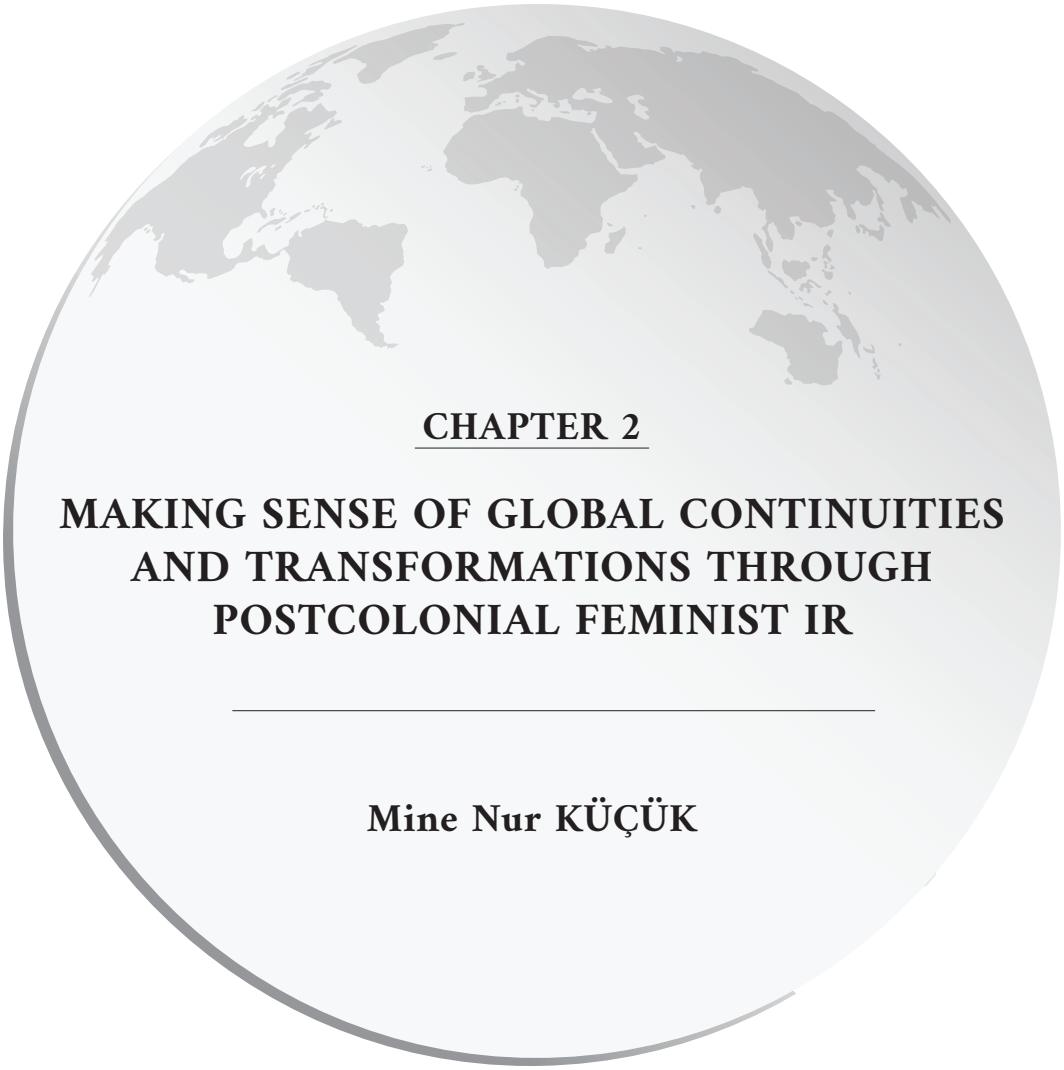

CHAPTER 2

MAKING SENSE OF GLOBAL CONTINUITIES AND TRANSFORMATIONS THROUGH POSTCOLONIAL FEMINIST IR

Mine Nur KÜÇÜK

MAKING SENSE OF GLOBAL CONTINUITIES AND TRANSFORMATIONS THROUGH POSTCOLONIAL FEMINIST IR

Mine Nur KÜÇÜK
Yeditepe University

Abstract

Since the late 1990s, postcolonial feminist approaches have made significant inroads into the discipline of International Relations (IR). This paper is interested in revealing how this body of scholarship can enhance our understanding of the continuities and transformations in world politics and, relatedly, how the discipline of IR should respond to them. The paper argues that one of the ways through which these dynamics can be made sense of is to examine hierarchies and exclusions in world politics and how subordinated actors challenge them. As such, by centralizing racial, gendered, and class-based relations of domination and their contestation in their analysis, postcolonial feminist IR can offer significant insights into understanding the continuities and changes in world politics. Based on this argument, the paper first unpacks the beginnings of postcolonial feminist thinking. Then, it looks at the emergence of postcolonial feminism in IR and discusses the novel insights provided by this body of scholarship to the discipline through revealing how it problematizes the mainstream and critical IR approaches. To further elaborate on the postcolonial feminist IR's contributions to the study of world politics, then, the paper looks at how it studies international political economy (IPE). The paper concludes by discussing the implications of postcolonial feminist analysis both for the IR discipline as well as for world politics.

Keywords

Postcolonialism, Feminism, Postcolonial Feminism, Intersectionality, Hierarchies

DOI: 10.53478/TUBA.978-625-6110-04-5.ch02

Informed by preceding theoretical approaches of feminism and postcolonialism, postcolonial feminism aims "racializing" the former, while "gendering" the latter (Lewis & Mills, 2003). In that sense, postcolonial feminism can be considered as a two-fold intellectual endeavor. On the one hand, it questions the mainstream feminist theorizing which overlooks the concerns related to colonialism, empire, culture, and race. On the other, it brings the issues pertaining gender into the traditional postcolonial analysis, which has limitations in their engagement with feminist concerns (Lewis & Mills, 2003, p. 3-4). Consequently, postcolonial feminism becomes a distinct intellectual approach which goes beyond more classical understandings found both in feminism as well as in postcolonialism.

Over the several decades, postcolonial feminism has influenced and shaped several different disciplines such as sociology, cultural studies, or anthropology. This paper is interested in how this body of thought manifests itself within the discipline of International Relations (IR). Postcolonial feminism emerged in IR in the late 1990s, and since then, it has made significant inroads into the discipline. This paper aims to reveal postcolonial feminist contestations and contributions to the study of world politics. While doing so, it particularly examines how this body of thought can enhance our understanding on the continuities and transformations in world politics and, relatedly, how the discipline of IR should respond to them. The paper argues that one of the ways through which these dynamics can be made sense of is to examine hierarchies and exclusions in world politics and how subordinated actors challenge them. As such, by centralizing racial, gendered, and class-based relations of domination and their contestation in their analysis, postcolonial feminist IR can offer significant insights into understanding the central dynamics in world politics. More specifically, the paper suggests that while postcolonial feminism's engagement with the ongoing effects of colonialism in the world we inhabit help us to understand the continuities in global politics, its focus on the notion of "intersectionality" guides us to understand how this continuity becomes possible and how it can be overcome. In addition to these points, postcolonial feminism's stress on agency and resistance enables us to think about change in world politics.

