

barred from killing for their country.⁷² The new female and gay presences within a previously exclusive male and heterosexual domain, transgress the clarity of earlier militarized male and female gender roles and suggest that a new relationship might be developing between the patriarchal state, and women (including lesbians) and gay men. By extension, this could help to lay new foundations for the way that global security is understood, achieved and maintained. I am not suggesting that mere presence of women and gay men in the military will alter the militaristic world order, because it is the structures themselves, and the gender identities that they produce, which need to change. Rather, I am proposing that disruptive presences might be an initial step towards more fundamental structural change

I am also not suggesting that women and/or gay men are *inherently* more predisposed towards the peaceful resolution of disputes or *intrinsically* more likely to take an anti-militaristic position than heterosexual men.⁷³ To understand peacefulness as a feminine quality, in the context of a militaristic and patriarchal world order, is to unwittingly repeat the characterization of non-militarized peace as unmanly. As bell hooks says, associating women with peace and men with aggression

may be stereotypical norms that many people live out, such dualistic thinking is dangerous; it is a basic ideological component of logic that informs and promotes domination in Western society. Even when inverted and employed for a meaningful purpose, like nuclear disarmament, it is nevertheless risky, for it reinforces the cultural basis of sexism and other forms of group oppression.⁷⁴

Gendered States: Feminist (Re)Visions of International Relations Theory (1992) 83, 91.

⁷² Enloe, above n 54, 17.

⁷³ The view that women take a more caring and connected approach to the resolution of conflict is supported by the work of Carol Gilligan, *In A Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development* (1982).

⁷⁴ bell hooks, "Feminism and Militarism: A Comment" (1995) 3 & 4 *Women's Studies Quarterly* 58,