

**MASCULINITY AS STRATEGY: AN
ENGAGEMENT WITH FEMINIST SECURITY
STUDIES**

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for award of the degree of*

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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2016



Date: 25.7.2016

DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled “**Masculinity as Strategy: An Engagement with Feminist Security Studies**” submitted by me for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other university.

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CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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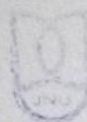
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Dedicated to my parents

Sofia Rahman Ahmed and Hasby Halim Ahmed

Acknowledgement

At the very outset, I would like to express my sincere gratitude towards my supervisor Dr. J. Madhan Mohan, whose guidance, knowledgeable insights and help have contributed towards framing and completing this dissertation. I would also like to thank the faculty members of the Centre, in particular Dr. Happymon Jacob, Prof. Rajesh Rajagopalan and Prof. Varun Sahni, whose lectures, expansive knowledge and valuable encouragements have contributed in shaping my academic interest and ventures.

My sincerest gratitude towards the staff of the CIPOD office and the JNU library, who have always been resourceful in a very generous manner and without whose assistance, this project would have been an incomplete work.

The contribution of my parents towards reaching this goal has been unparalleled, as they have always been the wind behind my back and have always been encouraging through their love and blessings in completing all my endeavours. I would also like to thank my younger sister Fawziyah, for her constant encouragement and support.

Special gratitude goes to my friend Jeemut, whose generous efforts were vital in pushing my spirits when they were lacking and also in framing and proof-reading the dissertation along with Priyanka. I would like to thank my dear friends Kankana, Anurag and Shagorika who have enriched my life with their presence and constant support. I would also like to thank my senior Pinky who has been a source of constant support during the course of my dissertation.

Finally, my acknowledgement would be incomplete without the mention of my classmates and friends for their support and encouragement.

Shayesta Nishat Ahmed

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DDR	Disarmament, Demobilization and Reconstruction
DEVAW	Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women
FSS	Feminist Security Studies
FTGS	Feminist Theory and Gender Studies Section
GBV	Gender Based Violence
ICWW	International Congress of Working Women
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IR	International Relations
ISA	International Studies Association
ISS	International Security Studies
RMA	Revolution in Military Affairs
UAV	Unmanned Aerial Vehicles
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

'Security studies can thus never be solely an intellectual pursuit because it is stimulated in large part by the impulse to achieve security for "real people in real places."

- (Booth 2007).

The urge to formulate sound strategies for security and defence purposes by countries of the international state system persuades them to favour the attributes that are compatible with high politics. Such endeavours by the subject of International Security Studies (ISS) palpably portray its masculinised leanings and biases that are depicted in the general orientation of the social structure in international politics. The relatively new discipline of Feminist Security Studies attempts to redefine and reassign the scope of security studies and strategic culture to be more inclusive of the individuals in the state, who are actively kept out of security and defence-framework in the state. With the endeavour to bring in a widening and deepening in the scope of security studies for rendering it more inclusive, there is an attempt at creating a more wholesome variety of security for the individual in the state and ensuring security at all the levels of the international system.

The present study attempts to analyse how the gendered binaries of masculinities and femininities 'are made up of behaviour expectations, stereotypes, and rules which apply to persons because they are understood to be members of particular sex categories' (Sjoberg and Gentry 2007: 6). It has been always observed in societies that masculine traits and qualities are better appreciated than feminine traits. This has, according to J. Ann Tickner, led to the disproportionate structuring of the society and the resultant social equations and power relationships (Tickner 1992: 7). Here the intention is not to associate masculinity with violent tendencies of the security structure, but rather to examine how it facilitates a social structure which is feasible to render the use of force and violence in the name of security and that too in a socially acceptable manner. Also, there is an ardent need to study the masculinities of protection in the whole security architecture of states.

Even though it is a misplaced sense of association between peace studies and the female gender however, there is interconnectedness in the core idea behind the two concepts. The study analyses the way that a more gendered balance could impact policy-making activities, especially in the security arena. Feminist Security Studies in its literature proceeds to discourage the construction of any binaries in the issue of strategic studies, along with which critical theory too ought to be a part of this analysis as it is involved in the study of multiplicities and not mere singular understandings of knowledge.

While discussing and making the security policies, there is also a tendency to portray the voices and opinions of male participants in a much more rational and reasonable terms, as opposed to the feminine voice being that of emotion and experience. However, the study intends to push through the point about the inclusion of women in to the discourse of security studies and policy-making, which would make a way forward for a much more inclusive security policy and also pave a way for a more defence, rather than an offence based security policy in general. Additionally, it also highlights the importance of being very suspicious of the language that is used in strategic discourse. There is the need to be wary and suspicious of the undertones used in it.

The conventional definition of 'security' has been seen to be greatly rigid in its understanding of its components. Stephen Walt maintains that war is an area which is paid primary attention by security studies where a conflict is seen to be a vivid possibility and where the use of military force has long lasting effects both on states and even societies (Walt 1991: 212). It is the state which, through these definitions of security is made the legitimate actor to use force. Security, generally understood is about securing the state, the people, the individuals, groups and even the environment. Moreover, in the discipline of security studies having witnessed a variety of redefinitions according to various theoretical perspectives, the mainstream discourse many a times is seen expressing its displeasure at the attempt to muddle its core essence.

However, on occasions when the state system is no longer working in its ordained course, states tend to lose the responsibility put on them of offering security to the civil society, which also shrinks their legitimacy of power and authority (Walker 1990: 3). During times of crisis more specifically, military preparations end up making civilians feel more and more insecure, rather than secure. David A. Baldwin in his piece, 'The Concept of Security' also attempts to ask the important question as to who the security is meant for,

but then indulges merely on a debate between the misunderstanding between concept specification and empirical study that is faced by theorists (Baldwin 1997: 13). Other areas like the fields of economic and environmental security also became novel parts of the security agenda in the later years of the Cold War, and then soon after in the 1990s the fields of societal security, human security, food security and others also opened up. Though much of these newer fields were also comfortably working still within the rubric of the predominant national security frame of the Cold War, thereafter, there was a gradual gathering of forces which started shifting the focus from material capabilities of the state to look for ideas, identities and cultures as other locations of the referent object in the discourse of security (Buzan and Hansen 2009: 2). Additionally, widening the scope of the discourse also includes broadening the scope of security studies itself 'to include a wider range of potential threats' and also deepening in the scale between securing at the individual level or up to the echelon of global or national security (Krause and Williams 1996: 230). So we can put it as an expansion at both the vertical and horizontal dimension of the concept of security.

Ken Booth while dwelling on debates on 'deepening and broadening' of the discipline of security studies stressed on how the underlying idea has been often misconstrued. It is only through a process of deepening in the discipline, which is rooted in political theory would the basic postulates wherein the concept of security lies could be broadened and as a result, the priorities that frame the subsequent political schema could make way for an appraisal and reconstruction of the discipline, thereby fashioning a politics of emancipation (Booth 2007: 149; Buzan and Hansen 2009). Ronnie Lipschutz rightfully points out the 'there are not only struggles over security among nations, but also struggles over security among notions' (Lipschutz 1995: 8). This clearly depicts the importance of the definition of security that is being put to use, both in the academic and the policy front (Lipschutz 1995: 8). The authority to define security also brings with it the authority to use it along with the resources needed to enforce it.

The mainstream conceptions and understandings of security has also internalised the realist prescriptions of power and state-centrism to such an extent that the sub-discipline of International Security Studies is assumed to be an essential subfield of International Relations, if not an identical one (Buzan and Hansen 2009: 21). Thus to redirect this conventional view, there is a need to bring about an appraisal of the referent object when

the variable of gender is required to be absorbed within the realm of Security Studies. This traditional conception of security is set on the pivot around the state as the referent object. Nevertheless, the idea of security has changed considerably today from that of the Cold War dynamics. Since the stabilisation of the nuclear deterrence relationship between the two superpowers of the Cold War, the domain of security studies has sufficiently set about on a course of deepening and widening of its discourse to include human security and also to try to modify the referent object to include 'women' and even the non-military security segments (Buzan and Hansen 2009: 208). Subsequently, there should also be a sense of academic resistance to the creation of binaries in strategic studies.

It is generally taken for granted how areas of national security discourses are built along the lines of masculinist high politics. The majority of the policy-making body in the international arena are seen to be adhering to the *real politik* framework which is seen to be completely devoid of women, be it in terms of representation in the policy-making course or in accommodating the interests and issues of women. The fields of diplomacy, military, defence and even commerce clearly exemplifies how women have been recent additions (Grant 1992: 86). This is also because real politics begins with the assumptions of rationality which is assumed to be associated with masculinity and explicitly is rooted in it. These are also incidentally are the war-prone qualities which give rise to offensive security policy of a state (Hutchings 2008).

Among the multiple layers of masculinities that expand in distinct patterns in cultural, historical, institutional and political avenues and are examined, the type which is to be taken up here is the 'citizen warrior', 'rational economic man', 'civilian strategist', 'good soldier' and 'martyr' and also the 'breadwinner' (Blanchard 2014: 63). However, whilst keeping these dichotomies, Cynthia Enloe maintains that feminist security studies, takes into account the experiences of both men and women which often get side-tracked in the analysis of mainstream International Relations. Here the reference is being made to the Waltzian (1959) three-levelled analysis, which leaves out the domestic sphere in the public/private dichotomy by focusing merely on the private relations between states and foreign affairs. This can also be the sites of exclusion in the discipline of IR and feminist endeavours to accommodate these marginalised voices as these experiences are unable to be absorbed in the conventional three-level model (Blanchard 2014: 65).

The military bend of International Relations with disciplines like Security Studies, create hurdles in the security of humans and the environment. Tickner, went on to elucidate how the realist attributes of rationality, strength and power which are correlated with foreign policy and even military and national affairs, perpetuate the hegemonic masculinity of these issues which are strategic in nature (Tickner 1992: 3). She suggests that instead of taking power as the coercive mean through which states ensure security which might be at the expense of other states, an ethos of 'mutual enablement rather than domination' could make up a positive and peaceful ideas of security (Tickner 1992: 65; Ruddick 1989).

Moreover, trends of hyper-masculinity in the discourse of strategic and security studies, which are rooted in and accentuated by the gendered militarism which is so starkly evident in the gendered militarism and militarised masculinities of this discourse of national security. What is therefore needed is a re-imagination of masculinity not merely in the discipline under observation, but also in the general understandings of the daily personal experiences of civilians (Salter and Mutlu 2013: 74-75).

Feminist Security Studies seeks to shed light on the insecurities of both men and women. Miranda Allison talks on how wartime sexual violence is highly gendered in nature and not only women, but even men are not outside its ambit (Allison 2007: 84). Accounting and focussing on both men and women victims, feminism can redirect the dominant opinion that it is only women and children who can be the victims of sexual exploits, and can as a result, subdue the relevance of the protected and protector debate (Allison 2007: 84). R. Charli Carpenter also dwells upon how similarly the gendered assumptions of male aggression also violate men's security (Carpenter 2006).

Thus it is in these times that the need to challenge state-centric value laden theories, were felt around the academic world when the issue of Feminist Security Studies emerged to emphasise on the importance of imbibing the gendered perspective within the realm of international security studies. This new branch of knowledge does not attempt to look merely at the female bodies as agents for study, but stresses on the widening and deepening of the concept of security and even tries to stress on the fact that, peace and security are gendered spaces and cannot be studied independent of the variable of gender.

J. Ann Tickner talks about how women get marginalised in the gendered domain of the conventional security of the state. Specifically, the women who go unrepresented in the centres of power end up being dependent on the male populace as a consequence of skewed patriarchal social relations. Thus she put forward a research agenda for comprehending the association between the external security seeking behaviour of the state and the asymmetrical social relations (Tickner 1997). These flawed policies, be it in the health care sector, employment, education or military sector, create the various hurdles in the way of the establishment of gender parity. Robert Keohane while being an ardent supporter of the dialogue between mainstream International Relations theorists and Feminist IR theories stresses on the point about the significance of the continuing dialogue between the two and integrate each other rather than being two separate disciplines (Keohane 1998).

The earlier research works on gender being never a part of International Security Studies, joined the league with their scholarship on the discipline of Peace Research towards the 1980s when Elsie Boulding talked about how women were more inclined towards contesting huge scale military expenditures and exploitation of the environment, and also were in support of providing aid to the poor at home or abroad. Emphasis is laid on the point of women having a different value system than men. Women are assumed to be more predisposed to being cooperative in behaviour and endeavouring to discover varied security systems rather than studying arm struggles (Boulding 1984). Others like Sara Ruddick talk about how the notions of military are set on the lines of masculinity by introducing abstract concepts regarding the justness of war, rather than locating the analysis on bodies. Hence the first stage security theorists brought out the concern of gender being rooted in socialisation rather than in biology (Ruddick 1989).

Feminism in the discipline of International Relations, reiterates that the high politics in the system renders the marginalised section as invisible, and also it depends on the subjugation of weaker section, whose feminine inclination may be at odds and also seen as inauthentic, and in opposition to the harsh public life of men in the state system (Runyan and Peterson 1991: 68–69; Blanchard 2014). During the late eighties and early nineties, feminist scholars were growing more and more sceptical of the tendency to amalgamate the feminist scholarship with peace studies. Tickner and Enloe, in their works refer to adopting a multi-level analysis of the experiences of women in situations

of war and conflict, amidst incidents of rape, prostitution, domestic violence among the female, children and other vulnerable population. It is in these times of crisis that women and children are the most vulnerable are threatened in ways which are different from men like malnutrition, lack of healthcare, poverty, sexual violence etc. (Buzan and Hansen 2009: 139-140). However, it is wrong to assume that women are inherently peaceful. But women and children also suffer more as refugees. Gender needs to be brought in to the realm of reference in the field of security.

While not fully mature, the field of Feminist Security studies need to engage with the subject of security studies to increase the significance of the feminist work in the security discipline (Sjoberg 2009). This comprises the inclusion of women's experiences in the exclusionary decision-making roles. At the second place, the theory also seeks to investigate the extent to which women are secured by the state in times of crisis and war. Feminist Security theories have also looked in to the concern shown by the wider academia that gendered security merely addresses issues regarding women and has thus worked in to dispelling that doubt too. Tickner had interlinked the system of international relations and analysed it with the different levels of analysis by prescribing that the realist assumptions of self help in the autonomous states, instances of international cooperation in the nuclear age in various cases depict the importance of interdependence and cooperation in the international realm. Besides the split in the analysis of issues in the discipline between the domestic and the international, perpetuate the private-public allegory and make way for the dissemination of domestic violence. She stresses that analysing the concept of war by separating security along the lines of boundaries perpetuates the violence occurring at the levels of the international, national and family level, thus running in to spaces beyond the reach of law (Tickner 1992).

Essentially, feminist security studies imbibe in itself, a refutation of realism, by enquiring into the abstraction of discourses relating the security of the state, behind the ideals of national security. It also combines the experiences of women with security especially in times of conflict rooted in its heart of inequality and emancipation (Blanchard 2003: 1298) This theory can offset mainstream methodologies, by including the experiences through taking in individual stories rather than bodiless and abstract data in security studies along with bringing identity in to the compass of political arena (Wibben 2011: 592). Sjoberg accepted the discipline of Feminist Security Studies as a dialectical-

hermeneutic argument, which is an approach that has repercussions on its process and its product. Hence the purpose of executing the research under this discipline is not to attempt to be like just another problem solving theory, but rather to examine it fully and provoke discussion. The dialogues and debates between both the scholars of feminist security theories, security theorists and even feminists are indeed what constitute the theme of Feminist Security Studies (Sjoberg 2011: 603). Women involved in state politics generally are more inclined to bring in a more gender balanced view in the decision-making process, by not merely being more inclusive of not merely women, but all kinds of 'othered population'. For this purpose equality in terms of representation is an urgent necessity.

Feminist theorists have from the very beginning urged on the importance of looking at a broader definition of the realm of security beyond the state, which includes the individuals and even their broader social structure. When the mainstream is very comfortable in accrediting outbreak of wars as to protect the vulnerable and civil society, it is in fact these civilian and particularly women and children who make up the most of the collateral damage in these cases. In this study, Feminist Security Studies (FSS), give accent on looking at the causes, impact and occurrences of war at the micro-level. Thus including gender inside the circle of referent object would certainly widen our understanding on the causes and consequences of war, which is beyond the mainstream perspective (Tickner 2001: 48). And at its core, the theoretical discipline is centred on the shared understandings on issues of security, conflict and peace, and looking in to personal narrative of people in situations of both peace and conflict.

Strategic studies refers to the field of study where research is done upon the process through which actors use their military potential to achieve certain political goals, albeit with the added legitimacy of being from the perspective of the political national state. Security Studies entails the study of any kind of threat or use of military power against the said state (Walt 1991). Masculinity, in the general sense of the term refers to those attributes, practices and aptitudes which are associated with men, that can be seen as to being in direct contrast or opposition to the feminine attributes (Connell and Connell 2005; Hutchings 2008).

The research questions that the study looks at are as follows:

1. How does the Feminist Security Studies as a discipline differ in its conception of security from the conventional idea of security studies?
2. Why does the masculine streak in the security structure get normalised to appear like conventional strategic behaviour?
3. How does a more inclusive and gendered representative politics have a more balanced and defence-oriented security decision-making structure, than a more offensive one?

At the beginning of the study, the following hypotheses are proposed as:

1. International Security Studies being conventionally a masculinised discipline of study, the individual to a large extent is reduced to being invisible and irrelevant while the security policy of a state is being formulated
2. The gendered balance which is maintained can help in creating a more inclusive security structure for the international arena than in an unbalanced one.

