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GLOBALIZATION

Encyclopedia of Trade, Labor, and Politics

Volume 1

Ashish K. Vaidya, Editor



A B C  C L I O

Santa Barbara, California • Denver, Colorado • Oxford, England

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available from the Library of Congress.

ISBN: 1-57607-826-4

E-ISBN: 1-57607-827-2

09 08 07 06 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

This book is also available on the World Wide Web as an e-book. Visit <http://www.abc-clio.com> for details.

ABC-CLIO, Inc.
130 Cremona Drive, P.O. Box 1911
Santa Barbara, California 93116-1911

This book is printed on acid-free paper.
Manufactured in the United States of America

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Gender and Globalization

Gender Impacts of Trade and Financial Liberalization

Studies focusing on the gendered processes and outcomes of globalization have highlighted how trade liberalization has led to feminization of the labor force, feminization of work (low-paid, flexible/insecure, and unorganized work), and feminization of poverty. The development toward the feminization of labor has been accompanied by a shift in employment from manufacturing to services in developed countries, and from agriculture to manufacturing and services in developing countries. Although greater trade openness is associated with increased participation of women in paid employment, women are still being assigned to low-paid jobs, and they continue to have the main responsibility for unpaid work and care in families. Feminist scholars have emphasized the different experiences of globalization across time, countries, and groups of women. Some women (in the South) have been able to find new jobs, while others (in the North) have lost jobs. At the same time, many women have seen their wages decline, their working conditions deteriorate, or their workloads increase as a result of deregulation of labor markets and cuts in social services.

Feminization of Manufacturing Employment

The gendered impacts of economic liberalization and export-oriented growth in the manufacturing industries of the developing countries are well documented, whereas the implications

of trade for small-scale agriculture, informal-sector work, and unpaid household labor are less well understood (see Carr et al. 2000). Labor-intensive manufacturing, such as the industries in textiles, electronics, and toys, have relocated to developing countries as a result of low female labor costs and national policies promoting liberation of trade and foreign investment as well as deregulation of labor markets (for example, reduced minimum wage levels, lifted controls over working hours, and reduced workers' rights to social security coverage). Many women in developing countries have been able to find new employment opportunities in export-oriented manufacturing, which has in turn contributed to economic growth and to the feminization of the labor force in these countries (Kanji and Menon-Sen 2001).

One popular policy measure to promote foreign investment in developing countries has been the construction of Export Processing Zones (EPZs). EPZs are small areas that offer tax incentives and tariff concessions for foreign transnational corporations (TNCs) specializing in export-oriented manufacturing production. Studies of the working conditions in EPZs have found that wages are often so low that workers are barely able to cover their living costs. The hazards of working in many of the zones are enormous, and the majority of the workers are young women from rural areas. The low tariff incentives offered by EPZs are now being eroded as trade and investment is increasingly liberalized. Subcontracting or homeworking involving a flexible and cheap

form of production has become the most popular route for TNCs to reduce costs. Studies have found that the majority of homeworkers are women, and that these flexible work arrangements pay low wages and provide no benefits. Furthermore, homeworkers find themselves excluded from social security and minimum labor standards as well as from labor legislation and collective bargaining agreements (Meyer 2001).

The trend toward the rise in the female share of employment appears to have been stalled or reversed in the few countries such as Taiwan that have moved beyond labor-intensive export manufacturing. Studies undertaken during the 1990s found that rising capital intensity, technological upgrading, and improvement in the quality of export products were accompanied by a secular decline in women's share of manufacturing employment in the developing countries. Employers' discrimination against hiring women in the new, higher-paid, skill-intensive jobs and capital-intensive production processes has been used to explain this unfavorable trend. The demand for women's labor declines as some production jobs disappear while others are redefined as "technical" and become "men's" jobs. There is evidence that the diffusion of just-in-time organizational innovations is leading to a defeminization of manufacturing employment as men emerge as the more flexible, cost-effective workers compared to women (Berik 2000).

