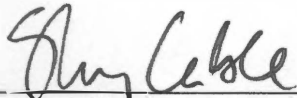


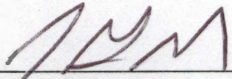
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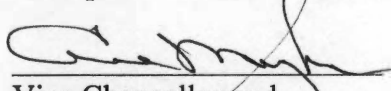

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**FROM AN ISSUE-BASED TO A GLOBALIZED FRAME FOR ADDRESSING
WOMEN'S GRIEVANCES: POSSIBILITIES FOR SOCIAL CHANGE?**

**A Thesis
Presented for the
Master of Arts Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville**

**Kristen Lea VanHooreweghe
August 2005**

Thesis

2005

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Dedication

To Laura, my sister and one of the strongest women I know. She serves as an inspiration to me in more ways than she could ever realize. With all my love, Kris.

Acknowledgments

I would like to extend my gratitude to my committee, my chair, Dr. Sherry Cable, Dr. John Gulick, and Dr. Harry Dahms for their feedback and continued assistance. I would like to thank Dr. Suzanne Kurth for her helpful advice and encouragement and Evan Weissman for his continued support and camaraderie.

Abstract

Women throughout the world disproportionately absorb the social and environmental costs of globalization. Globalization, therefore, works more often to inhibit, than to promote, women's needs necessary for survival. Using a materialist feminist perspective, I examine the harmful effects of globalization on women's production, reproduction, and engagement with the environment and offer a comprehensive frame for addressing women's associated grievances. I then offer brief vignettes of two contemporary feminist organizations to evaluate the possibility of a cross-cultural and widespread movement of women for social change.

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AWID	The Association for Women's Rights in Development
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women
DAWN	Development Alternatives with Women of a New Era
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations
GAD	Gender And Development Perspective
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
NGO	Non-Governmental Organizations
NIC	Newly Industrialized Countries
NOW	National Organization of Women
NRT	New Reproductive Technologies
UN	United Nations
UNAIDS	United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
UNDAW	United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women, Division of Economic and Social Affairs
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WAD	Women And Development perspective
WED	Women, Environment, and Development perspective
WEDO	Women's Environment and Development Organization
WID	Women In Development perspective

I. Introduction

In a globalizing economy, capitalists seek increasing capital accumulation by scouring the globe in search of new markets and cheap labor, rapidly incorporating people and countries into the capitalist world system through the global division of labor. Although global mass production creates tremendous wealth, a majority of the world's population continues to live in poverty. Since the 1970s, the gap between rich and poor countries (measured in per capita income) has increased. In 1973 the difference in wealth between rich and poor nations was approximately 40:1. The situation worsened for many during the 1980s as a global debt crisis erupted and a neo-liberal economic agenda, led by United States' President Ronald Reagan and UK Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, took hold (Arrighi 1994; Bello 2001; Dawkins 2003). By 1992, the difference between rich and poor nations increased to 72:1 (UNIFEM 2000). While East Asian nations increased per capita income by nearly three times from 1980 to 1999, sub-Saharan African countries, among other developing nations, had per capita income fall below levels of 1970 (UNIFEM 2000). Simultaneously, inequality between individuals continued to rise, concentrating the world's wealth into increasingly fewer hands. The net worth of the world's wealthiest 200 individuals increased from \$440 billion in 1994 to \$1,402 billion in 1998, more than the combined income of 41 percent of the world's population (UNIFEM 2000). Today, more than half of the global population is struggling just to meet the basic needs of survival (Benería 2003). One billion people live in absolute poverty, earning less than \$1 per day, and 2.8 billion earn less than \$2 per day (USAID 2004).

Approximately 70 percent of the impoverished are women (UNIFEM 2000; Gimenez 2004). Despite owning less than one percent of the world's property, women continue to produce a majority of the world's food, to work a majority of the world's laboring hours, and to assume the primary responsibility for private and public social services previously provided by the state (Dankelman & Davidson 1988; Gimenez 2004; USAID 2004; WEDO 1999). Such statistics suggest that the conditions created by global capital accumulation work more often to inhibit than to promote the necessary means for women's survival. Consequently, international attention has increasingly been directed to women's empowerment in development activities, as evidenced by the global conferences addressing women's concerns, including the United Nations' Decade for Women (1975 - 1985), the large number of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) focused on women, and the various research focused on gender and development undertaken by the World Bank.

Despite the increased development focus on women's empowerment, researchers have begun to document a global pattern in which women are disproportionately impacted by the political and economic transformations of globalization. The pattern becomes more pronounced as capitalist markets, values, and culture proliferate globally. The predominance of women's poverty, the gendered division of labor, and women's relationship to, and reliance on, the environment for subsistence throughout much of the world leads women to endure disproportionately both the biophysical and social consequences of globalization.

To address these grievances, women have largely engaged in issue-based organizing surrounding economic inequality, environmental destruction, health care

concerns, reproductive rights, political freedoms, and other matters relating to social justice for both men and women. Additionally, women have increasingly developed communal support systems such as community supported agriculture, alternative health care services, and child care services to fill the void left by fleeing capital and deficient states (Buvinic 1986; Garret 2004; Petchesky 2002; Singh 1988).

Such efforts have been significant in ameliorating some of the devastating conditions in which women live. However, an examination of globalization focused on the gendered division of labor and the relations of production, reproduction, and use of the environment advances a clearer understanding of the structural forces impacting women's experiences and reveals the systemic nature of the inequalities faced by women. Targeting these structures as arenas of struggle and resistance brings a more exact approach to challenging the core of women's exploitation and subordination, rather than only addressing certain aspects of the problem. Widespread mobilization by women is crucial in bringing about social change for alleviating the immediate problems facing women and for a more equitable and democratic global society. Is such mobilization of women possible?

Widespread mobilization of women is further complicated given the paradoxical nature of modern societies in addressing inequalities. On the one hand, inequalities are seen as illegitimate and intolerable and are recognized by government and civil society as detrimental to the functioning of society. On the other hand, modern societies continually rely on inequalities to maintain the functioning of the system (Dahms forthcoming). Dahms (forthcoming) notes,

western societies are synonymous with a socio-political order drawing legitimacy from its claim to advance the interests of all members via increasing prosperity at the societal level, with the most important societal value sphere being an economic system that relies on a stable structure of class inequality.

As such, it becomes increasingly difficult for movements to enact qualitative social change within a system riddled by paradox (Dahms forthcoming). For example, the United States' women's movement of the 1970s sought to establish gender justice and eliminate inequalities facing women. However, the women's movement was limited by the paradox of modern societies. Rather than bringing about qualitative social change that fundamentally challenged the capitalist patriarchal ordering of society, women were more fully incorporated into a complex system of inequality. Further inclusion of women into the public and productive aspects of society, for example, through inclusion in the formal economy, provided legitimation for the system, by advancing the appearance of social change and gender equity. The women's movement, by not challenging the paradoxical nature of modern societies, facilitated inclusion, into the system, another group of individuals to perpetuate the status quo (Dahms forthcoming).

Despite advances toward social justice made by women's movements in both industrialized and developing nations, a great chasm remains between the social position of men and women. Inequalities between men and women are further exacerbated by class-based inequalities that plague relations both between, and within, genders.

To begin to address the complex issue of women's inequality in modern societies, I employ a socialist feminist approach with an environmental emphasis to critically examine two areas of literature: the differential negative impacts of globalization on women, and women's responses to those impacts. In the later area, I offer vignettes of

two organizations that suggest the possibility of women's widespread mobilization as a struggle against the unequal and negative aspects of globalization: the Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID), Toronto, Canada and Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN), Suva, Fiji. A review of women's responses to the inequities that accompany globalization facilitates a discussion of how women's grievances with globalization might be more fruitfully framed. Following, I describe the historical context and analytical framework for my subsequent examination.

II. Historical Context and Theoretical Framework

This chapter provides a brief historical overview of the policies and practices facilitating globalization as well as a review of various theories and perspectives that analyze contemporary capitalist development. I then present the analytical themes guiding this project to reveal the importance of globalization in examining the situation faced by women throughout the world. Next, I establish a materialist feminist theoretical framework used in my examination and, finally, turn to the methods employed in establishing the empirical basis for my subsequent analysis.

In 1944, invited delegates from 44 nations attended the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire to assess the damage of World War II and to rebuild a physically and economically devastated Europe. Negotiations over competing ideas of the best approach to economic development were further complicated by U.S.-Soviet contention over Soviet inclusion in reconstruction plans (Block 1977). Delegates created the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), later known as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) to facilitate the reconstruction of European nations (Antrobus 2004; Bello 2001; Dawkins 2003; Ellwood 2001). Despite competition between Britain and the United States over the most appropriate tactics for reconstruction, the institutions and agreements that emerged from the conference prioritized the interests of the United States and Britain over those of other nations.

