

# PEMBROKE CENTER

## Associates Newsletter

### Hawks and Doves: What's Gender Got to Do with It?

What kinds of people support going to war in the face of a threat?

Scholars have found that those who self-report higher levels of aggression and who test for genetic susceptibility to aggression are more likely to support interventionist foreign policy and utilitarian calculus on moral decision-making, such as sacrificing one life to save others. This correlation holds up more strongly for men than for women.

"Physically stronger men are more likely to be supportive of interventionist foreign policy, 'stronger' being measured by bicep circumference and how much physical weight can be lifted with the upper body," said Rose McDermott, Professor of Political Science and David and Marianna Fisher University Professor of International Relations. She has been working with scholars studying this question as part of her own research on aggression.

Professor McDermott spoke for the Pembroke Center Associates event, *Hawks and Doves: What's Gender Got to Do with It?*, during Brown's Family Weekend. Suzanne Stewart-Steinberg P'19, Director of the Pembroke Center and Professor of Italian Studies and Comparative Literature, moderated the discussion.

"What is true for women is that more beautiful women are more likely to support interventionist foreign policy," continued McDermott. Scholars also looked at physical strength in women



Rose McDermott and Suzanne Stewart-Steinberg P'19 discuss aggression, gender, and politics during Family Weekend at the Pembroke Center.

and it did not correlate with support for aggressive foreign policy as it did for men.

People who have high status because they are very strong or very beautiful are used to getting their way easily by pressuring other people to do what they want. This carries over from the realm of interpersonal conflict to conflict resolution in terms of foreign policy.

"This comes out of an evolutionary model that says when you can confer costs or withhold benefits it gives you more power," she added. "So conferring costs means that I punch you in the face. Withholding benefits is, 'I am really beautiful but you can't look at me unless you do what I want, or you can't have sex with me.'"

McDermott explained that the study found that people are very good at accurately judging a man's physical strength by looking at a photo of the subject's face – they did not need to see his body. Likewise, people can accurately predict physical strength by listening to a recording of the subject's voice – even if he is speaking in an unknown language. It is the tone of voice that is discerned, not the meaning of the words being spoken, that conveys physical strength. She noted that there is much more cultural variance in assessments of beauty.

McDermott also discussed how the context of foreign policy decisions matters, observing that there is a big difference when it comes to wars of offense versus wars of defense.

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## From the Director

Each new academic year is always an exciting time at the Pembroke Center as we present engaging programs, offer new courses, and pursue rigorous research. The centerpiece of the Pembroke Center's research program is the yearlong Pembroke Seminar, which brings together faculty, visiting scholars, postdoctoral fellows, graduate students, and undergraduates to explore a new theme each year.

Bonnie Honig, the Nancy Duke Lewis Professor of Modern Culture and Media and Political Science, is leading this year's Pembroke Seminar, "Anti-War! Theaters of War/Politics of Refusal." In this role, she holds the Pembroke Center's Chesler-Mallow Senior Faculty Fellowship. Honig's scholarship is impressive. She is the author of *Political Theory and the Displacement of Politics* (Cornell University Press, 1993), *Democracy and the Foreigner* (Princeton University Press, 2001), *Emergency Politics: Paradox, Law, Democracy* (Princeton University Press, 2009), and *Antigone, Interrupted* (Cambridge University Press, 2013). *Public Things: Democracy in Disrepair* is forthcoming from Fordham University Press in 2017.

In the Pembroke Seminar, scholars are exploring anti-war activism through a theoretical lens, drawing especially on the contemporary turn to a "politics of refusal," an emerging body of theoretical literature. Since war resistance is often fueled by theater – most predictably, the *Antigone*, but also (among many others) the *Lysistrata* – this seminar also is exploring possible connections between theatricality and refusal. Reading a tragedy and a comedy in which women engage in anti-war politics, one by way of what is often seen as conscientious objection (*Antigone*) and the other by way of what might well be called a politics of refusal – a sex strike (*Lysistrata*) – is facilitating the exploration of the politics of gender and genre.

In another exciting development, the Pembroke Center has launched the new "Black Feminist Theory Project." This new visiting scholar initiative brings a black feminist theorist to campus each year to contribute to the Pembroke Center's research, to work with students, fellows, and faculty, and to deliver a lecture while on campus. Ann duCille MFA'73, AM'88, PhD'91, Emerita Professor of English at Wesleyan University, is the inaugural Distinguished Professor in Residence in the program and helped develop the project. She also has pledged her papers to the Center's Feminist Theory Archive. Her current research examines how race is represented in television across genres, including comedies, reality shows, dramas, and game shows. We look forward to her lecture in the spring semester.

