BOOK REVIEWS


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Written by one of the leadings feminist scholars, Cynthia Enloe’s latest book *Globalization and Militarism: Feminist Make the Link* offers a unique insight into the complex issues of globalization, militarism and international politics. The book fills in a gap in the literature related to gender, militarization, and globalization and casts a new light to these phenomena. Enloe, provocatively, draws a *feminist link* between globalization and militarism by exploring why and how the globalization of militarization and the militarization of globalization happens (p. 8). She discusses topics such as women’s “cheap” labor, the U.S. invasion of Iraq, national security as a militarized male agenda, the global and gendered aspects of the Abu Ghraib scandal, and fashion as a political statement. She also uses these examples to illustrate, from the feminist perspective, the events occurring in global politics today which are often considered by the general public “trivial” and challenges us to recognize militarism in its various forms such as security, fashion or labor. Her feminist, international and political inquiry is motivated by a *feminist curiosity* which does not ”take things for granted” but rather asks tough questions about the relationships of women to families, to men, to companies, to institutions, to the state, and to globalizing trends (p. 10). Enloe provides a fresh insight into militarism and globalization and looks beyond the impacts of global affairs on women, focusing on their causes. She employs and develops a *feminist curiosity* and a *feminist causal analysis* in order to discover how and why the world works the way it does (p. 12-18). With her new work, Enloe shows yet again that taking women’s lives seriously in creating local and global policies is the key explanation of how world politics works. As she argues, women’s lives are too often used for achievement of various global and militarized projects created by men.

In her inquiry, Enloe uses various examples and simple but provocative and sophisticated language to discuss how and why women are often used to sustain and assist the globalization of militarism. For example, she makes a link between globalized factory work, women’s labor and militarism. She argues that the government’s military and the militarized police have helped keep thousands of women who work in Nike and other global sweatshop companies unorganized and have thus ensured that their labor remains cheap (p. 33). Whenever women sweatshop
workers protest, governments call in the men from the police and army to confront them with shields and guns as they express their own manliness (p. 34). Thus, Enloe warns that, similar to the sneakers made in South Korea in 1970s, sneakers produced today in Indonesia may be threaded with militarism (p. 34).

Enloe also conducts a feminist analysis of international and national security and uses the example of the U.S. military invasion of Iraq to illustrate her analysis. She describes an investigation undertaken by a few prominent feminist scholars prior to the invasion that concluded that the U.S. military invasion of Iraq was in fact a contest between masculinities. According to them, military masculinities led by the Bush administration dismissed and made less worthy and less credible the findings of civilian UN inspectors less committed to a demonstration of physical force, and thus considered more feminine, who reported there was no evidence the Iraqi government had a program of developing weapons of mass destruction (p. 50). Thus, Enloe argues that investigating questions such as who holds what views of manliness, who wields them in political life and what consequences those views might have, are important feminist questions to be asked in the study of national and global security (p. 51). Yet, in order to ask these questions, one needs to develop a feminist curiosity and look through gender lenses at events that happen in the international political arena.

Furthermore, by using examples of wives of military men and women soldiers, she draws our attention to females who, by being part of highly military institutions such as armies, play a crucial yet invisible role in sustaining “national security”. According to Enloe these women have not received enough attention and she calls for more research into their lives to explore what roles they play, if any, in the globalization of militarism. She critically analyses the presence in the military of women who break traditionally masculinized domains and she raises discomfiting questions about the roles and privileges of men (p. 65). She rejects simplistic arguments that more women in the military means less masculinized armies, but offers insightful and unique explanations as to why government strategists would prefer some women to join the army. Rather than having a desire to liberate women, Enloe claims, such strategies are motivated by their desire to continue military operations at a time when they were losing easy access to young male recruits (p. 72). Regardless of the motivation of the governments, the fact is that women increasingly join the army with the expectation that they can pursue a military career on the same merits as men. However, what Enloe fails to explore is women's understanding of where the government strategists' desire to recruit more women comes from and how or if that understanding would change their decisions to join the army.

Enloe broadens her discussion on masculinities, femininities and militarism in her feminist analysis of torture inflicted on Iraqi men by the U.S. army and American women soldiers inside the Abu Ghraib prison. She suggests that wielding feminization and using feminized rituals to humiliate males inside Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo became a technique of prisoner humiliation (109). Enloe also draws a
link between military organizational culture and sexism and violence. While Enloe highlights causes and consequences of global militarization and its effects on women and men, she also gives various examples of individual and group actions being taken nowadays towards demilitarizing a global world. By naming several demilitarizing campaigns that have taken place in different corners of the world, Enloe sends a message that pushing a demilitarization process beyond tokenism requires *dismantling patriarchal structures* in the public realm, but also in the private sphere as well (135). She concludes by calling for the fostering of demilitarization through cooperative investigations, multiple skills, and the embrace of different perspectives (164). Indeed, Enloe’s book could be seen as an example of an individual campaign and personal contribution to a global demilitarization processes.

In sum, Enloe in her latest book is urging women and men, particularly men in positions of power, to listen to women, and to use gender analyses in their work. She urges policy makers to consider how policies will affect men and which men especially; how they will affect women and which women in particular; and, finally, how certain policies affect relationships between men and women (p. 13). The book targets primarily policy makers, but it is of great importance to scholars, students, activists and everyone else interested in discovering a link between militarism and globalization through gender lenses. While Enloe answers the questions she raises, her book is limited in its scope of the few examples used in her illustrations. However, Enloe is aware that inquires she makes are only the beginning of a larger project that should be taken on and developed by feminists around the world.