The U.S. position on reconstruction negotiations was driven by the determination to avoid returning to economic depression when wartime production gave way to

peacetime production. To maintain high employment rates and wartime production levels, the United States adopted an export surplus strategy for economic development (Block 1977). One of the several difficulties that plagued this approach was the availability of foreign markets required to maintain an export surplus. Therefore, the strategy of an export surplus was closely linked to an open world market (Block 1977).

William Clayton, a wartime State Department official, said:

Today we are exporting over \$14 billion worth of goods a year. We simply can't afford after this war to let our trade drop off to the two or three billion figure it hit in 1932...In other words, we have to export three times as much as we exported just before the war if we want to keep our industry running at somewhat near capacity" (qtd. Block 1977:41).

Block elaborates on the role of postwar United States' foreign policy:

Abroad, the reality of U.S. foreign economic policy was effectively hidden by the skillful invocation of the rhetoric of the idealistic internationalists. The clearest example of this was the International Monetary Fund itself. It was originally conceived as an instrument to facilitate expansionary domestic policies, but it eventually became another means to impose the deflationary discipline of the gold standard (1977:37).

Economic imperatives for maintaining US hegemony and advancing capitalist development resulted in the U.S.' push toward an open world market. As such, the United States used heavy-handed involvement in European reconstruction, via the Marshall Plan, and subsequent Third World development, through influential positions in the international monetary institutions, to achieve their desired economic outcomes (Block 1977).

By the late 1950s, many Third World nations gained independence from colonial rule, and the United States and the Soviet Union competed for economic and political control of these nations. As a result, ideological positions supporting a specific

developmental trajectory were advanced by governments and legitimated by academic discourse.

Modernization discourse was the ideological underpinning of United States' foreign policy. Modernization approaches depicted economic development as a gradual, linear progression toward a more "evolved" or "developed" state, a path similar to that of the United States or Europe. Modernization advocates called for the replacement of traditional social values and economic practices by modern more rational social values and capitalist economic processes. This transformation was advocated as the primary mechanism for achieving development in traditional or "backwards" societies of the Third World (Peet 1999; Sklair 2002; So 1990). Modernization discourse identified the internal problems of developing nation-states as the fundamental cause of inadequate development and focused on the state as the arena for transformations in social, political, and economic policies necessary for progress and ascension in the world system (Peet 1999; Sklair 2002; So 1990).

Dependency theory emerged in Latin America during the 1960s as a criticism of Modernization approaches to development and of the social and economic prescriptions associated with these approaches. Dependency theorists criticized Modernization perspectives for its ahistorical, teleological, and Eurocentric orientation. Dependency theorists charged that Modernization approaches failed to explain continuous developmental problems, such as increasing inequality, especially in rural areas, and high inflation and unemployment rates (Green 2003; Peet 1999; Sklair 2002; So 1990).

In contrast to Modernization approaches, Dependency theorists focused on external factors as the fundamental cause of underdevelopment. Dependency theorists

emphasized the history of colonialism and the uneven exchange of resources between imperialist powers and former colonies in creating and perpetuating economic dependency. Theorists contend that reliance on heavily industrialized nations prohibits the ability of new states to develop a unique and self-reliant model of development (Peet 1999; Sklair 2002; So 1990).

Dependency theorists' criticisms coincided with increasing demands from developing countries during the 1960s. Bearing the burdens of extractive economies, developing countries made collective demands for structural economic reforms that would alter the terms of trade toward a more equitable relationship. Developing countries requested that the extracted natural resources and exports from the South be given higher and more stable prices on the global market. At the UN Conference for Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in 1964, developing nations, known as the G77, called for economic restructuring or a New International Economic Order (NIEO) (Antrobus 2004; Bello 2001; Ellwood 2001). The primary goal of the NIEO was to reduce poverty and inequality by eliminating unequal exchange, via commodity price stabilization, preferential tariffs, and increased foreign assistance, in North-South trading relations (Bello 2001). Furthermore, the UN would sponsor and administer the plan to subsidize developing countries for extractive goods when their prices fell below a certain level on the world market (Bello 2001).

By the late 1970's and early 1980's little success came from NIEO initiatives except for the price stabilization of natural rubber and a four-fold increase in oil prices achieved by the collective restriction of oil output from OPEC countries (Bello 2001; Dawkins 2003; Ellwood 2001). This success, however, extended only to capitalist elites

in the North who benefited from the increased OPEC petrodollars invested in Western banks. In contrast, oil-importing developing nations could pay increased prices only by obtaining loans from the very Western banks that had acquired the newly invested petrodollars (Bello 2001; Dawkins 2003; Ellwood 2001).

Western banks, bulging with petrodollars, were eager to loan capital to socialist and developing countries to extend the capitalist system. Money loaned to developing nations was intended for use in developing infrastructure and production processes and in meeting social needs such as housing, healthcare, and education. In many instances, however, some portion of the loan money was, instead, misappropriated by corrupt government elites.

In the 1970s, economic crises emerged in capitalist and socialist economies and increased development occurred in East Asia. East Asian development involved a combination of rapid industrialization, protectionist policies, and heavy state involvement that strayed from traditional free market practices (Bello 2001). East Asian nations, or “newly industrialized countries” (NICs) did not follow traditional paths of development advocated by the World Bank and the IMF. The NICs avoided critical attention from free market advocates in the World Bank, IMF, and the United States because of their unique geo-political role in the Cold War context. East Asian growth therefore, did not fit nicely into either Modernization or Dependency paradigms for explaining development.

World-Systems theory emerged during the 1970s in the United States in response to East Asian development and crises in U.S. capitalism and socialist states (So 1990). World-Systems perspectives prioritize the use of the entire world as the unit of analysis and places development issues of nations or regions into a larger context by focusing on

the history and transformation of a global economic world system (So 1990). World-Systems theory draws on an historical analysis of colonial relations and the division of labor in a global capitalist system to explain development. As opposed to Modernization and Dependency theories, World-Systems theory allows for the fluctuation of nations within the world system, thereby avoiding linear progression toward a development ideal and allowing for a country's decline as well as progress (Peet 1999; Sklair 2002; So 1990).

Also in the 1970s, the spread of women's movements in industrialized nations generated the documentation of gender inequalities in many areas, including development. Feminist perspectives on development transpired in reaction to the insufficient attention of development theories in addressing the marginalization and exploitation of women and sought to augment and deepen the analysis of Modernization and Dependency theories. Feminist development perspectives also brought awareness of the gendered consequences of development to institutions such as the United Nations and World Bank. Four branches of feminist perspectives on development emerged: Women In Development (WID), Gender And Development (GAD), Women And Development (WAD), and Women, Environment and Development (WED) (Antrobus 2004; Beall 1998; Hartwick 1999; McIlwane & Datta 2003).

The Women In Development (WID) approach originated in the 1970s with Ester Boserup's *Women's Role in Economic Development* (Hartwick 1999). WID approaches are based on the premise that women need only be incorporated into the current development project, without reconfiguration for women's needs and rights. Because the primary focus of WID projects is to increase opportunities for women's incorporation

into the global economic system, WID differs little from Modernization theories of development (Hartwick 1999). Its main focus is the incorporation of women into the workforce, regardless of unequal status, with the traditional gendered division of labor mostly intact. The WID approach is primarily utilized by organizations advocating a neo-liberal agenda, such as the World Bank, United States Agency for International Development, United Nations Development Fund for Women, and the Women's Committee of the Washington, DC, chapter of the Society for International Development (Hartwick 1999). Neo-liberal development policies pursue improvements within the capitalist patriarchal power structures as they currently exist, reforming, rather than restructuring, social institutions and prioritizing women's empowerment in issue-based solutions rather than addressing foundational ineptitudes of development policy (AWID 2002; Beall 1998; Cornwall 2003; Hartwick 1999; McIlwaine & Datta 2003).

WID perspectives have been criticized as an "add-women-and-stir" approach to development (Antrobus 2004; McIlwaine & Datta 2003). In response, analysts expanded the theoretical framework to a Gender and Development (GAD) perspective that includes examination of the gendered consequences of development, including the gendered division of labor (Beall 1998; Cornwall 2003; McIlwaine & Datta 2003; Moser 1989; Razavi 1997). The GAD perspective shifts the basis of analysis from women's needs to women's rights. This acknowledgment of the gendered consequences of development diminishes the perception of women as passive victims rather than as active participants in the development process (Beall 1998; Cornwall 2003; McIlwaine & Datta 2003).

Although an improvement over WID approaches, GAD perspectives fail to address the underlying structural features that bring about the differential impacts of

development. Women and Development (WAD) perspectives emerged in response to the inadequacies of the WID and GAD approaches and draw from dependency theory and employ a Marxist class perspective (Hartwick 1999). WAD theorists often label their theoretical approach as Marxist-feminist, materialist feminist, or socialist feminist. All maintain the same basis for analysis, varying slightly in areas of emphasis (Hennessey & Ingraham 1997). WAD theorists combine Marxist analysis with radical feminist perspectives to understand the reproduction of social processes and power relations of patriarchy through the gendered division of labor (Eisenstein 1979; Holstrom 2002).