Feminization of Manufacturing Work

Informal work, part-time work, subcontracting, home-based work, and low pay associated with women's employment has become widespread for both men and women around the world (see Standing 1999). The newly created manufacturing jobs in developing countries have in most cases been low skilled and low paid, characteristics associated with jobs performed by women. Labor-intensive manufacturing export industries have been attracted to the developing countries by the low labor costs, especially for women. Women in these coun-

tries have accepted low wages because of their responsibility for caregiving and domestic work, norms assigning them the role of secondary wage earners, and because of their lack of access to resources (land, capital, and technology) and services (education and child care). In other words, employers, especially in manufacturing, have taken advantage of women's disadvantage. The low labor cost of women workers has crowded them into limited numbers of industries and occupations, which in turn has perpetuated gender wage inequality in many developing countries (see Berik 2000; Kanji and Menon-Sen 2001).

The long-term development and effects of women's low pay is debated. Linda Lim (1990) reasoned in her study of East Asia that once multinational assembly plants reach majority, they will improve the labor market for women by increasing demand and raising wages throughout the labor market. She also argued that multinational assembly plants improve women's position in the local labor market by providing better-paid alternatives than those traditionally available to women. Other researchers stress that women's employment in export manufacturing firms is a double-edged sword. The wages paid for these jobs improve women's bargaining positions within the household, but at the same time they are insufficient to enable women to support themselves or their dependents. There is also little hope of advancement (see, for example, Elson 1995).

In her study of textile, electronics, and machinery-assembly factories in Mexico, Elizabeth Fussell (2000) found that employers employ women with few other employment opportunities, low levels of human capital, and a great need for stable employment, all of which forces them to accept low wages. Hence, these manufacturing employers have not provided women with significantly better employment than other local employers would have been able to provide. Instead, they are increasingly providing employment to the least-skilled women who have few other options in the local labor force. This development is reflecting a

race to the bottom in manufacturing wages as a result of globalization of production.

Agriculture and Services

Trade liberalization in agriculture has led to greater use of land for cash crops such as horticultural products in Africa and aquacultural products in Asia. Women have provided producers of horticulture with flexible and seasonal labor, while men predominantly occupy permanent and more secure work (Barrientos 1999). Moreover, studies of women in Africa who are engaged in cash crops show that they have less time for food production and preparation. The aquaculture has required large tracts of land, in some cases reducing land for food production and making it difficult for women to secure enough food for the household (Wichterich 2000). Reductions in public investment and expenditures in food and fertilizer subsidies, and the promotion of foreign, capital-intensive production, have contributed to increased urbanization and fewer job opportunities for women in the formal sector in countries such as India. To escape poverty, many women have moved to the cities, where they are often forced into sex work due to lack of job opportunities (Upadhyay 2000).

The low wages of women in developing countries have also induced labor-intensive service firms to relocate their data-processing, tele-work, and call-center work to these areas (Wichterich 2000). Women have played an important role in the expansion of services, particularly in Latin America and the Caribbean, northern Africa, and western Asia. Evidence from Malaysia indicates that preference for female labor in manufacturing carries over into new trade-related services (see Joekes and Weston 1994). Increased trade in services has, in most cases, expanded employment opportunities for women. However, many women working in the service sector have found themselves concentrated at the low-skilled and clerical levels. They carry the burden of work both inside and outside the home, and they face sexual harassment in the workplace. Moreover, men in

the service sector refuse to accept women as colleagues or seniors, women often need to work twice as hard as men to gain recognition, and there is a lack of solidarity among women (Meyer 2001). In her study of women in high-tech information jobs in foreign-owned offshore data entry companies in Barbados, Carla Freeman (2000) revealed how these women have created a new "pink-collar" identity that is associated with increased consumption patterns and certain gender ideologies in order to distinguish themselves from women working in the export manufacturing sector. Many of these women in high-tech jobs supplemented their formal employment with participation in informal economic trade activities in order to sustain this new identity.