Towards the end of the study, the following inferences were drawn:

1. The first hypothesis that is taken in the study is observed to be valid as the international security structure forms an architecture around the systemic security of the state system, rather than the people of the state.
2. The individual is rendered irrelevant in the conventional policy-making and academic pursuits around the subject of international security studies.
3. The second hypothesis can be considered to be moderately true that a wider inclusion and active participation of women can bring a change in the nature of the security structure in the international security arena.
4. But without extensive re-adjustment in the majorly masculine areas of security studies and strategic culture, the endeavours of feminist security studies towards the above tasks, might not bear fruit.

Research Methods:

The research method that the above study follows is qualitative and analytical in nature, and it would be broadly theoretical in nature. The dependent variable here would be the concept of women agency through political representation and the explanation of feminist security studies the independent variable. Research on the area would include secondary sources like books, articles published in edited volumes, research papers and newspaper articles. Internet sources would also be relied upon and all these various sources would be put to use to test and ascertain the validity of the various hypothesis. The attendance and participation of the researcher in the 57th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association Convention, also contributed towards enriching the present study. The research is intended to initiate the openness in the discourse of security studies. For collection of materials, libraries of various universities and research institutes would be used. Also, interviews among intellectuals and practitioners pertaining to the field would be conducted.

The tentative organisation of the dissertation would be divided in the following manner as depicted below:

Chapter 2: Mapping Security in International Relations

The second chapter will discuss the conventional knowledge of the discipline of international security studies and what caveats it possess that are sought to be filled by the feminist security studies discourse. Security studies being mostly concerned with framing its studies and policy-formulations around the state. But in this quest, the security of the individuals of the state, often get neglected. However, this call to make security studies and strategic culture more inclusive by bringing about a thorough widening and deepening of the discipline is at the same time met with clear resistance from a number of conventional quarters of security practitioners and academicians. The chapter goes on to study how the general dearth of female representation and how it reflects on the masculine scope, nature and agenda of the security and defence framework of states and in the international system is also analysed.

Chapter 3: Masculinised Strategic Studies: It's Impact on the Daily Discourse of Security Policies

The third chapter would look into the shortcomings of the masculinised security studies and the manner of perception and decision-making of the national security concerns of the state and how this tendency is assumed to be normalised. The chapter here would attempt to investigate the unconscious appreciation of masculinised and militaristic characteristics of state and defence personnel who are at the helm of performing major policy-making and academic investigation around the subject. Assuming rationality and power politics to be essential in the operation of the state security structure, exposes the role that hegemonic masculinity plays in creating the hierarchies that place the attributes of femininity below those of masculinity, and hegemonic masculinity at the top rung of the other varieties of masculinities. The chapter then would move to analyse how these socially constructed hierarchies produce biases against both females and even male victims of conflict and violence.

Chapter 4: Feminist Security Studies

The fourth chapter would attempt to see if a more gendered representation on the policy-making arena could bring in variation in the activities of the government. It would analyse how the foreign policy structure also has a tendency of engaging in gendered dichotomies and utilising them by the preference of selecting of male policy-makers, defence personnel and diplomats for major activities and decisions. It would look at the various definitions of feminist security studies. Also the misconception of equating feminism and femininity, with peace studies is also explored. The chapter investigates militarised femininities, and also the accounts and experiences of sexual violence upon both women and even men. Finally it would analyse the impact of the practice of feminist security studies on the discipline and practice of security and strategic studies.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

The concluding chapter examines how the study and practice of feminist security studies might impact the conventional security structure of states. The chapter also looks in to the

inferences drawn through the hypothesis that were formed in the beginning of the study. The answers to the research questions that are sought to be answered by the study in the dissertation also are analysed.

CHAPTER 2

MAPPING SECURITY IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

2. Introduction

The subject of International Relations (IR) has evolved with the acceptance of the undue significance attached with the strategic culture and security of the state. The state is taken here to be the 'referent object' of the academic study and policy-practice in this discipline. This chapter here explores what the discipline of International Security Studies (ISS) deals with, and the broader strategic framework that is embedded in the national security pursuits of the national state system. The attention to the broader idea of human security gets overlooked much often while engaging in the national security perspective. The specifically looks in to addressing the linkages between the discourse of security studies and the disproportionate representation of women in the discourse, which in turn affects the security structure of a state. The areas of concern, empirical bend, assumptions, even the major theories and theoretical models, along with the sparse presence of women in the area of practice of the field, reinforce the invisibility of women and their issues in the field of international relations.

In the context of the defence and security framework of states', the lopsided gender representation has to a large extent been responsible for the offensive nature of a state's security structure. The conceptualisation of states as being embedded in tough masculinity surpasses the private sphere to integrate itself to the public nature of the states too. The themes covered in the scope of the subject, the referent objects, hypothesise formed and the glaring lack of women in active participation in both academics and policy-practice attribute to the masculinise nature of the state. This brought on the need to deepen the agenda and scope of the field of security studies.

Security studies as a discipline, invests in to looking at the prioritisation and mitigation of threats to cherished issues, values and objects which are deemed essential to the survival of the core, which is the state at most of the times. It is still a rather contested concept, for want of a particular boundary regarding its scope and area of concentration. In the present times, the subject of security studies has broadened to bring within its folds, those areas which earlier were much beyond the arena of traditional IR. This integration of these

newer disciplines has turned it in to a much richer subject. Stephen Walt (Walt 1991: 212) reiterates that the subject-matter of security studies signifies,

The study of the threat, use, and control of military force [that is] the conditions that make the use of force more likely, the ways that the use of force affects individuals, states and societies, and the specific policies that states adopt in order to prepare for, prevent, or engage in war (Walt 1991: 212).

Such strict definitions of security, by virtue of being exclusive in nature merely by engaging in strategic discourse, was warranted to face the demand sooner or later to broaden and deepen its scope in order to make the discipline more inclusive in nature. This nature of the security studies from being envisaged as a strictly military-oriented discipline is also in need of a revision and is no longer adequate to fulfil the all encompassing security requirements of the state, to have a better comprehension of what is it that is to be secured, from which dangers and the methods to be used to handle these dangers. However, this demand for broadening the discipline has predictably met with widespread resistance from the neorealist camp to maintain the sanctity of 'the core values' of the state to maintain its independence and sovereignty militarily. What these group of scholars fail to however realise it that bringing in timely amendments and revisions to the scope of the discipline, also invigorates international security studies. According to them, such irresponsible and irrelevant attempts of revising the core of the discipline should never be supported (Mearsheimer 1995: 92). This is because alternate means of studying international security, neither provides a concrete framework, nor any valuable knowledge to do so.

The chapter will be broadly divided in to five sub-divisions, where in the first part delves into coming around the background and the definition of the discipline of international security studies. The second part of the chapter will engage with the mainstream understanding of the discipline of international security and security studies and strategy culture. The third part of the chapter would dwells on the aspect of broadening and deepening in the security arena. The fourth part would then moves on to examining the problems within the discipline of security studies. The fifth part will then try to analyse how the general shift towards masculinisation of strategic culture and security studies discipline has made it an urgent need for the newer discipline of feminist security studies

to analyse with newer lenses, with the added attribute of adequate representation politically, in the discipline and policy segment of security studies.

2.1 Background and Definition of the Discipline of International Security Studies

2.1.1 Background –

The discipline of International Security Studies (ISS) emerged originally post-World War II to determine on policies practices needed to defend the state against both external and internal threats (Wolfers 1952). The current version of the discipline of Security Studies is set as a corollary in the broader theme of International Relations, which can be further re-defined by its two pronged characteristics. First is its long drawn association with one of the oldest approached in the subject, i.e., Classical Realism. Second is its close interest in ‘high politics’, the state security structure and military force (Prins 1998: 781).

The field of International Security Studies went on to enjoy its ‘golden age’ in the fifties and sixties at a time when strategists and academicians had the benefit of having close associations with Western governments and collaborated on forming their foreign and security policies (Garnett 1970). It was during this time that Western governments depended on educational institutional for conceptual innovation, novel research and willing recruits for bureaucracy (Freedman 1998: 51). Gradually, security analysts shifted to formulating innovative theories on nuclear deterrence and war-fighting, developing new tools and methods of system analysis, resource allocation, restructuring of the armed forces and even innovating new tools of system analysis and crisis management (Williams 2012: 3).

Buzan and Hansen are of the view that the discipline of international security studies has evolved over the time of six decades now, through the interaction of five key factors. These five factors make up the various aspects to contributing towards the field and are intrinsically connected with one another, even overlapping to a large extent. Together they present a uniform understanding of the discipline of international security studies. As they note:

The five different forces concern very different aspects of the social structure that impacts ISS and the forces are as a consequence neither easily empirically separable nor mutually

exclusive categories. As a theoretical framework, the five driving forces thus have a heuristic explanatory quality that allows us to produce a structured, yet historically and empirically sensitive analysis. But it is not a framework that seeks to make causal explanations where the impact of one force is tested against that of the others. It might have been possible to build a theoretical framework that identified more or different driving forces, yet the combination of the inductive and deductive strategies seemed to provide us with a reasonably strong epistemological footing (Buzan and Hansen 2009: 41).

One of the principle factors contributing to international security studies is the 'distribution of power' in between the powerful and stronger states 'of the international system', the suppositions of allies and adversaries, balance of power struggle, their influence on the institutional structure and international law and finally, there strategic culture towards matters of national security (Buzan and Hansen 2009: 52). The second driving force towards the evolution of international security studies is the influence of technology on 'economic, political, military and cultural developments', and the manner in which it interacts with the above areas. However, looking at international security merely through the technological lenses alone only gives rise to the risk of falling under the risk of technological determinism, and thus it has work in cooperation of the other driving forces behind the discipline (Buzan and Hansen 2009: 54; Levy 1984; Paarlberg 2004). The third factor is the 'impact of key events', which if taken alone without the 'other driving forces', cannot be pivotal enough to alter the course of international politics and security. The examples of the end of Cold War, the demolition of the Berlin wall, the Cuban Missile Crisis, and the 'terrorist attacks on the US on 9/11' are certain such examples (Buzan and Hansen 2009: 55; Barkawi 2004; Der Derian 2005). The absence of a 'positivist' scientific format to study the primary events, technological developments and 'great power politics', is the fourth element in shaping international security studies. The dearth of a uniform model in studying the progress of the subject, relative to the other driving forces, has still not been evolved, which is why, there is not specific understanding in international security studies of all the above driving forces (Buzan and Hansen 2009: 57). The fifth factor which is also a driving force behind international security studies is institutionalisation and the way these international agencies, organisations and institutions work on producing knowledge for the discipline.

These five factors together comprise the driving factors behind the ‘evolution of international security studies’ (Buzan and Hansen 2009: 60).

In the current times of the dipping numbers in universal conscription in to the military throughout the world, comparing the voluntary army of a country to the mercenary forces of ancient kingdoms can never be a good idea. The question of universal conscription for the professional military to tackle the issue of the complexity and the growing cultural gap between the civilian society and the professionalised military has made the latter inadequately transparent for a democratic society (Ahmed 2016). Furthermore, the field of warfare has also seen the introduction of unmanned autonomous and semi-autonomous war-fighting machines, like Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs)¹ into the battle ground, which some allege, might have increased the possibility of lowering the threshold of resorting to conflict (Allenby and Hagerott 2014). It is these sorts of newer technologies that have made way for the Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA)². These progressions in military technology, that has paved the way forward for a reappraisal and revitalisation of military know-how and methods to warrant the advancement and amendments in operational terms is attributed to the theory of ‘Revolution in Military Affairs’ (Ibrügger 1998). In the current times, modern states put to use these advanced military technologies to concentrate on diminishing civilian casualties and collateral damage, rather than giving more attention to tearing down the adversary. This new phase in security studies has also brought in, many a new laws and methods to deal with asymmetric warfare, which has been designed and can be put to use to handle varied types of warfare, be it for political warfare, or even propaganda warfare among, non-state actors (Cordesman 2014).

¹ Unmanned Aerial Vehicle (UAV) refer to also called a drone, is an aircraft which is not piloted by any human onboard with varying degrees of control through computers or even remote control. It might be useful in various methods, either for surveillance, attack or even deliveries to remote places.

² Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA) is a recent concept added in the military to describe the advanced doctrinal, strategic and technological additions in strategic studies and defence policy-making and their role in the future of warfare. The inclusion of innovative technologies of communication, robotic warfare, use of UAVs, space technologies, refers to such examples of RMA in the military.

2.1.2 Definitions

The concept of security has been envisaged to be essentially a contested concept by many scholars who see it to be value-laden. In spite of being essentially value-laden, it is a rather convenient way out to accept what Barry Buzan, holds to be a merely contested concept (Buzan 1984). However, in the current times of diverse connotations to the term 'security', scholars are working on devising their own definitions to be applied aptly in individual areas. Ken Booth on the other hand, stresses on the need to redefine security according to the varied needs of the state, the society and humanity (Booth 2007; Baldwin 1997: 12). The production of the ideas of security and security threat also require the validation of legitimacy to be accepted as such.

The concept of 'security', more often than not, is construed in the traditional sense to be related to the idea of 'threat'. Threat can also be termed as the basic component fuelling the security machinery among nation-states. This component of threat is constituted of the capability and the intention to enact the violence (Baldwin 1997: 15; Caldwell and Williams, Jr. 2006). As a corollary to the above concepts, there is also a great need to be familiar with the idea of 'referent object' in the discipline of international security studies, which is the idea which is portrayed as the agent which is threatened. In majority of the cases and even conventionally, it is the state which is seen as the referent object that is to be protected and secured at all cost. This brings to light the Waltzian levels of analysis which lays its primacy on the man, the state and war. According to Waltz, each level of analysis has within it, the capability of comprehending the international system. However, it is the systemic level, according to Waltz, that has the ability to aptly understand international politics, as it is not engaged in studying the various factors around the state, but because of its ability to comprehend the international system as a complete working whole (Waltz 1959).

According to Arnold Wolfers, in the objective sense, security can be put to use to assess the absence of any external threats to national assets or values, and in the subjective sense, to gauge the fear of whether any of these aspects may be under attack (Wolfers 1962). Most importantly, the nation-state has remained as the linchpin of the security structure by being the referent object in both the analytical and normative aspect; be it in the form of engaging with it in terms of 'national security' or international security of the nation or state, which in turn is reflected upon the protection of the national assets, values

and interests (Buzan and Hansen 2009: 11). With the coming of the post-Cold War era, the idea of security, which formerly was divided on the terms of intra-regional security, got revised to inter-regional and international; and now parallels the concept of national security (Neocleous 2006). But the growing trend of globalisation and inter-regional interventions, have today blurred the political borders of states. The conventional idea of security has been traditionally associated with the state, most dominantly. There is however, a significant distinction in the ideas of security of the state and the security of a nation. The state being a political entity with distinct territory, government, sovereignty and population, has a wider legitimacy in the international sector. While a nation is a more emotional entity with a collective sense of common 'language, history ethnicity', that brings them together (Detraz 2012: 6). Examples might be cited of the Palestinian nation, the Kurdish nation and also the nation of Tibet. However, in the international system, the focus lies on the state rather than a nation, which is because it is the states that are the primary actors.

International Security Studies was founded originally from the field of International Relations, which also can be seen as a sub-field within it. In the traditional sense of the word, security can be envisaged as an element of the state or even the absence of any military conflict. There has since been a rousing debate since its inception, regarding the scope and nature of the discipline of international security studies. Additionally, the challenges posed with the materialization of a different security order in the post-Cold War period and in the contemporary period. Even the nature of the subject which is rooted in the neorealist theoretical foundations have made it a tough task to reconcile with the expectation of finding a homogenous understanding behind the concept of 'international security studies' (Krause and Williams 1996: 229). In the post-World War II period, international security was envisaged as a means to use force among and between states, with them most often intending on securing their territorial integrity with concentrating mainly on the tasks of great powers (Nye and Lynn-Jones 1988: 5-27).

Strategic studies, refers to the field of study where research is done on the process through which actors use their military potential to achieve certain political goals, albeit with the added legitimacy of being from the perspective of a political national state. The idea of strategic culture and strategic studies emerged with the Cold War narrative that took shape post 1990 and it is rooted primarily in the idea of stability (Gray 1980: 135).

According to Jack Snyder, the term 'strategic culture' goes on to mean the aggregation of ideas, trained responses and behaviour which serve as an exemplar to those acquired by the national strategic commune, to ensure the protection of the state and enforce a uniform and effective national strategic behaviour (Snyder 1977). It was in the early part of the discipline of security studies when it was presumed that strategic studies went on to entail only the military relations between states; and that too, merely the nuclear strategic relationship between and among states. It was in the post-Cold War times, that the extra-nuclear dimension and scope of the discipline and security studies gained prominence (Smith 1999: 103)

Security Studies entails the study of any kind of threat or use of military or non-military power against the said state (Walt 1991: 212). Security Studies today, has shifted its scope from being merely an explaining and problem-solving discipline, to be one which problematises and works on understanding of the discipline. It is important to understand that military strength is not the only source to guarantee national security of a country. Other means such as statecraft, such as 'arms control, diplomacy, crisis management,' peace-building, foreign policy and international law and negotiations, are other areas that has an effect on the nature of peace or war among states in the international system. However, it is also important to understand that securitising states and their people against non-military threats, is equally crucial as these include 'poverty, AIDS, environmental hazards', narcotics and others. Then again while being more inclusive of the discipline of security studies, we out to understand that overdoing this expansion might dilute the essence of the discipline. Besides in the present time, with the gradual overlap in the nature of conflict and insecurity, it is terrorism and similar organised political crimes that envelopes the international security structure (Walt 1991: 213).

