

Cynthia Enloe – Transcribed Notes  
Women and Militarization Before, During and After Wars: A Feminist Approach to the  
Women Peace and Security Agenda  
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Most of you live in the greater NY area. Most of you were here doing Sandy. What's your gender analysis? If we can't do a gender analysis of long island power company, how can we do an analysis of 1325?

- Can you do a gender analysis of hurricane sandy?
- We imagine the work we do is out there.
- We get caught up in the moment and don't do any gender analysis...
- What's been going on with the masculinization of long island power authority?

Start close to home → be honest with each other why you haven't, then you will know what you are up against in the field.

If we [as scholars, as practitioners] can forget gender in our daily lives why should we be surprised when others do the same?

We are all keeping track of Syria.

- Post-wars are actually created in war time.
- In middle of war time is when a lot of post war is created.
- How many women are there on new national council?
- Out of 40, 1 woman elected, her name is Suhair Atassi (comes from a prominent Syrian family, she is an activist in creating open civil society discussion before violence escalated) → how come we didn't notice?
- How come the pressure wasn't on in Doha to have more inclusion of women?
- Recognized by French gov and given a seat at the Arab league.
  - Already work of 1325 is being pushed way back.
- Assumptions are: who "had" to be on new national coalition?
- Who could not be left out of the new national coalition?
  - the fighters inside Syria
  - old council as it was called did not included enough of the "fighters"
  - fighters are people who are issues weapons → immediately masculinizes the whole thing
  - at the last min was about to look like a wall to wall male provisional government →

**Assumptions Matter :** Assumptions are what I really want to highlight today

- assumptions are about the things that go unsaid but that motivate people
- things we wont say to get us to say them → this is the hardest thing to do...
- the things we wont say → there are very good reasons why we wont say it
  - might take the "glow" away form our work, might be embarrassing
- we need to listen for, and try to get people in some setting, to admit them

- one of the assumption about dismissing women security is that women have “always” been insecure

### **I hate “always”**

- “Always” says I don’t have to think anymore
- terrible word to inform anything
- “Always” is ahistorical → means its apolitical
- When I say ahistorical I mean: never a moment when anyone in particular had to make a choice → no ever had to make discussion
- Women have “always” been insecure → don’t really have to give a thought to them
  - never really have to give into to it because it’s “always” there → assumption

Another assumption is that *women’s insecurity matters less for political stability then does men’s insecurity*

- Particularly in post war around veterans issues
- Who can governments not afford to neglect? → male veterans not female veterans
- Insecurity felt by men [considered to be] the most destabilizing → will have gotten closer to why neglect 1325
- Why is it that women’s insecurity is just as endangering of political stability as men’s?
- Who is it that will express their disaffection in ways that make officials feel endangered →

What is it about women feeling insecure → that should be seen as equally destabilizing as men’s insecurity?

- Why is it, that the perpetuation of sex trafficking, domestic violence etc....why is it that this should be seen as politically destabilizing ?
- Perpetuate a system that encourages women to be silent about their abuse
- Silent about their deep sense of insecurity
- That silence is what props up political stability

**Political stability, one of its main pillars is women’s silences** → [our] job is to break this silence so that states feel a little less secure if they don’t address issues of violence against women

Another assumption: (in certain rooms this would be viewed as off the charts)

- *oppression of women is good for political order* → not something you will get most people to admit they believe, but might be more widespread we believe
- Very hard to get people to admit, unless you are really out to do some shaming (which occasionally has its uses) → very hard in public forum to admit these assumptions
- Try to get admitted in a least private settings → safe spaces
- We want the assumption to be admitted
- Will be the hardest to admit → oppression of women is good for political stability

## Gender blind

Another assumption:

- *Women's experience of insecurity is no difference than men's* → most common to work on, conditions of domestic violence, refugee camps, trafficking etc.
  - Can be embraced by people who think it is the post-modern thing to do for gender equality i.e.) gender blind
- Gender blindness only works if there are no gender differences
- Insecurity and the making of insecurity is a process and that process of being made insecure/secure are gender processes → ideas about masculinity and femininity
- If we admit this, yes we have struggled to get to the point that experiences are the same, then maybe we can start talking about women's insecurity and the notion that women are "always" insecure

Assumptions really matter because they are buried so deep and are very hard to get acknowledged

- Really requires a very special kind of listening → not just public official forum
- our assumptions are the ways we conserve energy
- It is exhausting to examine our assumptions
- So many people you are working with define themselves under extreme stress
- Stress and assumption really work together sympatically
- The more you can define yourself as stress (professional accomplishment)

Politics of masculinity in banking

- Badge of honor → badge of masculinized honor that you only get 3 hours of sleep
- All lot pull on the ribbon of "stressed out" → I'm doing important work, I am constantly under stress → means the assumptions will be held more dearly → means our work is harder
- Take seriously all the occasions you have when your institutional setting for what people are motivated by what they don't say

More ethnographic ways of research

Being an activist got to be able to change people's minds

Q&A

- Gaps in WPS agenda
- Conflict preventions
- Disarmament side
- Resistance continues to come why is this important?
- What have arms got to do with women? Constant rhetoric
- Language they came up with, was so weak, included gbv in txt

Questions:

Q: What are the assumptions you face?

- Syria case unfortunately second case in less than two years, it is exactly what happened in Libya!
- What is going on behind closed doors?
- Clearly not conversation in Doha, conversations existed before that, wartime conversations structures being determined in war—women's groups, trying to mobilize on ground, attention is starting earlier in the process than meeting in Doha, what are we doing wrong?

A:

- What didn't we learn in Libya?
- Did they not learn the marginalization what didn't we learn in Libya
  - Made the wrong assumption
  - No consequence for exclusion
- Can't answer all your own questions
  - Research crucial
- Gender is not a "vote getter"
  - How do change this?
  - Construction of knowledge
  - How do you make wps agenda a "vote getter"

Narrative

- political party route
- Grassroots organizing had to be woven into peace agreement
- Very complex relevant ideas
- Narration matters → get some now to tell narration of Libyan
- Narration hardens so fast
- Way you narrate the most recent event, narration becomes touch stone for how you deal with the next thing
- Libya already harden

Q: reconciliation of serving as woman and WPS agenda

A: 1980's Korean feminist organizers working with women in massage parlors

- assumptions about morals, about the moral of your 18/19 colleague boys, what creates a sense of morality amongst 19 year old men, assumptions based off of only masculinity
- is highly condescending → we're not that crass we're not like that...
- double assumptions working with people who have experience in fighting force need to be taken seriously in how they experience their masculinity/ femininity in those situations
- should take American experience of veteran hood and think cross-nationally

Q: Assumption of women's insecurity matters less than men's insecurity

- Defining security from the women's terms
- Women's mobility
- Access to work
- Access to political participation
- Women's work is not
- Research reports of some

A: Ask questions with a methodology that is greater

- Research reports how do you get your reports taken seriously
- Municipal that only listens to men's voices only gear statements to
- Listen to women's experiences what does it look like
  
- Women's silence about abuse voice is crucial
- At UN level representatives of member states can't be embarrassed
- Don't embarrassed the national transitional council
- What if women say something that embarrasses us?
- Who are these women?
- Democracy is destabilizing
- Get a good peace agreement from a different
- Agreeing to elements of assumptions
- Got to give men jobs after a conflict...when women control income post conflict they're households are better off and community stability improves---proven statistically ---whose producing it...
- If when get the jobs does that destabilize the community?
- Post 2015 agenda gender specific signs etc...best possible indicator is prevalence of small arms...investment in military spending opposed to social spending