It strikes me as I write this how essential the Pembroke Center Associates have been, and continue to be, to the Pembroke Center. Many of you contributed to the endowment that established the Nancy Duke Lewis chair now held by Bonnie Honig. The outpouring of support for the Pembroke Center Archives Endowment has been nothing short of thrilling. Your annual membership contributions to the Associates make this newsletter, our alumnae/i programming, student grants, and so much more possible.

Thank you. We could not do it without you.



Sincerely,  
Suzanne Stewart-Steinberg P'19  
Director

# Hawks and Doves

*Continued from page 1*

“If you’ve been attacked, such as on 9-11 or at Pearl Harbor, everyone is on board. If you look at World War II, everyone was growing vegetables, everybody was buying bonds, and everyone was on board.

“If you think about wars of offense, where we’re going out and engaging in imperialist aggression in the Philippines or where we are going to invade Iraq or Afghanistan, you get much bigger gender differences. Men are more supportive and women are not. I think part of it has to do with emotion.

“On average, women tend to be more fearful and men tend to be more angry. Angry people, whether male or female, are much more optimistic about the likelihood of victory.

“That alignment of predisposing emotion with gender can affect these kinds of choices, about which sort of war you are going to support – offense versus defense,” she concluded.

## IMPLICATIONS OF THIS RESEARCH FOR US POLITICS

“I don’t think it is accidental, that [Hillary Rodham Clinton] is tied to somebody who was a prominent male politician,” said McDermott, referring to former president Bill Clinton. “You see this in other places in the world where a widow of somebody comes to power. That is easier as a glass ceiling breaker than it is for somebody who had never been in the political realm.”

“If she does get elected, it will be the first time in history that three of the most powerful countries in the world are led by women,” she added, citing Theresa May in the United Kingdom and Angela Merkel in Germany.

“Whether or not that will change the outcome of domestic or foreign policy, you can’t predict, but you can speculate based on past studies that have been done on group behavior,” she said.

McDermott noted that past women leaders, such as Margaret Thatcher and Indira Gandhi, who were very hard and conservative leaders, were each

one woman in an environment of all men. If the constellation of leaders changes, however, so might the dynamics of policymaking.

“What I’m really interested in is if Clinton does become president, what happens with the allocation of resources. Right now, the United States spends about \$600 billion a year on military weapons. That’s a lot of money.

“Think about what happens if some of that money starts getting allocated to education or to health care or to some other aspect of society. Obviously, the president alone doesn’t make those decisions, but it intersects with political ideology. If you get three very, very powerful leaders who all make a decision that they are going to cooperate in military and foreign policy, that frees up a lot of resources to be allocated elsewhere.

“You see that in the United States Senate. To the extent that we’ve been able to break the logjam and get consensus and get laws passed, it has been through the women’s caucus. Women on the Republican and Democratic sides joined together to put forward bills.

“There are ways that cooperation happens for the female legislators that is different for male legislators, probably because status competition isn’t quite as salient. There is other competition going on [for women legislators] but the status competition isn’t quite the same,” said McDermott.

## OTHER FACTORS LINKED TO AGGRESSION

Responding to a question from Stewart Steinberg about aggression and sex, McDermott said she thinks that age has a lot to do with how the two intersect. She spoke about one of her studies that found that the highest levels of aggression were observed in really young men and really old women. But for the women, it was completely conditioned by whether they were taking hormone replacement therapy. If older women were on estrogen replacement therapy they did not score high on aggression.



PHOTO CREDIT: HANK RANDALL

More than 100 people attended *Hawks and Doves: What’s Gender Got to Do with It?* on October 21, 2016.

An audience member asked if physical fitness was measured for both men and women in connection to aggression, noting that physical fitness is connected to both attractiveness and physical strength.

McDermott explained that the relationship between physical fitness and attractiveness, especially in women, is a Western cultural construct. She noted that in many other cultures around the world there is not a strong association between fitness and attractiveness.

“In fact, in places where populations live at subsistence level and there are people who are starving, being fat is really attractive because it is a sign of health, social status, and genetic fitness,” she said.

