Committee Approval

To the Graduate Faculty:

The members of the committee appointed to examine the thesis of LARRY ROBERT LEIBROCK find it satisfactory and recommend that it be accepted.

_____

Donna L. Lybecker, Ph.D.
Major Advisor

_____

Mark K. McBeth, D.A.
Committee Member

_____

Laura Ahola-Young, MFA

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An Awkward Embrace: Reconsidering the Yemen Model —

Critical, Feminist, and Gender Theory Alternative Perspectives

by

Larry Robert Leibrock

A dissertation

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An Awkward Embrace: Reconsidering the Yemen Model —
Critical, Feminist, and Gender Theory Alternative Perspectives

Dissertation Abstract – Idaho State University (Copyright 2018)

Any substantive analysis of modern armed conflict and warfare, in its many forms, needs to include the breadth of individuals affected. In order to achieve this, substantive analyses need to clearly demonstrate the importance of identity and gender. This is particularly important for current substantive analyses of armed conflict, violent non-state actors and warfare that impact substantial numbers of civilians. This dissertation adds to the discourse concerning Strategic Studies by applying critical, feminist and gender perspectives to a complex study of conflict in Yemen. In doing so, the dissertation attempts to answer the question, what useful insights do both Critical Theory and Feminist Theory provide to the United States international security policies, such as the United States Yemeni Model, and to Security Studies as a whole?

Forward

Any substantive analysis of modern armed conflict and warfare, in its many forms, needs to include the breadth of individuals affected. In order to achieve this, substantive analyses need to clearly demonstrate the importance of identity and gender. This is particularly important for current substantive analyses of armed conflict and warfare that impact substantial numbers of civilians. This dissertation adds to the discourse concerning Strategic Studies by applying critical, feminist and gender perspectives to a complex study of conflict in Yemen. In doing so, the dissertation attempts to answer the question, what useful insights do both Critical Theory and Feminist Theory provide to the United States international security policies, such as the United States Yemeni Model, and to Security Studies as a whole?

Background

In reaction to the tragic events of September 11, 2001, the United States made use of extensive amounts of gendered imagery (Ferber & Kimmel, 2008; J. A. Tickner, 2002). Discussions and media narratives focused on threatening foreign male terrorists vowing to destroy our nation, imagery of military aged male Muslim extremists engaged in wanton killing, and statements attributed to Osama bin Laden about what he termed as the "feminization and weakening of Western culture." This attention resulted in a gendered focus at the onset and throughout the ongoing duration of our global war on terrorism (J. A. Tickner, 2002).

The Western imagery of conflict in Iraq and Afghanistan, showing men as those doing the violent task of fighting and women as simply invisible, has served to reinforce our view of our Middle Eastern opponents as male warriors waving automatic weapons and shouting death to America. It supports the popularized idea of male opponents who are menacing and unrestrained in their apparent hatred toward both modernity and the West (Ibrahim, 2007). This idea clearly

serves as an example of uses of gender and identity in a new form of war (Chinkin & Kaldor, 2013).

In these cases, the gendered focus created fear and supported an "us versus them" image rather than revealing a conflict that harms many innocent citizens—people who, despite differences in areas such as ethnicity and religion, feel the impact of conflict the same as United States citizens would feel the conflict. Understanding why this gendered focus necessitates an understanding of the traditional reasoning for war, and thus the Realist school of thought, where some Realist theoreticians, such as Francis Fukuyama and Samuel Huntington, make use of gendered images in discussing the apparent 'fault line' between modern Western Christian societies and the Muslim world (Ferber & Kimmel, 2008; Fukuyama, 1998; Inglehart & Norris, 2003). The nascent fears posed by these scholars, and some rather sex-based solutions for the conduct of counterterrorism efforts, such as 'ensuring that strongmen stay in charge', are clearly problematic and worthy of critical inquiry (Ling, 2000). This is particularly true for recent conflicts highlighting issues of terrorism and centered on peoples of the Muslim world.

The United States military typically makes use of gendered symbols and threatbased narratives, describing these adversaries as violent terrorists or radicalized male military aged combatants (MMAC) (J. Burke, 2004; Buzan, Wæver, & De Wilde, 1998; Ibrahim, 2007; Kaldor, 2013b; Mueller, 2007; Münkler, 2005; Nye Jr et al., 2012; Priestland, 1974; Schadlow, 2017; Schott, 1996; J. Tickner, 2002). However, unlike our opponents in previous conflicts, in recent GWOT conflicts, these gendered adversaries do not wear distinctive military style uniforms, do not typically conduct combat operations in organized military unit formations, and do not make use of discernible military insignia or markings that

are typically expected in regular, conventional military operations. Furthermore, in most cases, these combatants do not identify with nation state organizations or countries, rather their identification focuses on individual and group affiliation with factions espousing radical religious beliefs, cultural xenophobia, or antiWestern views (Faludi, 2007a; Kaldor, 2013a, 2013b; Kurth, 1994; Mueller, 2007; Münkler, 2005; Shepherd, 2013a). Thus, during the last decade of our global anti-terrorist operations, the United States and some of our Global War on Terrorism (GWOT) allies have been confronted with changing, and thus substantively new forms of armed conflict, changing conditions of warfare, new forms of combat, and new varieties of adversaries.

To address the changing face of conflict and warfare, international relations scholars investigating these issues bring together their ideas and research via the subdiscipline of Strategic Studies. Strategic Studies scholars work to further understanding on not only the issues creating the conflict, but also the individuals involved in the conflict. As such, some Strategic Studies analysts working on GWOT issues, term these combatants violent non-state actors. This is accurate in that many of those involved do not identify with a country, however this also challenges Realist theory concerning the nature of regular warfare between states.

This interregnum of our present 9/11 conflict against terrorism and changing types of warfare demands Security Studies specialists to engage in a thoughtful reinterpretation of past and present theories, critical thinking and discourse concerning past and present theory production, and thoughtful analytical consideration for practical problem solving in dealing with these new forms of conflict.

The Security Studies Field

Since 9/11 the Security Studies field has granted more attention to theory productivity and the application of critical analysis (Shepherd, 2013a). A more robust analysis of Security Studies theory and supporting field studies can be used as a basis for raising critical questions concerning the adequacy of our present body of theories, and to help us derive some predictions about the continued knowledge development and future contribution of Security Studies theory and practice (Shepherd, 2013b).

These new conditions and war and fighting requirements are distinctly different from our older Cold War era-based strategies, tactics, and doctrine. Our United States military and paramilitary combatants have made substantive changes necessary to respond to the changing character and evolutionary nature of this new mode of non-state actor warfare.

In this evolutionary context and facing changing conditions, our United States combat forces and our military and civilian intelligence agencies face a series of extremely difficult tasks. These intelligence agencies must properly identify and collect useful intelligence information in a timely manner, and then rapidly engage in kinetic targeting for these non-state combatants, who typically live and fight among civilian, non-combatant tribal populations. This type of irregular military conflict represents an unprecedented set of intelligence, strategic and operational challenges.

It is important to recognize that much of the present critical studies analyses dealing with the West and particularly the United States primarily focuses on the extreme levels of expenditures, the complexities of advanced arms trade transfers and dominance of military industrial complex actors in the strategic studies and foreign policy arenas. These studies have considerable merit in providing insights and critiques of the US and our global and regional

priorities and policy agenda settings. Albeit, this means that feminist thought, and a refined use of feminist theory and perspectives may serve as a rationale and provide us a wider set of optics by focusing on feminist thought and studies. Secondly, we must understand that regional insurgencies and civil wars typically do not simply involve soldiers typically young males but involve families, all genders and human beings of all ages. Frequently these disparate civilian populaces serve as targets for military combatants in these forms of armed conflict.

The GWOT as a Case

The United States is presently engaged in the development of technology-based intelligence collection platforms to provide analytical methods that focus on detecting threats and identifying combatants down to the lowest possible level, the individual combatant. It is important to note that this level of operation requires detection and identification of individual combatants who operate among civilian noncombatant populations. Typically, these combatants operate in small agrarian communities, primarily small clan-based tribal organizations in geographic areas that are distant and appear alien from the United States. These populations appear to be quite dissimilar to our prevailing Western notions of culture, tribal and family organizations and belief systems. Many of these tribal populations are economically poor, at the edge of starvation, and without the protective features of organized governance. Furthermore, they also hold what they consider "traditional" views of men and women. Many Westerners presently have few salient interests and possess little actual knowledge of these disadvantaged, indigenous and tribal based populations and their prevailing lifestyles. These populations constitute the notion of 'the other' in the orientalism perspective (Anderson, 2006; Chinkin & Kaldor, 2013; Hoffman, 2007; E. Said, 2000; E. W. Said, 2012; Sjoberg, 2006;

Youngs, 2004). Furthermore, Western anthropological studies, using modern social science methods, are scarce and the conduct of field studies in these settings experiencing protracted conflicts is exceedingly problematic (Beehner, Berti, & Jackson, 2017; Blakeley, 2018; Blanchard, 2003). Only recently have certain Western Strategic Studies scholars employed a clearly attempted to more fully study these groups, including utilizing a gendered focus for the study of modern conflicts (Abu-
Lughod, 1998; Blanchard, 2003; Bloom, 2011; Booth, 1994; Boothby & Knudsen, 2000; M. Burke, 1999)

Given the challenges and requirements presented by this new type of protracted warfare, including indistinguishable combatants; difficulty in assessing cross-cultural gendered status, varied social and tribal standards, the absence of a readily useful means of differentiation based upon observable uniforms, or military status; and the attributes of continuous surveillance, identity and signature-based intelligence has become a new foundation for battlefield targeting (Beehner et al., 2017; Freedman, 1998; Gagnon &
Hendrickson, 2014; Hoffman, 2007; Klein, 2003; Kurth, 1994; Lorentzen & Turpin, 1998). The heart of this new variety of battlefield targeting is the interplay of biometricdatabases, the capacity to accurately identify and attribute suspected belligerents, the development of corroborative human intelligence sources and the collection of forensic data from both the combatant and noncombatant populations (AbuLughod, 1998; Blum & Heymann, 2010; Brandt, 2017; Cochran & Downes, 2011; Enloe,
2014a). Of course, this type of continual intelligence collection is perceived as intrusive, alien and foreign to the tribal populations. However, the intelligence information gathered by these interdependent processes are becoming the critical component of effective targeting

methodologies in this new type of warfare. The problem and challenges of gender identification represents a confounding factor these settings, because of the complex tribal culture present in the conflict zones. Though perceived as intrusive this type of intelligence operation is required for success in these special conditions (Abu-

Lughod,

1998; J. Tickner, 2002; Voelz, 2018; Wibben, 2018; Wittes & Blum, 2015).

Forms of Gendered Imagery

To work with the changing elements of conflict, the United States policy makers and battlefield commanders are utilizing forms of individualized data and gendered imagery. In some cases, the data and imagery intelligence are even utilized by the United States President in his role as commander-in-chief, when personally reviewing and approving lethal attacks against suspected enemy combatants (Rhodes, 2018a). This reflects a new strategic paradigm that has elevated the status of the individual terrorist combatant, operating in tribal societies, as a substantial concern for those interested in the changing dynamics concerning Security Studies and global terrorism.

Observers and specialists who focus on both the Middle East and Security Studies note that combatants, particularly in areas such as Yemen, comprise both highly distributed networks and small cells that include male, and female individuals (Espinoza, 2018; Fee, 2018; Pollack, 2018). Furthermore, insurgents are often indistinguishable from the surrounding tribal population, thus despite the development of new technologies to support this new operational paradigm, it is difficult to identify insurgents. These conditions reflect, in intelligence terms, a ‘difficult target set,’ which means that innocent civilian non-combatants – men, women and children - are sometimes killed or injured in counter-terrorism strikes.

In addition, one should note that are the prevailing low status of women in these tribal settings. Women have an absence of social, political and economic status, typically accorded in most Western-style communities. Women are unable to sustain their lifestyles when they lose the protection of husbands, thus they are typically forced into conditions of abject poverty and social marginalization when these events occur. Western observers have minimal understanding of these feminine conditions and experiences, as they are rarely discussed in Western media and scholarly discourse.

A reexamination of Yemen and the United States Global War on Terrorism represents a useful paradigm as a case study to consider how United States realist policy exhibits salient shortcomings in our critical reappraisal for a conflict, which now spans almost 20 years. Feminist theory and alternative perspectives – beyond reliance on realism - offer us tools to rethink, reappraise and perhaps relearn about how failed policy systems and processes serves to lead to failures and high human costs in the present

United States involvement in this region.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction and significance

> How is it possible to represent certain events that should never happen, and perhaps should not be spoken about - the event of a woman who was seven or eight months pregnant being tied to a cross, her belly being ripped open, both fetus and woman dying within 15 minutes while her husband was forced to look on? For witnessing and recording of these events raises a number of questions: how should these horrors be described? Is any description of form of complicity and voyeurism? Or is the greatest form of complicity silence? Are here some people who can speak truly or authentically about these events? Why are women attacked so sadistically and persistently in their sexuality? - Catherine MacKinnon

> Is not in giving life but in risking life that man is raised above the animal: that is why superiority has been accorded and humanity not to the sex that brings forth but to that which kills. - Simone de Beauvoir

Today, at the turn of the 21st century, the two ongoing Gulf Wars and America's Global War on Terrorism (GWOT) are clearly an important series of events in the study and reappraisal of both International Relations, and the sub-discipline, Strategic Studies (Sjoberg, 2006). What is unclear is *whether*, and *how*, these recent and ongoing wars, especially the Global War of Terrorism, will be thoughtfully analyzed, considered and critiqued by our research community and our government policy-makers.

Will these wars serve to help us build richer, more salient theoretical and conceptual security policy tools? What do the group of concerned social science researchers and the United States government policy-maker community think about these wars? Even terming them "wars" largely depends upon one's particular interpretation of the political and military situations, moral, and human consequences of these conflicts

(Sjoberg, 2006, p. 6).

Given the rich diversity of modern social science disciplines and sub-disciplines it is to be expected that Political Scientists, Security Studies specialists, modern historians, and other scholarly observers provided with identical sets of facts and evidence will likely produce wide ranging perspectives, analytical frameworks, conceptualizations, theoretical interpretations, and opinions about the cost, benefits, and overarching value of these wars.

In the midst of this chaos there is a small, but growing, community of scholars interested in strategic studies and modern warfare that are seeking to clearly and properly define the types, changing conditions, and new attributes of these regional conflicts construed as 'new wars' (Hoffman, 2007; Kaldor, 2013a, 2013b; Mueller, 2007; Münkler, 2005; Murray & Mansoor, 2012; Priestland, 1974; Schadlow, 2017; Schott, 1996; Schuurman, 2010). These scholars are attempting to look at current conflicts through the lenses of perspectives and/or theories that, although not new, are less common within the Security Studies field. Feminist theory and perspectives offer us new ways to critically consider modern wars, in particular for this dissertation the case of Yemen, and the ongoing United States involvement in a complex geo-political setting.

New Wars

As has already been stated in the forward to this dissertation, the conflicts and interactions in Strategy Studies and "new wars' have often been viewed from a primarily male focused perspective. This dissertation adds to the research of this growing community of scholars, by examining the issue of today's conflicts first by examining the idea of "new wars" and then utilizing the lenses of Critical Studies and Feminism, contrasting these views from the typically used perspective of Realism. Specifically, this research addresses the question: What useful insights do both Critical Theory and Feminist Theory provide to United States

international security policies such as the United States Yemeni Model, and to Security Studies as a whole?

Debate Concerning New Wars

Presently there is considerable debate among interested academics about how to properly define or assess these conflicts as an exemplar of an apparent revolutionary form of warfare (Freedman, 1998). Kaldor (2013b) forcefully asserts that new war characteristics must be analyzed within the context of changing conditions of modernity, new weapons technology, and globalization. She acknowledges that aspects of these
"new wars" are not necessarily altogether new, in that they have certain aspects which show historical elements. However, Kaldor insists on maintaining the term "new war" because she asserts that these types of conflicts represent a definitive need for the new, in other words rethinking United States security strategies and defense policy responses (Kaldor, 2013a).

Most "new war" theoreticians assert that our current international policies and security strategies have failed to address the relevant characteristics, strategy and tactics, and end-state resolutions for the conduct of new wars. As such, current policies continue to react and respond to these new wars as if they are no different than our previous conventional wars (Münkler, 2005; Stiehm, 1983; J. A. Tickner, 1992a; Von Clausewitz, 1940).

Other Strategic Studies scholars attempt to characterize the shift in warfare by making use of a wide range of other attributes and descriptors (Hoffman, 2007; Murray & Mansoor, 2012; Pillar, 2004; Priestland, 1974; Voelz, 2018; Wittes & Blum, 2015) such as recognizing the complex interdependencies among state and non-state actors and describing the duality and

conflation of interstate and intrastate conflict. Professional military strategists portray these types of modern wars as "hybrid wars" (Hoffman, 2007; Murray & Mansoor, 2012).

In his recent book *Remnants of War*, John Mueller (2007) makes the assertion that our present understanding of state warfare as an institution is in decline, and that warfare will become so infrequent and unlikely that it could well be considered obsolete in our global community. Mueller suggests that the present character of these new wars is most accurately viewed simply as "criminal acts" and perpetuated by small groups of violent, predatory kleptomaniacs (Mueller, 2007).

Many studying the concept and theoretical foundation of these “new wars” observe that belligerents and their proxies attack the enemy's civilian population as the overarching focus of a military campaign, making use of aerial bombing of villages and cities (Beehner et al., 2017; Boothby & Knudsen, 2000; Faludi, 2007a; Goldstein, 2003; Hardt & Negri, 2005; Hick, 2001; Hoffman, 2007; McIntyre, 2006; Mueller, 2007). It is suggested that destroying the state’s military forces is not the primary goal in new war conflicts, rather harming the enemy’s population is the ultimate strategic objective.

Understanding the changes taking place within today’s new wars is vital for accessing future conflicts. Future wars will most assuredly contain more of these characteristics. However, more than understanding is needed. It is also necessary to find new ways to address these wars, to find possible solutions to the violence that affects not only states’ militaries, but also their civilian populations.

This study is intended to expand the current views and research in this area, to expand the possibilities for better understandings, posing alternative perspectives, framing substantive change and possibly find solutions. More specifically, this work attempt to address the fact that

much of the writing concerning “new wars” still maintains many elements used to understand traditional war. Traditional war is generally conceptualized as the use of a state’s military forces to conduct maneuver and employ battlefield tactics that are typically utilized in conflict between two states in open confrontation and contesting territory (Voelz, 2018; Von Clausewitz, 1940). This conceptualization of warfare typically focuses on the patriarchically defined concepts of militarism, armed conflict, and the uses of coercive power to achieve or deny the goals the belligerent states. Understanding how these same ideas are incorporated into the new wars is necessary for moving forward with new ideas and, possibly, solutions. Furthermore, understanding how women, who often understand power and forms of warfare differently, is also key to understanding new war.

Much of the previous research either ignores or shows indifference to the important roles played by women. This failure occurs, at least in part, because traits of traditional wars are still considered when looking at new wars. Previous writings do not pay attention to gender differences and the disastrous consequences of conflicts on women, families, and other groups that are ignored or seen as a disenfranchised ‘other’ (Enloe, 2014b; Faludi, 2007b; Mann, 2014; Mueller, 2007; Sjoberg, 2006).

