Interviewee: Cynthia Enloe
Interviewer: Emma Garaban and Alicia Perry
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Abstract: Cynthia Enloe was born in New York City, New York in 1938. She grew up in Manhasset, Long Island. After studying at Connecticut College, Enloe went on to further her studies in political science at University of California, Berkeley. After beginning her teaching career at University of Miami in Ohio, Enloe was offered a job at Clark University, where she taught for several years. Although she does not teach full-time at Clark anymore, she still travels, lectures, and conducts research. Her celebrated work is in militarism, race and ethnicity, and gender. Enloe's life story encapsulates a person who leads her life by always questioning the world around her.

SGC: The wireless at Holy Cross is a little bit shaky, so.

CE: Oh really, and it's not shaky any place else.

[laughter]

SGC: So…

CE: Ok introduce everybody.

SGC: I'm Selina. I've been looking forward to meeting you so I'll look forward to meeting you in person when you're back in the area.

CE: Absoutely.

SGC: And this is Alicia Perry.

AP: Hi, nice to meet you. [laughter]

SGC: And this is Emma Garaban.

EG: Hi.

SGC: And they are both seniors and they've had many classes with me. They're both interested in gender and social movements and they're in this seminar, Women & Nonviolence and we're so happy to add to the Worcester Women's History Project oral history archives.

CE: Is it is a whole city, Worcester-wide city project and you all are contributing to it?

SGC: Yes, that's right. It's been going on for some years now. You can look it up on Google. They already have a number, a few dozen narratives housed at the Schlesinger library at Harvard.

CE: Yes, of course […] wonderful.

SGC: And what they did was they divided the project into four areas that were defined by the first national women's conventions here in Worcester in 1860. So, let's see, it's economy, it's work, education, business [pause] well and then community government, but the community government doesn't have a lot of activists, grassroots activists or women doing social movement type of work so that's our contribution, that's our goal in this class is to, is to find peace, peace-makers in the Worcester community and add those stories.

CE: There are a lot of them and a lot of them are in the Vietnamese community, the Lao-Ocean community as well of course the Hispanic community of Worcester. I know that you've got your agenda, but don't overlook the new immigrant communities because the Vietnamese women in are […] 20 years in Worcester, but they've done a lot of work, the Lao-Ocean community has done a lot of work. The Somalis in Worcester, so be sure at least have a couple of people who are from the new immigrant communities because, first of all they've come from wars zones, but the other thing when they got to Worcester, their communities are traumatized and they're not always welcome. And I can tell you who you could contact to make contact with them.

SGC: Ok.

CE: Yes, Anita Favos. F-A-V-O-S. I see you have a pen.

[laughter]

CE: Never do anything without a pen and paper right?

EG: Yes.

CE: You never know what tidbits you might pick up. So Anita Favos at Clark is herself a feminist and immigrant specialist and she had been helping to develop with people of Worcester State I think a whole project on new immigrants in Worcester and they're very conscious of

women's activism within those communities and Anita, she's a wonderful person and Anita, her email is [redacted].

SGC: Wonderful, thank you.

EG: Awesome.

CE: I'm always happy to make more work for somebody else.

[laughter]

SGC: We need more work on this project. You know what I'm thinking, we must look so tiny to you, I wonder if you could just…

CE: No.

SGC: Should we like try and adjust our seats s little bit? […]

EG: Maybe.

CE: No, no I can see, I really can.

SCG: Ok.

CE: You don't look too far away. […]

SGC: Ok, well I'm going to turn it over to my students. This is their first interview and I said that, you know, they were a little nervous and I said Cynthia…

CE: Oh don't be nervous.

SGC: Yeah, it can't go wrong because she has a wonderful story and she's happy to share it with you, is it recording?

EG: Yeah.

SGC: So yeah, if you don't mind we will record it and transcribe it and throw the transcription in the archive and Emma's going to take the lead on the interview and Alicia's here as a support person to add questions that, that might arise for her and kind of to add a second voice so I'll let them…

CE: And we'll keep it, let's keep in informal so that means you can interrupt, and you can ask me what do you mean and you know?

[laughter]

EG: That's good.

CE: Let's keeps so that it really sounds like a conversation.

EG: Ok.

SGC: Great, thank you Cynthia.

CE: Ok, thank you Selina.

SGC: Ok I'm in my office if you have any issues.

EG: Ok.

[laughter]

CE: Hi Guys.

AP: Hi.

EG: Hi, thank you so much for meeting with us. We're very excited for this.

AP: Yes, we're so excited to meet you.

CE: My pleasure.

EG: Awesome, so I guess we'll get started. I think for this like first part this interview I think we just want to hear about your childhood, where you're from, what was your family like, so if you want to just elaborate on that for a bit.

CE: Yes, right. […] You know you'll find this already, don't you rethink your childhood almost every year?

EG: Oh yeah.

CE: You find out something new about your parents or you find our something new about your home town so you never stop kind of not making it up but you never stop re-thinking, well what

does it mean that I grew up in this place? And really was it as happy a childhood as I thought it was or you know so, so I grew up on Long Island, where are you from?

EG: I'm from New Jersey.

CE: Ok, almost Long Island.

EG: Yeah, almost.

[laughter]

AP: I'm from Massachusetts, I'm from Sudbury Massachusetts.

CE: Oh ok great, well we're all East Coasters. So I grew up in a commuter town called Manhasset and Manhasset was named, is an Indian name but I, I'm not kidding, only now, decades later, did I ever find out what the name Manhasset means. We, so we grew up with an Indian named town, do either of, Sudbury is a British named town. Where did you grow up in New Jersey?

EG: Maplewood.

CE: Do you know why it was called Maplewood?

EG: I have no idea.

CE: Well see it's interesting, was it a developer who just thought it sounded good and who is Sudbury? I mean which part, it's probably Southern England, probably some new immigrants from South England named it Sudbury cause they were homesick or something.