In recent years, feminization of migration has taken place as more and more women have moved from the poor developing countries to the more affluent countries in Europe and North America to work as cleaners, housemaids, entertainers, and sex workers. The jobs of most migrant women are low paid and low skilled as well as outside the formal economy. The Philippines has, for example, an estimated 7 million people working abroad, 60 percent of them women (Wichterich 2000).

Financial Liberalization

Globalization of finance has brought certain advantages for women, such as greater supply of credit, greater access to the foreign exchange market (to receive remittances from partners or relatives abroad, for example), and increased employment opportunities. As customers of financial institutions, women have less property and lower earnings and are therefore less likely to save than men. Moreover, women tend to borrow more irregularly and in smaller amounts than men. Women therefore need more flexible services and credit terms when borrowing money, which credit institutions have not always been willing to provide because of the administrative costs involved. At the same time, women in most cases are more likely than men to repay their loans. The inabil-

ity of financial institutions to adapt to these gender differences when allocating funds is believed to have contributed to low savings rates, low investment rates, and distorted interest rates (Staverene 2000).

Studies of the financial crisis in East Asia during the late 1990s revealed that the economic and social impacts were more negative for women than for men. In his study of the employment of women and men in the Philippines before and after the financial crisis, Joseph Y. Lim (2000) found that women's employment and hours of work increased after the crisis, whereas men experienced greater unemployment and shorter working hours. Hence, women were the provisioners of last resort in societies that lacked social safety nets. Based on this and other evidence, one may conclude that reductions in the volatility and instability of the global financial system would be in women's interest (Grown et al. 2000).

(De)Feminization in the North

Feminist research on developed countries has focused on the implications of trade growth in manufacturing for women's employment opportunities and working conditions. In her study of North-South trade, Adrian Wood (1991) did not find strong evidence of a fall in northern women's employment in manufacturing as a result of trade liberalization. David Kucera and William Milberg (2000), however, found in their study of industrialized countries (Australia, Canada, Japan, the Netherlands, and the United States) that the expansion of manufacturing trade with countries that were not members of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) between 1987 and 1995 reduced female manufacturing employment relatively more than male employment in the industrialized countries.

The gender impacts of globalization in Eastern Europe differ somewhat from the gender impacts found in developing countries. In the former, more privatized market economies have reduced women's labor force participation such that it has become closer to the rising

level of participation found in Western Europe. Moreover, Eastern European women have been relegated to temporary and low-paying jobs or forced to migrate to more affluent European countries, where they have found themselves sold into prostitution (see Standing 1999; Wichterich 2000).

The threat of outsourcing and capital relocation has put a downward pressure on wages in the high-income countries, particularly for unskilled labor. This pressure has contributed to the growing inequality in income distribution between highly skilled and less-skilled labor within and across countries (see Standing 1999). There has been a rapid growth of informal work in most of the major cities of the developed world. Scholars do not agree on the effects of the informal economy on women. One group stresses that informal employment empowers women by providing autonomy, control over production, and the ability to work and care for children. Others have found that informal employment often constrains women's options through isolation and intensifies the shift toward a greater workload for women (see Meyer 2001). According to Guy Standing (1999), employment characterized by low pay, insecurity, and flexibility, and associated with women, has grown faster across the world than employment traditionally associated with men, which typically offers higher pay, more stability, and union protections.

