

NOTES

CHAPTER I. GENDER MAKES THE WORLD GO ROUND

1. For suggestive clues on what taking seriously women as secretaries would reveal about the Iran-Contra affair, see Barbara Gamarekian, "Consequences of Fawn Hall," *New York Times*, February 28, 1987; Mary Sit, "Hall Tells Secretaries: 'Stand by Your Boss,'" *Boston Globe*, September 30, 1988. For a feminist political analysis of the surprising roles that women as secretaries played in the otherwise masculinized Israeli-Palestinian peace negotiations, see Sarai Aharoni, "Gender and Peace Work: An Unofficial History of Israeli-Palestinian Peace Negotiations," *Politics and Gender* 7, no. 3 (2011): 391–416. For a feminist study of women as secretaries, based on interviews with five hundred Australian secretaries, see Rosemary Pringle, *Secretaries Talk: Sexuality, Power and Work* (London: Verso Books, 1988). An eye-opening study revealing how differently working-class and middle-class Israeli women have interpreted their work as conscript secretaries in the Israeli Defense Force is: Edna Lomsky-Feder and Orna Sasson-Levy, "Serving the Army as Secretaries," *British Journal of Sociology* (2014, forthcoming).

2. I am deeply indebted to feminist scholar Gyoung Sun Jang for opening my eyes to the still barely acknowledged history of diverse

women's work inside the League of Nations. Her fascinating dissertation is: Gyoung Sun Jang, "The Sexual Politics of the Interwar Era Global Governance: Historicizing the Women's Transnational Movements with(in) the League of Nations, 1919–1940" (PhD diss., Women's Studies, Clark University, Worcester, MA, 2009).

3. Hillary Clinton is the U.S. lawyer who has served as First Lady (that is, the wife of the male president), been elected U.S. senator from New York, and been appointed U.S. secretary of state; Mary Robinson is the Irish lawyer who has been elected president of Ireland, served as the United Nations high commissioner for human rights, and served as the U.N. secretary general's special envoy for the Great Lakes Region of Africa; Ellen Johnson Sirleaf is the Liberian economist who has been a World Bank economist, elected president of Liberia, and awarded a Nobel Peace Prize; Shirin Ebadi is the Iranian lawyer who, for her work defending Iranians' human rights, was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize; Angela Merkel is leader of Germany's Christian Democratic Party and the German chancellor (head of government); Christine Lagarde has been France's minister of finance and is the first woman ever appointed managing director of the International Monetary Fund.

4. Two books that bring together thoughtful reflections on how to conduct investigations of women's experiences of international politics and the workings of masculinities and femininities in their often tension-filled lives are: Dyan Mazurana, Karen Jacobson, and Lacey A. Gale, eds., *Research Methods in Conflict Settings: A View from Below* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Brooke Ackerly, Maria Stern, and Jacqui True, eds., *Feminist Methodologies in International Relations* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

5. These figures come from a study by the independent monitoring group Media Matters for America, which examined evening programs during the month of April 2013 broadcast on CNN, Fox News, and MSNBC. Rob Savillo and Oliver Willis, "Report: Diversity on Evening Cable News in 13 Charts," Media Matters for America, May 13, 2013, <http://mediamatters.org/research/2013/05/13/report-diversity-on-evening-cable-news-in-13-ch/194012>. The British group Women in Journalism revealed a similarly masculinized pattern when, in 2012, they surveyed the front-page stories in nine of Brit-

ain's national newspapers. They found that, of the nine papers, only one (*Daily Express*, a tabloid) gave 50 percent of its front-page stories to women journalists. On the front pages of the well-known and influential *Times*—sometimes referred to as “the Times of London”—male journalists had 82 percent of the bylines, while women journalists had a mere 18 percent. This same study found that of all those quoted or mentioned by name in the lead stories of Britain's nine national papers, 84 percent were men. Jane Martinson, Kira Cochrane, Sue Ryan, Tracy Corrigan, Fiona Bawdon, “Seen but Not Heard: How Women Make Front Page News,” *Women in Journalism*, October 15, 2012, www.womeninjournalism.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/Seen_but_not_heard.pdf. For more data on the likelihood of men rather than women being chosen by television news producers to appear as experts on their shows, see Cynthia Enloe and Joni Seager, “Media,” *The Real State of America Atlas: Mapping the Myths and Truths of the United States* (New York: Penguin Books, 2011), 40–41.