[laughter]

CE: It's very, so it turns out that Manhasset is a Mantenequak, that's a native tribe, a Mantenequak, […] we all grew up thinking it was an Indian Chief. You know how kids make things up and we never had any lessons or history course in school that taught us anything about our own hometown, nothing, we never learned who first settled it, I've never heard the Mantenquak. Here they were the native founders of this and we never even, I mean honestly, we never even learned how to spell Mantenequak, but it turns out to mean a coastal town, that's what Manhasset town. It isn't an Indian chief at all. So I grew up in this very commuter town. I would've called it a white town, but it was very racially segregated. And you know I now think about Northern segregation a lot more and it was a racially segregated town so I, there were no African Americans in school with me at all in my elementary school years. The schools only became integrated at junior high and then high school. But we never learned about segregation,

we never learned anything about Black History or not to mention the racial politics of our town, we never learned any of that. So I think about it a lot more now. And my father was a, what I thought was an ordinary commuter. He got on the Long Island Railroad every morning and went into New York City. My mother I would've said was just a housewife, but in fact she and her women friends didn't run the town in terms of politics, but they were the staff people, the volunteer staff people for all the local what we would not call the NGOs, the community services. How my mother and all her friends, doing all this volunteer work, there would've been no community because they did the vising nurse service, they did […] for cancer patients, they supported the schools, they did everything and but I wasn't conscious of that, I just thought that's what mothers did, mothers ran the town, again not in terms of political power, but in terms of creating a sustaining community. I went to public schools in Manhasset and high school was a good high school I think. So not many kids went to private schools, which was good, and then I, when I left Manhasset I went to Connecticut College, which probably you probably have friends who probably have gone to what we call Conn. [laughter] It was on the coast in New London. At that point, Conn, Connecticut, it was a private, even though it's got this confusing name, it's a private college and it was all women's college at that point. Now it's co-ed, but it was all women's college and I think I chose it because I thought going to an all-women's college would be more liberating and I wouldn't have used that word you know, but I thought it would be free from certain kinds of social pressures as an undergraduate I would be able to do more of what I wanted to do and without having to worry about dating all the time or guys in the classroom or men and all little things you have learned how to cope with. But you're always coping right? Always have to figure out how to manage that and I just thought I've done it through high school, I want to be free of that and so I chose Connecticut College which was all women's college and the thing is, I mean you now have women professors, but the time I was going to college, there were not very many women professors at co-ed schools, very few at all. And yet, at Connecticut College, a women's college, I had lots of women professors, so I went to college thinking it was normal for women to get PhDs, it was normal for women to be specialists, it was normal for women to be experts, it was normal for women to be in positions of authority and the president of Connecticut College when I was an undergraduate was a woman, Rosemary Parks, and she was a very strong personality and so in my teenage years I thought that was normal and I think that has a big effect on you. Now we didn't have any women's studies. Women's studies was only created in the 1970s. The very first women's studies course in United States was created with great imagination and guts I think at by a group of women faculty members at San Diego State University in California and that was 1969 and it was the very first ever course called women's studies, which at the time sounded bizarre and weird and who would ever think that […]. So it was, it was a very exciting time at Connecticut College, but that was largely because of the Civil Rights Movement not because of the feminist movement, so I wasn't in college at the time when there was women's studies or a women's movement and we learned no suffrage history. None. Again, I think now about all the things I never was taught and I was never taught anything about the first women's movement, which was the movement for suffrage. I never learned anything about that so I never learned anything about Worcester Women's Rights Convention, not to mention Seneca, I never learned why male politicians worked so hard to try

and resist women's suffrage, I never learned why so many women were against women's suffrage, what they were imaging were the awful consequence of women being able to vote? I never learned any of that in college. I think it's one of the reasons why I get so excited about it now. [laughts] Don't you get excited about things that you think, how come nobody ever taught me that?

AP: Totally.

EG: Yeah, yeah.

CE: So all the things you are probably learning in the course on social movement and nonviolent, you think my god, I'm a senior.

EG: Right.

CE: How come this isn't being taught in high school? Or at least in your freshman year? And you get really revved up, and one of the reasons why I've been so excited not just by the women's movement, but the women's movement and changing college career […] so that students learn about it earlier and ask their own questions earlier. And then I worked in New York right after college, that was the big thing to do, is to go down to New York and work in what we parochial Long Islanders used to call "the city" […] Alright.

[laughter]

CE: Since you're both, Northeasterners, if you go to another part of the country—because this happened to me when I moved to California—I was referring to the city, and people of course thought I meant San Francisco [laughter] where I meant THE city.

EG: THE city.

AP: Yeah. [laughter]

EG: Yeah. I do the same thing, I call New York City "the city" and then I'll go to another place and I'll say "the city" and everyone's like "what?" I do the same thing.

CE: And they think you mean Houston or something.

EG: Right, that's so funny. [laughter]

CE: Not to mention London or Tokyo.

AP: Yeah.

EG: Yeah.

CE: Yeah so you can, you can grow up with all of this imagining. So after working in "the city" as a real gopher in a big publishing company, I mean I was nothing, I was doing nothing, but I was working this big publishing company, I decided there had to be more to life than this and I began thinking about grad school. I knew nothing about graduate school. Most of my friends didn't go on to graduate school, some of them went on for teaching degrees after Connecticut, but I didn't know anything about this thing called graduate school, but I did my research and I went to University of California at Berkeley in California and decided that I would major in political science, which had been my undergraduate major, and then that I would specialize, now this is again, the things you don't know. I decided I would specialize in Southeast Asian politics. And the reason I decide on that is because I had an internship when I was an undergrad and I worked with, again as a very lowly assistant, I worked with a group of agricultural specialists from Ghana, Turkey, and Indonesia.

EG: Wow.

