussing terrorists, warriors, and criminals, the word *women* is used as an adjective that describes the noun. Sjoberg and Gentry assert, “Because women who commit these violences have acted outside of a prescribed gender role, they have to be separated from the main/malestream discourse of their particular behaviour.”¹⁸

Given our overview of the preceding research questions and the importance of gender norms and gender discourses, in the sections that follow we discuss feminist security theory (FST) as a theoretical framework for exploring and analyzing women's political activism in times of conflict and war. We then address the topics of agency and intersectionality, followed by the concluding section, which provides an overview of the subsequent chapters of the book.

FST: Women, Gender, and Security

Traditional, or mainstream, IR theory addresses issues such as war and conflict, peace, international political economy, and state building and national security. For example, realism, particularly its neo- or structural realist variant, looks at the anarchic international system with no world government, the distribution of material power, and a system in which states are concerned about their power relative to others.¹⁹

In a realist world, gender (and women, for that matter) is not addressed. As J. Ann Tickner notes, “Characteristics associated with femininity are

considered a liability when dealing with the realities of international politics.” She further asserts, “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.”²⁰ Pioneering feminist scholars, such as Cynthia Enloe, asked the question when looking at international politics: “Where are the women?”²¹ Feminist IR scholars rightly point out that the omission of women and gender in any analysis of issues relevant to IR leaves us with an incomplete understanding of those issues.²² And when the big issues of mainstream IR such as conflict and peace negotiations are addressed along with any exploration of women as related to those issues, they are most likely done so in very gendered terms: women as victims, women as peacemakers, and women as pacifists. Within this gender order, femininity and women are subordinated to masculinity and men.²³ Mainstream security studies tend to conflate *women* with *gender*. In doing so, as Sa’ar, Sachs, and Aharoni argue, “Men and masculinity [are left] entirely outside the explanatory frame.”²⁴ Using women or gender “as a strictly descriptive attribute” runs the risk of using “essentialist explanations of emotional predispositions and cultural roles.” Moreover, “gender as an *analytical* category” is called for by a feminist approach, an approach that “treats the attributes woman/man as historically contingent, rather than as predetermined facts.”²⁵ Consequently, in employing a gender analysis, feminist IR scholarship serves as a challenge to traditional IR to examine the ways “gender differences permeate all facets of public and private life.”²⁶

We begin with the assertion, as argued by feminist scholars, that assumptions about women’s *correct* or *appropriate* behavior are socially constructed where women are assumed to be nurturing, caring, and peaceful. This has contributed to the stereotyping that genders the state and citizenship. As the modern state developed in the West in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, participation in the public sphere—the polity—was limited. Only men were allowed to participate. Women were expected to remain in the domestic/private sphere of the home. Moreover, given that the modern state was born from war, according to Charles Tilly, the military was critical to the success and existence of the state.²⁷ Men are the warriors, women are the protected. And thus, from a very broad IR perspective, the concept of security was, and is, tied to the need to protect the nation-state and the people who live within its borders. Men fight wars to protect innocent civilians—women and children (often used in the same phrase). Yet, as Laura Sjoberg and Jessica Peet show, a “protection racket” is at play: “Women are promised protection from wars by men

who then take credit for protecting them, while not actually doing so.”²⁸ Instead, the civilian immunity principle—in which civilians are not to be targeted in times of war and conflict—actually does not protect women. Rather, as Sjoberg and Peet assert, “When feminists argue that ‘men’ protect ‘women’ in war, they mean that ‘masculinity’ protects ‘femininity’ ideationally, whether or not men (or anyone else) protects women (or anyone else) in real material terms.”²⁹ Additionally, as Catia Confortini states, “The links between military service, citizenship, and the modern state establish a connection between violence, citizenship, and hegemonic masculinity, so that all depend upon each other for permanence and recreation. The capacity or potential for violence is then indissolubly associated with citizenship and the state through an appeal to ‘manliness.’”³⁰ In the end, as Sjoberg and Peet claim, “Women’s need for protection justifies wars, but it also justifies the social dominance of masculinity, a requirement for war-fighting.”³¹

In thinking about gender and security, feminist IR scholars argue that “gender as a power relation” helps us to understand these concepts more clearly, particularly in understanding gender subordination.³² In terms of feminist scholarship, no single feminist theory exists. Rather, there are a variety of feminist approaches to security, including liberal feminism, critical feminism, feminist constructivism, feminist post-structuralism, and postcolonial feminism. While the various feminist approaches apply an analysis of women and gender differently, all use gender as a tool of analysis.³³ Moreover, in the IR security subdiscipline of feminist security studies, there are different voices speaking to and about gender and international relations.³⁴ Some feminist security studies scholars argue for engagement with the mainstream IR literature, while others call for a separation, as they are skeptical that the mainstream IR literature will take gender and women seriously in analyses of IR topics.³⁵