Among the reasons behind this lack of growth in understanding the effects of war on groups such as women is the common use of examining conflict through the lens of power. Much of the present scholarly work that examines conflict does so via the theory of Realism, and International Relations theory that focuses on power, anarchy, and national self-interest, making use of masculine gendered perspectives and frameworks (Abu-Lughod, 1998; Blanchard, 2003; Enloe, 2000, 2014b; Fierke, 2015; Joseph, 2000; Rhodes, 2018b).

Reliance on the classical ideas described through the power-focused theories of Realism has led to a void in our understanding of conflict. Thus, this dissertation reexamines the issue of conflict by examining a specific case study through a less common yet more encompassing lens, the coupling of critical and feminist perspectives.

It is necessary to explore the issues of conflict from an alternative theoretical lens and to engage more diverse perspectives and to gain a better understanding of the complex character and consequences of 'new war' conflicts. The use of alternative perspectives will help us, as scholars, policy advisers and teachers, to consider the inherent complexity and extent of modern conflict. Examining these issues through

Critical Studies and Feminist constructs will aid in filling the present void.

To properly refine and rigorously assess the nature of this new form of warfare it is necessary to examine some specific cases. For the purposes of this dissertation, the Yemeni conflict will be used as the case study. A wider reconceptualizing of the global war on terrorism as it relates to the United States Yemeni counterterrorism model will demonstrate how Critical Studies and Feminist constructs aid in building our understanding of the field of Strategic Studies as it relates to the United States Global

War on Terrorism.

CHAPTER 2

Literature review: Security Studies as a sub-discipline of International Relations

As preparation for understanding the new research presented in this dissertation it is worthwhile to examine previous work in the area of Security Studies as a subdiscipline of International Relations. It is also worthwhile to understand a classic theory utilized within International Relations, the Realist theory and Neorealist interpretations.

Both Realist and Neorealist interpretations of International Relations have been important to the development of Security Studies as the field presently stands. With a general review of these interpretations in place it becomes possible to recognize the necessity of moving beyond these ideas and pushing Security Studies beyond its present traditional confines.

Security Studies theory and research

The field of Security Studies first arose in the aftermath of World War II. The newly minted sub-discipline grew by necessity, as direct result of a challenging set of national security quandaries, hopes, and aspirations for global stability. Social scientists and leaders sought to revitalize a war-weakened world economy, and to find better mechanisms for peaceful resolution of regional armed conflicts (Collins, 2016). Though the times may have changed the need for Security Studies has never gone away.

Security Studies as a rigorous, definitional construct has been continually challenged by critical, more exclusionary, members of the International Relations discipline, the War Studies discipline, and by certain segments of the more traditionoriented defense policy worker communities (Dunne, Kurki, & Smith, 2013). Despite this, Security Studies persists as a field of

interest and value. In fact, Security Studies, appears to be growing in both importance and attention as an innovative area of academic study, university teaching, and research (Buzan et al., 1998; Dunne et al., 2013; Enloe, 2014b).

This rising interest in Security Studies is not a purely United States phenomenon. Academic study of this sub-discipline can be found in many non-United States settings. In the wider world the field of Security Studies is known, and perhaps better described, as International Security Studies (Aradau & Huysmans, 2014; Aradau, Huysmans, Neal, & Voelkner, 2014; Hardt & Negri, 2005). For the present research, the term Security Studies is used as both a distinct academic subfield, and an area for policy critique and research practices. A such, Security Studies include understanding the physical, structural environmental, and sexual violence which security threats to individuals are (Sjoberg, 2006; J. Tickner, 1997; J. A. Tickner, 1992b, 2014).

Security Studies is renewing focuses on military and civilian casualties, the destruction of public services, the use of embargoes that constitute a siege on the population, the use of structural violence, humanly created famines, the use of children as armed combatants, illegal smuggling and trading of contraband, the illegal narcotics trade, operational employment of rape as a weapon, and the diminishment of human rights rather than simply focusing on battlefields technologies (Boothby & Knudsen, 2000; Card, 1996; Cochran & Downes, 2011; Mueller, 2007; Stiehm, 1983). The breadth and range of interests and concerns contained within the Security Studies sub-discipline make it clearly distinct from the sub-discipline of War Studies, and a definite subdiscipline of greater International Relations discipline.

International Relations as a discipline

International Relations as an academic field is generally agreed to be a knowledge-based product developed in response to improved understanding and analysis of nation to nation affairs that occurred at the end of the World War II. In response to growing government concerns and interests regarding potentially catastrophic global threats, governments sponsored research supported the emerging field of International

Relations. The complex relationship between governments and International
Relationship deserves reflexive consideration and raises questions of legitimacy and the roles of 'truth-telling' in some policy settings (Ackerly & True, 2008; Aradau & Huysmans, 2014; H. Kissinger, 2015; Rhodes, 2018b).

Much of the International Relations research, and associated writing, during this period focused on the causes and limitations of armed conflicts, nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, enabling global stability, and peaceful relations among organized Western nations and developing states; however, there was some attention directed toward creation of regional security institutions such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

The early development in International Relations theory occurred under the influence of the Realist school of thought. The ideas and theories of Realist thinkers, particularly Hans Morgenthau (Morgenthau, 1948), who have shaped International Relations in a manner that can still be observed today. In view of the impact that

Morgenthau and his cohorts have had on the field it is vital to understand the nature of Realism and its effects on International relations, and thus the subdiscipline of Security

Studies, before one can fully understand the new growth and change that are necessary.

Realist International Relations theory

Realism can be typically described as the dominant theoretical, research and teaching perspective in Security Studies. Realists focus primarily on the ideas of power, national security, national self-interest, and sovereignty. Realism as a general philosophy originates from the works of Thucydides, Machiavelli, and Hobbes. Realist writings focus on issues such as the 30-year war (1618 and 1648) and its Treaty of Westphalia, the World Wars, and, more recently, the development of modern weapons systems.

Realism's themes in the context of International Relations typically include the centrality of the nation state in Security Studies, international relations, and global politics. Realism asserts that the nation state is the overarching unitary actor in International Relations. The nation state seeks to make use of rational self-interest behaviors and explicitly frames strategic goals, policies and strategies in order to secure and maintain the dominance of national safety and security.

In the Realist model, seeking and maintaining the unitary state's desires and goals for dominance, national security, and safety typically transcend goals and desires in other areas are key. Realists holds that power has a specific dynamic including both situationally constrained and relational coercive factors controlled solely by the state's set of national interests. The Realist model and its power dynamic are presented visually in figure 1.

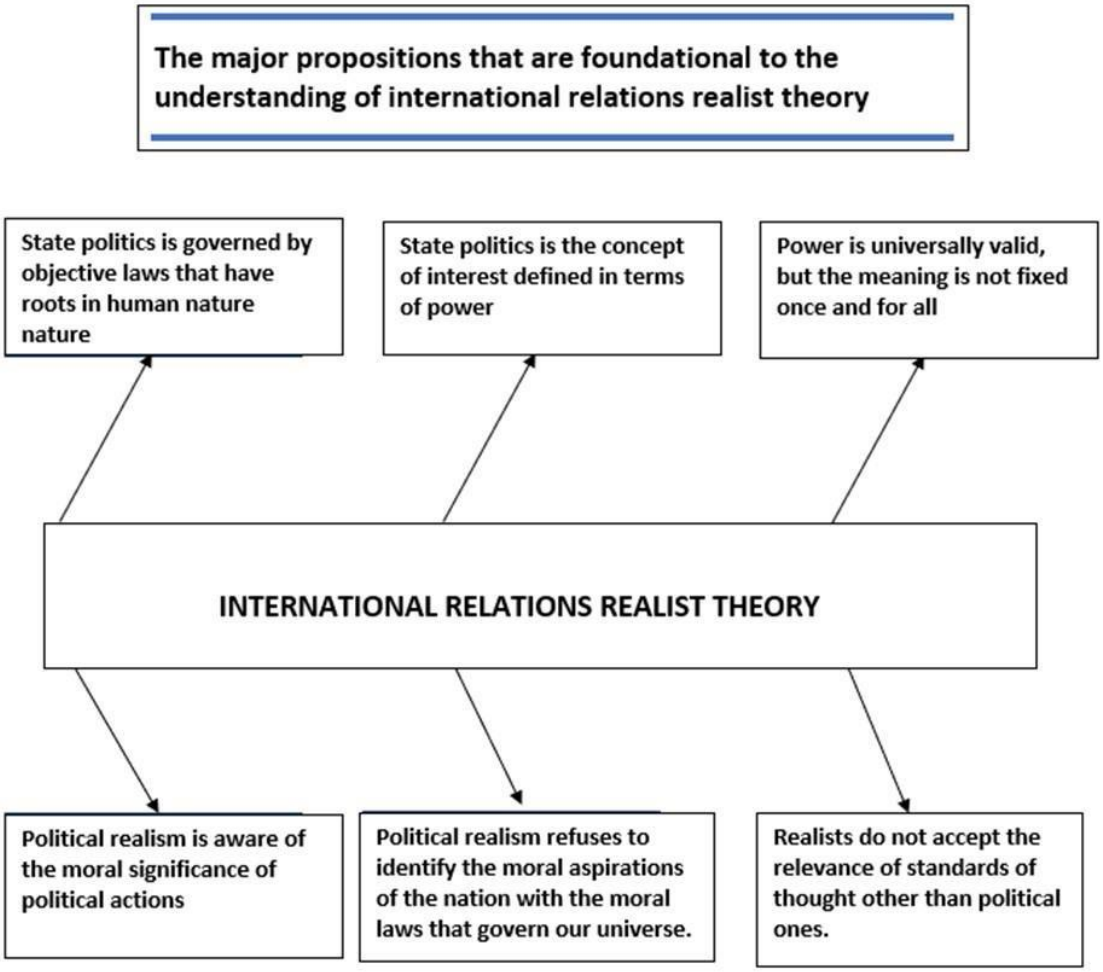

Figure 1. The Realist model and its power dynamic

Under Realist theory a state's desire to continue the efficient accumulation of reserves of both military and economic resources, and to exercise power in pursuit of a state's sovereign interests, is directly affected by the complexity of our nation state system and human cognitive properties. Realists assert that today's states place great value on maintaining their international security, which means the ability to remaining free from attack by other states, avoiding the imposition of control, coercion, or economic sanctions that affect orderly operation of the sovereign state. Simply restated, states seek to maintain their sovereignty and avoid controls or coercion from other states based upon uncertainties and nascent fears. The theory of Realism

poses that states achieve security and goals primarily by ensuring they establish and defend their borders (Sadowski-Smith, 2008).

States expend resources sustaining or building up their armed forces, creating selfdefense treaties with allied states, and sustaining a capacity for using military force to pursue their security objectives (Dunne et al., 2013). Realist theory seeks to explain these expenditures, and the potential outcomes of these efforts, at the international level; including the use of government revenue to acquire advanced military technologies, commonly termed an arms race; using diplomatic instruments for arms control agreements; using legal accords in creating an resolving diplomatic and military cooperative alliances; and finally making use of the conduct of war, in order to achieve peace and stability among competing states (Collins, 2016; Freedman, 1998; Hoffman, 2007; Kurth, 1994) .

It is important to specifically note that Realism focuses on the elements of the international system: states, relative power, and international conditions of anarchy. The basic features of Realism characterize the international system as anarchic, which means there is no dominant international authority that has enough power to enforce all agreements and thereby prevent the use of coercion and force to preclude anarchy.

Anarchy in the world system does not mean that the international systems are chaotic. In Realist world system context, the term anarchy describes the lack of an overarching authority in our present community of nations and the present international system.

Power serves as the defining feature of the international environment for most Realist theoreticians. Power is construed as having key elements that include a state economic wealth, population, size and capabilities of military forces, and its technological sophistication in

weapons systems. The importance of power and military capabilities typically follows from the anarchic characterization of our international system. Given that Realists feel that there is no international authority that serves to protect them, states must simply rely on their own capabilities to maintain and achieve their international goals. A state's level of power plays a central role in providing the state with the ability to maintain and acquire their coercive capabilities.

Realists discount unselfish cooperation emphasizing unitary action and the view that states behave primarily as rational actors. Realists generally view states as the key actors in our present international system and argue that our international institutions are intrinsically weak. Therefore, international institutions play an unimportant role when compared to the present system of states. This means states seek to make decisions that are well matched and tended to support the achievement of their own interests. According to Realist theory, states continually assess states' relative power and capability, not the variance that exists within states such as unique domestic characteristics, nature of leadership ideology, or character of their economy. Realists simply view opposing states as black boxes.

Realist theory argues that the key role of states is to be the present de facto vehicle for use of coercive power, and they argue there is a limited role for cooperative international institutions. Realists assert that the collection of independent states will serve as the dominant entity (Buzan et al., 1998; Deutsch; Faludi, 2007a; Fukuyama, 1998; Nye Jr et al., 2012; Punter, 2000). Consequently, Realism asserts that our present system of states exists in an international system that is characterized by continuous competition and various forms conflict (Fukuyama, 1998; Gaddis, 2018; H. A. Kissinger, 1966; Shepherd, 2013a).

As has already been stated, much of Realism's influence in International Relations took root in the interregnum following the conclusion of the Second World War. One of the primary spokesmen for the development of Realist thinking and its application to international politics was Hans Morgenthau. In his book *Politics Among Nations* Morgenthau emphasized the importance of 'the national interest', and political interactions between nations. Morgenthau noted that "the main signpost that helps political Realism to find its way through the landscape of international politics is the concept of interest as defined in terms of power" (Morganthau, 1998).

Morgenthau suggested that because politics have a foundation in our innate human nature, it is possible to develop a rational theory that reflects this foundation as the central feature of political Realism. In Morgenthau's view Political Realism is the concept of self-interest defined in terms of acquisition of power.

Realism assumes that interest is an objective category that is universally valid and focuses on the notion of power as man's control over other men. According to Morgenthau, Realism is aware of the tension between morality and the requirements of successful power and the application of political actions. However, political Realism refuses to identify with moral aspirations as a concept of interest in defining terms of power.

Morgenthau's writings were seminal in the development of practitioners of realpolitik such as Henry Kissinger (H. Kissinger, 2015, 2017; H. A. Kissinger, 1966; Youngs, 2004). Works by these scholars show the apparent rigidity of the application of both power politics and Realism to International Relations and Security Studies. It seems that the Realism theory dominated United States political thought and precluded alternative theories that might

have led one to consider or revise United States, and other Western, policy strategies and approaches. One can argue that during the interval of Cold War, some levels of popular hysteria concerning the possible advent of nuclear conflict precluded researchers and policy thinkers from considering differing theoretical and policy alternatives.

Overall, the ideas of the Realist system are characterized in terms of each states' potential to achieve their own strategic objectives, most prominently the maintenance or projection of their respective state coercive power. However, more recently, with greater globalization and the rise of regional instability and conflicts, the Realist International Relations foundational conceptualizations and theory have been challenged (Fierke, 2015; Katzenstein, 1996; Keohane, 1989; Nye Jr et al., 2012). Thus, today Realism is generally not conceptualized as a single, well-defined theory, rather it is considered a broad family of theories, propositions and arguments. Among the most well-known of these is Neorealism.

A review of Neorealism

Neorealism observes that the interaction of states may be better understood by the examining the unlimited range of political and economic pressures that are continuously and coercively exerted by the anarchic structure of the present international system of competing states. The present, anarchic, international system serves to effectively limit, restrict, and pressure the feasible set of potential options and choices available, thereby constraining states to a limited set of individual and collective behaviors. As a theoretical construct for use in International Relations, Neorealism seeks to better explain these observed patterns.

Kenneth Waltz, who is generally considered a father of Neorealism, sought to offer a holistic, conceptualized, assessment of trends in International Relations over long cycles of time.

He argued that the world community of nations exists in a state of dynamic and contesting condition of anarchy. In Waltz's theory the anarchy of international politics implies that each state must seek to act in a way that ensures its continuing self-preservation and maintains its sovereignty. Waltz wrote that it is a fundamental law that given the conditions of global anarchy, each state must always be prepared to defend itself using force. While Waltz acknowledges the fact that economic interdependence or globalization is posing new challenges to our ordered system of states, he does not believe that our present system is being, or will be, replaced (Waltz, 1979).

Neorealism theory is often construed as a critique directed toward the apparent deficiencies of classical Realism. Thus, Neorealism and Realism have several fundamental differences. The primary distinction between the two theories is that classical Realism places human nature, or the urge to dominate, at the center of its explanation for conflict or the conduct of warfare. Neorealism instead argues that the pressures of competition and economic challenges, coupled with types of economicpolitical anarchy serve to limit potentially beneficial outcomes (Hoffman, 2007; John, 2001; Münkler, 2005; Nye Jr et al., 2012). This distinction seems to reflect a belief that much of our understanding of International Relations bares directly on our understanding of human nature and the cognitive limitations of our state decision-makers; the limitations and political intentions of our government bureaucracies; our shared cultural identities; and our governmental desire for economic and political expansion. Through the lens of Neorealism, self-protection motivates our quest for the acquisition of power.

Realism and Neorealism – critical lens

This overview reveals a thread of continuity in that the discussions and theoretical propositions presented describe the international political system as largely based upon humanity's perceptions concerning fear and insecurity which is nascent and focused at the state level. The analyses fail to look at relations occurring at other levels, for example families, communities, local, and subnational government levels. Realist and Neorealist theories make assumptions and seek to present evidence that demonstrate a rather bleak interpretation of human nature. However, the fact that Neorealism has followed classical Realism, shows that there is movement and revisionism within the study of political Realism. In other words, even, the Realist scholars recognize that modernity occurs, that the world changes, and with those changes comes a necessary requirement for the consideration of modifications to how theories function in our policies and practices of governance.

A second critique centers on the fact that one cannot fail to note that the conceptualizations and theoretical foundations of Realism and Neorealism seem to have a Western focus, modernist orientations and human value systems based upon continuous acquisitive behavior. Most explicit in Morgenthau's work is the notion that power, and masculinity appear as equal. Given this perception, it follows that modern military conflict between nations seems to involve only those of the masculine gender.

The viewpoint that war is solely a male gendered affair is of course counterfactual in that most modern armies have women serving in both combatant and support roles.
However, the view's prevalence might be explained by the historical fact that Morgenthau, Kennon and Waltz were the products of a generation that saw the creation of large armies composed primarily of male combatants, the extensive use of advanced technical means of

focusing firepower, massive levels of killing, wholesale destruction, and mass murder that were evident in their experiences in our world wars. Their generation was exposed to extensive news stories, popular narratives, and imagery that served to glorify patriotism, national military service, and the experience of male soldiers going to war with descriptions of male heroism and masculine characters fulfilling their patriotic responsibilities to defend the state.

In the experience of these authors the military casualties and sacrifices that occurred were necessary to defend the 'fatherlands' or 'motherlands' of their warring states. It is a reasonable conclusion that in the world of Morgenthau, Waltz and many other International Relations researchers these experiences would have had a significant emotional resonance and serve to impact perceptions upon most human observers
(Snyder, 1962). Overall, in Morgenthau's definition of power as it exists in International Relations, power is the control of man over man. This type of power serves as domination and is typically associated and supported with popular narratives in which the exercise of power is a masculine activity. And, according to Realists, the notion of the might makes right value set may be justified as the dominant feature of both International Relations and Security Studies in politics, principally because there is an absence of a higher authority to serve the interests of all, to protect and dispense equitable justice for all concerned parties. As Samuel P. Huntington (1993) stated in *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*:

> "The West won the world not by the superiority of its ideas or values or religion […] but rather by its superiority in applying organized violence. Westerners often forget this fact; non-Westerners never do."