CE: And the Indonesian, and it was down in Washington for the summer, and the Indonesian guy named Galar, took pity on me, I mean he just couldn't believe that I knew nothing, and I just knew nothing about Indonesia, I mean I could barely find it on the map. It was between my junior and senior years and so Galar said, "We in Indonesia had a revolution against French, I mean against Dutch colonial rule," and I mean I just had no idea. I think I heard of the French Revolution, the American Revolution, and the Russian Revolution. I had no idea anybody in the world had a revolution. And so Galar, this very nice guy was a fisheries expert decided to come teach me about Indonesian politics and the revolution against the Dutch and why they were so rightly proud. So when I got to Berkeley, well obviously I'll be Southeast East Asian specialist, it meant nothing honestly. I kind of knew, I knew how to study, that was really good. I knew how to study, I knew how to think comparatively about political systems, but not about very many countries […]. And so Berkeley was great. Most of the—all of the professors were men, all, and having come from a women's college, I thought that was pretty strange, but I didn't really wonder why so there were 50, count them, 50 political science professors, 50, and not a single woman was one of them. Not one.

EG: Wow.

CE: That changed within the next decade, but not when I was there and I became friends with graduate students from all over the world and that really became my world then for the next 6-7 years and when I went to do my dissertation, I went to Malaysia, another country in Southeast Asia, and it was a time when the US was getting more involved in the war in Vietnam and so I really had to think about the US role in Vietnam, but at the time I had to think about Malaysia's politics which were very ethnically divided, very. And still are. And so I thought about ethnicity,

I thought about revolution, I thought about comparative politics, but I didn't think a single thing about women and politics, which then also meant that I didn't think about masculinity because that's one of the things that happens to you if you don't notice women, you don't ask any questions about men, you just think men are normal. Alright?

[laughter]

CE: I know, what a funny idea.

EG: Right.

[laughter]

CE: And my first job after Berkeley as a […] faculty member was in the middle of the country in Miami of Ohio, and Miami is the home region that's in Southern Ohio, Miami, which is big state University, the Miami Indians are local to Southern Ohio, they have nothing to do with Florida, but the developer who developed the swamp lands that became Miami, Florida, he was from Southern Ohio and so he named Miami his new city down in Florida that he was building out of the swamps, he named it after his home region and the native people of that region, which were the Miami Indians. And so that was a very good job and I had never lived in the middle of the country, that was a revelation. I only lived in New York, Connecticut, and California, and now here I was miles from an ocean, that seemed so strange, but it was a really good thing to teach at a great big state university at a time of the Vietnam War and we each of us had to figure out what our teaching responsibilities were visa v being critical of the war and especially since I was Southeast Asia specialist. I really had to take a stand, I had to think of what I thought about Vietnamese history and Vietnamese politics and the role of the French in Vietnam and my role as the teacher about Vietnamese history and that really furthered my political education, to have to think about that. And then there was a job opening here at Clark and it sounded really interesting, it was building a new department. The political science department at Clark and I took that job, again before women's studies was formed, but a group of us got together with students who heard that there was this thing called women's studies being started at UMass Amherst and the students insisted that this group of about a dozen faculty members, women faculty members, and we didn't even know each other, because why would women know each other at a university, right? […] [laughs]. So there was no women's faculty group or anything because you were always taught you were making your own career in your own discipline, the idea to have solidarity with other women faculty was just not in the air at all at first, but we were pushed by undergraduates, just like you, and they said there's this new thing—this would be about 1975, 74/75. And we heard there's this whole new course called Women's Studies at UMass Amherst and why isn't this at Clark and we said we don't know. None of us were trained in women's history or women's politics or women's literature, we don't anything about that. They said, these undergraduates said, well couldn't you learn and we […] we responded to their persuasion and we started offering courses, we offered the first course was, the very first course was Women and

American Politics offered by an American politics specialist, Sharon Kravicks, who's very active in Worcester politics by the way and is a faculty member at Clark and the second course we offered was Women […] Novels by Women, Novels by British and American Women. And those were in 1975/1976 and they were the break-through courses and then I got excited and then I offered a new course called Women and Comparative Politics which meant looking at women in revolutions and women in elections and women in social movements around the world. And that would all be 1975/76, but what also happened is that we formed a women's faculty group and the women's faculty group became—we loved each other, we learned from each other, we taught each other what, how do you know that your chair is crazy? We have to learn these things. How do you know whether your tenure, your promotion experience is fair or not? And women faculty all got together and they compared notes. This is what a fair department looks like, this is what a crazy department looks like. Because sometimes you […] true of any workplace, how do you know if your workplace is crazy? Is your workplace crazy or is it normal? And sometimes you have to get together with other people saying, "Woah, we didn't want to do it like that. That's not fair." And then we thought there must be faculty members around Worcester that we should get together and we formed the Women's Studies Faculty Consortium and that's when we all got to know Theresa McBride and Karen Turner right at Holy Cross. And then we joined with Kris Waters at Worcester State who's a philosopher and so we formed this fabulous group and we would have dinners every fall, they were the best thing ever. So we really began to trade ideas with each other, we began to think of each other as feminists, that was new, we began to tell each other what kind of research we were doing and we all got excited about everybody else's research. So that kind of brings you up to where we are now. But it was all new. 1970s were so exciting.

AP: Yeah.

EG: Yeah. That's so cool. Do you feel like during the 1970s in Worcester, was there a lot of like social justice occurring or was it just within like the college community that you were in?

CE: Oh now that's interesting. I think that this is something that really you should explore in your own history of women in Worcester. Are people really doing social justice work in Worcester, to what extent to they think that college campus are on another planet? Because you know a lot of people from Holy Cross. A lot of people on college campuses don't care very much about the town they're in.

EG: Right. Right.