While different feminist approaches to security do exist, they do make, as Eric Blanchard asserts, “at least four theoretical moves. First, IR feminists question the supposed nonexistence and irrelevance of women in international security politics, engendering or exposing the workings of gender and power in international relations.”³⁶ Second, feminist security theory (FST) interrogates the claim that the state actually ensures women’s “‘protection’ in times of war and peace.”³⁷ Third, FST questions the discourses that equate women with peace, men with violence. Finally, FST has “started to develop a variegated concept of masculinity to help explain security.”³⁸ In the end, as Jennifer K. Lobasz and Laura Sjoberg remark, “Feminist work addressing security has pointed out gender’s key role,

conceptually, in understanding security; *empirically*, in seeing causes and predicting outcomes; *normatively*, in understanding what is good and bad about security practices; and *prescriptively*, in terms of looking to solve the world's most serious security problems" (italics added).³⁹

FST, therefore, argues that "hegemonic understandings of security systematically overlook the practical experiences of insecurity among members of marginalized groups, and among women across the entire social spectrum. . . . Instead of a narrow focus on injuries caused by armed forces and militias, FST argues for much broader definitions that would include injuries perpetrated in the domestic sphere and legitimated by militaristic and patriarchal norms, as well as by the proliferation of arms."⁴⁰ In fact, according to Sa'ar et al., FST broadens the definition of security to include "economic development, social justice and emancipation."⁴¹ Thus, in thinking of security as a concept, one must recognize that how security is understood has changed in the sense that it not only relates to traditional military concerns of states but to issues now considered "human security": environmental issues, economic issues in light of globalization, spread of infectious diseases, and human rights, to name a few.⁴²

As feminist security theorists repeatedly demonstrate, conflict and war affect the personal security of civilians. The rules of engagement as well as the battlefield's parameters have changed in such a way that the personal security of civilians, namely, women and children, is undermined. These conflicts have also threatened women's physical security: rape is a tool of war and domestic violence in the home, as domestic violence is connected to social or state-sponsored violence. Tickner asserts, "Feminist perspectives on security would assume that violence, whether it be in the international, national, or family realm, is interconnected. Family violence must be seen in the context of wider power relations."⁴³ The types of conflicts in the contemporary period—intrastate civil wars—have negatively affected women's physical security. Moreover, in times of war, women as civilians are targeted, regardless of the civilian immunity principle, because "insomuch as women are indicators, signifiers, and reproducers of state/nation, belligerents attack *women* to attack the essence of state/nation" (italics in the original).⁴⁴

Women, Structural Violence, and Peace

In thinking of women's security, one can also consider structural violence, a concept first introduced by Johann Galtung. Structural violence refers to a situation in which "violence is built into the structure and shows up as

unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances.”⁴⁵ Building on Galtung’s structural violence concept, Cynthia Cockburn notes the relationship between economic distress and political violence. She describes a continuum of violence perpetrated by institutions such as the government and the church. Violence can also be perpetrated by rebel groups. When economic conditions decline, women are negatively affected, particularly when they are single heads of households. At the same time, inequalities in society as well as the state increase not just between sexes and genders but across class lines as well.⁴⁶

In thinking about the complexity of what security and violence mean for women, we also consider peace, peace activism, and political violence. In doing so, we need to define our terms—what do we mean by peace? Peace can mean the absence of war (negative peace).⁴⁷ But looking at the issues of peace and war and conflict from the perspective of their impact on women necessitates a broader definition of peace. As V. Spike Peterson and Anne Sisson Runyan note in discussing the rise of peace studies as an academic discipline, “Surely [peace] must be more than simply the time between wars.”⁴⁸ As many feminist scholars argue, the peace that emerges after a conflict ends is very much a gendered peace. As Donna Pankhurst asserts, a gendered peace is one in which women “suffer a *backlash* against any new-found freedoms, and they are forced ‘back’ into kitchens and fields” (italics in the original).⁴⁹ The evidence of postconflict periods repeatedly demonstrates that the peace process itself and the newly created political institutions do not consider women’s needs. What happens instead is that women’s rights are limited, and in some cases restricted. The peace that is established does not lead to equality for men and women; instead, discriminatory laws and policies are put in place that reinforce women’s unequal status in society. The challenge to existing gender relations that subordinate women to men is difficult to meet when the conflict ends. Instead, the changes to gender norms that women experienced during the conflict are lost because patriarchal societies are not able or not willing to accept and promote the changed gender roles. Pankhurst further states, “The ideological rhetoric is often about ‘restoring’ or ‘returning to’ something associated with the status quo before the war, even if the change actually undermines women’s rights and places women in a situation that is even more disadvantageous than it ever was in the past.”⁵⁰ Moreover, violence against women continues even when the official conflict ends.

