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► **To cite this version:**

Julie Billaud, Lucia Direnberger. Gender and Political Violence. Oxford Bibliographies Online, 2021, 10.1093/OBO/9780199756223-0339 . halshs-03508157

**HAL Id: halshs-03508157**

**<https://shs.hal.science/halshs-03508157>**

Submitted on 4 Jan 2022

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## **Gender and Political Violence**

### **Pre-print version. Oxford Bibliographies**

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## **INTRODUCTION**

Feminist studies have rejected the assumption according to which gender violence is an individual or private issue that has to be primarily approached from a psychological perspective. They have underscored the link between gender violence and other factors of social inequalities. Feminists contend that men use violence as a means to exercise power over women. They have defended the idea according to which violence against women is a form of political violence. Marxist/materialist feminisms have argued that the dichotomy between the private and the public spheres structures power relations between women and men. They have shown that the private/public distinction depoliticizes the private sphere. Simultaneously, they have demonstrated that the private sphere—as much as the public domain—is a political construction which serves to reinforce women's subordination and their social, political and economic exploitation. Women's relegation to domestic tasks and their responsibility for care work reinforce the norm of political participation and economic resources as a male privilege. The concept of political violence locates politics in the public domain, and links violence with armed conflicts, social movements, and wars. By contrast, feminist studies situate the production of political violence within domains of life which were previously dismissed as irrelevant for politics: the home, the neighborhood, the intimate space, interpersonal relations and everyday life. Feminist theories make visible the political nature of violence against women. They consider that violence against women takes various forms, occurs in all social spaces, and is closely intertwined with gender hierarchies. Violence against women is an instrument for maintaining women's oppression and men's privileges in societies. The political economy of patriarchy and gendered inequalities makes women more vulnerable and fuels violence against women. Furthermore, women of color and queer feminists have highlighted the importance of other categories of identity such as race, class, and sexuality in the way gender violence is deployed. A focus on gender, instead of women, enables to bring nuances to monolithic representations of masculinity and femininity by demonstrating how the masculine and the feminine constitute socially constructed sets of attributes, behaviors, and roles that are constantly negotiated and changing over time and history. An intersectional approach to gender is therefore necessary to understand how violence differently targets and affects women of color and queer people.

## **GENDER VIOLENCE AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE**

Political violence has historically been conceived as a male domain with men considered the perpetrators of violence and women as victims without power. Whereas men and masculinity are associated with war and aggression, women and femininity conjure up socially constructed images of passivity and peace. This distinction of men as aggressors and women as passive victims denies women their voice and agency. This section of the bibliography references the scholarship that examines the gendered dimension of political violence. More specifically, the literature focuses on various contexts that are particularly prone to the mobilization of stereotypical representations of gender roles for political purposes, notably nationalism, militarization, colonialism, imperialism, and neoliberalism.

### ***Gender Violence as Political Violence***

This section presents the literature which explains the social construction of gender and which theorizes gender violence as a form of political violence. Violence against women has been analyzed as one facet of gender hierarchies (Connell 1995) which play a central role in women's oppression and exploitation (Rubin 1975; Tabet 1998; Delphy 2016; Guillaumin 2016; Walby 1990). Based on feminist epistemologies, the scholarly literature examines different forms, scales, and locations of violence against women (Hanmer and Maynard 1987, True 2012) and the ways in which experiences of gender violence intersect with race, class, gender identity and sexuality (Crenshaw 1990, Meyer 2015).

Connell, R. W. *Masculinities*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995.

Based on the thesis that masculinity and femininity are inherently relational concepts as they are socially opposed, this book theorizes relations of power among men and analyzes how hierarchies of masculinities (hegemonic, complicit, subordinate, marginalized) reinforce the gender order. Connell argues that violence represents only one facet of gender hierarchies and that masculinity is inherently plural and therefore not determined by its propensity to violence.

Crenshaw, K. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review* 43 (1990): 1241-1300.

Focusing on two dimensions of male violence against women (battering and rape) this article considers how the experiences of women of color are frequently the product of intersecting patterns of racism and sexism, and how these experiences tend not to be represented within the discourses of either feminism or antiracism. The author further explores the various ways in which race and gender intersect in shaping structural, political, and representational aspects of violence against women of color.

Delphy, C. *Close to Home. A Materialist Analysis of Women's Oppression*. London and New York: Verso, 2016.

Originally published in 1984, this book is a collection of articles originally written in French between 1970 and 1980. It provides an analysis of women's oppression based on a feminist theorization of social class. In a long and pioneering article entitled "The Main Enemy", the author analyzes the central role of women's housework (child bearing, housework, and child care) in the perpetuation of their subordinate status. Violence against women occurs in a context of men's appropriation of women's domestic labor.

Guillaumin, C. *Sexe, race et pratique du pouvoir. L'idée de nature*. Marseille, France: Editions iXe, 2016 [1992].

In this book, Guillaumin describes the material and mental expressions of power relations and deconstructs dominant lines of arguments which pretend to explain and justify them. She argues that the ideology of "love" is often mobilized to justify women's assignation to housework and care. Such an ideology makes it difficult for women to consider themselves as victims of domestic violence and contributes to legitimize women's oppression.

Hanmer, J., and M. Maynard, eds. *Women, Violence and Social Control*. London: Macmillan Press, 1987.

This book discusses how patriarchal societies control women through violence. It focuses on various forms of interpersonal violence and everyday experiences of violence in different spaces. It discusses how feminist epistemology and methodology have transformed mainstream definitions of violence, by considering the perspective of victims and broadening the spectrum of what counts as violence.

Meyer, D. *Violence against Queer People: Race, Class, Gender, and the Persistence of Anti-LGBT Discrimination*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2015.

Based on the analysis of forty-seven in-depth interviews in the United States, the author examines the experiences of people who encountered violence for being perceived as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender but also violence based on other aspects of their identity, including race, class, and gender. The author argues that homophobia but also other dimensions of inequality (racism, sexism) shape anti-queer violence.

Rubin, G. "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex." In *Toward an Anthropology of Women*. Edited by Rayna Reiter. 87-106. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975.

A pioneer essay in which Rubin describes what she coined "the sex/gender system", i.e., "the set of arrangements by which a society transforms biological sexuality into products of human activity, and in which these transformed sexual needs are satisfied." Building on Mauss' theory of gift exchange, the essay identifies historical patterns of female oppression that have colluded to construct women's role in the reproduction of capitalism.

Tabet, P. *La construction sociale de l'inégalité des sexes. Des outils et des corps*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1998.

In the second article of this book, Paola Tabet argues that reproduction and women's sexuality are controlled by men. Male sexual violence against women guarantees men's control over reproduction and women's sexuality. The author describes how patriarchal structures reinforce the exploitation of pregnant women, who are victims of seclusion, violence, and exclusion.

True, J. *The Political Economy of Violence against Women*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Jacqui True analyzes violence against women perpetrated by men in various contexts. She argues that "gendered inequalities that fuel violence against women are rooted in structures and processes of political economy that are increasingly globalized" (p. 5). She stresses the socioeconomic conditions that may produce or increase violence against women at the local and

global levels. She discusses gendered forms of labor exploitation, sexual violence in armed conflict, gendered violence in natural disasters.

Walby, S. *Theorizing Patriarchy*. Oxford and Cambridge, UK: Basil Blackwell, 1990. Sylvia Walby presents the variety of theoretical frameworks (Marxist feminism, radical feminism, liberalism, and dual-systems theory) which use patriarchy as an analytical tool for discussing gender inequalities. She suggests that male violence against women has to be understood through an analysis of patriarchal social structures and as a form of power used by men over women. She describes different feminist theoretical approaches to violence against women.

### ***Gender, State, Nation***

This subsection references texts that explore the centrality of gender in the development of nationalism. Gendered nationalism describes how state or nation, including notions of citizenship, sovereignty, or national identity, contribute to shape gender roles. National ideologies promote boundaries between men and women and assign women to the private sphere and the role of biological reproduction (Kandiyoti 1991, Yuval-Davis 1997, Yuval-Davis and Anthias 1989, Mosse 2020). Queer and intersectional theories have also addressed the role of the state in the (re)production of violence affecting women of color and/or queer people (Mogul, et al. 2011; Spade 2011; Richie 2012; Ritchie 2017).

Kandiyoti, D. *Women, Islam and the State*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan Press, 1991.

This edited book analyzes the relationship between Islam, nationalism, and the state in the Middle East and South Asia. It argues that a gendered analysis of Muslim societies must rely on an examination of political projects of contemporary states and of their historical transformation. Cases studies show how the “woman question” has become a hotly contested ideological terrain for nationalists and is embedded in debates on the place of Islam in society.

Mogul, J., A. J. Ritchie, and K. Whitlock. *Queer (In)justice: The Criminalization of LGBT People in the United States*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2011.

This book deals with the criminal justice system in the United States from a queer perspective. Policing of sexual and gender “deviance” is crucial to the definition of crime in the justice system. It analyzes the treatment of LGBTQ people—particularly of color—as criminal defendants, victims, and prisoners. Building on the ideas of the prison abolitionist movement, it also questions criminal legal responses to violence against LGBT people.