McDermott acknowledged that how much history a person knows can deeply affect the choices that they make. “The analogies that they bring to bear from the past affect their notions of what should be done in the future. If you think Vietnam was a disaster because we should have had more troops there, then that is going to change your vision of what you think we should do in Afghanistan versus if you think Vietnam was a disaster because we never should have been there to begin with.”

To view the video of this program, please visit: [brown.edu/research/Pembroke-center/videos](http://brown.edu/research/Pembroke-center/videos).



# Seed Grants Fund New Research

Scholars at the Pembroke Center explore questions of difference, such as gender, race, ethnicity, class, and religion. Our seed grants fund Brown faculty-led research projects that explore these issues. We are pleased to share the projects funded by the Pembroke Center for this academic year and thank those who donated to the Pembroke Challenge, which makes this program possible.

## ANIMAL STUDIES WORKING GROUP



Animal Studies explores interspecies relations as a critical site of difference. Extending across the disciplines, the “question

of the animal” revisits the boundaries assumed to separate humans from other species. Growing academic interest in animals in recent years has emerged partly as a response to an increased awareness of ecological interconnectedness, threats to biodiversity and natural habitats, and concerns about the ethical treatment of and meaningful coexistence with animals. Leading scholars argue for rethinking the terms of humanist and scientific inquiry. They consider the ways in which species difference has historically and conceptually been linked to the production of other forms of material, political, cultural, and symbolic difference, including those of gender, race, and class.

The Animal Studies Working Group is particularly interested in thinking about *animality* and how it may trouble preconceived notions of human sovereignty, autonomy, and knowledge—that is, as what may complicate human-centered orientations of historical, cultural, and scientific narratives. Seed grant funding supports monthly discussion groups, a research assistant, guided field trips, and cosponsorship of the 2016-17 Animal Lecture Series.

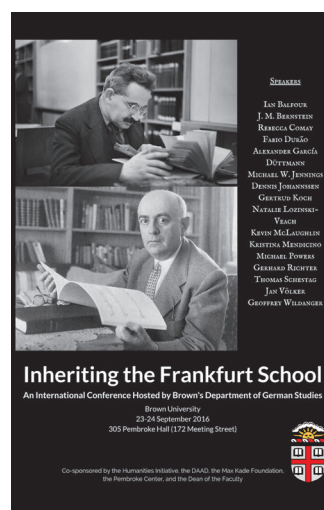
Funds also will be used to bring a faculty member from another university with an established Animal Studies program to Brown to consult about programmatic and curricular development.

- **Nancy Jacobs**, Associate Professor, History (project director)
- **Palmira Brummett**, Visiting Professor, History
- **Constance Crawford**, Adjunct Lecturer, Theater Arts and Performance Studies
- **Thalia Field**, Professor, Literary Arts
- **Iris Montero**, Mellon Postdoctoral Fellow, Cogut Center for the Humanities
- **Thangam Ravindranathan**, Associate Professor, French Studies
- **Rebecca Schneider**, Professor, Theater Arts and Performance Studies
- **Andrea Simmons**, Professor, Cognitive, Linguistic, and Psychological Sciences
- **Ada Smailbegovic**, Assistant Professor, English

## CONFERENCE: INHERITING THE FRANKFURT SCHOOL

One of the great strengths of the humanities at Brown is the cross-disciplinary engagement of its faculty and graduate studies with the legacy of the Frankfurt School of critical theory. The Frankfurt School is associated in part with the Institute for Social Research at the Goethe University Frankfurt. Founded during the interwar period, it consisted of dissidents who did not feel at home in the capitalist, fascist, or communist systems of the time.

Writers and thinkers from the Frankfurt School such as Theodor W. Adorno, Walter Benjamin, Ernst Bloch, and Siegfried Kracauer continue to inform discussions of critical theory, literary studies, and modern media, as well as critical approaches to gender, class, and race, both in and beyond German Studies. Scholarship and translation work of Brown faculty play a critical role in the dissemination and study of Frankfurt School thought in the English-speaking world.



To build upon the shared concern of Brown's humanities faculty with this lineage of modern thinkers and to create a larger forum for the diversity of perspectives brought to bear upon it, this project organized a two-day international conference on September 23-24, 2016. Faculty plan to publish a collection of essays based on the proceedings, written by scholars from a variety of disciplines including critical theory, film studies, history, literary studies, and philosophy.