Feminist scholars, such as Catia Confortini, note that “violence is deeply implicated in the construction and reproduction of gender relations, and in particular in the construction and reproduction of hegemonic masculinity.”⁵¹

The *cycle of violence* refers to domestic violence situations in which there are periods of time when the batterer does not abuse the battered person, but these periods of time “are instrumental to tension buildup in a relationship and always lead to more violence.”⁵² The cycle of violence in domestic violence can be applied to understandings of periods of violence (war and conflict) and peace within states. In recognizing that gender and power are intertwined, feminist theories claim “that power is an essential feature of society and one that maintains relations of domination and subordination between groups of people.”⁵³ Further, violence and peace are not dichotomous/binaries or “monolithic mutually exclusive categories.”⁵⁴ As Confortini convincingly argues, “when [mainstream] IR scholars talk about peace, they ignore the wars going inside the home, in the form of domestic violence . . . [because] nonfeminist IR reproduces the gendered opposition between public and private sphere; it establishes its boundaries at the edge of the public sphere, therefore ignoring the feminized domestic life.”⁵⁵ She demonstrates that feminist scholars have repeatedly shown that “far from being strictly domestic or private matters, instances of violence against women are often related to international relations in unsuspected ways.”⁵⁶ One need only think of gender-based violence such as rape that occurs during times of war and conflict and military prostitution.⁵⁷

Further, if one considers violence as a process, and “not a static entity,”⁵⁸ one can also conceive of violence not as an event in which states enter into war with a beginning and an end, but rather, as Chris J. Cuomo argues, war, violence, and militarism are omnipresent in society even if there is no declared armed conflict.⁵⁹ As such, “Neglecting the omnipresence of militarism allows the false belief that the absence of declared armed conflicts *is* peace, the polar opposite of war” (italics in the original).⁶⁰ The “pervasive presence and symbolism of soldiers/warriors/patriots shape meanings of gender.”⁶¹ Thus, even in supposed periods of peace, violence and militarism are present, and they directly affect women.

Drawing on a range of feminist scholars, Tami Jacoby asserts that peace is defined “as the elimination of insecurity and danger,” and as “‘the enjoyment of economic and social justice, equality, and the entire range of human rights and fundamental freedoms’ or relations between peoples based on ‘trust, cooperation and recognition of interdependence and importance of the common good and mutual interests of all peoples.’”⁶² In essence, peace is more than just the absence of violence but must also address a much broader range of issues: equality, social justice, and ensuring basic freedoms and fundamental rights for all people in a society (positive peace).

Finally, in looking at the connection between gender, women, and peace, feminist scholars take different positions that enable us to explore and interrogate those connections. According to Miranda Alison, for cultural (or difference) feminists, women have *feminine traits* (women are nurturing and caring, women engage in cooperation), traits that “have been devalued.” These feminine traits, however, “are actually superior to ‘masculine traits’” such as violence and domination; by “revaluing these feminine traits,” peace can be achieved.⁶³ Ecofeminists argue that oppression of any kind is interrelated (including “war, domestic violence, racism, environmental exploitation”).⁶⁴ Peace and social justice can only come about when all oppression is ended.⁶⁵ Feminists who take a maternalist/motherist view argue that by virtue of being mothers, women are more peaceful than men because “war is antithetical to women’s natural child-bearing and childrearing role and, by extension, women should organize as mothers to oppose militarism and war.”⁶⁶

Alison notes that the problem with the cultural feminist position is that it overlooks the fact that men have also supported peace and engaged in peace activism. Moreover, claiming there are male traits and female traits (and thus essentialism of what it means to be male and female) only serves to maintain “an unhealthy dichotomy and implicitly accepts hierarchal thinking about gender; the hierarchy is simply inverted, with femininity valued over masculinity.”⁶⁷ Women’s willingness to participate in political violence demonstrates the problem with the essentialist and biological determinism position that women/mothers equals peace, thereby overlooking the role that culture and socialization play in terms of what it means to be male/female, masculine/feminine, and perpetuating those dichotomies.⁶⁸

As noted earlier in the chapter, we seek to uncover the gender discourses surrounding women and women’s activism in IR: women in the home/private sphere, women are the protected, and women equals peace. In opposition, men are located in the political realm/public sphere, men are the protectors, and men equals war. This overview of FST, examining what is meant by security and peace, and how they affect women, tells us that the line between the public and private spheres is blurred. As Confortini rightly observes, there is a “deeply gendered nature of the violence/peace dichotomy, which reproduces relations of power and subjugation in society.”⁶⁹ By maintaining and perpetuating separate spheres, those on the margins in IR, such as women, are not deemed worthy of study. Sjoberg states, “The division between political and private is not value neutral; it prioritizes those things understood as political while marginalizing

those things understood as personal.”⁷⁰ Feminist security theorists and theories have demonstrated that the private and public spheres are not separate spheres.