Mosse, G. L. *Nationalism and Sexuality: Middle-Class Morality and Sexual Norms in Modern Europe*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2020 (1985).

Explores the notion of “respectability”—a bourgeois set of norms defining the proper behavior of men and women—which rose in importance in the 18th and 19th centuries. Mosse argues that such norms, notably men’s association with manliness, stoicism, and the obligation to provide for and protect one’s family, were instrumental in mobilizing men’s patriotic sentiments before World War 1 and during the interwar period.

Ritchie, A. J. *Invisible No More. Police Violence against Black Women and Women of Color*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2017.

Based on an analysis of Black women and women of color’s personal experiences and statistics on police violence against women and women of color, Richie analyzes state violence and anti-violence strategies in the US context. She shows how police violence against Black women and women of color is structural and changed depending on historical circumstances. The author also highlights the insufficiency of police response to such violence and calls for change.

Richie, B. E. *Arrested Justice: Black Women, Violence, and America’s Prison Nation*. New York: New York University Press, 2012.

Building on intersectionality theory as well as elements of Black feminist theory, this book seeks to reverse conservative ideologies by presenting a Black feminist analysis of male violence. Richie analyzes the failures of the racial justice movement as well as the feminist antiviolence movement in yielding attention, assistance, and protection for women of color.

Spade, Dean. *Normal Life: Administrative Violence, Critical Trans Politics, and the Limits of Law*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015.



The book articulates a critical trans politics whose purpose is to expand the life chances of trans people beyond mere state recognition and legal protection of particular identities. Highlights the necessary convergence of struggles between anti-racist, anti-capitalist, decolonial, feminist, and queer movements.

Yuval-Davis, N. *Gender and Nation*. London: SAGE, 1997.

This pioneer book analyzes how gender relations affect and are affected by national projects and processes. Based on feminist studies and critical race and ethnicity theories, the author examines the biological reproduction of the nation, cultural reproduction, the making of differences in citizenship. She also analyzes the reconfiguration of gender norms in armed conflict and war.

Yuval-Davis, N., and F. Anthias. *Woman – Nation – State*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan Press, 1989.

This book examines the relationships between state, nation, race, ethnicity, and gender in nine different national, political, and historical contexts (England, Australia, South Africa, Uganda, Israel, Iran, Turkey, Cyprus, Italy). Explores how the boundaries of the nation-state are shaped by gender, race, and ethnicity and produce forms of exclusion. Such dynamics are observed from the vantage points of women's political participation, reproduction, immigration, and population policies.

### ***Gender, War, and Militarization***

This section introduces researches which deal with the impacts of armed conflicts and militarization on women and sexual minorities (Serrano-Amaya 2018). Feminist studies have demonstrated that women as well as gender and sexual minorities are disproportionately affected by wars (Enloe 2000; Moore and Barner 2017; Haritaworn, et al. 2015; Sanford, et al. 2016).

They have also showed that war and militarism are a gendered construction (Enloe 2000; Sjoberg and Via 2010). Feminist theories have argued that political violence cannot be solely associated to wars, conflicts, and battlefronts. War and peace far from being opposed form a continuum of gender violence (Masson 1999; Mama and Okazawa-Rey 2008; Cockburn 2004). Feminist researches have challenged dominant approaches to conflicts and wars that create artificial

distinctions between battlefronts and civilian spaces, combatants and civilians, peace and war (Meintjes, et al. 2001).

Cockburn, C. "The Continuum of Violence: A Gender Perspective on War and Peace." In *Gender and Conflict Zones*. Edited by W. Giles, and Jennifer Hyndman, 24–44. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004.

Cockburn highlights how structural violence can lead to political or armed violence. Domestic violence often increases when societal tensions grow and are more serious when men are armed. The distinction between combatants and civilians is irrelevant in the analysis of contemporary armed conflicts because war impacts women's everyday life and because the harm caused by wars continues once the war is over.

Enloe, C. *Manoeuvres: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.

Based on case studies of militarization processes in the United States, England, Serbia, Japan, Israel, and Rwanda, Enloe analyzes the effects of militarism on women's life. Looking at the diversity of femininities involved in the "gendering of militarization" (women working in the defense industry, military prostitutes, military wives, military nurses, soldiers, fashion designers), she underlines the entanglements between patriarchy and the militarization of society.

Haritaworn, Jin, Adi Kuntsman, and Silvia Posocco, eds. *Queer Necropolitics*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2015.

This edited volume examines the predicament of gay, lesbian, and transgender men and women in wider contexts of structural violence and neglect, which do not allow them to enjoy the rewards of LGBTQ rights. It brings Achille Mbembe's theorization of "necropolitics" into play to explore the death worlds—such as war, torture, or imperial invasion as well as the mundane and normalized violence of racism and gender normativity, the market, and the prison-industrial complex—of contemporary society.

Mama, A., and M. Okazawa-Rey. Special Issue: *Militarism, Conflict and Women's Activism*. Edited by Amina Mama and M. Okazawa-Rey. *Feminist Africa* 10 (2008).

This special issue of *Feminist Africa* is dedicated to critical gender analysis of postcolonial Africa's most destructive scourge—militarism and violent conflict. Bringing a feminist lens to bear on the meaning of militarization, conflict, peace, and reconstruction, the issue tackles the broader historical and sociocultural conditions that underpin the normalization of institutionalized violence in African women's lives.

Masson, S. "Le viol en temps de guerre: crime ou bavure ? Avancées et résistances de la condamnation du viol contre les femmes." *Nouvelles Questions Féministes* 20.3 (1999): 63–80.

In a context of increased media attention to rape during the war in Bosnia, Masson reveals that the term of "war-time rape" is not defined by international organizations as a form of male violence against women but as a strategy used by men to harm other men. She also shows that the rape of women does not only occur in war times but is also prevalent in the private sphere and the daily life of women.

Meintjes, S., M. Turshen, and A. Pillay, eds. *The Aftermath: Women in Post-Conflict Transformation*. London: Zed Books, 2001.

Documents the varied nature of war and the many postwar situations, including Haitian and Balkan examples, Asian cases, and experiences in different African conflict zones. Argues that there is no truce for women as the postwar period does not bring an end to gender violence.

Moore, M. W., and J. R. Barner. "Sexual Minorities in Conflict Zones: A Review of the Literature." *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 35 (2017): 33–37.

A review of the literature documenting the multiples forms of violence endured by sexual minorities in war zones, notably sexual violence, torture, and death.

Sanford, V., Katherine Stefatos, and Cecilia M. Salvi. *Gender Violence in Peace and War: States of complicity*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2016.

An analysis of the role of the state, its mechanisms, and its structures in perpetuating, legitimizing, and facilitating gender violence worldwide. Building on case studies from Greece, Guatemala, Ireland, Mexico, Kenya, Kurdistan, Indonesia, and Peru, this edited volume conceives gender violence as an inherent phenomenon of state practices and studies its various manifestations in connection to nationalism, misogyny, patriarchy, impunity, and immunity.

Serrano-Amaya, J. F. *Homophobic Violence in Armed Conflict and Political Transition*. New York and London: Palgrave, 2018.

The book investigates the productive power of homophobia in times of political transition and armed conflicts through comparative case studies. The first case study highlights the public dimension of anti-homosexual violence in Colombia. The second case study examines homophobia during the apartheid and post-apartheid regimes in South Africa.

Sjoberg, L., and S. Via, eds. *Gender, War and Militarism: Feminist Perspectives*. Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2010.

This edited volume analyzes the political making of masculinities and femininities in war zones, military institutions, and militarized cultures in prewar, wartime, and postwar eras. The seventeen chapters present different historical and political contexts (Bosnia, El Salvador, Iraq, Israel, Sierra Leone, Sudan, the Pacific Islands, the European Union, and the United States) and analyze the gendered system of war and militarism but also personal experiences of people who live gender, war, and militarism.

### ***Gender, Colonialism, Slavery***

Texts in this subsection examine the coloniality of gender and sexuality, highlighting the violent impact of colonization and slavery on representations of sexual, racial, and gender differences. As many scholars have shown, the colonial enterprise created overlapping configurations of the intimate and the political (Barthélémy, et al. 2011). European imperialism reshaped social hierarchies (McClintock 2013) as well as the relations between and among feminists, nationalists, and anti-imperialists (Roach Pierson and Chaudhuri 1998). These dynamics are explored from the vantage points of prostitution (Banerjee 1998), sexuality (Aldrich 2002,

Yegenoglu 1998, Stoler 2010), veiling practices (Fanon 1965), and social movements (Boittin 2010, Paris 2020).

Aldrich, R. *Colonialism and Homosexuality*. London and New York: Routledge, 2002. An encyclopedic investigation of the connections between homosexuality and imperialism from the late 1800s until the era of decolonization.

Banerjee, S. *Under the Raj: Prostitution in Colonial Bengal*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1998. Explores prostitution in 19th-century Bengal in terms of the changes and complexity of the industry, the way British authorities have engaged with the issue of prostitution, and responses of prostitutes to their milieu.

