

Gender, Globalization, and Violence

Postcolonial Conflict Zones

**Edited by
Sandra Ponzanesi**

 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
NEW YORK LONDON

First published 2014
by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

and by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

*Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group,
an informa business*

© 2014 Taylor & Francis

The right of the editor to be identified as the author of the editorial material, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark Notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Gender, globalization, and violence : postcolonial conflict zones / edited by Sandra Ponzanesi.

pages cm. — (Routledge advances in feminist studies and intersectionality ; 17)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-415-81735-6 (hardback)

1. Social conflict. 2. Transitional justice. 3. Social justice.
4. Globalization. 5. Postcolonialism. I. Ponzanesi, Sandra, 1967–
HM1121.G46 2014
303.6—dc23
2014000146

ISBN13: 978-0-415-81735-6 (hbk)

ISBN13: 978-0-203-58464-4 (ebk)

Typeset in Sabon
by IBT Global.



SUSTAINABLE
FORESTRY
INITIATIVE

Certified Sourcing

www.sfiprogram.org
SFI-01234

SFI label applies to the text stock

Printed and bound in the United States of America
by IBT Global.

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	ix
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xi
I Introduction: New Frames of Gendered Violence	1
SANDRA PONZANESI	
 PART I	
Conflict Zones: Colonial Haunting and Contested Sovereignties	
1 Neoliberal Discourses on Violence: Monstrosity and Rape in Borderland War	27
JOLLE DEMMERS	
2 Thin Ice: Postcoloniality and Sexuality in the Politics of Citizenship and Military Service	46
VRON WARE	
3 American Humanitarian Citizenship: The “Soft” Power of Empire	64
INDERPAL GREWAL	
4 Female Suicide Bombers and the Politics of Gendered Militancy	82
SANDRA PONZANESI	
 PART II	
European Frictions: Memories, Migration, and Citizenship	
5 Uses and Abuses of Gender and Nationality: Torture and the French-Algerian War	111
CHRISTINE QUINAN	

viii *Contents*

1	6	Migrating Sovereignties and Mirror States: From Eritrea to L'Aquila	126
2		MARGUERITE WALLER	
3			
4			
5			
6	7	Doing “Integration” in Europe: Postcolonial Frictions in the Making of Citizenship	145
7		MARC DE LEEUW AND SONJA VAN WICHELEN	
8			
9			
10			
11	8	Coffin Exchange	161
12		PAULO DE MEDEIROS	
13			
14			
15		PART III	
16		Contact Zones: Transitional Justice, Reconciliation, and Cosmopolitanism	
17			
18			
19			
20	9	“Invisible Wars”: Gendered Terrorism in the US Military and the Juárez <i>Feminicidio</i>	177
21		ALICIA ARRIZÓN	
22			
23			
24			
25	10	Political Transitions and the Arts: The Performance of (Post)Colonial Leadership in Philip Miller’s Cantata <i>REwind</i> and in Wim Botha’s <i>Portrait Busts</i>	196
26		ROSEMARIE BUIKEMA	
27			
28			
29			
30			
31	11	Justice by Any Means Necessary: Vigilantism among Indian Women	214
32		AARONETTE WHITE AND SHAGUN RASTOGI	
33			
34			
35	12	On Love and Shame: Two Photographs of Female Protesters	229
36		MARTA ZARZYCKA	
37			
38			
39	13	Rethinking the “Arab Spring” through the Postsecular: Gender Entanglements, Social Media, and the Religion–Secular Divide	245
40		EVA MIDDEN	
41			
42			
43			
44		<i>Contributors</i>	265
45		<i>Index</i>	271
46			

Introduction

New Frames of Gendered Violence

Sandra Ponzanesi

This volume challenges the assumption that women are absent from war and conflict because of some traditional, natural link between women and pacifism, an assumption based on the feminized qualities of caring, nurturing, mourning, and empathy. By contesting the divide between private and public space, *Gender, Globalization and Violence: Postcolonial Conflict Zones* aims to analyze how the gender dimension emerges as multiple and ambivalent, ranging from women in frontline positions to women in more subsidiary and invisible roles. The scope is to explore how racialized and gendered bodies have played a crucial role from colonial to current global conflicts.

This introduction in particular places the book in the context of the disciplines of gender studies and feminist theory and in their intersections with conflict studies, visual culture, and media and literary studies, maintaining the focus on a postcolonial and intersectional approach that intertwines discursive representations with sociocultural practices.

By asking, ‘Where are the women?’ Cynthia Enloe (1989) has opened new lines of investigation into the multiple roles that women play in war (as mothers, lovers, soldiers, munitions makers, caretakers, sex workers) and the consequences of such gendered divisions of labor for women’s citizenship. In her seminal book, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases* (1989), Enloe proposes a radical analysis of globalization that reveals the crucial role of women in international politics today. She unveils the implications for feminist issues of governments promoting tourism, companies moving their factories overseas, soldiers serving on foreign soil, showing that the real landscape is not exclusively male. She describes how many women’s seemingly personal strategies—in their marriages, in their housework, in their coping with ideals of beauty—are, in reality, the stuff of global politics. Enloe exposes policymakers’ reliance on false notions of “femininity” and “masculinity,” and lays bare an apparently overwhelming world system in which women play a crucial role.

Following this approach, feminists have started to document women’s experiences of war and the complex gender dimensions in war. Contrary to the stereotypes about war deaths that feature male combatants, women

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34

2 Sandra Ponzanesi

1 form the majority of casualties in war. It is well known, in fact, that women
2 and children account for a high proportion of civilian casualties and war
3 refugees and are also more likely to be the victims of rape in war. Further-
4 more, feminist scholars have also demonstrated that women are directly
5 involved in war making as revolutionaries, militants, soldiers, spies, and
6 participants in the military-industrial complex, just as they are actively
7 engaged in war protesting, peace activism, and war resistance (Alexander
8 and Hawkesworth 2008: 3). However, there are also other positions that
9 women have in war that are less accounted for because of being recognized
10 as subsidiary to those of men—as mothers, lovers, soldiers, munitions
11 makers, caretakers, and sex workers, as highlighted by Enloe—but also
12 subsidiary to other women combatants as clerks, couriers, porters, nurses,
13 laundry workers, cooks, childcare providers. Women often have functioned
14 as “intermediaries” in the colonial contact zones, as nannies, domestics,
15 concubines, comfort wives, prostitutes (i.e., the Malinche for Mexico), but
16 also as political ambassadors, translators (exemplary cases are Pocahontas
17 for the New World and Krotoa for South Africa), and spies (the famous
18 case of Aphra Ben, or the exotic dancer Mata Hari, executed in France in
19 1917 under charge of espionage for Germany during World War I).

20 The Malinche is, for example, an interesting national figure. The name
21 refers to an indigenous woman who played an active and powerful role in the
22 Spanish conquest of Mexico, acting as an interpreter, advisor, and intermedi-
23 ary. She accompanied the European conqueror Hernán Cortés and was also
24 his mistress and bore him a son, who is considered one of the first mestizos
25 (people of mixed race, between European and indigenous blood). In Mexico
26 today, the Malinche is still a potent icon, seen in various and often conflicting
27 aspects, including the embodiment of treachery, the quintessential victim, or
28 simply as the symbolic mother of the new Mexican people.

29 For centuries women have also been involved in freedom or terrorist
30 movements, the definition of liberation versus terrorism being given accord-
31 ing to the legitimacy granted to state violation. Women have traditionally
32 been more prominent in the utopian groups. Whereas many of the groups to
33 which women are attracted share Marxist or at least socialist ideology, the
34 political goals of the group often determine the shape of women’s involve-
35 ment. In the socialist utopian groups, feminism is high on the agenda as is
36 the emancipation of all subdued groups within society. However, as Talbot
37 (2001: 167) writes: ‘In situations where there is a contest over the sover-
38 eignty of a group—from colonial independence struggle to ethnic disputes
39 and irredentism—women are often drafted into the conflict, but frequently
40 only as “handmaidens” to help achieve a goal that ignores their particular
41 social problems.’