Based on these arguments, the paper first briefly looks at the classical postcolonial feminist writings and points to the emergence of this body of thought. The second section analyzes the main arguments of postcolonial feminist IR approaches and discuss their novel insights, alongside with elaborating on the question of how this scholarship problematizes both mainstream and critical IR approaches. Lastly, to clarify these problematizations and contributions, the paper unpacks the postcolonial feminist IR's analysis on the field of international political economy (IPE). The paper concludes by discussing the implications of postcolonial feminist analysis both for the IR discipline as well as for world politics.

The Emergence of Postcolonial Feminist Thought

This section aims to point to the contours of the discussions which heralded the beginning of postcolonial feminist thought. Postcolonial feminism emerged in the late 1970s in the activist works of multiple groups such as Black, Third World, Indigenous feminists, and in the academic works of scholars in different disciplines including political theory, cultural theory, linguistics, sociology, and anthropology. The emergence of postcolonial feminist thought resulted from the identification of several limitations both in postcolonial and feminist approaches. Even though they are interested both in studying and defending "the subaltern" (Gandhi, 1998, p. 82-83), postcolonialism and feminism also leave unnoticed certain issues in their analysis.[1]

The limitations of postcolonialism stem from the dominance of male scholars in this field, on the one hand, and their tendency to overlook the relevance of gender in their analysis, on the other (Montoya, 2023, p. 51). Think about, for example, the notion of "double colonization." This term refers to two things. First, men and women were not necessarily exposed to colonization in the same manner as women experienced it both as "colonial subjects" as well as "women subjects" (Chowdhry & Ling, 2010, p. 8). Second, women were not only subjected to inequalities and injustices from colonial powers, but they also faced similar treatments from "native" powers.

1 Throughout the article, I will follow scholars' preferences of the use of concepts such as dominant/subaltern, Western/non-Western, Global North/Global South, First World/Third World, self/other, colonized/colonizer. In doing so, I will remain cognizant of the differences between them and their problematic nature.

For instance, looking at the case of Guinea-Bissau, which gained its independence against the Portuguese colonizers, Urdang (1979, p. 15) suggests that "women suffer a dual oppression." Therefore, they needed to struggle against both colonial relations imposed by Portugal and patriarchal relations imposed by native men. Consequently, as McClintock (1992, p. 92) argues "women and men do not live 'post-coloniality' in the same way or share the same singular 'post-colonial condition'." However, postcolonial theory, by ignoring such experiences become "complicit" with postcolonial nationalist movements "whenever it announces itself as the only legitimate mouthpiece for native women" (Gandhi, 1998, p. 95).

The problematization of Western or First World feminisms occupy a much more significant place in postcolonial feminist writings. According to Gandhi (1998, p. 83), especially three issues are key in these problematizations: the question of who is a "Third World woman," the complicity of First World feminists in imperialism, and the utilization of "feminist criteria" by colonial powers to justify their "civilizing mission." Postcolonial feminists directed these criticisms particularly against the second-wave feminists located in Europe and the USA. Two texts are considered as foundational in the construction and dissemination of such criticisms in the academic circles. These are Chandra Talpade Mohanty's "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourse" (1984) and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's "Can the Subaltern Speak?" (1988) (Kerner, 2017, p. 855; Achilleos-Sarll, 2023, p. 344; Montoya, 2023, p. 52).

Mohanty's seminal article problematized the Western feminists' tendency to represent "Third-World woman" as a homogenous and essentialized subject without necessarily engaging with the different social, economic, and political contexts they are embedded in, and hence their multiplicity. Western feminists also treat Third World women as passive actors, who are victimized, and therefore in need of saving. These understandings result in overlooking the agency of the women in non-Western parts of the world and in contributing to the reproduction of the colonial stereotypes of women of the Global South. They also enable Western feminists to construct their identity as opposed to their "others." Accordingly, they represent themselves as "educated" and "modern", while rendering Third World women as "ignorant" and "traditional." Overall, Mohanty suggests that such representational practices point to an imperialist agenda in the sense that in them the Western women appear either as "saviors" of the non-Western women or "experts" who can speak about the experiences of the latter.

For Spivak, the answer to the question of "can subaltern speak?" is a negative one. This stems from two reasons. First, rather than speaking for themselves, subalterns are spoken for by those who do not share the same lived experiences. Second, while speaking on the behalf of the subalterns, intellectuals rely on established frameworks which result in treating subalterns as homogenized and essentialized group and overlooking their diverse experiences. The voices of the subalterns, consequently, are distorted by people who hold privileged positions. In return, such dynamics result in the reproduction of the existing power relations by virtue of (re)relegating the subalterns to the margins.

Bringing these insights together, one can argue that Western feminisms' understanding of the category of "women" in general, and Third World women, or "gendered subalterns" in particular, is found problematic by postcolonial feminists. For postcolonial feminism, Western feminists take "Western middle-class women's experiences" as the starting point of their theorizing, and then generalize these findings. This led them to assume sameness of the concerns of women located in different parts of the world. Eventually, "essentialization" and "silencing" of women of color or Third World women become cornerstones in their analysis (Lewis & Mills, 2003, p. 4).

These essentializations and silencing also take place through ignoring the importance of coloniality on the one hand and overlooking the intersection between gender and other forms of power relations, such as race, on the other (Achilleos-Sarll, 2023, p. 344). Think, for instance, one of the earlier manifestations of postcolonial feminist arguments in the manifesto of Combahee River Collective (1977). Written by a group of Black feminists, this manifesto underscored that the experiences of Black women cannot be make sense of without taking into consideration the racial violence to which they are subjected to.

Another problem stems from Western feminists' treatment of Third World women or women of color as "passive" actors lacking the ability to voice their own experiences and taking them only as an object for Western knowledges. "They cannot represent themselves; they must be represented" (Gandhi, 1998, p. 86) is the main assumption embedded in Western feminisms which postcolonial feminists have been challenging. Consequently, such views, and the practices of the Western feminists render them complicit both in the former colonial and imperial projects (Lewis & Mills, 2003, p. 6), as well in their contemporary manifestations such as "neo-orientalism" (Gandhi, 1998, p. 88).

Regarding the question of how to go beyond these limitations, three points can be made. First, postcolonial feminists demand a recognition from white Western women of their privileges and a realization of the situatedness of their knowledge claims, as they theorize from specific gendered and racialized positions (Lewis & Mills, 2003, p. 5). Therefore, one must be attentive to the ideas and experiences of Third World women or women of color. Second, for postcolonial feminism, opening a space for hearing the voice of the subaltern to go beyond misrepresentations cannot be achieved through recovering an "authentic" native outlook. This is because, expecting radical difference from the Third World women often contributes to the stereotypical understandings through reproducing the "culturalist hierarchy wherein almost inevitably the 'native woman' suffers in contrast with her Western sibling" (Gandhi, 1998, p. 85). Such an approach also hinders the relationality between the "East" and the "West" and overlooks the importance of the encounters between the two (Ozkazanc-Pan, 2012, pp. 574-575). What is more, such expectations for difference, informed by the "nostalgia for precolonial roots," are also utilized by the elites of the formerly colonized societies to foster their position while leaving women in "a highly precarious situation" (Kerner, 2017, p. 258).

Third, for postcolonial feminism all these criticisms should also be reflected in the level of praxis. The ultimate aim of postcolonial feminist theorizing, borrowing the subtitle of Mohanty's 2003 book, is to "decolonizing theory" so that "practicing solidarity" become possible. In that book, Mohanty asks "What are the conditions, the knowledges, and the attitudes that make a noncolonized dialogue possible? How can we craft a dialogue anchored in equality, respect, and dignity for all peoples?" and underscores the importance of engaging in "ethical and caring dialogues (and revolutionary struggles) across the divisions, conflicts, and individualist identity formations that interweave feminist communities" (Mohanty, 2003, p. 125).