CE: I mean I think when I was an undergraduate at Connecticut College in New London in Connecticut, I don't think I knew anything about New London. I didn't realize that they had a large Puerto Rican community. What I've learned, Emma I think, I'll tell you very specific I remember really broke out […] I think for a lot this, we learned about Worcester by having student interns who we were supposedly supervising, but who were actually teaching us about

what it's like to do social justice work in Worcester and they would keep diaries, they would write papers, they would have conversations with us and from that we learned about the problems about each new wave of immigrants, we learned about healthcare in Worcester, we learned about policing in Worcester. Daybreak, do you know Daybreak? It's the first battered women's shelter in Worcester.

EG: Ok, yeah.

CE: And the person who knows the most about Daybreak, so is the founding of the first battered women's shelter in Worcester. It's now part of the YWCA, but it started independently, free standing and it was started by a Clark professor of sociology and a Clark undergraduate. That's who started it, so an undergraduate student and a young faculty member started Daybreak and you can still interview the undergraduate founder, the faculty founder now is living and doing very interesting work in England, and that's Beth Herr. B-E-T-H H-E-R-R.

EG: Awesome.

CE: And you can get…she has taught courses on violence against women and the law at Holy Cross.

AP: Oh.

EG: Oh, wow.

CE: […] and if you can't get in touch with her […]

EG: Definitely.

CE: Yeah. She also led a rebellion against which was great.

EG: No way.

CE: As an undergraduate she was in a big course of mine and I was kind of dumb and I assigned a final exam that was going to be in an in-class exam, sitting in your class room in your blue books right? And she led the whole class to my office door, three students to the office door and they said this course should not have a final exam that is an in-class exam. It's much a broader, richer, kind of topic, it should be a take-home exam and I gave up immediately and said you're absolutely right, but that was Beth. Beth led a rebellion and she won it immediately. And she's now a lawyer, a fabulous lawyer, but she as an undergraduate helped found the battered women's shelter of Worcester called Daybreak and but a lot of us were not involved in Worcester life. […]

EG: Right.

CE: And now, so the people who were really involved in Worcester life were the faculty members, were very specific, they were faculty members who lived in Worcester so they had a stake in Worcester and they didn't just go under canvas and turn off their minds. They, so Kris Waters, who is a professor of philosophy at Worcester State, she would give you a very good sense of how the, they used to call town […] kind of relationships were, but particularly around social justice. On your campus, ask Theresa McBride in history.

EG: Yeah.

CE: You know Theresa and all? Ask Theresa McBride. She's been very involved, I think she was involved in Daybreak among things and ask Karen Turner also in history.

EG: Ok.

CE: Those three faculty members, so you've got a lot of Holy Cross connections and Beth, and they give you a really good sense of that, but what we were aware of was really problems faced by new immigrants because one of the most distinctive things about Worcester is that it's a town just one wave after another of new immigrants, not just in the last 20 years, but in the last 150 years. And so it, it, in fact when Clark was recruiting when I was still out at Miami of Ohio, when Clark was recruiting me, they, one of the faculty members in the department, the political science department, said home to Worcester, you're so interested in ethnic politics. Worcester is the best place on the planet to study ethnic politics because it's so many new immigrant groups coming and that's really effected policing and […] violence against women and whether it's taken seriously or not, it effects healthcare. That's why the healthcare groups in Worcester are so much part of the social justice movement in Worcester. It effects housing and land lord, whether they're there for new immigrants who may not quite understand the language of tenant rights. So housing, healthcare, policing, and then of course job termination are so bound up in Worcester to new immigrants and to ethnic and racial diversity because one of the other things about Worcester compared to other towns in the US Northeast is that African Americans are not the major minority group in Worcester. Latinos are, you know. Just a minute, I've got a machine on making a terrible buzz. This is called Skyping from home. Just a minute.

[laughter]

AP: Take your time.

CE: There we go. Hi.

AP: Hi.

EG: Hi.

CE: I don't know there is a chapter of the National Organization for Women, NOW, there's a chapter of NOW in Worcester and you might ask everybody else you're talking to when do they think NOW was founded in Worcester? I mean was it the mid-70s or was it later? I'm not really sure, but NOW in Worcester, National Organization for Women in Worcester. They probably have a website, a Worcester website. Find out who founded it, why did the found it. Not every city has a NOW chapter, how come there is one in Worcester? What kinds of alliances […] I can tell you the best person, you don't have to all this, but call all of your buddies. The best person to talk to you about the history of the African American community in Worcester, which is a small community, but is a very rich historically, rich community and that's professor over at Clark named Janette and she spells Janette J-A-N-E-T-T-E and her last name is Greenwood G-R-E-E-N Wood, Greenwood, Janette Greenwood, and Janette is a wonderful person. And Janette has traced, she herself is white American, but she traced the history, she's a historian of race and ethnicity in America and she traced the history of the African American community in Worcester back to the Civil War.

EG: Oh wow.

CE: And why so many African Americans from one particular city of North Carolina migrated North to Worcester. It's a great story and she's now doing a whole photographic exhibit at one of the local museums and she's, she's terrific, but she would […] there's the NAACP in Worcester. How important are women in that? Or is it kind of male-run? There are African American Churches in Worcester, to what extent do the male pastors kind of speak for the whole community? Cause that's one of the things that African American feminists have really have struggled with and that is the, African American Churches are the main local institutions and in almost all of the Churches have male pastors, do the male pastors become the spokespeople for the whole community, which then marginalizes women's voices even if women are the main congregates, so the the politics in the wrong sense, the politics of women in African American, African American women in black Churches is big politics because it all the time makes the male pastors kind of […] natural leaders of the community, but that can be very marginalizing for women who do all the work.

EG: Yeah.

CE: Yeah, one of the things come to mind, you don't have to stick to the same topic.

EG: Yeah.

AP: You're giving us so much.

EG: Yeah so much.