42 In *Women and Terrorism* (2008), for example, Margaret Gonzalez-Perez
43 draws a distinction between the participation of women in domestic and
44 international terror groups. She focuses on the relationship among women,
45 the state, and terrorism so as to argue that women choose to engage more
46

actively in domestic terrorist groups because these organizations directly challenge the state, thereby providing an opportunity to transform traditional gender roles. In contrast, international terrorist organizations target external, “nebulous” opponents, such as imperialism, capitalism, and Western culture, offering no venue for addressing the issue of gender inequality (Gonzalez-Perez 2008: 20).

Given this rich and complex background, the scope of the volume is to challenge racial and gender formations in conflict zones by contesting traditional stereotypes of women as perennial victims, perpetual peacemakers, or the embodiment of the nation that men seek to protect and defend, hence showing how women negotiate their survival, enact resistance to oppressive or supposedly liberating forces, and mobilize to protest war discourses and to advance their own political agenda. The focus is, therefore, on providing an intersectional analysis of the widespread, complex, and elusive phenomenon of the role of gender in conflict zones by setting up a new framework that establishes links between the roles that gender has played in the discourses of national formations and in anticolonial movements (liberation activists, female combatants, freedom fighters, armed guerrillas) and current international conflicts (i.e., humanitarian aid people, peacekeepers, soldiers, suicide bombers, prostitutes, migrants, asylum seekers). The book also highlights whether we can speak of a development in the role, agency, emancipation, and visibility of women’s participation in armed struggle and conflict zones, or whether we are in the presence of the reiteration of patterns, representations, and stereotypes.

It is thus important to take the category of gender, which includes masculinities and queer studies, in order to track the development and changes of feminist engagement with issues of war, securitization, and reconciliation. Although studies on war and terrorism are abundant, interestingly the intersection between a gendered and a postcolonial framework is lacking—even though many of the conflicts, both on local and global scales, are often consequences or the aftermath of colonial legacies and unfinished colonial business. At the same time many of the new ethnic struggles and territorial disputes taking place are being dictated by a neocolonial organization of space and power that is resonant of colonial dynamics, in which gender is instrumentalized as a tool for conflict and ethnic division, and often as a weapon of rape, war, and genocide.

(POST)COLONIAL PERSPECTIVES: FEMALE COMBATANTS AND ANTICOLONIAL MOVEMENTS

This book aims to keep in mind a postcolonial genealogy of women involved in freedom movements and account for the role, agency, and visibility of their involvement through history. According to Fanon, the transformative power of violence is not restricted to male fighters. In ‘Algeria

1 Unveiled' (1965), Fanon discusses the psychological transformation that
2 some Algerian women underwent during the war, advocating their right to
3 exist as autonomous human beings. Fanon resists the patriarchal tendency
4 to exclude women from history. His writing acknowledges the extensive
5 and multiple roles Algerian women played during the national war of inde-
6 pendence. This includes not only the role of combatants, but also the revolu-
7 tionary role of the sex worker as a political actor.

8 Fanon broke new ground in suggesting that revolutionary violence held
9 transformative potential for women as well as for men. He claimed that
10 Algerian women's participation in the armed struggle altered their feminine
11 colonized identities and family relations in positive ways that challenged
12 feudal, patriarchal traditions (White 2007: 860).

13 The position articulated by Fanon continues in many other nationalist
14 movements in which women have taken active part in the struggle in the
15 role of female combatants, often also in leadership positions. Fanon argues
16 that despite the fact that the status of African women has been severely
17 undermined under colonial rule, their participation in the various African
18 liberation movements effectively mobilized women. This refers to their par-
19 ticipation in not only anticolonial movements, such as the Algerian FLN
20 (Front de Libération National), but to many others in Africa, and especially
21 to those of Marxist imprint. These are the ANC, in which women also
22 participated in the armed wing (Umkhonto we Sizwe, translated as Spear
23 of the Nation and abbreviated as MK) and got their training in camps out-
24 side South Africa, such as in Angola and Mozambique; the Swapo, Namibian
25 liberation front; the FRELIMO, the Mozambique Liberation Front; the
26 ZANU, the Zimbabwe African National Union, which fought for the lib-
27 eration of Zimbabwe (former Rhodesia) from white settlers, among others.

28 However, recent interpretations by influential African feminists and
29 scholars are more critical of the straightforward reading of women's
30 involvement in liberation struggles as being tantamount to their emancipa-
31 tion. Gender relations have indeed played a crucial role in the operation of
32 colonization and also in the rise of nationalist movements, but not always
33 with the desired outcome. Anne McClintock (1997) has broadly discussed
34 the image of the woman as a site of controversy, as an object of control
35 more than as a locatable agency within the conflicting policy of empire.
36 She elaborates on 'Algeria Unveiled' (Fanon 1965), the influential essay
37 mentioned above in which Franz Fanon includes the liberation of women
38 within the nationalist project of Algerian liberation. Fanon illustrates in an
39 original way how, during the Algerian war, the veil played a pivotal role in
40 the power relations between the Algerians and the French and how during
41 the revolution it became a symbol of resistance. This was attributable to
42 the fact that in the colonialist fantasy, to unveil Algerian women meant to
43 possess them, standing for a metonymical process amounting to possess-
44 ing Algeria as a country. According to Winifred Woodhull (2003: 573),
45 Algerian women were 'at once the emblem of the colony's refusal to receive
46

France's "emancipatory seed" and the gateway to penetration.' Fanon was one of the first critics to recognize the "historical meaning of the veil," analyzing how Algerian women veiled, unveiled, and reveiled themselves while participating in terrorist activities in order to reverse the colonial stereotypical expectations of the French army while trespassing the limits of patriarchal traditional roles.

The question remains whether women have gained their own subjectivity via mimicry, in Irigaray's sense of the term, or whether the strategic unveiling is simply a symptom of their "designated agency," a term coined by McClintock to describe an agency by invitation, only: 'female militancy in short is simply a passive offspring of male agency and the structural necessity of the war' (1997: 98). Whereas Fanon deals with nuances in the independence struggle of Algerians and represents women as part of this common effort, he does not fully consider how women's distinct agency should be implicated in nation formation. According to McClintock, although at first he had refused to invest the veil with an essentialist meaning (the sign of women's servitude), Fanon goes no further than describe women as the arsenal of a male position in combat and, in the end, he denies the historical dynamism of the veil. Various feminist critics have engaged with Fanon's essay 'Algeria Unveiled' and have attempted to read it against its grain to articulate possibilities of female agency around the gaps of the dominant history writing.

Meyda Yeğenoğlu (2003), for instance, points to the shifting signifier of the veil. The veil allows women to see without being seen, creating a position of empowerment and frustrating the Western man's desire to know what is behind the veil. Thus the veil interrupts the scopophilic pleasure of the Western male gaze and becomes a site of resistance. During the Algerian war, women used the veil as a mask, a mobile signifier played out against the French officer's urge to make Algerian women more like French women, and as a displacement of colonial representations.

A significant and beautiful illustration of this phenomenon is to be found in Gillo Pontecorvo's film *The Battle of Algiers* (1966). The film follows the tactics and strategies of the Algerian FLN, the armed movement that organized the masses to rebel against French colonization. The film effectively visualizes the strategic role played by women, as illustrated by Fanon, who carried weapons and bombs under their veils, deceiving the French military at checkpoints. Once this device was discovered, all women were suddenly subjected to severe scrutiny. Mimicking the colonial masquerade, militant Algerian women deliberately started to dress up in Western clothes, cutting their hair and "unveiling" their faces, toying with the French expectations and stereotypes of the role of women in Islamic society. The French misread the unveiled Algerian woman as a form of Western conversion and therefore as a victory over the FLN. This is represented in a suggestive scene in *The Battle of Algiers*, where three women undergo a process of metamorphosis, by cutting and bleaching their hair, wearing miniskirts, and trying to pass

1 the checkpoints by flirting with the French soldiers. Those three women, who
 2 had been “selected and instructed” by the FLN, that day place three bombs
 3 in the modern part of Algiers (different from the labyrinthic and impenetra-
 4 ble Kasbah), killing several French civilians, including women and children.