Agency and Intersectionality

Most political systems tend to be patriarchal, and as such, women generally are removed from the decision-making process for structural, political, or cultural reasons. In cases of war and conflict, oftentimes women have little choice in whether they even are or become part of such a conflict. As Pankhurst writes, “Where there is no front line, as conflict is fought out in people’s homes, with light weapons, and where the reason for fighting is the very existence, or at least presence, of people with a differently defined identity (usually ethnic), women have been placed on one side or another whether they actively choose this or not.”⁷¹ Yet, while leaders, who tend to be men, make the decisions about whether to go to war, women can and do respond to that conflict situation. Women do have agency even within a patriarchal system. Maud Eduards states that “all human beings, by nature, have agency, the capacity to initiate change, to commit oneself to a certain transformative course of action, independently of historical circumstances.”⁷² Given this, people will want “to use this capacity in some way or another, to be an agent rather than a passive being, a victim. Put simply, given the chance, people will try to influence the course of events as much as possible rather than sit back and suffer changes.”⁷³ Eduards then applies this notion of agency to women in particular: “Because women are said to be closer to nature than men, and nature is defined as unconscious and passive, one position holds that *women do not have agency*. The other position is that women have inborn procreative and caring qualities, that *they have a specific female agency*. Both views deny women the possibility to challenge and change their condition as women. Agency is regarded as a property of subjects, and consequently a male prerogative” (italics in the original).⁷⁴

This idea of women’s agency is also reflected in the work of Jennifer Leigh Disney, who in turn draws on the work of Jacqui Alexander and Chandra Mohanty to talk about “the importance of ‘re-presenting’ women not as victims or dependents but as agents of their own lives.”⁷⁵ She then quotes Alexander and Mohanty, who define agency as “the conscious and ongoing reproduction of the terms of one’s existence while *taking responsibility for this process*” (italics added).⁷⁶

We are interested in understanding women's perspectives and whether they see their actions and political activism as feminist or not, as that will help us to understand their motivations (the why question). In her analysis of Palestinian women's activism, for example, Richter-Devroe notes that "contextualized culturally specific gender roles in the political culture of resistance can be empowering for women. Although it is true that they are not derived from and informed by a clearly defined feminist agenda, they are nevertheless a first step in mobilizing women's political agency."⁷⁷ We concur with Disney's statement that "while not all women's activism may be explicitly *feminist*, much of women's activism around class, gender, economics, sexuality, violence, culture, ideology, and materiality in the productive and reproductive spheres of life does involve the exercise of *feminist agency*" (italics in the original).⁷⁸ At the same time, we can define feminist agency as an attempt by women and women's organizations to overturn patriarchy and political, economic, and social structures of male dominance and women's subordination. Disney defines feminist agency as women's "transformation from mobilization to participation to organization."⁷⁹ In looking at national liberation movements, she shows that women mobilize as women in organizations, and they express feminist agency when they "integrate a feminist analysis of women's oppression into the vision and practice of social change of revolutionary movements."⁸⁰ For the Republican women in Northern Ireland and women combatants in the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in Sri Lanka who perceived themselves as feminists, according to Alison, "their feminism is inextricably intertwined with their respective nationalist communities" and the challenge for these self-identified feminists is how to make inroads within their nationalist movements "to push a feminist agenda."⁸¹

At the same time that we recognize and acknowledge that women have agency, we also acknowledge that such agency is constrained, as Alison argues, "by the structures and prevailing discourses of our societies and the events of our lives."⁸² Sjoberg and Gentry argue that in understanding women's agency and choices, "gendered lenses of feminist research suggest a relational autonomy approach" in that "every choice is not completely free in a world of intersubjective construction and power disparity."⁸³ One can see this relational autonomy and constrained agency in women's movements. For example, Vanessa Farr notes that Palestinian women have organized in women's movements for decades, although they have not been part of the formal political structure. And as evidence of their constrained agency, citing Kuttab, she notes that "Palestinian women's movements face

a central dilemma: the reality and necessity of their political engagement in resistance to the occupation contrasts strongly with the continued, and growing, impacts of conservative gender ideologies that aim to constrain their movements and choices.”⁸⁴

In addition to women expressing agency (whether feminist agency or not), recognizing that women have different experiences related to their class, ethnicity, gender, nationality, race, sexuality, and so forth leads us to recognize that not all women have the same interests, and therefore the term *women* or *woman* is problematic. The *intersectionality* of class, race, gender, and sexuality matters in using a gender analysis to account for women’s behaviors and actions.⁸⁵ As Cockburn avers, intersectionality and positionality relate to “the way individuals and groups are placed in relation to each other in terms of significant dimensions of social difference.” The social dimensions of power are class, gender, and race.⁸⁶ This intersectionality is all the more important in studying conflicts and security, which is not often addressed in mainstream IR theories. As Sachs, Sa’ar, and Aharoni demonstrate, “civilians’ coping with organized political violence is mediated by their locations within webs of power relations, predominantly gender, class, and ethno-nationality. The process of responding to the political situation is intertwined with overall complexes of resources and responsibilities, and these differ significantly in women and men, rich and poor, or members of the majority and members of marginalized minorities.”⁸⁷ They argue that “the intersectional approach to gender implies that ‘women’ should be perceived as a heterogeneous category” in which women’s experiences in conflict can only be understood by taking into account class, ethnicity, and nationality.⁸⁸

Conclusion

In this chapter we propose our primary research questions: Why and how do some women engage in political activism, whether in the form of peace activism, nonviolent resistance, or outright violence? And why should we study women and women’s activism? To begin to answer these questions, we look to FST and feminist scholarship. FST offers a corrective to the limitations of mainstream IR scholarship regarding conflict, security, and women in several ways: (1) it uses a gender analysis to understand conflict, war, and security, and women’s responses to those conditions (thereby antiessentialism of the theory: gender is a social construct, and women’s peace activism is not because women are inherently or by nature peaceful);

(2) it offers a broader understanding and definition of security beyond security that is just focused on the nation-state in light of what *security* means for women in a society (i.e., Cockburn's continuum of violence: domestic violence, state violence, international violence); (3) it includes intersectionality of dimensions of power and difference, including gender, race, ethnicity, nationality, sexuality, and socioeconomic status; and (4) it recognizes that women are not just victims of violence and war but also have agency (albeit constrained agency) to act and do so sometimes in the form of political activism that includes peace activism, nonviolent resistance, and political violence.