AP: I guess one thing just kind of interests me, this just kind of goes back to what you were talking about. Your specialization in Southeast Asian politics and I was just wondering if in your research of kind of like everything in that region if when you learned about women's positions, if that sparked like a feminist thought or of since you haven't really thought about it yet, if you kind of…

CE: I mean it's a great question Alicia, it's a great question because I mean this is true for you all. […] each of us, me and both of you, of when you start asking a question you never thought to ask for, alright? And all the time I think I taught Southeast politics I wrote books about Southeast Asian politics, I went to conferences, I was part of discussions on Southeast Asian politics and I never asked about women and I never noticed I wasn't asked about women. I thought that ethnic diversity, which is very rich in Southeast Asia, every country ethnically diverse in Southeast Asia, I thought asking about ethnicity and ethnic divisions and diversity was so complicated, who could ask anything else, right? And I, I just took it for granted that peasants were men, military officers were men, leaders of the political parties were men, the business honchos were all men, and I didn't even notice. What really happened to me was that once I began again being pushed by undergraduates to offer a course on the comparative politics of women, so this is one course out of the five I taught every year. What began to happen is by developing that course, I almost suddenly began to notice things that I was leaving out in my other courses and so I began asking. I was offering a Southeast Asian course, now I began to think oh my god, I wonder what was happening with the Phillipino women in the Southeast Asia course? Or what was the role of Vietnamese women in the Vietnam War? By the way your faculty member Karen Turner, she is the specialist in the US on that question. Did you know that? Karen Turner, your faculty member, is the specialist on women, Vietnamese's women's role in the US war against Vietnam, she is the specialist, you got her right there, a handshake away, she's a wonderful person and now she made a film about it.

EG: Oh.

CE: So, yeah. It's great. Anyway, so that was the great thing about those undergraduates pushing me to offer that one course, offering a course you have to make up a course you have think about what questions about what resources and begin to kind of spill over to my other courses and I began to notice the gaps that I never noticed before. The other thing is happening is that I began to have, because this is now bubbling for since the 1970s in the US and international, really international women's movement and I have a lot friends in other countries who were doing work on Southeast Asia and on European politics and they began also to ask feminist questions. So I began to subscribe to new journals I began to go to panels about women's role in Asian politics that I've never gone to before so it was all kind of happening a the same time and Alicia that is really began to change the questions I asked, but it was, it was long after my PhD. I finished my PhD about ten years before, let's put it this way, for the first ten years after my PhD, I wasn't asking any feminist questions. It took that long. I was writing, I was teaching, I was doing all the things you do, but it really took student pressure, new books being published, new

academic excitement and that got me to ask these questions and then teaching about it makes you even more excited cause I know you know this from your own courses, the most exciting teachers are the ones who say I don't know anything about that.

[laughter]

CE: Right?

EG: Yeah.

CE: I mean your exciting courses aren't the ones where your teacher pretends to know everything, I mean that's do boring. But what's really exciting is when the teacher says, oh, that really new, I wonder, I wonder, right?

AP: Yeah.

CE: And then you get to wander along with the teacher and that's the best. Right? Because then you're all explorers together. Yeah, so now I ask it all the time, but I went a long time not asking. It's embarrassing.

[laughter]

AP: Thank you.

EG: That's awesome. I just have a question about your like first years teaching at Clark. Did you feel like you had any sort of adversity that you had to face just being a woman and being a woman and being a professor, what was like your work environment like? Was it like you know?

CE: Oh, that a really good question, that a great question, that's a really good question to ask. And again yes, and again, people keep rethinking this, right? That is, you can ask a person […] and you can ask people ten years later, thinking about the same beginnings and they'll begin to fall more. Here's what happened to me I think. I was at Berkeley, when I was a grad student, I and another woman were the first head—do they have teaching assistants at Holy Cross?

AP: In certain

EG: In certain science classes, yeah.

CE: In science classes.

EG: Yeah.

CE: At Berkeley, every class was so big, every class had teaching assistants, graduate students and that's how we got paid, made some to pay rate, as a graduate student, you were teaching or a teaching assistant and so in political science—and you just have to think Berkeley, so big, in political science there were 40, count them, 40 teaching assistants just in political science. Intro to political science course for freshman and sophomores was 500 students.

EG: Wow.

CE: You're intro class […]

[laughter]

CE: And so the first women to ever be teaching, head teaching assistants, there were so many teaching assistants in every department that you had to have a head teaching assistant undergraduate student kind of run the teaching assistants and so this other woman and I were the first women to ever be chosen head teaching assistants. Now, you have to think about what happens to your own head when you're told you're the first. You can either think you're really special or you can think it's really weird that you're the first. The healthiest thing is to think that it's really weird that you're the first. What the people, the men, who chose you want to make you think is that you're really special because if you think you're really special then you won't want solidarity with all the other women, you'll think, "Oh I'm so smart, oh I'm so whatever, right?" I think if I wasn't a feminist, I think at Berkeley, I don't want to give myself credit, I think I thought it was a little weird, I also think I thought it was a little special, you know?

EG: Yeah.

AP: Yeah.

CE: Yeah, a little bit of each. When I was hired at University at Miami University of Ohio, this big 25,000 state university in Southern Ohio, they never had a woman before and on the faculty of political science. I thought that was a little—because remember I had gone to an undergraduate that had senior professors who were women, that really protected me from thinking I was special because I knew I had Ms. Holburn and Ms. Dilly and I knew I had great women PhD professor, so I thought it was a little weird that when I, in 1967, when I taught my first job at Miami in Ohio, I was kind of protected by having gone to a women's college and gone and had great women senior professors so I thought this big university in the 60s, the famous 60s, had never had a woman before? I did think it was a bit weird, right? Which is good. Thinking something is weird is the start of consciousness. If you think something is normal or special, that dulls your consciousness.

EG: Right.

