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International Sociology 2003; 18; 443

DOI: 10.1177/02685809030183001

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Gender Matters

Studying Globalization and Social Change in the 21st Century

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abstract: This introductory article is aimed at promoting transformative scholarship and research that emphasize the centrality of gender in studying social change associated with the process of globalization locally, nationally and regionally. Six major interrelated themes of this special issue are identified. These themes all emphasize globalization as a gendered phenomenon, studying how gender is embodied in the logic of globalization and embedded in its process and structure. The themes examine how globalization shapes gendered institutions; how it constructs gender differentially in women's and men's access to and control of resources, values, identities, choices, role behaviors, and gender power relations; and how it affects the societies and cultures in which women and men live. The themes also address the dialectics of globalization as results of conflicting interaction between global and local political economies and socio-cultural conditions, yielding mixed outcomes for women and men. Throughout, the emphasis is on the development of strategy for effective social change.

keywords: dialectical process ♦ empowerment ♦ gender inequality ♦ globalization ♦ global-local linkages ♦ social change

Introduction

Heralding the dawn of the new millennium, the powerful forces of globalization in recent decades have established economic restructuring

International Sociology ♦ September 2003 ♦ Vol 18(3): 443–460
SAGE (London, Thousand Oaks, CA and New Delhi)
[0268-5809(200309)18:3;443–460;035344]

and the New World Order marked by democratization, cultural diffusion, regional armed conflicts, militarization, terrorism and widening economic disparities between people and nations. Globalization refers to the complex and multifaceted processes of worldwide economic, social, cultural and political expansion and integration which have enabled capital, production, finance, trade, ideas, images, people and organizations to flow transnationally across the boundaries of regions, nation-states and cultures. The term encompasses the ever-changing and intensifying networks of global consciousness, system interdependence, human interaction and societal transformation with far-reaching consequences (Appadurai, 1990; Chow, 2002; Hoogvelt, 1997; Moghadam, 1999; Robertson, 1992; Sassen, 1998; Stiglitz, 2002). Most mainstream theories frame globalization as gender-neutral. Current debates on neoliberal and universalistic globalization pay little attention to gender and underrepresent the experiences of diverse women in specific societal contexts, especially those in the developing world. This oversight has serious implications for theorizing about the powerful dynamics and vital consequences of globalization, for developing policy and practice, and for engaging in collective empowerment for effective social change that will reduce inequalities, human insecurity and global injustice. This special issue constitutes a modest effort to contribute transformative scholarship both to correct this oversight and to envision intellectual challenges to the integration of theory, research and praxis, dealing with the opportunities, risks, dilemmas and benefits globalization has created for women and men in the 21st century.

Why is globalization as a gendered phenomenon not well recognized? Among many reasons, several are relevant here. First, mainstream discourse focuses on globalization primarily as encompassing macro and disembodied forces, flows and processes in terms of its economic and societal impact. The concept remains at a general, abstract level that has greater meaning and relevance to academicians, journalists and some activists than to the general public, even though people's everyday lives are very much affected by global forces and happenings. Much of the theorizing about globalization is either gender-neutral or gender-blind, ignoring how globalization shapes gender relationships and people's lives materially, politically, socially and culturally at all levels and treating its differential effects on women and men as similar. Gender is basically taken for granted, as if it does not matter. In particular, women's voices and lives are virtually absent from much theoretical discussion on globalization. When the gender issue is discussed, the focus tends to be on the effects of globalization on women rather than on the effects of gender on globalization. Some of globalization's gendered effects are invisible, particularly when its victims, such as poor Third World women,

are structurally marginalized, rendering these effects less apparent and less directly observable. How the gender dimension shapes the globalization process is ignored as either unimportant or irrelevant. How gender relations are products of various global-local systems of patriarchy and hegemonic masculinities seldom enters critical debate and discussion. The failure to incorporate gender into the study of globalization in meaningful and systematic ways not only produces incomplete views of women's rights as fundamental human rights and inaccurate understanding of the sources of gender inequality, but also can actually undermine development policy and practice. In other words, the gender dimension is a critically important missing piece in the theorizing of globalization. Therefore, gender matters for understanding what globalization is and how it is influenced by gendered hierarchies and ideologies, which in turn shape gendered institutions, relationships, identities and experiences of women and men.