- **Kristina Mendicino**, Assistant Professor, German Studies (co-director)
- **Gerhard Richter**, Professor, German Studies and Comparative Literature, Chair of German Studies (co-director)

## MULTIMEDIA PROJECT AT THE INTERSECTION OF GLOBAL HEALTH AND POLITICS: LISSA (STILL TIME)

*Lissa (Still Time)* is a narrative adaptation of original field research about global healthcare by Sherine Hamdy, Associate Professor of Anthropology at Brown University, studies kidney and liver disease in Egypt; and Coleman Nye, Assistant Professor of Gender, Sexuality and Women's Studies at Simon Fraser University, researches breast cancer in the United States. The narrative is based on their research and focuses on two strong women characters at the center of critical life-or-death decisions involving medical technologies, global health inequalities, and political revolution.

The project explores questions about the politics of global health. Scholars consider the vulnerability of people to health and disease in the context of poor health governance, particularly with the deregulation of manufacturing and toxic waste disposal. The project examines women's health and bodily autonomy as it relates to their reproductive viability; concerns about over-treatment and treatment-induced illness; and the problems raised by commodifying health and the body and the privatization and patenting of scientific information, including the BRCA gene. It asks how societies weigh life and death decisions in the context of restrained resources.



A page from the graphic novel, *Lissa (Still Time)*

The research and story will be presented via a graphic novel, to be published by University of Toronto Press. A digital platform, hosted by the Brown Digital Scholarship Initiative, will explore bioethical conundrums, the political economy of global health, and the uneven effects of biomedical technologies, religious difference, and political instability against the backdrop of the Arab Spring. A documentary film will present the process of the collaboration, including a research trip to Egypt, and the development of the characters. The project seeks to

translate academic ideas about gender, sexual autonomy, religion, ethics, and politics into accessible and emotionally resonant stories about characters. It aims to present important interventions for rethinking the politics of global health in an easily accessible format that invites a wide readership.

- **Sherine Hamdy**, Associate Professor, Anthropology (project director)
- **Coleman Nye**, Assistant Professor, Gender, Sexuality and Women's Studies, Simon Fraser University
- **Paul Karasik**, Instructor, Illustration, Rhode Island School of Design
- **Francesco Dragone**, Independent Filmmaker
- **Caroline Brewer**, student, Illustration, Rhode Island School of Design
- **Sarula Bao**, student, Illustration, Rhode Island School of Design

## WAIVERING CARE: AN INTERSECTIONAL STUDY OF BUPRENORPHINE PRESCRIPTION IN RHODE ISLAND

In 2014, 239 individuals died of accidental overdose in Rhode Island – more than those killed by homicides, motor vehicle accidents, and suicides combined. Medication-assisted treatment, which includes medications like methadone and buprenorphine, is safe and effective for treating opioid use disorder and can reduce the risk of opioid overdose by up to 50 percent. However, many active drug users have difficulty accessing treatment medication. Preliminary research among opioid users in Rhode Island indicates that treatment cost, lack of insurance, and long wait lists are common barriers to care. Fewer than 75 physicians in the entire state have applied for and received the Drug Abuse Treatment Act waiver necessary to prescribe buprenorphine, and many who have the waiver are not prescribing this medication.

This project examines Rhode Island's insufficient capacity for medication-assisted treatment by investigating how

decisions to provide and apportion opioid abuse care to individual patients are transformed through experiences of race, gender, and other foundations of social standpoint. Researchers investigate the current standard of care for medication-assisted treatment in Rhode Island and ask if it recognizes and meets the needs of physicians and patients who are women and/or persons of color. The project explores

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Suboxone (Buprenorphine/Naloxone) Tablets

how gendered care-giving practices (into which patients and physicians are socialized) are reinforced or hindered by the clinical and legal practicalities of buprenorphine prescription. Researchers ask how the race and gender of physicians and their patients determine the clinical praxis of opioid abuse care.

Seed grant funding supports ethnographic research among Rhode Island physicians who currently possess a waiver to prescribe buprenorphine. The project will culminate in multiple publications presenting the findings of the ethnographical research and will facilitate applications for external funding.