As a result, one can argue that postcolonial feminists challenge both earlier postcolonial scholarship which left women's experiences and the notion of gender unnoticed and Western feminism which presented feminist struggles as "homogenous" project in a way to ignore non-Western women's subjectivities and experiences. From postcolonial feminist perspective, especially the latter's generalization of feminist insights without reflecting on its particularity (i.e. Western) is significantly problematic. Instead of such homogenizing efforts, then, postcolonial feminists show the "heterogeneity" of women's experiences in different parts of the world and discuss how such divergences manifest themselves both in theory as well as in practice (Agathangelou & Turcotte, 2016, p. 43). In doing this, postcolonial feminism aims to reconstruct relations based on solidarity, without necessarily overlooking the question of difference.

Understanding Postcolonial Feminist Contributions to IR: Problematizations and Central Arguments

This section aims to introduce the contours of the postcolonial feminist theorizing in IR. To do so, it first looks at the criticisms levelled by postcolonial feminists to traditional and critical approaches of IR. Then, it focuses on three central arguments of postcolonial feminism. Each argument, I would argue, helps us to understand the continuities and changes in world politics. These include the centrality of colonial logics and practices in world politics (continuity), the necessity to analyze these logics and practices from an intersectional perspective (what makes the continuity and change possible), and the focus on agency of the "others" in resisting against these logics and practices (change).

Problematizations: The Limitations of Traditional and Critical Perspectives

Problematization of traditional research agendas through questioning their ontological, epistemological, and methodological assumptions, scrutinizing what such analyses leave unnoticed, and discussing the results of these academic practices constitute significant point of departure for postcolonial feminist theorizing (Kerner, 2017, p. 860). In this context, akin to the other postcolonial scholarship in the discipline, the early postcolonial feminist studies challenge the dominant traditional perspectives of IR, including realism(s) and liberalism(s).

The first criticism is about to the relative failure of traditional perspectives in recognizing the importance of dynamics such as "inequality" and "injustice" in world politics (Chowdry & Nair, 2002, p. 1). That is partly related to the fact that "anarchy" (i.e. the lack of central authority in world politics) is treated as the central dynamic in international relations by the traditional approaches. While doing so, they ignore the role hierarchies play in world politics. Those hierarchies have been shaped by (neo) colonial and (neo) imperial relations, and they can be found both in the practice and theory of international relations.

What renders this omission possible is related with viewing world politics as a "Westphalian world" where "territorial sovereignty" and "inter-state commerce" (Ling, 2014, p. 11) constitute its central dynamics. However, this view reflects the experiences that exist in particular parts of the world, especially in the North America and Western Europe, while leaving the experiences of other actors untouched. This limitation is stemming from an ontological assumption of the traditional theories according to which the only actors that matter in world politics are the great powers, and what counts as theorizing should be based on their experiences (Chowdry & Nair, 2002, p. 1). In that sense, traditional theories suffer from Eurocentrism as they view world politics from the Western actors' perspectives, while relegating the non-Western actors' experiences to the margins.

The logic behind such an omission is also related to the traditional theories' conceptions of power, which is conceived with reference to the material capabilities. In doing so, these theories overlook the non-material aspects of power, such as culture or ideology, in forming the various relations in world politics (Chowdhry & Nair, 2002, p. 4). As it will be discussed in detail below, postcolonial feminism challenges this unidimensional understanding by pointing to the intersection between different power relations informed by race, class, and gender in constructing and maintaining the different material (such as economic inequalities) and ideational (such as orientalist representational practices) hierarchies in world politics. Consequently, postcolonial feminism conceives world politics "as a continuum from macro-structural forces of material production, at one analytical end, to microsocial indicators of meaning, on the other" (Ling, 2002a, p. 68). Put differently, the production and maintenance of Western hegemony and its hierarchies are viewed through the intersection of "the politics of representation" and "the political economy of labor" (Chowdhry & Nair, 2002, p. 23).

Epistemologically, then, traditional theories contribute to this hierarchical world through producing a particular kind of knowledge yet claiming that this knowledge is a universal one. One of the most well-known problematization in this sense comes from Agathangelou and Ling, two significant scholars whose works heralded the beginning of postcolonial feminist approach in IR. In one of their co-authored works, Agathangelou and Ling (2004a) suggest that IR "resembles to a colonial household" which is based on "colonial capitalist-patriarchy" (p. 22). Residing at the upper strata of the house, both realism as well as liberalism share "common roots in the white colonial/imperial state and its relationship with global capitalism" (p. 24). Their "abstract, ahistorical conceptions of the state, the market, and the individual are bound by particular cultural expressions (Western, white, male) that result from concrete political struggles (bourgeois, colonial)" the authors argue, at the expense of "materiality, structured inequalities" and asymmetrical practices and discourses (p. 25).

The traditional approaches also rely on what Agathangelou and Turcotte call "frameworks of geopolitics" (2010, p. 45) in that they have a "segregated" view ofv the world (p. 46). According to this conception, there are fixed geographies in the world which do have unchanging characteristics. Some of them are marked by "violence" where people become "victims" in the hands of "perpetrators." These geographies are associated with regions in the Global South such as Africa, Middle East or Latin America. On the other hand, there are those geographies located in the Global North, including

Western Europe or United States, where people enjoy freedoms and rights thanks to their "protective" states. Based on this static territorial understanding, then, people's "relationship and access to rights and state protections" are determined (Agathangelou & Turcotte, 2010, pp. 44-45).

While postcolonial feminists problematize the ways in which traditional approaches identify the main dynamic of world politics, and question their ontological and epistemological limitations, the challenges they levelled against the critical approaches also deserve a scrutiny. That is because, the novel contributions of this tradition of thought can only be recognized if one reveals how it goes beyond its theoretical precedents.

Postcolonial feminism has affinities with other critical approaches, including Marxist-inspired theories, poststructuralism, feminism, and postcolonialism. Each of these perspectives point to the different aspects of power relations that shape world politics. For instance, while Marxist theories focus on class-based power asymmetries, poststructuralism looks at the relationship between power and knowledge. While feminism examines gender hierarchies, postcolonialism engages with racial exclusions. One criticism postcolonial feminism raises against these earlier critical approaches is related to the necessity of bringing these diverse concerns together. Known as "intersectionality" (see next section for the details), this approach suggests that "neither race nor gender nor class alone accounts for why power in world politics operates the way it does" (Chowdhry & Ling, 2010, p. 3). To understand how power operates, then, postcolonial feminists suggest engaging with the intersections between different power relations within the broader context of colonialism and imperialism.

According to Chowdhry and Ling (2010, p. 4) another point of difference between the earlier critical approaches and postcolonial feminism is related with the fact that the latter "emanates from the position of the subaltern" which includes "women, children, the illiterate, the poor, the landless, the voiceless." This point especially constitutes one of the most significant differences between poststructuralism and postcolonial feminism. These two approaches share certain arguments, such as a skepticism towards objectivity claims, an argument that there is a mutually constitutive relationship between power and knowledge, and a challenge to the central notions in IR (Chowdhry & Ling, 2010, p.5). However, postcolonial feminism also criticizes poststructuralist view on power "as dispersed and cannot be clearly located" and problematizes its taking "all forms of essentialist critique" as "suspect" (Chowdhry &Nair, 2002, p. 8). Additionally, "in setting up local practices as independent of the global logic of exploitation", argue Agathangelou and Ling, poststructuralism "ultimately paralyzes those very forces (local, multiple, marginal) that it claims to recognize and support" (2004a, p.29). Hence, they ask: "But what becomes of those who know they are burning in the hells of exploitation, racism, sexism, starvation, civil war, and the like while the esoteric dissident observes, "critically", from offshore?" (Agathangelou & Ling, 1997, p. 8).