In particular, this special issue is aimed at promoting transformative scholarship and research that emphasizes the centrality of gender in studying social change associated with the process of globalization locally, nationally and regionally. Contributors seek basic understanding of globalization as a gendered phenomenon, studying how gender is embodied in the logic of globalization and embedded in its process and structure. Articles also examine how globalization shapes gendered institutions; how it constructs gender differentially in women's and men's access to and control of resources, values, identities, choices, role behavior and gender power relations; and how it affects the societies and cultures in which women and men live. Authors address the dialectics of globalization as results of conflicting interaction between the global and local political economies and sociocultural conditions, yielding mixed outcomes in terms of costs, benefits, constraints and predicaments. These inherent contradictions and the emergent problems faced by women and men worldwide have led to growing concerns about the nature of globalization's impact and the emergence of anti-globalization and resistance movements in different parts of the globe.

This issue contains a selection of articles that analyze systematically and critically the evolving patterns of global structuration and process at the legal-political, socioeconomic and cultural levels and the impact of these patterns on women and men in different historical times and places. These articles span topics such as global restructuring, structural adjustment policy, transnational migration, labor export, microenterprises, the Islamic religion, local culture, hegemonic masculinity, terrorism and anti-globalization movements. The collection also offers a balanced regional representation, focusing on countries from the North and the South in Africa, Asia, Latin America (the Caribbean), Europe and North America.

Major Interrelated Themes

While each article is unique, collectively the articles form a coherent whole which addresses, directly and indirectly, six main themes relating to the centrality of gender and globalization in our new era of social change.

First Theme

The first and foremost theme that underlies all articles is that globalization is a gendered phenomenon with all-encompassing differential consequences for women and men. Gender is a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences in accordance with one's sex and on identity and power derived from the unequal values attributed to that perception of differences. Gender is relational and social; hence, the focus of gender is not on women per se but on power relations between women and men and among those of the same gender in various settings (see, for example, the articles by Kimmel and by Lindio-McGovern).¹ Making power relations the focus of analysis draws on the complex and fluid processes through which different types of masculinities and femininities are socially and culturally constructed and how embeddedness of power relations in gender hierarchy is structured. This approach problematizes women's subjugation as 'others' by the dominant category of masculinities as a standard from which the 'others' are judged. The approach elucidates and opens for contest the perpetual gender inequity due to unequal access, control and distribution of values, resources, opportunities and justice.

Michael Kimmel (2002) points out that the underlying logics of globalization in capitalist production, market rationality, trade liberalization, privatization, transnational corporations (TNCs) and modernity are themselves gendered, organized discourses, processes and institutional arrangements that create and perpetuate power relationships between men and women in society. In fact, Connell (2001) argues that globalization is the manifestation of globalizing masculinities historically in terms of conquests, settlements, imperial empires and postcolonialization. Recent US war involvement with Iraq offers a contemporary example to examine how global and local masculinities, politics, economic interests and military might play out and erupt into armed conflicts. Gender is thus a critical dimension that must be factored into discussion of globalization and examined for how it creates differential opportunities, challenges, risks and dilemmas for women and men and how, in turn, it modifies the process of social change.

Globalization as a gendered phenomenon is embedded in social institutions as well as in ideology and culture, which exert varying influences on the processes of globalization. In recent decades, global economic

restructuring has been one of the foremost changes in the international political economy. In the first article of this special issue, Jean Pyle and Kathryn Ward offer an analytical framework for understanding the systematic linkages between the global expansion of production, trade and finance and the increase of women in gendered global networks that involve export production work, informal sector work, domestic service and sex work. A prime example is that the TNCs use the social construction of gender and its ideology to their economic advantage to feminize the cheap labor of women. Making similar arguments, authors such as Ann Denis on Barbados, Mary Osirim on urban Zimbabwe and Lea Caragata on Canada provide specific case studies illustrating how women in different countries experience, benefit from, are constrained by and resist aspects of globalization in the paid/productive, informal microenterprising and unpaid/reproductive activities of their everyday lives.