2.2 Popular Understandings of the Discipline of International Security Studies

2.2.1 Popular Conception of Security

In the traditional parlance, the concept of security is meant to denote the firm understanding of security to mean the external security of the state structure, from external elements. Due to this pre-occupation with the external security of the state, Stephen Walt maintains that war remains the main focus of security studies where a

conflict and insecurity is a vivid likelihood. Here the state structure gives ultimate primacy to the defence architecture of the states. Moreover, the use of military force has long lasting effects both on states and even societies. In the international state system, military power is the centre which is under the supervision of individual states (1991: 212). As Walt mentions:

The main focus of security studies is easy to identify, however: it is the phenomenon of war. Security study assumes that conflict between states is always a possibility and that the use of military force has far-reaching effects on states and societies (Bull 1968; Martin 1980[; Walt 1991: 212]). Accordingly, security studies may be defined as *the study of the threat, use, and control of military force* (Nye and Lynn-Jones 1988). It explores the conditions that make the use of force more likely, the ways that the use of force affects individuals, states, and societies, and the specific policies that states adopt in order to prepare for, prevent, or engage in war (Walt 1991: 212).

It is the state which, through these definitions of security is made the legitimate actor to use force. Security, generally understood is about securing the state, the people, the individuals, groups or even the environment. Moreover, the discipline of security studies having seen a variety of redefinitions according to various theoretical perspectives, the mainstream discourse many a times is seen expressing its displeasure at the attempt to muddle its core essence.

The state being the lead actor in the theatre of international security system, it transforms the core of security studies and policy-making, and also the manner in which it is analysed in the field. Owing to the historical structuring of the state from around the 20th century, the primacy of the state is derived from this established idea of it being single-handedly responsible of securing the population and the territory of the state; this on the long run transformed the nation and the kingdom in to the concept of ‘security state’ (Mabee 2003: 136). This very distinctiveness of states being the sole ‘providers of security’ has gone a long way in building the international system around it (Detraz 2012: 7; Campbell 1998). This role of ‘security providers’ of states, goes on to pave the way for them to attain legitimacy and also authority over its land and people. Thus it becomes acceptable and the established norm, for states to use excessive force, in order to secure the state. However, this power comes with a double-bind; though the state gets to legitimately exercise and implement their security policies, yet at the same time it also has to be responsible while performing and practicing these policies (Hansen 2006: 35).

Charles Tilly on the other hand, believes that security can also be a 'double-edged sword' to induce this principle of security where in the first place, it provides shelter or a guarantee of protection against any danger or adversary and on the other hand, this goes on to a particular dominant man or group to whom the people 'pay tribute in order to' prevent insecurity. However, people who oppose this definition of state security, argue that this particular tribute is rather a miniscule amount in exchange of the security provided by the state (Tilly 1985: 170). States then work on extracting a stipulated amount of money in exchange of maintaining this protection and sustain the ability of securing itself and its people from any external or even internal forms of aggression or insecurity (Tilly 1985: 172). States are also seen to be engaging in wars with adversary states to protect priority territories. Then again, it is important to understand that in the post-European international system, that not all states follow the Westphalian model.

Nevertheless, in times of crisis and conflict, when the state system is disturbed, states fear losing the confidence of the people of securing their rights and freedom. This in turn might decrease their authority and legitimacy over its people and land that the state derives (Walker 1990: 3). The price incurred in maintaining and developing military preparedness and the defence structure of a state, is considered to be minimal as compared to the one which the people might have to pay if the country becomes ungoverned (Walker 1990: 4). Thus the discipline of security studies is totally dominated by the state's quest for survival, not merely because of this assumption of inevitable struggle amongst states for power, but more importantly, because the idea of there being any other form of political organisation taking responsibility of the people and the territory, is unfathomable. However, this status of the state as the unquestioned authority of international power, has not been built in a day; rather 'the last half million can be written' as the struggle for the primacy of statehood. The symbols surrounding the process of nationalism, and maintaining the symbols of nationalism like the national flag, national anthem, national interest, that go on to fortify this process of nationalisation of the people and the politics of the state (Walker 1990: 6).

During times of crisis more specifically, military preparations end up making civilians feel more and more insecure, rather than secure. The importance of the concept of security can be gauged from the attempts of the states to suspend fundamental rights and other 'civil liberties, making war and' substantial 'reallocation of national resources' in times of crisis (Baldwin 1997: 9). The more important need of the time is nonetheless, to

understand the importance of the concept of security, similar to the other concepts of 'justice, freedom, equality', and power, for it to be exercised and implemented responsibly and adequately. Barry Buzan (1984) identified five reasons that might be behind the non-adequate comprehension and practical development. The first reason might be the apparent complicatedness of the concept of security; the second reason is the overlap between the ideas of 'security and power' which academics ought to endeavour to shed light upon their mutual differences. The third reason for the dearth in scholarship and wider understanding of security is the apparent lack of work and explanations by the critics of realism and even by security theorists and policy-makers. The fourth and rationale provided by Buzan, is the rush to handle and theorise on the use of with innovative new technologies with regard to security studies, rather than studying about 'the lack of [proper] interest' in the conceptual research of security. The final rationalization is that the concept of 'national security' with its ample ambiguity provides a lot of room to include various other ideas in to it, which even though broadens it, does not still clearly elucidate the neglect of the study in security as a discipline (Buzan 1984: 111; Baldwin 1997: 9).

David A. Baldwin in his article, 'The Concept of Security', sets to enquire that for whom the construct of security seeks to protect (Baldwin 1997: 13). As newer fields were absorbed within the discipline of security studies in the post-Cold War period, the security agenda also required to formulate effective policies to cover them all like economic and environmental security. With the coming of the 90s, the still other areas of security studies emerged such as the areas of societal security, human security, food security and others also opened up, aside from 'political independence and territorial integrity'. In order to comprehend the concept of security in its entirety, endeavour ought to be made in to fulfilling both the 'objective and the subjective dimensions of security'. The objective aspect of security referred to the state's ability to gauge the level and sources of insecurity. The subjective facet of security might be to determine any imminent threats that might arise in the purview of national and international security system (Wolfers 1952: 485). But this determination of objective and subjective aspects of security should not be established to serve the interest of any particular group or private interest. Then again discursive dimension of security argues that security cannot be necessarily objective or subjective, but is rather, 'a speech act', where communicating that a particular condition or issue being highly sensitive, need to be secured and

governed in such a manner that all threats can be foiled and effectively curbed (Buzan 1998: 24).

Though much of these newer fields were also comfortably working still within the rubric of the predominant national security frame of the Cold War, however, soon there was a gradual gathering of forces which started shifting the focus from material capabilities of the state to look for ideas, identities and cultures as other locations of the referent object in the discourse of security (Buzan and Hansen 2009: 2). Additionally, widening the scope of the discourse also includes broadening the scope of security studies itself 'to include a wider range of potential threats' and also deepening in the scale between securing at the individual level or up to the echelon of global or national security (Krause and Michael C. Williams 1996: 230). So we can put it as an expansion at both the vertical and horizontal dimension of the concept of security.

2.2.2 The Politics of the Concept of Securitisation

The Human Development Report of 1993³, stressed on the need for the concept of security to alter with the changing times. The need is high today to realign the delineation of security to be envisaged not merely on the pole of national-security, but also to be inclusive of ensuring human security, environmental security, economic security and other non-traditional aspects of security that there is (Human Development Report 1993). The concept of securitisation means the set of processes and practices in identifying areas of threat and creating a discourse around the area. The idea of securitisation draws its main arguments by examining the organizations and practices of security and the problems in the discipline and policy-practice. No issue is considered to be a security issue from its initiation itself; however, the discursive process of making an issue a security problem, through the use of 'speech act'. According to Wæver, by saying the word, it implies that 'something is done'. Security is discursively considered to be a speech act, which implies an action is being performed by the language (Weaver 1995: 55; Balzacq 2011: 1).

The construction of the notion of securitisation, nevertheless, is narrow owing to categorisation of these threats to the security problem. The presumption of security being

³ The Human Development Report of 1993 had the theme of people's participation in policy-making activities that go on to shaping their lives.

preoccupied to only with the context of threats and risks, which give the discipline of security studies an entirely offensive and reactionary streak (McDonald 2008: 564). The notion of studying the process of securitisation is inherently rooted in the Copenhagen School of security studies, that looks in to the said speech act of creating the discourse and discipline of security. In the current digital era, issues that are politicised and even the speech act of securitisation, transform in to visual imagery and is transmitted world-wide with the help of internet, cyber platforms and social media too.

The framework of securitisation should look in to the efforts of widening the discipline and how this broadened scope of the discipline has to work on the discursive security concerns. Here, the historical and the sociological contexts of these threats also need to be studied to understand the impact of prominent political voices are seen as distinct and their call to insecurity seen as legitimate. Secondly, it is difficult to be convinced of every source which generates the various constructions of security, but this distrust might also question the trust of the public on the whole security architecture of the state as well. Finally, the issues which have been covered by the securitisation debate need to look at the role of the 'audience' to towards the said issue. This indeed would assist in strengthening the securitisation framework by invigorating the relationship between the target audience and the expanding scope of the security studies discipline (McDonald 2008: 580-581).

2.3 Widening the Scope of the Conventional Understanding of the Security Perspective

Since the dawn of the post-Cold War, security theorists have attempted to bring forth broadening of the particularly neorealist notion of security vertically and horizontally, to encompass the extensive range of impending threats which may vary from issues of economy, environment and human rights. This opening up of the discipline of security studies have brought forth the need to engage in debates intending to deepen the agenda of the discipline of security studies. The need was now to move beyond the level of the strategic security of the state to taking in the aspect of human security, to international, global and societal security (Krause and William 1996: 230). Acceptance of the fact that the realist knowledge-base for the subject is not adequate enough for comprehension and practical reasons, both for academics and policy purpose, security theorists feel that there

needs to be gradual modifications of the general understanding of what area is to be protected, from which dangers and insecurities and by which means. During the '1990s and 2000s' the rapid trend in the deepening and widening of security can be evidenced from the development of various new additions like the critical studies approach, constructivist approach, critical security studies, feminist security studies, post-colonialism and many others. Additionally, what assisted in the initiation of this trend of inclusion in the security studies discipline is the end of the Cold War era, where the kind of threat perception of states have changed, as have the security agenda of states as well (Buzan and Hansen 2009: 188).

Ken Booth while dwelling on debates on deepening and broadening of the discipline of security stressed on how the idea behind them has been often misconstrued. It is only through a process of deepening in the discipline, which are rooted in the political theory would the basic postulations wherein the concept of security lies could be broadened and as a result, the priorities that frame the subsequent political schema could make way for an appraisal and reconstruction of the discipline, thereby fashioning a politics of emancipation (2007: 149). Ronnie Lipschutz notes that:

There are not only struggles over security among nations, but also struggles over security among nations. Winning the right to define security provides not just access to resources, but also the authority to articulate new definitions and discourses of security as well (Lipschutz 1995: 8).

This indicates the significance of the definition of security that is being put to use, both in the academic and the policy front (Lipschutz 1995: 8). The mainstream conceptions and understandings of security has also internalised the realist prescriptions of power and state-centrism to such an extent that the sub-discipline of International Security Studies is assumed to be an essential subfield of International Relations, if not an identical one (Buzan and Hansen 2009: 21). Thus to redirect this conventional view, there is sought to bring about an appraisal of the referent object where the variable of gender also is required to be absorbed within the realm of Security Studies. Since the stabilization of the nuclear deterrence relationship between the two superpowers of the Cold War, the domain of security studies has sufficiently set about on a course of deepening and widening of its discourse to include human security and also to try to modify the referent object to comprise 'women' and even the non-military security segments (Buzan and

Hansen 2009: 208). Subsequently, there should also be a sense of academic resistance towards the creation of binaries in strategic studies.

However, there also lies a big section of the academia which holds on the idea that the over stressing and broadening and widening of the issue of security; this over broadening would in fact lead to dilution of the core concepts of strategic security. Certain conventional security theorists urge that if the scope of international security studies discipline is widened too much to include all variations of threats and dangers, then there might be occur a case of ‘de-definition rather than redefinition of security’ (Duedner 1990: 194). This section of theorists stick to their point by implying how this over broadening would only bring forth an array of problems and issues for theory-building and policy-making in the area of international security. There is also the possibility of being unmindful of the threats that might emanate from a varied amount of non-military threats like that which may origin in terrorist groups, state terrorism, non-state terrorism and other non traditional forms of violence meted out on the civilians, who at many a times may be belonging to certain minority groups, classes, religions or only individual (Caldwell and Williams 2006: 8). This is what calls for an actual broadening and widening of the security arena. The on-going situation in Syria and Iraq, where the people are exposed to violence and turmoil by the actions of the ruling power in the state serve as an example of this very fact.

J. Ann Tickner, stresses on the presence of ‘structural violence’ which emerges as an indirect form of violence perpetuated on the people for the reason of belonging to a particular section of the community, gender, or religion; this eventually showcases how unwarranted economic and political organizations, clamp down on the quality of life and even the life expectancy of these individuals by closing down the access to basic materials required for survival. Thus a secure social system in a political society should be enforced to pull down any form of physical and structural constrains and violence and one which works on the eradication of any form of hierarchical structures among the people, be it in terms of gender, class, economy, or race. This would promote to the building of an inclusive definition of the concept of security in the global polity (Tickner 1994). With a thorough knowledge of the various areas that demands an inclusion within the security studies discipline, there exist a huge degree of differences in the security studies academia, on the subject of which areas to be included and which to be left out while studying it.

2.4 Problems within the Theme of Security Studies and the Influence of Strategic Culture in the Discipline

2.4.1 Problems in the Security Studies Discipline

After two decades, the subject of security studies today has changed in its scope and nature from being purely strategic in nature to bringing in an array of varied issues within its rubric. The current times is witnessing the fashion of moving away from the mainstream definition which legitimises the conformist trend of strategic studies. This orientation of theorists, mostly are involved in the problem-solving capacities of the theories. On the contrary, there is also a growing trend of opting for dwelling on the problematizing other human issues which do not fall in the military sense of the term, and is taken care by the theories with a critical bent (Smith 1999).

It was also the peak points for neo-realism, which was also an enabling point for the discipline of strategic studies. Indeed at that time, neo-realism was so significant that it basically defined international relations (Waltz 1959). However after the Cold War, neo-realism seems to be losing its hold as the be-all and end-all of the discipline and its practitioners. The next decade, went on to deal with the 'neo-neo' synthesis, where it is defined in the Kuhnian sense as that it enquires in to the main question that is to be addressed and what might seem appropriate as answers to them (Kuhn 2012). This orientation talks about the combination of neo-realism and its stress on relative gains and the neo-liberalism take on absolute gain. It stresses on the role of ideas as the principal factors which serves as intervening variables, but it also keeps the state as the referent factor in the whole debate. Both the sides of the neo-neo debate argument come to meet on the point of the theory of knowledge, as both essentially are a part of the group of explainers, who attempt to explain the international state system (Ole Weaver 1993). These two schools of thought essentially form the rationalist theoretical school of international relations.

The other schools of thought that analyse international relations that attempts to understand the international system, are known as the social constructivist and reflectivist school of international relations. Social Constructivist claim that the structures and the processes of the subject of international relations are indeed social constructs and as Alexander Wendt puts it, 'anarchy is what states make of it'. This approach is rather more in sync with associating the role of ideas with that of rationalism, and thus goes on

to create a middle path between the rationalists and the reflectivists schools, where it takes the side of rationalism on the basis of epistemology and scratches the back of reflectivity on the grounds of ontology (Wendt 1992). The widening in the scope of the subject of security studies has led to exciting new avenues today, rather than the older strait-jacketed subject of strategic studies.

2.4.2 Influence of Strategic Studies in Security Studies and Policy-Making

As the World War II was coming to a close, there arose a close association between the military and academic field of security studies. This association contributed to resolving of the policy issues and subsequently the introduction of nuclear weapons in to the field of international security studies. Along with this concern, the academia was also engaged in working towards the policy prescriptions with the government regarding the challenge posed by the Soviet Union, both militarily and ideologically. Because of the decisive timing of the beginning of the conflict between the two countries, which is just after the World War II, experts from various fields like military experts, civilian academics, scientists and social scientists were assigned the task of looking in to security measures to address the situation. This period also was unique in the sense of the scrapping away of the Monroe Doctrine⁴, in the sense that this era depicted the transformation of the traditional American foreign policy of isolationism in the international politics. The particular event eventually led to further the development of the International Security Studies (ISS) discipline and received a huge funds to further their research in the development of strategic culture and doctrinal studies (Buzan and Hansen 2009: 66). As the forties began with the emergence of the nuclear power era, the fifties brought forth the golden age of the security studies discipline that called for an all encompassing understanding and comprehension to be developed. But as the discipline developed, it got more and more embroiled in to the nuclear weapons strategies and the balance of power politics among states. The Cold War era that raged on in the West, and many a times also spilled over the rest of the globe went on to establish the Soviet Union as the real enemy and further broadened the agenda of international security studies.