5 In her reading of *The Battle of Algiers*, Danièle Djamila Amrane-Minne
 6 (2007) analyzes how the film initially sets out to pay tribute to women
 7 activists, beginning with the image of a woman pushing a straw basket
 8 with her foot and ending with the demonstrations of December 1960, in
 9 which a woman without a veil is seen dancing with a flag that bears the
 10 initials *FLN*. However, their contributions to the struggle, unlike those of
 11 men and children, are severely underplayed. Women appear on screen for a
 12 mere fifteen of the film’s 121 minutes and, at times, the significance of their
 13 role in the war of national liberation is overlooked altogether (Armane-
 14 Minne 2007: 342).

15 The film does not focus on any of the famous militant women, such as
 16 Djamila Bouhired, who was one of the major women figures of the resis-
 17 tance during the battle of Algiers and was arrested in April 1957. *La Dépêche*
 18 *quotidienne d’Alger* led with the headline: ‘Capture of Djamila Bouhired in
 19 Casbah, Tuesday at Dawn,’ yet never once is her name mentioned in the film
 20 (Armane-Minne 2007: 346). Neither does the film mention another famous
 21 female revolutionary, Djamila Boupacha, whose epic tale has been narrated by
 22 Simone de Beauvoir (see the contribution by Christine Quinan in this volume).

23 The underrepresentation continues even after the period itself. As
 24 Armane-Minne writes, the underrepresentation of women in the Algerian
 25 war of decolonization has been reported in studies of the period, including
 26 in the work of some historians. This can be partly attributed to a traditional
 27 view of the role of women, which assumes that it is normal for women to
 28 help out during wartime with the kind of everyday tasks they usually per-
 29 form anyway. The fact that they have often risked their lives, and even occa-
 30 sionally their children’s lives, to deliver supplies, meet contacts, or provide
 31 shelter to members of the resistance is often overlooked. Even women with
 32 political duties or technical responsibilities (such as running a field hospital
 33 or the secretariat) have remained in obscurity (Armane-Minne 2007: 348).

34 There have been very few films focusing on the role of women in con-
 35 flict zones. As far as Pontecorvo’s film is concerned, the fact that women
 36 are poorly represented can be explained, as Armane-Minne suggests, by
 37 the fact that the film focuses more on the urban guerilla tactics and meth-
 38 ods used against the overwhelming imperial power, rather than on indi-
 39 vidual cases, or on the role of emancipation for women in the movement
 40 for liberation. It is true that artists, writers, and historians all offer partial
 41 views of the events, and that the whole story can never be portrayed. Yet
 42 this continuous silencing and removal of women’s participation in militant
 43 movements, even with the historical distance, reconfirms many of the ste-
 44 reotypes and the marginalization of women as not participants in war, nor
 45 as active political agents.¹

The position of women in combat in other African countries has been studied by postcolonial feminist scholars who have attempted to account for the at times paradoxical renegotiations of boundaries between the private and public sphere. Aaronette White (2007) investigates whether anti-colonial violence has the same psychological effects predicted by Fanon, whether the debilitating effects of a colonized identity are transformed through revolutionary violence, and whether participation in revolutionary violence has the same effects for men and women. Notions of combat as the ultimate model of manliness might generate modes of masculinity in newly independent states that are incompatible with sexual equality. White argues that the gendered dimensions of revolutionary violence produce differing effects for women and men militants, at times with dire consequences for women who cannot reintegrate into society at the end of conflict.

Ruth Iyob (2005), for example, explores how postcolonial narratives of Eritrea produced *tegalit*, female combatants from rural areas who have learned only the skills of war. The author writes that 1991 was not only a historic year that marked the liberation of Eritrea from Ethiopian occupation, but also the centenary of the consolidation of Italian rule. At this time in history, which marks the coming together of colonial and postcolonial histories, the most popular poster in Eritrea depicted a bare-breasted adolescent girl. Another poster accompanying the narrative of postwar Eritrea was that of the exoticized women of the Rashida community. These two posters circulated internationally and the Rashida women, portrayed dancing or in indolent postures, became the most common representations of the New Eritrea. The official narrative history was extolling the *tegalit* (female combatants) who constituted 30 percent of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) that liberated the country in 1991.

Whereas pre-independence posters of Kalashnikov-toting women combatants became less visible, the ubiquitous colonial postcards of half-naked women continued to be proudly displayed as commercial items in shops. Women combatants, who had entered the public arena as agents of change, were no longer accorded the public space they had carved out through their participation in the war (Iyob 2005: 234). A decade after liberation, the heroines of the *maquis*—in particular these combatants from the rural areas who had learned only the skills of war—were abandoned to the vagaries of the free market society and rejected by traditional, patriarchal society.

Instead of rebalancing power relations, the participation in anticolonial wars often disproportionately disempowered African women while reinforcing African men in their role as combatants. Many testimonies and first-person accounts of African women combatants suggest that military life 'often undermined their sense of agency as a result of increased vulnerability to gender-specific human rights abuses perpetrated by enemy troops as well as by their own comrades. These abuses included rape, torture, brutal abduction, forced pregnancies, forced sex work, and other forms of sexual harassment, molestation and discrimination' (White 2007: 868–69).

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46

1 For example, Thandi Modise, ANC member of parliament and former
 2 guerilla commander of the ANC military wing, warns against romanti-
 3 cized notions of the life of South African women combatants (such as in the
 4 posters depicting images of a liberated African woman with her baby in one
 5 hand and her rifle in the other). Modise told how she had to protect her-
 6 self from apartheid forces as well as from her own comrades. Instances of
 7 sexual molestations and harassment were ignored by the ANC leadership
 8 and politically silenced. Postwar accounts explain that girl soldiers were
 9 particularly at risk of rape, being young, poor, and illiterate and therefore
 10 most vulnerable to such human rights abuses while fighting on the front
 11 lines (Lyons 2004; Modise and Curnow 2000).

12 Interesting to this purpose is the South African novel by Zoë Wicomb,
 13 *David's Story* (2001). *David's Story* is about a man, a member of the guerilla,
 14 who questions himself and turns toward his past. The one constant through-
 15 out the novel is the women and their struggle to find their voice. Dulcie, a
 16 female activist involved in the ANC, particularly in the secret armed wing,
 17 MK, becomes the key for both the narrator and David. However, she remains
 18 elusive throughout the novel, frustrating the reader and the narrator, who
 19 eventually exclaims, 'I wash my hands of this story' (Wicomb 2001: 213).
 20 Wicomb's *David's Story* is the search for the unheard female voice as illus-
 21 trated by the difficult quest for Dulcie. Dulcie, a member of a guerilla unit,
 22 must sacrifice both her voice and her sexuality in order to be part of a libera-
 23 tion movement. She is never fully articulated in the novel, but her importance
 24 in David's life and to the movement is incalculable. The gaps in Dulcie's story
 25 need not be read as negative, subtextually laden spaces but as peaks highlight-
 26 ing a vast landscape of representational issues. Dulcie's elusiveness is a state-
 27 ment of the elusiveness of the double victim of colonialism and patriarchy.

28 Another example is the 1996 film *Flame*, directed by Ingrid Sinclair,
 29 which was the first film to be set during the historical period of the Zim-
 30 babwean liberation movement, or *chimurenga*. The struggle was backed
 31 by international support and eventually it forced the white settler regime
 32 to capitulate to majority rule in 1980. Shot in Zimbabwe with an entirely
 33 Zimbabwean cast, the film is based on the accounts of women who joined
 34 the liberation war. It is also the first film that accounts for the gender asym-
 35 metries within the liberation movements, of women not ranking as high as
 36 their male counterparts, of women being raped by their male comrades,
 37 and of women who had to retire to the private sphere once independence
 38 was achieved while several of their male counterparts were rewarded with
 39 ministerial positions. The film has been criticized for portraying rape, and
 40 therefore creating a stain on the gloriousness of the independence struggle.
 41 This is because in order to support the nationalist cause that often equal-
 42 ized male interests, women were silenced or denied the prizes they had paid
 43 for with their involvement in the political organizations.