In different cultural contexts, the gender dimension shapes the possibilities and limits within which globalization can be articulated and reconfigured by the local and national public patriarchy (i.e. the nation-state, economy and religion) and by the private patriarchy (i.e. the family).² The study by Anita Weiss investigates Pakistan's response as a state party to the United Nations' Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) within a Muslim context. Her article centers on key debates regarding what constitute women's rights, who define what these rights are and what is considered discrimination against women. She examines how the state might and might not act to combat discrimination against women legally, socially, culturally and politically and the roles being played by various groups within the women's movement to facilitate the process of adherence to CEDAW.

Moreover, globalization presents a junction at which global and local masculinities and femininities are constructed, existing gender regimes are challenged in different geopolitical locations, and gendered effects are registered beyond the border of a single country. In her article, Ligaya Lindio-McGovern presents the experience of Filipino migrant women and men domestic workers in Rome. Examining the feminization of export labor in the Philippines as a consequence of stagnant economic growth and debt crisis, she offers insights into the impact of globalization on the class cleavages between domestic workers and their European employers, into the creation of a cheap, docile, mobile reproductive labor force linked to capital accumulation, and into the widening economic gaps between the richer and poorer countries.

Second Theme

Once questions pertaining to women and the implicit gender dimension of globalization are addressed, some authors in this issue, to varying

extents, expand further to the second theme of the issue by recognizing that there are complex gender, racial/ethnic, class, nationality and other stratifying ramifications of contemporary globalization in its practices, processes and outcomes. This theme is rarely acknowledged in the mainstream discourse on globalization. The fact is that gender is often compounded by its interlocking relationships with such various other stratifying factors as race, ethnicity, tribe, caste, class, nationality, age/generation, sexuality and disability in different societal-cultural contexts. This interlocking forms and perpetuates powerful matrices of domination in local and global systems, impacting forcefully on the process and outcomes of globalization and incessantly reconfiguring the domination matrices and hierarchies that shape the institutional arrangements, the organization of social life and relationships, and the system of meaning and lived experience of women and men at various levels.

Challenging prevailing theories on globalization and work, Pyle and Ward question the impacts of economic globalization on the gendered division of labor and on women's empowerment as these vary with the intersections of gender, race, ethnicity and class. Denis also takes note of how globalized changes have generated inequity in Barbados and constrained women located differently in this interaction in terms of their work in the labor market and the home. Osirim concerns herself with the impact of globalization on specific racial, class and gender groups in Zimbabwe. In light of globalization, Lindio-McGovern forcefully argues that the processes of feminization of migrant labor in domestic service, privatization of social reproduction and positioning of Filipino migrant workers in the changing transnational division of labor articulate the ways in which the interlocking of gender, class, race and nationality reinforce global inequalities. She even argues that the transnational migration of labor is, to some extent, a modern form of slavery, entangled in the dynamics of human trafficking. Experiencing the combination of downward mobility and being relegated to low-paying domestic work, Filipino women suffer more than their male counterparts from this hegemonic interlocking, while the well-off Italian households and the Italian economy benefit from it.

Even a developed country like Canada cannot escape from the globalization-induced changes that are profoundly gendered, racialized and class-based, reflecting differential layers of privileging in society. Under the dominance of neoconservative realities in Canada, globalization-related phenomena (i.e. labor market changes and the North American Free Trade Agreement [NAFTA]) have generated divisions that have further marginalized many already-poor families in the economic marketplace, circumscribing their access to the public sphere, eroding their family capabilities, cutting welfare state provisions, disempowering women's agency and

reinforcing existing privileges and entitlements. Caragata contends that, while globalization offers much to those who already have a lot, it appears to further marginalize those defined as 'others' – such as the people of color, immigrants and aboriginal women and their families – who have had and will continue to have less. The Canadian government, she says, has put globalization first and broad public benefit second.