CE: When I came to Clark though, now remember, I had already been "the first woman faculty member" in my department at Miami, so I had to come and guard against this notion of being special. At Clark they never had a woman in political science either, but here again, it was really good they hired two of us at the same time. I mentioned Sharon Krevitz before, who's the specialist on Women and American Politics. She was just finishing her PhD at that time, so I was kind of like a couple of years ahead of her in the career, not in intelligence, just in career status and the good thing is they hired us together, but Emma here's one of the things that used to happen that will make you laugh. This is so classic in terms of how sexism works. Sharon Krevitz and I do not look at all alike. We don't look any more alike than you and Alicia look alike.

[laughter]

CE: But you know what? When you're the only two women, people think you're the same, and this happens for African Americans and Asian Americans all the time, right?

EG: Right.

CE: So people would call me Sharon and call Sharon, Cynthia because they just thought well a girls a girl, a girls a girl. So here we were the first two women faculty members and male faculty members would confuse us, which is what happens to African Americans and Asian Americans all the time, right? So that was one thing. The other thing is this notion that you were, so often times I was the only woman on a faculty committee. And the other women at Clark, there were about five of us, we were all, each of us, would be the only woman faculty member on a committee and there was, it wasn't overt, but of course all sexism isn't really overt, but there was this kind of pressure to not raise women's issues. That if you raised women's issues in the search for the new president or you raised women's issues on a promotion discussion that you were making too visible the fact that you were a woman. The way that blending in and that pressure is that if you want to get ahead in your career, blend in. And the way to blend in is not to raise women's issues as a woman. So that doesn't sound like really the worst kind of sexism, but it really retards your consciousness. I think for all of us on the faculty, women, we were almost all the only women in our department. So that […] you'd actually have to talk with your department chair to offer courses in women's studies really made […] and you had to learn ok, I'm not going to make my career by being invisible. I'm going to make my career by being visible as a woman. I'm going to offer courses in women's studies or I'm going to raise women's issues on the committee because no one else is going to raise them. So, I think that really was kind of a wake up call to me. And sometimes it took students to ask—students would say—I remember a graduate student came up to me and she heard that I was the only woman on the presidential search committee, and she said, "Well are you going to ask why there are no women on the short list?" Short list, you know, was the final, usually four candidates in the search, it's called the short list, and she said, her name was Gale, and she said, "Well, as the only woman as the committee you are going to ask why there are no women on the short list," but she had to

pressure me because I thought if I asked that question, I was a very young faculty member, I wasn't tenured, I was a very young faculty member and I thought, oh my god! […] And if they saw a woman maybe they won't think as much of me, but Gale kept at me, this graduate student, kept at me and said, "Well, if you don't ask why the whole short list for the president's search are men, if you don't ask it, who do you thinks going to ask?" So it was good, […] pressure from another more conscious woman and you'll feel like you're sticking your neck out, if you think you're sticking your neck out, that means, you're in a sexist environment. You know sometimes you think, is that really sexist in my workplace? Until you think, why does it feel risky to be visible as a woman? And you think it feels all risky, then you're in a sexist environment, right? So I had to be pressured sometimes, but the creation of the women's faculty group also at Holy Cross and Worcester State and WPI and at Clark, a creation of the women's faculty group made us all braver. Which is great.

EG: Yeah, that's great.

AP: I love it.

EG: Yeah.

AP: I guess we were just interested in kind of learning how you kind of really started applying your feminist lens to international politics which you've talked about a lot, but we know that you've done, you've written a lot of publications and you really were kind of like founded the thought and applying this feminist thought to and so we would just love to kind of hear about it, you obviously told us your inspiration and your students played such a huge role in that, just if you wanted to speak to that more at all.

CE: Sure, there were two things that happened. Now this again is all in my the 1970s, and the whole key for me is being pushed by students to offer that course, the comparative politics of women, that, so, I'm a big believer in teaching, raising consciousness of the teacher, you know, you always think it's the students whose consciousness is being raised by new student questions and information, but often times, it's the teacher who has to learn new things in order to teach them and so I've been teaching that course and again I'm not a US specialist although I think about American politics […] how could we not?

[laughter]

CE: I think about American politics a lot, but teaching is about other countries and so I've been teaching about women in other countries, which isn't quite "international" but you begin to think about did the anti-colonial movement leave out women in the Egypt or why did the, how did the Vietnam war, which is a big international war, what were Vietnamese women's roles? So you begin, when you're teaching comparative politics, you begin to inch towards thinking about the relationships between women in different countries. And so the first thing that happened to me

is that I began to be interested in militaries. This would be in the 1970s, I, mid-70s, I began—now here I am still the ethnic policies specialist, I'm interested in racism and ethnicities in politics and I began be interested in militaries around the world, I know it's kind of grim, but you know, somebody's got to do it.

[laughter]

CE: So I began to watch the ethnic politics in of course the American military, but also in the French military, the Russian, then the Soviet military, the Australian, everybody's military, the Kenyan, the everybody's military, but I only asked ethnic and racial questions, and then towards the end of writing that book, it took me about five years to write, was when I was teaching that course […] thought oh my god, somebody is, this is, I'm not kidding, this was really my nightmare, my nightmare was so this was gonna be published and it's gonna be published both in Britain and in the US, so I, my nightmare was, that a feminist would come into the bookstore, ok the first thing is that the fantasy was that my book would ever make it to the bookstore.

[laughter]

CE: Right, most academic's books never get into a bookstore, but anyways, I had this fantasy that it would be in a bookstore and what would happen is that a feminist would come into the bookstore and pick up this book called "Ethnic Soldiers" about racism in militaries, would pick, and now I knew what feminists did when they picked up a book, maybe this happens to you when you go to bookstores. You pick up the book and you immediately go to the index and see whether women is in under the Ws, right? Cause if it's not, who wants to read that book?!