44 This confirms many accounts in which women combatants were rele-
 45 gated to the private sphere after the achievement of independence or left
 46 drifting in society as their involvement in the struggle movement tainted

them with negative stereotypes that would not conform to the domesticity of the new role required of women in the newly independent nation. These negative representations vary from seeing women ex-combatants as too promiscuous, with loose morals or associated with the spread of AIDS, to being seen as too rebellious, not feminine enough, feisty and too difficult for marriage, too old, barren, or not representing the traditional role model as mothers. Subject to these public denigrations, many women decided to conceal their former role as combatants in order to avoid being permanently ostracized from society and to settle in the respectable roles of wives and mothers when possible. Women combatants therefore actively contributed to their own erasure from the history of independence in order to guarantee their survival in the dynamics of ordinary life.

As White further concludes:

the return to family life might be a practical and empowering choice for many women ex-combatants. In many other cases, however, motherhood and wifehood were not presented as options but as mandates for all respectable women (McFadden 2005). Pressure to restore traditional gender hierarchies has been accompanied by historical revisionism. Representations of women combatants as equal contributors to the revolution have been censored. Men return as heroes whose role as independence fighters fortify their evolving masculine identities, but women identities as revolutionaries have been suppressed in popular accounts of war. (2007: 876)

Women who participated in the liberation struggle have been expected to make the necessary practical and emotional adjustments and to go back to their traditional roles as mothers and wives in newly independent nations (Mama 2000; McFadden 2000). This urgency to return to normal, implying embracing the old gender patterns, was often in stark opposition with the promises of social change and gender emancipation heralded before and during the struggle for independence. Women combatants were asked to put down their weapons, return to the domestic sphere, and bear children for the new independent nation (Enloe 2004). In short, women are interpellated by male revolutionary rhetoric but hardly come to share the success of political governance once their revolution overturns colonialism or the oppressive regime. As McClintock (1997) has argued, women are often the symbols of national formation but rarely their subject.

WOMEN AND TERRORISM: RETHINKING LEGACIES OF FEMALE ARMED INSURGENCY

The discussion around questions of nationalism versus terrorism, occupation versus resistance, lack of sovereignty versus right to self-determination, is obviously subject to dispute and contestation. The term *terrorism*

1 stems from the French Revolution, when the Jacobins instigated hundreds
 2 of civilian deaths. Terrorism is generally understood as any use of violence
 3 that also targets civilians and that is motivated by political goals. Yet ter-
 4 rorism is a much instrumentalized and flexible concept and its application
 5 and definition depend not only on the nature of the violence and the tar-
 6 get themselves, but on the legitimacy attributed to state violation.² It has,
 7 therefore, in the course of time become an instrument of propaganda and
 8 persuasion, very much part of the mediatic exploitation and communica-
 9 tion rhetoric of governments and political organizations.

10 There are many types of terrorisms, as categorized by security experts,
 11 such as left-wing and right-wing terrorism, religious terrorism, single issue
 12 or special interest terrorism, national or ethnic terrorism, and race-based or
 13 hate terrorism, among others (Dyson 2012: 22–32; see also Purpura 2007:
 14 17). Of course, this list can include many other forms of terrorism, such as
 15 narcoterrorism, cyberterrorism, ecoterrorism, or nuclear terrorism, which
 16 all signal that terrorism is not simply about separatism and the nation-state
 17 but about conflicts that have gone transnational and viral, leading to a
 18 rhetorical redefinition of the terroristic threat from a local problem to a
 19 general affront (see Lizardo and Bergesen 2003).

20 To add an explanation to this gender-neutral listing, it must be men-
 21 tioned that women have traditionally been more prominent in utopian
 22 groups than in nationalist ones. Women have, for example, participated
 23 in movements fighting within the state, such as the Red Brigades (Italy),
 24 Farc (Colombia), Lotta Continua (Italy), and Baader-Meinhof (Rote Armee
 25 Fraktion, Germany). They have also participated in organizations fighting
 26 external enemies, such as LTTE: Tamil Tigers, or Tamil Eelam (Sri Lanka);
 27 Black Widow (Chechnya); Hamas, Fatah, Palestinian Islamic Jihad, Al-
 28 Aqsa Martyr Brigades (Palestine); Al-Qaeda (Iraq and transnationally);
 29 PKK: Kurdish Workers' Party (Turkey); ETA (Spain); IRA (Ireland); Hez-
 30 bollah (Lebanon); and so forth.

31 In general, the construction of “terrorist” is a highly masculinized one,
 32 as the perception of femininity excludes the use of indiscriminate violence.
 33 Rhiannon Talbot (2001) argues that the average depictions of women ter-
 34 rorists draw on notions such as (a) extreme feminists; (b) only bound into
 35 terrorism via a relationship with a man; (c) only acting in supporting roles
 36 within terrorist organizations; (d) mentally inept; (e) unfeminine in many
 37 ways; or (f) any combination of the above. The representation of women
 38 terrorists within this particular discourse tends to present them as a dichot-
 39 omy. The identity of a woman terrorist is cut into two mutually exclu-
 40 sive halves; either “the woman” or “the terrorist” is emphasized, but never
 41 together. Not surprisingly, when a woman terrorist is represented, her cul-
 42 pability as an empowered female employing traditionally masculine means
 43 to achieve her goals very rarely emerges. She is seldom a highly reasoned,
 44 nonemotive, political animal that is the picture of her male counterpart; in
 45 short, ‘she rarely escapes her sex’ (Talbot 2001: 165).
 46

Palestinian female suicide bombers, for example, are either idolized as daughters of Palestine, mothers of the nation, sisters of death, or depicted as monsters, deviant, and unstable. This contributes to the understanding of the female suicide bomber as oxymoronic. As Dorit Naaman writes:

While the dozens of male suicide bombers' identities and life stories are hardly ever delved into, their reasons are assumed to be clear and grounded in both political and religious ideology. In contrast, a woman as a suicide bomber seems so oxymoronic that an individualized psychological explanation for the deviation must be found. However, this sort of psychological explanation fails time and again. The image of woman as the symbolic nurturer, healer, and spiritual mother of the nation is challenged beyond repair, a rupture that is dealt with in the Arab world quite differently than it is in the West. (2007: 936)

As it was for the militant women in the French-Algerian War, the Palestinian female suicide bombers' effectiveness ironically depends on their invisibility as sexualized and racialized subjects. Their violent actions attack and threaten not only the enemy, but also the internal patriarchal order by disturbing normative notions of masculinity and militarism. In their video messages, women bombers even challenge Arab leaders to come to action and take up their responsibilities, chastising them for their weakness and silence.

It is, therefore, important to include the phenomenon of female suicide bombers within the debates on terrorism, but also as part of the historical process that has not recognised women as involved in freedom or terrorist movements for centuries. Even within the case of Palestine, the prominence of female suicide bombers tends to be thought of against the existence of many feminist grassroots movements that have existed since the first Intifada and that have seen the political participation of women in many leading and decisive positions (see my own contribution in this volume).

CONTEMPORARY DEBATES: MILITARIZATION, SECURITIZATION, AND FEMINIST INTERVENTIONS

In 2009, Helen Benedict published *The Lonely Soldier: The Private War of Women Serving in Iraq*. The book comprises portraits of five women from different ethnic and class backgrounds who served in Iraq between 2003 and 2006. By tracking the personal records of these women, the book shows that women enter the military for the same reasons as men: to escape a dead-end life, because it is a job, or simply because they are patriotic and want to serve. Yet, as Benedict documents, many find out that they are fighting two wars: one against the official enemy and one against their male comrades. The constant threat of being assaulted or raped by their

1 colleagues makes their role in Iraq a double war (see the contribution by
2 Arrizón in this volume).

3 More women soldiers are fighting in Iraq than in any other American
4 war in history, yet they face a dual challenge: they are participating in com-
5 bat more than ever before, but because only one in ten soldiers is female,
6 they are often painfully alone, isolated from the expected female support.
7 This isolation, along with a military culture hostile to women, denies them
8 the camaraderie soldiers depend on for survival and subjects them to sexual
9 persecution by their comrades. As air force sergeant Marti Ribeiro said, 'I
10 ended up waging my own war against an enemy dressed in the same uniform
11 as mine' (Benedict 2009: 47). One soldier, the nineteen-year-old Mickiela
12 Montoya, revealed that there are only three kinds of female you're allowed
13 to be in the military: 'a bitch, a ho, or a dyke. Well in the beginning I was
14 considered a ho 'cause I was nice to people. Then I realized what they were
15 saying about me so I became a bitch. I wasn't mean but I had to change so
16 nobody would think I was flirty' (2009: 167). The continuous sexual harass-
17 ment was at times replaced with a protective attitude: 'It's because you are
18 our little sister. We don't want something to happen to you.' To which Mick-
19 iela would reply, 'Don't look at me like I am your little sister, 'cause I am not.
20 I am soldier, not a gender. I am soldier just like you' (174).