Neo-Gramscian IR approaches also suffer from various limitations in the view of the postcolonial feminism. For one thing, Neo-Gramscians ignore the role and agency of the non-West in shaping global politics (Agathangelou & Ling, 2004a, p. 36). They do so, for instance, by treating hegemony as something "linear and unidimensional, not contrapuntal and multiperspectival" (Chowdhry & Ling, 2010, p. 4). That is because, postcolonial feminists argue, like the traditional approaches, Neo-Gramscians theorize the world from a Eurocentric perspective despite their claim for "universal" applicability of their assumptions (Chowdhry & Ling, 2010, p. 5). This further results in a dichotomous thinking, which according to postcolonial feminism, limits Neo-Gramscian analysis' ability to see the complexities of world politics, including the "processes of interaction, appropriation, synthesis, hybridity, and transformation that course through global and local forces" (Chang & Ling, 2011, p. 35).

Despite taking its name and certain central assumptions from postcolonialism and feminism, postcolonial feminism is also critical of these approaches. For instance, according to Ling (2016, p. 478), many postcolonial texts have notably overlooked gender, both as a subject matter, as well as in terms of recognizing women authors. Chowdhry and Ling (2010, p. 6) problematize the fact that postcolonialism assumes "a homogenous colonial experience for men and women alike" and hence erases "the intersectionality of race with gender in colonial and postcolonial realities". For Agathangelou and Turcotte (2010, p. 54) postcolonial feminism also challenges "masculinist objectives within postcolonial frameworks that too often center nationalist narratives."

While the concerns raised by earlier critical feminist scholars in IR, such as Cynthia Enloe, Ann Tickner, Jan Pettman, are shared by the postcolonial feminists (Chowdhry & Ling, 2010, p. 9), other feminist approaches (particularly liberal feminism) in the discipline are subjected to several criticisms. These criticisms include liberal feminism's ignorance of the relationship between "imperialism, race, and gender" and "the complicity of first-world feminism, especially its liberal internationalist contingent, with the colonial enterprise" (Chowdhry & Nair, 2010, p. 6). For instance, Agathangelou and Turcotte (2016, pp. 46-47) argue that "the (neo)liberal feminist quest for equality within the interstate framework continues to dominate feminist IR" and highlight that such a quest contributes to the reproduction of exclusions, suspicion and "colonial orders." According to Achilleos-Sarll (2023, p.341), a feminist theory that ignores postcolonial politics not only faces conceptual limitations, but it also causes political predicaments by virtue of, for instance, "being complicit in imperial (and militarised) state projects."

To recap this section, like the other critical approaches, postcolonial feminism finds several aspects of traditional theories problematic. These include the centrality of anarchy and great powers in traditional analysis, together with their Eurocentric conceptual frameworks which hinder any attempt to make sense of the very topic of the discipline, i.e. *the international* (Bilgin, 2016). Despite sharing certain affinities with the existing critical approaches, postcolonial feminists also point to their limitations, including, but not limited to, their lack of engagement with reconstructive attempts for the subalterns (poststructuralism); with the role of the non-Western actors in shaping world politics (Neo-Gramscianism); with the importance of gender (postcolonialism); and with the failure to see the connections between gender, race, and class (liberal feminism). Then, what are the unique insights provided by postcolonial feminism to the study of world politics? This is what the next section will concentrate on.

Contributions:
Making Sense of Continuities and Transformations in World Politics through Enduring Colonial Relations, Intersectionality, and Resistance/Agency of the Global South

This section aims to elaborate on the central arguments of postcolonial feminist IR scholarship. While doing so, it particularly is interested in revealing how this body of thought can help us to make sense of the continuities and changes in world politics and in the discipline of IR. Accordingly, in what follows, I will argue that the postcolonial feminism's emphasis on the enduring effects of colonial power relations gives us cues to understand the continuities in world politics. I will further suggest that the notion of "intersectionality," which occupies a significant place in postcolonial feminist analysis, helps us to see both how such continuities become possible, and how they can be challenged. This brings me to my last point, in which I propose that to comprehend the changes in world politics and in IR, the postcolonial feminist examinations of resistance and agency of the Global South have much to offer. Each contribution will be treated in turn.

Postcolonial IR scholars have long been underscoring that the term "postcolonialism" refers to the ongoing effects of colonialism and imperialism on today's world politics even though, legally speaking, with the decolonization period colonialism came to end (Rutazibwa & Shilliam, 2018, p. 1; Chowdhry & Nair, 2002, p. 11; Seth, 2013). This very definition itself gives us hints for understanding the legacies of the colonial relations of power in world politics and in IR. Accordingly, the ongoing effects of colonialism result in various unequal material as well as ideational relations, and thereby, contributes to the reproduction of asymmetries and hierarchies in world politics (see, among others, Barkawi, 2004; Hobson, 2004; Grovogui, 2006; Blaney & Inayatullah, 2008; Bilgin, 2016). Postcolonial feminists build on these articulations of the centrality of colonial relations of power and extend them with reference to the experiences of different actors located in different parts of the world.

Postcolonial feminists unpack the argument that points to the continuity of colonialism and imperialism with reference to both class-based relations informed by neoliberal economy, and identity relations where representations play a key role. In the process, they also point to the interconnection between the two (Marchant & Runyan, 2011, p. 16). In their book *Transforming World Politics*: *From Empire to Multiple Worlds* (2009), for instance, Agathangelou and Ling ground

their analysis on two contradictions identified by Marx regarding capitalism. These contradictions include, first, "the class and racial antagonisms that rationalize exploitation as employment, allowing profits to far exceed wages," and second, "capitalism's promises of material comforts at the cost of physical and emotional well-being for individuals as well as societies" (p. 4). The authors also note that they investigate these contradictions within the scope of "the colonial condition and its aftermath, (neo)colonial and postcolonial legacies" (p. 4). According to this perspective, while the labor of those individuals and groups who are located at the bottom strata of colonial hierarchies renders these (neo)colonial capitalist relations possible, the consequences of these relations, in turn, shape their experiences. For example, Agathangelou (2004) underscores the importance of "reproductive labor,"- which she defines as "an international sexual division of labor in which women's social and economic contributions are exploited, commodified", and sold for cheap wages (p.3)- in understanding how the global economy works. At the same time, by looking at the demand for "white" female migrants in the Mediterranean countries, the author also reveals how "migrant women are caught in a matrix of neoliberal global restructuring where they become targets of exploitation and violence and objects of desire for the facilitation of the status and power of the middle and upper classes" (p. 1). For Agathangelou, both sexualization and racialization of migrant women play a key role in these processes.