WAD approaches criticize Modernization theories of development and the concept of progress as a patriarchal Western phenomenon (Hartwick 1999). Recognizing the intersection between class and gender, WAD focuses on the relations between men and women within a capitalist patriarchal hierarchy. Women, WAD theorists suggest, have always been productive participants within the economy but the exploitation of their unpaid labor and their incorporation into the global capitalist system led to their marginalization and oppression (Eisenstein 1979; Gimenez 2004; Hennessey & Ingraham 1997; Holstrom 2002). WAD analysts directly challenge the gendered division of labor as the primary mechanism for patriarchal control, and they focus attention on four domains in which women are relatively powerless in capitalist society: production, reproduction, sexuality and child rearing, and socialization (Eisenstein 1979; Hartwick 1999; McIlwaine & Datta 2003; Mies 1986).

Women, Environment and Development (WED) approaches incorporate the role of the environment and its significant relation to women's lives. Although some WED theories focus on women's limited access to and ownership of resources; others

emphasize the disproportionate effects of environmental destruction on women (Hartwick 1999). Ecofeminists posit a natural connection between women and the environment, asserting that men's domination of the environment is similar and related to men's domination of women. Sustainable development plays a significant role in WED perspectives, stressing the importance of maintaining the environment for future generations and challenging the prospect that development must be a result of economic growth (Hartwick 1999; WEDO 2003).

During the 1970s, economic development in the global South funded by petrodollar loans failed to generate enough economic growth to repay the initial loans, resulting in a perpetual cycle of insurmountable debt. Rising interest rates in the late 1970s and early 1980s forced many countries to borrow additional money to pay the interest on the initial petrodollar loan (Bello 2001; Ellwood 2001). From 1973 to 1982, the external debt of developing countries increased five-fold to \$612 billion (Ellwood 2001). In the 1980's, developing countries fell further and further into poverty and debt because of increased interest rates, decreased prices for exports - despite any previous agreements reached under the NIEO - and increased oil prices. Poverty and inequality rose with little optimism for growth.

In response, the international monetary institutions adopted the task of monitoring countries with balance of payment difficulties and deployed a neo-liberal economic strategy for these purposes. The neo-liberal approach to poverty promoted economic growth unconstrained by state involvement. Developing countries were forced into privatization, the elimination of the state as a major employer, diminished protection of

national industries, and decreased spending on social welfare programs (Dawkins 2003; Ellwood 2001).

This neo-liberal approach erected the foundation for later austerity and structural adjustment plans negotiated by the World Bank and the IMF. In the 1980's, when countries, such as Mexico and Argentina were unable to make payments to international lending institutions, development professionals turned to local governments to resolve the problem (Green 2003). Nations were subject to domestic adjustments, or Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) and austerity plans. Such programs built on the foundation of privatization and reduced state expenditures and were further expanded to include: the devaluation of national currencies; elimination of subsidies on consumer items; increased interest rates and decreasing or stagnant wages; opening of markets to foreign investment; and an intensified focus on economic development through increased exportation (Bello 2001; Dawkins 2003; Ellwood 2001; Green 2003). The money earned through implementing these policies paid debts but did little to improve the local economy.

One manifestation of economic restructuring is the transition of developing countries' agricultural production. The commercialization of agriculture displaced many local farmers, as industrial and multi-national farmers moved onto the land of developing countries (Green 2003). Prior to SAPs nations focused agricultural efforts on foods that were indigenous to the region that had long been a diet staple. With the proliferation of commercialized agriculture, countries shifted to the production of goods that could be sold on the world market. The frequent result was the importation of foodstuffs that had previously been indigenous to the nation for example, corn in Mexico (Green 2003).

The importation of foodstuffs was further problematized by the devaluation of currency in the global market and the increasing difficulty of purchasing basic necessities that had once flourished in the region. Elimination of subsidies on consumer goods also drove up the prices of food products as well as on gas, public transportation, and other goods and services that more directly impact individuals of lower socio-economic status (Bello 2001; Dawkins 2003; Ellwood 2001). Furthermore, increased interest rates, stagnating wages, and decreased regulation and protection of national industries had catastrophic consequences for the middle and working classes of developing nations.

The socio-political environment of the post World War II era and the political and economic restructuring of the late 1970s and early 1980s created the conditions of today's globalization. Tighter economic integration of nations through an open world market results in a number of negative consequences for many - including an amplification of the structures of inequality inherent to capitalist development.

Analytical Themes

Within the context of this project, globalization refers to the continual expansion of the capitalist system, facilitated by Bretton Woods Institutions, and characterized by technological advances in communication and transportation and significant economic restructuring (e.g., deregulation, liberalization, structural adjustment) of the mid to late 1970s. Consequently, subsequent transformations in political, cultural, and social spheres of society reflect the widespread influence of capitalist markets and values. The technological, cultural, and social aspects of globalization are predicated on economic globalization.

Conceptualizing globalization as such identifies the relevant structures, primarily the economic and political institutions that facilitate the social, ecological, and cultural transformations that disproportionately burden women. Additionally, this definition contextualizes my research project by focusing on global transformations beginning with the Bretton Woods Institutions of the 1940s, through the economic restructuring of the 1970s and 1980s, to the present.

Identifying the uneven consequences of globalization for women in light of the economic processes characterizing capitalist development advances a clearer understanding of the structural forces impacting women's experiences. Moreover, a theoretical framework that utilizes globalization as a starting point facilitates a thorough analysis of the oppression and exploitation facing women and provides more exact possibilities for engendering social change.

Combining a socialist feminist perspective with an environmental approach produces a comprehensive materialist feminist analysis with priority given to the intersections between class, gender, and the environment in examining the consequences of globalization. For the purposes of this project, I use a materialist feminist perspective by stressing the production, reproduction, and sustainability of the physical and social relations necessary for maintaining life. Physical relations include the interaction between humans and the environment, both natural and anthropogenic, relating to aspects of survival - food, adequate health (prevention as well as treatments), adequate access to water, clean air, sanitary living conditions, and freedom from disproportionate exposure to environmental hazards. Moreover, these physical relations must exist within a larger social organization that provides a just, peaceful, and sustainable society that prioritizes

equitable and democratic decision-making for adequately meeting the needs of all people, rather than profit and prosperity for some (Delphy 1975; Gimenez 1998, 2004; Hennessy & Ingraham 1997; Kirk 1997; Landry & MacLean 1993; Mellor 2000).

In adopting this approach, I focus on development, not only on the production of consumer goods and technology in an effort to achieve “progress” and generate profits, but on producing and reproducing the necessary means for the sustenance of life. As opposed to production for profit, which does not account for the social and environmental costs of production, a materialist feminist perspective calls for production that provides for all people and is in accordance with the sustainability and regeneration of the environment. A materialist feminist perspective advocates the view that the social production and reproduction of human needs can be directed by and met in accordance with nature. Additionally, this approach, drawing from previous feminist movements, specifically second-wave feminism, reformulates development in a way that incorporates the societal dimensions of everyday life - the personal is political for everyone - thereby overcoming the dichotomies of public/private, production/reproduction, global/local, and their associated inequalities.

A materialist feminist approach offers a theoretical stepping-stone for conceptualizing an equitable and democratic global society and provides a starting place for determining if a cross-cultural mobilization of women for qualitative social change is possible. Furthermore, a materialist feminist perspective provides guidelines for determining how two contemporary feminist organizations, AWID and DAWN, measure up in challenging women’s exploitation and subordination. In the following chapters I establish an empirical basis for analysis by documenting several of the disproportionate

burdens of globalization endured by women and examine the different ways women have responded to these burdens. But I first turn to a discussion of the data sources used in establishing my basis for analysis.

Methods

I use library research methods focused on secondary and electronic data sources to examine the conditions faced by women throughout the world and their resistance to those conditions through participation in activist organizations. I particularly rely on reports published by the United Nations and the World Bank for development indicators, goals, and attainment. The United Nations and the World Bank devote special attention to gendered impacts of development and measure progress toward objectives established by the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals ([MDGs] 2000).

I justify use of these data sources for three reasons. First, the United Nations and the World Bank are the primary development institutions setting the agenda and the standards for development and providing accessible reports documenting progression toward their objectives. Second, the UN and World Bank information provides an international focus, as well as nationally and regionally disaggregated data on many development issues. Third, the United Nations and the World Bank are considered by many to be the authority on development, and data are viewed as legitimate and objective indicators of developmental activities.