⁴ The Monroe Doctrine was adopted in the year 1823 by the then President of the United States of America, President James Monroe on the issue of U.S foreign-policy standing on the colonisation of the Americas and interference by Europe. Such acts were to be deemed to be aggressive actions which would call for the intervention by the U.S. Similarly, the doctrine also states that United States would also not interfere in the domestic or international politics of the remaining European colonies, nor in Europe itself.

However, it is to be noted that all Western ideas of the security structure that works towards state-making is not universal to all countries, and especially for the third world countries. The reason behind this can be disposed on the quality of leadership that is prevalent in the country, rather than any other justification (Sorenson 2001: 352). Hence, it can be observed that there is no uniform application of security studies and their policies throughout the international system rather it varies according to the international and regional context in the situation.

2.5 Masculinist Biases and Undertones in Security Studies

The modifications that are being sought in the discipline of international security studies, are essentially deviations from the mainstream real politick framework that is prevalent globally. These alterations that are brought about by the widening and deepening of security studies can be studied through the application and insertion of gender lenses for the purpose of analysing the gendered nature of the security studies discipline. These gender links are mentioned by Nicole Detraz in her book 'International Security and Gender' as:

Rather than assume conflict or war impacts everyone similarly, or even that it impacts the marginalized in the same ways, feminist security scholars conclude that all stages of conflict are gendered – and this often serves to make women more vulnerable than men to security threats. Feminist security studies, concentrates o the world politics can contribute to the insecurity of individuals, especially individuals who are marginalized and disempowered (Enloe 2000, 2007, 2010; Reardon and Hanes 2010; Detraz 2012: 11).

This healthy scepticism and suspicion over the workings of the international system emerges from the prioritisation given by the state system to the security of the state architecture, rather than that of the individuals of the states (Tickner 2001).

Academicians engaging in the discourse of feminist security studies have endeavoured to look at the insecurities that surround both the male and the female, be it at war time or peace time. Miranda Alison discusses wartime sexual violence, and its gendered quality. Such form of violence is not restricted merely to women, but extends even to the children and men too. Feminist security theorist attempts to work by focussing not merely on the women who face such criminalities and abuse, but also on working on the solution to

handle and create policy prescriptions on such occurrences. This can go on to destroy the traditional narrative of envisaging the male as the protector of the other, which is the female in this case (Allison 2007: 84). Depicting the male as the perpetual aggressor negates the susceptibilities of men who also fall victim to the perversities of war and violence (Carpenter 2006: 88). Similarly, the naturalised connection that is drawn between women and peace is disadvantageous for the study of both. Such an activity of linking women and peace inexplicably only works to disempower women by making their position an exact opposite of the scope of security and strategic studies. Such acts bring forth the authentication of women's voices on matters of security and foreign policy-making (Detraz 2012: 12). The broadening and deepening of the discipline of security would enable a more ample perspective towards working for individual security. Disregarding the study of the varied dimensions of masculinities and gender in international security studies amounts to, ignoring the comprehensive study in the said field.

Concluding the chapter, it can be argued that the extensive subject matter requires to be scaled appropriately to have a proper understanding of the discipline of security studies to gauge in the correct method of studying the need to bring in the much required broadening and widening of the discipline rather than that of the area under discussion. The subsequent chapters attempt the gendered perspective of the security studies discipline than simply looking at it through the lenses of the feminist critique of the security structure. The demeanour of the discipline, which is set heavily in masculine norms, has to be systematically dissected to bring forth the process of engendering security studies. The research attempts to investigate how the process of analysing international security studies through the lenses of feminist security studies would henceforth, bring in a much required legroom to rebalance the eschewed space for gender to be a significant factor in the framing of security policies of mainstream international security studies framework. As Krause and Williams hold rightly that this broadening in the scope of security studies, in fact would work towards creating specialisations in the agenda of the discipline to tackle these areas appropriately (Krause and Williams 1996). Thus the debate on the opening of the 'security' and its subject-matter would go in hand in reinvigorating the intellectual rooting and political activity in regards to current international politics.

Chapter 3

MASCULINISED STRATEGIC STUDIES: IMPACT ON THE DAILY DISCOURSE OF SECURITY POLICIES

3.1 Introduction

Lucidity, strength, power and independence, are such attributes which have always been credited as essential and well an integral part of the rational public men seen in the helm of public and state affairs. These beliefs which are also internalised by the wider world gives the grounding for such misguided preconceived notions to be put to practice. These set of qualities are considered as accredited to being masculine and have been associated with states persons, bureaucrats, diplomats and of course, our military chiefs. More than the question of women's dearth of participation in policy-making; there is also an unhealthy apprehension of values considered to be feminine or womanly, like being driven by emotions and not reason, naivety, weak, sensitive and opting more for cooperation than conflict. Women are perceived to be unprepared for the tough life of a public man and rough situations which might arise while securing and defending the country.

The present chapter deliberates on addressing the question as to how the masculine streak in the security structure appears as normalised in the security structure and why does it get normalised in the conventional security structure. The third chapter would look into how, the shortcomings of the conventional way of perception and decision-making has impacted on the national security concerns of the state. It is generally taken for granted how areas of national security discourses are built along the lines of masculinist high politics.

The military bend of International Relations working in close quarters with disciplines like Security Studies, poses to become a subdued response the numerous hurdles in the security of humans and the environment. J. Ann Tickner, in her book *Gender and International Relations*, went on to elucidate how the realist attributes of rationality, strength and power which are correlated with foreign policy, even military and national affairs, perpetuate the hegemonic masculinity of these issues which are strategic in nature (Tickner 1992: 3). She suggests that instead of taking power as the coercive mean through

which states ensure security which might be at the expense of other states, an ethos of ‘mutual enablement rather than domination’ could make up a positive and peaceful notion of security (Tickner 1992: 65; Ruddick 1989).

The division in the context of the current chapter is done as follows – the first part attempts at primarily looking into the background and defining the concept of ‘masculinity’; secondarily, masculinity in international security studies and finally, looking at the different varieties of masculinities and the different layers of masculinist traditions that is thought to be spread across the spectrum. In the second part, the chapter attempts to look at the absorption of qualitative masculinist attributes that permeate the discipline of international security studies. In the third part of the chapter, the military bend of masculinity in security studies is discussed. The fourth and the final part, talks about how the masculinist trend plays a role in promoting the gendered biases against both the male and female victims in the light of the eschewed gendered security policies.

3.2 Background and Definition of the Concept of Masculinity

3.2.1 Background

It is generally taken for granted how areas of national security discourses are built in the lines of masculinist high politics. The recent scholarship in the field of international relations showcases the excessively gendered nature of the discipline wherein there is a great divide in the comprehension of the issues on the lines of femininity and masculinity. But only when femininity and masculinity are studied collectively, can we draw upon a holistic understanding of how the factor of gender works into international politics. However, any serious attempt which is made into bringing forth a gendered perspective in to the discipline cannot be done before beginning with a debate on masculinity itself (Tickner 1992: 6).

The majority of the policy-making bodies in the international arena are seen to be adhering to the real politic frameworks, which is seen to be completely devoid of women, be it in terms of representation in the policy-making course or in accommodating the interests and issues of women. The fields of diplomacy, military, defence and even commerce excellently exemplify how women have only been recent additions (Grant 1992: 86). At this point, it is greatly important to comprehend that gender theorists ‘are

not generally referring to biological differences between males and females, but to a set of culturally shaped and defined characteristics associated with masculinity and femininity' (Tickner 1992: 7) which varies from person, time and extent. This is also because real politics begins with the assumptions of rationality which favours masculinity and is explicitly rooted in it. These also incidentally are the war-prone qualities which give rise to the offensive security policies of a state (Hutchings 2008: 392).

The state system can many a times be perceived as to be at the heart of the power associations in the case of the variable of gender. The state being at the core of this power system, is unable to see gender, as it is inundated by men, and so no difference is visible per se. There is a gendered division of labour and power relations⁵ in the international system, which is widely visible in the manner that the subject is considered to be coming under the realm of 'hard politics', such as military affairs, defence, police work, economic policies, and women are generally made to look after areas of 'soft power' like social and health welfare, women and child development and education. The idea behind this division attempts to depict these hard powered divisions as heavily masculine and where women are more often allotted areas that are peripheral to the working of the state. It is in times like this that women miss out on opportunities in participating in the policy-making process and even on the representation front. Even the concept of 'equal opportunities' is mostly confined to being a theoretical one (Connell 2002: 103-104).

3.2.2 Definitions of Masculinity and Masculinised Security Studies

Conventionally, it can be observed that literal and cultural narratives of the concept of gender arise from the society itself. This leads on to the understanding that a person's behaviour is determined by the gender that they identify with. Masculinity as such does not exist in a vacuum, and only subsists in contrast to femininity, and it is manifested in the different cultural treatment of the males and the females of the society as being the

⁵ 'Power' as an aspect of gender, has been pivotal in the Women's Liberation and the struggle against the institutions of patriarchy which provided the agency for men as the dominant sex, where rape became a political and social tool to violate the 'weaker female sex'. Michel Foucault (1977), was cynical to the dubious idea that power flowed fundamentally from a single agency in society; rather it can be said to spring in the form of capillaries, dispersed widely and diffused in the manner in which we think, talk, write and conceptualise. This is how it applies control by disciplining people, their identities and their bodies according to the conventional norms of the society.

polarized opposites of each other. Even the definitions of masculinity assume uniformity from the value standpoint of its target audience and have followed the different routes to illustrate and personify who is indeed masculine. Raewyn Connell in her book 'Masculinities', talks about the four main strategies of arriving at the definition of masculinity, but are more often seen to be combined while being put to practice (2005: 68)

The first strategy is known as the 'essentialist' definition and it is seen to single out a feature that delineates the nucleus of the masculine (Connell 2005: 68.). Sigmund Freud also in his writings can be seen in equating masculinity with being active and femininity with passivity (Freud 1905). The second strategy, i.e., positivism in social sciences, which essentially is rooted in empiricism, brings out an oversimplified definition of masculinity which identifies it with the factuality of what men are. This definition forms the logical bedrock for the drawing of the 'masculinity-femininity (M/F) scales in psychology' (Connell 2005: 69). However, it needs to be reckoned with that, the attributes of masculinity and femininity go well beyond the compartmental sexual divisions; rather, they stretch out to the different ways that men vary from one another, as so do women (Kessler and McKenna 1978).

The third strategy which can be identified as the 'normative' definition recognises these differences, but end up offering a standardised understanding of masculinity, as those behavioural patterns that men possess. There is a stringent division of conventional sex roles and behaviour according to this strategy in terms of masculine and feminine and all individuals approach these standards in various degrees and methods. However, there runs certain inconsistencies with this understanding, as a very small quantity of men identify with the given scheme of the stereotypical rough and tough, independent individual. The problem here is that, these ascertained norms are strictly built to be followed by the majority of the men. The question arises here that, does that make this section of the men 'unmasculine'? There is yet no adequate measure to analyse the stipulated amount of manliness needed to be called masculine, or the lack of which might stereotypically lead on to one being called gay or effeminate (Connell 2005: 70).

The fourth strategy, called the 'semiotic' approach, characterises masculinity through the usage of a structure of symbolic distinctions where the traits of masculinity and femininity are contrasted in totality. Active examples of this strategy can be found in the

field of structural linguistics, wherein the fundamentals of speech are made distinct by their contrast from one another. This has been put to use widely by feminist scholars and the cultural study of gender and symbolism (Connell 2005: 70).

Masculinism emerges automatically, in its own rights, while there is any discussion on the issue of male privilege. Merely making patriarchy as the variable of contention to account for the distorted equation of power in the gender continuum and historical, social and political repression of women by feminist and gender scholars has been a repetitive, simplistic and banal process. What is at the root of this oppression is rather an amalgamation of other hierarchies as patriarchy, race, class (Walby 1990). The term androcentricism⁶ might also be a more suitable one to delineate the present-day gender relations. Many gender theorists are of the view that the contemporary gender order can be accused of playing out in just the same manner, which is correlated to the male anatomy and the masculine power that they derive from it. But most importantly, a distinction is sought to be made between men and masculinity, the latter of which can be held to charge for the terrible disparity in the gender continuum. Masculinity provides access for men towards power and privilege, not because of their bodies but through the cultural association of their bodies with the idea of masculinity. It is these qualities of masculinity which are allied with the concept of power, rather than men and masculinism which implies the privileging of the notion of masculinism (Hooper 2012: 42).

Male identities are internalised in language as well as institutional practices. There is an intrinsic pattern in the starkly drawn pervasive gender binaries that drive the epistemological dualities of the social culture as has been observed in the works of French psychoanalytic feminists working on Jacques 'Laclan's 'theory of development and linguistic separation of the Self from Other' (Hopper 2012: 43). These binaries perpetuated and drew hierarchical structures which equated masculinity with being active and successful and femininity with compliance and passivity (Moi 1985). These strands of phallogocentric⁷ logic eliminate any optimistic legroom for women to climb up the ladder of gender hierarchy which unfailingly places them below the masculine. This is how the

⁶ Androcentrism refers to the is a gender order which places the male gender above the female in the gender hierarchy and even in the daily social, cultural and economic activities places the masculine stand point at the pivot of worldly understanding and practice.

⁷ The term Phallogocentrism was first put in use by the psychoanalyst Ernest Jones in 1927 to bring out his disagreement with the Freudian assumption of female sexual identity by the lack or absence of a phallus or penis.

masculine and the feminine are portrayed to be relational to each other, even in the terms of linguistic designs. Despite the fact that these terminologies are mostly rendered as relational, while putting these dichotomous terms in to conceptual use in our daily lives, they appear naturalised and all encompassing. Phallogocentrism originates from the allegorical linkage between speech and the elucidation of the male and the female that emanates from the presence of the penis, in the case of the masculine and the absence of it, in the case of the female.

3.2.3 The Various Shades of Masculinity and Masculinised States

In the course of studying women, there has arisen a widespread debate regarding the variations that crop up based on race, religion, class and even sexuality⁸. Feminism, as such has to embrace on the task of incorporation all these differences too (Harding 1986). However, the tendency of scholars to often study men and masculinities as a monolithic construct as an undifferentiated whole is challenging and problematic. The multiple varieties of masculinities are assimilated on the point of global and universal subjugation of women (Connell 1987: 183; Blanchard 2014: 63). Similarly, impossible and romanticized ideas of real manhood are set in front of the society and they are put at odds with other alternative and 'secondary' masculinities, as for instance, black masculinities, queer masculinities, trans-masculinities, Asian masculinities, Arab masculinities, African masculinities, disabled masculinities, working class masculinities, and the like. The positioning of masculinity is in two pronged directions, external and internal; the external on the one hand is portrayed in the amalgamated domination of the male over the female and the internal on the other hand, is the ascendancy of one class or section of men over another in the gamut of the masculinities exists. Feminist critiques and gender theorists ought to also recognise these multiple masculinities and the fact that even within the array of these multiplicities, there is the presence of the hegemonic and the subordinate among them (Connell 1987: 183). Here the role of power returns to affirm the fact of the way in which hegemonic masculinities attempt to maintain its dominance in the flexible scales of gender construct and identity. The capillaries of power struggle among the diverse range

⁸ Human sexuality and sexual orientation has been psychologically and physically found to be in a continuum between heterosexuality to homosexuality at various degrees. Alfred Kinsey's experiment and study in the 1940s of sexuality, found that in addition to our sexuality being a continuum, it also is fluid in its nature and may shift along the continuum.

of masculinities and their access and benefits from power is depicted fittingly in the fluid process of delineating the model king of hegemonic masculinity for the popular and social imagination (Connell 1987: 184).

The idea of hegemonic masculinity originated around twenty years ago and has impacted recent studies regarding the subject matter of gender, masculinity and social hierarchies. The theory of hegemonic masculinity first emerged as a result of a field study on social inequality in Australian high schools. The study discussed about the debate on the function of men's bodies and their experiences that went in to the construction of masculinities and the role that they play together in Australian labour politics (Kessler et al. 1982). The project pragmatically substantiated the presence of multiple masculinities and hierarchies, both in terms of gender and class. The idea of hegemonised masculinities came around to be complimented with the phrase of 'emphasised masculinities' to depict the dualities between them both. The norms of hegemonised masculinities bring out the hierarchical differences between, not merely the masculine and the feminine, but also the different variations of men.

The different variety of masculinities that continue to exist out there are the intelligent, rational and calculating nuclear individual (Cohn 1989) or the just warrior (Elshtain 1995). They are among the multiple layers of masculinities that expand in distinct patterns in cultural, historical, institutional and political avenues. The type which is to be considered here is the 'citizen warrior', 'rational economic man', 'civilian strategist', 'good soldier' and martyr and also the breadwinner (Murphy 1998). Acknowledgement should also be made of the presence of alternative and even competing notions of masculinities, as for example, the idea of the Japanese corporate saraiiiman (salary man) which shifted the contending divide between the farmer and the warrior after the Japanese defeat in World War II and played a crucial role in the social and economic revolution that came in Japan's way (Dasgupta 2003: 122).

R.W. Connell in the book 'Gender and Power', talks about the normative or hegemonic masculinities that are mostly correlated with authority and power. This according to her follows Gramscian⁹ thoughts. She points out that certain masculinities acquire social pre-

⁹ The Gramscian influence on the concept of hegemonic masculinity emerges from Gramsci's conception and domination of power and how it influences social group. This process enables the ruling class to maintain their power. Hegemonic masculinity is rooted in reinforcing the binary of the sexes and homophobia to maintain the oppression upon women.

eminence not solely through means of force and aggression, but rather through social forces that go well beyond social dynamics and towards the organisation of culture and society (Connell 1987: 183). This particular sense of authority is legitimised and empowered by the unanimous social agreement on the composition of gender, as well as the support of conniving men and the institution of masculinity, who in general are the beneficiaries from this subordination of females. It is these benefits that Connell refers to as ‘patriarchal dividend’¹⁰ (Connell 2005:79).