Barthélémy, P., L. Capdevila, and M. Zancarini-Fournel. Special Issue : *Femmes, genre et colonisations*. Edited by Pascale Barthélémy, P., L. Capdevila, and M. Zancarini-Fournel. *Clio. Femmes, Genre, Histoire* 33 (2011). This special issue offers a social history perspective on women, gender, and colonization and questions how hierarchies are produced in colonial situations. The articles show possible conjunctions of interests between European men and Congolese or Syrian men, complex relations between white men and African or Indonesian women, class hierarchies within the group of colonized women, and affinities, but also misunderstandings, between European and indigenous women.

Boittin, J. A. *Colonial Metropolis: The Urban Grounds of Anti-imperialism and Feminism in Interwar Paris*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2010. This book examines the intersection of gender, class, and race in interwar Paris, demonstrating how the metropolis became a colonial space where the center and peripheries of empire collided, notably through events like the Colonial Exhibition or in spaces like the human zoos. Unravels the links between the emerging anti-imperialist movement and the rapidly expanding feminist movement.

Fanon, F. "Algeria Unveiled." In *A Dying Colonialism*. Translated by Haaken Chevalier. 35-68. New York: Grove Press, 1965.

This book chapter focuses on the status of Algerian women in colonial society. It explains how the French colonial authorities' efforts to dominate cultural signs, notably women's veils, served as a means to assert hegemonic domination. It shows how such efforts triggered popular resistance and led to a re-signification of the veil's meaning.

McClintock, A. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. London: Routledge, 2013.

Focuses on British colonialism in Africa and the interconnections between gender, nation, sexuality, race and class, using the insights of psychoanalysis and material history. The author shows how race, gender, and class structured the imperialist project. Based on an analysis of cultural productions—novels, advertising, diaries, poetry, oral history, and mass commodity spectacle—McClintock analyzes Victorian imperialism as a politics of power and violence.

Paris, Myriam. *Nous qui versons la vie goutte à goutte. Féminismes, économie reproductive et pouvoir colonial à La Réunion*. Paris: Dalloz, 2020.

This book analyzes women's collective resistance against colonial violence perpetrated by the French state in La Reunion. Paris examines the Union des Femmes Réunionnaises (UFR), a local emanation of Union des Femmes Françaises, itself a satellite association of the French Communist Party, established in 1945 but which became independent at the turn of the 1950s. The book offers a history of first wave French feminism from the perspective of its colonies.

Roach Pierson, R., and N. Chaudhuri. *Nation, Empire, Colony. Historicizing Gender and Race*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1998.

Combining a micro-historical methodology with a case-study approach, this collection of articles runs from the 18th century until the post-World War II era. The volume documents how the elaboration of nation-states, empires, and colonies as historical processes simultaneously forced open some arenas for female insurgency, activism, and agency while foreclosing others.

Sinha, M. *Colonial Masculinity: The “Manly Englishman” and the “Effeminate Bengali” in the Late Nineteenth Century*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2017.

Providing a historical analysis of four major controversies which took place during the 19th century, the book explores how Victorian representations of “effeminate Bengalis” served to reinforce colonial ideas of “manly Englishmen.” The author demonstrates how such representations shaped colonial politics for the British Raj in India and served to sustain the idea of empire.

Stoler, A. L. *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010.

Explores the colonial sexual order by working away at genealogies of the intimate, examining not just sexual relations, but also parenting, pedagogy, and paternalism. The book focuses on the Netherlands Indies in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the predominantly Dutch Javanese heartland of colonial Indonesia, on the one hand, and the European communities of the North Sumatran plantation belt, on the other. It offers an examination of the categories of rule common to European colonial regimes in the modern era.

Yegenoglu, M. *Colonial Fantasies: Towards a Feminist Reading of Orientalism*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Provides an important addition to postcolonial theory by exploring the sexual construction of difference in Orientalist discourses, via an examination of the issues of the veil, nationalist ideologies, gender identity, and the figure of the Oriental woman.

### ***Gender, Postcolonialism, and Imperialism***

Conditions of domination did not disappear after decolonization. Indeed, coloniality remains a central organizing feature of North-South relations (Enloe 2014, Lewis and Mills 2003) and plays a major role in maintaining gender, racial, and religious hierarchies in Western (Mama 2002, Smith 2015, Davis 2011) as well as in Middle Eastern societies (Göle 1996, Ahmed 1992). The events of 9/11 and the global war on terror have revived Orientalist narratives of Muslim women in need of “saving” (Abu-Lughod 2013) as well as the US masculinist military impulse

to govern the world through perpetual war using the narrative of “women’s rights” as a justification for its interventions (Butler 2006, Eisenstein 2007).

Abu-Lughod, L. *Do Muslim Women Need Saving?* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013.

Based on a landmark essay published after 9/11 in *American Anthropologist*, the book challenges colonial feminist arguments mobilized to justify the US/NATO military intervention in Afghanistan and Iraq. It also problematizes the “salvation” narrative and questions the over-emphasis on “the veil” as a sign of women’s subjugation.

Ahmed, L. *Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a Modern Debate*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992.

Ahmed examines discourses about women at three crucial moments of Islamic Middle Eastern history: Arabia at the time of the Prophet, Iraq during the Abbasids, and modern Egypt. Ahmed underscores the importance of considering Islamic formulations of gender in relation to the changing codes and practices in the broader region and pays specific attention to the role of colonialism in the emergence of the “veil debate” in Egypt.

Butler, J. *Precarious Life: The Power of Mourning and Violence*. London: Verso, 2006. Written after the United States declared the war on terror, this series of essays is a reflection on how humanity is politically and rhetorically distributed. It asks the reader to consider who counts as human and whose voice is audible. Butler reads Freud, Foucault, and Levinas alongside the events that followed the destruction of the World Trade Center and seeks to articulate a viable ethical response to contemporary violence.

Davis, A. Y. *Women, Race, & Class*. New York: Vintage, 2011.

A study of the women’s liberation movement in the United States, from abolitionist days to the present, that highlights how the racist and classist biases of its leaders hampered the convergence of struggles.



Eisenstein, Z. *Sexual Decoys: Gender, Race and War in Imperial Democracy*. London: Zed Books, 2007.

An examination of contemporary neoliberal imperial politics, charting its most recent militarist and masculinist configurations through discussions of the Afghan and Iraq wars, violations at Guantánamo and Abu Ghraib, the 2004 US presidential election, and hurricane Katrina. The author argues that women's rights rhetoric is manipulated as a ploy for global dominance and a misogynistic capture of democratic discourse.

Enloe, C. *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014.

Through a series of chapters on tourism, colonialism and nationalism, women on and around military bases, diplomatic wives, Carmen Miranda and banana plantations, women textile workers and international bankers, and finally migrant domestic workers and the International Monetary Fund, Enloe illustrates how the international is personal. She challenges claims that politics is gender neutral by noting that "international politics as a whole has required women to behave in certain ways."

Göle, N. *The Forbidden Modern: Civilization and Veiling*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996.

A sociological examination of the "headscarf dispute" in Turkey in the late 1980s, which emerged when a group of university students insisted on attending classes wearing the veil, a controversial political symbol in secular Turkey. Göle argues that the contemporary emphasis on veiling results from a critical dependence on modernity rather than loyalty to Islamic religion.

Lewis, R., and S. Mills. *Feminist Postcolonial Theory. A Reader*. New York: Routledge, 2003.

This volume brings together some of the most prominent contributors to feminist postcolonial theory. It discusses six important themes: "Gendering Colonialism and Postcolonialism/Racializing Feminism," "Rethinking Whiteness," "Redefining the 'Third-World' Subject," "Sexuality and Sexual Rights," "Harem and the Veil," "Gender and Post/Colonial Spatial Relations".

Mama, Amina. *Beyond the Masks: Race, Gender and Subjectivity*. London: Taylor and Francis, 2002.

A study of postcolonial black subjectivities through a case study documenting the personal development of black women activists in Britain in the 1980s and 1990s. The book builds on the experiences of black women from a variety of locations (activists, mothers, scholars, and workers) outside of the United States to examine the “migratory subjectivities” that exist across geographical, ethnic, and national boundaries.

Smith, A. *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015.

A feminist study of Native American women and their struggles against colonization, sexual violence, dehumanization, and marginalizing. Conceives sexual violence against Native American women as a tool of control and domination. Connects sexual and gender violence with patriarchy, assimilation, and genocide.

### ***The Gendered Violence of the State and of the Neoliberal World Order***

In line with feminist analyses that have highlighted a continuum of violence between war and peace, texts in this section document the “grey zones” where classic distinctions between state and non-state perpetrators of violence (Aretxaga 1997, Green 1999, Taylor 1997), structural and politically explicit violence, as well as violence in times of war and peace are blurred and overlap (Rodgers 2006, Theidon 2012). Because, as Patrick Wolfe argues, colonialism is a “structure and not an event,” we link the colonial past with more recent imperialist developments so as to highlight continuities between past and present power asymmetries structured around geography, race, and gender. Texts included in this subsection pay specific attention to forms of violence resulting from gender inequalities and neoliberal discipline in the global labor force (Arab 2018, Mills 2003, Ong 1987, Prentice 2015, Schmoll 2020).