I recognize the limitations imposed by using UN and World Bank data sources. The use of United Nations and World Bank data must be employed with the understanding that the organizations' conceptualizations of development and of women's empowerment are embedded in the ideology of the capitalist patriarchal hierarchy

currently maintaining the status quo. Consequently, their discussions of women's empowerment reflect Western notions of development and the desire to portray successful achievement of their development markers may distort the actual conditions in which women live. However, critical engagement with the data from the United Nations, World Bank, and other development institutions identifies patterns in the consequences of globalization for women throughout the world. While I recognize that the consequences of globalization are not the same for women across the globe, or even for women within a specific nation, reviewing this data will provide a broad overview of the commonalities of women's situations as impacted by the capitalist mode of production.

I triangulate data sources by supplementing the UN and World Bank information with research and reports by academics and activists on women's local initiatives in response to globalization's impacts. To highlight women's efforts to meet their needs and those of their families and communities, I provide vignettes of two international feminist organizations: the Association for Women's Rights in Development and Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era.

Both AWID and DAWN have focused on issues of social, economic, and gender justice for over twenty years, working closely with the United Nations, and in more auxiliary fashion, with other development agencies such as the World Bank. AWID and DAWN work on regional and national levels and have been instrumental in raising awareness of women's issues as well as in shaping theoretical discourse on gender and development.

AWID and DAWN warrant closer examination because of their leadership in women's movements and their histories with global development institutions. Examining

the origins, structure, strategies, and themes of these two contemporary feminist organizations provides insight into their contributions in challenging women's exploitation and subordination and in engendering substantive social change.

I next turn to a brief examination of the consequences of globalization for all people before focusing more specifically on the consequences of globalization for women.

III. Gender and Globalization

I begin this chapter by presenting the varied effects of globalization on people, generally. Then, after a brief description of the gendered division of labor, I focus on the disproportionate effects of globalization on women by examining globalization's impacts on the social relations of women's production, reproduction, and interaction with the environment.¹ Identifying the uneven consequences of globalization for women advances a clearer understanding of the structural forces impacting women's experiences.

The Uneven Impacts of Globalization

The effects of globalization have been equivocal throughout the world. Many argue that globalization has been an enormous success, increasing the life span and health of populations, increasing economic activity, improving the environment through new and advanced technologies, and drawing communities and cultures closer together (USAID 2004; World Bank 2005). Others point to the negative impacts of globalization, such as increased mortality rates from diseases such as HIV/AIDS, the elimination of subsistence farming and local markets, decreased biodiversity and non-renewable resources not subject to a quick technological fix, and the homogenization of culture at the expense of diversity (Gimenez 2004; Holstrom 2002; Sklair 2002). Regardless of the position taken on globalization, no single nation or region of the world is exempt from

¹ Although women's productive and reproductive lives, as well as engagement with the environment, in developed nations are highly compartmentalized and distinct aspects of life, the distinction cannot be as easily made in peripheral capitalist systems. The gendered division of labor and patriarchal social relations maintain women's super-exploitation in production and in reproduction. Furthermore, women's close reliance on the environment for subsistence enhances women's sensitivities to environmental change, closely interweaving the three realms of life most crucial for survival. As a result of the interconnections between the relations of production, reproduction and engagement with the environment, circumstances affecting one aspect of a woman's life significantly impact, and at times worsen, her situation in other realms of life.

the *uneven* consequences of globalization. Even in the highly developed nations of the West, inequality continues to rise. While capitalist elites in developing nations continue to increase wealth, local citizens slip further into poverty (UNIFEM 2000).

Uneven consequences of development are not unique to globalization; rather they are an inherent structural aspect of capitalist economics. Within a capitalist system, increased profits have always required the exploitation of certain populations. Consequently, the working class, both men and women, experience development differently than do elite populations in that they are disproportionately exposed to the negative consequences. Globalization, through economic restructuring and increased communication and transportation technologies, increases the scope - the level of intensity and geographic reach - of capitalism. In so doing, globalization amplifies the structures of inequality inherent to the capitalist system. Thus, power and wealth are primarily concentrated in the hands of white male capitalist elites, reinforcing the racist and patriarchal ordering of society.

The amplification of inequality structures manifests in the daily lives of individuals throughout the world, with devastating results for many. For example, food security, a relevant issue to all populations, is declining throughout the developing world. Not only is food security declining despite increasing agricultural production, but also after a period of slight improvement in the early 1990s, trends are reversing (FAO 2003). During the first five years of the 1990s, the numbers of individuals considered chronically hungry by the United Nations declined by 37 million. By 1997, these numbers had increased by 18 million, with 798 million people undernourished by 2001 (FAO 2003).

The HIV/AIDS epidemic is another example of global problems disproportionately endured by those in developing nations. The epidemic significantly impacts the ability of humans to meet subsistence by posing a major health threat to populations throughout the world. HIV/AIDS is overwhelmingly found in young adult populations at their productive prime and has been shown to have significant deleterious effects on the economies of nations severely impacted by the disease (UNAIDS 2004). Yet, prevalence rates continue to increase throughout the world. During 2003, the number of people newly infected with HIV increased more than any previous year, with approximately 4.8 million newly reported cases, bringing the total of those infected to nearly 40 million people (UNAIDS 2004). Although the HIV/AIDS epidemic has reached nearly every country in the world, the disease is overwhelmingly concentrated in developing nations, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa. Moreover, the disease is unevenly spread throughout developing nations, often impacting the most impoverished regions (UNAIDS 2004).

Capitalist development draws extensively from the natural environment, sacrificing environmental quality and sustainability for economic growth. These consequences have been amplified with globalization. According to the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), levels of human-induced environmental degradation have increased over the past three decades (2005). Carbon dioxide emissions increased at extremely high rates during 2004 to over 379 parts per million, up 3 parts per million from 2003 and increasing at an annual rate double that of the 1960s (UNEP 2005). Carbon dioxide emissions, nitrous oxide, and other toxins associated with agriculture,

vehicle, and factory emissions are increasing with significant impacts for global climate change, water, air, and soil quality among other aspects of environmental quality.

Food security, communicable diseases, and environmental degradation are all issues impacting the ability of humans *to meet the needs of survival*, either directly through widespread disease and natural disasters, such as the Indian tsunami of 2004, or indirectly through climate change and reduced access to food and agricultural supplies. Similarly, these impacts reflect the class-based inequalities of globalization through their disproportionate impact on impoverished individuals, in developing nations, and on poor and working class individuals of highly developed nations. Peasants and working class individuals throughout the world, to the benefit of capitalist elites, absorb the social, cultural, and environmental costs of capitalist development. A recent headline in the *Economist* (2005) illustrates this point: “Capitalists are grabbing a rising share of national income at the expense of workers. In the G7 economies as a whole, the share of profits in national income has never been higher” (p.13). American corporate profits have increased by 60 percent in the past three years while wage income increased only 10 percent (*Economist* 2005).

Other social and cultural inequalities are exacerbated by globalization. Specifically, racial and gendered inequalities are impacted by globalization, due in part, to the relationship with poverty.² Women comprise the majority of those impoverished, at roughly 70 percent, and women’s poverty is inextricably linked to other dimensions of global poverty, such as hunger, lack of education, and poor health (UNDP 2003; UNEP

² For the purposes of this project, I will focus primarily on gendered inequalities as opposed to racial inequalities. Space does not permit me to address both of these complex issues in adequate detail. However, racial dimensions are a part of global North - South relations and therefore necessarily enter into my analysis to some extent.

2005; World Bank 2003; Gimenez 2004). The gendered division of labor structures inequality between men and women with significant implications for women's ability to pursue adequate employment, education, and health care services necessary for improving their status.

The Gendered Division of Labor and the Gender Inequalities of Globalization

Modifications to the mode of production and, subsequently, to the division of labor, fuel the extensive processes that transform women's societal roles (Smith 2005; Leacock 1972). A sexual division of labor, a distinct set of tasks for females and males, existed in pre-class societies (Smith 2005). The sexual division of labor did not necessarily result in inequality between men and women, but rather served as a more efficient means of adaptation and survival, for both females and males (Smith 2005).

The transformation of women's roles within society occurred over thousands of years, with numerous modifications to the mode of production fuelling the process (Smith 2005; Leacock 1972). The transition to an agricultural and class society, however, changed significantly the role of the household and the sexual division of labor (Smith 2005). Surplus agricultural production and private property facilitated a capitalist mode of production based on exchange-values rather than use-values. As a result, economic activity shifted to a public space, and away from the household, to accommodate the increased levels of production necessary for exchange and profit. Meanwhile, the increasing mechanization of agriculture presented safety hazards for women who were pregnant or nursing and their small children (Smith 2005). Men, therefore, assumed the primary role in the public sphere of agricultural production.

Transitions in the modes of production and the sexual division of labor have significant consequences for women throughout the world, but particularly for women of developing countries. Women in developing countries, perhaps attributable to the long history of colonialism, experience the most repressive aspects of pre-capitalist and capitalist patriarchy. Women continue to experience traditional forms of patriarchy, for instance, violence against women and cultural standards that hold women to unrealistic standards of purity. Such patriarchal relations significantly impact women's lives when they prohibit women from seeking medical attention for a particular condition or lead to further abuse of women who attempt to seek help (UNAIDS 2004). For example, young women, often with immature pelvic structures, develop obstetric fistulas during child labor, a condition where blood supplies are cut off from tissues in a woman's vagina, bladder, or rectum forming a hole and releasing a constant trickle of bodily fluids and waste (Kristof 2005). Often, these women are abandoned by their husbands and shunned from society, forced from the community resulting in deteriorating health and eventual death for many women (Kristof 2005).