Third Theme

The third theme of this issue addresses types of globalization, focusing not only on the economic, but also on political, social and cultural dimensions. While several articles focus on economic globalization, each also offers insightful analysis of political economy through a gender lens. The analytical framework offered by Pyle and Ward contributes to our understanding beyond the globalization of production by including the impact of the trade, finance and macroeconomic policies that underlie globalization on the gendered division of labor and on women's work. These authors simultaneously examine the four gendered sectors of export-oriented, domestic, microenterprise and sex work, illustrating their discussion in the local cultural context of Bangladesh.

After expounding on how recent globalization has affected Barbados's political economy, Denis analyzes how these effects (i.e. export-oriented industrialization, foreign investment, trade agreements, footloose capital, labor legislation and reduction in government expenditures) have influenced the productive and reproductive labor of women in the public and private spheres. Using a feminist political economy paradigm, Osirim also argues that globalization and government's adoption of the structural adjustment policies (SAPs) imposed by the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) have impacted on the business operations of sub-Saharan African women, particularly those that work as hair-dressers and seamstresses in the microenterprise sector of urban Zimbabwe. Caragata provides an in-depth analysis of the political and economic effects of globalization on labor changes, poverty and the welfare state in Canada.

Globalization not only means free movement of capital, labor, goods and services in different parts of the world, but also takes on broad meanings in politics and culture locally, regionally and globally. The discussion most relevant to political globalization is that contributed by Michael Kimmel, who analyzes how globalization and the deployment of masculinity are intertwined with terrorism. He offers a unique and timely angle on the ways in which global political and economic processes affect lower middle-class men in the economic North (i.e. white Aryan youth in both the US and Scandinavia). Then he examines men in the Islamic South (e.g. Al Qaeda) who resent economic displacement, loss of

autonomy, collapse of domestic patriarchy and downward mobility, prompting them to develop hegemonic and protest masculinities. Their oppositional efforts and movements are to reclaim economic, political and social control so as ultimately to restore their manhood and nationhood.

The study by Weiss enriches this special issue by illuminating the interaction of politics, culture and religion in the process of globalization. Her country assessment of an international convention like CEDAW is significant for a broader sociological understanding of linkages between international law and region-specific cultural politics and between 'global culture' and local cultures. Her analysis demonstrates the dynamic process of transforming prevailing Islamic interpretations of women's legal rights into ones that are acceptable to local mores and values while also conforming to international human rights treaties. The study provides a strong case in point to illustrate the universalism of international human rights law and cultural relativism in local practices.

Fourth Theme

Related to levels of gender analysis, the fourth key theme addresses the complex, multifaceted, flexible and ever-changing dynamism of global-local linkages as mediated by nation-states, regional networks and international organizations.³ All the articles contribute significantly to understanding how global forces are intricately related to local situations, acknowledging the intricate webs of interconnectedness between globalism and localism. The global is personal; the personal is political. In particular, two analyses, Pyle and Ward's and Kimmel's, offer systematic and insightful discussions of macro-micro linkages economically and politically from a comparative perspective across boundaries of region, country and culture.

The omnipotence of globalization has raised two major debates concerning the role of the nation-state in studying global-local linkages. The first debate centers on the withering of the nation-state, as suggested in the 'hyperglobalist thesis', which views the nation-state as having a diminishing role in regulating its economy and even its sovereignty as globalization progresses (Held et al., 1999: 7). Joining with other scholars (e.g. Evan, 1995), Lindio-McGovern negates this thesis in this issue by recognizing how nation-states as autonomous entities play a key role in regulating global labor markets and remain accountable to social movements targeting the state's responsibility for intervening and protecting the labor and human rights of workers.

The second debate focuses on whether state or market forces have the upper hand in orchestrating and controlling the process and outcomes of development in the global context. Market forces are more important in the neoliberal economy, which values free market sovereignty, limited

government intervention, individual autonomy and economic self-interest. Globalization, driven by this neoliberal orthodoxy, increasingly creates inequity within and between societies and tends to undermine the autonomy and interests of nation-states. Several studies in this issue concentrate on the key role of the nation-state vis-a-vis global market forces in buffering the effects of globalization on local conditions in different historical and cultural contexts. Meanwhile, international organizations such as the transnational corporations (TNCs), as part of the hegemonic public patriarchy, continue to use the social construction of gender-role ideology and 'cultural sensitivities' to restrict choices and access to certain jobs and to provide unequal pay for women relative to men, working to the economic advantages of TNCs.