21 The situation reminds one of the role of female combatants in colonial
22 liberation movements, where women were co-opted into taking part in the
23 construction of the new nation freed from foreign colonial domination, and
24 yet the accounts show that many of these women were subjected to contin-
25 uous violation, not from the enemies but from their own comrades (the case of
26 the ANC is an obvious one, or other liberation movements such as Frelimo
27 and Zanu, to mention but a few). Whereas women in military positions are
28 still suffering prejudices, stereotyping, and internal sexual harassment that
29 can be compared with that of their female counterparts in liberation move-
30 ments, there are also women soldiers in the US military, in Iraq and Guan-
31 tanamo, who misbehave and, such as Lynndie England and the debacle of
32 Abu Ghraib made clear, who have often been the perpetrators of illegitimate
33 interrogation practices and torture. The sexual elements of the naked male
34 bodies tortured and photographed in Abu Ghraib were blatantly heightened
35 by the presence of the US women soldiers taunting the Iraqi men in many of
36 the photographs that became notorious throughout the world and not only
37 created huge embarrassment for the US administration, but also rephrased
38 many of the debates on women and violence. Can imperial misrule do away
39 with gender misrule, as McClintock asks? How can we explain the role of
40 women such as prison guard Lynndie England, who shocked the world with
41 photos she took with her fiancé, Charles Graner, at Abu Ghraib and in which
42 she is often placed in a prominent position?

43 The scope of this volume is to tackle some of these irksome issues by cre-
44 ating connections between the legacies of the colonial past and the realities
45 of the postcolonial present as marking the new global dynamics of gender
46

in warfare or conflict zones. As the intricacies of the positions in anticolonial movements amply demonstrate, new conceptualizations of gender, race, ethnicity, nationhood, age, language, men and masculinities, and subjectivities and agency complicate earlier assumptions about the unitary experience of women in wartime.

The volume engages with new theoretical and analytical approaches to gender and violence in a globalized perspective by overcoming the binary reading of women in conflict zones as either the recipients of a gender-specific war strategy of sexual violence, such as in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Rwanda most recently, or as active participants in war and conflict. The binarism and divide between these two approaches marks the limits and biases of traditional feminist approaches to conflict and militarism. As Dubravka Zarkov (2006: 214) points out, we can speak of a turn in the 1990s when classical feminist studies faced a challenge in acknowledging sexual violence against women while also taking into account the participation of women in violent conflict. In the classical feminist studies of the 1980s, the perspectives were mostly focused on the experience and vantage point of Western feminists, prioritizing their perspectives against the knowledge produced in other parts of the world. Therefore, much of the classic feminist scholarship on war and militarism produced in the 1980s foregrounded the experience of Western women and strongly framed the reading of women's participation in violent conflict in other parts of the world.

This liberal approach to feminism is centered around the debate on equality versus difference, which underpins Western biases. Liberal feminisms struggle to counter discrimination and to secure women's access to all social spheres, especially those perceived as exclusively male, such as the military, whereas radical feminists struggle to preserve women's difference, the difference between nurturing femininity and violent masculinity. This debate has produced a rich and diverse body of feminist knowledge about war. Many studies focus on the transformative power of war, such as in the case of women led to leadership and entrepreneurial positions during World War II while the men were away, which produced drastic social transformations leading to emancipation and empowerment through the 1950s and 1960s. Other studies focus on the essentialized notion of women as maternal and peace loving as their starting point. Many, although less prominent, studies focus on women's participation in nationalist militias (both in the West and in the so-called third world), or in militant, separatist, and guerrilla movements, arguing that women's presence would bring transformation in masculinist institutions such as the military (Zarkov 2007).

These studies have been greatly influential in understanding the relationships among women, gender, and war (although not always from a transnational perspective) and have developed the analysis of militarism as constructed on shifting notions of masculinity and femininity. At the same time, many of these studies have tended to frame the relevance of gender as an analytical tool, making a problematic link between women's agency

1 and women's participation in armed struggles as potentially empowering
2 and emancipatory, especially when linked to anticolonial and antifascist
3 movements, as we have illustrated above with the feminist responses to
4 Fanon's position.

5 The occupation of Iraq, in particular violence against men in Abu
6 Ghraib, and the incitation by women to violence in Rwanda foreground
7 women's capacity to perpetrate violence and therefore not only blur the
8 clear distinctions between victims and perpetrators, but also question the
9 nature of gendered ethnic violence in "new wars" (as discussed by Dem-
10 mers in this volume). Feminist critique of new hegemonic war discourses
11 such as the one about "new wars" is indeed lacking, although in the last
12 couple of years feminists have engaged with the discourses of the "War on
13 Terror." Therefore, the neat political, ideological, and theoretical construc-
14 tions of combat as exclusively masculine crumble and questions of agency
15 and leadership become muddled when perspectives and experiences are not
16 Western European or North American (Zarkov 2006: 215).

17 These realities became ever more complex in the late 1980s and early
18 1990s, both theoretically and geopolitically. The emergence of black, post-
19 colonial, and third world feminist critiques have substantially changed
20 and challenged the classic (read: Western and white) understanding of the
21 involvement of women in war, conflict, and revolutions. The unsettlement
22 of Western hegemonies in the production of feminist knowledge has gone
23 hand in hand with an increased demand for new theoretical reflections
24 within global feminist movements to suit the changing geopolitical situ-
25 ation of the late 1980s and early 1990s (Alexander and Mohanty 1997;
26 Grewal and Kaplan 1994; Mohanty 2002). Therefore, the comparative and
27 transhistorical approach required by a postcolonial and intersectional anal-
28 ysis of gender and violence is highly suitable to reveal the hidden dynamics
29 at stake that empower women while also co-opting their participation in
30 national movements for the sake of conservative patriarchal goals.

31 Other recent studies have highlighted the role of women not as directly
32 involved in war zones, but in fighting terrorism at home, such as in the
33 supposedly peaceful US. Here the issue of securitization of the nation-state
34 against external forces reaches paranoid proportions. In her article 'Secu-
35 rity Moms' (2006), Inderpal Grewal explores the paradoxical intertwining
36 of feminism with neoliberal discourses on securitization in the early
37 twenty-first century. Grewal does not discuss the security state in terms
38 of victimization of female subjects by militant masculinity, but rather she
39 examines how militant masculinity within neoliberal contexts brings forth
40 a rearticulation of the public-private divide that has consequences for femi-
41 nism and female subjects and citizens. The focus in the article is on a 2004
42 American figure, the "security mom," which emerged in the Republican
43 electoral campaign in order to introduce a new category of voters. These
44 are mothers who are married, have children, and own a gun to protect
45 the security of their family. The figures that security moms fear the most
46

are “Islamic terrorists” and “criminal illegal aliens”; these figures call for a new type of surveillance in which mothers have a task to protect their children and other innocent victims. Grewal highlights how these constructions of the figure of the security mom actually rely on feminist discourses; part of the assembled iconicity of the security mom is a feminism that has been reworked through neoliberal and conservative discourses of the state and its limits. Grewal asks:

How to explain such subjects in the twenty-first century, which brings together a nationalism that produces women as mothers, a conservative feminism, and new forms of racialization and deracialization? . . . Here we see ideas of security and safety within imperial and transnational contexts of neoliberalism and geopolitics, and the production of a subject in relation to rearticulations of outsiders and insiders, home and homeland. (2006: 28)

Grewal further elaborates on the relationship between empire and domestic ideologies, which has a long history in the US, showing that public and private are often interconnected and integrated. Neoliberalism emphasizes the fluidity between the two realms, rather than the decline of the state or the triumph of the private. In the public realm of defense, the state remains powerful by using female subjects within the private sphere, such as security moms, to produce soldiers and patriots, as well as to become both the subject and the agent of security through new surveillance technologies that emphasize the governmentality of security. By integrating a postcolonial perspective, Grewal shows how security reworks space and territory in an assemblage in which gender, race, and the nation become integrated. Security enables domestic spaces to expand rather than contract, resulting in the production of national and imperial subjects. Security is produced through citizen-subjects who are differentiated from noncitizen-subjects, such as undocumented immigrants, the racialized other, or foreign terrorists (O’Tuathail, cited in Grewal 2006: 31). Gender and race are key issues as race and territory, home and homeland, family and nation become coextensive.