Obstetric fistulas primarily occur in developing nations with highest concentrations in African countries. The United Nations estimates that nearly two million women and girls live with obstetric fistulas in the developing world (Kristof 2005). Modern capitalist patriarchal relations further complicate the situation. Surgical treatment for the obstetric fistula are not readily available to women in Africa, not because of lacking medical knowledge, but because of political and economic pressures, such as privatization and increased user fees associated with neo-liberal economic policies, that undermine maternal health and reproductive rights for women.

Furthermore, women are often denied medical care in the family as money goes first to other family expenses (Abell 1999). Globalization maintains the patriarchal web of social relations by implementing the most oppressive aspects of patriarchy from pre-capitalist and modern societies thereby maximizing women's exploitation and subordination to the benefit of the capitalist system.

Unlike hunter-gatherer societies where levels of reproduction were kept low, agricultural societies increased social surplus to bolster the labor supply and enhance the productive capacity of the farm (Smith 2005). Reproduction of the labor force and other tasks associated with sustaining a household fell on the shoulders of women (Eisenstein 1979; Smith 2005). Robert Biel (2001) notes that maintaining women's domestic role is necessary to "ensure that labour is reproduced in such a way that capitalism does not have to bear the full economic costs" (p 132). As such, the gendered division of labor based on an ideological assertion of a women's "natural role" forced women out of the public, productive, and formal spheres of the economy to the private, reproductive, and informal spheres of the economy (Eisenstein 1979; Smith 2005).

Despite women's growing participation in the formal economy since the 1970s, many women continue to be discriminated against in both the *type* of employment available to them as well as the *value* of their work (Evans 1979). Women are relegated to low paying and unequal gender-specific work outside of the home as well as to domestic tasks within the home. Consequently, many argue that women constitute a "super-exploited" class (Eisenstein 1979; Mies 1986; Hennessey 2002).

The super-exploitation or double burden of women intensifies as globalization amplifies the structures of inequality inherent to the capitalist system. Therefore,

examining the uneven consequences of globalization on women's production, reproduction, and engagement with the environment in light of the gendered division of labor illustrates the structural links between the multiple manifestations of women's exploitation.

Production

Consequences of globalization for women's labor, in the formal and informal sectors of the economy, have been well documented (Antrobus 2004; Garret 2004; Gimenez 2004; UNDP 2003; UNIFEM 2000; World Bank 2005). Following, I review the effects of globalization for women's production: in the formal sector of the economy, in both agricultural and non-agricultural production; in the informal sector of the economy; and as impacted by women's access to education and health.

Women typically earn 78 percent of men's income within employment sectors and earn three-fourths of what men earn across all employment sectors (UNDP 2003; World Bank 2005). Large gender gaps in earnings persist across the world, and women are absent from most high paying jobs. In a number of developing countries, notably in those experiencing rapid economic growth based on export-oriented policies, women's exploited labor is often the means for achieving growth at the expense of adequate remuneration, perpetuating, and at times worsening, gendered inequalities in wages (World Bank 2005). Generally, female-headed enterprises, agricultural or non-agricultural, have less access to credit and other financial resources than enterprises run by men (World Bank 2005).

In the agricultural sector, rural women produce half of the world's total food supply and roughly 60 to 80 percent of the developing world's (World Bank 2005).

Despite the prevalence of women in agriculture, gender disparities in land ownership continue to persist throughout the world as evidenced by the low rates (less than one-third) of female landownership in the Latin American countries of Brazil, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay, and Peru (World Bank 2005). Moreover, patriarchal land rights, found in areas such as sub-Saharan Africa, impede women's access to land, most notably when women are divorced or widowed (World Bank 2005). Women farmers are often overlooked in development programs and are left with limited access to machinery, fertilizers, and information (World Bank 2005).

The most prevalent example of the consequences of globalization for women in non-agricultural sectors of the economy is the concentration of women's labor in export processing zones (EPZs). Free trade, or trade liberalization, is a major component of the structural adjustment policies used by international financial institutions in development programs. Free trade advocates encourage countries to utilize their comparative advantage by exporting the goods that are most conducive to efficient production in that country and importing goods needed for production and consumption that are more efficiently produced elsewhere. As a development strategy, free trade, the argument goes, allows countries to "pull themselves up by their bootstraps" and out of poverty by participating in the global economic system.

The comparative advantage for many developing countries is labor power, particularly women's labor power. Maria Mies (1986) and other socialist feminists maintain that this advantage is due to the "housewifization" of women (p.74). This ideology asserts that all activities performed by women merely augment family income and are thereby not considered work.

By universalizing the housewife ideology and the model of the nuclear family as signs of progress, it is also possible to define all the work women do... as *supplementary work*, her income as *supplementary income* to that of the so-called main 'breadwinner' (Mies 1986:118).

The free trade strategy of export-oriented growth leads to depressed and unequal wages, long working hours, and dangerous working conditions, as priority is given to reducing the costs of production and maximizing profit, at the expense of workers.

In addition to gender disparities in the formal sector of the economy, women also experience gender disparities in the informal areas of the economy. Women provide roughly 70 percent of the time spent on unpaid domestic activities including care for family and community members, subsistence food production, securing water and energy supplies, and household maintenance (UNDP 2003; UNIFEM 2000; World Bank 2005). In 1995, the United Nations Development Programme estimated that global output would increase by US\$16 trillion if unpaid activities were treated as market transactions; women's unpaid labor would comprise approximately US\$11 trillion and men's approximately US\$5 trillion (UNEP 2005).

Further, time-saturated domestic tasks, such as gathering energy and water supplies, limits women's and girls' access to educational opportunities. Although women's access to education has improved somewhat overall, progress has been slow and uneven (UNDP 2003; World Bank 2005). From 1985 to 1997, girls' secondary education rose in a number of countries but continued to decline in 11 of 33 countries in sub-Saharan Africa, 7 of 11 countries in Central and Western Asia, 6 of 26 countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, and 6 of 9 countries in Eastern Europe (World Bank 2003). During 2000, girls comprised approximately 58 percent of the 104 million

children aged 6 to 11 not in school (World Bank 2005). Women comprise two-thirds of the roughly 860 million non-literate individuals (UNDP 2003; World Bank 2005).

Access to education and continued enrollment in school significantly impact women's ability to gain skills necessary for remunerated employment and more equitable participation in society. Women's education is also related to a number of other development indicators such as political participation, child mortality rates, and disease prevention (World Bank 2005).

Women's knowledge of disease prevention is especially salient given the relationship of many communicable diseases with poverty such as, malaria, tuberculosis, and HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS 2004; World Bank 2003). The rapid spread of the HIV/AIDS epidemic has had particularly harmful impacts for the large number of impoverished women throughout the world.

The number of individuals newly infected with HIV increased by roughly 4.8 million in 2003, more than any previous year (UNAIDS 2004). Rates of infection, however, are not the same for females and males; the proportion of females infected with HIV is growing at a faster pace (UNAIDS 2004). Women comprised 41 percent of all people living with HIV in 1997; by 2002, women increased to approximately 50 percent of those infected with HIV (UNAIDS 2004).

The 'feminization' of HIV is most prevalent in areas already stricken by poverty, with extreme consequences for women, families, and communities. Sub-Saharan Africa contains 10 percent of the world's population but almost two-thirds of the world's reported cases of HIV (UNAIDS 2004). Of those two-thirds infected, women comprise 57 percent of all adults, and 75 percent of infected young people are women and girls

(UNAIDS 2004). High prevalence rates of HIV/AIDS for women are not unique to Africa. Rather, there has been an upsurge of women's infection rates throughout North America, Oceania, Latin America, the Caribbean, Eastern Europe, and Central Asia, despite effective prevention strategies (UNAIDS 2004).

Several factors influence the disproportionate rates of HIV infection. First, women's prevalence rates are highest in areas where the predominant means of HIV transmission is through heterosexual sex (UNAIDS 2004). Second, women's physiological characteristics foster a more effective means of heterosexual HIV transmission than do men's (World Bank 2003). Therefore, sexual violence against women by partners, and in areas of intense conflict, increases the risk of HIV infection for women and girls (UNAIDS 2004). Moreover, women lack adequate education about HIV transmission and adequate access to reproductive health services. Social and cultural practices often inhibit women's ability to demand the implementation of proper prevention methods and lead many women to avoid being tested for HIV for fear of social exclusion or physical violence by family members (UNAIDS 2004).