Financial crises in Asia, debt-ridden economies in Latin America and underdevelopment exacerbated by colonialism and recolonization in Africa have prompted various nation-states to employ appropriately different mechanisms and strategies according to the historical and cultural circumstances of specific locales. Unequal geopolitical relations, varying stages of development and transnational migration as a strategy for family survival have created borderless economies, particularly for sending countries such as the Philippines, which are troubled by debt and financial crises. However, receiving countries such as Italy (and, to some extent, Canada as discussed by Caragata) preserve their borders through immigration and citizenship policies and consider migrant labor an internal matter, preventing external intervention. Under these conditions, the globalization of labor has become a powerful mechanism enabling receiving states to maintain global inequality, preserving their own advantageous position while sending countries become subordinated suppliers of cheap, mobile laborers, who are second-class residents in the host nation-state. In Latin America, the government of Barbados externally introduced certain measures of preferential treatment to increase resources and capacity of partners within the Caribbean Common Market (CARICOM) and internally entered tripartite social partnerships with employers and trade unions in 1993 to deal with adverse effects of inequities induced by international trade agreements with the North and by international competition.

Unlike in other areas of the global South, in Africa Osirim points out that globalization compounded by colonialism has impacted primarily on African women within their home countries faced with under- or stagnant development, affecting many of these women as subsistence farmers, agricultural workers and/or participants in the microenterprise sector. Colonialism changed the complementary roles and power relationships of women and men in precolonial times, making the two genders increasingly unequal in education, occupation, economy and the household.

While African men faced many restrictions, they occupied more privileged positions than their female counterparts. Osirim further points out that although regional organizations to address economic problems exist among African nations (e.g. the New Economic Partnership for African Development [NEPAD] and the African Union), these organizations have generally had less bargaining power than the European Union (EU). The imposition of austere SAPs enacted by the state of Zimbabwe to promote the globalizing economic agenda in the 1990s has had adverse effects on African women.⁴

At the meso level of organizational analysis, Denis observes the two faces of globalization manifested in two types of international entities. While international organizations such as the WB, IMF and World Trade Organization (WTO) have, directly or indirectly, promoted commodification, deregulation, liberalization, privatization, downsizing of government and reduction in social entitlements, others such as the UN agencies and the International Labor Organization (ILO) have endorsed social measures such as education, human rights, international labor standards and anti-discrimination (e.g. as in CEDAW, discussed in Weiss's article). The former group of organizations tends to breed exploitation and inequality, whereas the latter group advocates rights and entitlements. Denis concludes that the former group, which promotes the neoliberal agenda of globalizing economy, seems to exert far more influence than the more beneficent latter group of organizations. In their article, Pyle and Ward make a similar observation, that institutions focused on markets have gained power relative to those centered on people and sustainable human development, with WTO giving increased support to the interests of TNCs vis-a-vis nations.

Fifth Theme

Does globalization benefit people and their countries? To what extent does globalization bring about benefits and costs to men and women similarly or differently? The fifth theme deals with the dialectical processes and consequences of globalization as it impacts various sectors of societies differently, with men benefiting more from the payoffs of globalization while women shoulder disproportionately more of its costs and burdens. Since globalization is not monolithic, its web of relationships among different dimensions, levels and forces often creates contradictions embedded in the complex, multifaceted process of globalization. For example, Weiss investigates how certain elements of CEDAW as an international treaty are contradictory to Islamic tenets and cultural practices, posing problems in its implementation in Pakistan. Globalization-induced changes unequally affect countries of the North and the South, and most changes have been documented to be more detrimental to the