Motherhood becomes the subject for militant nationalism, but it should not be forgotten that it relies on new technologies of motherhood, as developed by second-wave feminism, that opened up opportunities for women and girls. Moms become active agents in protecting the security, health, and welfare of their children, combining the active role of surveillance with regulatory mechanisms based on race, class, and gender. If this constant surveillance creates a continued “War on Terror” within the private and public spaces in the US, it also diverts the attention from the most obvious preoccupation of violence against women, that of domestic violence. Whereas the main political message of the women’s movement continues to be that women are more at risk of physical violence at home rather than

1 outside it, and at the hand of relatives, lovers, and acquaintances rather
 2 than strangers, the “War on Terror” has curiously inverted this belief, as
 3 well as relied on it in order to create a gendered form of widespread anxiety
 4 about safety that takes shape in ideas of motherhood and family (Grewal
 5 2006: 35).

6 The violence against women is displaced onto Islamic fanatics, illegal
 7 aliens, and urban gangs. The technologies of welfare activated by the state
 8 to promote the safety of women and to prevent violence against women
 9 have become part of a project that resuscitates patriarchal power through
 10 the creation of a law-and-order apparatus, but also by externalizing danger
 11 and moving it onto bodies seen as a foreign threat to the nation or to proper
 12 citizens. As Grewal again remarks:

13
 14 Finally, it is precisely by expanding the domestic space into the extra-
 15 territorial realms of American power (Guantánamo, Iraq, Afghanistan)
 16 that a denial of ‘family violence’ can take place. At the same time, it is
 17 through the daily reminder of the domestic as a violent space that the
 18 boundaries of ‘home’ become unstable. This instability and constant
 19 tension between the daily reminder of ‘private’ violence in the home
 20 and the attempts to displace this violence onto dark and foreign Others
 21 suggests that a feminist critique of neoliberalism within a feminist con-
 22 text must see the public/private divide as dynamic and fluid. (2006: 38)

23
 24 Although many security experts address questions of states and geopolitics
 25 while ignoring gender, race, and sexuality, many feminists have pushed for
 26 a critique of masculinity and militarism not only in far-off conflicts, but
 27 indeed in those close to home, where the slippages between violence and
 28 gender seem less obvious. Bearing in mind how colonial dynamics are still
 29 at work within contemporary realities of war and conflict helps to estab-
 30 lish wider comparative frameworks that unearth the intricacies of women’s
 31 agency in conflict positions. It also helps to formulate alternative ways of
 32 accounting for gendered violence, not as a quantifiable and fixed reality, but
 33 as a shifting and mutable dimension. This requires increasingly more sophis-
 34 ticated scholarship capable of breaking traditional disciplinary boundaries
 35 and of forging new alliances with fields outside traditional feminist studies,
 36 although the latter has always been inherently interdisciplinary.

37 38 39 **OUTLINE OF THE BOOK**

40
41 The book follows a three-layered structure that aims to set up theories,
42 practices, and directions for the future.

43 The first part, entitled ‘Conflict Zones: Colonial Haunting and Con-
44 tested Sovereignties,’ presents critiques on gender and violence that follow
45 a feminist and postcolonial approach, creating connections between the
46

colonial legacies of the past and the morbid symptoms that have remained in the postcolonial present. The chapters in the first part offer critical and comparative work on the role of gender in the transition from colonial to postcolonial formations, highlighting the strongholds and impasses of women in conflict zones created by the new world order, such as in relation to refugee camps, borderlines, and humanitarian missions, and in response to the “new wars” and the role of women as suicide bombers.

Jolle Demmers’s contribution, ‘Neoliberal Discourses on Violence: Monstrosity and Rape in Borderland War,’ focuses on the definition of “new wars”, from 1990, with renewed emphasis after 9/11, that frames conflicts as perpetrated by criminal and terrorist countries that become a threat to regional and global security. She analyzes, in particular, how sexual violence is singularized, decontextualized, and depoliticized, combining insights from the fields of conflict studies, critical transnational feminism, and sexual politics with recent studies of violence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). This neoliberal framing of violence resurrects colonial dichotomies by transforming part of the global south into a “dangerous social body” that legitimizes narratives of containment. This chapter not only analyzes how war is framed, but also intends to gain insights into the politics of representation, emphasizing the need to examine the discursive and institutional continuities.

Vron Ware’s chapter, ‘Thin Ice: Postcoloniality and Sexuality in the Politics of Citizenship and Military Service,’ focuses on the role of the armed services in multicultural and postcolonial societies, such as Britain, analyzing the transformed relationship between soldier and the notion of citizenship. In particular, it examines the representations of minority soldiers in both official and popular media contexts. It suggests that the militarization of femininity and diversity essentially reshapes, challenges, and entrenches social and political norms at home, adding legitimacy to the military as a democratic and progressive institution. Feminist and antiracist analyses of routine or demotic representations of soldiers, whether on a national level or within a comparative framework, offer a glimpse of “the presence of war” in daily life.

Inderpal Grewal’s chapter, ‘American Humanitarian Citizenship: The “Soft” Power of Empire,’ argues that global conflicts and related inequalities are exacerbated rather than alleviated by humanitarian projects from the global north. These projects are central to imperial citizenship, as visible in the US, which has come to necessitate humanitarianism for the neoliberal citizenship of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century.

In my own chapter, ‘Female Suicide Bombers and the Politics of Gendered Militancy,’ I investigate the exorbitant interest of media, gender scholars, and security experts in the phenomenon of female suicide bombers, which is often isolated from its sociocultural and political context, and very often reduced to personal and psychological motivations. Women are labeled as either martyrs (*shahida*) or terrorists, daughters of Allah or

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46

1 monsters, perpetrators or victims, through explanations that rarely escape
 2 gendered stereotypes and orientalist readings. More often, Islamic suicide
 3 bombers, especially Palestinian female suicide bombers, are chosen as a
 4 *pars pro toto*, a stock character in mainstream efforts to explain suicide
 5 bombing as a phenomenon after 9/11; however, female suicide bombers
 6 also pertain to many secular groups and have been around since the mid-
 7 1980s. Through the analysis of recent scholarship, artistic productions,
 8 and media discourses, the chapter engages with a possible alternative read-
 9 ing of female suicide bombing that escapes narrow gender or religious
 10 interpretations.

11 The second part of the volume, entitled 'European Frictions: Memo-
 12 ries, Migration, and Citizenship,' explores how these conflict zones are
 13 played out not outside but within Europe, demonstrating that multicultu-
 14 ral Europe is fraught with different legacies of violence and postcolonial
 15 melancholia. The chapters pursue the notion of Europe from new critical
 16 positions in order to account for the imbrications of gender with identity,
 17 citizenship, nationhood, and violence and how this reverberates through
 18 and across global conflicts.

19 In the chapter, 'Uses and Abuses of Gender and Nationality: Torture and
 20 the French-Algerian War,' Christine Quinan takes the 1960 legal case of
 21 Djamila Boupacha, a young Algerian woman who was brutally raped and
 22 tortured by the French military during the French-Algerian War (1954–
 23 1962), as her point of departure. The case had been picked up at that time
 24 by French intellectuals, such as Simone de Beauvoir, and amply publicized.
 25 Quinan argues that narratives such as that of Boupacha have aided in the
 26 construction of a cohesive French nationality based on civility and human
 27 rights because these were representations and accounts of Algerian women
 28 tortured by French men. Quinan traces also some critical parallels between
 29 this case and the US occupation of Iraq, particularly the highly publicized
 30 systematic abuse of Iraqi detainees at Abu Ghraib. Although the historical
 31 and political contexts are undoubtedly different, the 2004 torture scandal
 32 again demonstrated how normative gendering and the invocation of shame
 33 play a role in reinforcing national identity and further exposes the legacies
 34 of colonization that continue to mold gender, race, nationality, and sexual-
 35 ity in global politics and cultural representations.