Women bear economic consequences of HIV/AIDS as well. Difficulties of poor households are exacerbated when a member suffers from HIV/AIDS because income levels decrease and larger portions (up to one-third) of household income are spent on medical costs (UNAIDS 2004). A South African study found that 5 percent of HIV/AIDS households were forced to spend less money on food to cover the costs associated with HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS 2004). Likewise, heavily affected countries have seen losses of 1-2 percent in annual economic growth; thus presenting greater challenges

to governments in providing the resources and services necessary for citizen well-being (UNAIDS 2004).

As globalization expands, increasing numbers of people migrate in search of employment, as refugees, or for leisure; the spread of HIV/AIDS coincides with these travel patterns. Research shows a complex relationship between the pandemic and gender (UNAIDS 2004).

With globalization, women increasingly migrate for employment purposes. Consequently, women experience increased exposure to regional HIV prevalence rates, especially when migrating to urban areas. Female sex-workers are extremely vulnerable to HIV infection, most notably in areas where the primary means of transferring the virus is through heterosexual transmission (UNAIDS 2004). Rates of female participation in the sex industry increase as other employment options deteriorate and as the industry expands as a means for attracting tourists (UNAIDS 2004).

Women with male partners who migrate are also at higher risk for contracting HIV. In Cameroon, a study determined that men away from home for more than 31 days throughout the year have HIV prevalence rates of 7.6 percent while rates for men away for less than 31 days fell to 3.4 percent (UNAIDS 2004). Young women in sub-Saharan Africa, and other countries where women take much older male partners, experience increased possibility of HIV infection as older men are more likely to have HIV than younger men (UNAIDS 2004).

Consequences of globalization impacting the relationship between women and HIV/AIDS, e.g., the exacerbation of women's poverty, increased migration of men and women, reduced access to healthcare due to budget cuts and increased user fees, worsens

when coupled with patriarchal social relations. In addition to the sheer numbers of women physically affected by HIV/AIDS, women assume the social costs associated with HIV/AIDS. In sub-Saharan Africa, for example, 90 percent of AIDS care occurs in the home, significantly limiting women's ability to engage in other productive activities such as food subsistence, income generation, securing fuel and water supplies, and educational opportunities - all requirements for improving women's socio-economic position and overcoming oppression (UNAIDS 2004).

Capitalist globalization is premised on a system of social and economic inequality and exploitation made possible through a gendered division of labor. Marx eloquently notes, "one the one hand, it [the division of labor] presents itself historically as a progress and as a necessary phase in the economic development of society, on the other hand, it is a refined and civilized method of exploitation" ([1867] 1978:400).

The gendered division of labor has significant consequences for women's production, including low and unequal wage earnings, inadequate access to land and agricultural resources, insufficient access to education, and a disproportionate burden of domestic tasks, including care-giving for young children, the elderly, and the ill, which impede women's participation in other productive activities.

The exploitation of women through the gendered division of labor extends to areas of reproduction as well.

Reproduction

The United Nations Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), enacted in 1979 and enforced beginning in 1981, is the only UN convention to recognize women's reproductive rights as human

rights (UNDAW 2005). Despite this recognition, women's reproductive rights encounter extreme backlash from escalating religious, cultural, and economic fundamentalisms associated with globalization. Conservative positions advanced by the United States government and by the Vatican at the United Nations 49th Commission on the Status of Women (2005) serve as cases in point. A person-trafficking resolution introduced by the US government proposed the criminalization of prostitution and stricter regulations on labor migration as solutions to person-trafficking rather than addressing the core of the issue, women's socio-economic status (AWID 2005c). Failure to examine why women resort to the sex industry for employment and criminalizing prostitution reinforces the patriarchal structure of capitalist globalization through the social relations of reproduction.

Following, I examine globalization's impacts on women's reproductive health: in working conditions and the environment; in access to healthcare facilities and, subsequently, on child and maternal mortality rates; and in access to contraception and new reproductive technologies (NRTs).

Emphasis on profit in the era of globalization fosters an urgent sense of competition pushing corporations to reduce production expenses by forcing social and environmental costs onto citizens. The Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO), an international women's advocacy organization, reported that many of women's and children's health issues result from poor working conditions and exposure to toxic chemicals (1999). Of the countries surveyed, 82 percent, including the U.S. and nations in Africa, Asia, Europe, and Latin America, stated that significant occupational health hazards, including pesticide exposure, faced women (WEDO 1999).

Moreover, 44 percent of those countries attributed reproductive health disorders to workplace hazards (WEDO 1999).

Consequences of workplace and environmental hazards extend to both women and children (Environmental Health Coalition 1999; WEDO 1999). Air pollution in the Ukraine accounts for approximately 20 percent of all illness affecting women and children (WEDO 1999). Similarly, water pollution in Uzbekistan swells the number of birth defects and complications experienced with pregnancy (WEDO 1999). Pesticide exposure in Central Sudan is responsible for 22 percent of all hospital stillbirths while pesticide residues found in the breast milk of women in Guatemala exceeds 250 times the levels of cow's milk (WEDO 1999). DDT intake via breast milk by Chinese children surpasses maximum international levels by ten times (WEDO 1999).

Poor access to, and quality of, healthcare facilities exacerbates women's reproductive health problems. Increasing user fees in public hospitals and privatization of healthcare services prohibit access to, and quality of, reproductive services with detrimental effects for women and children (WEDO 1999). More and more women in Uganda, Tanzania, Costa Rica and Russia, among others, are unable to afford the costs of pre-and postnatal hospital care and are denied access to gynecologists and emergency obstetric specialists due to budget cutbacks and clinic closures (WEDO 1999). Each year, an estimated 500,000 women die from preventable pregnancy related causes; millions more survive, but often suffer lifelong debilitating injuries (World Bank 2005). Anemia in African and Asian women account for roughly 20 percent and 23 percent, respectively, of maternal deaths (UNEP 2005). Despite the United Nations' Millennium Development Goal calling for a reduction of maternal mortality rates by three-fourths

between 1990 and 2015, maternal mortality rates have shown little improvement since 1990 and only two regions, the Middle East and Northern Africa, are on target to meet this goal (World Bank 2005).

Inadequate access to, and affordability of, contraceptives impede the capabilities of women to make wise and deliberate family planning decisions. Approximately 200 million women in developing nations do not have access to contraception (World Bank 2005). Where available, the cost of contraceptives precludes the possibility of women regularly accessing and implementing contraceptive options. Contraceptives sold at market value in Bulgaria amount to 40 percent of women's average monthly income (WEDO 1999).

Moreover, programs such as the Program for Reproductive Health and Family, and multi-national pharmaceutical companies direct testing of contraceptives such as Norplant, and Depo-Provera, as well as new reproductive technologies toward poor and indigenous women (AWID 2004b). New reproductive technologies are an extension of more traditional techniques but are considered to be both more effective and more invasive (AWID 2004b). NRTs include quinacrine sterilization, a non-surgical and permanent method of sterilization, in vitro fertilization, and pre-implantation genetic diagnosis, a process whereby doctors and patients determine which embryos should be implanted, among others (AWID 2004b).

New reproductive technologies are also characterized by the global nature of their research, development, and marketing. Pharmaceutical companies spend more money on marketing technologies to wealthy women than on research and development of NRTs (AWID 2004b). The multinational pharmaceutical companies primarily headed by elite,

white, men of the West benefit from the blurring of economic boundaries through trade liberalization policies that promote the penetration of NRTs to all reaches of the globe (AWID 2004b). Development of new reproductive technologies focused on profitability, and not on women's needs and health, actually work to hamper women's reproductive rights.

Profit oriented production characteristic of globalization creates a number of work place and environmental hazards that predominate in impoverished areas heavily concentrated by women seeking adequate employment. Reproductive consequences of exposure to workplace and environmental hazards include pregnancy complications, birth defects, stillbirths, and high infant and maternal mortality rates. Budget cuts and hospital privatizations exacerbate problems by hampering access to, and affordability of, healthcare services for women and children. As a result, women in households and communities assume care-taking responsibilities and thus add to their already over-extended workday.

Environment

Examining women's engagement with the environment illustrates the sharp contradiction of modern societies. The gendered division of labor bolsters capital accumulation through the exploitation of women's time, work, and sexuality. At the same time, globalization erodes the base on which it relies, through the super exploitation of women and the environment. Human-induced environmental degradation, intensified through capitalist production practices, and patriarchal relations devaluing women's relationship with the environment undermine the physical and social relations necessary to sustain life.

Generally, men engage in the formal, paid sectors of the economy with women concentrated in more subsistence, domestic, and unremunerated activities. Work in domestic and subsistence activities engenders a close relationship between women and the land, thereby amplifying women's sensitivities to environmental change. Examining women's access to resources and the effect of environmental disasters on women illustrates how the gendered division of labor and capitalist patriarchal relations structure women's reciprocal relationship to the environment.