6. For a description of the three Ukrainian young women who launched Femen, noted for its bold feminist protest uses of feminine nudity, see David M. Herszenhorn, “Ukraine's Feminist Shock Troops,” *International Herald Tribune*, June 1–2, 2013. For a report on physical assaults on Femen activists, see David M. Herszenhorn, “Feminists Ask Protection after Attack in Ukraine,” *New York Times*, August 19, 2013.

7. See Catia Cecilia Confortini, *Intelligent Compassion: Feminist Critical Methodology in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

8. Learn more about each of these transnational feminist groups by going to their respective websites: Women Living Under Muslim Laws, www.wluml.org; International Network of Women in Black, www.womeninblack.org; Women's Global Network for Reproductive Rights, www.wgnrr.org; International Women's Health Coalition, <http://iwhc.org>; Our Bodies Ourselves Global Network, www.ourbodiesourselves.org; Equality Now, www.equalitynow.org; International Action Network on Small Arms Women's Network, www.iansa-women.org; Women's Initiatives for Gender Justice, www.iccwomen.org; International Domestic Workers Network, www.idwn

.org; International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission, www.iglhrc.org; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, www.peacewomen.org; NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, www.womenpeacesecurity.org; and Women in Conflict Zones Network, www.yorku.ca/wicznet. For an exploration of how feminist groups become globalized and with what consequences, see Mary Hawkworth, *Globalization and Feminist Activism* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006).

9. Among the outpouring of feminist-informed academic explorations that has helped create and enliven the academic field of gender and international relations are: J. Ann Tickner, *Gendering World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001); J. Ann Tickner and Laura Sjoberg, eds., *Feminism and International Relations* (London: Routledge, 2011); Christine Sylvester, *Feminist International Relations: An Unfinished Journey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); V. Spike Peterson and Anne Sisson Runyan, *Global Gender Issues in the New Millennium* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2010); Jan Jindy Pettman, *Worlding Women: Feminist International Politics* (London: Routledge, 1996); Laura Shepherd, *Gender, Violence and Security* (London: Zed Books, 2008); Shirin Rai, *The Gender Politics of Development* (London: Zed Books, 2008); Elisabeth Prugl and Mary Meyer, eds., *Gender and Global Governance* (Boston: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999); Laura Sjoberg, ed., *Gender and International Security: Feminist Perspectives* (London: Routledge, 2010); Annick T.R. Wibben, *Feminist Security Studies* (London: Routledge, 2011); Marianne Marchand and Anne Sisson Runyan, eds., *Gender and Global Restructuring* (London: Routledge, 2000); Carol Cohn, ed., *Women and Wars* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013); Marysia Zalewski, *Feminist International Relations* (London: Routledge, 2013); Joyce Kauffman and Kristen Williams, *Women, the State and War: A Comparative Perspective on Citizenship and Nationalism* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007); Cynthia Weber, *International Relations Theory* (London: Routledge, 2014); Laura Sjoberg, *Gender and International Relations* (New York: Routledge, 2009); Laura Shepherd, ed., *Gender Matters in Global Politics* (New York: Routledge, 2014); Cynthia Weber, *Queer International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014). The academic journal that has been created to provide an interdisciplinary

space for feminist-informed studies of international politics is the *International Feminist Journal of Politics*. Among IFJP's contributors and editors are many of these same authors, but also many scholars from dozens of countries who more recently have entered and shaped the field of gender and international relations.

10. For comparative data on women and men in U.S. print, television, radio, and Internet news outlets, see Diana Mitsu Klos, *The Women's Media Center: The Status of Women in the U.S. Media 2013*, Women's Media Center, 2013, www.womensmediacenter.com/pages/statistics. The Women's Media Center conducts regular research on the treatment of women in the media, as well as on the conditions of women as professional media producers, editors, and reporters. The Center was founded by Gloria Steinem, Robin Morgan, and Jane Fonda. For British gender monitoring of news media, see Women in Journalism, <http://womeninjournalism.co.uk>.

11. Women's eNews, <http://womensenews.org/>.

12. Copies of these lively publications from the late 1800s to the present, as well as the records of the influential feminist bookstores, such as New Words of Cambridge, Massachusetts, are collected and available to the public at several women's history libraries and via their online sites: the Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University; the Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, MA; the Women's Library (formerly the Fawcett Library), London School of Economics; the Lesbian Herstory Archives, Brooklyn; the Lesbian Archives, Amsterdam.

13. When the Center for Women's Global Leadership brought together activists and scholars to create a strategy for pressing the UN to take explicit account of women in its post-2015 development goals, one of the topics they put on their agenda was making media aware of the expertise of feminist economists: *Towards the Realization of Women's Rights and Gender Equality: Post 2015 Sustainable Development* (New Brunswick, NJ: Center for Women's Global Leadership, Rutgers University, 2013), www.cwgl.rutgers.edu.