Feminization of Poverty

Poverty is linked to the inability of economies to generate a sufficient number of jobs. There is a gender dimension to poverty, as women are more likely to suffer the loss of their jobs than men and to become engaged in the informal sector to secure the livelihood of their families. Loss of jobs often leads to greater informalization of work or the shifting of jobs from the formal to the informal sector. Jobs in the informal sector do not offer regular wages, benefits, employment protections, and so on. Informal workers are therefore more subject to poverty than workers in the formal labor market. The

Europe. We have been losing jobs or European ourselves (see Elson 1999;

the relative wages are particularly for the redistributed and unskilled labor. The devaluation of informal labor is the effect. One of the main control mechanisms and the informal sector's dependence on the shift in demand (see Elson 1995) and with the world market, more

nomies. There are more than 1 billion in the informal sector, mostly in the informal sector. The

withdrawal of states from their responsibilities for social services and the redistribution of wealth has also led to a transfer of social services and obligations to the informal sector, where women have taken them over, either individually, in the household, or collectively, in the community (Wichterich 2000). Women's increased engagement in paid work has therefore not led to a significant reduction in poor women's share of unpaid work. Globalization, involving greater reliance on markets, tends to devalue nonmarket goods and services and shift resources such as land from nontradable to tradable goods. This means that a significant proportion of women's contributions to the economy are relegated to a position of little or no importance, enhancing women's vulnerability to poverty (see Elson 1995).

The feminization of poverty refers not only to the increasing number of women among the poor, but also to the connection between women's social and economic subordination. An increase in women's employment does not necessarily lead to poverty reduction or increases in household welfare. Women in some parts of the world have almost total control over their own income (for example, in parts of West Africa). In other parts of the world, women hand over their income to men or to older women (parts of South Asia). Whether women or men have control over the household income has implications for the well-being of women and children, as studies have shown that men tend to prioritize items for personal use for investment, whereas women emphasize food and basic goods for households (Kanji and Menon-Sen 2001).

Studies of the debt crisis in developing countries found that women gained less when stabilization and structural adjustment programs (SAPs) were successfully implemented and lost more when these policies did not produce the desired results. Women were more likely to lose their jobs than men, and they were less likely to benefit from the privatization of business and granting of property rights. Moreover, women were overrepresented among

the poor and disproportionately affected by cuts in health care and education expenditures, and they had to work harder and longer than before to provide for their families when real wages fell (see Aslanbeigui and Summerfield 2000). Austerity measures such as fees for health care, water supply, and education, as well as increased prices for food and medicine connected with SAPs supported by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, also affect women more than men, as women are the ones usually responsible for maintaining consumption levels. Moreover, SAPs tend to substitute public services with home-provided services that often fall on the shoulders of women, such as health care, child care, education, and public utilities, including energy, transportation, and drinking water (Elson 1995).

The Trafficking in Women

The effects of economic globalization and structural adjustment are most severely felt by poor women, leading greater numbers of them to migrate in search of work. There is no internationally agreed definition of "trafficking." The term has been used to refer to a wide range of situations, usually involving the movement of persons through the threat or use of force, coercion, or violence for certain exploitative purposes, such as prostitution. The term has sometimes been used to refer to voluntary migration, but according to the UN Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women, trafficking is never consensual. It is the nonconsensual, exploitative, or servile nature of the trafficking, together with elements involving the brokering of human beings, that distinguish trafficking from other forms of migration (United Nations 2000).

The most widely accepted definition is found in the United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, signed in December 2000 in Palermo, Italy (the

Palermo Protocol). It includes any recruitment, transportation, and receipt of persons, by means of threat, force, deception, or abduction for the purpose of exploitation, where exploitation includes prostitution or sexual exploitation, forced labor or services. The protocol defines the trafficking of children similarly, and "child" means any person under eighteen years of age.

The Scale of Trafficking

Even though definitions of trafficking vary considerably, there is a consensus that it is a rapidly increasing global problem that has to be addressed through a global response. At the same time, the scope of trafficking is difficult to estimate. The U.S. government has estimated that between 1 million and 2 million people are trafficked each year worldwide (IOM 2001), and the United Nations has estimated that 4 million persons are trafficked each year (United Nations 2000). Indeed, all these figures are uncertain. Reliable statistics are difficult to collect owing to the underground nature of trafficking.