Arab, C. *Dames de fraises, doigts de fée, les invisibles de la migration saisonnière marocaine en Espagne*. Casablanca, Morocco: En toutes lettres, 2018.

A sociological study on the seasonal migration of young Moroccan women coming to work for a few months in strawberry cooperatives in the province of Huelva (western Andalusia).

Documents the various forms of exploitation to which women are subjected as well as the opportunities of emancipation such precarious jobs enable.

Aretxaga, B. *Shattering Silence: Women, Nationalism, and Political Subjectivity in Northern Ireland*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997.

A rich ethnographic study, informed by postcolonial theory and interpretive anthropology, of the complex political subjectivities of Republican Catholic women living in the working-class neighborhoods of Belfast during the “troubles” of the 1970s and 1980s.

Green, L. *Fear as a Way of Life: Mayan Widows in Rural Guatemala*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.

An analysis of the contradictions between the enduring violence of daily life, as it is shaped by class, gender, and racial oppression, and the round of political violence led by the military government in Guatemala.

Mills, M. B. “Gender and Inequality in the Global Labor Force.” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 32.1 (2003): 41–62.

Examines the convergence of recent anthropological interests in gender, labor, and globalization. Analyzes how processes of gender and labor inequality articulate with other structures of subordination (such as ethnicity and nationality) to shape the lived experiences of work, livelihood, and exploitation around the world.

Ong, A. *Spirits of Resistance and Capitalist Discipline: Factory Women in Malaysia*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987.

An anthropological examination of the phenomenon of spirit possession among Malay factory women, in a village in rural Selangor. Argues that such outbreaks are women’s medium for unconsciously resisting the many pressures brought to bear on them by employers, family, religion and society at large, as they themselves search for new identities in a rapidly changing world.

Prentice, R. *Thieving a Chance: Factory Work, Illicit Labor, and Neoliberal Subjectivities in Trinidad*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2015.

An ethnographic exploration of how women garment workers are negotiating neoliberal economic restructuring from the particular cultural and historical perspective of the Caribbean. Uncovers a hidden world of productive labor through which illicit and informal practices have become integral, yet unacknowledged, aspects of the neoliberal order of work.

Rodgers, D. "The State as a Gang: Conceptualizing the Governmentality of Violence in Contemporary Nicaragua." *Critique of Anthropology* 26.3 (2006): 315–330.

Underlines how state governmentality, particularly with regards to violence, has undergone a transformation in late-20th- and early-21st-century Nicaragua and has become a locus for elite interests who have captured the state apparatus. Such a transformation mirrors the changing dynamics of youth gangs, who have gradually abandoned forms of violence that provided a sense of predictability to embrace forms of terror that brutally impose order to protect their drug dealing interests.

Schmoll, C. *Les damnées de la mer. Femmes et frontières en Méditerranée*. Paris: La Découverte, 2020.

Based on long-term research carried out on the margins of Europe, in Italy and Malta, this book is an ethnographic study of migrant women. It offers insights into their daily lives, in reception centers where their trajectory is suspended, as they wait for the recognition of a Europe that often rejects them. The book rejects binary representations of the migrant-victim and the migrant-hero to adopt the point of view of women's experience.

Taylor, D. *Disappearing Acts: Spectacles of Gender and Nationalism in Argentina's "Dirty War"*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997.

Examines how the Argentine military dictatorship of the 1970s used the historical linkage of gender and nationalism to carry out an orchestrated campaign of terror against its population. Shows how representations of *la patria* as a passively erotic feminized figure and object of adulation served to assert the military junta's role as its violent and dominant masculine protector, hence legitimizing the need for eradicating all threats to "good order."

Theidon, K. *Intimate Enemies: Violence and Reconciliation in Peru*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012.

A study of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Peru that problematizes the inclusion of “women’s voices” notably through accounts of sexual violence and rape. Challenges conventional rape discourses that insist on the singular importance of speaking out, especially when “reparations” offered to victims rarely address the material preconditions that underlie women’s vulnerability.

### ***Inequalities and Everyday Violence***

This subsection focuses on the literature that explores gender, racial (Essed 1990), religious inequalities (Behl 2019), and everyday violence (Farmer, et al. 2004, Scheper-Hughes 1992). Authors examine the relationship between racialized and gendered forms of exclusion (Hill Collins 1998) and how those intersect with economic (Chatterjee 2001, Biehl 2013, O’Neill 2015, Zheng 2009) and criminal violence (Bourgois 2003).

Behl, N. *Gendered Citizenship. Understanding Gendered Violence in Democratic India*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2019.

Dealing with experiences of Sikh women in India, the author analyzes experiences of citizenship as everyday discrimination, exclusion, and violence in the private and public spheres. She explores a continuum of mechanisms used to control women’s bodies, to limit their inclusion and participation in democratic society, and to police their behavior in civil society, community, and at home.

Biehl, J. *Vita: Life in a Zone of Social Abandonment*. University of California Press, 2013.

An ethnographic study of Vita, a hospice in Porto Alegre in Brazil where the very poor are abandoned when their mortality seems certain. Biehl most specifically documents the life of one woman, Catarina, a patient misdiagnosed as “mentally ill” and uncovers the systemic failures and forms of gender and racial discrimination that have deprived her from her own social agency and medical history ultimately leading to her public death.

Bourgois, P. "The Everyday Violence of Gang Rape." In *Violence in War and Peace: An Anthology*. Edited by N. Sheper-Hughes, and P. Bourgois. 343-347. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2003.

A controversial excerpt of Bourgois's book *In Search of Respect* describing an episode of gang rape carried out by crack dealers in New York. Analyzes how social and economic marginalization of second- and third-generation Puerto Rican immigrants in the inner city has polarized violence against women.

Chatterjee, P. *A Time for Tea: Women, Labor, and Post/Colonial Politics on an Indian Plantation*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001.

An account of how empire, value, taste, and non-local forces mediate women's labors in the tea plantations of North Bengal. A reflection on the embodied histories and gendered fetishisms at work in a postcolonial plantation. Argues that gendered fetishisms constructed through circuits of mercantile capital linked to gendered representations of labor and consumption, together with embodied work practices, patriarchal patronage networks, and disciplinary techniques constitute "the terms of post-colonial feudalism."

Essed, P. *Everyday Racism: Reports from Women of Two Cultures*. Claremont, CA: Hunter House, 1990.

A comparative study of black women's experience of racism in the Netherlands and the United States unravelling the everyday mechanics of marginalization and discrimination.

Farmer, P., P. Bourgois, D. Fassin, et al. "An Anthropology of Structural Violence." *Current Anthropology* 45.3 (2004): 305-325.

A methodological proposal to ethnographically account for forms of violence derived from the experience of occupying the bottom rung of the social ladder in inegalitarian societies.

Highlights the importance of considering historically given and economically driven processes and forces that conspire to constrain agency. Farmer's essay is followed by comments by other anthropologists working on "structural violence."

Hill Collins, P. "The Tie that Binds: Race, Gender and US Violence." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21 (1998):917–938.

This article uses African American women's experiences of violence as a particular lens to explore the relationships among (1) social constructions of violence; (2) how violence operates to link power relations of race and gender; and (3) potential contributions of transversal politics in anti-violence work.

O'Neill, B. "Bored Stiff: Sex and Superfluity in a time of Crisis." *Public Culture* 27.2 (76) (2015): 387–405.

Documents the experience of the homeless in post-communist Bucharest who engage in a market of sexual favors so as to overcome their exclusion from market consumption. Conceives boredom as a dominant structure of feeling in times of crisis resulting from the transition to neoliberalism and highlights the violent forms of exclusion that it contributes to perpetuate.

Scheper-Hughes, N. *Death without Weeping: The Violence of Everyday Life in Brazil*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.

Depicts the emotional distancing of Brazilian shantytown mothers from their children during the first year of life when their survival is most uncertain. Contextualizing this behavior via a description of colonial antecedents and the everyday violence of contemporary Brazil, the book questions the purported "naturalness" of mother love and bonding theory as a whole.

Zheng, T. *Red Lights: The Lives of Sex Workers in Postsocialist China*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009.

Based on an ethnographic study of the karaoke bars entertainment industry in Dalian during the reform period in China, the book explores the construction of entrepreneurial masculinity in a rapidly changing economic environment. It demonstrates how the interests of young migrant women and emasculated men converge in sustaining a sex industry that serves the interests of a patriarchal state system.