Chapter 2 examines in detail women's activism along a continuum of political activism. In this chapter we explore the motivations of women to become political actors, assessing whether women's motivations to pursue the path of peace activism differ from those engaging in violence (the why question). In addition to considering women's motivations, we also look at factors, or variables, to account for the women themselves, such as marital status, age, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status. Moreover, the intersectionality of class, race, ethnicity, and so forth, can tell us much about different women and their experiences with conflict. Without a full appreciation of the complexity, the intersectionality, of these factors, we cannot fully understand what motivates some women to engage in political activism. In answering the how question, we also consider the factors that mattered in understanding women's recruitment into activism. Related to this, we also take into account the willingness of organizations (particularly rebel or terrorist organizations) to allow women to take an active role as combatants and even suicide bombers, as well as the role of the society or community in supporting and condoning such actions by women.

Chapters 3 through 5 provide case studies of women responding to conflict. The cases were selected for several reasons. First, all three case studies are intrastate conflicts focused on political, cultural, social, and economic struggles (with goals of national self-determination). Second, an asymmetry of power exists between the state and the nationalist/ethnic group. Third, geographic variance—Europe, the Middle East, and South Asia—can help with generalizability. Fourth, the outcomes are different: two of the conflicts are now concluded, although tensions remain, while one of the conflicts is ongoing. In the case of Northern Ireland, the conflict ended with the negotiation and signing of the 1998 Good Friday Agreement. In the case of Sri Lanka, in 2009 government forces defeated the Tamil minority that had long been seeking independence from the Sinhalese majority. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is ongoing,

with Palestinians seeking an end to the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the formation of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza.

Northern Ireland is explored in chapter 3. In this instance, the shorthand version of “the Troubles,” which the conflict came to be called, as a religious conflict of Catholic versus Protestant overlooks the critical aspects of this fight as a political and economic struggle, as well as a struggle for political power and national identity (and an end to what Catholics/Nationalists/Republicans perceive as British occupation of Northern Ireland). The chapter contains examples of women who worked on each of the two sides to try to end the conflict and bring about peace—or, at the very least, cross-communal understanding—as well as women acting in support of the conflict. In that case, the support could range from giving tacit approval to the fighting or picking up arms and becoming part of the violence. Similarly, women worked for peace informally but also within the political system; the creation of the Northern Ireland Women’s Coalition gave women the opportunity to have a seat at the table when the 1998 Good Friday Agreement was negotiated.

Chapter 4 examines Palestinian women’s political activism. There are many examples of Palestinian women who worked for peace alongside Israeli women or in Palestinian-only organizations; there are also examples of Palestinian women actively engaged in the struggle for Palestinian statehood. For Palestinians, activism to end the occupation ranges from non-violent resistance (i.e., academic and cultural boycott of Israeli universities and academics, economic boycott of Israeli goods) to armed combatants and suicide bombings. Our focus here is on Palestinian women who do not live in, nor are citizens of, Israel but rather reside in the Palestinian territories (Gaza Strip and the West Bank). The contested status of these territories, which the Palestinian people see as the basis for a state (the Israeli government calls them *disputed territories*, while the international community calls them *occupied territories*), are the focus of the issue that has generated the violence, perpetrated both by the Israeli state and Palestinians. Hence, the issues surrounding Palestine and the Palestinians are tied to self-determination and the essence of what, in IR terms, defines a nation-state.

In chapter 5, we explore Tamil women who belong to the LTTE in Sri Lanka as combatants and as peacemakers, but also as peace builders as the society is reconstructed after years of civil war. This was a nationalist struggle for Tamil independence from the Sinhalese-dominated majority that went on for 26 years, ending only in 2009. Although women in this

case also worked for peace, most of the attention has been given to women combatants, especially suicide bombers. Thus, unlike the case of Northern Ireland, for example, where women who worked together across communal lines have been featured most prominently to the general exclusion of women combatants, Sri Lanka is the mirror image of Northern Ireland and represents a case where the focus has been on women combatants and suicide bombers rather than those who worked for peace.

The concluding chapter 6 returns to the original questions asked in this chapter and, based on our research in the case studies, seeks to answer them. In chapter 6 we also address women and the postconflict period, including the role of (and barriers to) women's participation at the negotiating table, as well as the challenges faced by female combatants for their reintegration into society, particularly disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration programs. For lasting peace, postconflict reconciliation is a necessary element.⁸⁹ We also offer suggestions for areas of future research.