In addition to the above variations of masculinity, it is also imperative to analyse the significance and privilege of belonging to a particular brand of masculinity, that too the most influential in the sociological pyramid, which the white male belong to. The international system and the Westphalian state model in fact is created entirely by the hands of the white male, keeping in mind the sociological situation of the time-period, where the involvement and role of any other actor was completely out of the question. Whiteness as a privilege is at most times invisible to the white male population themselves. Rather, their self-conception is of a just, rational person and real people (Halberstam 2002: 353). The underlying assumption of whiteness being a just position without being overshadowed by any presumptions of race, only affirms the misguided belief that people of other race and gender affect their rationality with these identities, while they are what are created to be ‘normal’. This claim to universality and normality of the white male position is used to create generalised and universalising understandings of international politics, society and economics (Dyer 1997: 2). It is not surprising now that the present international system emanates out of these ‘entrenched privileges’. It is important to recognise this presence in the system as it provides another vantage point to study the dominant structures (Dunn 2008). It is this same whiteness that can be attributed to the titular idea of hegemonic masculinity.

The concept of hegemonic masculinity, while being discussed at large, redeems the ‘possibility that the dominance of hegemonic masculinity can be challenged both by resistant femininities and alternative masculinities’ (Connell 2005). Moreover, to a large extent, hegemonic masculinity is not compatible with the majority of the male individuals. Though it may appear as complex, nevertheless gender is encouraged by the various ways in which it intermingles with the motivation of maintaining intersectionality

¹⁰ It implies the allowance made for men in society, which women are inherently denied.

with other elements of power relationships, be it race, class, fluidity in gender, age, nationality etc. Intersectionality encourages us to analyse gender not in isolation, but rather, through situating it in relations with various dimensions of power. The study of these intersectionality assists in identifying and structuring the linear development of marginalised masculinities as ‘protest masculinities’, ‘working class masculinities’, and other unemployed working class masculinities who struggle for the cause of challenging the dominance and influence and authority of middle class bourgeoisie masculinities.

While studying these protest masculinities which are a marginalised section in itself, the issue of queer masculinities needs to be considered more specifically as it can be said to be situated on the fringes of the power equation within their own gender (Connell 2005: 114). The interrelationship of hegemonic masculinity with homosexual masculinity has revolved around the point of criminalisation of homosexual relationships. In the case of male-to-male sex it has also to endure along with the social stigmatisation, the possibility of intimidation, terrorisation and even violence, be it legal or even illegal. The reason behind the pressure to ‘act like a man’ emanates from the unknowing fan base of hegemonic masculinity. More often than not, the reason behind this is due to the choice of homosexual masculinity to opt out of the conventional gender order and sex-specific behaviour, destabilising the definitions of stereotypical masculinity in society. The larger issue is that hegemonic masculinity identifies as to being entirely heterosexual and departing from this narrative and being homosexual shatters this hegemony. It is seen to imply that the individual’s deviation from heterosexuality is a rejection of these dominant elements of masculinity and in contrast, identifying with femininity. At times they even have to struggle for their very existence because of their choice of gender and sexual identity (Connell 2005: 162-63).

3.3 Permeating the Discipline of International Security Studies through Qualitative Masculinist Attributes

The field of International Relations comes across as truly masculinised not without reason, as it is accompanied by the preponderance of practicing men and foundational masculinity of the subject matter. Even the parameters of success are set in the lines of achievement of masculine virtues like authority, control, power and independence

(Hooper 2012: 1). Keeping these dichotomies¹¹ of masculinity and femininity in the parlance of characteristics required in public policy-making, Cynthia Enloe maintains that feminist security studies takes into account the experiences of both men and women which often get side-tracked in the level-based analysis of mainstream International Relations (1989). Here the reference is being made to the Waltzian three-levelled analysis¹² of the international state system. He believes that reductionist theories' tendency to study the units at the individual level to predict the outcomes in the international system would bring forth a variety of outcomes for multiple number of situations (Waltz 1979: 65) For this reason, Waltz was in favour of undertaking a systemic level study to solve the issue of varied and elongated studies on different set of actors and the internal dynamics in their relationship. By taking in to consideration a very limited number of variables for analysing any given number of dissimilar situations, a parsimonious and similar result or pattern in behaviour could be arrived at in the international state system (Waltz 1979: 74).

However, the quest for parsimony leaves out the domestic in the public-private dichotomy by focussing merely on the private relations between states and foreign affairs. In this case, domestic refers to intra regional dynamics, which is ignored by Waltz (1979). Not without reason are gender theorist seen to have an embedded resistance towards the positivist theoretical frameworks whose points of concentration are around explaining causality, problem-solving theories and variable-centric analysis, as in counter to their more favoured method which problematises these very theories and attempts to make a more interpretive and historical analysis. These can also be the sites of exclusion in the discipline of IR and feminist endeavours to accommodate these marginalised voices, as these experiences are unable to be absorbed in the conventional three-level model (Enloe 1989: 196; Blanchard 2014: 65).

The varied kinds of subjects studied, their respective subject-matters and scope, the hypotheses formulated, the components of empirical research and the glaring dearth of female practitioners, be it in the academic, political, policy-making, economic arena only buttresses the fact of the marginalisation of women, their position and concerns

¹¹Herein, Enloe refers to the wider generalisation of private affairs comprising the people, their personal experiences and emotions as being outside the ambit of mainstream International Relations.

¹² The three levels or images, i.e. the man, state and war, were created by Kenneth Waltz in the book 'Theories of International Politics' (1979) to explain the causes of conflict in the international system.

internationally. J. Ann Tickner, in her 1992 book 'Gender in International Relations', outlines the misogynist tendencies of realism which promulgates the idea of the worthy male warrior being cast over the conduct of states. There is a bogus separation in the political sphere of states in between the ordered domestic sphere and the anarchic international sphere, which in turn only benefits the cause of the agency of security. This line of thought follows from the Hobbesian vision of the state as that of being a state of war, i.e., a precarious and wild place where people had to be self-dependent for the purposes of survival and sustenance. The absence of women from this Hobbesian view of the state is again supplemented by the Machiavellian version of the state, which confirms to the masculinist tendencies of international relations, by categorising this unrest and anarchy as natural and masculine. He went ahead and advocated men to dominate and master it. These founders of social theories had inadvertently meant to 'discipline' the non-existent women in the state system of heroic men (Tickner 1992: 2).

Feminist theorists of international relations and security studies re-emphasises on the international as personal in a bid to redirect the dependence of governments on certain private relations to carry out their foreign relations. Thus, there is a stress on looking and problematising this public-private dichotomy in the purview of IR. This also attempts to address the state-centrism which is a part of the Waltzian system-level analysis in the study of international relations. The quest that engages feminist international relations is to account for the experiences of the marginalised and unrepresented, which are incompatible in being included in the traditional level-based analysis of the discipline (Enloe 1989). Jacqui True is similarly concerned about the unquestioned acceptance of this level of analysis framework of study, which at many a times would be unable to locate any incident of problems that might be outside of the ambit of state boundaries. This, as a result, downplays the responsibility of states in ensuring the security of the marginalised from violence, such as women in the private confines of their homes and other domestic affairs (True 2012).

The conscious disdain towards the hierarchical level-based analysis system however, has not led to a complete abandonment of the particular method of study because it serves as a helpful tool while studying masculinity and exclusion. At the first place, it provides a starting point to study masculinity. Secondly, the level-based approach offers a broad based connection of all sides and subjects within world politics. Thirdly, even the work of sociologists is also many a times built on these very levels of analytical framework, such

as the prominent masculinity theorists like R. W. Connell and James Messerschmidt, who have constructed their respective works and study of hegemonic masculinity at the three-tiered levels of the local, regional and the international (Enloe 1989: 196).

Realism's push to manoeuvre the quest of states to maximise their power is not ever perceived as an abnormality, but a state of war and unrest is taken to be the norm. The innate masculinism and misogyny which is intrinsic in the subject matter of realism can be perceived most vividly in the portrayal of the venerated warrior, mapped on to the conduct and deeds of states (Tickner 2001: 39). The state is rendered as an aggressive entity let loose to acquire power and trample any opposition that might come in its way in the disordered international system, towards the quest for relative power over other states. This pushes states to behave in an offensive and self-help oriented manner, just in order to protect themselves. This in turn leads the state to transform itself in to the security maximising, realist and military based war mongering entity. Nevertheless, augmenting the levels of military expenditure to be more war-ready, in turn may only end up in raising the suspicion of neighbouring or target states. This is how states fall in to the cyclical trap of 'security dilemma' (Beckman 1994: 19).

3.4 The Military Bend of Masculinity in Security Studies

In a world entwined with violence and wars, masculinity plays the role of the enabler of this complicated relationship. The innate aggressiveness in the whole securitising agenda lacks any space for females in the course of decision-making in the sphere of national security (Blanchard 2003: 1290). This also sidelines women from having any say or even participating in any discussion relating to the security architecture of the state as it is deemed to be completely masculinistic. The task of protecting lives and honour of the 'weaker sex' falls under the purview of the male combatants. This binary has served as a significant rationale behind differentiating the two sexes. The problem that arises here is that gender is more of a social construct, rather than being a biological divide (Hudson 2005: 156; Tickner 1997). Additionally, feminine characteristics that are assigned to the female sex are however, characteristics that as well as might be present in both males and females, like the attributes of care-giving and nurturing. Likewise, social constructivists argue that war too is a constructed phenomenon, rather than being unavoidable, as suggested by realists (Tickner 1992: 51).

Cynthia Enloe had reiterated the point of the complex relationship between masculinity and military operations which work as a junction for hierarchies of not merely gender, but also gender roles in the field of military operations too (Cohn and Enloe 2003). The link between the two can be further elucidated with the exalted qualities that are correlated with militaristic behaviour. The concept of hegemonic masculinity goes on to reconfirm this belief as it has been well elaborated in the works of Connell (Connell 1995; Cockburn and Zarkov 2002).

Frank Barret (2001: 79) went on to define the term hegemonic masculinity as:

a particular idealized image of masculinity in relation to which images of femininity and other masculinities are marginalized and subordinated. The hegemonic ideal of masculinity in current Western culture is a man who is independent, risk-taking, aggressive, heterosexual and rational (Barret 2001: 79).

The definition of hegemonic masculinity that Barrett builds on is the one provided by R. W. Connell (1995) in her large body of work. In this particular work that he wrote in 2001, Barrett demonstrates how certain attributes are taken to be associated with masculinity and additionally are valorised in contrast to certain others, which are not. The qualities that are highlighted as being significant and instrumental in maintaining the preservation of the state system are incidentally the same ones which identified as masculinist characteristics. This might as well as be the method of confirming to the idea of hegemonic masculinity in the scrutiny of military culture. This is precisely how culture is rooted quite understatedly so in the varied methods of conducting masculinity and perpetuating it onto the value systems that disparages the feminine other, that might comprise not merely women, but the children, the homosexual and even the aged. The different varieties of masculinity too have a hierarchical interrelationship amongst them, as do the male and the female in society (Barrett 2001).

From the above deliberations, we might arrive at the realisation of the variable of masculinity which went on to be recognised as the rationale behind political violence. These observations imply a causal or constitutive relation between war and masculinity that might be mutually enabling (Elshtain 1995; Barrett 2001). Even in the area of securitising, it boils down to merely the beliefs of a certain select few men at any given period which results in the occurrence and persistence of warfare and militarism (Hartsock 1989). Carol Cohn added emphasis on the point by drawing our attention to

ways in which the attributes of masculinity permeates the discipline of nuclear politics, where security and defence analysts use it to recognize the significance of their defence policies and decisions (Cohn 1989). Jean Bethke Elshtain delves upon the manner in which patriotism and the concept of just war is entrenched in masculinity and mirror the societal distribution of labour in times of unrest, thereby facilitating the war (Elshtain 1992). The pattern that oversees the behaviour and demeanour of men often overlies with the pattern of defence policy-makers, be they engaged in nuclear security policy-making or conventional weaponry. The idea of the rational and dispassionate man, however, is a clear diversion from the just and protective warrior of Elshtain's work. This clearly is a clear illustration of the continuum in the different varieties of masculinity. Additionally, there still exists the strain between the multiplicities of masculinity that co-exists, along with the 'sub-standard' or even failed varieties.

Elshtain's work also focuses on studying the gendered nature of the 'just war tradition' which is rooted in the acceptance and propagation of hegemonic masculinity. The precedent of prioritising the male over the female, stemming from 'gender essentialism', is not witnessed anywhere more in the idea of just war. Here again the women are portrayed stereotypically as the weak class who need to be protected and governed over, while the men assume the role of the warrior and combatant. Another side to this gendered essentialism lies in debunking the protector-protected debate of associating the principle of immunity exclusively with the women and children. In this respect, even 'civilian men' become victims by being deprived of rescue and protection amidst conflict. The concept of non-combatant civilian men appears to be an anomaly in the theory of just war, as the only masculinity recognised is that of the soldier.

The abstract nature of the just war theory is also a reason of critique by gender theorists. This is owing to two primary reasons. The first of which is the non-sensitivity towards the violence of war and how it affects the people caught in the cross-fire. The inclination by states of the usage of 'techno-strategic' technocratic language and inclination of abstracting the nuclear weapons and technologies and how they might affect the people is a classic example. Moreover, the tendency of rounding up civilian casualties in such violence as 'collateral damage' is another such example (Cohn 1989). Secondly, the tendency of othering the adversary to be more effective in being brutal towards them is another problematising side to the just war theory. The idea of de-humanising the enemy who is evil brings out a moral side to the war, sometimes even religious, and is easier to

be propagated to motivate its soldiers in fighting the opponents for the existence and survival of their own and their civilisation (Kreck 2012).

In the current times, the portrayal of men in popular culture and media too goes a long way in reinforcing the stereotype of men being violent towards women and even other men. The constant repetition of narratives render masculinity as comprising of supremacy over the weaker sex by developing a muscled body and cultivating an aggressive personality to control the submissive women's bodies. Moreover, trends of hyper-masculinity in the discourse of strategic and security studies, is rooted in and is accentuated by the gendered militarism, an aspect that is so starkly evident in the gendered militarism and militarised masculinities of this discourse of national security. What is much needed is a re-imagination of masculinity not merely in the discipline under observation, but also in the general understandings of daily personal experiences of civilians (Salter 2013: 74-75). Even popular culture is inundated with the imagery of linking masculinity with violence, and is not confined only to Western masculinities. Depictions of virile men, violent celebrations and camaraderie such as shown in most of the popular movie franchises, music videos and biased studies, go on to forge popular opinions and understandings. As well as associations of activities like diplomacy and espionage with masculinity and sharp men have gone a long way in warping our popular imaginations around the idea. The numerous editions of James Bond movies, Marvel and DC franchise movies are not successful because of any other reason, other than being able to captivate and retain our popular desire for the same (Hopper 2012: 81-83).

The definition of a patriot in the common parlance is envisaged as man who more often than not is in the military, working towards securing their countries along with the women and children, from intruders and other enemy states or organisations. Women are supposed habitually as being naïve, fragile and at certain occasions maybe even unpatriotic. Perceiving women who are aware of foreign policy concerns and international affairs as being too emotional to be trusted with crucial decision-making activities necessitated for the sake of national security is a long standing concern of gender theorists. Weakness has time and again been associated with femininity and a great impediment in issues of national defence. In the name of politics, what we have been experiencing is majorly the politics of men, as it is only men who are always in majority, be it in parliaments, politicians, bureaucracies, military generals, pressure groups and even in the corporate houses. Even the role of leaders appointed is

traditionally offered to men on a more priority basis. The very few women leaders who have been successful in breaching this divide, such as Indira Gandhi, Angela Merkel and Margaret Thatcher, have been able to do so only by being able to manoeuvre past men's networks, rather than women's (Connell 2005: 204).

As mentioned earlier, even women in key positions in the state politics are made out to be too emotionally volatile to be trusted with the hard decisions that are to be made for the security of the state. Weakness is taken to be the women's purview in these matters of hard politics. Following this line of argument, there is a latent resistance to accepting women in primary roles of leadership and command. The role of the head of the state that may be the President or Prime Minister, being assigned as the role of the Commander-in-Chief, leads to the popular understanding that the post is to be associated with the attributes of manliness and masculinity. This in turn leads to form the basis for the distrust and uncertainty in electing a female to these posts (Tickner 1992: 3). Even when a female happens to be the head of the state, there is always present a small inclination to institutionally resist it. This is apparent in the dearth of proper representation of female leaders in the political arena worldwide, so much so that women's voices are deemed to be spurious.

3.5 Masculinist Trend towards the Gendered Biases of the International Security Policies

Gender theorists have discussed in length about the deep entrenched relationships among masculinities, war and violence. Joanna Burke examined how masculinities were constructed in the World War I period in Europe, as getting conscripted came to be equated with the various ideas of ideal masculinity. These drills too, contributed in bringing about economy in emotions and self-discipline in men on military training (Bourke 1996: 178–80).