Patriarchal relations prohibit many women from accessing land despite the concentration of women in food producing activities and despite women's knowledge of local environments and sustainable practices (UNEP 2005; WEDO 2003; World Bank 2005). Men primarily engage in cash crop, heavily mechanized, production for export, and women engage in food production for local consumption (UNEP 2005). As a result, women possess indigenous knowledge focused on more traditional farming practices that emphasize sustainability and biodiversity for local food security. Thus women have different developmental priorities than men (UNEP 2005). For example, men stress building infrastructure, such as roads and electricity in World Bank projects in Morocco, whereas women emphasize clean and potable water supplies (UNEP 2005). Additionally, women in developing countries lead the charge against biotechnology, patenting plant and animal species, and the exploitation of indigenous knowledge led by large corporations (AWID 2004a; UNEP 2005). Short-sighted quests for profit maximization override issues of sustainability and further substantiates patriarchy by devaluing, and at times dismissing, women's knowledge and contributions to subsistence.

Continual resource extraction for capitalist production further complicates the situation facing women and girls. Women and girls are commonly responsible for water and energy supplies necessary for domestic tasks. Increased deforestation for industrialization, mechanized agricultural processes, or ranching make it more difficult for women to meet subsistence, as they must travel further distances for necessary resources. In some rural areas throughout the world, water collection comprises up to 60 percent of women's work time and securing energy supplies becomes increasingly difficult when firewood and charcoal become scarce (UNEP 2005; WEDO 2003). Excessive resource extraction and privatization of natural resources prove detrimental for women in accessing clean, potable water and energy supplies. Women and girls in rural Africa spend approximately three hours per day obtaining water supplies and expend approximately one-third of their daily caloric intake (UNEP 2005). Over the past decade, deforestation in Sudan has led to the quadrupling of women's time spent on collecting fuel (UNEP 2005).

Unclean water supplies escalate the prevalence of water-borne illnesses such as Malaria. Malaria more often affects young children and pregnant women, causing premature births, stillbirths, low-birth weight in children, and severe anemia in women - a significant contributor to maternal mortality in developing countries (UNEP 2005). Inadequate income and diminishing fuel supplies force many women to utilize unclean energy sources as well. According to the World Health Organization, indoor air pollution primarily from burning unclean energy sources for cooking and light ranks as the fourth most pressing health issue facing developing countries; nearly 2 million women and

children in developing countries die each year (UNEP 2005; WEDO 2003; World Bank 2005).

Impoverished women also bear the social and physical brunt of environmental disasters. Quantity and intensity of natural disasters are expected to increase as capitalist production places greater strain on the environment. Significant consequences of human induced environmental damage, such as global warming, will have catastrophic effects on the environment as well as those most susceptible to environmental disasters (Foster 2002).

Environmental disasters often impact poor people more acutely because of inadequate housing structures and lack of resources for addressing the associated consequences (UNEP 2005). Additionally, disparities in available technology restrict poor individuals' knowledge and discretionary time for preparing for, and responding to, approaching environmental disasters (UNEP 2005). For example, fatality rates from a 1991 cyclone in Bangladesh were unevenly dispersed between females and males; fatality rates of 71:1000 for women and 15:1000 for men (UNEP 2005). Experts at the UNEP (2005) cite the use of public warning information systems in an area where cultural stigmas reduce the number of women in public places as a primary cause for disproportionate death rates. Experts also cite disparities between women and men's swimming abilities leading to increased death rates for women.

Globalization has several consequences impacting women's production, reproduction, and engagement with the environment. These consequences work more often to inhibit rather than promote the necessary means for women's survival. As demonstrated by GAD perspectives on development, however, women are not passive

victims but active participants in developmental processes. In the following chapter I examine diverse approaches used by women in overcoming barriers to survival. I then offer vignettes of two contemporary feminist organizations challenging globalization and examine the strengths and weaknesses of these organizations in bringing about a cross-cultural mobilization of women aimed at ameliorating the productive, reproductive, and environmental problems attributable to globalization.

IV. Women Challenging Globalization: A Look At AWID And DAWN

Following, I provide a brief illustration of women's mobilization throughout the world in response to issue-based grievances associated with globalization. I then put forth a more comprehensive frame for addressing women's grievances associated with globalization and discuss how this frame lends support to the possibility of a widespread mobilization of women for social change. I offer brief vignettes of two feminist organizations to illustrate how contemporary feminist movements are working to facilitate the widespread mobilization of women.

Women's roles in the social relations of production, reproduction, and the environment are disproportionately burdened by the historical reality of globalization. Relations of production, reproduction, and engagement with the environment are directly and immediately necessary for survival and the perpetuation of the human species. The social organization symptomatic of capitalist globalization, then, works more often to inhibit than to promote the necessary means of survival for those negatively impacted by globalization.

As a social institution, economies function to provide goods and services for meeting people's needs. It is therefore contradictory that globalization, not only fails to meet the needs of over half of the world's population, but is, in fact, structurally required for the system to operate (Dahms forthcoming). Given the paradox of modern society it is fruitful to examine ways women have sought to ameliorate the consequences of globalization for their production, reproduction, and engagement with the environment.

Doing so illustrates why conditions for many women throughout the world continue to worsen despite their efforts.

Grievance frames for women's mobilization have largely centered on accessing particular resources, whether physical, economic, social, or political to meet their needs. Examples include mobilization of women: to improve wages and working conditions, as in the maquiladoras of Mexico (Repetto 1994); to protect natural resources central to subsistence, as in the Chipko movement of Indian women to protect local forests (Jain 1985); to promote and protect reproductive rights, as in the struggles of U.S.' women to maintain legal abortions (NOW 2005); and for equitable power sharing and decision-making rights, as in recent movements by Iranian and Iraqi women against sex discrimination in government legislation and for recognition of women's civil and political rights (Fathi 2005; Wong 2005).

Women's responses have also extended beyond protest movements, demonstrations, and union organizing to alternative means for securing necessary resources. Women, across thirty-six villages in rural West Bengal, India, established a silkworm cultivation cooperative thereby avoiding the need to migrate to distant urban areas in search of work and gaining greater autonomy and respect within the communities (Singh 1988).

In Tamil, Nadu, the Rural Women's Social and Educational Centre (RUWSEC) provides information and services to advance women and girls' sexual and reproductive health (Petchesky 2002). The center prioritizes democratic decision-making and local participation in providing these services as well as working with women on job skills, literacy, and economic rights and independence (Petchesky 2002).

In a small village in Costa Rica women have organized the *Asociación de Mujeres Activas de Tárcoles* or Association of Active Women of Tárcoles (AMAT) to revive a wavering fishing community, to protect the environment and promote sustainable development, and to improve their position within the community, relative to men (Garrett 2004). Projects include mango canning, a botanical garden and butterfly sanctuary, and a Poppy Maze around local vegetation to build the eco-tourist base of the community (Garrett 2004). The AMAT projects expand local markets and utilize local resources bolstering the economy without degrading the environment (Garrett 2004).

In each of these instances, women have framed their grievance as one of labor, environment, women's rights, or a combination thereof, and sought to ameliorate the immediate situation, making significant gains against large corporations, local governments, and individual violators of women's rights. Despite these efforts, there continues to exist impediments to women's rights in the workplace, in women's access to resources, and in women's health and safety. As such, a transformation in the framing of women's grievances may provide a more fruitful means for addressing the consequences of globalization on women's production, reproduction, and engagement with the environment.

To avoid the shortcomings of issue-based movements, it is necessary to extend beyond single grievances to address the structured inequalities characteristic of modern societies. A comprehensive frame would not ignore the issue-based aspects of other movements; rather, the frame would necessarily incorporate these issues, identifying the commonalities of women's grievances, into an overall analysis of modern societies. In order to unite women of differing material realities throughout the world, it is necessary

to identify the collective nature of women's grievances and to address the social forces responsible for women's exploitation and oppression. Fashioning such a frame provides a foundation for the widespread mobilization of women for social change.

A Comprehensive Frame for Women's Grievances: Targeting Globalization

Gendered consequences of globalization - discrepancies between men and women's access to adequate resources, inadequate access to health and educational services, subordinate and underpaid employment opportunities, disproportionate burdens of environmental degradation, among others - are not isolated instances, but rather symptoms of the same disease. Martha Gimenez illustrates this point by stating:

most women, regardless of differences associated with nationality, religion, culture, race, and so forth, are working women, engaged in tasks of reproduction and production which, while they vary in their form of organization between, and sometimes, within countries, are at the same time subject to the effects of the ups and downs of the capitalist national and world economy...*Their common location in the relations of production and reproduction is a universal, yet historical, material base for their potential mobilization and political organization.* This refers not to women in the abstract, but to working women who...share a common objective interest...their concern for the material well being of themselves and their families (2004:98 my emphasis).