Migrant Domestic Workers

Until recently, the issue of trafficking has revolved around trafficking in women for sexual exploitation. However, more and more attention is being paid to legal and illegal migrant domestic workers, that is, women from developing countries who have migrated voluntarily to the United States and Europe to earn a living. Some of these women have left their own families behind to do the mothering and caretaking work of the global economy in other countries. A special focus has been on the emergence of the parallel lives of migrant Filipina domestic workers, who experience exclusion from their host society as well as downward mobility from their professional jobs in the Philippines (Parrenas 2001). Furthermore, studies of migrant domestic workers in northern and southern Europe have revealed the racial and class aspects of paid domestic work (Anderson 2000). This phenomenon has been

conceptualized as "the global care chains of domestic labor," implying that women are tied to each other by a series of personal dependencies of paid and unpaid service. Women from developing countries, looking after families in Europe and North America, employ carers to tend to their own families, and these carers, in turn, have other women to care for their dependents, and so on (Adam 2002).

Sexual Exploitation

As the Palermo Protocol acknowledged, trafficking often involves sexual exploitation. The focus has been on those who end up in prostitution or as victims of trafficking, mostly women and children.

According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), trafficking for sexual exploitation is a growing problem of increasing complexity (*Trafficking in Migrants* 2001). The U.S. State Department has estimated that 50,000 women are trafficked into the United States each year (Miko 2000). More than 225,000 victims of trafficking each year are taken from Southeast Asia, bound for various destinations, and more than 150,000 from South Asia; meanwhile, an estimated 100,000 each year come from the former Soviet Union, and 75,000 or more from Eastern Europe. More than 100,000 are estimated to come from Latin America and the Caribbean, and 50,000 more from Africa. Most of the victims are sent to Asia, the Middle East, Western Europe, and North America (ibid.).

Trafficking routes have traditionally been from South to North, although these routes continue to change. Originally, the focus was on the trafficking from Asia to Western Europe. Increasingly, however, the focus is on the trafficking of women from Russia and the newly independent states (NIS) of Eastern Europe to Western Europe, the United States, and Asia (GSN 1997; Weijers and Lap-Chew 1997).

Information on trafficking in Asia is more readily available than data on trafficking elsewhere. There are widely documented trafficking routes from South Asia and within the re-

gion, such as from Nepal to India; from Burma to Taiwan (HRW 1995); and from Bangladesh, Nepal, and Pakistan to India.

Thailand has also long been a central country of origin for the trafficking of women. More of the young rural population is now being trafficked to Thailand from neighboring countries such as Burma, Laos, and Vietnam (Biemann, 2002). Moreover, women and girls from the People's Democratic Republic of Korea are being trafficked to China for forced marriages to Chinese farmers and laborers (United Nations 2000), and trafficking occurs within China as well as into China from bordering countries.

Indeed, trafficking within the country borders of Asia is also on the rise. Extensive trafficking is reported within India itself, particularly to the cities of Calcutta and Bombay (United Nations 2000). India's New Economic Policy has resulted in increased poverty for women, forcing many of them into sex work and trafficking. Approximately 200 Indian women and girls go into prostitution each day, and the number of sex workers is increasing rapidly (see Upadhyay 2000). Now trafficking is also increasing within other Asian countries—especially from rural to urban areas (Weijers and Lap-Chew 1997).

There is a growing concern as well about the growth in trafficking within and from Africa. Although it has been difficult for researchers to gather any reliable information on the subject, the existence of trafficking networks in Africa is gradually being revealed. For example, some 25,000 Kenyans are reported to be living in inhumane conditions in the Middle East as a result of trafficking (United Nations 2000).

Eastern Europe is a growing area of concern as well. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, trafficking from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union increased dramatically. In a similar manner, the Balkan War contributed to an increase in trafficking in the area (United Nations 2000).

Trafficking is not limited to developing countries or newly liberalized socialist coun-

tries, however. The problem affects the developed countries as well, mainly because they are the major receiving countries. The United Nations, relying on data from the International Organization for Migration (United Nations 2000), has estimated that approximately 500,000 women are trafficked into Western Europe alone. Somewhere between 200,000 and 400,000 prostitutes are thought to be in Germany, the majority of whom are foreigners (De Stoop 1992). The Netherlands has the contradictory policy of having normalized prostitution with legislation but at the same time having a specific policy against trafficking (Raymond 1998).