A primary criticism of both Realism and Neorealism addresses the notion that international politics somehow constitutes a man's world (J. A. Tickner, 1992a); a world characterized by aggregations, exhibitions of coercive power, and conflict where warfare seems to be a privileged activity that is undertaken by only those of the male gender. Secondarily, political actors and national leaders involved in military service, the practices of statecraft, and international diplomatic officials have mainly been males. In many cases professional international relations organizations have been largely dominated by men and seem to work to exclude participation by women, other than in military service roles. Specifically, in national security and Security Studies, both academically and professionally, there is a clear appearance of this being a largely male community of practice (Shepherd, 2013b; Sjoberg, 2006; Sylvester, 2002; J. A. Tickner, 1992a).

The conditions of modernity seem to be shifting in our time. In many Western nations' women are actively entering serving in the military, government, and foreign services. Women are now found in positions of political and military leadership at the very top of our government, our institutions, political life, and our policymaking mechanisms. Given these conditions of modernity in our political and social lives, it important that we continually reexamine to the preconceptions contained in Realism and Neorealism theories.

As we consider the relationship between Security Studies and International Relations, we need to examine the disciplinary aspects of International Relations and its development as a rich field for academic and policy-oriented research. As such it is necessary to address the inclusion of diverse groups within the concepts address in International Relations. To do this, a few definitions are needed.

Working definition for Security Studies theory

Coming full circle, to understand International Relations' sub-discipline of Security Studies, there appears to be no universally agreed upon definition for Security Studies. Furthermore, any rigorous, or perhaps rigid, definition of the term typically tells more about the political perspective and orientation from which the definition is attempted than anything else.

Security Studies developed within International Relations after WWII and expanded during the Cold War. In the late 1990s, the Security Studies field witnessed the development of various theoretical innovations that include viewing issues such as environmental degradation, the roles of sex and gender, the destruction of tribal and family units, forced migration, criminal violence, and the rise of international terrorism among other topics as a part of Security Studies (Bilgin, 2001; Buzan et al., 1998; Collins, 2016; Shepherd, 2013a, 2013b). These developments have resulted in fresh appraisals and alternative perspectives concerning the nature and potential value of

Security Studies. Thus, the sub-discipline is today considered interdisciplinary, as it often includes many, if not all, of the following: Geography, Military Science, History, Criminology and Sociology. At its core, Security Studies examines the actions that individuals and groups of individuals can and do take to employ organized violence and/or to protect themselves from organized violence.

Given the definitional constructs explicitly posed, Security Studies neither excludes, nor necessarily includes, the nation as the primary focus for inquiry. Security Studies conceptualizations and theory building seek to focus on forms of security and insecurity which can include various sorts of coercive conflict including wars, mass killing, extra-judicial executions, starvation, forced migration, taking human captives for purposes of slavery or sexual

crimes, child trafficking, and other criminal behavior. The primary referent of Security Studies concerns human subjects which may range from individuals of any gender or sexual classification, family units, clans, tribes, and other organized communities. Security Studies referents range from the micro levels of analysis, i.e. types of weapons, intended and unintended effects, environmental impacts, tactics, and overarching strategies of the conflict, coupled with individual and group motivations, to macro level items. At the macro level, Security Studies focus on causes of conflict, strategies, military and political doctrines, and conventional and unconventional approaches to various types of armed human conflict. Given these definitional constructs one can generally agree that Security Studies may be considered a sub-discipline of the traditional International Relations discipline; however, Security Studies does have its own conceptual and foundational distinctions.

According to Security Studies Realists, international outcomes as varied as military interventions, violations of human rights, and improper or inequitable trade negotiations ultimately depend upon the relative power of the state actors involved. These national actors have the greatest aggregations of political and military power and a better position to determine the desired outcomes, according to their own interests. This means that disparately powerful national actors: 1) establish their wants; 2) will seek to set and dominate the negotiation process; and 3) will strive to achieve their desired set of outcomes. Notably, all their interests and outcomes are at the expense of other parties.

The question that remains, is it possible to look at these issues from more diverse perspectives? Must we continue to follow the traditional paths with Security Studies? Introducing ideas from Feminist Theory and Critical Theory can serve to move our ideas of

Security Studies into something that is more inclusive, and possibility more successful at addressing conflict, than what exists today.

CHAPTER 3

Theories - Critical and Feminist perspectives

This chapter examines two theories: Critical theory and Feminist theory. Armed with an understanding of these theories one may clearly see their value in the reexamination of the Security Studies discipline. In fact, these theories create a basis from which to address the central research question of this dissertation: *How do Critical Studies, based on Feminist constructs, provide utility for the assessment of the Counterterrorism Model termed the United States Yemeni Model.*

Critical Theory

Critical Theory is a school of thought which seeks to confront the social, historical and ideological structures that both constrain and produce thought. Often the term Critical Theory is used to describe Neo-Marxist philosophy of the Frankfurt School, although as a field, Critical Theory is best understood as not promoting a specific ideology, but rather as bringing together a variety of society-based agendas. The core concepts of Critical Theory put forward the idea that the focus of research should be on critiquing and changing society, rather than explaining it, and that this is done by integrating elements from many of the social sciences (Political Science, Economics, Sociology, History, Anthropology and Psychology). The theory maintains that ideology is the main obstacle to human liberation and fulfillment of humanity's potential for safe, secure and prosperous lives.

The origins of Critical Theory can be traced back to German Idealism and its theories of consciousness and dialectics that became apparent in the Enlightenment (Geuss, 1981). Some of these German Idealists include the philosophers Karl Marx and Hegel (Geuss, 1981). Thus, many consider Critical Theory itself as derived from work by Kant (1781)

and Marx (1867) critiquing society and political economies. However, Critical Theory goes beyond these writings, examining societal domination rather than suggesting from where societal domination comes. Critical Theory makes use of certain forms of Constructivism, Postmodernism, and Post Structuralism to question our perspectives and beliefs concerning the possibilities of creating knowledge based on application of both universality and objectivity (Rengger & Thirkell-White, 2007)

(Rengger & Thirkell-White, 2007).

The Frankfurt school, which gave rise to some significant work in Critical Theory, argued the traditional methodological separation between fact and value is simply founded upon, accepted, and left unexamined conception of social reality (Horkheimer, 1982). The research asserted that traditional or scientific theory ignored the social interpretation and continuing genesis of facts. This then led social scientists to champion a false belief of neutrality and objectivity, ignoring the social content of facts, including the researchers own self-awareness of personal beliefs, values and life experiences (Horkheimer, 1982). Furthermore, it led many social scientists to assume that man was liberated from oppression, coercive power, and deprivation (Tarr, 2017). Critical Theory suggests that this false belief concerning scientific theory created rigid rationality and limited and/or suppressed a meaningful engagement of the possibilities of substantive political and economic social change concerning our political and social systems.

The Frankfurt School's Critical Theory primarily focused on social, historical, and political forces of change and overarching criticism of the limitations of science. Critical theorists attempting to understand the tensions between the dynamics of legitimacy, governmental power, the uses of authority, and the impossibility for social resistance sought to engage in developing perspectives that show how these institutions serve to shape the content of

our ideas, our legal systems, our notions of social facts and the role for our governing institutions; all of which serve in mediating both our accepted moral principles and our acceptance of the authority and legitimacy of the state.

The creation of Critical Theory marked the growth of concerns with, and questioning of, Realist theory. Critical Theory, unlike Realism, is not based upon rigid concerns for the state, the system of states, or the achieved dominance of states within our modern political affairs. Critical Theory most markedly serves to question Realism's failure to examine significant transformation occurring in the economic system, the rise of economic globalism and the dissolution of political structures such as the Soviet empire (Rengger & Thirkell-White, 2007). Critical Theory is also concerned that Realism does not recognize the spread of international acceptance of human rights and the increasing dominance and proliferation of democratic institutions that could better address the demands of disempowered, disenfranchised individuals and groups of people (R. W. Jones, 2001). Due to these concerns, Critical Theory attempts to address these issues.

After the identification of these ideas, by the mid-1990s, Critical Theory became infused with a wide array of different perspectives with which to address issues of concern to Critical Theorists. These perspectives include Cosmopolitanism, Postmodernism, and Post-colonialism, and ultimately led to the rise of Critical Security Studies (Vaughan-Williams & Peoples, 2014). Thus, today some regard Critical Theory as an emancipatory framing of Security Studies (Vaughan-Williams & Peoples, 2014).

Current Critical Theory makes use of some forms of Constructivism, Postmodernism, and Post Structuralism, and questions beliefs about the possibility of creating knowledge based on

universality and objectivity. Critical Theory rejects Realist methodologies and causal explanations. Rather, it seeks to advocate a more interpretive, ideational, and social methodology for understanding International Relations, Security Studies, and global politics. Researchers in the field of Critical Studies make use of an important aspect in this movement as they continually critically interrogate the discipline and ask the centrally important question: *relative to whose interests, and for what purpose, is knowledge being constructed; and further who is using this knowledge for purposes of power?*

Critical Theorists' overarching aim has been to study the modes of interaction of both thought and social forces in terms of Reflexivity. Specifically, the term Reflexivity, or reflexive activity, refers to a bending back movement, which in Critical Theory serves to reflect an abstract and dynamic process of self-transformation and self-awareness (Ackerly & True, 2008). The conceptualization of Reflexivity, in the social sciences, has come to serve as an approach that stresses the production of radical and discursive knowledge of International Relations against what has been a more pragmatic realismbased attempt to produce practical knowledge concerning state behavior, and the role of persuasion in in relationships between states. The researcher as both a reflexive object and subject may be properly conceived as an agent, who revises and changes his or her personal and collective thoughts and practices through our awareness of the mutual effects and causes of our actions in a social setting (J. A. Tickner & Sjoberg, 2013).

The concept of Critical Reflectivity has been used to critique the state and the social science disciplines, as well as our rigid use of both paradigms and disciplinary boundaries. Many writers treat Reflexivity as a holistic method of linking distinctive modes of theorization

concerning social sciences. They argue that all forms of theorizing in International Relations, whether empirical, normative, or interpretive, seek to answer similar questions such as '*why are values and beliefs unquestioned?'* and appear to
continually serve to stimulate tension and conflict among researchers.

The Reflexivity challenge is one of locating the contentions between theorizing and empirical knowledge to ultimately recognize that social science theorizing is an openended process of inquiry into the content of values which serves to inform and shape our institutional, collective practices and norms. In Security Studies, Critical Reflexivity has become an increasingly important tool in understanding how agents learn to respond to perceived or actual threats, a central aim of Critical Security Status Studies.

The use of Critical Reflexivity is intended to show how traditional mainstream approaches seek to reify the link between one's identity in the social, cultural, and humanistic elements concerning security threats. Of course, Critical Theory needs to do more than simply describe our perceptions of reality; it must also show how individuals and collective groups respond to threats including armed conflict, changes to our environment, and changes to our social and political circumstances which shape one's perception of such threats (Aradau et al., 2014; Collins, 2016; Fierke, 2015; Horkheimer, 1982). Critical Reflexivity, within the discipline of Critical Studies, serves to describe the need for both scholars and policymakers to realize that their own engagement with perceived threats is also part of their understanding of the nature and sources of these notional and real threats.

In the late 1980s, there was a notable debate in which many scholars in the Security Studies discipline began to debate the ways of knowing (Lapid,1989). A group of Critical

Theory scholars begin to actively question both the ontological and epistemological foundations of the fields of Security Studies and International Relations. They challenged both fields as being dominated by Positivist, Rationalist, Materialist and Post-Positivist modalities of research and scholarship. This dissertation draws upon the work of this sector of Critical Theory, in order to utilize the ideas of Critical Theory to help expand and more fully understand Security Studies in the world today.

Literature concerning Critical Theory studies and the Yemeni Conflict is either not available or non-existent. The area's remoteness, coupled with ongoing warfare; academic disinterest in Yemeni area studies; intensive focus dealing with conflicts in Iraq, Syria, and Afghanistan; and the Yemeni antipathy toward Westerners have served as significant barriers to social science research and theory construction that would greatly inform our understanding of this area. Thus, adding this idea of Critical Theory to the discussion of Yemen will pose alternative perspectives and seek to pose differing frameworks and conceptualizations for understanding complex Strategic Studies cases which involve "new wars" and United States Global War on Terrorism.

Feminism and Feminist Theory

There is an increasingly rich and discernibly widening series of Feminist approaches founded on a range of theoretical and conceptual perspectives of inquiry dealing with both Feminism and gender constructs. In general, but basic, terms Feminism and Gender Studies is a discipline based, pedagogically sound, and policy-oriented field focusing on power. More precisely, Feminist Theory addresses the uses and misuses of power among those political, economic and social elites who maintain privileged power, and may exercise authority and coercion in a variety of ways to maintain their privileged status. Feminist Theory serves to the

study “other” sectors of human beings, those who have not attained, maintained, or are denied access to the privilege of power in a community or particular polity (Ingram, 1998).

The locus of various Feminist approaches, and general Feminist inquiry, exists at all levels: the individual, groups, states, regions, and international levels. This multilevel focus of inquiry about power draws attention to the distinctions concerning sex and gender, among other characteristics. For this research, gender will be the focus.

Gender is defined by a range of physical or socially assigned characteristics, and the resulting consequences of this differentiation. The Feminist approach and general form of inquiry serves as a useful tool to investigate the origins and nature of violence that is apparent among socially constituted gendered categories present in our modern world.

Feminist Theory. Feminist Theory draws upon a wide variety of perspectives and foundational literature derived from multiple fields of study (Ouzgane, 2006; Shepherd, 2013b; Sjoberg, 2006; Stiehm, 1983; J. A. Tickner, 1992a, 2005). Feminism constitutes an interdisciplinary academic research area (Enloe, 2016; Espinoza, 2018; Stiehm, 1983; J. A. Tickner, 2005). Feminist Theory and its prevailing conceptualizations generally have a Post-Positivist conceptual orientation.

Within this dissertation, rather than choosing between specific varieties of Feminist theoretical propositions, the ideas of Feminist Theory as a general field are utilized. As such, this work attempts to confront complex questions and deal with interdependent Security Studies issues by using the lens of greater equality for women. This perspective seeks to support intellectual ferment which helps in building a more robust and challenging means to refine and rethink our disciplinary perspectives (Kuhn, 2012).

Feminism, power and politics. Making use of Feminist orientations, the rigorous study of power and its relationship to politics is a complex undertaking (Foucault, 2018). Power has many definitional perspectives, widely based conceptualizations and broad meanings. For this study, power is conceptualized as the capacity to establish a level of influence, coercion, or outright control concerning the behavior of a person or a group of people (Foucault, 2018).

The term and concept of authority is closely related to the term power. The concept of authority is often utilized for the application of power, which typically is broadly categorized as legitimate or illegitimate in a particular social structure (Foucault, 2018). Power and its uses may be observed in a continuum between evil, unjust, values and good, just, values (Bevir, 1999). When analyzing human collective behavior, the exercise of forms of power are accepted as pervasive to human beings, in that they exist in collective, social organizations and the practice of politics (Foucault, 2018).

Conceptualizing power necessitates the concurrent requirement to critically frame the notion of politics (Allen, 2018). The term politics describes both the process and desired end-state in making collective decisions that are intended to apply to humans involved in a variety of groupings. Politics has a reference to achieving and exercising positions of control or governance, which constitutes organized efforts intended to regulate forms of human communities (Collombier & Roy, 2018; Foucault, 2018).

Human communities have various forms which may include informally or formally organized groups; typical examples and varieties include family units including tribes and clans, as well as in politically organized entities such as villages, cities, states and nations. In most of these human communities' people have collectively formed entities that seek to represent their

interests and ideas concerning the allocation of resources and forms of acceptable control. Communities establish regulatory mechanisms which serve to regulate acceptable and unacceptable forms of human behavior. This regulation is typically manifested in socially constructed norms of behavior, sanctions for failure to abide by norms, and in certain communities' development of legal mechanisms intended to establish sanctions, coercive mechanisms, or controls for collective human activity (Ball, 2012; Bevir, 1999).

Politics are a ubiquitous character in all forms of human relationships. Forms of politics are exercised on a continual basis in all ranges of social communities including groups, family units, clans, tribal organizations, business entities, forms of governance, formal or informal institutions, and national and international organizations. In these contexts, the uses of power and politics either may or may not involve force or the threat of force in a widely ranging set of mechanisms that may include coercion (Faludi, 2007b; Foucault, 2018; Sjoberg, 2009; Stiehm, 1983).

Feminist perspectives offer a sound conceptual approach that can illuminate the uses of power and the practice of politics; and serve to uncover many ignored, unheard, or perhaps silenced experiences, perspectives, and voices. Feminism seeks to correct or refine our focus concerning men, women, and 'the other' as agents, instead of simply being construed as subjects, objects, or victims. Feminist perspectives and actions can help collective organizations in creating a more civil society and more equitable relationships with others.

Reframed, Feminist Theory makes use of a set of critical optics that allow for more complete and accurate information by providing new perspectives and conceptual frameworks. Feminist perspectives help us understand the motives of those with and without power, and

alternative rationales for taking one action over another. Feminist scholars seek to pose a broad variety of previously unasked questions concerning gender and our notions about the previously unquestioned constructions of masculinity and femininity (Sadowski-Smith, 2008; E. W. Said, 2012; Shepherd, 2013a, 2013b; Sjoberg, 2006; J. Tickner, 2002; J. A. Tickner, 2005).

Challenges to Feminist constructs. In the late 1980s there was a notable debate in which many scholars, Feminine Critical Theorists, and the Security Studies discipline began to debate the ways of knowing (Lapid,1989). A group of critically disposed scholars begin to actively question both the ontological and epistemological foundations of the fields of Security Studies and International Relations. They challenged both fields as being dominated by sexist, gender centric Positivist, Rationalist, Materialist, and PostPositivist modalities of research and scholarship. These challenges led to some renewed interest in looking for a more robust level of theoretical diversity and concern about gender, security and the study of global politics.

Feminist theories began to enter the International Relations discipline in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Early International Relations Feminists voiced challenges to the discipline concerning how to think about several key issues. They argued for reconsidering and reformulating the field's understanding of global politics with more attention payed to, and more value placed on, women's experiences and perspectives, a move that was expected to dramatically improve the field's general understanding of the relevant issues.

These feminists asserted that our global order and economy's effects on the lives of men and women could only be fully understood if we dramatically changed our perspectives to include women's experiences. These International Relations Feminists voiced concerns and

argued for a critical re-examination of the key concepts of the field of International Relations and Security Studies including the nature of the state, sovereign authority, and legitimacy.

The salience of Feminist Theory in the study of politics. Feminist Theory aims to bring the discussion of equality, and inequality, to the public forefront. It examines social, political, and economic experiences, interests, and roles, and analyzes differences. Major themes explored in Feminist Theory include discrimination, oppression, patriarchy, and stereotyping, among others. Feminist Theory remains a diverse, increasingly applied, and still growing field of interdisciplinary discourse and research

(Lorentzen & Turpin, 1998; MacKinnon, 1989; Mann, 2014; Shepherd, 2013b; Sjoberg, 2006; J. Tickner, 1997; J. A. Tickner, 1992a, 1992b; Vaughan-Williams & Peoples, 2014).