latter than the former (Hoogvelt, 1997; Misra, 2000; Afshar and Barrientos, 1999). Given the persistence of poverty, the instability of political regimes, corruption, armed conflict, debt burdens and other internal turmoil, many states in Africa, Asia and Latin/Caribbean America have been pressured externally by the hegemonic power of global systems and multilateral agencies controlled by societies of the North which have pushed for a globalized neoliberal agenda and austerity of SAPs. Under such pressure, the nation-states often perform contradictory roles, as Denis, Osirim and Lindio-McGovern point out in their analyses. In the case of the Philippines, while the government actively promotes labor export for the benefits of workers' remittances to pay national debts, it lacks a strong political will to protect the labor rights and welfare of its migrant citizens, thereby indirectly subsidizing social reproduction activities in Italy. Such contradictions have intensified the predicaments many states face, marginalizing women and the poor and widening social inequalities and injustice locally, nationally and globally. Even in Canada, considered to occupy a somewhat 'middle ground' political position which affords women a wide range of legal and social entitlements, women are still not on an equal footing with men, as Caragata argues in this special issue.

The unequal payoffs and costs of globalization are caused by its inherent contradictions that create dilemmas, risks and rights violations, breeding inequality, poverty and discontent, especially in the developing world. Whether measured in purely monetary terms or social ones, globalization is not a zero-sum game, for it brings mixed blessings and unequal outcomes within and between nations and their citizens. At the macro level, globalization fosters technological advancement, convenience of communication and transportation, and economic development that reduces costs, encourages trade expansion, promotes global production and increases the wealth of nations, though for some more than for others (Stiglitz, 2002; UNDP, 1999, 2002). However, these same factors have also facilitated the threat of capital relocation, unequal partnerships in trade and finance, fragmentations in labor production, economic marginalization, relentless cost-cutting by the TNCs, downsizing of governments, curtailment of social and legal entitlements, retrenchment of social service programs, suppression of organized labor, diminished national autonomy, reinforcement of inequality between countries, and promotion of dependency of the South on the North. At the micro level, globalization creates employment opportunities and increases female labor force participation, wage benefits, economic independence, self-worth and more life options, although these advantages are still limited and unequal. Yet, even these same benefits are besieged with contradictions, globalization also produces adverse effects particularly for women

– feminization of labor in segregated and low-paying work, wage dependency, labor exploitation, economic marginalization, poverty, sex tourism, and international human trafficking of women and young girls – further worsening the already low status of women and their life conditions and exacerbating inequalities based on race, gender, class and nationality in the developing world. The alleged payoffs of globalization are, in fact, subsidized by women's paid labor in the formal sector, their cheap labor and meager income in the informal sector, and unpaid household labor in the home.

Amartya Sen (2002) suggests that the central issue of contention is not globalization itself, but inequality in the institutional arrangements that produce selectivity of benefits as well as cost burdens differentially for different people and societies. As discussed in this issue of *International Sociology*, privatization of industries, on the one hand, is a measure to provide economic incentives for local and foreign investment, to deregulate policies hindering capitalist development and to limit the government's interference in the economy. Women's public access to paid work as an income-generating activity via their ties with the labor market has broadened some of their social entitlements, enabling them to gain economic independence and limited personal autonomy, to have greater control over household budget and decision-making, to increase their negotiating power with regard to childcare and domestic chores, and to raise their self-esteem (Chow, 2002; Visvanathan et al., 1997). On the other hand, privatization has extended itself into the home front, altering women's roles in social reproduction and doubling domestic workers' labor in their employer's household and their own. Low-paid work has not empowered women who must support their families by doing additional outsourcing, subcontracting and home-based production to which other family members could contribute. Contrary to C. W. Mills's (1959) assertion that private troubles become public ones, Caragata found a retreat from public issues into private ones. The tendency to convert public issues (e.g. public responsibility for the care of young and old) into private ones transfers the costs of globalization into a burden for individuals.