Men not partaking in war-fighting and other military activities were also looked down upon, as opposed to military men who lived with the high possibility of death or physical disabilities. Barbara Ehrenreich believed that it was not merely men who made wars, but rather many a times it is was the opposite, when wars made men (Ehrenreich 1987, xvi). Military service, which is still compulsory in many countries, is seen to be providing a

rite of passage for boys to turn to men; involving a very physical training that shapes the male body and mind. This relationship between war and the military embodies one of foremost situations that forge the association of hegemonic masculinity with male bodies (Morgan 1994: 168; Hopper 2012: 81-83). It is this hegemonic masculinity that is at play which overlooks the security needs of male individuals and constructs the victim identity around the female. The tendency to create these binaries of victimhood and aggressor result in the stereotyping of gender behaviour which assumes the aggressor to be perpetually male. For example, if we take the case of child soldiers who are enlisted by a variety of groups, most are presumed to be males. Many even find it difficult to envisage female fighters, be it child soldiers or adults, despite the fact that 30% of child fighters are observed to be females (Fox and Lawless 2004). Then again, it is also important to remember that not all of the child soldiers who happen to be female are active combatants. A majority of them are on the other hand conscripted, more so forcefully and through abductions and kidnappings for purposes of doing domestic work and also as sex slaves.

R. Charli Carpenter stresses that even when the human security approach recognizes gender constructs, yet through certain practices, only come to reify the same gendered understandings of who is it that is to be secured. The programs and modules that tender to Gender Based Violence (GBV) irrefutably end up depicting women and children as the principle target that require protection, ignoring defenceless men who are especially affected in any occasion of violence (Carpenter 2006: 85). Men and boys often are killed or maimed in clashes and in times of conflict in an effort to wipe out soldiers or future warriors. These gendered assumptions, while drawing up GBV modules, operate on the logic that overlooks the trepidations of civilian men (Carpenter 2006: 99). The feminist security perspective commits to rendering this narrow definition of the victim and perpetrator as false and works on the broadening of security by redefining and bringing about a common and comprehensive understanding of universal security (Hoogensen and Stuvoy 2006: 209). The feminists criticise the mainstream security conceptions which see security in a non-gendered way, thereby perceiving this divide as being natural and in fact reinforcing these stereotypes even further (Tickner 1992: 127). In the words of Tickner and other feminist scholarship, there might be two possible ways to go bring about a satisfactory balance among the sexes. In the first place, there is the need to alter the discourse around the discipline and practice of security by highlighting the inequalities and the issues in the production of the concept of gender. And in the second place,

increasing the universal participation and representation of women at every level in the political, economic, social, military and foreign-policy process and decision-making, where traditionally, women have been systematically been absent and marginalised in all spheres of key decision-making, even in international organisations and beyond the local assumptions too (Tickner 1992: 142).

3.5.1 Violence on Men and its Role in Building the Hegemony in Masculinity

Matthew C. Guttman talks about the fact that most significantly, masculinity is unconsciously or consciously taken to be the norm, that studying it apart as a separate discipline is seen to be unnecessary. Then again to a large portion of the population, the term gender goes on to mean only the female and not the male. In fact, popular misconceptions run the course of believing the discipline of gender studies to be synonymous with women's studies. Going even further, it has to be understood that any proper comprehension of masculinity cannot be had by merely reducing it to a biological study of the male sex and also only men (Guttman 1997: 403). Hence in order to transcend the lenses of security from realist frameworks to human security, what is needed is to understand that the focus should not merely be on including women and looking at how they were overlooked and even hampered as women beings, but also how the gendered security should not be at the cost of marginalisation of men. This would involve looking in to the cases of how men are targeted and victimised, in times of conflict and even in peace times. Examples of which include the occurrence of sexual torture, which was regarded as to be the case specifically with females, sodomy, targeting and prosecution of homosexual men, and other such crimes.

There is a remarkably negligent amount of study in the case of male sexual violence in wartime or otherwise. The evidence of the use of sexual violence upon males came to light most extensively in the aftermath of the Yugoslavia war that started in 1991, where instances of the use of sexual violence as a tool of war was reported extensively including several cases of sexual violence on females. Curiously enough, there was hardly any news of any kind of assault on the men. These cases of sexual violence may range in different degrees, from cases of forced nudity to instances of mass rape and torture, sometimes even simultaneously. When further investigations were conducted, only then was it realised the extent to which men to were targeted in cases of sexual violence and assault.

However, the evidence of male rapes in war time is not confined to the case of Yugoslavia alone. Rather, it stretches to political prisoners in confinement too, including both in war time prisons and even state prisons. Naming a few countries only draws us further away from the point that it is not a selective process. In fact, these cases are not merely scantily reported, but there is also a dearth of any actions taken subsequently around them. Cases in Greece, Chile, El Salvador saw many reports of repeated rape and sexual assault on political prisoners. Reports from the Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture depict that many of the Sri Lankan refugee men in London in 1997-98 also faced such sexual violence (Oosterhoff et al. 2004: 68-73). Moreover, even the media coverage in the news channels and popular culture has scant accounting of this situation. The most recent cases of such instances came out with the pictures of the heinous and inhuman sexual and physical torture being conducted on the Abu Ghraib prison inmates in Iraq.

Charlotte Hooper observes the presence of a positive link that was drawn between the acceptances of maimed and handicapped soldiers in society who returned after war, as heroes and patriots of the highest levels. They were not regarded any less of being a man because of their deformities, but rather more so because of their ultimate sacrifice of giving up their future for the safety and protection of their country and people (Hooper 1999: 480). The sexually assaulted victims on the other hand, are perceived in a negative light owing to gender stereotypes of women perpetually being the victim and the male always being the aggressor. Even the medical help that is provided is insensitive of the situations of male rape victims and even dismissive of it at times, are unable to help them deal with the trauma inflicted upon them and provide the same support that the female victims of trauma are able to access. The shame of being homosexually assaulted weighs down upon them on a number of occasions and results in them being increasingly marginalised, given the still widely prevalent narrow minded un-acceptance of people regarding the idea of any other variety of sexual behaviour, apart from the heterosexual kind (Oosterhoff et al. 2004, 68). Hence, it is safe to comprehend that this very same stereotype of the masculine as the 'active and aggressive' kind does not hamper anyone else more seriously than the men themselves, just as the attributes of 'passive and peaceful' females affect women. Security theorists like Francis Fukuyama reinforce through their work one of the most harmful and repetitive stereotypes by maintaining that the male is supposed to be aggressive and the women the more pacific kind (Romaniuk and Wasylciw: 2010: 30-31; Fukuyama: 1998).

Even in the occupational front, men face these gender biases at a far larger extent than we let ourselves realise. Men working as health care workers, male nurses, baby-sitters, at some point or other during their career, face questioning gazes regarding their choice of careers. This is for the obvious reasoning given behind it which dictates that the care-giving business is essentially the domain of the women.

Concluding the chapter it can be observed that, looking in to finding an answer towards these social constructs of binaries in the sphere of gender would require taking apart the established hierarchies of gender and engendering the discipline of security studies and policy-making itself. This would also require it to take in the subject of male insecurities seriously, and persuade men along with women to contribute towards bringing down these gender inequalities (Cohn 1993: 239). Men have to come out and voice the security and other feminine concerns of women and comprehend the full extent of their insecurities, together with women. The very nature and essence of these organisations and institutions that are broadly masculine need to be altered.

Chapter 4

FEMINIST SECURITY STUDIES

4.1 Introduction

The study and practice of international and national security studies and strategic culture always being envisaged in the masculinised domain, has flourished as a subject of high politics. As such, the right to define security also brought with it the authority to frame the security and defence policies, that came inadvertently within the above stated discipline of high real politick. Feminist and gendered academic intervention in the subject has been a recent addition in an attempt to widen and deepen the discipline. Likewise, gender theorists have been working on the inclusion of the variable of gender as a way to bring in a more wholesome construction and understanding of the contested scope of security and strategic culture, without being exclusionary in any sense. The subject of international relations while being engaged with foreign policy-making, is reduced to actively perpetuating gender stereotypes through internalising the activities of state policy, diplomacy and defence policy-making.

The present chapter endeavours to look in to how the discipline of feminist security studies diverts from the conventional masculinist idea of militarised security studies and strategic culture that is propagated in the discipline of international security studies and in its policy practice. The fourth chapter attempts to dwell as to how an engendered security policy could bring forth a more inclusive and balanced defence policy. It could well go on to setting a precedent for practising and formulating a more defence-oriented security policy for a state, rather than an offensive one. By looking into how the misconception of equating the discipline of peace studies with femininity, there lies a more grave danger other than stereotyping, which is of ignoring the militarised perspective of femininity that also emerges in times of warfare. Moreover, the aspect of studying wartime sexual violence also might get neglected through this biasness of limiting violence to the attribute of masculinity alone thereby and neglecting the sexual assault face by men in both peace and wartime.

Here, the subject that is to be studied is the linkages between security and gender and the manner in which they interact with each other to form a gendered understanding of

security. Even though feminism comes to form a very broad based perspective, there was an urgent need to envisage a uniform understanding of feminist view of security studies. And by installing the variable of gender in the pivot of security and strategic studies, it attains the role of the unifying factor for feminist scholars. Even the idea of security itself is itself fraught with confusion as there is no concrete understanding of what is meant by security and also who it is meant to secure the state internationally. Even the power to ascertain as to what implies security is also a privilege that lies in the hands of the individual states to frame. It is a prerequisite of any state to provide for security of its population from non-state actors and other threats that radiates from outside the state boundaries or inside. The feminist rebuttal comes at the point of questioning as to who these security policies are committed in securing. For example, as Christine Sylvester observed, that security cannot ever be all-comprehensive and ‘is always partial...elusive and mundane’. It has been observed as such because the majority of studies conducted in this respect take the realist abstractions¹³ all to be true. Rather here, the perspective of gender is sought to be the reference point of studying the various facets of security politics and strategic culture (Blanchard 2003: 1289).

Feminist Security Studies (FSS) essentially is rooted in encouraging actively the inclusion of shared understandings and daily narratives in a way that it encompasses the diverse facets of every individual, irrespective of their gender. The gradual expansion in the scope of feminist security theorises, the assorted divisions of ‘class, nationality, race, and other markers of identity’, interact regularly with gender at all point of times and go on to frame the experiences of women. Also, it draws out a divergence from the tendency of universalising and generalising which is rampant in the positivist system (Wibben 2011: 2). The construction of the discourse on politics is so essentially gendered, that female politicians and policy makers are seen as imposters and inauthentic. This devaluation of the standing of women in public and private arena forms the basis of the systematic exclusion that women face.

The steady increase in militarisation plays its part in building power hierarchies in society and promoting aggression as the most sought after means to addressing conflict. Gender and feminist security theorists’ disapproval of the militarisation of security emanates from

¹³ The abstraction in traditional realism arises from it being rooted in power, which many a times is not quantifiable. Regarding all states to be universally self-centred and aggressive, and having similarly anarchic nature with one another is a misleading assumption. There is no consideration of cooperation among states, along with no representation of the public opinion on their actions.

associating militarised masculinity with the power structure of the state. In cases as this, it needs to be questioned as to whose military rights are being defended by the state and the policy-making bodies. Then again, there should also be a conscious effort to prevent from committing the folly of stereotyping all masculinities with militarisation and similarly, all peace-building efforts with feminist activities. This is also because of the dearth on the study of militarised femininities and the impact of wartime sexual violence on both men and women (Detraz 2012: 24).

The chapter has been divided in to five parts. The first section attempts to look forth in to the various definitions of the discipline of feminist security studies and the background in which the discipline is rooted. Here the various stages of the evolution of feminist security studies, is looked at. The second section analyses how feminist security studies works on engendering the discipline of security and how it brings out the unequal representation in the gender dimension within the field of security and strategic studies. In the third section, the misconception of equating peace studies and its activities with femininity is looked in to and the problem at rooting these fallacies in the biological difference of the sexes. Then the fourth section goes on to explore the linkages between women and the military and the changes that might occur with the inclusion of more women in the study of the discipline. The fifth section then discusses the impact of sexual violence, and the experiences of war, be it in war time or peace time on both females and males. The final section would then look at the way forward through the absorption of feminist security studies and equal representation of policy practitioners and academicians in to the discipline and practice of security and strategic studies.

4.2 Definitions and the Chronological Progression of Feminist Security Studies

4.2.1 Background

The emergence of academic feminism happened at almost the same time around the advent of the discipline of International relations, during the war-hit twentieth century. Much of the political events related to women and the contributions of women are however, not covered in most cases, ‘such as the 1919 International Congress of Women

(ICWW)¹⁴, that ran correspondingly to the Versailles Conference¹⁵ (Grant 1992; 86). There is also the aspect of feminist IR being considered to be outside of the ambit of traditional IR. This in itself is the point where feminist and gender scholars have critiqued conventional IR and stressed on expanding the core of IR from the issues of war, peace and securitising of the boundaries of states. The period between the late seventies and early eighties, is when the extended and conflicted discussion over the structural conception of the security of women was envisaged. The matters that were studied under the scope of structural violence and conflict resolution, the issue of gender were never covered. Studies depicted that there was a very minor percentage of articles written by women in the world of academia till the late eighties and even the feminist writings and understandings of peace. However, the factors like ‘class, imperialism, religion and race’ were covered extensively in the same journals at those times (Everts 1972: 500-501). Likewise, the absence of the study of gender from ‘Galtung’s theory on structural violence¹⁶’ was an exemplar of how gender remained interestingly absent even from the post-Marxist theory making in the late sixties and seventies. The dearth of the discussion on gendered peace within the realms of international security studies is not unique to it and can be well observed even within the broader framework of International Relations. The earliest writings on ‘gender, peace and security’ emanated from peace studies in the early part of the eighties and were mostly biased on the account of viewing the task of women as the nurturer as pivotal towards them having a different view from men on issues of ‘war, peace and security’. Elsie Boulding stressed the point that beyond opposing the huge percentage of finance being spent on the military, the interests of women went unrepresented in the mainstream politics of the state and international politics at the same time. Then again, the importance of women go beyond electoral politics; in the midst of masculinised real politic, women are taken to be more in favour of cooperative work, rather than conflicting over any said issue and in being more

¹⁴ The International Congress of Working Women (ICWW) came up as a body comprised of female labourers around the world, to look in to the issues around female labour at the first Annual Labour Organisation Conference of 1919. This body successfully formed the document at the INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION (ILO) and was responsible in the executive process on the ILO’s Commission on the Employment of Women.

¹⁵ The Paris Peace Conference, also known as the Versailles Conference of 1919 was called by the Allied States post-World War I, to ascertain the terms of peace. It saw the participation of statespersons from 32 states and resulted in the creation of the League of Nations.

¹⁶ Johan Galtung in his article ‘Violence, Peace, and Peace Research’ (1969) discusses the concept of structural violence that emanates from social structures or institutions that violate human rights by hindering the achievement of securing these rights.

inclusive of considering alternative opinions regarding the security structure (Boulding 1984: 2-3).

Sara Ruddick, who is one of the first stage feminist security theorists, argues a very significant point which is that, there lies the difference between the thinking of men and women on the issue of securitising not merely because the military is built on the lines of masculinity, rather also because military ideals in themselves, including just war theory, are drawn upon abstract ideas of rationality and not on the bodies and people experiencing and being affected by them (Ruddick 1989: 95, 150). Even the process of learning the language of military and the security industry, and then imbibing it in the policy discourse is a systematic process. This is also because the daily participation and exercise of these vocabulary and policy work does not pertain to the active and practical participation in the results. This internalisation of the military language reveals how the thought process can be veered to be removed from the context, and in turn become abstract in its nature; one that is more concerned regarding securing the weapons and military assets of the state, rather than the people (Cohn 1987: 715).

The first of the feminist security theorists were specific in differentiating between gender, which is a sociological process and sex, which is a biological one. Gender forms the 'cultural, political, social and discursive structures' that brings out the masculine and all other aspects surrounding their socialisation in the public sphere, and pushes the female in the private sphere. The second stage towards the formation of the discipline comprised of challenging the assumption of the peace-loving nature of women. The trend of equating feminism with peace studies indeed was a dangerous one, which consisted of stereotyping the female as uniformly peaceful; more dangerously, the masculine as the violent kind (Sylvester 1987). The argument that was sought to be wrought large was that 'women' ought to be seen as a separate 'referent object' for security studies.

J. Ann Tickner was one of the first who wrote on feminist security studies as a conceptual framework. Her theorisation of including the variable of 'gender' and 'the individual' as the referent object indicate the modification the theory brought over maintaining the state as to being at the pivot of security studies. To reset the definitions of security as to be individual-centric and gender inclusive, aside from state-centric and militaristic, began as the central motive towards the formulation and expansion of feminist security studies (Tickner 1992: 53). Both Tickner and Enloe, advocated for espousing a 'multilevel and

multidimensional' conceptualisation that is rooted in the experiences of women in situations of war and violence, where occurrences of rape, prostitution, domestic violence is rampant. In the times of such violence, women, children and even men at times, end up being the most marginalised, in violence-ridden circumstances like through sexual violence, personal independence, undernourishment, lack of healthcare and poverty. According to Enloe, the presence of military wives in military bases is the systematic process of utilising unpaid domestic work of military wives (Enloe 1989).

Theorists of Feminist Security Studies (FSS) take in to consideration various accounts of how women and children disproportionately are the victims in conflicts and even in as refugees and migrants fleeing from these areas. The division of the public and the private sphere of human social existence have made provisions for the space for domestic violence in the private sphere, domestic and martial rape to go either unnoticed, or ignored. Even war-time rape by conquering soldiers has come to light as an unacceptable horrific act only in the recent time. On the other hand, similar kind of violence is seen as unacceptable in the public sphere (Blanchard 2003). The need for a gendered security arises mainly because men and women often are affected in a disparate manner as a result of these events and their security requirements need to be accounted for by the state at all times.