Feminist Theory, as with many fields of research inquiry, is described as having several phases. It has surged and waned in popularity since its original inception as a research field. After its early surge in the 1970s, the next major resurgence came in the late 1990s. At this time Feminist Theory increasingly emerged in literature, politics, the sciences, popular discourse, and many other areas of society. This changing structure of support has also yielded a wide variety of disciplines that seek to apply a range Feminist technique and are thus incorporated into a broadly construed field of inquiry termed Feminist Theory. Among the disciplines that serve as an intellectual base and further add to Feminist Theory are Communications, Psychology, History, Geography, Philosophy,

Communications, Economics, and of course Political Science.

The overarching goals of Feminist Political Theory. The overarching goals of Feminist Political Theory are not only to understand and critique the roll of equality in the form of gender

equality, but also power inequalities concerning the attributes of race, age, ethnicity, religion, and many other areas; to re-frame and re-articulate issues and ideas with diversity and equality in mind, and to support greater equality and power within society.

Feminist Political Theory encompasses many diverse approaches to supporting these goals. Many aspects of the theory are relatively new, inherently innovating, and still expanding. The field is still developing and expanding, creating new ideas about how political institutions and practices should be reconceptualized, better organized, and equitably reconstructed. What serves to unite the diversity within Feminist Political Theory is the overarching fact that it examines the political issues surrounding equality and the role of the state, and the international political system, in the development and application of the issues of equality.

Feminism seeks to examine the interplay between human kind and the value systems that constrain and limit humanity from attaining equality and liberation from institutions that divide or restrict certain groups from attaining equality. Feminism seeks to critically examine human behavior and find ways to liberate groups that are deprived by inequality and restrictions concerning the attainment of their human potential.

A general typology for the varieties of Feminist political theory. Feminist Political Theory was accepted as a subfield in and of itself during the Women's Liberation movements of the 1960s and 1970s. Based in these movements and having gained support from associated movements at the time, Feminist Political Theory expanded during the 1980s and 1990s and began to include many more issues. With greater development of issues came greater development of "types" of Feminist Political Theory. Today, we enumerate the following major Feminist forms using Max Weber's conceptual tool of 'ideal types':

- Liberal Feminism, which emphasizes equal opportunity via the distribution of fair political rights (John Stuart Mills and Mary
  Wollstonecraft, among others)
- Marxist and Socialist Feminism, which addresses oppression and the experiences associated with primarily economic forms of oppression.
- Radical Feminism, which primarily seeks to focus on a history of oppression and the need for radical political actions to move toward greater equality.
- Critical Feminism, which goes beyond Liberal Feminism's use of gender as the primary variable. It explores the ideation and material manifestation of gendered identities and gendered powers in political life. Many Critical Feminists build upon, and go beyond, the works of Robert Cox which portrayed the world in terms of historical structures made up of three categories of reciprocal interacting forces: material conditions, ideas, and institutions (Cox, 1981). Sandra Whitworth is a notable Feminist Critical
  Theorist who builds upon Cox's framework in her recent book, *Feminism and International Relations* (Burger, 1978; Whitworth, 1994).

Sandra Harding (Harding, 2008) notes that the Western liberal notion of 'rational economic man' as a wealth maximizer, aggregator of property, and rugged individualist is similar in characteristics to International Relations Realist theories concerning 'rational political man' upon which most International Relations and Security Studies Realist theoreticians make their foundational worldviews. Harding argues that this contradicts many other worldviews, particularly non-Western worldviews, where the individual is seen as a positive contributor to

the social order, acting with collective cooperation rather than seeking to impose order in terms of self-interest.

Much of Feminist Theory believes that a more positive and less self-interested view of human behavior is central to having a Critical Feminist Perspective. Feminism is conceived as an appreciation of the 'other' seen as a human object whose views are as legitimate as our own. This Feminist manner of thinking, absent for much of our history, allows for an additional, more inclusive, appreciation and understanding of International Relations and Strategic Studies.

Feminism as a foundational way of thought, seeks to warn us against developing exclusionary schema that contrasts humans by class, ethnicity, identity, race, gender, or sexuality. Feminist thinkers typically are not disposed to dichotomous thinking and the intellectual distancing of the subject from the object. Feminist thought is more congruent and aligned with social science theorizing via more abstract ways of thinking.

Feminist Theory and International Relations. In recent years, Feminist researchers have created a more concrete foundational basis for robust levels of Feminist International Relations and Strategic Studies theorizing, field studies, case development, and various forms of social science inquiry and research (Enloe, 2016; Espinoza, 2018;

Stiehm, 1983; J. A. Tickner, 2005).

The initial contributors to Feminist International Relations scholarship includes such scholars as Cynthia Enloe, Spike Peterson, Christine Sylvester, and J. Ann Tickner (Sterling-Folker, 2015). These seminal Feminist Intent theorists continue to provide conceptual guideposts and referential positions for Feminist International Relations scholarship.

As Tickner has noted… ‘Feminist International Relations theory has a strong resonance to Post-Positivist orientation for a variety of reasons including a commitment to epistemological pluralism as well as certain ontological sensitivities…’ (Sylvester, 2002; J. Tickner, 1997; J. A. Tickner, 1992b). This reiterates the conceptualization that Feminist Theory related to both International Relations and Security Studies serves as multifaceted, and soundly based, theoretical undertaking, which seeks to involve a wide range of methodological, epistemological, and ontological conceptual contexts as they relate not just to women, but the concepts of sexual and gender differences in privilege and power (Sylvester, 2002; J. Tickner, 1997; J. A. Tickner, 1992b). Again, for this dissertation, the focus will be women, and thus the privilege and power, or lack thereof, held by women.

Feminist theory seeks to address our apparently prevalent and widespread assumptions that human biology serves as the sole determination of gender differences. Feminist International Relations scholars continually posit the distinction between sex and gender. Most Feminist scholars would agree that biological sex identity is determined by reference to genetics and human anatomical characteristics; however, socially learned gender is an acquired identity gained through the performance of a set of socially prescribed gender roles that are typically culturally assigned (Enloe, 2016; Espinoza, 2018; V. Peterson, 1999b; V. S. Peterson, 1994; Stiehm, 1983; J. A. Tickner, 2005). Accordingly, many International Relations scholars do not deny that biology makes a difference, rather they concur with the writings of Peterson and Runyan that ‘although biology is ostensibly the primary basis for establishing gender models, it plays an ambiguous and often purely symbolic role in our day-to-day use of gender constructs’ (V. Peterson, 1999a).

One of the established hallmarks of Feminist scholarship is commitment to both inclusion and diversity (J. Tickner, 2002; J. A. Tickner, 2005). However, one readily conceptualizes that Feminist Theory is well integrated into International Relations perspectives in that researchers seek to investigate the extent to which biological and socially assigned roles come into play in understanding both changes and conditions in politics, economics, and social processes. It is noteworthy that this issue has been largely ignored within the traditional disciplinary perspectives of International Relations.

For the purposes of this paper Feminism International Relations seeks to provide a sound basis to question the extent to which the disregard of women leads to a lack of objectivity and value laden assessments of the world, how the political world functions, and how it may more equitably function. When applied to International Relations and Security Studies Feminism helps delineate and question the relationship between being female and political processes, community activities, and the exercise of politics and governance. Discerning the relationships of exclusion, allocation of power, and hearing the unheard serves as an overarching goal of Feminist-oriented International Relations and Security Studies to transform our ways of understanding the interplay of sex, gender, power and politics (J. Tickner, 2002; J. A. Tickner, 2005).

The construction and deconstruction of Feminist theoretical propositions helps us explain a world composed of differing disciplinary perspectives concerning International Relations, Security Studies, and Critical Theory, and in understanding the attributes of gender in relation to these differing disciplinary perspectives. The utilization of Feminist Theory and Feminist Theory based conceptualizations are central to explaining the dynamics of world, regional, state, community, and individual politics. Feminist Theory perspectives and conceptualizations are especially valuable in constructing our understanding of local, state, regional, and global

interactions; the uses and misuses of power; the character of regionalism; the conditions necessary for security; conflicts concerning identity; ideologies; national strategies; and the conduct of our defense policies.

Feminist Political Theory, International Relations, and Security Studies. Security Studies, as previously discussed, is primarily focused on threats. Hidden within this simple definition lies considerable complexity. The primary focus of most initial Security Studies academics was the genre of war and conflict; however, this focus has broadened to include other concerns confronting our society such as pandemics, environmental degradation, terrorism, and interstate armed conflicts. Clearly the definitional construct appears to be under critical revision.

As a researcher the author of this dissertation particularly prefers a simplified definition in which security is not merely a social concept, or topic to be studied and analyzed; rather, security is a set of problems be managed and otherwise controlled by human communities. Communities must manage and control these problems if they hope to survive.

Security Studies is broadly conceived as an emerging subfield of International Relations and is at the forefront of today's global discussions as we face a range of regional and intrastate forms of armed conflict in many parts of the world. Global conflicts have typically involved the use of state power in the form of armed military forces that were engaged in the uses of firepower and maneuver against opposing nation's military forces. According to the rules of warfare that have emerged since the treaty of Westphalia, civilian populations were typically excluded as targets in these military operations. Particularly since the experiences of both world wars it has been a general proposition that purely civilian targets were to be excluded from kinetic attacks.

However, with the use of more intensive firepower in the forms of aerial bombardment and precision artillery we have seen civilian populations being subject to both unintentional and intentional forms of attack.

The conditions of warfare and the character of kinetic attacks in the context of the modernizing and changing world have shifted. We are seeing a variety of conflicts that involve national entities, non-state actors, interstate, and intrastate armed conflicts. We are seeing military-civil conflicts based upon identities, ideology, control of scarce food resources, human migrations, war for profit businesses, and differing levels of armed force intensity in the conduct of these armed disputes.

Our models of warfare between states are being challenged. These challenges can be attributed to changes in the form, tactics, targets, and desire end-states of these new forms of armed conflict. We must accept the fact that these conflicts are increasingly not just simple engagements involving traditional military forces. Instead, they are conducted by indigenous and foreign mercenary elements that seek to inflict coercion and casualties on primarily civilian populations.

Changes in modern warfare creates a disastrously at-risk form of threats to nongovernmental entities constituting persons, families, groups, and corporations that are resident within these conflictual areas. We, as Security Studies specialists, must constantly seek to define our notions of security versus insecurity in relationship to vulnerabilities involving both external and, increasingly, internal threats that have the potential to destroy or weaken existing state government structures, governing institutional, and regime structures, while at the same time destroying the social fabric that is inherent in tribal and clan-based societies.

The Security Studies community must continually keep in mind that security is not simply a social topic or concept to be studied and reanalyzed; rather, security represents a problem that must be managed, and otherwise controlled, by human communities on a continual basis if they are to have any hope of sustained survival. The global community is moving to recognize the varied impact of new forms of conflict, and thus as the discussions, and new focal areas of Security Studies, grow it is imperative to include diverse and unheard voices coming from the presently silenced, least empowered, and unemancipated minorities. This represents an intrinsically valuable integration of Critical Security Studies with the use of Feminist perspectives.

In both the Critical Strategic Studies and Feminist perspectives, we must recognize and conceptualize that emancipation is the freeing of people, as individuals, families, tribes, and groups, from forms of coercion and human constraints. Both coercion and the human constraints apparent in armed conflict serve to impede, if not stop, people from carrying out the actions and accomplishments that they could if freely allowed to do

so.

This writer poses the idea that security and emancipation represent two sides of the same construct. Emancipation represents not simply the application of power or imposition of coercive order but serves to produce true security. In both theory and practice emancipation is security. A significant, and vital, way to clearly conceptualize this relationship is to include Feminist Critical Theory as a part of Security Studies.

As discussed previously, there is no single and unified Feminist Theory, thus simply including Feminist Political Theory into Security Studies is more difficult than it may first

appear. The possibilities, in terms of how to include Feminist ideas into Security Studies, are immense.

Feminist Theory and research on Yemen. The Feminist approach to the broad study of politics offers a useful set of optics for studying the complex nature of conflict and political violence. The impact of coercion and violence on everyday life in lesser developed regions, such as Yemen, has been largely ignored by the Western research and teaching community. However, there appears to be a growing level of attention toward, and increased recognition of, the salience of new wars as a research topic. A Feminist approach, and the use of Feminist Theory, helps us to use sexual and gender differences as the primary set of research variables for this dissertation topic, and to focus on the question of how violence is actualized.

Feminism helps us better appreciate that violence is both produced and consumed by humans based on sex and gender. These differences appear to be of relevance for developing nations, such as Yemen, as they deal with the problems of modernity and nation-state and regional political reorganizations, including intra-state programs of terror such as that experienced by Yemen (Garbarino, Kostelny, & Dubrow, 1991; Thakur, 2016).

Given the tribal and more fundamental religious communities in Yemen, victim's experiences with violence serve to have a formative impact on the everyday lives and subjectivities of both men and women (Faludi, 2007a; Ferber & Kimmel, 2008; Romito, 2008; Sjoberg, 2006). Despite these widespread experiences of violence, political leadership, groups of elites, and individuals themselves often seek to establish a zone of indifference, or perhaps silence, concerning these issues of everyday violence toward disenfranchised minorities.

The Feminist approach gives both salience to, and draws narratives from, voices that are often unheard and largely unobserved. This newly uncovered information helps us draw connections between the extraordinary violence and the conduct of modern warfare (Faludi, 2007a; Ferber & Kimmel, 2008; Howard, 1966; Kaldor, 2013b; Münkler, 2005; Romito, 2008; Sjoberg, 2006; Stiehm, 1983; J. Tickner, 2002; Youngs, 2004). Feminist perspectives have direct relevance and serve as a nexus for Feminism and Security Studies which the researcher considers to be highly relevant to my research concerning new wars and United States Yemeni Model for counterinsurgency (Ouzgane, 2006).

Feminism and the union of Critical Theory constructs. Feminist theory asks both 'how' and 'why' concerning the causes of continual conflict, consequences of conflict, and the gendered aspects of war. This permits us to ask questions concerning the different natures of women's and men's roles in family relations and the larger community. Combining this with ideas from Critical Theory allows for greater inquiry into the socially constructed dimensions of differences in economic power, race, ethnicity, unequal power relations, inability to equitably share resources, the maintenance of advantaged/disadvantaged power relations, and political decisions that affect people's lives (Hooks, 2000; Inayatullah & Riley, 2006; E. W. Said, 2012; Sjoberg, 2009). Thus, the union of Critical Studies, Feminism, and Security Studies is intended to create an intellectual space to challenge, collaborate on, pose new thinking about, and conduct research on a diverse range of practical and theoretical concepts, along with nonempirical and empirical facets of security and insecurity. The foundation of this research utilizes both Critical and Feminist theory to help improve our understanding concerning new wars and United States counterterrorism policy. Particularly it allows examination of the question: *How do Critical*

Studies, based on Feminist constructs, provide utility for the assessment of the Counterterrorism Model termed the United States Yemeni Model

Critical Studies reframed to include Feminist perspectives.

The Critical Studies movement sought to reject Rationalist methodologies and causal explanations. Rather, Critical Studies seek to advocate a more interpretive, ideational, and social methodology for understanding International Relations, Security Studies, and global politics. Researchers in the field of Critical Studies make use of an important aspect in this movement as they continually and critically interrogate the discipline and asked the centrally important question: relative to whose interests, and for what purpose, is knowledge is being constructed; and further, who is using this knowledge for purposes of power.

The utility of Critical Feminism as it relates to Security Studies.

Critical Feminist Theory offers multiple foundations, ways of thinking, theoretical propositions, and conceptual lenses (Giroux, 2018; S. Jones, 2018; Wibben, 2018). As with all of Feminism, these frameworks are derived from various disciplinary foundations and disparate intellectual traditions. That said, Feminism offers an overarching and commonly apparent theme: Do not seek to distance ourselves from the world (Giroux, 2018).

Most Feminists do not encourage us to pose the 'we versus they' attitude that typically characterizes our prevailing Western modalities of Strategic Studies and international politics. Feminist literature encourages both researchers and policymakers to consider, create, and critique epistemologies that seek to value both differences and ambiguities in Security Studies. This helps in creating a basis upon which we may begin to construct a human and un-gendered theory (Giroux, 2018; Sjoberg, 2006; J. A.

Tickner, 1992b; Youngs, 2004).

One important aspect of Critical Feminist Theory encourages the consideration of Feminist oriented theory building in terms of constructing conceptual maps that have universal relevance to the world at large, rather than certain areas or geographic regions. Thus, Feminist literature generally emphasizes proximity versus maintaining an abstract distance, either conceptually or geographically.

Critical Feminist Theory advocates an abiding and continual respect for the world's innate characteristics of complexity, diversity, and differences. In critically questioning hierarchies Critical Feminists often focus their interrogatories at the individual and small group level in order to better understand how the lives of individuals, including marginalized, less powerful, individuals, are negatively affected by our current gender-based practices in global politics. As such, this work supports the use of research methodologies which allow us to use our observations and field data to create a voice rather than imposing strict explanations on this information. Making use of grounded Feminist perspectives permits a better union and conceptual lens to reflectively consider the nature of conflicts based upon differences concerning gender.

Succinctly described, Critical Feminism can be construed as the exploration of the mechanisms that institutions use to make distinctions concerning those that are privileged and empowered, and those that are not privileged and not empowered. Simply described, this dualism is the primary focus of Critical Feminism; the examination of those provided with the privilege of power, and those not provided with a privilege of power. Critical Feminists believe dichotomous distinctions have considerable consequences in our interactions with the real world.

They note that dichotomous constructions infer attributes or values of inferiority and superiority. These constructions are also gendered and have political, religious, identity, ethnic, and racial implications. Critical Feminist seeks to interrogate and deconstruct these hierarchies, often through the critical analysis of human discourse.

Critical Feminists view gender as a complex set of social constructions that is constantly evolving and changing with varied contexts. Deconstructing these hierarchies is necessary for us to see and construct a less hierarchical view of Strategic Studies and our global realities

Critical Feminist Political Theory and Security Studies.

The critical assessment and reframing of Security Studies is vitally important as states continue to pursue conflicts, make use of economic sanctions, destroy economic infrastructures, displace large human populations, create conditions for famine and widespread disease, and create conditions for maintaining a structure of violence. These acts are typically in the pursuit of their notions of achieving, preserving, and enhancing state security. In these actions of promoting state security nations may violate the security of their own state and other populations that reside in, or are contiguous to, the borders of the given state. These efforts typically result in violence toward marginally powered citizens including women, children, the elderly, the indigent, the poor, and the ill. These disastrous consequences to people living in regions experiencing protracted conflicts deserve our attention, consideration of differing security policies, and renewed attention to alternative theories concerning Security Studies. Critical Feminist approaches may provide a better foundation for understanding and resolving these conflicts.

Importance for inclusion of Critical Feminism within Security Studies today.