Antitrafficking Movements

In some cases, a distinction is made between forced and free prostitution as regards the issue of trafficking (Doezema 2000). However, the dominant opinion is that trafficking includes sex work that is to a large extent forced, and that it is violence against women (Raymond 1998).

Over the past decade, international opinion against trafficking has resulted in national and transnational efforts and cooperation. Many international women's organizations and networks have been created to fight trafficking. The two most widely known are the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women (CATW) and the Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women (GAATW). The GAATW distinguishes between forced and free prostitution, which the CATW does not (*ibid.*).

Global Feminism

Global feminism is a multifaceted phenomenon that is not easy to demarcate. It can be said to consist of everything from world bodies acting on behalf of women to local grassroots movements, alliances, and networks. The aims, objectives, and methods of these organizations are as diverse as their institutional forms and ideological underpinnings. A common denom-

inator, however, is a collective effort to improve the situation of women.

The United Nations, Nongovernmental Organizations, and Lobbies

Since the 1970s, a large number of grassroots women's organizations have sprung up to work on a local level as well as globally to improve women's social and economic conditions, raise consciousness, challenge patriarchal structures, and end sexual harassment and violence (Meyer 2001). These nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) have operated as a third force apart from government and private businesses. They have established international networks and instituted lobbying efforts around world bodies such as the United Nations. A number of tribunals have been held in and around UN conferences to break the silence surrounding human rights violations against women (Wichterich 2000).

In 1975, the United Nations announced the International Women's Year, and the World Conference of the International Women's Year was arranged that same year in Mexico City. The conference designated the decade 1976–1985 as the UN Decade for Women. The women's decade coincided with the Second United Nations Development Decade, which made the discourse of women's rights a main feature of the discussion on development. Within this framework, the status of women was linked to the development of their countries. Promoting women's rights and equality between men and women were seen as necessary for economic and social development, and women's issues became a central focus of many development documents and projects. This impelled the governments of the world to promote women's issues (Berkovitch 2000).

Three UN conferences were held in the wake of the first one. The next was the Copenhagen conference in 1980. The third conference was held in Nairobi in 1985, and its aim was to review and appraise the achievements of the UN decade for women. The latest conference was the Beijing conference in 1995, which adopted

the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action.

Since the first UN conference on women in Mexico in 1975, networks have been created among women's groups. Although very extensive around the globe, the movement is decentralized and lacks an organizational umbrella. It was the NGO Forum at the Third International Women's Conference in Nairobi in 1985 that helped to crystallize the newly forming international women's movement. New alliances were established between South and North, along with a broadening of the issues from the earlier emphasis on women's reproductive rights and mortality in childbirth to include world political and economic questions (Wichterich 2000).

The spread of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT), as well as deepening links among national economies through the formation of regional trading groups and common markets, have created new opportunities for women's groups struggling for gender equality (Meyer 2001). These technologies have made it possible for women's groups from both the developed and developing world to share information, resources, and strategies in their efforts to promote gender equity (Wichterich 2000).

Perspectives on Women and Development

In the 1970s, an approach called Women in Development (WID) emerged that emphasized the need to integrate women into the development process. This approach was not only adopted by feminists, but also by organizations such as the United Nations, the World Bank, and the IMF. As a part of this approach, programs for women's integration into development were implemented in the area of technology transfers, credit facilities, technologies that would lighten women's workloads, and the like. WID programs soon came under criticism for an implicit acceptance of industrialization as beneficial and inevitable, and for not offering a framework to analyze power structures and women's subordination. In response to the

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shortcomings of the WID approach, a new approach, Women and Development (WAD), gained in popularity. As opposed to WID's emphasis on integrating women into the development process, the WAD approach highlighted the ways in which women have always participated in economic activity, although these roles are often invisible and ignored because of patriarchal structures. The WAD approach was criticized, in turn, for not producing programs that were significantly different from WID programs and for not challenging the fundamental social relations of gender (Meyer 2001).