The point which drove feminist security scholars to expand to include strategic culture within its realm of analysis was the initiation of nuclear politics. There was a huge amount of financial investments that were put in to military developments, both conventional and nuclear technology, during the Cold War period. This sidetracked other issues relating to the marginalised section of the state from the ambit of attention of the state. The participation of women in peace movements, such as the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp held at the Royal Air Force in Berkshire, England, in 1981, began as a protest of stationing nuclear missiles there. But most importantly, the wheels turned for FSS at a more accelerating rate with the initiation of the 'academic debates' that went on to be linked together with the societal course of 'women's liberation' during the sixties and seventies. Then in the late seventies and throughout the eighties, there was a steady growth in the academic field of feminism in the disciplines of sociology and political theory that in turn had its effect on IR. The London School of Economics and Political Science in 1988 hosted 'a symposium on Women and International Relations' that also led to a special issue of the Millennium journal. Consequently, the International Studies

Association (ISA) started out with the foundation of the 'Feminist Theory and Gender Studies Section' (FTGS) in 1990 as a result of the efforts of Christine Sylvester and V. Spike Peterson (Buzan and Hansen 2003: 141).

4.2.2 Definitions

Feminist Security Studies is the study that adheres to the gendered facet of the security studies discipline. Even though it is still a growing discipline, feminist scholars engage with the discipline of international security studies in order to augment the reach of feminist security studies itself. Aside from stressing on the inclusion of women's experiences in the decision-making roles, feminist security studies also seeks to examine the extent of the security provided by the state to women be it in peace time or wartime. More importantly feminist security studies also takes care to address the apprehension shown by the wider academia that feminist security studies with its accommodating gendered security, that it is interested in only the issues regarding women; thus it has worked extensively in dispersing that doubt. Tickner had likewise attempted to analyse the international relation system in the light of the various levels of analysis by following the realist assumptions in IR of self-help. Studies that followed it brought out how in the current nuclear age, examples of cooperation and interdependence among nuclear states. Additionally, going back to the public-private allegory, and creating private spaces for the abuse of power and domestic violence in the private sphere, this might be at many-a-times, outside the grasp of law, either because of incompetence, or hypocritical customs (Tickner 1992).

A feminist security study in itself is a dismissal of realism, considering the abstractions and assumptions that it is rooted in for upholding the national security of the state. The particular theory contradicts the popular methodologies that are popularly used in mainstream theory building, through the inclusion of experiences of individuals, rather than taking in abstract data in the ambit of politics (Wibben 2011a: 592). The inclusion of narratives is extremely pivotal as they make way for the students of the subject to have a sense of the events happening around them; thereby accounting towards the larger whole which these individual experiences contribute towards (Wibben 2011b: 2). Narratives go on to form the most crucial method of taking in to account human experiences and how they represent these experiences, which further form our opinions on the world. Hence, it

is right to assume narratives to be basically political. Similarly, security narratives emanate from a specific structure to provide meaning and value to what in International Relations deems to be an anarchic and chaotic world. The recurring production of these narratives coagulates these practices, particularly aggressive and brutal means to privilege militarised state security. Also, it is seen to be of assistance because it recognizes the sites where ‘conflict that can occur’ because of competing identity claims (Stern 2005). It would not suffice for the academic and policy-making community to shift the scope of their focus in to different directions, but rather it is important to alter the ‘form of security narratives’ too, as they go on to form our collective idea of ‘security, whose security matters, and how it can be achieved’ (Wibben 2011b: 64).

Laura Jorberg took feminist security studies to be dialectical hermeneutic argument that affects both the process and the product. The aim behind following the pedagogy of feminist security studies to undertake any research is not to pose as a problem-solving theory, but rather to view the issue at hand in a light which comprehends it with all the facets around it (Sjorberg 2010). Regarding methodologies of feminist analysis in the discourse, Tickner brought out four primary methodologies that might guide in the pursuit of this discourse and case analysis. These primarily are firstly, the specific research questions which are taken to be neutral, that are put forward and why; secondly, the ambition of devising research design that looks in to women’s experiences and in turn prove to be valuable to address gendered issues relating both men and women. The third method addresses the issue of reflexivity and subjectivity of the researcher towards the said issue and finally, having an obligation at viewing the pursuit of knowledge as a means towards ‘emancipation’ (Tickner 2006: 22).

4.3 Engendering the Discipline and the Practice of Security Studies

In international security studies that is one of the major sub-fields of International Relations, the state is kept as the pivot around which the national security discourses and policy-practices are constructed. Kenneth Waltz maintains that the policies of the state are always guided by insecurity from both external and internal factors around it. This creates grounds for the formations of the offence-based security policies of the states. These policies are the very reason for the allotment of large-scale defence budget in the name of war-preparedness rather than giving sufficient fund allotment for the domestic spending

sector. Prioritising the security of the state as the unquestioned value is seen to be a normal aspect for the citizens of a country, and even more so in war times. Even though many facets of social security of the individuals are now taken care of the state, but defence procurements and national security activities remain at the top of the pyramid. While looking at the national security structure of states and their compositions, it is apparent how much masculinised it is in nature, being mostly a male dominated industry. To say this, it does not go on to mean that women do not appreciate the activities of securing the state from perils in the international security sector. Rather having the sole authority in defining and defending these security structures is always regarded as a man's activity. Men being put traditionally into playing the roles of 'soldiers and diplomats' and policy-makers, women were seen to be type casted in the roles of care-giving, need-providing and comforting in the domestic sphere and seen to be more suited in the professions and roles of mothers, 'teachers, nurses, and social workers' (Tickner 1992: 28).

Sara Ruddick mentions it when saying that 'a boy is not born, but rather becomes, a soldier' (1989: 145). The problem arises with constructing men in the role of protectors of the weaker sex, which is taken to be the female. Men are pre-determinedly set along the lines of protectors, in the domestic and private sphere as the patriarch of the family; and 'internationally of the body politic, as self sacrificing, patriotic, brave, aggressive and heroic'. According to Elshtain, women on the contrary, are supposed to be supportive, romantic and caring for their 'just warrior men' (Elshtain 1987). However, when women start to speak and give their opinions on issues of national security, they get termed as inauthentic and frivolous. This led to the danger of the person getting stereo-typed and essentialised according to their genders, further maintaining the current 'hierarchy' in the ordering of the sexes.

Women who go on to participate in politics and secure decision-making positions in both national and international institutes, on most occasions are seen to being consigned to areas covering women, as opposition to in the bodies engaged in the conventional security framework (Christin Chinkin 2004: 244). Then again, even when women are a part of important foreign and defence policy bodies, they risk stumbling on the double-blind of sorts. Women advocating for the conventional masculinised security policies that are seen as the norm, they would be deemed as acceptable and strong, but as an exceptional kind; even this 'aggressive negotiator' may be seen as 'unfeminine'.

However, in the event that they strike up a different view other than the one that is conventionally espoused, are portrayed as feminine and too soft owing to the innateness of their gender and their inability in handling such brutal and demanding jobs as of securing the country.

It cannot however, be expected that the mechanical inclusion of more women into primary policy-making processes will automatically alter the nature of the gendered structures and dismantle them. Nevertheless, the attempt at including women into the policy discourse that would look towards bringing in significant modifications in the nature and scope of discourse to be more inclusive of feminine values, solely by women would not create much of a difference (Blanchard 2003: 1298). Failing to bring in a redefinition of these security structures would again go on to buttress the gendered stereotypes that existed in the public. Scholars in an attempt to problematize these 'essentialist notions of the female as peaceful' engage in the citing examples of women actively participating in violence-ridden activities and policies, be it in the public sphere or the private (Alison 2004). Yet the continuation of labelling women as essentially peaceful still persists in the discipline of security studies and policy-making, in spite of there being differing evidence (Zalewski 1995: 348).

Academics in the field of feminist security studies still face the hurdle of altering the dominant 'gendered hierarchies which produce insecurity' (Romaniuk and Wasylciw 2010: 32). In spite of being a two decade old discipline only feminist security studies determines that, the discipline of international security studies retains its gendered qualities despite all the effort put at bringing through the broadening and deepening of the discipline, beyond the purview of the state. Even Tickner has acknowledged in her works how women are yet to achieve parity in the 'levels of participation in intergovernmental organizations, and substantial barriers' continue to persist in the policy and decision making arena (Tickner 2001: 110). Former Secretary of State, John Kerry (2013) urged that:

No country can get ahead if it leaves half of its people behind. This is why the United States believes gender equality is critical to our shared goals of prosperity, stability, and peace, and why investing in women and girls worldwide are critical to advancing US foreign policy (Kerry 2013).

There appears to be a glass-ceiling that prevents women from achieving the same parity as compared to their male counter-parts in not merely the political-sphere alone, but in all professions.

4.4 Misconceptions in Equating the Discipline of Peace Studies with Feminist Security Studies

In conventional terms, the academics of international politics having a bit of a distance from the individual in the society, many a times, are unable to define conflict which might be intra-state in nature or even societal. The question of gender-identity moreover, has ever sparsely been included in the international politics. What seems to keep the discipline busy rather is the study of war and militarised strategic culture. What is being attempted to imply is that the gender of an individual which is envisaged as natural, is but an acquired social quality. The differences that arise between the male and the female, the need to create the binaries in terms of sex maybe said to be based on biology, but the furthering of these tendencies of feminine and masculine, or anything in between, and identifying oneself with their preference is a sociological realisation. The 'negotiated interpretations' determine the implications of being a man or a woman, and the way it shapes their ideas and experiences of perceiving conflict, violence and war. These factors also go on to shape their identities, especially women's responses that they form in context to these experiences (Skjelsbæk 2001: 47).

The scholarship on gender within social sciences took wings only with the initiation of the subject of Peace Research in the early part of the eighties. Elsie Boulding discusses in her work how the inclusion of more women in to policy-making might bring in preference for more significance given to non-military expenses in the government budget. Bringing in the parity in the gender distribution in the general workforce and policy-making in particular is bound to restrict the level of funds allocation in military sector and also work towards the preservation of the environment. Boulding also believed in the state's responsibility in providing aid to the poverty-stricken people, Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), and even look at the issue of refugees. She stresses that this might be owing to the rather different value-system between the two sexes and the attribute of women being more biased towards being cooperative than competitive. This extended to even to the conception of women's view on the relations between states,

favouring trust and cooperation over offensive security policies that invariably lead to an arms-race (Boulding 1984). Sara Ruddick elaborates on the how the ideas instilled on the concept of military is etched in masculinity with the corollaries of abstract ideas complimenting this brand of thinking. These abstract ideas include theories of justness of war, strategic security and the like, which shift the point of examination from bodies to these concepts of abstraction. This led towards the early stage security theorists who concentrated on the notion of gender being entrenched in sociology, rather than in plain biology (Ruddick 1989).

The absence of women from the military systems world-wide has lead towards the assumption of women merely belonging to peace movements. Even the assertion of certain female groups attribute the qualities of maternity and care-giving to their argument of being different from men. These female peace activists have participated in protests movements ranging from issues of nuclearisation, arms-race, or even state – repression. Examples of them can be the Greenham Women’s Peace Camp, the Chipkoo Movement in India, the Women’s Strike for Peace in the sixties in the United States, the protests by Manipuri Women on the rape of women by the armed forces are other such instances.

However, this tendency of co-relating pacifism with femininity is acutely problematic as it leads to reductionist assumptions of essentialising men with violence. Tickner has rightfully argued that such dichotomies contribute towards undervaluing both women and peace and this problem is gendered in its true nature. Moreover, such comparisons far from contributing to any positive outcomes, only go on to perpetuate gender differences and ‘hierarchies’ and perpetuate the domination of men at the helm of world politics and policy-making. This goes on to invalidate the voice of female participants already present in the security and policy circles. This also entails acknowledging falling back on to the stereotypical racial dogmas (Tickner 2001: 58).

According to Betty Reardon, the idea of security propagated by the feminist security studies focuses on the relationships among humans and their experiences. However, a conventional definition of these concepts of security and peace draws merely on organizations and structures. Most importantly two primary factors go on to complete the cycle of security. They are firstly, defence from violence and secondly, securing the

fundamental rights of the people; what is noteworthy, however is that security systems are concerned with achieving only the former (Reardon 1990).

Aside from being responsible for and protecting people gendered policies of peace ought to maintain, especially regarding females in times of conflict, the role of women in post-conflict peace-building, maintaining security and integrating a gendered peace-keeping. After the conflict comes to an end, women evidently have a harder time going back to social communities. The stark absence in the participation of women in ‘peace and security negotiations’, composing of the activities of ‘post-conflict agreements, disarmament’ and the process of reconstruction is seemingly evident even in contemporary times. The effect of armed violence on women can be gauged through their unique vulnerabilities in these conflict-ridden times and the subsequent period, be it in Disarmament, Demobilization and Reconstruction (DDR)¹⁷, ‘women’s agency and importance in the promotion and maintenance of peace and human security, and the importance of incorporating a gender perspective into peacekeeping’. Studies have indicated that the process of DDR put into practice by military officials has a tendency to lean in favour of ‘real soldiers’, which implies only men possessing guns (Mazurana and McKay 2003: 114).

Emphasis here, is laid on investigating and integrating the experiences of women and all the marginalised in the context of conflicts, post-conflicts or even peace-time. In a document submitted by the United Nations (UN) Secretary-General regarding combatant women who ultimately are not a made a part of these DDR programs and even their role and participation in post-conflict policy-making and account keeping is not acknowledged. Instead, what is essentialised regarding their part in and after the conflict talks is only their reproductive capacity and the surrounding protection regarding their health; but only their equal participation can guarantee a wholesome resolution to any such incidents and issues. Women working in the grass-root levels on peace-making and peace-building operations are seen to be absent at the majority of times during the actual policy-making, yet they are seen actively working towards the tasks to be completed (Kay 2004: 157; United Nations 2002). Female peace-builders work more often at the societal

¹⁷ Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) are techniques that are put to use during UN Peace-Keeping operations after civil wars.

and community-level and are seen participating widely at civil protests, demonstrations and activism for their social causes. Women peace-builder's activities are generally more of a relational process. Achieving the primary human rights and needs entails their 'peace-building initiatives' (Ellarby 2013: 455).

4.5 Women, Military and Militarised Femininities

The gendered depiction of the security architecture has arisen out of the intent to diverge from the state-centric definition of security studies which is entrenched in masculinist militaristic lines (Hoogensen and Rottem, 2004: 159). This gendered security however, prevents us from having an overall comprehension of the security architecture and the discipline (Tickner 1992: 30). Presumptions of masculinist attributes of 'strength, power, autonomy, [outgoing and extrovert], independence and rationality', led the public discourse to favour men and be defined by their qualities (Tickner 1992: 3). These very reasons go on to place men in the public arena and the pacifist women, who are seen as the anti-thesis of these characteristics, subjugated to the private domains of the house for their own protection. The female is portrayed here as the 'devalued other' who need protection (Hudson 2005: 156). This presumption of male aggressiveness strikes out the participation of women in the policy-making activities in the national security domain (Blanhard 2003: 1290). The activities of being a warrior and a combatant are seen as the work of the males in order to protect their countries and the weak in them, which comprise of more often than not, the women and the children.

What Tickner believed, was that states ought to transcend from the 'state-level militaristic' notion of 'national security' to more expansive idea of security that focuses on 'mutual enablement rather than domination' (Tickner 1992: 65). Gendered hierarchies that prioritise the male over the female essentially consider the importance of conflict and aggression to be more reliable in solving disputes among states than the use of cooperation. Even voices of dissent that sought to differ are branded as weak and inauthentic and even feminine. Francis Fukuyama's opinion on the issue can be termed as one of resorting to realist essentialism, when claiming that the aggressive violence that seems innate in men, is in fact a biological (Fukuyama 1998: 30). According to him, countries that see a large number of women participation in the key decision and policy-making, in fact, are being transformed into feminised countries and other developing

countries with a younger demographic that are driven by anarchy would turn to be the masculinised countries (Tickner 1998: 39). He further went on to substantiate his argument stating that in the international system, states being power-driven to maximise security in the face of anarchy resort to offensive measures to maintain the balance in their favour; this being the reason behind the need for masculinised security structure and strategic culture (Tickner 1998: 37). Tickner's critiqued Morgenthau's political realism stating that his ideas on realism catered merely to the masculinist ideologues that preferred warfare over cooperation as a means to resolve any conflict (Tickner 1988). Robert Keohane, reacting on the feminist perspective on international relations, stated that this strand of thinking in the discipline of security studies is bound to make it a much more inclusive discipline. However, he also wondered whether states that are more likely to be cooperative also face the possibility of being more likely to be bullied by other stronger and more aggressive states (Keohane 1998: 197).

However, classifying all actions in the security sector according to biology and sex of an individual, and the nature of the institution, as being aggressive and violent behaviour to be masculine and all pacifying actions to be feminine, amounts to merely essentialism and even sexism. Such a position neglects to look into the reality of the variety in the continuum of gender; there are cases of as much peace-building and peaceful women, as are there instances of female active combatants and perpetrators of 'political violence' (Allison 2004). Similarly, even in the case of men, there are men working both in peace-keeping and in the military. The case of female child soldiers working as both active and passive combatants, are another example of women being in the folds of violence and often being perpetrators and agents of the same.