[laughter]

CE: If they haven't even figured got to at least pay attention to women no matter what the topic is, you go to the Ws, that's what feminist do, they go to the bookstore, they pick out the book if it's a book that has an index and they go to the Ws and I realized about my book about racism in the militaries, I had no women in the Ws, I had World War I and World War II, but I didn't have women and I thought, this is awful and I was making up my own index which is the big project, make up your own index, now it's all done on computer, but then, so I thought […] 300 page book, I thought my good, somewhere I must have, even if I didn't mean to, I must have mentioned women somewhere in this book and I did and I went and reread the whole, it was in type script you know, I re-read the whole book to the hope that some place I had mentioned women and I found I had twice, it was just luck and I was talking about the war in what is now Zimbabwe against the white rule and I also noticed in thinking about Indian men in war I had mentioned women. And so I got to put in women twice, two page numbers and that really opened up my eyes. And so I think anytime I talk about international and comparative politics, anti-colonialism, wars, trade, social movements, all kinds of international politics, I really had to ask where and that was the question I began to ask myself, where are the women? And I asked

myself not because I knew the answer, but because I knew I had to ask the question to see what the answer might be and that's still been my guiding question, it's not my only question, but I always ask no matter what it is and when I look at Trump's cabinet, I asked where are the women? Do you know how many women there are in Trump's cabinet? I'll give you a clue. There are 20 cabinet members that he's appointed. What would you guess? You have to think if you've seen some of them in the papers. Think of education you know one, you know Betsy DeVos.

EG: Is it one or two? Right, Right.

CE: There are a total of four.

EG: Four?

AP: Wow.

CE: Four out of 20. That's, the last time there were that few was under George W. Bush.

EG: Ok.

CE: And that was 70 years ago. Anyway, it just is interesting whenever you hear anything, you're interested in climate change, you know whatever, just ask, well I wonder where are the women? And just see what you find. The great thing about feminist research in international politics or in anything you're interested in, peace movements, social movements, it's just ask that question and it will sure to make you smarter about the whole thing you're looking at, so when you know this, in peace movements now, you wouldn't even look at any peace movement without just saying […] well, I wonder where the women are in that peace movement? Right?

EG: Yeah.

CE: Not because it will be the most important thing you find, but if you don't ask it, you won't know how that peace movement got started, you don't know whether sexism, peace movements can be sexist, right?

EG: Right, yeah.

CE: In fact, most peace movements in history have been sexist, even if they had women in them. And so that's what really affected me, it was just that I that I offered a course, I then began looking at wars and militaries, which was my door into international politics, and I began wondering where were women? And now I ask it in everything and that led me to write that book *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases* and it was yeah. Do you know that book?

EG: I have to read it. Yeah I'm going to buy it as soon as possible.

CE: Well ok, here's, so the reason I called it that, I like to have titles that have something, some word in it that kind of works and I love the word banana, right? Anyway, but I got really interested in, now remember I worked in Malaysia and the second place I spent time overseas in was Guiana, which is in the Caribbean, and both of them are big plantation politics places. Guiana it's sugar, that's the big plantation crop in Guiana, just as it is throughout the Caribbean, ask about sugar and always ask where women are in sugar plantations, all. Sometimes are prostitutes by the way. And so when I began looking at international politics, I began looking at plantation crop politics. I wanted to know the international politics because in Malaysia it was rubber, rubber, and rubber's a plantation crop, alright. Don Lock, you know the tennis balls and the tires? Don Lock was the big plantation company […] power in Malaysia, right. So always ask where are the women in plantation crops, so that's what started me on writing this book *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases,* and where are the women in the banana industry? I learned all about where there are and what the big companies which are male run, what the use them for. The beaches part is all the three B's right, the beaches part is about tourism, and I began really being interested in where are women in the tourist industry, the big international tourist industry, where are they? Are they all chamber maids? Where's prostitution in tourism, especially male tourism? Where are small companies women crafts companies, have you have any place where you can pick up some small crafts, ya know, carvings or weavings, like if you go to Guatemala it's the beautiful weavings you know they're all by women. But do they make any money? And who controls them? Right? So that's the beaches part. And bases is where are women on military bases? And again it's gets you into prostitution but also who does the laundry. For instance, in US bases and all around the world, women do the laundry and they aren't US women. They are women that are either local women or women recruited from other poor countries. So that was my big international relations, international politics book was *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases*. But everything, everything is new to me. Everything I discovered doing that book, is why I love this book. Don't you love papers that you've written, even if you hated writing it?

[laughter]

CE: And you look back and you love the paper because everything you wrote was new to you, you had discovered things.

EG: Yeah.

CE: And *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases*, and I'm not kidding, almost every single sentence that I wrote in that book that I just put out a new edition and rethink it all and the new edition is 2016 […] but everything almost every sentence in that book was new to me and I love that. Right? It's so exciting to write, to discover things and then tell other people about them, but not tell other people about them as if you knew it all the time. I hate that kind of

EG: Yeah.

CE: Ho hum, I already knew that, poor you. You didn't know that, aren't you stupid. I mean I hate […]

EG: Yeah.

CE: So I love discovering things and then sharing them and saying, "Oh my god, I never knew this, did you ever know this?" And also with every chapter, like the chapter on tourism or the chapter, there's also a chapter on the migration of women who works as domestic workers which is one of the biggest international labor flows now is women working as a scrubber of somebody else's tub. That's the biggest phenomenon in our time—yours and mine, it is women travelling across the world working as maids. And so I love thinking about that.

EG: What year did you write that book?

CE: Well the first version I started writing in 1987.

EG: Ok.