Relatedly, asymmetries and hierarchies in world politics are shaped by "the conventional markers of difference" including race, gender, class, nationality, language which are constructed through several representational practices (Chowdhry & Ling, 2010, p. 2). These practices are based on colonial logics embedded in knowledge production, what Edward Said (1978) called as "orientalism." For instance, attributing particular (negative) characteristics to the formerly colonized peoples through representing them as "barbaric," "in need of protection," "irrational", "feminine," while rendering the colonizers as "civilized", "protector," "rational," "masculine" was an inseparable part of colonial endeavor (Ling 2002a, p.70). Similar representations, argue postcolonial scholars in general, and postcolonial feminists in particular, continue to inform the current world politics.

Postcolonial feminism aims to beyond such binary thinking by engaging with an "relational" analysis according to which "opposites never remain separate and distinct…but always engage each other in dynamic interaction" (Chowdhry & Ling, 2010, p. 12). Han and Ling's (1998) analysis in understanding the rise of authoritarianism in Korea, for instance, reveals both how such binary thinking is constructed, and how it can be overcome. While mainstream accounts explain this phenomenon with reference to "Oriental despotism" embedded in the culture of the Asian states, the authors reveal, how, in fact, it is a "hybrid product of Western masculinist capitalism and Confucian parental governance" (Han & Ling, 1998, p. 53). The former "refers to a mode of accumulation and competition that valorizes white male privilege despite claims of rationality, objectivity, and individuality," while the latter points to "a politico-ethico ideology where the state acts as a firm but benevolent parent in exchange for filial loyalty and devotion from its children-subjects" (p. 54).

The question then becomes what makes the continuity of such material and ideational relations, and the hierarchies, asymmetries, inequalities, and injustices they generate possible. Here, the notion of "intersectionality"[2] which occupies a significant place in postcolonial feminist thinking is a key.

According to Montoya (2023) because the notion of intersectionality has been developed by various feminists, it does not have a single point of origin. That being said, we see the earliest instances of using the meaning embedded in this concept (though not necessarily the concept itself) in the writings of black feminists, particularly in the USA. Fighting against the sexism in male-dominated black movements, as well racism in white dominated women's movements during the twentieth century, the black feminists voiced how their experiences are informed not only by gender, but also with race and class as the oppressions they generate "are interlocking" (Combahee River Collective, 1977).

2 There is a distinct feminist tradition of thought that is called "intersectional feminism." Even though this approach and "postcolonial feminism" consider the notion of "intersectionality" central in their analysis, they are not identical. According to Kerner (2017, p. 847), for instance, while the former is informed by "methodological localism or nationalism", the latter employs "a transnational focus."

The introduction of the concept of intersectionality as an academic term came in the 1989 by Kimberley Crenshaw who focused on racism and sexism the black women are subjected to in the USA. In time, intersectionality has gained a significant place in different strands of feminism as "the concept has a multitude of intellectual threads that have arisen in parallel but overlapping trajectories, with important points of connection and exchange" (Montoya, 2023, p. 49). In addition to that, although became recently popular in Western academic circles, Roberts and Connell (2016, p. 137) suggest that this notion has always been significant for the feminists of the Global South. "The discovery of 'intersectionality' in the metropole was long preceded by debates about gender, race, class and caste in the colonized world from India to Brazil," they argue.

The concept of intersectionality refers the mutually constitutive relations among social identities, principally including gender, race, and class.[3] Accordingly, the experiences of people are not only shaped by their gender, but also their race and class. In this sense, for intersectional thinking there is no homogenous category of "woman" since depending on their location in racial and class-based hierarchies, they have different experiences. For instance, experiences of a middle-class white Western woman are not akin to the experiences of a poor black non-Western women. Similarly, the category of race alone does not explain the dynamics surrounding the lives of people of color as their gender and class inform the benefits they receive and the harms they suffer from.

What is significant to note here is that neither gender nor race are understood as unchanging, natural categories by postcolonial feminist scholarship. As opposed to the essentialist views associating gender with biology, in postcolonial feminist analyses gender does not refer to biological sex but the ideas the societies have about the "appropriate" behaviors associated to masculinity and femininity. Akin to their understanding of gender as socially constructed category, race is not reduced to physical markers of difference. On the contrary, race is considered as a structural dynamic which has been constructed socially, historically, and contextually (Achilleos-Sarll, 2023, p. 343). Hence, the processes of gendering and racialization, and how they (re)produce particular orders in world politics is central in postcolonial feminist analysis.

According to postcolonial feminist scholars, the intersections of race, class, and gender are important not only because they constitute identity-related markers of difference, but they also produce power structures. To put it differently, intersectionality shapes local, national, and international orders in which some people, groups, societies, and states receive benefits, while others face exclusions and injustices. The aim of postcolonial feminism, then, is to reveal these intersecting forms of power relations, and the logics and oppressions they generate in different locations from every day to the global. As noted by Agathengelou and Turcotte (2016, p. 42):

> While postcolonial theory attends to racialized class orders and feminism in IR has challenged the gendered and sexual inequalities that guide the discipline, postcolonial feminist IR connects and decenters these interventions by refusing the parceling out of power into separate categories. The approaches of postcolonial feminist IR account for how gender, sexuality, race and class are co-constituted within the production of the international.

For instance, several scholars show how actors utilize colonial logics, which are informed by intersectional power relations, to draft and implement certain policies at the institutional level. Consider the article penned by Sachsede, Stachowitsch, and Binder (2022) where they offer a postcolonial feminist analysis on the EU's border regime and migration policy. The authors reveal how the EU actors manage the so-called "migration crisis" through "gendered and racialised stereotypes of migrants and colonial Self-'Other' representations" (p. 4670). Based on these stereotypes and representations, the individuals or groups receive different treatments. Think about, for example, the role of racialized categorizations in responding to Syrian and Ukrainian refugees in different manners, leading to a double-standards discussions in the EU (Sales, 2023); or how "pregnant female migrants have become specific targets of tighter border controls and management" (Achilleos-Sarll, 2023, p. 348).

3 In time, other social identities, including but not limited to age, physical ability, immigration status, are also included into the definition of intersectionality.

The continuity of colonial power relations, and intersectional analysis in making sense of these continuities, form the first step in postcolonial feminist analysis. After revealing how power works in world politics, they move to the analysis of how to challenge and change such manifestations of power. Postcolonial feminist scholarship opens a space to understand change with reference resistance and in relation to that, the question of agency. Put differently, for this body of scholarship, engaging with "elite and subaltern agency and resistance to the hegemonic sphere of world politics" (Chowdhry & Ling 2010, p. 1) constitutes a significant subject of inquiry.

Intersectionality again informs the ways in which postcolonial feminists study resistance and agency. For this body of thought, the initial step for transformation in the way to remove unjust and violent relations is to be attentive to intersections of power relations that shape both our everyday life, as well global politics (Agathangelou & Turcotte, 2016, p. 44). According to Montoya (2023, p. 48), for instance, both social justice movements and critical approaches in academy generally focus on one aspect of oppressions: feminist activists and scholars challenge gender hierarchies; critical race scholars and racial liberation movements problematize racial hierarchies; postcolonial scholars and national liberation movements question colonial hierarchies. Yet, these "single-axis approaches" carry the danger of "perpetuat[ing] marginalization along one dimension of oppression while seeking liberation along another" (Montoya, 2023, p. 48).

As this argument reveals, postcolonial feminists trace agency and resistance in two interrelated realms: the realm of politics of resistance (which manifests itself in national liberation struggles or social justice movements) and the realm of knowledge production (in which academy has a significant position). These two realms are interrelated, and they inform one another (Chowdhry & Nair, 2002, p. 28).