Notes

1. On nonviolent resistance strategies, see Veronique Dudouet, *Nonviolent Resistance and Conflict Transformation in Power Asymmetries* (Berlin: Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management, 2008), 5–6, accessed January 23, 2010, http://www.berghof-handbook.net/documents/publications/dudouet_handbook.pdf.

2. "About Women In Black," Women in Black, accessed December 27, 2011, <http://www.womeninblack.org/en/about>.

3. Alissa J. Rubin, "Despair Drives Suicide Attacks by Iraqi Women," *New York Times*, July 5, 2008, A1.

4. Clifford J. Levy and Ellen Barry, "Russia Says Suicide Bomber Was Militant's Widow," *New York Times*, April 2, 2010, A1.

5. Ibid.

6. Clifford J. Levy, "Second Bomber in Moscow Attacks Is Identified," *New York Times*, April 6, 2010, A1.

7. See Joyce P. Kaufman and Kristen P. Williams, *Women, the State and War: A Comparative Perspective on Citizenship and Nationalism* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007); and Joyce P. Kaufman and Kristen P. Williams, *Women and War: Gender Identity and Activism in Times of Conflict* (Sterling, VA: Kumarian Press, 2010).

8. Dudouet, *Nonviolent Resistance*, 9. For a quantitative analysis of the effectiveness of strategic nonviolent resistance between nonstate and state actors from

1900 to 2006, see Maria J. Stephan and Erica Chenoweth, "Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict," *International Security* 33, no. 1 (Summer 2008): 7–44.

9. See Sanam Naraghi Anderlini, *Women Building Peace: What They Do, Why It Matters* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2007); Cynthia Cockburn, *From Where We Stand: War, Women's Activism and Feminist Analysis* (London: Zed Books, 2007), 141; Swanee Hunt, "Moving Beyond Silence: Women Waging Peace," in *Listening to the Silences: Women and War*, ed., Helen Durham and Tracy Gurd (The Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill BV, 2005), 251; Donna Pankhurst, "The 'Sex War' and Other Wars: Towards a Feminist Approach to Peace Building," *Development in Practice* 12, no. 2–3 (May 2003), 161; and Donna Pankhurst, ed., *Gendered Peace: Women's Struggles for Post-War Justice and Reconciliation* (New York: Routledge, 2008).

10. Laura Sjoberg and Caron E. Gentry, eds., *Women, Gender and Terrorism* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011); Laura Sjoberg and Caron E. Gentry, *Mothers, Monsters, Whores: Women's Violence in Global Politics* (London: Zed Books, 2007); Paige Whaley Eager, *From Freedom Fighters to Terrorists: Women and Political Violence* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008); and Mia Bloom, *Dying to Kill: The Allure of Suicide Terror* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).

11. See, for example, Linda Ahall and Laura J. Shepherd, eds., *Gender, Agency and Political Violence* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Wenona Giles and Jennifer Hyndman, eds., *Sites of Violence: Gender and Conflict Zones* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); Caroline O. N. Moser and Fiona C. Clark, eds., *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors: Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence* (London: Zed Books, 2001); Wenona Giles, Malathu de Alwais, Edith Klein, and Neluka Silva, eds., *Feminists Under Fire: Exchanges Across War Zones* (Toronto, Canada: Between the Lines, 2003); and Susie Jacobs, Ruth Jacobson and Jennifer Marchbank, eds., *States of Conflict: Gender, Violence and Resistance* (London: Zed Books, 2000).

12. Bloom, *Dying to Kill*; Barbara Victor, *Army of Roses: Inside the World of Palestinian Suicide Bombers* (New York: Rodale Press, 2003); Rosemarie Skaine, *Female Suicide Bombers* (Jefferson, NC: MacFarland, 2006).

13. See, for example, Miranda Alison, *Women and Political Violence: Female Combatants in Ethno-National Conflict* (New York: Routledge, 2009); Miranda Alison, "Women as Agents of Political Violence: Gendering Security," *Security Dialogue* 35, no. 4 (December 2004): 447–63; Miranda Alison, "Cogs in the Wheel? Women in the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam," *Civil Wars* 6, no. 4 (Winter 2003): 37–54; Sandra McEvoy, "Loyalist Women Paramilitaries in Northern Ireland: Beginning a Feminist Conversation about Conflict Resolution," *Security Studies* 18, no. 2 (April 2009): 262–86.

14. During an academic study visit to Israel and the West Bank in January 2012, Kristen spoke informally with Israelis (Jews and Arabs) and Palestinians

about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. While not formal interviews, the conversations were extremely helpful as we conducted the research for this book.

15. S. Laurel Weldon, *When Protest Makes Policy: How Social Movements Represent Disadvantaged Groups* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011), 15–16.

16. Sjöberg and Gentry, *Mothers, Monsters, Whores*, 7.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid., 9.

19. Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (New York: Random House, 1979). Other mainstream IR theories include liberalism (and its neo variant) and social constructivism. In the case of liberalism, international institutions serve as mechanisms for state cooperation; in social constructivism, self-help and anarchy are social constructions that influence how states behave. In none of these are gender and women the focal points of analysis.