Within Security Studies today, Critical Feminists pose many important questions about diversity, and particularly about the exclusion of the women's voices. Their key questions include: Why are women largely excluded from positions of political power in our state system? Why women are denied the ability, or capacity, to exercise power? And, why do women face an ongoing practice of exclusion in local, national, regional, and global politics? (Collombier & Roy, 2018; Enloe, 2004, 2014a; Faludi, 2007a, 2007b; Ferber & Kimmel, 2008; Prügl, 2011; Shepherd, 2013b; Sjoberg, 2006; J. A. Tickner, 1992a; Vaughan-Williams & Peoples, 2014).

The policies of state are often based on a sexual and gender foundation, and further legitimized in terms of hegemonic masculine characteristics. In the fields of Security Studies and International Relations a common set of policies and strategies are those based on Realist thought. The basic concepts of these policies and strategies include: the idea that government decisions strive for the aggregation of increased power; maintenance of the ruling elites; protection of political autonomy; and to protect its citizens from perceived threats, dangers, and risks. To achieve these aims the governments make use of symbolism and voice appeals to organize political and social activity and focus. They sometimes seek to divide our activities between groups of humans who have power and those who do not.

Critical Feminists make note that those who construct meaning and create knowledge aggregate a great deal of political power. Further, they note that men have generally been accepted and seen in societies as 'knowers', thus societal knowledge is based on men's lives in the public sphere. This implies that women are marginalized as both 'knowers' and as the focus and subject of knowledge.

Critical Feminists challenge the idea of duality as an innate nature of dichotomized distinctions, focusing instead on the issue of equality. Critical Feminists note that most knowledge has largely been created by men and typically concerns men. Critical Feminists further note that conventional Security Studies rely on Rationalist explanations of political state behavior in an anarchic relationship among states. Instead, Critical Feminists see an international order constituted by socially constructed hierarchies based on gender that contribute to continued subordination of those of other genders. Critical Feminists consider the consequences of power disenfranchisement involving women and men, and their effects on present and future practices concerning governance, politics, periods of peace, intervals of war, and Strategic Studies, that are likely to occur if the traditional, Realist, stance of focusing on only the powerful continues.

Conclusion

Critical Feminist research in Security Studies considers women's, and others', experiences and contributions. This work can demonstrate how past International Relations concepts have rested on, and continue to perpetuate, gendered ideas about who should do what, who experiences what, and why those in power are able to maintain power in regional and global politics. Critical Feminist research also serves to help us recognize that women are important agents in achieving modernity and maturing political, economic, and social processes in our regional and global communities.

We in the social sciences, and in the policy community, must recognize that, despite the designation of the term Feminism, Feminism does more than simply focus on women, or 'women's issues. By making use of Critical Feminist perspectives and concepts we can better

highlight conditions of inequality and relationships concerning power. Feminism serves to reveal gendered power and the consequences of gendered power in regional and global politics.

Critical Feminism focuses on and is centrally concerned with issues such as women's subordination to men, the facts of gendered inequality, and the construction of gendered identity. Critical Feminism's focus on these issues will help us to consider alternative, justice based, and powerful humanly organized, secure, and peaceful frameworks in ways that Realist Theory cannot.

Within this dissertation Critical Feminism will be used to move forward in discussions about Security Studies. Critical Feminist perspectives have served to frame increasingly salient questions about our gendered constructions of Security Studies, and questioned the gendered categories that shape, and seek to shape, our Security Studies. This dissertation will use Critical Feminist perspectives to suggest further interpretations and expansions of Security Studies, particularly and specifically in reference to the conduct of our counterterrorism efforts in Yemen. This work will help to further our understanding of conflicts occurring now, and later in the 21st century. It is hoped that this work will help to find alternatives solutions to the situations characterized as new wars.

CHAPTER 4

Yemen

This chapter provides an overarching and broad survey of Yemen's history including geographic, cultural, and political trends. It also examines Yemen's protracted involvement with extremist radical elements which have traditionally been a factor in Yemen's existence.

In presenting this information it is important to recognizing that much of the literature on the Yemen region is outdated and written from a British colonial experience. Thus, this work serves to present information for interpretation from the Feminist perspective and as an attempt to provide a more complex overview of the region. This chapter is not meant to be an area study, but rather to present an overview with the inclusion of more diverse voices, and thus a more complete perspective on the region.

The chapter first provides an overview of the country of Yemen and the Yemeni population. This is followed by a survey of the Yemeni region's political history, and a brief overview of United States foreign policy concerns prior to the first Gulf War. The chapter closes with on overview of more recent events including failed United States intelligence in Yemen policy interactions.

Yemen

The Republic of Yemen is in the Middle East, at the southern end of the Arabian Peninsula, between Oman and Saudi Arabia. (See Figure 2).

Figure 2. Map of Yemen

The country as it exists was established on May 22, 1990, with the merger of the Yemen Arab Republic (in the north) and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (a Marxist-dominated region in the south). Today Yemen's government is comprised of President Abd Rabuh Mansur Hadi and Prime Minister Ahamad Obaid bin Daghir, and a bicameral Majlis and judicial system. However, the Yemeni central government is considered "in transition" by many including most Western regional specialists (AbuLughod, 1998; Blumi, 2018; Bonnefoy, 2011; Brandt, 2017).

At 527,968 sq. km in size, this sovereign Arab state is the second-largest country on the peninsula (Government, 2016). Yemen is in a strategic location on the strait that links the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf of Aden, a major shipping and transportation zone. The borders of Yemen were generally defined by the Ottoman Empire with participation by Great Britain in 1922. Even today, the borders are poorly marked with no notion of legal demarcations until recently. Finally, comprised of mostly desert, yet with temperate mountains, it is not surprising the capital city Sanaa, and most of the population, is found in the Asir Mountains (the far western region of the country). The population is 28,036,829 as of July 2017 (CIA World Factbook).

Yemeni population. The population of Yemen is predominately Arab, with some numbers of Afro-Arab, South Asian and European persons. Despite the majority Arab ethnicity, Yemen is a largely tribal society with many tribal and hereditary caste groups. Although the population is 99.1% Muslim, there are both Sunni (65%) and Shia (35%) groups (Factbook, 2015). In addition, there are other smaller religious minorities living in the Yemeni region. Thus, as with many Islamic states today, Yemen has deeply divided religious sects that are largely along Shia and Sunni factional lines.

Beyond basic ethnographic and religious details, as of 2018, 36.6% of the population resides in urban areas. The average Yemeni life expectancy is 63.7 years for males and 68.2 years for females; with a fertility rate of 3.63 children per woman (2017). The literacy rate is 70.1% (85.1% for males, 55% for females), and school life expectancy is 10 years for males and 8 years for females (CIA World Factbook).

The characteristics of today's Yemeni society come from the region's past, particularly from the intermittent conflicts, largely among the seven indigenous tribes, that have occurred since the conclusion of the First World War. The 1940s and 50s saw a considerable number of anthropological field studies conducted among the scarce population living in this region. These studies revealed extreme poverty in the area, and a subsistence agricultural economy comprised mainly of sheep and goats herding, along with some narcotics and weapons smuggling between Africa and Southwest Asia. People lived in tightly controlled hierarchically organized tribal units with strong family and clan relationships. Family units were typically Orthodox Muslim and women were largely considered to be chattel. Until the 1990s women had no rights to divorce, own property or exercise any legal rights outside of Islamic family courts.

Due to Yemen's military and trade-strategic location, services comprise much of the GDP, 61.6% in 2017; with agriculture (24.1%) and industry (14.3%), mainly crude oil production and petroleum refining, making up the remainder (Factbook, 2015). Despite the opportunities in service, agriculture, and industry, livelihood opportunities in general are sharply constrained. Thus, Yemeni young men have traditionally been a source of paramilitary, or regular soldier, recruits for military forces in Africa, Saudi Arabia, Libya, and Iran. Western military intelligence units have also recruited some of these males to serve as contract mercenaries to support clandestine military operations for Western military or political objectives.

Political History. Today in Yemen, tribes' control governates, areas that typically provide limited security over scarce arable lands and water supplies. This lack of a uniting central government is based in the fact that there has been considerable conflict among the

various tribal and political factions within the Yemen region. This condition predates the creation of the Republic of Yemen, extending over the last 50 years at least.

The region's "central government", established after the Ottomans vacated the land, has been controlled by various royalty, politicians, and military officers; each of whom overthrew the government they replaced. This regular political strife has created a culture of political and religious divides, and a lack of trust among the people. This lack of trust also extends between groups of people and the government and creates an atmosphere of social upheaval.

In addition to locally created political instability, there has also been regional instability. Because of the country's location in a historically unstable, and postcolonial, region (the Middle East, North Africa and particularly the region characterized as the Gulf states), international political and military entities have seen possibilities to challenge governance within Yemen. International conflict, in a wide range of overt and clandestine forms, has not been uncommon in the region.

Military conflicts over borders in the region have occurred regularly. Repeated armed conflicts at the clan, tribal, provincial, and central government levels have been a characteristic of this region for at least the past 500 years. In recent times, as historically in Yemeni society, armed conflict is the primary tool for the resolution of a range of political, economic, or social disputes. For example, in August 1990, shortly after the unification of the Republic of Yemen, a continuing series of military threats and political changes began (Sjoberg, 2006). These threats fed off a regional event, the violent overthrow and unexpected regime change of the pro-Western Iranian monarchy. Islamic fundamentalists created considerable geopolitical uncertainty and instabilities across the region, including within Yemen. Since this time Yemen has seen

international involvement by countries such as the United States; involvement which is explained not only by the ongoing conflict, but also by the strategic location of Yemen.

United States involvement in Yemen and the Persian Gulf: Security Issues

According to United States security studies, the United States has been, and is, involved in the Middle East, including Yemen, for practical, security-based reasons. The information and explanations presented within United States security studies is one perspective on the who, what, and why of happenings within the region. Understanding this perspective opens the door to questioning the United States security policy choices and explanations. It also allows for an alternative interpretation of the situation from another perspective, such as the Feminist perspective. This dissertation suggests that questioning United States security and policy choices and explanations allows for a better understanding of the complexity of the region and, hopefully, adds useful insights for moving United States security policies forward. Thus, an overview of the United States involvement in the Persian Gulf, and Yemen, follows.

United States Gulf region foreign policy objectives. United States involvement in Yemen and the Persian Gulf began in the 1930s and increased with the onset of the Second World War. The primary strategic interests of both United States and Great Britain were securing access to oil reserves and ensuring that oil transportation maritime routing was unrestricted. Nazi Germany sought to develop diplomatic and military relationships with nations in the Persian Gulf area to compromise British and American hegemony and strategic interests in this oil-rich region. Both United States and Great Britain subsequently occupied Iran and forced a regime change for a friendlier, compliant government (Abu-Lughod, 1998; Lackner, 2014; Mardini, 2010; Roosevelt, 1979).

The British, with American support, developed significant naval facilities in both Yemen and the strategic port of Aden. After the Allied victory, United States governments sought to develop friendly, yet compliant, regimes in the Persian Gulf region. One technique used in achieving this goal was the awarding United States aid to the compliant regimes. Much of the United States aid to these regimes was in the form of military support and military advisory relationships that supported these stable, yet in most cases undemocratic, governments.

Over time considerable anti-American sentiments grew in strength. These sentiments were most prevalent within Iran; but occurred in other regions as well, including Yemen (Dickman, 1988; Sick, 1985). Ultimately certain Iranian anti-Western leaders challenged the West's oil hegemony and military involvement, first in Iranian internal politics and then throughout the Persian Gulf.

In response to these challenges, the United States and Great Britain's intelligence services conducted an, ultimately successful, clandestine operation to overthrow the elected leader of Iran (Axworthy, 2016; Bayandor, 2010; Roosevelt, 1979; Sick, 1985). Mohammed Mossadegh was overthrown by an Iranian officer-led military coup that was financed and supported by the Western intelligence services, the United States Central Intelligence Agency and Great Britian's MI 6.

This unfortunate, and externally sponsored, regime change is termed the 1953 Iranian coup d'état by the West; it is known in Iran as the 28 Mordad coup. It saw the overthrow of the democratically elected Prime Minister Mohammad Mosaddegh in favor of strengthening the Western controlled, absolute, and monarchical rule of Mohammad Reza Pahlavi on 19 August

1953 (Roosevelt, 1979; Sick, 1985). This event had severe negative, long term consequences on any potential rapprochement between the West and

Iran's government (Axworthy, 2016; Bayandor, 2010; Dickman, 1988; Gagnon & Hendrickson, 2014; Gerges, 2012; Government, 2016; Pillar, 2004; Rhodes, 2018a; Sick, 1985), a consequence that also impacted Yemen.

Iran and Iraq: Influence United States Security Policy Objectives. Historically, Iran and Iraq have had strategic goals to establish a hegemonic and competitive relationship concerning the Gulf region. These strategic goals directly confront the kingdom of Saudi Arabia's traditional objective of controlling this region, particularly the Yemeni region.

Generally, the kingdom of Saudi Arabia has been the dominant regional power, with considerable competition between Iraq and Iran as a constant secondary feature. In this context economic and military competition, with diplomatic overtures to the great powers and the smaller Gulf states, has been a characteristic involving the entire region. Over the last 30 years there has been a variety of border disputes, military actions, and outright wars between both Iran and Iraq.

The small Yemeni region has been a proxy for these disputes, which have involved military elements from Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Iran. These disputes have served to create what can be best described as an arc of regional instability that seems to transcend the Gulf region and involve both the larger powers of Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Iran, and smaller regional entities such as Yemen (Bayandor, 2010; Blumi, 2018; Brandt, 2017; Gaddis, 2018; Government, 2016; Kaldor, 2013b; Rhodes, 2018b) .

Of the regional involvements by the United States, the Iran-Iraq war was one of the more influential; the Gulf region experienced considerable instability with the onset of the conflict. Protracted, armed warfare began on 22, September 1980, when Iraq invaded Iran. It ended on 20, August 1988, when Iran accepted Western political pressures for UN-brokered ceasefire.

Iraq's intent in this conflict was to conduct a regime change for the Shia Iranian leadership, and to displace Iran as the dominant state in the Persian Gulf region. Iraqi military leadership was concerned that the 1979 Iranian Revolution would lead Iraq's Shi'ite majority to rebel against Iraq's Ba'athist government. Forcibly replacing the
Iranian leadership would ensure Iraqi security and increase the country's prestige. The initial conflict followed a long history of border disputes, and Iraq planned to annex oilrich provinces and the eastern bank of the Shatt al-Arab watershed between Iraq and Iran.

In the end, the war resulted in massive destruction to both nation's infrastructures, displacement minority populations, and forcible long-term internment of minority populations untrusted by either Iran or Iraq. Typically, as is customary with most historical conflicts in the Middle East, as part of the cessation of belligerent activities there is some exchange of monetary or territorial resources. However, in this case, neither Iraqi nor Iranian payment of war reparations, nor substantive changes to border demarcations, occurred. It is important to note that there was no formal, binding ceasefire or declaration of end of the belligerency between Iran and Iraq.

Relative to our study of the Gulf region, it is important to also recognize the involvement of many countries in this area within this conflict. For example, Yemen provided male mercenaries to serve with Iraqi military units. Overall, there is a reasonable body of evidence

that the United States provided some support for Iraq in this conflict, an indication of Western use of proxies to further geopolitical goals (AbuLughod, 1998; Bayandor, 2010; Sick, 1985; Voelz, 2018).

Recent Conflicts in the Gulf Region and United States Security Policy Objectives.

After the cessation of military conflict in the Iran-Iraq war, and the unanticipated collapse of the Soviet Union and their resulting uncertain future role in the international community, United States foreign policy objectives for the Gulf, including

Yemen, were somewhat unclear in terms of strategic means and ends. Even though the United States gained recognition as the last remaining superpower, which some considered a hegemonic status in our global order (Voelz, 2018), the United States seemed to be in strategic disarray. During this interval, a political and economic conflict between Iraq and Kuwait, with other Gulf states intervening, added to threats of military and political instability. Based upon disputes concerning oil revenues, Iraq invaded Kuwait, commencing the start of the first Gulf War.

In response to Iraq's violation of Kuwaiti national borders, the United Nations, under considerable suasion by United States leadership, promptly imposed extensive economic embargoes on all territories controlled by Iraq. It was a move that ultimately impacted many within the region, including Yemen.

The United Nations resolution insisted on Iraq's unconditional and immediate withdraw of all military forces from the state of Kuwait. These negotiations ultimately failed, and in January 1991 the UN authorized a United States-led military coalition to force Iraqi military forces from the borders of Kuwait. The result of this action was intensive aerial and ground

fighting in which Iraqi military forces suffered severe casualties. After approximately 40 days the Iraqi leadership collapsed, and ultimately surrendered.

Iraq's surrender required compliance with several military, political, and commercial embargoes as a precondition for the removal of the previous, and severe, UN mandated economic sanctions. These sanctions created incredible human hardship on the Iraqi population; they embargoed the importation of food, medicine, and the basic necessary goods for sustainment of human life. The embargo resulted in widespread famine and disease among many Iraqi families. However, Iraq's leadership was recalcitrant and refused to comply with the military, political, or economic restrictions, despite the considerable human suffering (Enloe, 2014b; Faludi, 2007a, 2007b; Geeta & Nair, 2013; Pillar, 2011; Sjoberg, 2006). The ensuing suffering impacted not only Iraq, but the region.

Within the Gulf region, many populations fled combat zones because of extensive Western coalition bombing, continuing overflights of combat aircraft, aerial mining, and the embargoing and interdiction of food supplies, which created high levels of insecurity for the population who resided in these areas. Both Saudi Arabia and some of the Gulf states forcibly deported guest-workers from other nations which included Kuwait, Yemen, Iraq, Iran and Syria. This forced an exodus of civilian populations and created considerable hardships due to the absence of housing, safety, food supplies, and access to health facilities. Furthermore, the fleeing populations often faced either incarceration or placement into squalid refugee facilities to await the outcome of the armed conflict.

Agrarian and economic losses in these economically primitive states, including

Yemen, were substantial; the states and impacted populations had limited ability to respond to these economic and political hardships. Western powers constrained, and even halted, economic aid and the importation of food supplies during the Gulf War conflict (Abu-Lughod, 1998; Bonnefoy, 2011; Brandt, 2017; Lackner, 2014, 2018). Employment opportunities became nonexistent and many young males became deeply embittered and anti-Western in their beliefs (Bergen & Tiedemann, 2010; Blumi, 2018; Bonnefoy,
2011). Many became ideal candidates to join radical, militant or terrorist organizations. Additionally, this large diaspora created significant economic, social and familial hardships in providing basic human services for the large refugee population. And, given the absence of economic opportunities, illegal trafficking in arms, drugs, and human chattel became a growth industry. All these outcomes set the stage for growing extremism within Yemen.

Yemen and extremism. Over time, United States and other Western intelligence organizations became increasingly aware of growing groups of violent Islamic extremists. These growing groups of violent Islamic extremists voiced threats against various Western powers (Aradau & Huysmans, 2014; Hoffman, 2007; Nye Jr et al., 2012; Pillar, 2004; Wittes & Blum, 2015).

It is important to understand that during the interregnum between the Iran-Iraq war and the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan considerable numbers of Islamic fundamentalists became foreign fighters seeking to engage Western, or other Islamic, factions in a range of both military and criminal activities. These foreign fighter populations easily transited across ill-defined and ill guarded national frontiers and established temporary domiciles in many of the Gulf states. While in these domiciles these foreign fighter elements established close alliances with other groups of

violent non-state actors and conducted both paramilitary and ideological training to husband more weapons and logistical supplies for future operational capabilities.