14. See Nell Irvin Painter, *Sojourner Truth: A Life, a Symbol* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1996); Margaret Washington, *Sojourner Truth's America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009).

15. Claire Midgley, *Women against Slavery: The British Campaigns, 1780–1870* (London: Routledge, 1992).

16. A exciting new biography of the mid-nineteenth-century American writer, editor, and women's rights advocate Margaret Fuller reveals how she came to make the connection between the enslavement of Africans in the United States and the slavery-like conditions experienced by white married women. Megan Marshall, *Margaret Fuller: A New American Life* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2013).

17. See, for example, Margot Badran, *Feminists, Islam and Nation: Gender and the Making of Modern Egypt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995); Bonnie S. Anderson, *Joyous Greetings: The First International Women's Movement, 1830–1860* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Caroline Daley and Melanie Nolan, eds., *Suffrage and Beyond: International Feminist Perspectives* (New York: New York University Press, 1994). For a huge online database (already 150,000 pages and still growing) of documents and reports on women's international organizing from the mid-nineteenth century to the present, see Kathryn Sklar and Thomas Dublin, eds., *Women and Social Movements, International, 1840 to Present* (Alexandria, VA: Alexander Street Press, n.d.), <http://alexanderstreet.com/products/women-and-social-movements-international>.

18. This account is based on conversations and email exchanges by the author between March and July 2013 with Ray Acheson, Maria Butler, Madeleine Rees, and Abigail Ruane, all of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (New York and Geneva offices), and Sarah Taylor of the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, based in New York. Each played a key role in the multiyear, transnational feminist activist campaign to insure that gender-based violence was specifically and effectively addressed in the historic 2013 Arms Trade Treaty. Written sources for this narrative include: WILPF, IANSA Women's Network, Amnesty International, and Religions for Peace, "A United Call to Explicitly Include Gender-Based Violence in the Criteria," June 2012, www.wilpfinternational.org; International Action Network on Small Arms Women's Network, "About the IANSA Women's Network": www.iansa-women.org/about.html, accessed May 10, 2013; IANSA Women's Network, "IANSA Women Continue to Push for a Strong ATT That Will

Prevent Gender-Based Violence”: www.iansa-women.org/node/819, accessed May 10, 2013; Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom, “Make It Binding: Include Gender-Based Violence in the ATT,” *PeaceWomen*, April 2013; www.peacewomen.org/pages/att; Ray Acheson, “A Tale of Two Treaties,” *Arms Trade Monitor*, no. 6.9 (March 27, 2013), <http://reachingcriticalwill.org/images/documents/Disarmament-for-a/att/monitor/ATTMonitor6.9.pdf>; Rebecca Gerome (IANSA Women’s Network) and Maria Butler (WILPF’s PeaceWomen), “A Step Back? ‘Gender-Based Violence’ vs. ‘Violence against Women and Children,’” *ATT Monitor*, no. 5.11 (March 2013), www.peacewomen.org/assets/file/ATT/att_and_gbv.pdf; Ray Acheson, Maria Butler, and Sofia Tuvestad, “Preventing Armed Gender-Based Violence: A Binding Requirement in the New Draft ATT Text,” WILPF, March 28, 2013, http://peacewomen.org/assets/file/article_gvb_march28_final.pdf; Ray Acheson and Beatrice Fihn, “The Failure of Consensus,” *Arms Trade Treaty Monitor: The Blog*, April 1, 2013, http://attmonitor.blogspot.com/2013/04/the_failure_of_consensus.html; Robert Zuber, “Distance Runner,” *Arms Trade Treaty Monitor: The Blog*, April 1, 2013, <http://attmonitor.blogspot.com/2013/04/distance-runner.html>; Katherine Prizeman, “Looking to the Future of the ATT: Shifting Attention to Implementation,” *Arms Trade Treaty Monitor: The Blog*, April 2, 2013, <http://attmonitor.blogspot.com/2013/04/looking-to-future-of-att-shifting.html>; Ray Acheson, “The ATT: A Start to Challenging the Status Quo,” April 2, 2013, <http://attmonitor.blogspot.com/2013/04/the-att-start-to-challenging-status-quo.html>; Maria Butler, editorial, *PeaceWomen Enews*, April 2013, www.peacewomen.org.