CE: Right, and it came out in Britain in 1989 and it came out in the US in 1990 and so I returned to look at every topic so I began when I wrote this new version, which was very […] well you had to ask well are women in the banana industry still in the same place? […] when you buy your next banana, when you buy your next banana, be sure to look at the little sticker they put on it and don't just look at if it's Chiquita or Del Monte. Look at, they will put the country and look at the country, so in the US there are almost no Filipino bananas, in the US there are almost no African bananas, in the US almost all the bananas are in plantation companies, and particularly Del Monte, Doll, and Chiquita and they are particularly in […] Costa Rica, and also in Latin America, Ecuador, Colombia, that's big plantation bananas. But here's what's new and I had to discover because I didn't know, women organized the bananas plantations now. They're very organized, those all male labor unions on the banana industries, banana plantation they now […] that was new, really interesting, and how do they do it. You know, these are women who are all fully responsible for child care, they're working in these very low paying jobs on the plantation, washing the plants, they were hired to wash all of, what they're washing is they're washing off all the pesticides. So you know what, that means there's a stand-in in pesticides. Do you wash bananas all day, you're standing in the wash-off of the pesticides. So they're working these long hours, they still have childcare, they started […] they have to take care of their husband and the household, how did they organize? So that was all new to me. That was great.

EG: That's awesome. Yeah.

CE: Great.

EG: Do you just want to highlight I guess your years following the 1970s just like how, how quickly went or what you continued to do until I guess the current day?

CE: Yeah, well the big thing that probably has changed for me is and this effects Worcester as well, is that I became, because of this work on military, very critical work on the militaries, not because I'm a fan of militaries but because I really want to know how militaries effect whole societies and how do people who are mothers, this is my new question, if you're a mother and you have a son or now daughter who wants to join the military or even ROTC and the junior ROTC or the ROTC , are you happy or not? Do you think it's a good thing for you kid to join the military? Do you think it will help your son grow up? You think it will help your daughter delay marriage? Or do you think it's a really bad thing. I became very interested in women as mothers of potential and what do you they think of recruiters in there for instance so what happened to me in more recent years is that I became very involved in militarism, anti, I mean became very critical and involved as a researcher on how militarism works. How, how come it is so popular in the United States? I'll give you an example. So when you go to the airport, next time you're at Logan or you're at JFK or LaGuardia, just listen when they call for people to board the plane. And you know how they, ok, are you premium, extra premium, super premium, you know, right? And then they'll say any members of the armed forced in uniform are also allowed to get on the plane first.

EG: Yeah.

CE: Yeah right?

EG: Yeah.

CE: People with small children, people who are disabled, people who have super super premium.

[laughter]

CE: And members of the armed forces.

EG: Right.

CE: Right, those are the four privileged groups. Are you shocked when you hear it? You have to be honest. Or do you think it's just normal.

EG: I've heard it so many, I feel like it, I'm just used at this point.

CE: Right?

EG: Yeah.

CE: So now think, you're Italian, and I have an Italian friend, Lucia, and she is now a graphic artist here in the United States and she said to me, "Oh my god! I just flew out the United States on an American airline and they invited soldiers to board first." She said, "What in the hell is going on in the United States? That this would never happen in Italy. What weird country am I in? That soliders are considered privileged to get on a civilian airplane." So here's what was the wakeup call, like you all and I, I've gotten used to it. Now I must admit, since I've studied militarism a lot, I notice it, I do notice it. But I hadn't realized how outrageous it was, but here's an Italian who, Italy is nowhere near as militarized as the United States is in popular culture and she thought that it was strange and she also thought it was outrageous. And I thought the fact that I didn't choose how militarized I am. So a lot of my work today is with women in peace movements in other countries, women who are trying to track militarism in other countries and in that group there are both academic researchers and teachers like me but there are also some full-time activists and some people have other jobs and do peace activism in their country. So I work with feminist peace activists, not just, I work with other peace activist but particularly feminist peace activists in Sweden, in Bosnia, in the Philippines, in Chile, and a lot different countries where there's a lot of worry and of course Britain as well, there's worry about creeping militarism. And how it also absorbs women as well. If you can't militarism […] you can't raise an army. So you have to really persuade women in every country that it's good for their mothering to have their son join the military. Well that takes a lot of persuasion.

EG: Yeah.

CE: Yeah. So that's the kind of work I've been doing now.

EG: That's cool.

CE: So I'm writing about it, most of my teaching these days, I give a lot of just lectures around the world, but just teaching and teaching nothing special just teaching. And a lot of writing so it's that great mix of teaching, researching, activist learning.

AP: Awesome.

EG: That's Awesome.

CE: So you never stop.

[laughter]

EG: So we have one final question for you. What has been your fondest memory of your career thus far?

CE: Oh gosh.

[laughter]

EG: Pick one.

[laughter]

CE: I, at the time probably wasn't fond of it but I think now was being pushed by students to be more curious. I think that's the best. At the time, you're embarrassed; at the time you feel pressured, at the time you want to be defensive, you know faculty members.

[laughter]

CE: They don't want to be told by students that they're not very smart, but, but really the thing that has kind of made my life exciting and joyful and constantly wide awake is working with students who make me think about things I haven't thought about before, both American students but also of course I work with a lot of students from other countries and that's, that's that mix, that's the best. So at the time, I probably am a little defensive, I'm probably […] I can't do that […] but if fact it's the best. It is the best.

EG: That's awesome.

AP: Ok.

EG: Do you have anything else?

AP: No, I don't have anything else, I think we're good.

EG: Yeah I think we're good.

AP: Thank you so much.

EG: Thank you so much.

AP: Honestly, we are so appreciative of your time. You're such a joy and you've done so much like, we're so appreciative of your work and your time.

CE: Oh well this is great. Well, if I can be of any help, you just send me an email, like if you go over the transcription and you go, oh Christ! What was that about? Feel free to drop me an email, both of you, and we'll take it from there.

EG: Awesome.

AP: Perfect. So we will be in touch if we have any questions or any follow up questions and thank you so much for your time.

EG: It's been great.

CE: Keep embarrassing your own faculty members.

[laughter]

AP: We will do our best.

EG: We will do our best.

[laughter]

CE: You take care.

AP: Take care, thank you.

EG: Thank you, bye.