Most of the host governments, which had nominal control of the territory in which these foreign fighters resided, including Yemen, either ignored or in some cases sought to co-opt these potentially hostile elements. In the case of Yemen, the population of had long tradition of hosting foreign fighters that served as mercenaries for other governments or political factions. Due, in part, to the weakness of central government in Yemen, the government and the foreign fighters established a live and let live attitude.

United States involvement in Yemen and 9/11. Over the last 40 odd years the United States has provided money, arms, equipment, and training to various factions located in Yemen. Conflict within Yemen was originally internal in character, and the
United States made political decisions to support one faction at the expense of another. Certain factions espousing Marxist ideology were anathema to United States regional interests, and thus more frequently targets for United States sponsored surrogate forces.

As a conflict in the Yemeni region escalated, United States efforts transitioned from simply providing arms and training to basing United States Special Forces and United States intelligence personnel within Yemeni region. The United States, making use of questionable intelligence sourcing, commenced in conducting clandestine armed drone and aircraft attacks. The exact number or types of attacks has not been publicly released by any of our United States presidents since 9/11.

United States intelligence had information that Islamic extremists were capable of, and intent on, conducting strikes against certain Western powers, believed to be the United States

and UK, before the onset of the first Gulf War (Pillar, 2004, 2011). United States policymakers received considerable, but fragmentary, intelligence and failed to prepare the United States for a surprise terrorist attack against our homeland (Pillar, 2004).

On September 11, 2001 several commercial aircraft were hijacked and used to conduct suicide attacks against the United States. Precise intelligence concerning which states or non-state actors were involved in this surprise attack was lacking. However, there was widespread belief that Republic of Iraq was responsible (Pillar, 2004, 2011). This belief was ultimately proven untrue; in fact, the attack was sponsored by a group of violent non-state actors making use of the name Al Qaeda (J. Burke, 2004; Katzenstein, 1996; Pillar, 2004, 2011; Wright, 2006). These violent non-state actors were largely Saudi Arabian citizens, some with Yemeni family and tribal relationships. There is no evidence that the Yemeni government or the Saudi Arabian government had any involvement in the 9/11 attacks whatsoever (J. Burke, 2004; Katzenstein, 1996; Pillar, 2004, 2011; Wright, 2006).

9/11 Events and Repercussions. After the events associated with the 9/11 attack, United States President George W. Bush's administration determined that there were some radical Islamic warriors, termed terrorists, residing in Yemen. By every indication, the United States intelligence community had extremely poor information about these individuals, information largely derived from secondary sources in Yemen.

The United States intelligence community largely considered Yemen an irrelevant backwater, with minimal strategic importance to the United States given their primary concern with dealing with the protracted Iraq occupation, which by any measure was failing to meet the United States strategic objectives. Most military and intelligence resources simply moved their

primary focus to dealing with a growing insurgency in Iraq and the increasing instability of Syria (Abu-Lughod, 1998; Pillar, 2004, 2011; Pollack, 2018).

Some of the terrorists involved in the 9/11 attacks were reportedly of Yemeni extraction, however all possessed Saudi Arabian passports and were believed to be domiciled in Saudi Arabia prior to the attacks. Both Yemen and Saudi Arabia have a long tradition of border crossing, and extensive interfamily relationships among people and clans crossing the borders of both nations. These borders were, and are, ill marked and not policed or monitored in the sense of Western border constructs. Tribal elements moving across these areas consider themselves to be affiliated with tribes, not territories, national identities, or ideologies.

Post 9/11, in 2002, questionable intelligence led the United States to express concerns that the Iraqi government was building, or had obtained, weapons of mass destruction and would potentially use these against other nations. President George W. Bush assembled a coalition with some Allied countries and agreed to take military action against Iraq. The United States argued that possession of weapons of mass destruction constituted a threat to international peace and security. The United States invaded Iraq and ousted Saddam Hussein who had been widely criticized as a brutal dictator during his 24-year reign as Iraq's president.

Yemen and Al Qaeda. As alluded to previously, the Yemeni region has had a long history of violent Islamic fundamentalist rhetoric and actions among various tribes.
The notion of jihad, or holy war, has a deep cultural affinity among some tribes, especially when it is perceived as a religiously sanctioned response against Western interference and hegemonic intentions.

Among the foundational figures in violent Islamic activity was Osama bin Laden. Bin Laden was the founder of Al Qaeda, the organization responsible for the 9-11 attacks against the United States and many other mass-casualty attacks around the world. He and several of his cohorts had tribal relations with elements located in Yemen.

Al Qaeda in the Arabic peninsula was intermittently active and inactive in attacking both internal Yemeni factions and Western elements. Overall, Radical Islamic thought and propaganda was, and is, certainly prevalent in certain tribal elements, and connected to the long tradition of strict piety and observing conservative Islamic values in Yemeni cultural life.

Interestingly, working in concert with these conservative Islamic values, numerous Yemeni women took active combatant and leadership roles in the conduct of warfare.

United States and the use of military force. The surprise terrorist attacks on America's homeland in New York, Washington DC, and Pennsylvania on September 11, 2001, were used by President George W. Bush to take political and military action. With overwhelming levels of congressional voting and popular political support, President George W. Bush established the Authorization for the Use of Military Force (AUMF) (Grimmett, 2006). The AUMF constituted the legal authority and appropriate statutory mechanisms necessary for the United States to commence worldwide combat operations against terrorist elements (Pillar, 2001). The AUMF was formally signed by President Bush on September 18, 2001. Section 2 contains the enabling legislation[1].

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[1] **Section 2 – Authorization for Use of United States Armed Forces**

(a) IN GENERAL- That the President is authorized to use all necessary and appropriate force against those nations, organizations, or persons he determines planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on

This AUMF was used to deploy United States military and allied forces initially to the Middle East for conventional operations against regular military forces in Iraq and Afghanistan. Some of these forces were irregular styled guerrilla elements; however, the government used symbolic terminology to call these elements terrorists[2]. The combat techniques intended to be used against these elements can be characterized as making use of extensive ground based and aerial firepower in seeking to destroy the enemy, while ignoring both the potential for, and actuality of, a high level of civilian casualties and destruction of civilian infrastructures.

After the relatively disastrous experience of United States and allied military invasions in both Iraq and Afghanistan, United States policymakers developed an alternative counterterrorism strategy which is termed the Yemeni Model. After assuming office, President Obama wished to clearly depart from the previous administration's war plans dealing with terrorism. His overarching strategic intent was to withdraw conventional military forces from Iraq as quickly as possible. President Obama needed some strategic narrative to frame his administration's attempt to effectively deal with foreign terrorist groups who were hostile to the United States, our strategic interests, and safety. To create both a narrative and plan President Obama and his top national security aides intended to refocus our counterterrorism efforts in a less visible approach.

September 11, 2001, or harbored such organizations or persons, to prevent any future acts of international terrorism against the United States by such nations, organizations or persons

[2] Among most security studies scholars there is no consensus concerning the proper definition of terrorism. Terrorism is not simply a label but also serves as a symbol or reprobation. As a working definition for this paper I propose to use terrorism is the use of violence to create fear and terror in others who are not the direct object of violence to cause them to act in specific ways. This citation is derived from historical ***Dictionary of Terrorism*** co-authored by Sean K Anderson and Stephen Sloan.

In June 2014 President Obama, in an informal setting at the White House, cited his vision for dealing with insurgent groups that were hostile to the United States, our interests, and international security. President Obama's announcement briefly described what he termed 'The Aim and Model'. The Aim and Model was comprised of the United States providing advanced weaponry, logistical support, and monetary resources to recruit and support local indigenous proxy forces, while at the same time committing very few United States military personnel to combat roles. To support these proxy forces United States would continue to carry out limited airstrikes and targeted killings of terrorist leadership.

The model was apparently named after the conduct of America's ongoing and continuing conflict in Yemen. The United States sought to minimize the ability of powerful Al Qaeda and Al Qaeda affiliates that expressed intent to attack America; concurrently the Obama administration desired to commit as few ground resources to support this combat, as possible.

During the final stages of the American ground forces conflict in Iraq, President Obama frequently used narratives that Yemen Model served as an inspiration for the continuing conduct of the global war on terrorism. President Obama mentioned Yemen as the model for success during his first speech about the war against terrorism in September 2014 (Obama, 2014).

The Yemeni Model constitutes the de facto strategy that is being implemented currently to combat terrorism elements in both the Middle East and other regions. The Yemeni Model was largely justified based upon United States policymakers' interpretation of the AUMF, which at the time of this writing constitutes an interval of over 17 years (Grimmett, 2006).

Use of the Yemen Model. The AUMF, and now Yemen Model, have been continuously cited by United States government officials as the justification for continuing a wide set of United States military actions across the world, all in the context of the 'global war against terrorism' (GWOT) (Pillar, 2011). These operations range from overt military expeditionary efforts to the covert, and clandestine, use of Special Forces and paramilitary proxies in conducting a wide range of lethal operations. The exact extent, numbers, and character of many operations is highly classified and has not been released to the United States public by President George W. Bush or his successors.

United States government officials often make use of the AUMF and Yemen Model in conjunction with the phrases "Al-Qaeda and associated forces" or "affiliated AlQaeda forces"[3]. This term is somewhat problematic in that these forces are difficult to identify, and do not wear distinctive insignia or work in constituted military formations. There have been cases of misidentification of combatants, with innocent civilians being accused of association or affiliation with Al Qaeda. However, particularly in remote areas not well covered by Western press, there are reports that actions by the United States military and their surrogates have not focused specifically on hostile elements that can be accurately identified as Al Qaeda and associated forces. The United States government has made use of rhetoric and narratives concerning the necessity for secrecy in discussing this action. The United States government claims that such disclosure would endanger United States forces and not serve our national security needs.

[3] However, that phrase Al-Qaeda does not appear in the AUMF legislation. (Pillar, 2011 and Carter, 2016)(Stiehm, 1983)

It appears that, in the time since the congressional approval of the AUMF, Congress has been quite chary and somewhat indifferent to conducting extensive oversight hearings to hear substantive testimony concerning the effectiveness and overall desired strategic outcomes inherent in this national security strategy. President George W. Bush was criticized for supporting tactics that in fact killed innocent civilians. As a symbolic tactic, Bush created a framework of a narrative that is utilized in many situations and recorded as official history. This now dominant narrative typically includes notions of 'the good guys fighting the bad guys and winning the good fight'.

The United States failed grand strategy. Wars require strategies for both sustaining supportive public opinion and assuring support across government institutions. Governments typically develop a grand strategy for dealing with long-term foreign policy or military strategic intentions (Gaddis, 2002).[4]

The event of the first Gulf War against the Republic of Iraq's president Saddam Hussein, coupled with the widespread surprise about 9/11 attacks, collectively served to bring a renewed wave of political debate, theoretical challenges, and criticisms concerning the appropriateness of the United States response to these surprise attacks. In the traditional story told about this region of the world, and Yemen in particular, a Realist based story, there was a failure to predict or anticipate the onset of regional wars in the Gulf and renewed security conflicts among global and

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[4] For the purposes of this research, the term of art 'grand strategy' is the alignment of a states potentially unlimited aspirations coupled with our necessarily limited capabilities. Grand strategies typically involve the interplay of both means and ends. The implementation of grand strategies necessitates the alignments of these means and ends across time, space and scale (Gaddis, 2018).

regional powers dealing with radical Muslim extremism. These conditions served to lead some critics to the conclusion that Realist theory is really increasingly insufficient to explain our security interests, and that we should reconsider the role of domestic politics, renewed forms of soft economic power, the potential utility of mediating international institutions, and consideration of alternative international relations and Security Studies theories based upon PostConstructivism, Critical Studies, and Feminism as alternatives in order to help understand, explain, and rethink state behavior and the consequences of military force and coercion in the international arena.

Since its congressional approval the AUMF has been cited numerous times as justification for a wide, and perhaps widening, set United States military lethal and advisory operations. Official, and off the record, information suggests that these AUMF authorized operations have occurred in at least 14 countries (Pillar, 2016). These numbers are, at best, simply approximate; the United States government refuses to acknowledge, characterize, or even enumerate those countries where United States military operations have occurred or are presently occurring. The present listing of countries that the United States government has officially acknowledged concerning AUMF authorized military, covert, and clandestine foreign counterterrorism and counterinsurgency operations activities now includes: Afghanistan, Guantanamo, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Iraq, Libya, the
Philippines, Somalia, Syria, Yemen, and certain unknown other states. (Dower, 2016). The United States government suggests secrecy and the absence of transparency is necessary to protect national security.

In in the present milieu of competing, and sometimes confusing, partisan narratives dealing with the United States' national defense issues, our strategies, and our ends and purposes for using national military power, coupled with sometimes confusing and overly broad legislation, such as events surrounding the AUMF, it is important and salient for our citizenry and policymakers to engage in informed discourse, and to question our present character and range of alternatives concerning what is being done in the name of United States security. In the context of democratic values, we as citizens should examine, question, and deconstruct current issues concerning national security from a wide range of perspectives. Although many individuals are examining and engaging in constructive discourse concerning these important issues, there is a Critical Studies conceptualization with Feminist constructs that has been underutilized, perhaps ignored. The next chapter attempts to address the utility of Critical studies based on Feminist constructs for the assessment of issues such as those created with AUMF and our counterterrorism strategies comprised by the policy construct termed The Yemen Model.

CHAPTER 5

Yemen and Yemeni counter terrorism policy: Critical Feminist and gender perspectives

This chapter provides a Critical Studies and Feminist analysis of United States international security policies such as the Yemeni Model for counterterrorism. It first examines the United States' current understanding of the problems relating to Yemen, highlighting the use of Realist perspectives, and then suggesting differences that would come from using the Feminist and Critical Studies perspectives. The chapter then relates this work to Security Studies and ends by considering how the Feminist and Critical Studies perspectives can add to the field of Security Studies.

This analysis utilizes Critical Feminism and Critical Studies as exploratory instruments to review Yemen, the Yemeni people, and the United States counterterrorism policies that are presently in effect. The overarching value of an analysis using the Critical Feminism and Critical Studies lenses comes from the possibility of greater understanding of policy effects in Yemen. This greater understanding comes from looking at Yemen not only through the perspectives the political elites, but also from the perspectives of the entire population, particularly those that are presently powerless and without voice concerning the ongoing war and its horrific humanitarian consequences. With these discussions and analyses, it is the goal of this chapter to provide an answer to the research question: What useful insights do Critical Theory and Feminist Theory provide to United States international security policies such as the United States Yemeni Model, and to Security Studies as a whole?

Contrasting Realist and Critical Studies and Feminist Interpretations of Yemen

The Traditional Realist Perspective. Historically, the United States formulation of Yemen and the Yemen counterterrorism policy largely focused on the assumption that power serves as the primary end of political action, the Realist perspective. As previously discussed, the Realist theory posits that our national and political elites pursue power based on "national" interests and their own self-interests. Furthermore, actions and situations are interpreted from the perspective of power and national self-interest; how does a given situation in Yemen impact, in this case, the United States?

From the Realist perspective, Yemen constitutes a failed state that harbors terrorists who serve as the harbinger of potential threats to the United States homeland. Therefore, following Realist theory, United States policy making focuses on elites engaging in counterterrorism operations in order to eliminate threats to the United States.

The United States views Yemen's political history as one that includes involvement with extremist radical elements, a focal point for United States government strategists and a view that calls for some type of United States response (Pillar, 2004). This then translates to a strategy based upon the use of paid tribal militias, drone and aerial bombing, and selective extrajudicial killing of suspected terrorists. In the publicly available policy narratives, the discourse largely centers on killing enemy combatants; all of whom are believed by United States policymakers to have the capacity to, and express anti-Western intentions to, conduct wide ranging terrorist attacks on the United States homeland

(Collombier & Roy, 2018).

The results of these policies, the Yemeni model, are largely concealed under

United States government security standards; again, a tactic from the Realist handbook. As such, the United States government has effectively controlled and restricted access to mass media coverage of this distant conflict and has withheld from the public the precise details concerning United States involvement and the costs to both the United States and the disadvantaged people living in this war zone (Hudson, Owens, & Callen, 2012). Thus, the Realist based policy narrative for Yemen remains unchanged despite numerous suggestions of the failure of killing enemy combatants using drone strikes and classified targeted killing campaigns (Gros, Gard-Murray, & Bar-Yam, 2015). Furthermore, there is a lack of transparency in United States security policies in Yemen, including the Yemeni policy concerning counterterrorism. United States has committed significant fiscal resources and military equipment to various factions; however, the exact levels of resources provided are unavailable for "security" reasons. The United Stated Congress has failed to exercise oversight and report these to the public. Additionally, the United States exercises unmanned drone attacks, but the frequency and effects of these aerial bombardment operations are not disclosed or acknowledged by United States government officials. This lack of transparency is justified via national security, reflecting the Realist emphasis.

In addition to a lack of transparency with actions taken, there is also a lack of transparency with decision making; the United States did not involve normal policy actors, including the Department of State and Department of Defense (Katzenstein, 1996), in these Yemen policy decisions. The policy was largely formulated under the leadership of Ben Rhodes, former President Obama's national security advisor. The composition of the small policy team at the United States National Security Council remains a state secret. This use of secrecy served the political elites and security apparatus of the United States while limiting understanding of, or

appreciation for, how certain national security strategies are determined. Again, these decisions reveal a tendency to Realist stances. As describe in Realist and Neorealist theory, the use of state secrets in international relations is a common way to exercise political power.

Specifically, in the case of the Yemeni Model, it appears this was largely a matter of male United States political actors making decisions, with no known involvement of female experts, Yemeni experts, or qualified and experienced personnel involved in security issues, or interagency coordination. Likewise, this policy development did not make use of the wide range of skilled female, or male, experts who would have voiced concerns about the views and experiences of more diverse voices in Yemeni politics; voices that would have served as a basis for creating a better Security Studies policy product.

The Yemen Model was developed in a 'knowledge bubble' characterized by isolation, lack of transparency, and male personalities. Overall, the development of the Yemeni Model was highly secretive, and not discussed outside of a small isolated group. This suggests domination and control privileges for United States masculinity, and ignores the possibilities for more collaborative empowerment, paying no regard to diverse voices. The use of this ad hoc National Security Council mechanism to create the Yemeni Model is consistent with the political Realism tenant that seeks to maintain the autonomy of the political sphere in order to develop and control who holds power.

The Realist strategy contained in the Yemeni model shows a clearly exclusionary, secretive, and personality driven strategic policy process, a process which appears relatively immature in its inattention to a broader perspective and more inclusionary worldview. As such, the present governmental stance on 'state security secrets', along with rhetoric concerning

‘fighting international terrorism’ and ‘combating Islamic extremists’, is used to justify a lack of transparency, and a failure to include diverse voices. It also minimizes, or even eliminates, trustworthy literature and useful evidence or data to anyone outside the classified community and ignores the complexities of warfare in an economically poor, tribal culture.

Finally, it is important to note the Realist theory fails to emphasize the process of managing problems rather than interrogating how the problem is conceptualized (Faludi, 2007b). For example, one cannot fail to note the shibboleth quality of the male gendered imagery dealing with bearded, armed, and threatening stances (Blumi, 2018). Consistent with the tenants of political Realism, these gendered images seek to draw a nexus with the moral significance of proposed political action against terrorism. Political Realism is aware of the tension between the political and moral command for action and the requirements of successful political action against threatening parties.