36 Marguerite Waller's contribution, 'Migrating Sovereignties and Mirror
 37 States: From Eritrea to L'Aquila,' investigates the conceptual underpinnings
 38 and the empirical practices of nations involved at both ends and along the
 39 way of migration routes leading from the Horn of Africa, particularly
 40 Eritrea, to postcolonial Europe. It asks to what extent the formerly colo-
 41 nized sending nations, and no less the EU receiving nations, are embroiled
 42 in problematic assertions of national sovereignty. This deep (colonial)
 43 reluctance makes the EU nations unable to see themselves as the cause of
 44 troubles because of their anti-immigrant policies and practices. Human
 45 rights and the logic of sovereignty appear to be on a collision course, made
 46

visible by the congruencies between the Italian government's dealing with survivors left homeless by the 2009 L'Aquila earthquake and its treatment of migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers.

Marc de Leeuw and Sonja van Wichelen's chapter, 'Doing "Integration" in Europe: Postcolonial Frictions in the Making of Citizenship,' analyzes how "culture" in the Dutch context is paradigmatically disciplined on new aspiring citizens. By employing cultural tropes of sexual freedom, gender equality, freedom of speech, and individuality as emblems of Dutchness, integration is identified as the successful adaptation to hegemonic liberal and secular virtues, leaving little room for cultural or religious variations. The authors argue that the need to reinstate Dutchness signals its very crisis, and that (multi)culturalism—as a depoliticized ideology of secular liberalism that conveniently silences racism or postcolonial *ressentiment*—reinforces revivals of national identity. By reflecting on the immense popularity of Dutch citizenship testing, the chapter assesses the paradoxes, frictions, conflicts, and complexities involved in the bigger project of imagining a postcolonial, multiethnic, and postsecular "Europe."

Paulo de Medeiros's chapter, 'Coffin Exchange,' deals with cinematic representations of conflict and trauma that build on notions of colonial legacies influencing the morbid state of postcolonial Europe as a friction zone. In *A Costa dos Murmúrios (The Murmuring Coast)* (2005), director Margarida Cardoso revisits the trauma of the colonial wars (1961–1974) in which one of the principal issues is that of the contact zone between the Portuguese and Africans and always also in terms of a gendered conflict. Fatih Akins's *Auf der anderen Seite (The Edge of Heaven)* (2007) presents instead the theme of the friction in the relations between Germans and Turks. One of the film's symmetrical asymmetries that stands out is that of the exchange of coffins, as the bodies of two murdered women are returned to Turkish and German soil, respectively. Combining postcolonial critique, film studies, critical theory, and gender theory, the chapter shows how different forms of violence, some explicit (colonialism) and others implicit (terrorism), are still inextricably connected to the articulation of gender, ethnicity, and race, blocking the possibilities for imagining new transnational citizenship.

The third and final part of the volume, titled 'Contact Zones: Transitional Justice, Reconciliation, and Cosmopolitanism,' explores the realities of postconflict societies and accounts for alternative solutions, such as retribution, restitution, mourning, and/or transitional justice, that pave the way to possible contact zones and to a gendered notion of cosmopolitanism and human rights.

Alicia Arrizón, in her chapter, "'Invisible Wars': Gendered Terrorism in the US Military and the Juárez *Feminicidio*,' analyzes how two documentaries, *The Invisible War* (2012) and *Señorita extraviada* (2001), expose a climate of impunity north and south of the US–Mexican border that denies truth and justice to victims of sexual violence in the US military and

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46

1 the *feminicidio* ('femicide') in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico. Arrizón uses both
 2 materials to analyze the gendered relations of power embedded in the two
 3 represented contexts that produce and enable widespread, and yet 'invis-
 4 ible,' sexual terrorism aimed at women. She calls for envisioning effective
 5 borderless projects to reevaluate human rights violations against women,
 6 such as military sexual abuse and *feminicidio*, as symptomatic of gender/
 7 sex hierarchic inequalities that extend beyond geopolitical borders.

8 Rosemarie Buikema's chapter, titled 'Political Transitions and the Arts:
 9 The Performance of (Post)Colonial Leadership in Philip Miller's Cantata
 10 *REwind* and in Wim Botha's *Portrait Busts*,' explores the role that the
 11 arts can play in the accomplishment of processes of political transition.
 12 Buikema addresses, in particular, the relationship between art and politics
 13 by means of a case study of two different works of art, namely, the cantata
 14 *REwind* (2006), by Philip Miller, and a series of sculptures—among them
 15 *Portrait Busts* (2010) and *Witness Series I–V* (2011)—by the sculptor Wim
 16 Botha. These artifacts are discussed in the context of the late twentieth-
 17 century phenomenon of political leaders and/or nation-states being called
 18 to account for political or ethnic minority groups. The chapter addresses
 19 a number of ethical and pragmatic issues having to do with the maxim of
 20 "never again" that, since the Holocaust, marks all recent political transi-
 21 tions. Drawing from feminist theory concerning the conceptualization
 22 of revolution and revolt, the chapter explores how the arts can have the
 23 medium-specific potential of transcending the mandate of tribunals and
 24 truth commissions as instruments of transitional justice in South Africa.

25 Aaronette White and Shagun Rastogi's piece, 'Justice by Any Means
 26 Necessary: Vigilantism among Indian Women,' presents an intriguing
 27 account of how women handle communal violence by taking the situation
 28 into their own hands. Through an analysis of news reports and document-
 29 ary footage on the Gulabi Gang and ethnographic reports on the Mahila
 30 Aghadi, both from India, the authors illustrate how women who engage in
 31 violent forms of justice seeking require us to expand social-psychological
 32 concepts of retributive and restorative justice, women's agency, and com-
 33 munity organizing. The chapter proposes a grassroots feminist analysis in
 34 the Indian context that integrates a feminist definition of punishment and
 35 ethical violence in connection to a perception of justice and the role that
 36 women play in reorganizing and protecting community values; something
 37 that is very relevant in today's India with the many upheavals surrounding
 38 rape, gender violence, and the inefficiency of the legal system.

39 Marta Zarzycka's contribution, 'On Love and Shame: Two Photographs
 40 of Female Protesters,' examines two photographs of female protesters, both
 41 taken in 2011 in Cairo, and underlines a strong link between civil protest
 42 and the politics of gendered representations. Bearing in mind the long tradi-
 43 tion connecting femininity with feelings and emotions, the chapter reflects
 44 on the gendered rhetoric that mediates the reception of such photographs.
 45 She argues that both love and shame, understood as a form of social
 46

presence, shaped by and shaping us in our contact with (photographed) others, call for rethinking the concept and practice of political resistance and its visual testimonies.

In her chapter, ‘Rethinking the “Arab Spring” through the Postsecular: Gender Entanglements, Social Media, and the Religion–Secular Divide,’ Eva Midden focuses on the uprisings in Egypt to investigate the consequences of the way these events have been discussed in popular media. Her argument is that exactly the combined focus on gender, new media, and secularism/democracy has created a specific narrative of the “Arab Spring” and has made other narratives of the possibilities, background, and aims of the uprisings invisible. In this context, it is proposed that an alternative view could benefit from a postsecular critique that includes a critical perspective on the combination of secularism, gender, and new media.