- **Josiah Rich**, Physician and Professor, Medicine (project director)
- **Traci Green**, Epidemiologist and Associate Professor, Emergency Medicine
- **Brandon Marshall**, Epidemiologist and Assistant Professor, Epidemiology
- **Jennifer Carroll**, Anthropologist and Postdoctoral Fellow, Medicine
- **Parsa Bastani**, graduate student, Anthropology

# The Work of Feminist Anthropologist Saba Mahmood a Rich Resource for Pembroke Center Initiatives



IMAGE COURTESY OF PRINCETON  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Saba Mahmood, professor of Anthropology at Stanford University, has pledged her papers to the Pembroke Center's Feminist Theory Archive. She researches religious and secular politics in postcolonial societies and their relationship to gender and sexuality. Mahmood's work resonates strongly with the Pembroke Center's research and teaching and is being used here and elsewhere at Brown.

*How do differences in culture and historical context affect feminist movements?*

This is one of the central questions Professor Mahmood asks. Several years ago, Mahmood wrote an article for *Women's Studies on the Edge* (Duke University Press, 2008), edited by Joan Wallach Scott. The book is part of a series offered by the Pembroke Center's journal *differences*. Mahmood's article "Feminism, Democracy, and Empire: Islam and the War on Terror" explores how Western feminism has been employed to justify the U.S. war on terror in the Muslim world. She challenges the idea that the war is necessary to "save" women from patriarchy and fundamentalism.

Mahmood is perhaps best known for her groundbreaking book *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject* (Princeton University Press, 2005). There she analyzes Islamist cultural politics through the ethnography of a grassroots women's piety movement in the mosques of Cairo, Egypt and contests the misrepresentations that some modes of liberalism and feminism impose on the Muslim world. A second book, *Religious Difference in a Secular Age: A Minority Report*, published by Princeton University Press in 2015, continues the exploration of the relationships between the consolidation of nation states and the regulation of religion that she began in *Politics of Piety*.

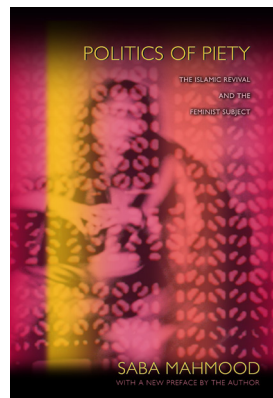


IMAGE COURTESY OF PRINCETON  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

## STUDYING SABA MAHMOOD

*Politics of Piety* is one of the key texts Brown students will read in an upcoming Gender and Sexuality Studies course, "The Politics of Resistance," taught by Pinar Kemerli, the Nancy L. Buc Postdoctoral Fellow at the Pembroke Center. Offered in the spring, the class will explore the conditions of state power and forms of resistance to it. Students will read a wide range of works alongside Mahmood, including Sophocles's *Antigone* and Martin Luther King's *Letter from Birmingham Jail*. The class will consider different examples of resistance

around the world, including anticolonial resistance, hunger strikes, conscientious objection, the civil rights movement in the US, with particular attention to how women help shape these movements.

"Mahmood's ethnography of the piety movement offers a very compelling case study on religious difference and particularly on religious women's agency, an often neglected area of research in feminist studies," said Kemerli. "Her work challenges common assumptions about what it means to be free as a woman in liberal secular culture."

Mahmood's influence on Kemerli's scholarship was strengthened when Kemerli took part in Mahmood's 2010 seminar "Politics of Religious Difference" offered by Cornell University's Society for the Humanities. Kemerli credits the seminar and Mahmood's guidance for shaping the way she thinks about secularism and the relationship between religion and politics.

Megan Gallagher, the Carol G. Lederer Postdoctoral Fellow, also at the Pembroke Center, will also have students read selections from *Politics of Piety*. Her course, "Feminist Freedoms," will examine how women's political interests have been routinely ignored or subordinated to those of men and the way in which feminist political theory challenges women's absence, or presumed subservience, in political life. Students will study how feminist theory seeks to provide a philosophical foundation for the pursuit of "real world" goals and the improvement of women's lives – and, oftentimes, men's as well.

"I hope reading Mahmood will help students recognize that the dominant western paradigm of liberal individualism is not the only way to think about politics, or about feminism. I'm personally interested in politics as it happens outside of traditional political institutions, and Mahmood's text is really intriguing on this point," said Gallagher.