The use of the Realist perspective was, and is, a vital element in the decision making surrounding and development of policies for Yemen. These Realist perspectives and justifications invoke exclusion and autonomy, a stark contrast with Feminist and Critical Studies perspectives which suggest the necessity of including diverse voices in order to build a foundation for broadening and deepening our understanding of Yemen.

The Alternative Perspective: Critical Studies and Feminist Perspective. In contrast to the Realist stance, making use of Feminist and Critical Studies perspectives, suggests the importance of the inclusion of diversity. This key element within these theories has not seen the in the United States decision making process. The United States government did not, and currently does, not make considerable use diverse perspectives.

The justification of these actions, as noted above, is that of security. However, the Feminist and Critical Studies perspectives do not disregard security, instead they suggest security is created when many groups feel their voices are heard. Making use of this idea within the Yemen situation would entail working with not only a variety of individuals within the United States policy realm, individuals in the Department of State and Department of Defense, but also including voices from differing social and economic backgrounds and different genders, among other possible characteristics.

A second key distinction of Feminist and Critical policy analysis, compared to the Realist perspective, is the focus on critically interrogating the strategic policy problematizations through which government decisions occur. Rather than producing a set of shared, coherent, and explicitly framed problematizations among the policy elites, it is necessary to involve various governmental institutions and the public in defining the problems, and thus possible solutions. Feminist and Critical theories' technique of sharing of problematizations is highly congruent with democratic forms of government. In the analysis of the case of Yemen, the Obama and Trump administrations have simply failed to articulate a widely understood, and politically acceptable, set of problematizations concerning our strategy and goals of dealing with Yemen (Faludi,

2007a).

Feminist and Critical theories tout critically interrogating the strategic policy problematizations through which government decision occurs. Thus, they support producing a set of shared coherent and explicitly framed problematizations among the policy elites, governmental institutions, and the public. As such, within Yemen, Feminist and Critical theories would call for, if not demand, the inclusion of voices outside of the powerful elite. As this has

not occurred in Yemen, it is difficult to know what these voices would bring to the table. However, presumably, there would be a greater acceptance of diversity, and likely a call for peace as the voiceless are generally those most impacted by Yemen's conflict.

Overall, the strategy taken in Yemen shows a clearly exclusionary, secretive, and personality driven strategic policy process, which appears relatively immature in its inattention to a broader perspective and more inclusionary worldview. And, this strategy has not brought, and is not bringing, resolution to the conflict or a solution to the region's problems. As suggested here, a more inclusionary decision making, and policy development process may allow for a new set of ideas and possible solutions. This inclusion, characteristic of Feminist and Critical theories, is worthy of investigation given the current state of failure within Yemen.

Feminist and Critical Theories: Value to International Security Policies and Security Studies

Conceptually, Critical Security Studies offers a close and supportive alignment with the Feminist Theory approaches concerning a critical assessment of Security Studies. It is an unfortunate truth that women and Gender Studies have been largely marginalized in the traditional study of security and strategic issues. Over the past three decades, bias against inclusion of diverse voices has been readily identified, interrogated, and critiqued by a growing collection of Feminist and Gender Scholarly approaches within the social sciences fields, including Security Studies. The work of these scholars helps explain how the use of Feminist and Critical theories can add to discussion of situations and policies such as those in Yemen, and thus the field of Security Studies.

Eleanor Roosevelt once observed '*all too often the great political decisions are originated and given forms embodies made up wholly of men, or so completely dominated by*

them that whatever special value women have to offer is shunted aside without expression' (Tickner, 1999). Despite the passage of time, this unfortunate condition appears to remain static. Given any reasonable observation of the present-day range of actors in global, regional, and national security, including leaders of governments, diplomats, national security specialists, military figures, and international servants, one will find that most of them are men. It is an unfortunate present-day truth that

International Relations, international politics, and Security Studies appear to represent a man's world. This condition means that women have largely been marginalized in the study of security (Enloe 100:4)

Building upon the analysis of Yemen and the Yemeni counterterrorism model, Feminist work in Security Studies seeks to argue that this bias and marginalization has resulted in the dominance of various trends defining security and international politics via the Realist perspective. The Realist orientation toward a top-down focus on political elites, the male monopoly concerning uses and justification for coercion and power, and the use of security as a justification for policies and actions has been criticized by

Feminists for constructing a worldview that is profoundly inappropriate and unrealistic; it ignores half of the human population from strategic and political consideration (AbuLughod, 1998; Berger, 2014; Chinkin & Kaldor, 2013; Enloe, 2014a, 2016; S. Jones, 2018).

This Realist foundation perpetuates the view that, while the actions and policies of men have been taken for granted, the experiences of women are not worthy of scholarly investigation (Enloe 200; Tickner 1992). The male-gendered practices of sovereignty, national armies, political rights, and security have served as a systematic bias in the way that Security Studies

have conventionally been analyzed. In contrast, the rich, and more grounded, Feminist and Critical Studies perspectives emphasize the fundamental connection of gender dynamics in global, regional, state, and intrastate politics and Security Studies. Our case study of Yemen suggests the need for examination and critical use of grounded Feminist and Gender based Security Studies.

The overarching intent of Critical and Feminist approaches to Security Studies seeks to identify, interrogate, and resist the manifold ways in which the views, interests, and actions of men have been privileged over those of women, particularly in political life. It is precisely this prioritization and reification of men in society on which the key Feminist concept patriarchy is based. Critical Feminism and gender interrogation seek to focus on making the structures and functions of patriarchy more visible in order to better understand, and fundamentally challenge, the nature of both women's and others' relative subordination to men. This focus involves acting upon the idea that 'all politics are
personal' (Abu-Lughod, 1998; Enloe, 2004, 2013, 2014a, 2016).

Feminist and Critical Studies critiques have also entailed posing relevant and important questions, and seeking answers concerning the core questions: "What are the prospects for effectively resisting patriarchy and improving the lives of all people in states experiencing pervasive armed conflicts?"; and, "What are the effects of regional conflicts on disadvantaged and voiceless populations?". These questions are particularly relevant to Yemen where there is considerable evidence that Yemeni women fulfill support, and sometimes combat, roles in conflicts, and yet are also the individuals more frequently impacted by the conflict.

Yet, for cases such as Yemen, it is also important to recognize the lack of attention to, and access to, women. Because lack of attention means there is no need to access women, and lack of access to women prevents giving attention to women, the situation is in effect a double bind. Thus, there is a need, particularly in societies such as Yemen, to purposely target women in order to give them voice.

The United States academic Cynthia Enloe (Enloe, 2014a) argues that 'if we employ only the conventional, un-gendered, conceptual compass to help us chart international politics, we are likely in to end up mapping the landscape peopled only by men' (Abu-Lughod, 1998; Enloe, 2013, 2014a, 2014b, 2016). Enloe claims that maintaining the invisibility of women leads us to a profoundly unrealistic and erroneous characterization of security relations, because it simply serves to hide or misrepresent the perspective of 50% of the population. Thus, effectively challenging the Realist dominated approaches and asking a centrally important question, 'Where are the women in the study
of security?' is vital to the future of Security Studies.

In our case study of Yemen and United States policy toward Yemen, we consider evidence that United States women were excluded from the NSC policy process. Experienced female area studies specialists skilled in understanding the nature of the Gulf region, and Yemen in particular, were not included in either a governmental interagency capacity or as consulting contractors. Furthermore, there was a lack of attention to insights concerning women, gender, and the tribal nature and political fabric of this remote region.

We must also note that military planners and professional intelligence officers did not give due consideration to the issues of women, gender, and unprotected groups apparent in

Yemeni societies, such as children and families that have been negatively affected by combatant and noncombatant casualties. Thus, the lack of inclusion of more diverse voices, particularly those of women, both within United States policy development and in researching the impact of Yemeni women is apparent.

Given the profound nature of new wars, including the involvement of civilian, military, and quasi-military groups and the protracted effects of terrorism in the modern world, the voices of those without power, including women, is a centrally an important issue that deserves attention. Cynthia Enloe, among other seminal Feminist and Gender scholars, provides a provocative foundation for researching these important Security Studies issues.

Regarding Yemen, the complex tribal society confronted with protracted ranges of conflicts at multiple levels and a wide range of externally sponsored and internally conducted lethal operations, the situation clearly impacts all of region's people. However, the effects on much of the population have largely been ignored by the West due to the perception that, in this society, women historically and by medieval Islamic interpretations have sharply limited rights, and thus are not party to the decisions surrounding security for themselves or their communities.

Tribal societies, such as Yemen, have traditionally served to subordinate the role of women in resource allocation and coercive power (Brandt, 2017; Chinkin & Kaldor, 2013; Ferber & Kimmel, 2008). This is the case in Yemen, and this is used as the justification for Realist stances; thus, rather than creating a change in giving voice to the voiceless, the status quo is perpetuated. Expanding Security Studies to recognize this, via

Feminist and Critical theories, would offer, at least, a new perspective.

Enloe's research has focused on the marginal inequality of women and shows that Security Studies largely depend upon men's control over, and subordination of, women, and

describe women as both powerless and unseen. The inclusion of Enloe's work within the field of Security Studies would be valuable. For example, using her work to examine Yemen's tribal society, the nature of military oppression, the subjugation of women and others, and the economic disparity between Yemeni men, women, and others, opens new perspectives to the ongoing conflict.

Enloe also suggests 'the personal is political'. Using this idea and applying it to the realm of Security Studies would serve to challenge the notion that the private sphere is external to security. Applied to Yemen, this insight helps illuminate the ways in which gendered structures are intrinsically infused with relationships of power; the construct 'personal is political' draws attention to the importance and hidden nature of struggles between masculinity and femininity in the workings of society. Furthermore, understanding other voices, voices characterized by geopolitical and cultural differences, may play a role in understanding the ongoing conflicts among tribal groups, particularly those confronted with food, water, and arable land shortages. It is reasonable to posit that, given Yemen's present situation of conflict, tribes serve as a useful set of mechanisms to exploit racial, class, ethnic, and economic stratifications. Thus, the ingredients for continued internal strife remains present in Yemen, but by giving voice to the diverse voiceless groups, it may be possible to work around some of these issues.

The facts, evidence, and literature presented concerning Yemen and United States policy toward Yemen, in particular the Yemeni Model and the role of women and other voiceless peoples in this complex conflict, suggest the importance of 'essentializing' the identity of the voiceless. In sum, using the ideas presented in Enloe's work not only challenges the

underpinnings of Realism and Neorealism, but helps build a more robust and refined understanding, and to generate more policy relevant knowledge.

Tickner (1992) also highlights areas that help stimulate our thinking concerning how the disciplines of International Relations and Security Studies may look if gender was included (1992:5). Tickner's writings emphasize the importance and substance of the views and experiences of women as necessary elements for theorizing security from the standpoint of a Feminist approach, something not happening with the Realist and Neorealist approaches. Tickner notes that terms such as strength, power, autonomy, and coercion are associated with specifically masculine traits (Tickner, 1992). And, these are the terms frequently discussed with Security Studies. Tickner suggests that the gender ideals of manhood have become mutually reinforcing throughout the history of armed conflict and warfare. National security is portrayed via patriotic men that are sent abroad and charged with the express duty to protect the nation's citizenry, notably defenseless women and children.

The inclusion of women as a part of security, rather than classifying them as who/what needs to be secured, is particularly relevant when we critically deconstruct many of the United States government's pronouncements, media releases, or White

House statements concerning United States involvement in the global war on terrorism. Rather than perpetuating narratives where women's roles are discounted as commonplace, unimportant, mundane, and extraneous to the serious business of maintaining security or fielding military forces, Security Studies needs to include women as a part of the security process. This is particularly relevant to our understanding of the ways in which recent administrations excluded women and others in the formulation of the Yemen Model, and the execution and consequences

of military operations that were intended to support United States strategic military interests and operations in Yemen.

Overall, it is important to construct a less focused and exclusionary militarized characterization of security strategy and International Relations. As Tickner argues, this alternative perspective 'would assume that the potential for international community also exists and that the atomistic, conflict-based view of the international system represents only a partial representation of reality' (Tickner 1992). Additionally, as Tinker suggests, there is value in analyzing the production of gender differences rather than simply making women more visible. Security Studies should seek to re-privilege values associated with inequalities, autonomy, personal power, and justice rather than focusing on elites who are maintaining a gendered status quo order.

In present-day Yemen, the concept of identity is diffuse, some consider themselves solely members of a particular tribal entity; some consider themselves a clan member; and some, generally the economic and privileged elite, consider themselves to be Yemeni nationals. Thus, Yemen is a deeply divided society with a range of privileges associated with tribes, Islamic religious groups, economic privilege, and political connection. Identity in Yemen is clearly problematic. It is necessary to reframe, and thus re-privilege, identity in Yemen. A better calculation or understanding of the impact upon women and children involved in this ongoing armed conflict would be valuable.

The Feminist researcher V. Spike Peterson takes the position that the most pressing task for development of future work in Security Studies is not simply to make women more visible or raise particular awareness of their experiences, but rather to transform ways of being and

knowing in the study of security (V. S. Peterson, 1994). This idea suggest that our present comprehension and the mental construction of our world is shaped by our gendered constructs of being and knowing; our human perspectives and viewpoints are never gender neutral but are derived from our socially constructed assumptions concerning masculinity and femininity. Thus, gendered identities are constituted and reconstituted through everyday practices.

This is particularly important, and relevant, in Yemen, where both men and women have clearly prescribed daily practices in which masculine control is demonstrated to the entire community. Examples would include Yemeni women not being allowed to possess money; money is provided to them by senior masculine figure in the society. Yemeni women are not permitted to perform certain acts of physical labor, nor are they allowed to bathe during daylight hours. Men are discouraged from performing infant caring behaviors. Tribal justice and resource allocation in Yemeni settings is the sole purview of the male village elders, who act as the coercive governing entity for families and individuals with gender differences. This represents clear control by those that are male gendered over those that are not. It represents power and economic discontinuities and disparities in the exercise of privilege that serve to create a more fractured and unstable political culture, which serves to provide mechanisms for more internecine conflict over social status, gender differences, and economic discontinuities. This limits the present capacity for Yemen to create a sustainable, more civil, society that recognizes the powerless and the disenfranchised.

In the context of further research concerning Security Studies, questions concerning what security can mean in the context of interlocking systems of male coercion, female submission,

the character of sexual domination and hierarchy, and how gendered identities and pathologies are reproduced should be critically questioned.

What Feminist and Critical theories can add to the discussion of Yemen and the Yemeni Model

Directly relating to the case study of the Yemen and the United States security policy of the Yemeni Model, the Feminist and Critical Studies approaches serve to provide several key points.

During the interregnum of the Cold War, United States policymakers, largely characterized as masculine political elites, elected to provide military and financial support to a clearly kleptocratic and misogynist Yemeni political elite. These policymakers provided mercenary resources and supported repressive coercion of women, others, and less privileged elements within the Yemeni region. We have no evidence that policymakers considered any attention, concern, or political pressures focused on ensuring women, others, and less privileged elements had both equitable rights and resources. Critical Feminist theory would have helped us better assess the complex types of gender and economic disparities that are affected by the present Yemeni Model for counterterrorism.

Feminist and Critical theories would help us better frame a more substantive and comprehensive interrogation of the possible ranges of differing strategic solutions, with better attention to alternatives in terms of needs and ends. The predominant use of the Realist model has served to discount the potential utility for Critical Feminist alternatives in the strategic policy process used in consideration and agenda setting in our present Obama/Trump Yemeni counterterrorism model.

Women and gender structures were marginalized in the creation of the Yemeni Model. The factual basis of this is sharply constrained in that most of the participants and their identities remain protected as United States state secrets. Of course, state secrets are necessary; however, recent administrations have clearly made use of these protective mechanisms to conceal the conduct of special modes of warfare, including lethal killing, extra judicial activities, and avoidance of legislative oversight. This has also served to keep the United States body politic ignorant about the uses and misuses of military force in remote regions of the world. Our policy discourse is increasingly characterized as spin and avoids the substantive communications of evidence and facts concerning United States military involvement. The application of Feminist Critical Theory would have helped by providing alternative perspectives and a better understanding of the limitations of military power when applied to a deeply fractured and failed state such as Yemen.

The case of Yemen clearly demonstrates that alternative Strategic Studies theories should be used to complement and better interrogate the overarching use of the Realist model. The application of Feminism and Critical theories provides a meaningful and theoretically sound foundation in order to better critically assess the strategy process, the proposed strategic outcomes, the necessary costs, the use of differing means, and finally the expected strategic end state inherent in our counterterrorism strategy.

Feminist and Critical approaches to Security Studies are attempting to address the marginalization of women, the powerless, and gender structures. However, as with any emerging intellectual enterprise, there is some disagreement concerning the relative foci, use of methods, and the implications of Critical Feminist and Gender critiques. With relevance to Yemen, this

offers an exemplary model for the concerned academic community to consider differing focal models, methods, and research processes necessary for Critical Feminist gender research.

Critical Feminist and Gender approaches are seen by many as challenging Realist and Neorealist International Relations and Security Studies theories, although others suggest these approaches are complementary and reinforcing. Feminist and Critical theories suggest the use of critical critiques to complement and augment the more traditional theories of Realism and Neorealism. This is valuable because considerations of differing theoretical foundations broaden and deepen our understanding of complex Strategic Studies issues. It is a reasonable assertion that complex strategic policy initiatives benefit from the consideration and use of multiple theoretically based perspectives in order to validate, critically assess, potentially explore alternatives, and finally create a more robust and inclusive strategy and desired outcome. Yemen represents an excellent opportunity to present competing and complementary models that serve to better augment and facilitate our conceptualizations, frameworks, policy outcomes, and knowledge building.

As a product of this case study opportunity, Critical Feminist models would help us understand one overarching feature of killing tribal males in Yemen; these targeted killings result in increased destabilization of the tribal unit, and in fact will probably incur additional antipathy toward the West. These killings are likely to result in an increased number of Yemenis joining the ongoing belligerency among terrorists, non-state actors, and the intervening nations that are contributing to the long and costly war.

Some Feminist and Critical Theory scholars seek to make women more visible in the realm of Security Studies; although, in doing so these scholars have been accused of simply

engaging in a process of ‘adding women stirring’ (Wibben,2011). Women constitute much of our population, and they can never be simply ‘added in’ to any problem. Moreover, it is important to recognize that women too have a diverse set of stories. It is important to include diverse voices, such as those of women, but it is also necessary to recognize the diversity of women’s perspectives. As both Critical Theory and Feminist Theory suggest, diverse voices are needed, and in including diversity one must understand this includes more than society defined groupings of people. All genders, tribal groups, ages, education levels, and more are important; they are all important features of this society, the political life, the nature of the ongoing struggle, and finally our failed United States counterterrorism policy.

It is important to draw on the views and experiences of women in present political life. As such, scholars must not simply develop a more abstract set of Realist principles used to theorize the nature of International Relations and Security Studies topics but must develop methodologies and collection mechanisms that better aggregate the roles, views, and perspectives exhibited by women and other disenfranchised elements in these conflicts. Toward this end, Security Studies scholars must not simply develop a more abstract set of Realist principles used to theorize the nature of International Relations and Security Studies topics but must effectively integrate Critical and Feminist perspectives useful to critically interrogate the counterterrorism policy processes.