Two caveats are in order before delving into the details of this subject. First, according to postcolonial feminism, resistance and agency do not always indicate radical difference, narratives or actions against the (former) colonial powers. Other forms of resistance such as "mimicry" is also employed by the subordinated actors. For instance, Ling (2002b), in her study where she analyzes the Asian financial crisis of late 1990s, employs Bhabha's notion of mimicry and expands upon it by differentiating its "formal" and "substantive" manifestations. While "formal mimicry" is based on imitation of the West, "substantive mimicry" is based on a hybrid response inclusive of both Western ideologies as well as traditional worldviews. These strategies can be employed by the elites of the subordinated societies as survival strategies or as tools to challenge the established hierarchies embedded in the Western-based liberal order. Second, and equally importantly, postcolonial feminists warn us about the dangers of romanticizing resistance or falling into the trap of nativism in studying the agency of the non-West. Such approaches carry the danger of overlooking "the complex structures of power in which acts of resistance are embedded" which might limit the possibilities of resistance (Chang & Ling 2011, p. 36). At the same time, they might contribute to the reproduction of binary thinking and essentialized identities.

According to postcolonial feminism, theorizing should directly address the daily concerns and struggles of subalterns (Akbari-Dibavar, 2018, p. 74). Such concerns and struggles give rise to the movements to which postcolonial feminists pay particular attention to. They include, for instance, indigenous movements providing different understandings on democracy such as Zapatistas or civil society organizations challenging "the abstract individualism and self-aggrandizing power mongering that militarization and marketization demand" such as World Social Forum (WSF) (Agathangelou & Ling, 2004a, p. 41). Other examples are comprised of peace, labor, and women's organizations, and particularly the alliances created between them. These do have ability to challenge the interests of the Western or non-Western elites, and their race, class, and gender-based privileges. Consequently, these organizations constitute crucial examples to resistance against the hegemonic configurations in world politics through initiating local and transnational solidarities (Agathengelou & Ling, 2004b, pp. 534-535).

Another important realm where resistance and agency manifest itself is the realm of knowledge production. Concerning the discipline of IR, for instance, being attentive to the experiences and voices of the marginalized or the subaltern and showing the relationship between these groups' different

concerns lie at the heart of postcolonial feminist theorizing (Akbari-Dibavar, 2018, p. 74). With this, postcolonial feminists aim to go over "epistemic violence" which is integral to (neo)colonialism. Epistemic violence means "the violence meted out to the knowledges, lived experience and world views of those relegated to the role of subaltern Others" and it "entails the 'obliteration' of the subjectivity of the subaltern, once again denying a voice, agency, and representation to Europe's postcolonial Others" (Manchanda, 2018, p. 122).

Given the complexity of world politics in which there are different "ways of thinking and doing, being and relating" (Ling, 2016, p. 479) overcoming epistemic violence is not an easy task. Thus, asked Ling, "how do we accommodate all these worldviews while maintaining, at the same time, some semblance of order and coherence?" (Ling, 2016, p. 479). The answer Ling provided with Agathengelou is "worldism" which aims to comprehend and change the inequalities embedded in "colonial capitalist-patriarchy" (Agathengelou & Ling, 2004a, p. 34). As such:

> rooted in structural social relations of production, Worldism acknowledges the existence of multiple worlds while registering, at the same time, their constant, mutual "reverberation" and (re)construction…Worldism aims to allow negotiation across difference in the building of communities. Toward this end, Worldism asks: What is the problem, according to whom, and why? Only then can a solution arise that will serve the greatest good for the greatest number. (Agathengelou & Ling 2004a, p. 22)

All these arguments on different forms of resistance and agency bring us to conclusion that the existing asymmetries in power relations does not relegate the subaltern others to position of passivity in the view of postcolonial feminists. As opposed to that, they have agency in influencing material (through their labor and resources) as well as non-material (through their ideas) dynamics in world politics. As discussed above, the manifestations of resistance and agency sometimes take the shape of struggles based on forming counter-narratives, but at other times hybridity and mimicry can also play roles. (Chowdhry & Nair, 2002, p. 27)

Since one challenge for the postcolonial feminism is stemming from the need to "elucidate how we can transform, not just alleviate, the hegemonies that persist around the world" (Chowdhry & Ling, 2010, p. 1), examining emancipatory strategies is an inseparable part of postcolonial feminist theorizing. "We all deserve justice," suggest Chowdhry and Ling; "it is not just for ruling elites but also the marginalized majority. Resistance to injustice serves as a key mechanism for redress" they continue (2010, p. 3). This paper adds that demands for justice and the dynamics that emerge from them are key to comprehending global changes from a postcolonial feminist perspective.

To recap, this section looked at the criticisms levelled against both traditional as well critical approaches in IR by postcolonial feminist scholarship. These criticisms revolve around questioning several ontological, epistemological, and methodological limitations of different IR theories from the centrality of the notion of anarchy or great power relations in traditional analyses, to the omission of the role of the non-West in shaping the international in critical approaches. This section also discussed the central contributions of postcolonial feminists to the discipline. Here, three themes were highlighted. These include the necessity to rethink the ongoing effects of colonial and imperial relations in world politics, to build on intersectionality in analyzing these effects, and last, to examine the agency and resistance of the Global South to go beyond these unequal and violent relations. To elaborate on these contributions, the following section will focus on the postcolonial feminist studies in the field of IPE.

Rethinking International Political Economy (IPE) from a Postcolonial Feminist Perspective

Over the years, postcolonial feminist insights are utilized in analyzing different topics in IR such as security (Agathengelou & Ling, 2004b); foreign policy (Achilleos-Sarll, 2018); migration (Futak-Campbell & Küçük, 2023); European Union (Sachseder & Stachowitsch, 2023). To discuss how postcolonial feminist arguments inform empirical analysis, this section focuses on International Political Economy (IPE).

What differentiates postcolonial feminist IPE from the other approaches is that it challenges the latter's extensive focus on the "upper circuits of capital relations," such as global trade, at the expense of focusing on the "lower circuits" such as domestic work or migrant labor (Agathengelou, 2002, p. 143). This led paying no attention to the experiences of the subalterns, both in terms of their contribution to the global economy, and how global economy structures their lives (Chang & Ling, 2011). Postcolonial feminists, by focusing on the experiences of those marginalized in the international political economy, identifying the intersectional oppressions they endure, and revealing their resistances to global capitalism, carve out a space for recognizing significant subjects in the field of IPE (Nair, 2018, p. 58; Marchand, 2009). In doing this, they provide a unique perspective on global political economy which dismantles the dominant discourses of neoliberalism.

To illustrate how such arguments are employed in conducting empirical analysis, I examine two works in the remainder of this section. The first work is Chang and Ling's "Globalization and its Intimate Other: Filipina Domestic Workers in Hong Kong" (2011), and the second is Kuokkanen's "Globalization as Racialized, Sexualized Violence: The Case of Indigenous Women" (2008).