19. United Nations General Assembly, *Final United Nations Conference on the Arms Trade Treaty, Draft Decision, Submitted by the President of the Final Conference: The Arms Trade Treaty* (New York: United Nations, March 27, 2013), 6. To take effect internationally, the Arms Trade Treaty will have to be both signed and ratified by at least fifty governments. The U.S. government, as of the end of 2013, had only signed the ATT, without even a date scheduled for its ratification to be debated and voted upon by the U.S. Senate. Prospects for the ATT’s adoption by the U.S. government are deemed slim, owing to the political influence wielded in American politics by the pro-gun lobby, led by the

National Rifle Association. “Editorial: Containing the Conventional Arms Trade,” *New York Times*, October 1, 2013. On the other hand, several recent international treaties (e.g., the treaty banning land mines and the treaty establishing the International Crimes Court) have garnered sufficient numbers of government ratifications to go into effect without ratification by the United States.

20. A rare effort to chart and compare murders of women (as distinct from women’s wartime deaths) around the world is: Joni Seager, “Murder,” *Penguin Atlas of Women in the World* (New York: Penguin Books, 2009), 30–31.

21. There is a growing body of provocative studies that track the evolutions of, and contests between, masculinities within particular countries, many of them conducted by gender-curious ethnographers. See, for instance, John Osburg, *Anxious Wealth: Money and Morality among China’s New Rich* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013); Robin Le Blanc, *The Art of the Gut: Manhood, Power, and Ethics in Japanese Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010); Daniel Conway, *Masculinities, Militarisation and the End Conscription Campaign: War Resistance in Apartheid South Africa* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012). Among the innovative cross-national studies of diverse masculinities, their interactions, and their political implications are: Marysia Zalewski and Jane Parpart, eds., *The “Man” Question in International Relations* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998); Jane Parpart and Marysia Zalewski, eds., *Rethinking the Man Question: Sex, Gender and Violence in International Relations* (London: Zed Books, 2008); Paul Kirby and Marsh Henry, eds., “Rethinking Masculinity and Practices of Violence in Conflict Settings,” special issue, *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 14, no. 4 (2012); Paul Higate, ed., *Military Masculinities: Identity and the State* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003); Paul Amar, “Middle East Masculinity Studies,” *Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies* 7, no. 3 (Fall 2011): 36–71; Terrell Carver, “Being a Man,” *Government and Opposition* 41, no. 3 (2006): 477–95.

22. Sandra Harding, a pioneering theorist in the feminist studies of science, has written extensively on how rational thinking has been presumed to be a hallmark of masculinity. See, for instance, Sandra Harding, *The Science Question in Feminism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univer-

sity Press, 1986); Sandra Harding, *Sciences from Below: Feminisms, Postcolonialities and Modernities* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008).

23. Carol Cohn, "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals," *Signs* 12, no. 4 (1987): 687–718; Carol Cohn with Felicity Hill and Sara Ruddick, *The Relevance of Gender in Eliminating Weapons of Mass Destruction* (Stockholm: Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission, 2005).

CHAPTER 2. "LADY TRAVELERS," BEAUTY
QUEENS, STEWARDESSES, AND
CHAMBERMAIDS

1. "China Becomes World's Biggest Source of Tourists, Academy Says," *Bloomberg News*, April 25, 2013, www.bloomberg.com/news/2013-04-25/china-becomes-world-s-biggest-source-of-tourists-academy-says.html. As a tourist destination, China was, by 2013, ranked number 3 in the world, after France and the United States. Associated Press, "World Briefing: China: Foreign Tourism Falls, and Smog May Be One Reason," *New York Times*, August 14, 2013. France has become the favorite overseas destination for Chinese tourists, with 1.4 million Chinese tourists visiting France in 2012 alone. Dan Levin, " Wooing, and Also Resenting, Chinese Tourists," *New York Times*, September 17, 2013.

2. Dan Smith, *The State of the World Atlas*, 9th ed. (London: New Internationalist; New York: Penguin Books, 2013), 52–53.

3. UN Women and UN World Tourism Organization, *Global Report on Women in Tourism 2010* (New York: UN Women and UN World Tourism Organization, 2011). See also Thomas Baum, "International Perspectives on Women and Work in Hotels, Catering and Tourism" (Gender Working Paper 1/2013, International Labor Organization, Geneva, 2013). Baum estimates tourism's contribution to global GDP as having reached 9 percent by 2012 (p. 8).

4. "Tourism a Vehicle for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment," UN Women, March 11, 2011, www.unwomen.org/2011/03/tourism-a-vehicle-for-gender-equality-and-womens-empowerment.

5. *Ibid.*