

## Gendering World Politics



---

# Gendering World Politics

*Issues and Approaches  
in the Post–Cold War Era*

J. Ann Tickner

C O L U M B I A   U N I V E R S I T Y   P R E S S      N E W   Y O R K



Columbia University Press

Publishers Since 1893

New York, Chichester, West Sussex

Copyright © 2001 Columbia University Press

All rights reserved

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Tickner, J. Ann.

Gendering world politics : issues and approaches in  
the post-Cold War era / J. Ann Tickner

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-231-11366-8 (cloth : alk. paper) —

ISBN 0-231-11367-6 (pbk. : alk. paper)

1. Feminism. 2. World politics—1945– 3. Sex role—  
Political aspects. 4. Nationalism and feminism.

5. Globalization. 6. Security, International.

I. Title.

HQ1154.T53 2001

305.42—dc21

00-047503



Casebound editions of Columbia University Press books  
are printed on permanent and durable acid-free paper.

Printed in the United States of America

c 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

p 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

*For Emma, Maxwell and Rose*



---

## Contents

*Preface* ix

Introduction: Gendering World Politics 1

1. Troubled Encounters: Feminism Meets IR 9
2. Gendered Dimensions of War, Peace, and Security 36
3. Gender in the Global Economy 65
4. Democratization, the State, and the Global Order: Gendered Perspectives 96
5. Conclusions and Beginnings: Some Pathways for IR Feminist Futures 125

*Notes* 149

*Bibliography* 171

*Index* 191





---

## Preface

It is almost ten years since, in the preface to *Gender in International Relations*, I asked the following questions: Why are there so few women in my discipline of international relations? If I teach the field as conventionally defined, why are there so few readings by women to assign to my students? Why is the subject matter of my discipline so distant from women's lived experiences? Why have women been conspicuous only by their absence in the worlds of diplomacy and military and foreign policy-making?

When *Gender in International Relations* was published in 1992, there were few texts in international relations that could help answer these questions. Today, thanks to the hard work of a growing community of feminist scholars in IR, there are many. This book is a celebration of all the work that has begun to provide answers to these questions and to challenge our students to take gender and women seriously. These feminist scholars have found women (and men) in places not normally considered part of the discipline of international relations; in so doing, they have enlarged our horizons and stimulated us to ask new and important questions about global politics. It is still true, however, that outside this emergent feminist literature, there are few "great books" in IR by women. While women students now feel more comfortable in IR courses, there are still too few men who are willing to take gender courses or courses that focus on women. In many political science and IR departments, the IR curriculum still lacks serious attention to gender issues. During the 1990s, women were admitted to most

combat positions in the U.S. military, and the U.S. president appointed the first female secretary of state, but occupations in foreign and military policymaking in most states remain overwhelmingly male, and usually elite male. We may have provided some answers to my questions as to why IR and foreign policymaking remain male-dominated; but breaking down the unequal gender hierarchies that perpetuate these androcentric biases remains a challenge.

While this book is a celebration of the feminist work of the last ten years, it also attempts to situate this work within the quite profound transformation that the discipline of IR has undergone during this period, when constructivist and postpositivist approaches have challenged the “scientific” foundations of the field. The deep questioning of the epistemological foundations of a U.S.-dominated post-World War II IR that took place in the 1980s helped to make space for feminist approaches. I hope that the audience for this book will include scholars and students of IR who are seeking to broaden their understanding of a field that has been profoundly altered by the realities of the post-Cold War world.

This book also marks my own journeys through IR in the 1990s. I have spent much of this time trying to understand why the intellectual gulf between different IR approaches is so wide and why conversations between proponents of these various approaches can be so difficult. The luxury of a semester at the Australian National University in Canberra in 1996 allowed me time to talk and think deeply about these issues; chapter 1 of this volume, which attempts to answer some of these questions, was the result. I want to thank Andrew Mack and members of the Department of International Relations at the Research School for Pacific and Asian Studies for providing a supportive environment, and James Richardson, Gavan Mount, and Cindy O’Hagen for their thoughtful comments on an earlier version of chapter 1. Others in Australia to whom I owe a continuing special debt of gratitude are Hilary Charlesworth and Jan Jindy Pettman. Besides her untiring support for me and other feminist scholars, Jindy has worked hard to launch the first feminist journal of international relations, the *International Feminist Journal of Politics*.

*Gender in International Relations* adopted a framework built on the concept of *comprehensive security*, a concept that reflects the influence of Scandinavian peace research in my writings. Continuing to write and teach in the area of peace research and peace studies challenges me to think about how to foster better communication and understanding not only across lines

of conflict but also across disciplinary boundaries that can sometimes be as divisive as “real-world” issues. For this reason, the recognition of my work by the Department of Peace and Conflict Research at Uppsala University is particularly cherished. A special word of thanks to Peter Wallensteen.

My travels have included a move from Boston to Los Angeles. The College of the Holy Cross was a particularly supportive environment in which to begin my unconventional intellectual journeys. While we may never agree on our epistemological differences, I have always benefited from the support and thoughtful comments on my work by Robert Keohane. I have also appreciated the comments of Craig Murphy. In Los Angeles, I continue to be supported by a vibrant feminist community; thanks to Jane Jaquette, Carole Pateman, and especially Sandra Harding for her always insightful comments, the influence of which appear throughout this book.

A quiet and beautiful fall on Block Island in 1999 allowed me some focused time to finish this book. I thank Jonathan Aronson and the School of International Relations at the University of Southern California (USC) for granting me this “extra” time off after a sabbatical year that, for reasons of health, was less productive than I had hoped. I also owe a very special debt of gratitude to Kate Wittenberg at Columbia University Press for staying with the project and encouraging me during what turned out to be a slower than expected process. I truly appreciate Kate’s continued support not only for my own work but also for supporting so many younger IR feminist scholars.

While they are too numerous to name, I could never have completed this particular journey without the friendship and advice of all the wonderful scholars in the Feminist Theory and Gender Studies Section of the International Studies Association. This section has become a very special place for those of us working in this field. Before writing chapter 5, I asked some of the scholars whose works I cited to offer their reflections on where they think we have come in the last ten years. Thanks especially to L. H. M. Ling, Jan Jindy Pettman, Elisabeth Prügl, and Jaqui True for their thoughtful replies.

At USC I owe special thanks for the editorial and research assistance of two of my graduate students: Leslie Wirpsa, who stepped in at the last moment under a tight deadline and helped me complete a first draft on time, and Catia Confortini, who has worked with this project for several years. Catia has provided invaluable assistance and encouragement throughout; her careful and thorough research skills have allowed me to write away from

Los Angeles with the knowledge that there is always someone back there on whom I can rely for prompt and professional assistance.

Finally, the support and encouragement of Hayward Alker, as well as that of Joan, Heather, and Wendy, during the good as well as the not so good times will always be remembered. As always, Hayward's careful reading and thoughtful comments on the manuscript are gratefully appreciated.

## Gendering World Politics