The austerity of SAPs, originally designed to aid countries' economic growth, produces similar privatized effects, shifting the public responsibilities of the state to the domestic sphere in which women shoulder disproportional costs and burdens of care for the young and old (see the articles by Pyle and Ward, Denis, Lindio-McGovern and Osirim). The facts are that SAPs affect different countries in varying ways with varying outcomes and that most reports document the detrimental effects of SAPs on developing countries. Even on the same continent, for example, Anas-takos (2002) found that SAPs have had more negative and long-lasting

policy consequences in Mexico than in Costa Rica. Creevey (2002) clarifies that SAPs should not be blamed for all the hardships poor women have faced in Niger and Senegal for they were already in precarious situations. Adoption of SAPs by their governments simply worsened their situations. This raises a critical question: under what conditions can SAP policies and programs be a tool for empowerment rather than disempowerment?

Sixth Theme

Since globalization seems inevitable, what are the prospects for beneficial social change after all? The last theme of this issue is the importance of understanding the relationship between gender and globalization as a basis from which to develop strategies for change that will empower people, particularly women, and will reduce different forms of inequalities and promote justice in the global order. The omission of women and the incomplete understanding of gender in a meaningful and systematic way as related to structural sources of inequality in most mainstream discourses on development, the world system and globalization are problematic. Including women and gender is critical if we are to amend inequality, to reduce costly outcomes of globalization, and to combat injustice that can actually undermine development and democracy. Contradictions and dilemmas inherent in the process and consequences of globalization need to be addressed to avoid pitfalls and crises. Incorporating gender issues is of paramount importance in setting public policy agendas and in strategizing for effective social change locally, nationally and internationally.

As resistance against globalization is on the rise, several articles in this issue lend evidence that this resistance is, by and large, gendered. First of all, anti-globalization is not new; and it is historically derived and locally grounded in different societies and historical times (e.g. the Mau Mau movement in Kenya and the Boxer Uprising in China against external invasion, colonialism and imperialism in the late Qing dynasty). A common notion is that anti-globalization is a recent phenomenon, starting as the result of a small coalition of groups against the increasing dominance of TNCs and multilateral agencies in the world economy and of specific politics in Seattle, Quebec, Washington, DC, Prague, Genoa and Davos. The terrorist attack on American soil on 11 September 2001 was simply one dramatic eruption from the cauldron of the anti-political globalization movement against the hegemonic dominance of the North as symbolized by the USA. Kimmel vividly illustrates how resistances to globalization are also gendered, in terms of hegemonic masculinity controlling the globalized processes and the TNCs, the displaced masculinity in far-right extremist groups, the struggling

marginalized masculinities of Al Qaeda-type groups, and feminist efforts to challenge these male-dominated regimes. Defiant nation-states and resistant regional organizations bargain with these global hegemony to address the pressing needs and problems of the South.

Anti-globalization is not well understood and perhaps is mislabeled to some extent for political convenience, for its basic aims are the promotion of global justice and equality.⁵ Stiglitz (2002) strongly believes that globalization can be a positive force around the world, particularly for the poor, only if the WB, IMF and WTO are made transparent by critically changing their policies and actions. Some scholars have questioned whether there are compelling reasons in the logic of globalization that necessitate downsizing of government, retrenchment of social programmes, and substantial deregulation of labor markets. Resistance is the weapon of the weak using public and hidden transcripts to advance their practical and strategic gender interests and needs in face of oppression (Molyneux, 1985; Scott, 1990; Smith and Johnston, 2002). As a matter of fact, resistance is possible and benefited by globalization in terms of transportation and communication technology that enables geographically separated and culturally isolated groups and nations to establish contacts, coalitions and networking within and among societies.

More specifically, the human agency of women in resistance movements against globalization is clearly demonstrated by several studies in this issue. Weiss's study provides a case example of how women's groups are involved in cultural resistance, doing anti-discrimination work as mandated by the UN's CEDAW in a local Islamic context. The authors have documented how women have engaged in broad-based grassroots movements against the policies and programs of the supranational and intergovernmental organizations in Barbados, Zimbabwe, Bangladesh, the Philippines, Canada and other parts of the world. The critical role of civil society, such as in the non-governmental organizations (NGOs) at national and international levels, helps to strengthen the non-market sector to pressure states to assume responsibility for guaranteeing the well-being and basic rights of their citizens (see discussion by Caragata). In some societies, women have been dynamically involved as actors in civil society, engaging in both passive and active resistance against the odds in their life. They struggle to find their collective voice, to build capability, to gain control of resources and decision-making, to impact on policy formation, and to reclaim the basic rights of citizenship and human dignity. In partnership with labor and women's movements, human rights groups, environmental advocates and community groups, women join forces with men to develop effective strategies to counter the adverse effects of globalization at three levels – individual, organizational and policy (Basu, 1995; Datta and Kornberg, 2002; Townsend et al., 1999). In

the process of resistance, women strategically empower themselves as well as others promoting equal and just causes for humanity and beneficial changes for people in the developing and developed world.