## **PUBLIC POLICIES AND GENDERED VIOLENCE**

Three main scholarly debates cut across the literature on the relationships between public policies and gendered violence. A first one explores forms of gender violence embedded in the policies of states and international organizations. Public policies aimed at preventing gender violence often lead to the neutralization of politics, either by framing gender violence as a medical issue requiring “treatment” instead of judicial reparation or requiring security measures instead of individualized discipline through law enforcement. A second debate explores the inclusion of gender in the UN agenda for peace and security and the effects it has had, notably in legitimizing military interventions in various parts of the world. A third debate is related to the recent phenomenon of “sexual nationalism.” While nationalism has always incorporated a sexual dimension (see first section of this bibliography), contemporary nationalism has reconfigured this relationship. Contemporary nationalism in some parts of the world is reconstituting itself around the integration of sexual minorities in the national community, turning some countries considered “hostile” to sexual minorities into foils for democratic modernity. While homoerotic practices were considered “abnormal,” “deviant,” or “culturally typical of a delayed civilization” by ancient empires and colonial powers, today sexual minorities in postcolonial countries are seen as spearheading the progress against obscurantism, and the respect of gay rights has become a democratic standard for countries to be considered fully “modern”.

### ***Gender Violence Prevention***

Gender violence prevention has emerged on the policy agendas of most states (Hanmer and Itzin 2000, Krizsan and Roggeband 2018, MacDowell Santos 2005) and international governance mechanisms (Bueno-Hansen 2015). However, public policies and NGOs’ programs designed to address domestic violence often tend to depoliticize the issue. The neutralization of politics can be achieved through medicalization (Ticktin 2011), the framing of prevention policies in terms of risk management (Merry 2001), or the inclusion of gender-based violence within broader nationalist narratives (Direnberger 2014). Merry 2009 insists on the central role NGOs play in translating international laws related to gender violence in various national contexts and the potential disjuncture between global justice and local rights. Kapur 2013 further argues that sexual security regimes reinforcing conservative gender categories are embedded in international law and colonial legacies. Miller 2004 adds that the focus on violence against women and sexual



harms in international human rights law and practice has tended to exclude attention to other aspects of harm such as those related to work inequalities or life-saving health interventions.

Bueno-Hansen, P. *Feminist and Human Rights Struggles: Decolonizing Transitional Justice*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015.

Examines how the processes of transitional justice in the aftermath of the Peruvian internal armed conflict (1980–2000) addressed gender-based violence. The study interrogates the Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission (PTRC) and the implementation of the concept of “gender” within the commission, feminist and human rights movement discourses, public hearings and testimonials, the limits of international human rights law, and civil society efforts.

Direnberger, L. “Genre, religion et nation au sein des ONG de prévention de violence domestique au Tadjikistan.” *Sociétés contemporaines* 2 (2014): 69–92.

This article highlights the articulations between gender, religion, and nation within NGOs working for the prevention of domestic violence in Tajikistan. The article shows how local NGOs, supported by international organizations, collaborate with male conservative religious leaders to ensure their local anchoring, thus reinforcing nationalist ideology.

Hanmer, J., and C. Itzin, eds. *Home Truths about Domestic Violence: Feminist Influences on Policy and Practice. A Reader*. London: Routledge, 2000.

Offers an overview of the diversity of state responses to violence against women. The book also provides analyses of various strategies to influence state policies on violence against women and interrogates the influence of feminism on gender violence prevention policies.

Kapur, R. “Gender, Sovereignty and the Rise of a Sexual Security Regime in International Law and Postcolonial India.” *Melbourne Journal of International Law* 14.2 (2013): 317–345.

Kapur examines how debates and legal change that occurred after the “Dehli rape” case in 2012 articulated violence against women with stable and conservative gender categories and strengthened the sexual security regime. Argues that the stability of gender and sexual security regimes is an integral part of international law.

Krizsan, A., and C. Roggeband. *Domestic Violence: Feminists Engaging the State in Central and Eastern Europe*. New York: Routledge, 2018.

This book analyzes domestic violence policy reforms in central and eastern Europe from their emergence in the beginning of 2000s until 2015. Authors observe and compare dialogues and contestations that occur between women's movements, states, and conservative actors in the elaboration and implementation of domestic violence prevention policy in different national contexts.

MacDowell Santos, C. *Women's Police Stations. Gender, Violence and Justice in Sao Paulo, Brazil*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

This book examines police stations run by police women tasked with investigating crimes against women such as domestic violence, assault, and rape. The author analyzes the complex relationships between women and the state from a micro and macro perspective, using case studies of women's police stations in Sao Paulo and their treatment of violence against women.

Merry, S. E. *Human Rights and Gender Violence: Translating International Law into Local Justice*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009.

Explores processes of cultural translation of international laws related to gender-based violence into transformative rights consciousness in various national contexts. Documents transnational differences, the disjuncture between global justice and local traditional rights and the work of NGOs acting as intermediaries and refashioning global rights agendas for local contexts.

Merry, S. E. "Spatial Governmentality and the New Urban Social Order: Controlling Gender Violence through Law." *American Anthropologist* 103.1 (2001): 16–29.

Examines the spatial dimensions of regulatory mechanisms aimed at controlling gender violence. Argues that such policies reflect a new form of governance which increasingly relies on risk management and population control instead of the enforcement of moral norms through individualized discipline.

Ticktin, M. "The Gendered Human of Humanitarianism: Medicalising and Politicising Sexual Violence." *Gender & History* 23.2 (2011): 250–265.

Traces the history of the entry of gender- based violence (GBV) into the medical humanitarian portfolio. The article argues that the incorporation of GBV into the mandate of humanitarians and their mission to protect a universal humanity work to medicalize and depoliticize the issue, limiting the ability to address violence in all its manifestations.

Miller, M. A. "Sexuality, Violence Against Women, and Human Rights: Women Make Demands and Ladies Get Protection." *Health and Human Rights* 7.4 (2004): 16–47.

This article explores how the hyper-visibility of sexual harm in various streams within both human rights doctrine and practice and traditional women's human rights has excluded attention to other aspects of harm, leading to an impasse in the identification of remedies and enabling conditions. This analysis intersects with the history of mainstream human rights' failure to take on economic and social rights until recently.

### ***Women, Peace and Security***

This section of the bibliography is devoted to feminist socio-legal (Pratt and Richter-Devroe 2011; Charlesworth 2008; Gentry, et al. 2018) and international relations scholarship (Tickner 1992, Sjoberg 2010) on the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security. Authors explore the role of women in peace-building (Moran 2010) and peacekeeping (Sion 2008, Duncanson 2009, Cockburn and Žarkov 2002, Whitworth 2004) efforts and interrogate some taken-for-granted assumptions with regard to the feminization of the military and peace as an inherently feminine project.

Charlesworth, H. "Are Women Peaceful? Reflections on the Role of Women in Peace-Building." *Feminist Legal Studies* 16.3 (2008): 347–361.

A critical examination of the way women's relationship to peace is constructed in international institutions and international law. The article identifies a set of claims about women and peace that are typically made and considers these in light of women's experience in the conflicts in Bougainville, East Timor, and the Solomon Islands.

Cockburn, C., and D. Žarkov. *The Postwar Moment: Militaries, Masculinities and International Peacekeeping*. London: Lawrence & Wishart, 2002.

Contributors to this book argue that a crucial but often overlooked element of the postwar period is the importance accorded to transforming gender power relations. Through a focus on two countries, Bosnia and the Netherlands, linked through a “peace-keeping operation,” the contributors illuminate the many ways in which processes of demilitarization and peace-keeping are structured by notions of masculinity and femininity.

Duncanson, C. “Forces for Good? Narratives of Military Masculinity in Peacekeeping Operations.” *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 11.1 (2009): 63–80.

Through an examination of autobiographical accounts of soldiers involved in peacekeeping in Bosnia in the 1990s, the author evaluates the extent to which peacekeeping has enabled the emergence of alternative masculinities challenging the hegemony of the warrior model.

Gentry, C. E., L. J. Shepherd, and L. Sjoberg, eds. *Routledge Handbook of Gender and Security*. London: Routledge, 2018.

This handbook provides a comprehensive look at the study of gender and security in global politics. The volume is based on the core argument that gender is conceptually necessary to thinking about central questions of security; analytically important for thinking about cause and effect in security; and politically important for considering possibilities of making the world better in the future.

Moran, M. H. “Gender, Militarism, and Peace-Building: Projects of the Postconflict Moment.” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 39 (2010): 261–274.

A review of the literature on gender, militarism and peace-building, sketching out (1) feminist analyses documenting the variety of gendered roles in times of war, (2) the role of militarization in constructing and enforcing the meaning of manhood and womanhood, (3) peace-building efforts in post-conflict societies, where essentialized ideas of men as perpetrators of violence and women as victims continue to guide much program design.

Pratt, N., and S. Richter-Devroe. Special Issue: *Critically Examining UNSCR 1325*. Edited by Nicola Pratt and S. Richter-Devroe. *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 13.4 (2011).

Using various disciplinary perspectives, scales, and contexts, this special issue offers a critique of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, calling for women's increased participation in conflict prevention, resolution initiatives, and their protection during conflict. It critically examines its implementation and its implications for women's activism for peace and security.

Sion, L. "Peacekeeping and the Gender Regime: Dutch Female Peacekeepers in Bosnia and Kosovo." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 37.5 (2008): 561–585.

