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## **Constituting a Gendered Global Political Space:** Women's International Struggle for Peace during WWI.<sup>1</sup>

Nitza Berkovitch and Sara Helman Ben Gurion University, Israel

Current analyses of transnational collective action stress an already consolidated world polity or world society as the grid against which contentious collective action emerges and develops. Using the case of the Hague Peace Conference in 1915 (where the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom was founded) we argue that: One, transnational collective action shapes global spaces in which new meanings and identities are articulated and diffused. And two, transgressive political contention is not only a product of an emergent transnational order but it is also constitutive of it.

To advance these arguments we elaborate two main issues. The first addresses the how and why of transnational contentious collective action under conditions unfavorable to such kind of politics – such as the collapse of the international order and the dearth of international power structures. This point emphasizes the role of contentious actors as shapers of political opportunities and not only as consumers of already existing opportunity structures. The second issue addresses the role of culture in transnational contentious collective action. We emphasize the ways in which cultural constructs are mobilized and elaborated in the process of transnational contention. Thus, we claim that transnational contentious events may articulate new cultural constructs and not only enact existing ones as claimed by current research.

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