The different original contributions address the blind spots around the imperial formations within the new global order, marking the continuities and divergences between past and present operations of domination, oppression, and imperialism. The link between past and present colonial conditions is necessary: first to keep the finger on the pulse of racial and gender inequalities based on colonial dissymmetrical relations; second to learn to recognize the insidious dynamics of power and abuse which are at stake beyond the simplifying rhetoric of a few bad apples as the underlining justification for the misbehavior of a few American soldiers at Abu Ghraib. As McClintock has argued in her ‘Paranoid Empire: Specters from Guantánamo and Abu Ghraib’ (2009), the transformed relation between gender and violence in a globalized world is predicated upon the return of the repressed, in the form of colonial haunting, that addresses the question of perpetration, witnessing, and justice in new terms. Accounting for the complicity of women in masculinized forms of militarization, as well as for the transformative role that women’s participation in militant movements entails, is central to the different contributions contained in this volume. Although of course this is neither a complete nor an exhaustive overview of all entanglements of women, globalization, and violence, it does account for the gendered postcolonial interventions with its traces, legacies, and genealogies that need to be addressed in the field of security and conflict studies, both in historical and representational terms.

NOTES

1. Another useful response to Fanon’s ‘Algeria Unveiled’ is offered by Assia Djebar, who, in the essay-novel *Women of Algiers in Their Apartment* (1992) (original in French *Femmes d’Alger dans leur appartement*, from 1980), seeks to contribute to the liberation of Algerian women, their gaze, and their voices by revealing the limitations, but most especially the richness, of the women’s oral tradition.
2. A case in mind could be Nelson Mandela, accused of terrorism by the South African Apartheid regime for his armed political interventions and crowned

with the Nobel Peace Prize in 1993, along with de Klerk, once the conflict reached a political resolution.

REFERENCES

- A *Costa dos Murmúrios (The Murmuring Coast)* (2004) Movie directed by Margarida Cardoso, Portugal: Atalanta Filmes.
- Alexander, Karen and Hawkesworth, Mary (eds.) (2008) *War & Terror: Feminist Perspectives*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Alexander, M. Jacqui and Mohanty, Chandra T. (eds.) (1997) *Feminist Genealogies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures*, London: Routledge.
- Amrane-Minne, Danièle Djamila (2007) 'Women at War: The Representation of Women in *The Battle of Algiers*,' trans. A. Clarke, *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 340–49.
- Auf der anderen Seite (The Edge of Heaven)* (2007) Movie directed by Fatih Akin, Germany: The Match Factory.
- Benedict, Helen (2009) *The Lonely Soldier: The Private War of Women Serving in Iraq*, Boston: Beacon Press.
- Djebar, Assia (1992) *Women of Algiers in Their Apartment*, trans. M. de Jager, Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.
- Dyson, William E. (2012) *Terrorism: An Investigator's Handbook*, 4th edition, Waltham: Anderson Publishing.
- Enloe, Cynthia (1989) *Bananas, Beaches, Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*, London: Pandora Press.
- Enloe, Cynthia (2004) 'All the Men Are in the Militias, All the Women Are Victims: The Politics of Masculinity and Femininity in Nationalist Wars,' in *The Curious Feminist: Searching for Women in a New Age of Empire*, Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 99–118.
- Fanon, Franz (1965) 'Algeria Unveiled,' in *A Dying Colonialism*, trans. H. Chavalier, New York: Grove Press, pp. 35–67.
- Flame* (1996) Movie directed by Ingrid Sinclair, Zimbabwe, France, and Namibia: Black and White Film Co., JBA Production and Onland Production.
- Gonzalez-Perez, Margaret (2008) *Women and Terrorism: Female Activity in Domestic and International Terror Groups*, London: Routledge.
- Grewal, Inderpal (2006) "'Security Moms' in the Early Twentieth-Century United States: The Gender of Security in Neoliberalism,' *Women's Studies Quarterly*, vol. 34, no. 1/2, pp. 25–39.
- Grewal, Inderpal and Kaplan, Caren (eds.) (1994) *Scattered Hegemonies: Postmodernity and Transnational Feminist Practices*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Iyob, Ruth (2005) 'Madamismo and Beyond: The Construction of Eritrean Women,' in Ruth Ben-Ghiat and Mia Fuller (eds.) *Italian Colonialism*, New York: Palgrave MacMillan, pp. 233–44.
- Kaplan, Caren (1994) 'The Politics of Location as Transnational Feminist Critical Practice,' in Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan (eds.) *Scattered Hegemonies: Postmodernity and Transnational Feminist Practices*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 137–52.
- Lizardo, Omar A. and Bergesen, Albert J. (2003) 'Types of Terrorism by World System Location,' *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations*, vol. 27, no. 2, pp. 162–92.
- Lyons, Tanya (2004) *Guns and Guerrilla Girls: Women in the Zimbabwean Liberation Struggle*, Trenton: Africa World Press.

- Mama, Amina (2000) 'Transformation Thwarted: Gender-Based Violence in Africa's New Democracies,' *African Gender Institute Newsletter*, vol. 6, pp. 1–3. 1
- McClintock, Anne (1997) "'No Longer in a Future Heaven": Gender, Race, and Nationalism,' in Anne McClintock, Aamir Mufti, and Ella Shohat (eds.) *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation, and Postcolonial Perspectives*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 89–112. 2
- McClintock, Anne (2009) 'Paranoid Empire: Specters from Guantánamo and Abu Ghraib,' *Small Axe*, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 50–74. 3
- McFadden, Patricia (2000) 'Radically Speaking: The Significance of the Women's Movement for Southern Africa,' *Women's World*, available at: http://www.world.org/programs/regions/africa/patricia_mcfadden3.htm, accessed on 17 September 2013. 4
- McFadden, Patricia (2005) 'Becoming Postcolonial: African Women Changing the Meaning of Citizenship,' *Meridians: Feminism, Race, Transnationalism*, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 1–22. 5
- Modise, Thandi and Curnow, Robyn (2000) 'Thandi Modise, a Woman at War,' *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity*, no. 43, pp. 36–40. 6
- Mohanty, Chandra T. (2002) "'Under Western Eyes" Revisited: Feminist Solidarity through Anticapitalist Struggle,' *Signs*, vol. 28, no. 2, pp. 499–535. 7
- Mohanty, Chandra T. (2003) *Feminism without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press. 8
- Naaman, Dorit (2007) 'Brides of Palestine/Angels of Death: Media, Gender, and Performance in the Case of the Palestinian Female Suicide Bombers,' *Signs*, vol. 32, no. 4, pp. 933–55. 9
- Purpura, Philip P. (2007) *Terrorism and Homeland Security: An Introduction with Applications*, Burlington: Elsevier. 10
- REwind: A Cantata for Voice, Tape and Testimony* (2006) Cantata by Philip Miller, Cape Town: St. George's Cathedral. 11
- Señorita extraviada* (2001) Documentary directed by Lourdes Portillo, San Francisco: Xochitl Productions. 12
- Talbot, Rhiannon (2001) 'Myths in the Representations of Women Terrorists,' *Eire-Ireland: Journal of Irish Studies*, vol. 35, no. 3/4, pp. 165–86. 13
- The Battle of Algiers* (1966) Movie directed by Gillo Pontecorvo, Italy and Algeria: Igor Film and Casbah Film. 14
- The Invisible War* (2012) Documentary directed by Kirby Dick, US: Ro-co Films International. 15
- White, Aaronette M. (2007) 'All the Men Are Fighting for Freedom, All the Women Are Mourning Their Men, but Some of Us Carried Guns: A Raced-Gendered Analysis of Fanon's Psychological Perspectives on War,' *Signs*, vol. 32, no. 4, pp. 857–84. 16
- Wicomb, Zoë (2001) *David's Story*, New York: Feminist Press at the City University of New York. 17
- Woodhull, Winifred (2003) 'Unveiling Algeria,' in Reina Lewis and Sara Mills (eds.) *Feminist Postcolonial Theory: A Reader*, London: Routledge, pp. 567–85. 18
- Yeğenoğlu, Meyda (2003) 'Veiled Fantasies: Cultural and Sexual Difference in the Discourse of Orientalism,' in Reina Lewis and Sara Mills (eds.) *Feminist Postcolonial Theory: A Reader*, London: Routledge, pp. 542–66. 19
- Zarkov, Dubravka (2006) 'Towards a New Theorizing of Women, Gender, and War,' in Kathy Davis, Mary Evans, and Judith Lorber (eds.) *Handbook of Gender and Women's Studies*, London: Sage, pp. 214–33. 20
- Zarkov, Dubravka (2007) *The Body of War: Media, Ethnicity, and Gender in the Breakup of Yugoslavia*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press. 21