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

21. Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Relations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

22. For excellent discussions of feminist IR theory, see Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases*; Christine Sylvester, *Feminist Theory and International Relations in a Postmodern Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); J. Ann Tickner, *Gendering World Politics: Issues and Approaches in the Post-Cold War Era* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001); Brooke A. Ackerly, Maria Stern, and Jaqui True, eds., *Feminist Methodologies for International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); V. Spike Peterson and Anne Sisson Runyan, *Global Gender Issues in the New Millennium*, 3rd ed. (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2010).

23. On gender order and power, see Catia Confortini, “Galtung, Violence, and Gender: The Case for a Peace Studies/Feminism Alliance,” *Peace and Change* 31, no. 3 (July 2006): 355.

24. Amalia Sa’ar, Dalia Sachs, and Sarai Aharoni, “Between a Gender and a Feminist Analysis: The Case of Security Studies in Israel,” *International Sociology* 26, no. 1 (January 2011): 55, 56.

25. Ibid., 64.

26. J. Ann Tickner, “You Just Don’t Understand: Troubled Engagements between Feminists and IR Theorists,” *International Studies Quarterly* 41 (1997), 614.

27. Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital and European States* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1992). See also Kaufman and Williams, *Women, the State and War*, 12.

28. Laura Sjöberg and Jessica Peet, “A(nother) Dark Side of the Protection Racket,” *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 13, no. 2 (June 2011): 167.

29. Ibid.

- 30 Confortini, "Galtung, Violence, and Gender," 355.
31. Sjoberg and Peet, "A(nother) Dark Side," 168.
32. Laura Sjoberg, "Seeing Gender in International Security," June 5, 2012, accessed August 16, 2012, <http://www.e-ir.info/2012/06/05/seeing-gender-in-international-security/>.
33. For a comprehensive description of each of these feminist approaches, see J. Ann Tickner and Laura Sjoberg, "Feminism," in *Theories of International Relations: Discipline and Diversity*, ed. Tim Dunner, Milya Kurki, and Steve Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 185–202.
34. A special issue of *Politics & Gender* included articles by different scholars and their take on the state of feminist security studies. See the special section "State of Feminist Security Studies: A Conversation" in *Politics & Gender* 7, no. 4 (2011). On the need for engagement with other mainstream security studies scholars, including critical scholars, see the articles by J. Ann Tickner ("Feminist Security Studies: Celebrating an Emerging Field"), Lauren Wilcox ("Beyond Sex/Gender: The Feminist Body of Security"), and Valerie M. Hudson ("But Now Can See: One Academic's Journey to Feminist Security Studies"). For the need to keep feminist security studies and security studies separate, see articles by Annick T. Wibben ("Feminist Politics in Feminist Security Studies") and Carol Cohn ("Feminist Security Studies': Toward a Reflexive Practice"). For more on a discussion of how security is framed by feminist IR/security scholars, see Christine Sylvester, "Tensions in Feminist Security Studies," *Security Dialogue* 41, no. 6 (2010): 607–14.
35. Laura Sjoberg, "Looking Forward, Conceptualizing Feminist Security Studies," *Politics & Gender* 7, no. 4 (2011): 600.
36. Eric M. Blanchard, "Gender, International Relations, and the Development of Feminist Security Theory," *Signs* 28, no. 4 (Summer 2003): 1290.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
39. Jennifer K. Lobasz and Laura Sjoberg, "Introduction," *Politics & Gender* 7, no. 4 (2011): 573.
40. Sa'ar et al., "Between a Gender," 51.
41. Ibid., 53.
42. For more on human security as it relates to state security, see the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, "Human Security for All," <http://www.unocha.org/humansecurity/about-human-security/human-security-all>.
43. J. Ann Tickner, *Gender in International Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 58. This relationship is stressed by Cynthia Cockburn in her book *The Space between Us: Negotiating Gender and National Identities in Conflict* (London: Zed Books, 1998), and is a relationship noted by others as well. See, for example, Laurence McKeown and Simona Sharoni, "Formations and

Transformations of Masculinity in the North of Ireland and in Israel-Palestine,” unpublished paper, 2002, <http://www.simonasharoni.com/Docs/MasculinityUnpublished.pdf>; also, Kaufman and Williams, *Women, the State and War*, 173–74, which summarizes our findings on this issue.

44. Sjoberg and Peet, “A(nother) Dark Side,” 172.

45. Johann Galtung, “Violence, Peace and Peace Research,” *Journal of Peace Research* 6, no. 3 (1969): 171.

46. Cockburn, *From Where We Stand*, 190–91. For more on the continuum of violence and violence as a choice, see Cockburn, *Antimilitarism: Political and Gender Dynamics of Peace Movements* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

47. According to Galtung, “Violence, Peace,” negative peace refers to the absence of violence, while positive peace refers to social justice. See Confortini, “Galtung, Violence, and Gender,” 335.