In the case of Yemen, it is important that we draw upon the experiences and views of Yemeni women, because women are in fact a central feature of tribal life. Women in tribal societies represent an important stabilizing and nurturing effect on family, clan, and groups in that society; our ignoring women’s roles and relevance will lead to poor policy formulations and

strategic failures. Simply restated, policy formulations cannot exclude a significant percentage of the population who are women.

Strategic Studies scholars should be educated in, and familiarized with, not only the Neorealist considerations, but also Feminist considerations. Scholars need to recall the salience and importance of the Feminist statement posed by Enloe: *all politics are personal*. Given the example of Yemen, when a tribal unit has been exposed to killing by Western supported tribal militias and mercenaries, or subject to United States sponsored drone attacks, the effects of these violent acts are first and foremost personal, not simply strategic. To think otherwise is both counterintuitive and counterfactual given the case study of Yemen, and its ongoing recruitment of anti-Western terrorist factions and increasing antipathy toward Western values. In other words, killing both combatants and innocent civilians must be construed as personal.

Despite the distinctive subfields of Feminist and Gender approaches to Security Studies, making use of Critical Feminist and Gender approaches constitutes one of the most dynamic and interesting areas concerning the development of Critical Security Studies. This range of scholarship serves to raise important questions about the role of women in international, regional, state, and intrastate security. Research case studies and theory building concerning the gendered nature of security serves to open new insights, create better interrogations, and create frameworks and theories concerning the behavior and identity of the state and other political institutions, as well as the relationship between sexualized politics and violence. It is the complex relationship between politics, economy, and human security that helps us draw attention to the inequalities and disadvantaged status that are otherwise largely obscured in traditional Security Studies.

This work in Critical Security Studies would help us to develop new optics concerning problem cleavages, and distinctions of domestic versus international, private versus public, order versus anarchy, haves versus have-nots, and advantaged versus unadvantaged statuses. Moreover, the insight that the personal is political serves to draw attention between the use of military and structural power and violence, the importance of the everyday as the locus of security efforts, and the reality that the private sphere is no longer beyond relevance in the Security Studies field.

Despite some disagreement about the implications of these insights for building theory and practice, this field has brought people the forefront of analyzing security relationships in context with the discourse of human security. Understanding security issues from the point of view of the disadvantaged and the subjugated not only brings out gender inequalities, but also brings the hidden dimensions of gender, race, class, and culture into our Security Studies framework. For this reason, Gender and Feminist critical approaches of all kinds are likely to help us innovate, broaden, and open the field of Critical Security Studies to deal with present and emerging conflicts and warfare.

By integrating Critical Gender and Feminist approaches to Yemen, the war, and the Yemeni Model it is possible to develop an initially crafted summary account of the relationship between the Yemeni Model and the Critical, Gender, and Feminist perspectives. This model can be best conceptualized as a Weberian ideal type of construct. The following outline returns to the key concepts of Critical Security Studies and demonstrates some of the ideas as filtered through the lens of Critical Theory and

Feminist Theory.

Statism. The region termed Yemen does not fit our Western political image of either nations or states as defined in Western political science. Yemen and its successive set of failed governments have not stood as reliable defenders of the safety, well-being, and security of their inhabitants. Furthermore, Yemen is best conceived as a tribal society with numerous local provinces or governates, entities that compete for both internal political power and territorial resource.

Identity. Approximately 80% of the population of Yemen lives in tribal communities. The tribes constitute their primary identity and most Yemeni citizens have no conscious affiliation with the national government, or with their identity as a citizen of the state of Yemen. Rather, these people tend to identify first with their particular tribal or religious group.

An Ever Widening and Deepening Security Agenda. The threat of continual Western drone attacks, and aerial bombardment by Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states, represents an existential challenge to day-to-day personal security. The day-to-day lives of Yemenis existing under this threat have become extremely disorienting; the danger they face is a severe impediment to a civil and ordered way of existence. The threat of food scarcity compounds the effect of the continual threat of aerial attacks.

The situation in Yemen is chaotic and characterized by a wide range of threats which include increasing use of drugs, tribal violence, failure of monetary investments, and the threat of forced diaspora. Additionally, rising health epidemics and a lack of available clean water create a regional security threat which may lead to mass migrations to other nations in the region. These migrations may serve to create a range of tribal community and national tensions and insecurity.

Competing warring elements supported by proxies, which include the United States, the United Kingdom, Saudi Arabia, and the Emirates, are compounding the widening and deepening security challenges for the Yemeni region.

Referent objects. The warring political/religious elements, the Shia and Sunni tribal factions, mean that the insecurity for the majority and minority populations of the Yemeni region and its neighbors is increasingly problematic. Present-day Yemeni security means economic and political security for a ruling minority elite, and not the vast majority of Yemen's citizens.

Gender rights. Security at the individual and group level is constantly threatened by women being excluded from the political process, denied the rights of property, denied the rights for healthcare, denied the rights to choose an appropriate marriage partner, and the obligatory consequences of genital mutilations. Women in Yemen are considered chattel and the property of first their family patriarch, and then the husband chosen by the family. Women are economically imprisoned by the family arrangement, and if the death of the husband occurs, Yemeni widows must either return to their family, become a beggar, or serve as a prostitute. Additionally, there is a class of Yemeni citizens who have gender dysmorphia, and, in many cases, serve as prostitutes under the rubric being termed a tea servant; they have no legal rights, low visibility, and low status in Yemen's present society.

Yemen Theory Praxis Nexus. No small part of the present chaos in Yemen is due to generation upon generation of Yemen's youth learning to look upon other tribes as inferior, or as potential threatening combatants. The sectarian Islamic madrasa schooling systems are

proselyting entities that serve to create and recruit violent political actors who are involved in sectarian killings in Yemen.

United States Security Studies Theory Praxis Nexus. From both United States foreign policy and strategic Security Studies perspectives, many features of the failure of the Yemeni Model can be linked to the failure of the Obama and Trump policies. These policies were based upon exclusion of Yemeni area studies experts, the failure to abide by a normal interagency policy process, the failure of the United States Congress to provide proper oversight, and the absence of transparency.

Evidence to support the believed exclusion of women with appropriate credentials as International Relations or Security Studies specialists from the United States National Security Council organization is readily available. The presidents responsible in these important strategic considerations failed to ensure the use of an inclusionary process that would have better framed the strategy, the means and ends, and had a better accounting for the problems of conducting remote drone killings against high value targets living amidst tribal populations. The character of these tribal populations was largely ignored, a mistake clearly coupled with an inattention to disadvantaged women, others, and children who are inevitably involved in these undeclared wars and targeted killings presently sanctioned by the United States Authorization for the Use of Military Forces (AUMF). Lastly, there is an absence of understanding that, given the xenophobic character of many tribal societies, perhaps these Western sanctioned killings are presently serving to create more candidates to join anti-Western or international terrorist entities.

Conclusions: Security Studies and Broadening the Scope and Understanding

Feminist and Critical Security Studies researchers are increasingly called to respond to the proposition that the study of security via these theories generates a range of useful theoretical, methodological, and perhaps normative implications. In his seminal writings concerning the relationship of Security Studies and Critical Theory, Wyn Jones suggests that Critical Theory allows for the 'broadening', 'deepening', 'extending', and 'focusing' of Security Studies (R. W. Jones, 2001). These conceptualizations are useful and relevant to our examination of the present condition of chaos concerning Yemen and the United States security policy concerning Yemen.

In Wyn Jones' Critical Studies framework the concept of '*broadening*' refers to employing Security Studies in a way that is inclusionary for a range of issues beyond the typical focus on military force under the rubric of security. The term '*deepening*' implies a theoretical approach to security that seeks to connect our understanding of security to broadly rooted assumptions concerning the nature of our general political lives.
'*Extending*' denotes the expansion of the Critical Security Studies research and teaching agenda to recognize the multiplicity of issues, and not simply the multiplicities of actors beyond the state, as the primary referent object of insecurity, with special attention to including the most fundamentally important issue, the roles and inherent rights of individual human beings.

Explicit in this set of conceptualizations is the inclusion of humans of all genders. This is closely aligned with the Feminist proposition that all politics are personal (Enloe, 2014a). The Critical approach to Security Studies seeks to provide an approach to security that is ultimately focused in the overarching sense and is grounded on a singularly important normative

political goal, ‘human emancipation’ (Abu-Lughod, 1998; V. S. Peterson, 1994; Sjoberg, 2009; Stiehm, 1983; J. A. Tickner, 1992b).

Appling this to Yemen and the United States security policies concerning Yemen, greater inclusion of all humans would likely work to suggest, if not find, possible new solutions. By understanding diverse perspectives of what the problem is, what the major concerns are, and what inflames the conflict it would be easier to find solutions to these issues. This perspective would address more of what concerns the Yemeni people than the current Realist policy, which simply addresses the concerns of the ruling United States and Yemeni elites, is capable of.

In summary, based upon reflections contained in this chapter, one must conclude that the Yemeni Model counterterrorism policy process could have made use of alternative perspectives and theoretical foundations from Critical and Feminist perspectives. These Critical and Feminist perspectives would have included alternative formulations, more robust interrogations, critical reappraisals, and a more robust consideration concerning the negative effects of sanctioned killings and ignorance concerning the role of women and others in Yemen’s tribal societies.

Critical and Feminist perspectives would have permitted alternative formulations and critical judgments that would, most likely, have been highly beneficial when applied to this state secret process, a process which avoided normal interagency reviews and United States Congressional overviews. The policy process concerning counterterrorism avoided the use of Yemeni area experts, and apparently excluded qualified women from this specific policy formulation process.

Lastly, the absence of mass media coverage concerning the Yemeni Model, its consequences, and its failures led largely to indifference, or perhaps ignorance, concerning the United States involvement in this counterterrorism strategy.

The use of these emerging and distinctive subfields of Feminist and Gender approaches to Security Studies, making use of Critical Feminist and Gender approaches, may have served to create a much more positive and useful counterterrorism policy outcome for the United States in dealing with Yemen, other failed and failing states, and violent non-state actors. I regard the failure to use this Critical Feminist approach as one of the failures of imagination in challenging the Realist and Neorealist Strategic Studies approaches.

A more complete and thorough understanding of Yemen, the ongoing conflict, and the United States Yemeni Model remains very problematic given that we have an absence of current field studies conducted on the nature of sexual politics in Yemeni society. Much of the present literature is outdated and was conducted by British Imperial sociologists prior to the onset of the Second World War. Thus, given changes such as the rise of conservative Islamic ideology and practices in the Yemeni region, largely occurring in the 1970s and 1980s, work such as this dissertation are vital to presenting new ideas for understanding Security Studies in areas such as Yemen. From the Feminist and Critical Studies perspective, this is a vital step. Inclusion of these voices would allow for a broader based perspective of what the Yemen people want and would thus allow for a situation in which there would a greater probability of achieving a buy-in from a broader portion of the society.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusion

The overarching purpose of this research has been to present serious thinking and writing about United States security policies, and the Yemeni Model, from the Critical, Feminist, and Gendered perspectives. Further, the goal was to present this work and push the reader to consider new interpretations, not to describe or predict a end-state or present a change of United States counterterrorism policy such as the Yemen Model. This writing is not framed as a recommended blueprint for expected policy adoption, or for substantive counterterrorism policy change; rather, it aims to craft a different political space in which a collective community of Strategic Studies researchers, critics, policy actors, and policy analysts can make better use of Gender and Feminist perspectives to more effectively reflect, and then operate, on issues clearly apparent in the conduct of critiquing counterterrorism policies.

In line with the Critical Gender approach, this research consists of a series of questionings, stances, and perspectives, not calls for policy directives. In this work Yemen is intended to serve as a case study used to focus on a range of critical interrogations and the derivation of evidence and facts, a genuine example to aid researchers and strategic studies analysts to reflect upon the presuppositions and underpinnings of specific Strategic Studies policy proposals.

This research seeks to offer a foundation for researchers and analysts to build upon as they to consider the utilization of Critical, Gender, and Feminist frameworks and perspectives to reflect on alternate ways of constituting Strategic Studies problematizations, interrogatives, and stances. Researchers and analysts' consideration of these perspectives may advance the

examination of alternative formulations; better, more robust, problematizations; new subjects; differing objects; and new ways of imagining and implementing policy initiatives. In the Positivist sense, these techniques may serve to provide better efficacies, result in better outcomes, and lead to strategic policy situations that exhibit more effective use of ends, means, and strategic outcomes.

The research presented here suggests that, from any reasonable perspective, the United States presently is confronted with a counterterrorism policy that is, and remains, in disarray. The policies are not providing effective results and are characterized by an absence of focus in terms of expected policy outcomes. Furthermore, this works suggests the benefits that can come from new, or under-represented, perspectives. As highlighted in this research, adding Critical Feminist perspectives may allow for more voices, better understanding of the unique role of character in certain tribal settings, an assessment of how fragile families may be under threat in the course of targeted killings and serve as a catalyst for inclusion of gender in Strategic Studies assessments in our ongoing Global War of Terrorism.

This writing seeks to establish that Critical Analysis theoretical constructs provide useful insights and conceptualizations, particularly with the complementary inclusion of Gender and Feminist frameworks. This collection of Critical Analysis, Gender, and Feminist frameworks assists us in critically generating and structuring more useful, grounded, and particularly applicable research projects, field studies, and policy related writings. Toward this end, the inclusion of Critical Feminist and Gender based topics in our present teaching of Strategic Studies, security issues, and aspects of International Relations would offer a complementary

means for post-structural policy analysis, and in forms that people can understand, employ, and hopefully find useful.

It is important for the engaged academic community to foster and teach the value of reflective inquiry, if not resistance, that sits outside power. Inquiry, assessment of evidence, questioning of government narratives, and addressing critical opposition can help us positively interact with, and perhaps challenge, the complex relations and practices among our government, institutions, and body politic, rather than simply responding to manipulation by government elites and their narratives. In sum, Enloe's observation that *all politics are personal* makes extremely good sense when considering and teaching complex strategic studies problems (Enloe, 2016).

It is important to consider that Strategic Studies policy analysis seeks more than the simple study of policy, but also to consider people's views concerning policy and how it is possible for such views to exist. Most governments seek to shape people's views to create a degree of consensus and aggregate support for their policies. From the Critical perspective, government policies should not be construed as monolithic, to simply determine rationality; presently they are largely ideologically based, largely meant to appeal to partisan political bases, an apparent condition of our American democracy at this point in our political history. Instead our United States security policies should be agile and framed in accord with the set of unique confluence of international and regional goals of recognizing human rights, unique gender and tribal characteristics, sustainable geo-economic conditions and reflect the range of democratic values of security, personal safety and self-governance.

By any reasonable measure, Yemen represents a useful, and perhaps emerging, prototype for the 'new wars' model of conflict. Yemen reveals that we are largely unprepared to effectively deal with these new wars (Abu-Lughod, 1998; Beehner et al., 2017; Blakeley, 2018; Blum & Heymann, 2010; Chinkin & Kaldor, 2013; Kaldor, 2013a, 2013b; Mueller, 2007; Münkler, 2005; Rhodes, 2018b). It is beyond the scope of this writing to make any assessment on the probable end-state of this conflict. The factors, and changing operational and strategic realities, involved in this complex conflict create considerable obstacles to forecasting final outcomes. However, this inability does not imply that we should not continually and critically question United States involvement in this regionally important internecine warfare. And, Critical Feminist theory provides a valuable framework from which to critically question and present an alternative perspective to help us consider the nature of the power, and the absence of political suasion by a voiceless and powerless segment of the Yemeni population.

This research points to the strength found in creating an epistemic community of academics, researchers, policy actors, and individuals or groups who have an authoritative claim for policy relevant knowledge within their domain of expertise. An epistemic community of experts studying New Wars, Critical Studies, Feminism, and gender, as related to the study of national strategy and Security Studies, will add new alternatives the discussions, and possibly identify future solutions to security issues.

Ideally this community would share knowledge about the causations of social, political, sexual, and gender phenomena in the area for which they have a reputation for competence i.e. the Middle East, the Gulf region, or violent state actors. Furthermore, the group would also

possess a common set of normative beliefs about what will benefit human welfare and attain security at the individual, group, state, and regional levels.

Members of this community would collaborate and exchange Feminist and Gender values, principled beliefs, shared agreement concerning causal relationships, and professional judgments to create frameworks, models and, perhaps, theories based upon intersubjectivity and externally defined criteria for validating knowledge, and finally engage in a common set of Critical policy analysis projects.

This call for the creation of a Security Studies international epistemic community may represent an idealistic perspective; however, as Yemen reveals, this type of collaborative effort among interdisciplinary experts could create more effective policy options for dealing with a range of counterterrorism issues. Thus, more effective options would help not only with the current security situation in Yemen but may also help with issues that will confront our community of nations in the foreseeable future.

The central role played by Strategic Studies Critical Feminist and Gender epistemic communities would ideally be to create an intellectual and popular climate favorable to the inclusion of Critical, Feminist and Gender perspectives, so that and members could produce both the knowledge and narratives required to deal with these issues in the context of new wars. This knowledge in turn could be used by thought leaders, policy entrepreneurs, and policymakers in order to gain increased political legitimation and authority in our democratic process.

Lastly, this posed epistemic community could serve to focus more widespread attention on Gender and Feminist phenomena, and help provide policy makers with reasons why, despite their nascent ideological and political differences, Gender and Feminist issues are important in

our understanding of Strategic Studies policies. This research points to the needs for a more robust consideration and widening inclusion of feminist thought, use of feminist models and analytics, not simply inclusion of females to the field of strategic studies, especially as our nascent foundational theoretical constructs are developed and academic policy research becomes more active and salient as the strategic studies field become more mature.

This widening and more inclusive direction can be further facilitated by academic teaching and professional development programs for policy researchers that posit the value of feminist models, feminist theory and policy analytics that ensure that men are exposed to the utility and intrinsic richness for the use of feminism in consideration of strategic studies problems and challenges that are confronting regional and global challenges. We must ensure that males tend to dominate our present strategic studies policy making have an adequate understanding of the feminism to augment our present realism and neorealism models that seem to have prevalence in US policymaking, as described in our case study dealing with Yemen and the Yemeni model.

It is both a weakness and strength of this case effort that we have focused on US policymaking in the context of the global war and terrorism by using Yemeni model as an exemplar. The limitations are apparent in that we have excluded other Western powers and Middle Eastern regional powers who are presently involved in the Yemeni conflict. This limitation is unavoidable and that we have poor placement, access and ability to conduct social science research in a region that has experienced armed conflict for over 40 years. These are clearly barriers to conduct a more robust, grounded social science and strategic studies inquiries. The presence of these barriers should not serve to exclude

other forms of inquiry that are not necessarily dependent on having placement and access to the present complex interplay among national, regional and violent nonstate actors who are involved in the Yemeni region. Clearly this research points out that we have much work to do in strategic studies dealing with this region and the emergent forms of armed conflict that are clearly of observable in Yemen.

The starting point for creating this epistemic community is to increase attention in curricula development toward informal collegial discussions, development of case studies, and inclusion in Political Science and Strategic Studies courses. The concepts found in this dissertation may serve as one piece of the work to be included.

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