Conclusion

This special issue of *International Sociology* celebrates feminist scholarship by understanding the avant-garde issue of globalization as a gendered phenomenon. Issues, dilemmas and problems confronting globalization in the past century will continue to transform society and its people. Gendered concerns related to human security, terrorism, militarization, armed conflict, labor fragmentation, ethnic/tribal cleansing, religious dogma, political governance, peace resolutions and various forms of apartheid have increasingly emerged as significant. This special issue may be viewed as an open invitation to others to join the intellectual effort across disciplines to infuse gendered understanding into mainstream discourse and theorizing on globalization and social change in the new millennium. My aim in compiling these articles is to promote global feminist scholarship, research, teaching and curriculum transformation to build the intellectual impetus for a paradigm shift in sociology and a greater appreciation for new multidisciplinary approaches to studying gender and globalization. My aspirations are also to foster global consciousness, development of an alternative vision, design of a progressive policy and action agenda for sustainable people-centered development with equity and gendered concern, the finding of ways to improve good governance, and the exploration of a working model for how people from the global North and South might collaborate in partnership for collective empowerment and better social change around the globe.

Notes

Special acknowledgement is given to many anonymous reviewers in the first and second rounds of the referred review, who contributed immensely to the intellectual and professional processes and scholarly accomplishments of the special issue. Said Amir Arjomand, the chief editor of the journal, provided helpful advice and support throughout the whole review process. I specifically thank Laura Toussaint and Elaine Stahl Leo for their dedication and valuable assistance.

1. Feminist critique has begun to question what is commonly referred to as the 'two-and-only two' system of gender stratification (Lorber, 1996). With its roots in postmodernist thinking, queer theories expand this intellectual quest by situating sexuality as a central focus of analysis, by discarding the notion of any single sexual identity, by rejecting the either/or heterosexual-homosexual dichotomy, and by recognizing that gender and sexuality may exist on a

continuum. These critiques further deconstruct the binary system of sex and gender and reveal the dynamic, ever-changing character of sex/gender.

2. See the discussion of private and public patriarchy in Chow and Berheide (1994) and Walby (1990). Private patriarchy's chief institution is the family, within which the material and ideological bases of male dominance give some men the power to determine privilege, resource allocation, statuses and roles of women, children and other men. Private patriarchy becomes public when the power of fathers and husbands is replaced by the power of men who use the state to dictate laws, to determine gendered division of labor, to control resources and to shape gender ideology and value in public institutions (such as polity, economy and religion) both locally and nationally.
3. To study the macro-micro linkages, I have proposed five intricately interconnected levels of gender analysis – the macroscopic, macro-institutional, meso-organizational, cultural/symbolic and micro-interactions at the individual level (Chow, 2002). The global-local linkages can be interfaced by nation-state, social institutions, organizations, culture and human interaction at various levels. In the field of gender and international development, it is increasingly important to study how the apparatuses of the nation-state, the TNCs, the multilateral agencies and other global hegemony as public patriarchy mediate between global forces and local conditions.
4. The SAPs set major conditions for receiving loans: trade liberalization, devaluation of the currency, reductions in government expenditure and social services, and restrictions on trade unions. Such policies advance a neoliberal globalizing economic agenda supported by the WB, the IMF and other international financial institutions.
5. This point was supported by my doctoral student, Laura Toussaint, in her case study about two main factions within the resistance movements against globalization: a radical one which is anti-globalization and a reform one which is for global justice. For the general public, the former faction often conjures up a negative connotation to the entire movement's goals, organization, strategies and tactics.

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