## JOINING THE FEMINIST THEORY ARCHIVE

Given the importance of Mahmood's work, the Pembroke Center is honored that she has pledged her scholarly papers to the Center's Feminist Theory Archive. Mahmood's collection eventually will join those of other prominent feminists who have shaped feminist scholarship in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The archive will allow researchers to explore not only an individual scholar's work, but also its relationship to the larger feminist project and the debates that animated it. Please visit: [brown.edu/research/pembroke-center/archives/feminist-theory-archive](http://brown.edu/research/pembroke-center/archives/feminist-theory-archive) to learn more about this archive and its collections.

Both Pinar Kemerli and Megan Gallagher are excited that Mahmood's work will be part of the Feminist Theory Archive.

Kemerli's research focuses on the experiences of Muslim conscientious objectors and anti-war activists in Turkey who refuse the draft for Islamic reasons. "Having access to Mahmood's papers would help me refine my analysis of

women conscientious objectors and their critique of the intertwining of militant nationalism and masculinity," Kemerli said.

"If the Mahmood collection were available now, I would definitely give my students the option of consulting the collection as part of a final research paper," said Gallagher. "I would be interested in exploring her papers to see how the arguments of *Politics and Piety* changed and developed."

## BUILDING THE PEMBROKE CENTER ARCHIVES

"Brown's students and faculty now have a very unique and exciting resource on campus. In the Feminist Theory Archive they can explore the work of influential feminist scholars who changed the very questions asked in the Academy. Documents about how these scholars established new academic programs and institutes, organized conferences, and produced publications lie at the heart of the collections," said Suzanne Stewart-Steinberg, director of the Pembroke Center. "This is a rapidly growing

archive. We are processing and making new materials and collections available for research every year."

"We are grateful to everyone who has helped us to grow the Pembroke Center Archives – both the Feminist Theory Archive and the Christine Dunlap Farnham Archive. In the Farnham Archive, scholars can explore a wide range of materials about Brown/Pembroke, and Rhode Island women. From speeches to leaflets to oral histories, the holdings of the Farnham Archive tell the diverse stories of these women and their professions, social activism, and private lives," she added.

A campaign to endow both archives will be completed this year. "We are deeply indebted to the many donors who have contributed to the Pembroke Center Archives Endowment," said Stewart-Steinberg. "In addition to the recent hire of our first full-time archivist, we are pleased to be expanding our programming and adding new collections. This endowment is crucial to our growth."

If you would like to contribute to the Pembroke Archives endowment, please turn to page 8 to learn more.

## Introducing Diane Straker



CREDIT: HANK RANDALL

The Pembroke Center is pleased to announce the appointment of Diane Straker to the role of Administrative Assistant, a position shared by the Pembroke Center and the Center for the Study of Slavery and Justice. She helps to organize and host public lectures, conferences, and meetings and provides invaluable administrative support to both centers.

Straker has enjoyed a successful career at Brown University. She was a staff member at the Division of Advancement for thirteen years. Working with the Associate Director, she was instrumental in the creation of Brown's successful Annual Fund Leadership Program. After more than seven years assisting that program's development and operations, she joined the Regional Development team as a Development Associate. While working full-time during the day, she completed her undergraduate degree in Liberal Studies at Providence College and graduated from their School of Continuing Education in 2009.

Just a year after retiring from Brown, Straker decided that she missed the camaraderie and mission of Brown. She returned to work at the Warren Alpert Medical School for eight months and then was tapped by the Pembroke Center.

Because her skills were also needed at the Center for the Study of Slavery and Justice, the University developed a shared position.

"Working at the Pembroke Center and the Center for the Study of Slavery and Justice is a new beginning for me at Brown," said Straker. "I enjoy learning about the Pembroke Center's teaching and research and I love meeting so many highly educated and interesting women who are contributing to the study of feminism and the feminist cause."

"I also take great pleasure in working with the Center for the Study of Slavery and Justice. Being an African American, there is so much history to be learned, and I'm extremely excited about being on the forefront," she added.



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The Pembroke Center is expanding its two important archives, the Christine Dunlap Farnham Archive, which focuses on the history of women at Brown and in Rhode Island, and the Feminist Theory Archive, which houses the papers of major feminist scholars. To support these archives, including funding the full-time archivist position the Center has been pursuing a \$3,500,000 endowment to provide permanent funding for of both archives. To help reach the Center's participation goals and finish this campaign, please donate as generously as you can.

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