Addresses the issue of women's participation in peacekeeping missions by focusing on two North Atlantic Treaty Organization Dutch peacekeeping units in Bosnia and Kosovo. Demonstrates how this new military model reproduces the same traditional combat-oriented mind-set of gender roles.

Sjoberg, L., eds. *Gender and International Security: Feminist Perspectives*. New York: Routledge, 2010.

This collection shows that asking feminist questions in security studies encourages us to rethink concepts such as war, security, and protection. Along with questioning the basic concepts in the field, this collection also underlines the important policy implications of failing to take feminist concerns seriously in security matters.

Tickner, J. A. *Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992.

Brings feminist perspectives on international relations (IR) based on the recognition of the significance of gender oppression. Challenges the way in which "malestream" IR has been conceptualized, based on a "hegemonic masculinity" that defines what masculine men should be, in opposition to femininities, which are less valued.

Whitworth, S. *Men, Militarism and UN Peacekeeping*. London: Lynne Rienner, 2004. Provides a critical feminist analysis of a UN peacekeeping system that fails to protect civilian population, is responsible for spreading HIV/AIDS and contributes to torture, murder, and sexual violence. Based on different cases studies such as Canadian soldiers in UN mission in Somalia

1992 (UNITAF) and Cambodia 1991 (UNTAC), UN peacekeeping missions are analyzed as sites of gendered violence.

### *Sexual Nationalisms*

The concept of “sexual nationalism” (Jaunait, et al. 2013) captures contemporary reconfigurations of national, gender, and sexual identities. “Sexual democracies” instrumentalize the rights of sexual and gender minorities to produce internal and external borders, “othering” a group of countries considered as non-democratic (Bilge and Scheibelhofer 2012, Farmer 2020)—mainly “Muslim” countries, viewed as a block—and at the same time tracing, within European nation-states, a line of demarcation between good and bad citizens (El-Tayeb 2006, Billaud and Castro 2013, Guénif-Souilamas 2006, Fernando 2013, Haritaworn, 2012). Sexual nationalisms can take the form of “homonationalism” (Puar 2018, Kunstman and Miyake 2008.) or “femonationalism” (Farris 2017).

Billaud, J., and J. Castro. “Whores and Niqabées: The Sexual Boundaries of French Nationalism.” *French Politics, Culture & Society* 31.2 (2013): 81–101.

Based on a sociological analysis of the legal and political treatment of veiled Muslim women and sex workers in France, this article explores the reconfiguration of French nationalism around sexual and gender lines since 9/11.

Bilge, S., and P. Scheibelhofer. Special Issue: *Unravelling the New Politics of Racialised Sexualities*. Edited by Sirma Bilge and P. Scheibelhofer. *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 33 (2012).

This thematic issue deals with the dangers of producing a globalized narrative on sexual modernity which opposes the so-called First World, articulated through human rights governmentality to the so called Third World, depicted as a space of oppression of many women and queers. This issue gathers analyses of different contexts (Denmark and Finland, United Kingdom, Quebec, Austria, Germany, Latin America) and objects of study (academic production, migration policy, marriage and civil partnership, political debates).

El-Tayeb, F. *European Others: Queering Ethnicity in Postnational Europe*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2006.

Challenges the myth of color blindness in “post-racial” Europe by focusing on the experiences of second- and third-generation “migrants” who were born in France, Germany, and Holland, and yet are still viewed by the mainstream as alien. Fatima El-Tayeb documents a wide selection of minoritarian practices that she theorizes as a “queering” of ethnicity.

Farmer, M. *Transnational LGBT Activism and UK-Based NGOs: Colonialism and Power*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020.

This book provides an analysis of UK-based non-governmental organizations engaged in transnational lesbian, gay, bisexual, and trans (LGBT) activism, within a broader recognition of the complexities that British colonial legacies perpetuate in contemporary international relations. It explores UK actors’ participation in the transnational LGBT activism, including the use of LGBT aid conditionality by Western governments.

Farris, S. R. *In the Name of Women’s Rights: The Rise of Femonationalism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017.

Explains how the global post-9/11 conjuncture has led to the convergence of anti-Islam and racist voices in the name of women’s rights. Demonstrates that the defense of women’s rights against the barbarism of non-Western others (and Muslims in particular) has become an unabashed concern for European right-wing nationalists, neoliberals, and feminists.

Fernando, M. L. “Save the Muslim Woman, Save the Republic: Ni Putes Ni Soumises and the Ruse of Neoliberal Sovereignty.” *Modern & Contemporary France* 21.2 (2013): 147–165.

Examines the French Republic’s sudden investment in promoting sexual equality and sexual freedom in the banlieues as the core values that distinguish the West from the rest. Looks at how this investment in normalizing Maghrebi-French women’s sexuality is framed as the reassertion of a republican authority made vulnerable in an era of waning sovereignty.

Guénif-Souilamas, N. “The Other French Exception: Virtuous Racism and the War of the Sexes in Postcolonial France.” *French Politics, Culture & Society* 24.3 (2006): 23–41. Analyzes the spread of a “virtuous” racism through the belief gaining currency in France that there is an ongoing war between the sexes in the disadvantaged suburbs. Rooted in French colonialism and the civilizing processes that have been associated with it for many centuries, this idea relies on an ethnocentric conception of Frenchness that could be viewed as a “particularist universalism” legitimizing racism and discrimination.

Haritaworn, J. “Introduction to Special Section.” In Special Section: *Women’s Rights, Gay Rights and Anti-Muslim Racism in Europe*. Edited by Jin Haritaworn. *European Journal of Women’s Studies* 19.1 (2012): 73–78. In the introduction of this special section, Jin Haritaworn reviews the literature on sexual nationalisms and offers an analysis of feminist complicities with racist, militarist, neo-colonial political agendas. The two other articles analyze sexual nationalism in the Netherlands (Fatima El Tayeb) and in Germany (Jennifer Petzen).

Jaunait, A., A. Le Renard, and É. Marteu. Special Issue: *Nationalismes sexuels? Edited by Alexandre Jaunait, A. Le Renard and E. Marteu. Raisons politiques* 1 (2013). This special issue offers an overview of recent scholarly debates around sexuality and nationalism and gathers together contributions from scholars studying sexual nationalisms in various contexts: The Netherlands, Pakistan, the United States, Africa, and Poland.

Kunstman, A., and E. Miyake. *Out of Place: Silences in Queerness/Raciality*. York, UK: Raw Nerve Books, 2008. This collection explores how hegemonic nation-states’ “war on terror” has been waged partly by characterizing Muslims as a civilizational race apart, one riven by misogyny and homophobia. The book interrogates silences in queerness/raciality to bring to light the instrumentalization of women and gay rights for nationalist purposes.

Puar, J. K. *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018.



The book explores three symptoms of “queer times” (that is, the neo-imperialist, homonormative contemporary): sexual exceptionalism, queer as regulatory, and the ascendancy of whiteness. “Sexual exceptionalism” characterizes how US national heteronormativity has absorbed previously excluded gays and queers into American national life. Puar describes how white hegemony is consolidated not by the exclusion of the “ethnic” but rather through liberal multiculturalist inclusion and its attendant violence on and separation of ethnic communities.

## **VIOLENCE AND AGENCY**

Violence is slippery and elusive and therefore escapes easy definitions. Violence is also formative: it affects identity and shapes people’s perceptions of who they are and what is their place in the world. This section explores the relationship between violence and agency looking at four interrelated social dynamics. A first corpus of literature examines how violence is embedded in ordinary life and shapes subjectivities in specific gendered ways. A second corpus examines the extent to which women’s participation in armed struggles and other forms of violence contributes to redefine gender relations. Some authors investigate how women and other gender minorities sometimes use violence as a political tool of resistance and emancipation. A third corpus gathers together studies documenting feminist and queer movements for peace and against violence.

### ***Violence and Subjectivity***

This section explores how violence affects the lifeworlds and subjectivities of queer people (Rand 2014) and women (Das 2008, Das 2006). Examining women’s experiences of violence in Afghanistan (Ahsan-Tirmizi 2021, Billaud 2015, Daulatzai 2019), India (Das 2006), Argentina (Sutton 2018), Northern Ireland (Wahidin 2016), and Sri Lanka (Argenti-Pillen 2003), authors document the complex ways in which women simultaneously contain and resist the excesses of violence so as to be able to inhabit the everyday. Rand 2014 carves out a compelling case for acknowledging the creative potential of queerness and for reconsidering questions of rhetorical effect, agency, form, and the relationship between theory and practice.

Ahsan-Tirmizi, S. *Pious Peripheries: Runaway Women in Post-Taliban Afghanistan*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2021.

An ethnography of a women's shelter in Kabul established after the fall of the Taliban which documents the everyday struggles of women for maintaining honor while transforming their lifeworld. The book disrupts conventional categories of piety and promiscuity, tradition and modernity, and brings to light how women's exclusion paradoxically enables them to inhabit and revisit the multiple norms that regulate their lives while opening room for difference and feminine solidarity.

Argenti-Pillen, A. *Masking Terror: How Women Contain Violence in Southern Sri Lanka*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003.