Chang and Ling's study starts with an argument that there are two processes embedded in globalization. They name the first as "technomuscular capitalism" (TMC) which refers to the

> world of global finance, production, trade, and telecommunications. Populated primarily by men at its top rungs of decision making, this global restructuring valorizes all those norms and practices usually associated with Western capitalist masculinity – "deregulation," "privatization," "strategic alliances," "core regions," "deadlands" – but masked as global or universal. Like the colonial rhetoric of old, it claims to subsume all local cultures under a global umbrella of aggressive market competition – only now with technology driving the latest stage of capitalism. (2011, p. 30)

The second process of globalization is "regime of labor intimacy" (RLI) which the authors understand as the "intimate other to TMC". "Regime of labor intimacy"

> is more explicitly sexualized, racialized, and class-based than TMC and concentrates on low-wage, low-skilled menial service provided by mostly female migrant workers. They perform intimate, household services: e.g. caring for the young and elderly, cleaning house, washing clothes, preparing food, and generally providing domestic comfort and care. This service economy involves other intimacies as well: leaving home, living among strangers, facing sexual harassment and abuse, making moral choices. (2011, p. 30)

Based on this argument, Chang and Ling examine the experiences of Filipina migrant workers in Hong Kong, whom they consider as sitting at the intersection of these two processes of globalization. Accordingly, through their services, these women enable the existence of TMC, they suggest (2011, p. 30). By showing how the labor of these migrant women contributes to the maintenance of global economy, the authors also invite us to think about what really constitutes globalization.

The focus of Kuokkanen's article (2008) is on how the intersection of patriarchy, colonialism and capitalism shape the lives of indigenous women in the North America. By highlighting the interrelation between economy and security, Koukkanen examines how economic globalization, i.e. the market expansion, spread of free trade, and devaluing of labor, initiate "a multifaceted and multilevel violence" (p. 230) in the lives of indigenous women.

For the author, indigenous women constitute one of the most significant groups which is negatively affected by economic globalization (p. 216). This stems from the multinational corporations' exploitative use of natural resources in indigenous territories, the resulting environmental degradation (p. 217), and how the marginalizations caused by these dynamics, along with racist social policies, lead to "dangerous or vulnerable situations such as extreme poverty, homelessness and prostitution" (pp. 219-220). This argument points to how the experiences of indigenous women are shaped by the intersection of gendered, racial, and class-based power structures:

> Colonial relationships are gendered and sexualized and sexual violence functions as a tool of racism and colonialism, not merely as a means of patriarchal control. The sexual exploitation of indigenous women is also integrally linked to their economic inequality and lack of political power both in dominant and in their own societies. In today's global economic order, violence against indigenous women is further exacerbated by privatization of public services, consolidation of wealth and power and corporate control over limited resources. (p. 220)

The existence of these problems, Kuokkanen warns, does not suggest that the indigenous women lack agency. Despite the limitations imposed by globalization and the violence it generates, indigenous women define themselves as "the survivors of centuries of exploitation, assimilation and abuse" on the one hand, and resist for their rights, on the other. For instance, "in many cases", Kuokkanen argues, "indigenous women are organizers who actively mobilize their communities and available resources in most creative ways that often go beyond ideologies and practices of global market economy". (pp. 229-230)

To conclude the section, as these two examples indicate, the study of IPE from a postcolonial feminist lens point to the continuity of colonial power relations, the intersectionality of these power relations, and possibilities for resistance. From this perspective, there is a close relationship between global economy and violence as economic and military interests mutually reinforce one another (Kuokkanen, 2008). As such, argue Agathengelou and Ling (2004b, p. 519), unlike traditional IR approaches, "power, borders, security, and wealth" are not taken as "compartmentalized categories" by postcolonial feminism. Rather, this theoretical approach treats these concepts "as the product of a particular set of social relations, inflected by race, gender, class, and culture" (Agathengelou & Ling, 2004b, p. 519).

Conclusion

This paper looked at the postcolonial feminist scholarship in the discipline of IR and provided a roadmap for making sense of continuities and transformations in world politics from this perspective. To do so, it firstly traced the earlier examples of the postcolonial feminism and suggested that criticisms towards Western feminism on the one hand, and postcolonial scholarship on the other, heralded the beginning of this body of thought. Second, the paper examined the postcolonial feminist thought in the discipline of IR by interrogating the criticisms it levelled against traditional (such as Realist and Liberal) and critical (such as Poststructuralist and Marxist) approaches, and by delving into its unique contributions to the discipline. Accordingly, I argued that by virtue of centralizing the colonial relations of power, and unpacking the intersectionality of these power relations, postcolonial feminist scholarship contributes to our understanding of the continuities in world politics. In its engagement with resistance and the issue of agency, I further suggested, this scholarship also helps us to make sense of changes both in world politics as well as in the discipline of IR. Last, to elaborate on how these contributions manifest themselves in the empirical field, the paper investigated the postcolonial feminist IPE which builds on the reflections of (neo)colonialism on current global economy, the intersectional exclusions and violences it generates, and the possibilities of resistance and agency against current structures.

In their joint study on the postcolonial feminist IR, Chowdhry and Ling (2010, p. 16) suggested that this body of thought "presents a more accurate understanding of our lived realities than those conventional approaches that may call themselves realistic but which adhere to a strictly singular and imposed view of the world." In addition to offering a more "realistic" account of the world, postcolonial feminism is also explicitly normative, emphasizing the need to create "emancipatory, feminist, anti-racist and anti-capitalist international relations" (Agathangelou & Turcotte, 2010, p. 47) in a world where inequalities, injustices, hierarchies, asymmetries still dominate various relationships at every level, from individual to societal, and from inter-state to global. In the light of these arguments, this paper offered that there is a need to further the postcolonial feminist agenda both within and beyond the discipline of International Relations.

References

Achilleos-Sarll, C. (2018). Reconceptualising foreign policy as gendered, sexualised and racialised: Towards a postcolonial femiinist foreign policy (analysis). *Journal of International Women's Studies*, *19*(1), 34-49.

Achilleos-Sarll, C. (2023). "Race" and coloniality. In L. J. Shepherd & C. Hamilton (Eds.), *Gender matters in global politics*: *A feminist introduction to international relations* (3rd edition) (pp. 340-353). Routledge.

Agathangelou, A. (2002). Sexing globalization in international relations: Migrant sex and domestic workers in Cyprus, Greece, and Turkey. In: G. Chowdhry & S. Nair (Eds.), *Power, postcolonialism and international relations*: *Reading race, gender, and class*, (pp. 142-169). Routledge.

Agathangelou, A. M. (2004). *The global political economy of sex*: *Desire, violence, and insecurity in the Mediterranean nation-states*. Palgrave Macmillan

Agathangelou, A. M., & Ling, L.H.M. (1997). Postcolonial dissidence within dissident IR: Transforming master narratives of sovereignty in Greco-Turkish Cyprus. *Studies in Political Economy*, *54*(1), 7–38.

Agathangelou, A. M., & Ling, L. H. M. (2004a). The house of IR: From family power politics to the *Poisies* of Worldism. *International Studies Review*, *6*(4), 21-49.

Agathangelou, A. M., & Ling, L.H.M. (2004b). Power, borders, security, wealth: lessons of violence and desire from September 11. *International Studies Quarterly*, *48*(3), 517–538.

Agathangelou, A. M., & Ling, L.H.M. (2009). *Transforming World Politics*: *From Empire to Multiple Worlds*. Routledge.

Agathangelou, A. M., & Turcotte, H.M. (2010). Postcolonial theories and challenges to "First World-ism." In L. J. Sjepherd (Ed.), Gender matters in global politics: A feminist introduction to international relations (pp. 44-58). Routledge.