Feminist security scholars posit that looking in to the inequalities towards the male and the female in the security and strategy discourse would help in our comprehension of the problem. Furthermore, the problem also extends to the unequal representation of women in the fields of decision-making and policy-making and even international organisations, in all the fields of military defence and foreign-policy making (Tickner 1992: 42). She rightfully analysed that even women who held primary decision-making positions both 'nationally and internationally', were also under the double bind when they made strategic security decisions that were rational and offensive in nature. They were seen as being different from other women and even unfeminine; they are also taken to be 'aggressive negotiators'. Conversely, women politicians and policy-makers are sidelined

and made responsible for departments that concern the domestic life of the civilians, like women and children, family, and others as such (Chinkin 2000: 244). Thus such problems only illustrate that mere increase in the participation of women actively in these disciplines and practice would not alter the gendered nature of these institutions (Romaniuk and Wasylciw 2010: 31).

Equal significance ought to be given to even the use of violence by female agents and policy-makers, ignoring which would only lead to the incomplete analysis of the subject of experiences of women in times of war and violence, beyond their position of being a victim of such conflict. Cynthia Enloe explains that:

Feminist-informed investigations by academic and activist researchers have revealed that many forms of public power and private power are dependent for their operation, legitimation and perpetuation upon...controlling popular notions of femininity and masculinity. It therefore follows that if we do not become seriously interested in the conditions and lives of women, we are likely to craft analyses of international power dynamics that are at best incomplete, at worst faulty and unreliable (Enloe 2007: 6).

Additionally, there is a grave need to study the dominant ideas of masculinity and femininity to have an in-depth knowledge of their respective security perspectives. This study, specifically on powerful women in decision-making profiles, assists in assessing their perspective of dominance as in respect of their gender, and also the perspectives of male political leaders, diplomats, soldiers, religious and social leaders, and other people of influence who only further this divide among the masculine and the feminine. Moreover, being in acceptance of the fact of the reality of violent women, rational states-women and female combatants in conflict-ridden situations and having a knowledge and insight in to their views on security and strategy could assist in squashing the incorrect notion that women never are interested in the initiation of war, or fighting them. The contributions of women in such combat areas come in various ways like in active war-fighting, crude bomb-making, or even in the domestic sphere. These women too are as much a part of the same issue as are pacifist women (Sjorberg 2010: 129-130).

The Hillary Doctrine which was mentioned in the memoir of current US Presidential Candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton, advocated for greater inclusion of women in to the process of decision-making and policy-formulation, and urged for more protection of the

rights of women. In her 2014 memoir too, she emphasised on adding the areas of the gender-based violence faced by women in the purview of national security discourses (Clinton 2014).

4.6 Impact of Sexual Violence across the Gender Dimension

The scholars of feminist security studies accept the reality of the manner in which women experience insecurity, be it in times of peace or conflict, because of the 'gender hierarchies and power inequalities' in the social, political and economic aspect. Owing to these discrepancies in the assumed hierarchies on the gender continuum, women more than men, find it more difficult to communicate their insecurity and ask for measures to secure themselves in all respect, be it through policy measures, or modification in the societal understandings. The 1994 United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Report discussed about the inequality and insecurity of women that plagues them from birth to their deaths (UNDP 1994). The gendered nature of the discipline of international security throws light on to how hegemonic masculinity dominates the discourse and is unmindful of the inclusion of the totality of human experiences. Inclusion of a larger number of women depicts the acceptance of the possibility of the use of both conflict and cooperation as the means to draw out the security architecture of a country (Beckman 1994: 5). But this is not to imply that this inclusion of cooperation would occur because of the supposed femininity of females, but rather by accepting that gender indeed is 'malleable' (Hudson 2005: 156).

This does not to suggest that women are incapable of being violent all together. In fact, there are many cited instances of women not only being primary perpetrators of horrible crimes and violence. Examples include the perpetrators of Abu Ghraib prisoner torture programs like Lyndie England and Sabrina Harman. This negates the conventional illustration of the male being at the helm of the task of defending the vulnerable and physically weak women. This has in turn set the lines for the 'binary that has been an important motivator for the recruitment of military forces and support for war' (Tickner 1997: 627). Popular examples of certain such women in powerful positions include Joan of Arc of France, Catherine the Great of Russia, Golda Meir of Israel, Margaret Thatcher of Britain, Angela Merkel of Germany, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf of Liberia, Indira Gandhi of India and many more.

But whatsoever, this does knowledge is not meant to demean the importance of the issue of the insecurity that ‘individuals and women’ face and the manner in which they are threatened. Women not only face this systematic violence because of the public-private divide in the society, but also are the primary victims of marital rape and domestic violence (Tickner 1992: 56-57). The idea of plundering the enemy’s women depicted how it went ahead to create an evil image of the adversary (Detraz 2012: 35). Enloe (2004: 128) mentioned how the demands and opinions of women diverge from one another in militarised states. She mentions that but more often than not, these:

voices are silenced. We find that when United States touts any military institution as the best hope for stability, security and development, the result is deeply gendered: the politics of masculinity are made to seem “natural,” the male grasp on political influence is tightened, and most women’s access to real political influence shrinks dramatically (Enloe 2004: 128).

Security theorists have time and again sought to look in to how states failed at securing the population in times of war (Tickner 1997: 625). Apart from this, women also face the consequences of the economic sanctions, aside from the military conflicts imposed on the countries that happen to be on the wrong side of the stronger countries. The gendered division of labour in both domestic and the professional field are paid nothing for domestic work and in the case of the latter, are paid lesser in compared to their male colleagues for the same job. The taboo surrounding on the topic of putting a price on the domestic labour done by women, also has a hand on bringing in the economic inequalities between the genders (Blanchard 2003: 1298).

The issue of environmental degradation, at the same time is another cause of insecurity among women too (Romaniuk and Wasylciw 2010: 26-27). Militarisation after all, also takes a toll on the environment in ‘war-torn countries’, which become crucial for the survival in order to cultivate food and arrange for fuel supplies. This is more so likely in developing countries and rural sites (Sutton and Novkov 2008: 17).

The need of the hour for feminist security studies is to realign the analysis of security of women and children to include males in the ambit of the study of the victims of sexual violence. This can as well as go on to dissolve the protector and the protected debate that is bifurcated on the lines of gender and sexuality (Allison 2007: 84). This very gendered assumption, of the males as the regular perpetrators of sexual assault and them being

portrayed as the aggressors, in fact goes on to violate men's security too by putting them completely outside the scope of any protection (Carpenter 2006). The gendered results of 'militarisation' has a spill-over effect on 'people's bodies', be it of men or women, and international security is practised by gendered bodies (Shepherd 2010: 6). The normalisation of war-time rape as a collateral damage of violent circumstances affirms its systemic roots. The idea of violating women and children, the target population, which is sought to be protected in times of conflict, is a tactic that refers to the idea of protecting the vulnerable by the brave warriors. Failure of this goes on to imply the idea of 'dirtying' their women and disturbing the present societal norms (MacKenzie 2010).

Another side to war-time rape is by infiltrating the target ethnicity by 'impregnating the women with 'alien seed' or preventing them from having children altogether. Such acts are defined by the international law as 'genocidal rape' because of the grave nature of such violence and crimes, along with their 'long-term and wide-ranging impacts' (Detraz 2012: 39). Military prostitution is another aspect of violence and war which 'involves women selling sexual services to soldiers' to secure their livelihood and protection, and at times even at the enemy camp (Haynes 2004). Examples of 'comfort women' in Japan during the Second World War are an instance of forced prostitution in this case, similar to the cases of Chinese and South Koreans (Enloe 2000; Detraz 2012: 47).

War experiences however, at many a times do not transform automatically in to war understanding. But defence and security personnel do not necessarily qualify to have the ultimate knowledge on the current style of conflicts such as civil unrests and guerrilla warfare, as there are other parties involved too. Nowadays, there is also the inclusion of 'women combatants, curators of war-looted museums and rape victims'. This destroys the rationale of having a perfect strategy in totality to attain the most ideal results; and it brings in to light the importance of the wide range of discourses, practices, organisations and ideas which compose the institution of war (Sylvester 2013: 673).

International organisations have worked on producing various machineries that would go into protecting the weak and the marginalised population in the circumstances of violence. These developments include implementation of the 'United nations General Assembly of the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (DEVAW) in 1993'. This particular declaration emphasised the achievement of a significant political objective whose struggle stretched on for as long as two decades. This led to the

‘appointment of the first ‘UN Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women’ in 1994 and is recognised as foundational to contemporary theorising and policy-making that seeks to articulate gendered violence as a ‘security issue’. Additionally, ‘before the adoption of [the] DEVAW’, the ‘World Human Rights Conference’ was formed in Vienna in 1993, to oversee the social and political implications of ‘gendered violence’. It is from these milestones that the DEVAW picked up its line of work on the area of ‘elimination of [all forms] of violence against women’. The international community and individual states to aim to uphold their obligations and responsibilities towards the ‘elimination of violence against women’ and any minorities (Shepherd 2006: 380).

4.7 Inculcating Feminist Security Studies and Equal Representation in Security Studies and Strategic Cultural Practice

The quest of feminist security studies is to integrate ‘lived experiences’ in its sphere of study. Tickner too reflects on the manner in which feminist security studies has concentrated on ‘wars and individuals, both civilian and military, and how their lives are affected by conflict’ (Tickner 2011: 578). She goes ahead to indicate how the mainstream discipline of international security studies, also distinguishes it on ‘non-traditional security issues such as trafficking and conflict-related violence have gained recognition in policy circles’ (Tickner 2013: 437).

According to Beth Woroniuk, a large section of ideas those are absent from the dialogues on human security are the areas of violence on women and gender inequality and under representation. Also, the conceptualisation of women in these debates, are limited to the scope of portraying women merely as victims and completely ignoring the angle of them as perpetrators (Woroniuk 1999). Eric Baines further moved to looking at the idea of putting the concept of gender-based violence (GBV) at the pivot of the discipline of security studies that could amount to side-lining males completely from its purview, because of the apparent death of analysis on masculinity. This however is not meant to discount the hurdles that patriarchy throws on the path of women’s equality. But the evidence of the ghettoization of feminist studies in international security studies is

evident from the existence of the separate discipline of feminist security studies itself, and not being a part of the human security analysis and practice (McKay 2004:153-154).

Women involved in state politics generally are more inclined to bring in a more gender balanced view in the decision-making process, by being more inclusive of not merely women, but all kinds of the 'othered' population. For this purpose equality in terms of representation is an urgent necessity.

Hence, the importance of studying the discipline of feminist security studies arises from acknowledging the fact that not all women tend to be weak and in need of protection. There are evidently more women who are in the powerful positions of leadership and are capable of making as many policies and decisions of real politick for the states. The need of the hour is to acknowledge that experiences and perceptions of war differ according to race, gender, religion, location, class and even culture (Skjelsbaek 2011). The discipline does not merely try to look of resolutions for the ailments that exist in the security studies sector, but also to identify them. Besides, the larger participation of women can assist in conceiving a more representative research schema such that the traditional and conventional idea of what constitutes the national and strategic security of a country can be altered and redefined. The agenda here also lies in altering the scope of the pre-determined referent object in the discipline of security studies and strategic culture.

Chapter – 5

CONCLUSION

Theorists of security studies are engaged in an act of making the discipline more inclusive and broaden by including experiences and personal narratives in times of conflict, wars and even peace. There is also the need to bring in a steady move towards desecuritising the state, which forms the primary referent object in the security studies framework. In this manner, there could be brought about a rewriting in the processes and practices which could perceive other possible areas for the security studies and defence departments of the states to work towards securing and defending the people. This can also bring forth the initiatives towards specialisations in securing the climate, environment, human security, food security and such other areas. It is well established that no issue is taken to be pivotal in civil society from the very beginning itself. However behind the assumption of taking the state at the centre of the security structure is the discursive act of creating the ‘speech act’ for the purpose of securitising the state through the language used in the political structure of the state. The act of using the word itself does the work of prioritising the state (Wæver 1993).

The present study is a result of a theoretical endeavour along the lines of feminism. The research method that has been put to use to conduct the current study is qualitative in nature. Here the dependent variable is taken to be the matter of women’s agency and political representation. The discipline of feminist security studies is taken to be the independent variable.

The research questions that the study aimed to study specifically were concentrated on the following:

1. How does the Feminist Security Studies as a discipline differ in its conception of security form the conventional idea of security studies?
2. Why does the masculine streak in the security structure get normalised to appear like conventional strategic behaviour?
3. How does a more inclusive and gendered representative politics have a more balanced and defence-oriented security decision-making structure, than a more offensive one?

Each of the research questions were attempted to be answered in the three core related chapters. This provided an ample opportunity to discuss these questions and the various questions surrounding them.

Additionally, these research questions were based on the following hypotheses which are as follows:

1. International Security Studies being conventionally a masculinised discipline of study, the individual to a large extent is reduced to being invisible and irrelevant while the security policy of a state is being formulated.
2. The gendered balance which is maintained can help in creating a more inclusive security structure for the international arena than in an unbalanced one.

Through the medium of the present study, it can be analysed that the first hypothesis is proved to a considerable extent as it is the state which is placed at the centre of the security structure, rather than the individual. The disproportionate significance given to the systemic level, rather than the civilians of the state proves the validity of this particular hypothesis. The second hypothesis can be considered to be partly true as more participation of women might go to re-direct the male-dominated field of security studies and defence policy-making. However, the second hypothesis can be considered to be only partly proven because mere inclusion of women for the purpose of face value can never suffice. An endeavour should be made to bring in concrete changes in the discipline and practice through the conscious re-orientation in the masculinised nature of security and defence formulations and also in their academic understandings.

Our primary conclusion can be derived from the rationale of initiating the present study, which was to make an attempt at looking at the broader scope of international security studies which moves beyond the entity of the state as the only primary actor in the state security and defence sector. Here the research analysed as to how conventional international politics attributes the rationality of going to war at numerous occasions for the purpose of defending women and children who would otherwise become victims in wars or conflicts, and are in need of external protection. However, in similar incidents, it is the women and children themselves who account for a high degree of collateral damage. This practice of citing women and children as victims of conflict are used to

provide legality to the task of military interventions by states and is broadly known by the concept of 'embedded feminism' (Gasner 2011). Moreover, the inclusion of the variable of gender would enlighten a newer direction of looking at the causes of and consequences of wars, beyond that which is already provided by the traditional security narrative (Tickner 2001: 48).

The extensive nature of the subject matter necessitates proper comprehension to accept the need for the widening and deepening of the international security studies discipline. This can lead towards engendering security studies, which in turn can assist in deconstructing the hierarchical nature of international security studies. It would also require men and women both to come up to destroy the gendered hierarchies that hamper the development of both men and women (Cohn 1993: 239). But this dismantling is not merely to be executed in the state security and defence arena, but also needs to be performed in the academic field by the security theorists, strategic policy-makers and feminist scholars. Moreover, this has to be also complemented along with the struggle for equal representation and participation of women actively.

Even while discussing the concept of masculinity, it is important to understand that there is not a single understanding of the concept. Rather there exists, various subjectivities and variations of the concept and their interaction among each other and the state itself. While the role of the soldier or a tough business man is appreciated, but a weaker person and poor man does not often experience the same treatment. Preference can be seen to be given to the attributes of 'toughness' and 'aggressiveness', and these same qualities are seen to be preferred in the workings of the international state system also. Hence it is the idea of the hegemonic masculinity that is established to be the privileged variety in the state structure, that work on creating binaries and more specifically hierarchies between, not just between the male and the female, but even among the different variations of masculinity that might exist in society. These hierarchies also cause immense damage during times of conflict in matters of addressing instances of sexual violence, which might be faced by both men and women in both conflict or in peace time also. The absence of sensitisation in matters of handling victims of sexual violence, especially men occurs due to the rigid prejudices which assigns them as the role of only the protector of the weaker people in the society. Hence there is a great hesitation in recognising men to be needing protection and assistance from these kinds of assaults. This can be done by the reframing the nature of state institutions and organisations to be inclusive of the various

experiences of individuals at the personal level at various occasions and events. Only then can a comprehensive security framework be brought to existence for practical purposes.

The inclusion of lived experiences, serve as integral in analysing the significance of the discipline of feminist security studies. However, there is evidence of the ghettoisation of feminist studies in international security studies; the existence of the separate discipline of feminist security studies itself, and not being a part of the human security analysis and practice is a case in point. Moreover, the inclusion of women, who are seen in many respects to be more cooperative than men might also account for the increased cooperation in international political and security perspective (Detraz 2016).

There is also an important need to understand the fact that not all women fall under the rubric of weak women. Strong stateswomen in the helm of the affairs of the state are many a time, also responsible for various strategic decisions made towards the initiation of conflict. The need of the moment is to comprehend the importance of bringing about a widening and deepening in the security studies discipline which would bolster the intellectual base in the contemporary academic domain in international politics. Furthermore, it has to be universally accepted that this endeavour in widening and deepening of the security structure, would come about with the acceptance of female political voices. They have to be taken to be legitimate and authentic universally. Women involved in state politics generally are more inclined to bring in a more gender balanced view in the decision-making process, by being more inclusive of not merely women, but all kinds of the othered population. For this purpose, equality in terms of representation is an urgent necessity. The central pillar of feminist security studies depends on this very continuation of the particular dialogue between feminist security theorists, policy practitioners, activists and civil society.

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