Offers a critique of the application of Western health paradigms, including the use of counseling techniques in response to diagnoses of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), as undermining local ways of containing and accommodating violence in southern Sri Lanka. Provides an in-depth analysis of how women construct their worlds and contain and diffuse further cycles of violence through methods including domestic cleansing rituals and "cautious discourses."

Billaud, J. *Kabul Carnival: Gender Politics in Postwar Afghanistan*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015.

An ethnographic examination of the post 9/11 "reconstruction" project in Afghanistan from the perspective of various groups of women targeted by "empowerment" programs. Billaud documents their everyday struggles to remain culturally legitimate subjects in a context where their public visibility raises social anxieties around honor, Islam, and national sovereignty.

Das, V. *Life and Words: Violence and the Descent into the Ordinary*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.

Through case studies of the Partition of India in 1947, and the Delhi massacre of Sikhs in 1984, Das shows how the extreme violence of these events entered "the recesses of the ordinary" in order to gain a new understanding of how violence operates in cultures.

Das, V. "Violence, Gender, and Subjectivity." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 37 (2008). 283-299.

This review examines the interplay between violence, gender, and subjectivity within the overarching framework of the sexualization of the social contract. The article discusses the anthropological literature along with feminist and critical theory to shed light on the relation between reproduction and death as a way of giving life to the nation-state.

Daulatzai, A. "Remaining Undone." In *War and Health: The Medical Consequences of the Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan*. Edited by Catherine Lutz and Andrea Mazzarino. New York University Press, 2019. 73-89.

This book chapter follows the trajectory of Aisha, a widow and heroin user in Kabul, Afghanistan, who chooses not to accept humanitarian aid and refuses to undergo addiction treatments. The paper foregrounds Aisha's life and relationship to heroin amid serial war while unsettling etiologies of addiction and critiquing liberal imaginaries of resilience. By ethnographically exploring Aisha's refusals, the article asks us to consider the serial nature of war and humanitarianism in the lives of Afghans.

Rand, E. J. *Reclaiming Queer: Activist and Academic Rhetorics of Resistance*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2014.

Develops a theory of rhetorical agency while grappling with the complex interrelationship between academic queer theory and street-level queer activism.

Sutton, B. *Surviving State Terror: Women's Testimonies of Repression and Resistance in Argentina*. New York: New York University Press, 2018.

Sutton examines women's survival and resistance to the physical, sexual, and emotional violence in clandestine detention centers during the military dictatorship in Argentina (1976–1983). Body is a key theme in this book which examines the way in which bodies are made vulnerable but also resist state terror.

Wahidin, A. *Ex-Combatants, Gender and Peace in Northern Ireland: Women, Political Protest and the Prison Experience*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

Based on interview material with men and women who were active in the Irish Republican Army, the book explores gender relations in conflict and conflict transition in Northern Ireland. The author aims to explore the diversity of women's engagement in this conflict: as soldiers in the army, as political prisoners, and as protesters in prison.

### ***Women and LGBTQI People's Participation in (Armed) Violence***

Women and LGBTQI people may resort to violence as a mode of political expression, as a means to resist oppression, or simply as a way to gain social recognition (Halberstam 1993, Gowrinathan 2021). Authors in this section disrupt popular ideas on femininity by documenting the experiences of Republican women prisoners in Northern Ireland (Aretxaga 1995), Kurdish women guerillas of the PKK (Duzel 2018), militant feminists and members of the Red Army Faction in Germany in the 1970s (Karcher 2017, Melzer 2015), female soldiers in Sierra Leone (MacKenzie 2015), gay gang members in the United States (Panfil 2017), Hindu nationalist women in India (Sen 2007), and women soldiers in the Israeli army (Yuval-Davis 1987).

Aretxaga, B. "Dirty Protest: Symbolic Overdetermination and Gender in Northern Ireland Ethnic Violence." *Ethos* 23.2 (1995): 123–148.

Takes an unusual episode known as "the dirty protest" among Irish Republican female and male prisoners in 1978 as a case for the exploration of how subjectivity, gender, and power are rearticulated in situations of heightened political violence.

Duzel, E. "Fragile Goddesses: Moral Subjectivity and Militarized Agencies in Female Guerrilla Diaries and Memoirs." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 20.2 (2018): 137–152.

Focuses on the uneasy relation between death and empowerment in Kurdish female militancy. Explores how female guerillas of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) both unsettle and reinforce the gendered binaries of militarism.

Gowrinathan, N. *Radicalizing Her: Why Women Choose Violence*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2021.

Based on conversations with female fighters in Sri Lanka, Eritrea, Pakistan, and Colombia carried out over a period of twenty years, Gowrinathan provides unique insights into the experiences of women who choose violence to fight back state violence and layers of oppression. *Radicalizing Her* holds the female fighter up in all her complexity as a kind of mirror to contemporary conversations on gender, violence, and power.

Halberstam, J. "Imagined Violence/Queer Violence: Representation, Rage and Resistance." *Social Text* 37 (1993): 187–201.

Using literary and cinematic examples of imagined violence and articulated rage, Halberstam conceives "imagined violence" as a powerful strategy of revolt for subordinate groups. According to the author, this "imagined violence" can produce change by destabilizing the real and contribute to "fracture the fiction of an identity politics" (p. 199).

Karcher, K. *Sisters in Arms: Militant Feminisms in the Federal Republic of Germany since 1968*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2017.

A historical account of how feminist ideas were enacted by West German leftist organizations from the Red Army Faction to less well-known groups such as the Red Zora. Documents how these groups employed radical means to make their demands heard. Karcher analyzes their actions through the lens of militant feminism and situates the latter with regard to the New Women's movement on the one hand and left-wing terrorism on the other.

MacKenzie, M. H. *Female Soldiers in Sierra Leone: Sex, Security, and Post-Conflict Development*. New York: New York University Press, 2015.

Draws on interviews with seventy-five former female soldiers of the civil war and over twenty local experts in the context of civil war in Sierra Leone from 1991 to 2002. MacKenzie argues that roles and experiences of female soldiers are crucial to understand the conflict and the post-conflict political environment.

Melzer, P. *Death in the Shape of a Young Girl: Women's Political Violence in the Red Army Faction*. New York: New York University Press, 2015.

Analyzes the experiences of women who constituted half of the Red Army Faction (RAF) and the 2nd June Movement, active in the early 1970s. Drawing on archival sources, unpublished letters, and interviews with former activists, Melzer demonstrates that by engaging in bombings, shootings, kidnappings, and robberies, RAF women also struggled to liberate themselves from patriarchy.

Panfil, V. R. *Gang's All Queer: The Lives of Gay Gang Members*. New York: New York University Press, 2017.

Through in-depth interviews complemented with ethnographic methods, Panfil paints a detailed picture of the lives of fifty-three gay gang members in the greater Columbus, Ohio, area. Interprets the identity work constituting participant narratives as well as their responses to discrimination and their modes of resistance.

Sen, A. *Shiv Sena Women: Violence and Communalism in a Bombay Slum*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007.

Explores women's "agency" in a militant Hindu nationalist organization that has been at the heart of communal political mobilization in Western India. Draws a link between the vulnerability of the working class, as well as the violence women endure in their everyday lives, with their drive toward gaining a measure of power and recognition through their militancy within the Shiv Sena.

Yuval-Davis, N. "Front and Rear: The Sexual Division of Labour in the Israeli Army." In *Women, State and Ideology*. Edited by Haleh Afshar, 186–204. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1987.

Reveals the gendered hierarchical and bureaucratic nature of the modern Israeli army. Argues that women's incorporation into Tsahal doesn't guarantee their equality in terms of the tasks they fulfill and the power they exercise. The "front/rear" dichotomy is used as a framework to describe the sexual division of military labor.

### ***Women's Resistance to Violence***

Feminists have played a central role in the struggles for world peace and against violence. But feminists of color have powerfully contributed to shaping the peace movement's goals and ideology (Blackwell 2004, Incite! 2016, Bennett 2010, Collective Muvman liberasyon Fam 1989, Plastas 2011, Germain and Larcher 2018). Cockburn (2012) and Butler, et al. 2016 argue that "non-violence," far from reflecting an essential feminine characteristic, is always a political choice that comes from a position of extreme oppression. Ahmed (2017) further insists that living a feminist life often involves becoming a "killjoy," a person who understands the normalizing effects of power and violence and who thus willfully resists the promise of happiness that serves to preserve inequality. Altogether, these texts offer a transnational feminist methodology for building peace and women's solidarity movements by examining the racialized, sexualized, and class dynamics of militarized imperialism and neoliberal capitalism (Enloe, et al. 2013; Kwon 2013; Laware 2004; Chandra and Erlingsdóttir 2020).

Ahmed, S. *Living a Feminist Life*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017.

The author explores how feminist theory resonates with everyday life and how being a feminist impacts everyday experiences at home and at work. Insists on the necessity to link feminist theory and everyday life and provides practical tools for how to live a feminist life and resist patriarchy, racism, homophobia.

Bennett, J. Special Issue: *Rethinking Gender and Violence*. Edited by Jane Bennett. *Feminist Africa* 14 (2010).