Agathangelou, A. M., & Turcotte, H.M. (2016). Reworking postcolonial feminisms in the sites of IR. In: J. Steans & D. Tepe-Belfrage (Eds.), *Handbook on gender in world politics* (pp. 41-49). Edward Elgar Publishing.

Akbari-Dibavar A. (2018). Gender, race, and International Relations. In R. B. Persaud & A. Sajed (Eds.), *Race, gender, and culture in international relations*: *postcolonial perspectives* (pp. 58-79). Routledge.

Barkawi, T. (2004). Connection and constitution: Locating war and culture in globalization studies. *Globalizations*, *1*(2), 155-170.

Bilgin, P. (2016). *The international in security, security in the international*. Routledge.

Blaney, D. L., & Inayatullah, N. (2008). International Relations from Below. In C. Reus-Smith, D. Snidal (Eds.), *Oxford handbook of international relations* (pp. 663- 674). Oxford University Press.

Chang, K. A, & Ling, L. H. M. (2011). Globalization and its intimate other: Filipina domestic workers in Hong Kong. In M. H. Marchand & A. S. Runyan (Eds.), *Gender and global restructuring*: *Sightings, sites, and resistances* (2nd ed.) (pp. 30-47). Routledge.

Chowdhry, G., & Nair, S. (2002). Introduction: power in a postcolonial world: race, gender, and class in international relations. In G. Chowdhry & S. Nair (Eds). *Power, postcolonialism and international relations*: *reading race, gender, and class* (pp.1-32). Routledge.

Chowdhry, G., & Ling, L. H. M. (2018). Race(ing) international relations: A critical overview of postcolo-nial feminism in international relations. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*. doi:10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.013.413.

Combahee River Collective (1977). *The Combahee River Collective Statement*. Black Past. https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/combahee-river-collective-statement-1977/.

Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalzing the intersection of race and sex: A Black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 139–167.

Futak-Campbell, B., & Küçük, M. N. (2023). Unpacking postcolonial and masculine anxieties: Hungaryand Turkey's responses to the EU's handling of the 2015–2016 refugee "crisis." *European Security*, *32*(3), 385-403.

Gandhi, L. (1998). *Postcolonial theory*: *A critical introduction*. Oxford University Press.

Grovogui, S. N. (2006). *Beyond eurocentrism and anarchy*: *Memories of international order and institutions*. Palgrave MacMillan.

Han, J., & Ling, L. H. M. (1998). Authoritarianism in the hypermasculinized state: hybridity, patriarchy, and capitalism in Korea. *International studies quarterly*, *42*(1), 53–78.

Hobson, J. M. (2004). *The eastern origins of western civilization*. Cambridge University Press.

Kerner, I. (2017). Relations of difference: Power and inequality in intersectional and postcolonial feminist theories. *Current Sociology*, *65*(6), 846-866.

Kuokkanen, R. (2008). Globalization as racialized, sexualized violence. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, *10*(2), 216-233.

Lewis, R., & Mills, S. (2003). Introduction. In R. Lewis & S. Mills (Eds.), *Feminist postcolonial theory*: *A reader* (pp. 1-21). Routledge.

Ling, L. H. M. (2002a). *Postcolonial international relations*: *conquest and desire between Asia and the West*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Ling, L. H. M. (2002b). Cultural chauvinism and the liberal international order: "West versus rest" in Asia's Financial Crisis. In G. Chowdhry & S. Nair (Eds.), *Power, postcolonialism, and international relations*: *Reading race, gender, and class* (pp. 115-141). Routledge.

Ling, L. H. M. (2014). *The Dao of world politics*: *towards a post-Westphalian, worldist international relations*. Routledge.

Ling, L. H. M. (2016). Postcolonial-Feminism: Transformative possibilities in thought and action, heart and soul. *Postcolonial Studies*, *19*(4), 478-480.

Manchanda, N. (2018). Postcolonialism. In P. D. Williams & M. McDonald M (Eds.), *Security studies*: *An introduction* (3rd ed.) (pp. 114-128). Routledge.

Marchand, M. H. (2009). The future of gender and development after 9/11: insights from postcolonial feminism and transnationalism. *Third World Quarterly*, *30*(5), 921-935.

Marchand, M. H., & Runyan, S. (2011). Introduction: feminist sightings of global restructuring: old and new conceptualizations. In M. H. Marchand & A. S. Runyan (Eds.), *Gender and global restructuring*: *Sightings, sites, and resistances* (2nd ed.) (pp. 1-23). Routledge.

McClintock, A. (1992). The angel of progress: Pitfalls of the term "Post-Colonialism." *Social Text*, *31*(32), 84–98.

Mohanty, C. T. (1984). Under western eyes: Feminist scholarship and colonial discourses. *Boundry* 2, *12*(3), 333–358.

Mohanty, C. T. (2003). *Feminism without borders*: *Decolonizing theory, practicing solidarity*. Duke University Press.

Montoya, C. (2023). Intersectionality. In L. J. Shepherd & C. Hamilton (Eds.), *Gender matters in global politics*: *A feminist introduction to international relations* (3rd edition) (pp. 47-59). Routledge.

Nair, S. (2018). Postcolonial feminism. In J. Elias & A. Roberts (Eds.), *Handbook on the international political economy of gender* (pp. 50-60). Edward Elgar.

Ozkazanc-Pan, B. (2012). Postcolonial feminist research: challenges and complexities. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion*: *An International Journal*, *31*(5), 573-591.

Roberts, C., & Connell, R. (2016). Feminist theory and the global South. *Feminist Theory*, *17*(2), 135-140.

Rutazibwa, O. U., & Shilliam, R. (2018). Postcolonial politics: an introduction. In O. Rutazibwa & R. Shilliam (Eds), *Routledge handbook of postcolonial politics* (pp. 1-15). Routledge.

Sachseder, J. & Stachowitsch, S., & Binder, C. (2022) Gender, race, and crisis-driven institutional growth: discourses of "migration crisis" and the expansion of Frontex, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *48*(19), 4670-4693.

Sachseder, J. & Stachowitsch, S. (2023). Gendering EU security strategies: A feminist postcolonial approach to the EU as a (global) security actor. *European Security*, 32(3), 404-424.

Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism*. Vintage Books.

Sales, M. (2023). The refugee crisis' double standards: media framing and the proliferation of positive and negative narratives during the Ukrainian and Syrian crises. Euromesco. https://www.euromesco.net/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/Policy-Brief-N%C2%BA129-1.pdf

Seth, S. (2013). Introduction. In: S. Seth (Ed.), *Postcolonial theory and international relations*: *a critical introduction* (pp. 1-12). Routledge.

Spivak, G. C. (1988). Can the subaltern speak? In C. Nelson & L. Grossberg (Eds.), *Marxism and the interpretations of culture* (pp. 271-313). Macmillan Education.

Urdang, S. (1979). *Fighting two colonialisms*: *Women in Guinea-Bissau*. Zed Press.

About Author

Asst. Prof. Mine Nur KÜÇÜK | Yeditepe University
mine.kucuk[at]yeditepe.edu.tr | ORCID: 0000-0001-8579-7837

Mine Nur Küçük completed her doctoral studies at Bilkent University in the Department of International Relations in 2018. Currently, she works as an assistant professor in the Department of Political Science and International Relations at Yeditepe University. Her research interests include critical International Relations theories, critical security studies, and the intersection of popular culture with world politics. Her recent work has appeared in *European Security*, *Turkish Studies*, and *Uluslararası İlişkiler* (International Relations).