In the 1980s, the WID/WAD approaches were replaced with the Gender and Development (GAD) position. GAD focuses on the social construction of gender relations and how women have systematically been assigned inferior and secondary roles. In order to understand and transform gender inequalities, GAD includes analysis on the micro-, meso- (community and social institutions), and macro-levels. Postmodern feminists have pointed out that mainstream development agencies have not fully accepted the implications of GAD to focus on empowering and encouraging women to challenge established structures, as they reject social transformation as a development strategy. From this postmodern perspective, GAD policy recommendations have been too similar to those made by WID and WAD proponents (Marchand and Parpart 1995).

Mainstreaming Gender Equality

A new approach in accordance with GAD is the concept of gender mainstreaming (GM), now generally adopted by government and policy-making bodies. GM is the (re)organization, improvement, development, and evaluation of policy processes so that a gender equality perspective is incorporated in all policies at all levels and at all stages by actors normally involved in policymaking (Council of Europe 1998). GM was introduced into the European Employment Strategy (EES) in 1999 in order to promote gender equality, and recently the World Bank has been mainstreaming gender into its

activities rather than targeting women as a group, moving from Women in Development (WID) to Gender and Development (GAD).

Feminist scholars have claimed that although mainstreaming gender issues is essential, new institutions focusing especially on women's and gender issues are needed. They hold that the mainstreamed gender approach appears safer and less political than a women's approach. Although the recognition of gender disparities is a potentially progressive step, both women and gender are necessary concepts in development analysis and policies (Aslanbeigui and Summerfield 2000). In an echo of the tension between WID and GAD, it is now debated whether GM is "integrationist" (that is, introduces a gender perspective into prevailing policy processes without challenging existing policy paradigms) or "revolutionary" (leading to a fundamental change in structures, processes, and outcomes; see, for example, Pollock and Hafner-Burton 2000; Verloo 2001).

Women's Organizations Today

Today there is neither a united women's political front nor a global unified feminism, but rather decentralized organizations connected through networking. Women in the South claim their own "indigenous" feminism independent of Western feminism. East European women have been inspired by Western feminism but find it too centered on the United States and Europe. New groupings, initiatives, projects, and nonstate organizations are continuously taking shape, developing along various paths of institutionalization and professionalization (Wichterich 2000).

There are many examples of the new international women's politics. Among these are Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN), a South-South network of women academics and activists; Network Women in Development Europe (WIDE); and the Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO) (Moghadam 1996). Another well-known example is WEDO, an inter-

national network established 1990, with headquarters in New York. The acronym WEDO is itself a program: We Do. The Center for Global Leadership in New Jersey is another important networking organization and attempts to influence and gain a foothold in negotiating structures (Wichterich 2000).

Local grassroots movements are also numerous. Examples of these are the Self-Employed Women's Association and the Working Women's Forum in India, the Grassroots Women Workers Center in Taiwan, the National Commission on Working Women in Tunisia, the Caribbean Association for Feminist Research and Action (Meyer 2001), and the Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centres (SPARC), operating in India and South Africa (Wichterich 2000).

Perspectives within the women's international movement today have an implicit tension between autonomy and adaptation as well as between transformation and participation. The women's movement has to balance the integration of women's issues into the negotiating framework of world political institutions with the vision of radical and global structural change. Thus, DAWN focuses on transformation, while WEDO stresses participation, especially in international institutions such as the United Nations, the World Bank, the IMF, and the World Trade Organization (WTO). WEDO has initiated extensive analyses of the IMF, the World Bank, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), and the WTO (Meyer 2001).

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See Also Media and Entertainment; Culture and Globalization; Human Rights and Globalization; Social Policy

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