This issue of *Feminist Africa* seeks to take stock of some contemporary thinking on gender and violence. The issue discusses theoretical approaches to violence and gender dynamics in African feminist work, international discourses on "conflict" and "gender," and feminist activism in different areas of gender/violence work.

Blackwell, J. *No Peace without Freedom: Race and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1915–1975*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2004.

Analyzes the role of African American activists in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). The book explores how inequality and injustice motivated African American women to compel the white leadership of the WILPF to revisit its own conceptions of peace and freedom, and placed it in the vanguard of interracial activities among American women.

Butler, J., Zeynep Gambetti, and Leticia Sabsay, eds. *Vulnerability in Resistance*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016.

This edited collection theoretically and empirically engages with the relationship between vulnerability and resistance. It is part of a larger critical feminist project to problematize traditional masculinist conceptions of agency and subjectivity that have frequently ignored vulnerability in favor of discourses of mastery and inviolability. The book documents the ways that vulnerability is mobilized in strategies of resistance, often in conditions of considerable repression.

Chandra, G., and I. Erlingsdóttir, eds. *The Routledge Handbook of the Politics of the #MeToo Movement*. London and New York: Routledge, 2020.

This interdisciplinary handbook invites the reader to make connections between the ways in which the #MeToo movement has panned out in different parts of the world, seeing it in the context of the many feminist and gendered struggles already in place, as well as the solidarities with similar movements across countries and cultures.

Cockburn, C. *Political and Gender Dynamics of Peace Movements*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Provides an analysis of the internal divisions and tensions within the peace movement, based on qualitative empirical research with seventy-six activist groups and networks, spanning Britain, Spain, Okinawa/Japan, and the Korean peninsula as well as a number of multi- and translational actors and networks. Argues that violence is not inevitable and is a matter of political choice.



Collective Muvman liberasyon Fam. "Women's Struggle, Class Struggle, and Antimilitarism in Mauritius." In *Women's Studies International Forum* 12.1 (1989): 119–123.

A brief history of the Muvman Liberasyon Fam, a feminist anti-militarist movement in Mauritius, outlining its purposes and achievements, with particular emphasis on its active support of the women islanders of Diego Garcia in their struggle for their rights.

Enloe, C., A. Davis, J. Hyndman, et al. *Feminism and War: Confronting US Imperialism*. London: Zed Books, 2013.

A series of essays that analyze the ways in which war and militarization permeate the daily lives of men and women, promote gender identities that serve power, profoundly affect the lives of civilians, especially women and children in war-torn countries, increase sexual and racial violence, and serve as a pretext for curtailing civil liberties.

Germain, F., and S. Larcher. *Black French Women and the Struggle for Equality, 1848–2016*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2018.

Acknowledges the tremendous struggle of black French women over 170 years to surmount the obstacles established through racism, colonialism, as well as a French national identity that oppresses and renders them silent and invisible. This pioneer collective book is a milestone to understand how intersections between race, gender, ethnicity, nationality, and sexuality shape women's lives in France and Overseas France.

*Incite! Color of Violence. The Incite! Anthology*. Edited by INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016.

Organizers, lawyers, scholars, poets, and policymakers contributed to this edited book by Incite! a collective of Women of Color Against Violence. The book put women of color at the center of the anti-violence movement and analyze the various forms of violence against women of color and the relationship between gender, militarism, reproductive and economic violence, prisons, colonialism, and war. Contributors also document diverse practices of resistance to this violence.

Kwon, I. "Gender, Feminism and Masculinity in Anti-Militarism: Focusing on the Conscientious Objection Movement in South Korea." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 15.2 (2013): 213–233.

A feminist analysis of the conscientious objection movement in South Korea which documents how the contestation of dominant militarized masculinities has become a major factor in the formation of activists' identities and in the building of the movement's popular legitimacy.

Laware, M. L. "Circling the Missiles and Staining Them Red: Feminist Rhetorical Invention and Strategies of Resistance at the Women's Peace Camp at Greenham Common." *NWSA Journal* (2004): 18–41.

This essay provides an analysis of the Greenham common peace camp in the United Kingdom (1981–2000) and documents women's evolving protest actions. It looks specifically at the types of feminist rhetorical invention employed—including coding strategies, use of women's bodies as rhetorical topos, and the use of background symbolism, affirming symbols of women's lives—to create a women-centered community and challenge the patriarchal traditions that the nuclear missiles represented.

Plastas, M. *A Band of Noble Women: Racial Politics in the Women's Peace Movement*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2011.

Examines the work of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) in the interwar era and demonstrates how the internationalism of the women's peace movement developed in concert with the internationalism of early-20th-century black leaders.

### ***Queer Resistance to Violence***

Queer and LGBTQ people have been particularly creative and resourceful in resisting the various forms of violence to which they are confronted on a daily basis. They have used performance, art, and the body to resist poverty, racism, homophobia (Kapadia 2019, Bailey 2013). However, their agency is very much shaped by social, political, and cultural contexts and should therefore not solely be associated with acts of overt contestation. The authors presented here pay attention to self-presentation strategies (Amari 2018) and alliance-building processes (Dave 2012, Stein 2012, Suran 2001). They also highlight how colonialism, nationalism, and imperialism shape

their subjectivities and constrain their capacity to act (Atshan 2020, Bastian Duarte 2012, Dave 2012, Kuntsman and Al-Qasimi 2021).

Amari, S. *Lesbiennes de l'immigration. Construction de soi et relations familiales*. Vulaines sur Seine, France: Editions du Croquant, 2018.

The first book to document the experiences of lesbians of Maghreb origin in contemporary France. The author analyzes how gender, race, and class structure their experiences of coming out, motherhood, and religion as well as their relationships with their partners and families. Examines how these women of color develop self-presentation strategies in a context of racism, sexism, and homophobia.

Atshan, S. *Queer Palestine and the Empire of Critique*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2020.

The author investigates the queer Palestinian movement and the difficulties its members face as they find themselves caught within the paradox of pervasive homophobia and Zionist occupation. Based on autoethnography, interviews, and ethnography, the book documents how Israel's homonationalism and pinkwashing strategies impact on queer Palestinians' lives.

Bailey, M. M. *Butch Queens up in Pumps: Gender, Performance and Ballroom Culture in Detroit*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013.

Focusing on the ballroom scene in Detroit, the book analyzes "Black LGBT community's resilience and endurance despite the difficult conditions under which its members live" (p.13). The author documents how some Black LGBT withstand poverty, racism, homophobia; how they redefine notions of labor and safe space; and how other forms of belonging and community emerge on the ballroom scene.

Bastian Duarte, Á. I. "From the Margins of Latin American Feminism: Indigenous and Lesbian Feminisms." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 38.1 (2012): 153–178.

An article that reconstructs the political genealogies of two feminisms in Latin America—indigenous and lesbian feminism—in the context of their dialogue and alliances with liberal

feminism. Examines the contributions that these feminisms from the margins have made to the construction of a wider and more complex feminism, and explores the theoretical and political contradictions that such an endeavor has involved.

Dave, N. *Queer Activism in India: A Story in the Anthropology of Ethics*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012.

Through historical research and fieldwork completed in Delhi from 2001 to 2003, the book documents the development of the lesbian activist movement within India in a context where Hindu nationalism is gaining political strength. Shows how, by contrast to Western queer activism, the movement in India is less a story of resistance than one of creation.

Kapadia, R. K. *Insurgent Aesthetics: Security and the Queer Life of the Forever War*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2019.

The author analyzes the work of US-based diasporic visual artists (Wafaa Bilal, Mariam Ghani, Chitra Ganesh, Rajkamal Kahlon, etc.) whose art aims to challenge US imperialism, especially the US war on terror, and to denounce its impacts on migrants and minorities. Kapadia provides a queer feminist decolonial critique of the US security state by showcasing artistic productions that disrupt and make legible life under military empire.

Kuntsman, A., and N. Al-Qasimi. "Introduction" In *Special Issue: Queering Middle Eastern Cyberspaces*. Edited by Adi Kunstman and N. Al-Qasimi. *Journal of Middle East Women Studies* 8.3 (2012): 1–13.

This text introduces a special issue which brings feminist and queer analyses of media and communication in different Middle Eastern contexts. Building on scholarly debates on transnationalism and postcolonialism, the authors deconstruct the orientalist figure of the Middle Eastern queer as an emblematic victim of Muslim homophobia.

Stein, M. *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement*. New York: Routledge, 2012.

The book traces the history of US gay and lesbian activism during the second half of the 20th century. It examines the changing agendas, beliefs, strategies, and vocabularies of a movement that encompassed diverse actions, campaigns, ideologies, and organizations.

Suran, J. D. "Coming Out against the War: Antimilitarism and the Politicization of Homosexuality in the Era of Vietnam." *American Quarterly* 53.3 (2001): 452–488.

Highlights the centrality of both the Vietnam War experience and the antiwar movement to the emergence of the gay liberation movement in the United States. Explores the formative influence of the antiwar movement on gay solidarity and urban protest in the San Francisco Bay Area.