48. Peterson and Runyan, *Global Gender Issues*, 179.

49. Pankhurst, “‘Sex War,’” 161. See also, Pankhurst, “Introduction: Gendered War and Peace,” in *Gendered Peace: Women’s Struggles for Post-War Justice and Reconciliation*, ed. Donna Pankhurst (New York: Routledge, 2008), 1–30.

50. Pankhurst, “‘Sex War,’” 161. Megan MacKenzie finds that in the postconflict period in Sierra Leone, female combatants were worse off. See MacKenzie, “Empowerment Boom or Bust? Assessing Women’s Post-Conflict Empowerment Initiatives,” *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 22, no. 2 (June 2009): 199–215.

51. Confortini, “Galtung, Violence, and Gender,” 336. For a critique of hegemonic masculinity as a way to understand (men’s) violence toward women, see Donna Pankhurst, “Post-War Backlash Violence against Women: What Can ‘Masculinity’ Explain,” in *Gendered Peace: Women’s Struggles for Post-War Justice and Reconciliation*, ed. Donna Pankhurst (New York: Routledge, 2008), 308–10. She argues that “the concepts of masculinity, hyper-masculinity, hegemonic masculinity, and crisis of masculinity, do not help us with understanding the variety of behaviour patterns” (p. 310).

52. Confortini, “Galtung, Violence, and Gender,” 337.

53. *Ibid.*, 342.

54. *Ibid.*, 346.

55. *Ibid.*

56. *Ibid.*

57. For more on the cycle of violence and what happens to women during and after conflict, see Fionnuala Ní Aoláin, Dina Francesca Haynes, and Naomi Cahn, *On the Frontlines: Gender, War, and the Post-Conflict Process* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

58. Confortini, “Galtung, Violence, and Gender,” 357.

59. Chris J. Cuomo, “War Is Not Just an Event: Reflections on the Significance of Everyday Violence,” *Hypatia* 11, no. 4 (Fall 1996): 30–31.

60. *Ibid.*

61. *Ibid.*, 32.

62. Tami Amanda Jacoby, *Women in Zones of Conflict: Power and Resistance in Israel* (Quebec: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), 13.
63. Alison, *Women and Political Violence*, 85.
64. Ibid.
65. Ibid.
66. Ibid., 86.
67. Ibid., 89.
68. Ibid., 94.
69. Confortini, "Galtung, Violence, and Gender," 349. For more on the blurring of the private and public spheres as related to women and armed conflict, see Maria Stern and Malin Nystrand, *Gender and Armed Conflict* (Stockholm: Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, April 2006), 44–46.
70. Laura Sjoberg, "Conclusion: The Study of Women, Gender, and Terrorism," in Sjoberg and Gentry, *Women, Gender and Terrorism*, 233.
71. Pankhurst, "Women, Gender and Peacebuilding," 7.
72. Maud L. Eduards, "Women's Agency and Collective Action," *Women's Studies International Forum* 17, no. 2–3 (1994): 181.
73. Ibid.
74. Ibid., 182.
75. Jennifer Leigh Disney, *Women's Activism and Feminist Agency in Mozambique and Nicaragua* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2008), 41.
76. Ibid.
77. Sophie Richter-Devroe, "Gender, Culture, and Conflict Resolution in Palestine." *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 4, no. 2 (Spring 2008): 52.
78. Disney, *Women's Activism*, 34.
79. Ibid., x.
80. Ibid., 2.
81. Alison, *Women and Political Violence*, 231.
82. Ibid., 120.
83. Sjoberg and Gentry, *Mothers, Monsters, Whores*, 16–17. See also Sjoberg and Gentry, "The Gendering of Women's Terrorism," in Sjoberg and Gentry, *Women, Gender, and Terrorism*, 57–80.
84. Vanessa Farr, "UNSCR 1325 and Women's Peace Activism in the Occupied Palestinian Territory," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 13, no. 4 (December 2011): 545.
85. On intersectionality, see Floya Anthias and Nira Yuval-Davis, *Racialized Boundaries: Race, Nation, Gender, Colour and Class and the Anti-Racist Struggle* (London: Routledge, 1992); Flavia Agnes, "Transgressing Boundaries of Gender and Identity," *Economic and Political Weekly* 37, no. 36 (2002): 3695–98; Giles and Hyndman, *Sites of Violence*; Leslie McCall, "The Complexity of Intersectionality," *Signs* 30, no. 3 (Spring 2005): 1771–1800; Cockburn, *From Where We Stand*; Peterson and Runyan, *Global Gender Issues*.
86. Cockburn, *From Where We Stand*, 7.

87. Dalia Sachs, Amalia Sa'ar, and Sarai Aharoni, "'How Can I Feel for Others When I Myself Am Beaten?' The Impact of Armed Conflict on Women in Israel," *Sex Roles* 57 (2007): 595.

88. *Ibid.* Their work examines the impact of armed conflict on Israeli women—Jewish and Palestinian women living in Israel proper—and within these two groups they examine class and nationality and how they intersect with gender.

89. Dudouet, *Nonviolent Resistance*, 18.