Women's roles within relations of production and reproduction serve as a material base to bring together various issue-oriented grievances and provide a point of collective identification for women (Gimenez 2004). Previous examples of women's mobilization in the maquiladoras of Mexico, in the Chipko movement of India, in the responses of women lacking educational and reproductive services in Tamil Nadu, and in U.S. women's action to maintain abortion rights, all relate to women's subordinate position in a capitalist patriarchal hierarchy.

Women disproportionately endure the negative consequences of globalization due to the feminization of poverty, the gendered division of labor, and women's engagement with the environment. Capitalist accumulation is premised on a system of social and economic inequality and exploitation made possible through a complex division of labor. Moreover, the gendered division of labor and the exploitation of women's time, work, and sexuality are central to capitalist development and surplus accumulation (Antrobus 2004; Biel 2000). The gendered division of labor, based on an ideological assertion of a woman's "natural role," forces women out of the public, productive, and formal spheres of the economy to the private, reproductive, and informal spheres of the economy (Eisenstein 1979; Smith 2005). Eisenstein (1979) argues women's oppression is socially rather than biologically generated and results from women's position within families, marriage, and legal institutions rather than any genetic or physical deficiencies. In addition to profiting from women's exploitation in formal, productive spheres of life, the capitalist patriarchal system profits from the exploitation of women's private and reproductive lives.

Globalization reinforces the structures of inequality in reproduction through women's socially designated role as caregiver and through the numerous social constraints placed on reproduction.

As globalization and market forces trample older notions of social ethics in most countries, it is becoming all too evident that reproductive and sexual rights for women will remain unachievable if they are not connected to a strong campaign for economic justice and an end to poverty" (Petchesky 2002: 74).

Rosalind Petchesky speaks directly to the problems facing many women under capitalist globalization. Women's health and reproductive rights are forced to take a back seat to the bottom line whether in enduring poor working conditions, the erratic use of dangerous chemicals, or in governmental budgetary cuts of social services and privatization. As a result, women's health is under dual attack. Poor working conditions and environmental hazards sabotage preventative measures, or avoidable circumstances, and socially constructed barriers to medical care inhibit subsequent treatment.

Social forces influencing reproduction remove women's control over their bodies and reduce the ability of women to choose the best methods available for meeting their needs and protecting their health. Rather, these decision-making processes are being transferred to male dominated spheres of control such as government, economics, and contemporary health care systems that do not serve women, but profit and power.

Capitalist patriarchal systems benefit from the complimentary and contradictory relations between the political and personal, public and private, production and reproduction, global and local, and theory and practice. In a capitalist patriarchal system the cultivation of the former relations are prioritized at the expense of the latter. The result is an unequal distribution of power and resources, maximizing capital accumulation and male dominance rather than subsistence provisioning and equality for all.

This situation exemplifies what second wave feminists declared "the personal as political" in describing the structured power relations between men and women (Antrobus 2004). The political and economic organization of society require women's grievances be framed in such a way that globalization and the structured inequalities characteristic of a capitalist mode of production are identified as a primary force

responsible for women's exploitation and subordination. Furthermore, recognizing globalization as an underlying factor in women's oppression and subordination supports the possibility for a cross-cultural and widespread mobilization of women for social change. A globalized frame transcends the boundaries of nation, class, race, and culture by employing an analysis leveled at the mode of production and its associated inequalities; thereby challenging the paradoxical nature of modern capitalist societies.

A materialist feminist perspective provides a theoretical stepping-stone for addressing women's exploitation and subordination and advances a frame for social change that focuses on the structured inequalities attributable to capitalist globalization. As opposed to a capitalist mode of production that engenders an inequitable and divisive social organization to maximize profit, a materialist feminist perspective recognizes the complimentary nature of formal and informal social relations in adequately and equitably meeting the needs of all people.

To examine the possibility of women's widespread mobilization for such change, I provide brief vignettes of two feminist organizations focused on issues of social, economic, and gender justice, the Association for Women's Rights in Development and Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era. Examining the origins, structure, strategies, and themes of two contemporary feminist organizations provides insight into the strengths and weaknesses of these organizations in: encompassing an array of women's grievances pertaining to various aspects of life, including but not limited to production, reproduction, and engagement with the environment; in identifying globalization as a responsible agent for women's grievances; in establishing the

collective nature of women's grievances; and in engendering qualitative social change in the paradoxical setting of modern society (Dahms forthcoming).

Organizational Vignettes

AWID and DAWN warrant closer examination given their leadership in the women's movement and respective histories with global development institutions.

Tables A and B provide brief overviews of AWID and DAWN, respectively.

Association for Women's Rights in Development, Toronto, Canada

The Association for Women's Rights in Development is an "international membership organization connecting, informing and mobilizing people and organizations committed to achieving gender equality, sustainable development and women's human rights" (AWID 2005a).

AWID's substantive themes have transformed over the past two decades reflecting the changes in political and economic circumstances as well as the theoretical progression from a WID approach to a more complete GAD approach in feminist development perspectives. Currently, AWID engages five substantive themes providing the framework for research and analysis: Feminist Movements and Organizations, Women's Leadership, Gender Equality and New Technologies, Women's Rights and Economic Change, and Women's Human Rights (AWID 2005a, 2005b).

The 'Feminist Movements and Organizations' and 'Women's Leadership' theme concentrates on capacity building in existing women's organizations by providing theoretical and methodological assistance for developing organizational strength and

Table A. Association for Women's Rights in Development³

When Started:	1982
Where Started:	Washington D.C., United States
Why Started:	Dissatisfaction with current implementation of development policies
Mission:	"AWID's mission is to connect, inform and mobilize people and organizations committed to achieving gender equality, sustainable development and women's human rights."
Organizational Structure:	Executive Director and Secretariat, Toronto Canada; Executive Board geographically diverse; Project Managers of global South
Membership:	4000 members with over 2/3 in global South or Eastern Europe; includes activists, academics, policy-makers, economists, students
Objectives:	Policy, institutional, and individual change to improve the lives of women and girls
Strategies:	Forums and Meetings; Strategic Communications; Themes Themes - Feminist Movements and Organizations - Women's Leadership - Gender Equality and New Technologies - Women's Rights and Economic Change - Women's Human Rights

³ AWID 2002, 2003, 2004a, 2004b, 2004c, 2005a, 2005b

Table B. Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era⁴

When Started:	1984
Where Started:	Bangalore, India
Why Started:	Preparation for UN Conference in Nairobi (1985) marking the end of the UN Decade for Women ('75 - '85)
Organizational Structure:	- Steering Committee - present and immediate past General Coordinators, Regional Coordinators (7), Research Coordinators (3) - Steering Committee is geographically dispersed and meets once a year.
Membership:	Inter-regional organization of feminists and activists with members in Africa, Asia, Latin America, Caribbean, and the Pacific
Mission:	"To provide a forum for feminists from the economic South for research and analysis of the global environment as it affects the livelihood of people. DAWN is particularly concerned to generate processes which can support the mobilisation of women as a powerful force within civil society, to change gender relations, challenge globalisation and transform the state."
Objectives:	Influence mainstream development policy, secure gains made through the UN conferences, work for greater accountability, radical restructuring of international financial institutions, mainstream gender analysis
Strategies:	Global Work: Advocacy through participation in forums and meetings, partnerships with like-minded development agencies, engage civil society and social movements Regional Work: Research and analysis of local situations, Collaboration with local organizations and development NGOs, regional advocacy, and information sharing Substantive Themes: - Political Economy of Globalization - Sexual Reproductive Health and Rights - Political Restructuring and Social Transformations - Sustainable Development and Environmental Justice

⁴ DAWN 2004, 2005a, 2005b; Sen & Grown 1987

pursuing organizational values (AWID 2005a, 2005b). AWID promotes organizational strength and development by: linking related organizations; creating a space, actual and virtual, for dialogue on issues pertinent to women, such as combating HIV/AIDS, religious fundamentalism, and economic inequality; and engendering intergenerational discussion on issues, strategies, and skills necessary in sustaining the movement (AWID 2004c, 2005b).

The 'Gender Equality and New Technologies' theme analyzes the gendered impacts of a range of technological developments. The overall goal of the 'Gender Equality and New Technologies' substantive theme is to ensure that technological development works to promote, rather than inhibit, gender equity. Rather than unconditionally adopting technology that is often presented as benign and beneficial to all, AWID brings awareness to, and engagement in, discussion about technology and its specific consequences for women; thus fostering women's empowerment by providing adequate information for implementing technology in women's lives. AWID researches and examines issues pertaining to unequal access of communication and information technologies necessary for women to gain knowledge and skills for a number of different aspects of life, including education, employment, and health concerns. Additionally, AWID focuses on the consequences of biotechnologies and new reproductive technologies that have a significant and often dramatic affect on the ability of women to obtain and sustain food security as well as maintain control over their bodies (AWID 2004a, 2004b, 2005b).

The 'Women's Rights and Economic Change' theme challenges economic policies leading to the increased feminization of poverty occurring throughout the world.

AWID identifies and critiques neo-liberal economic policies that continually erode women's human rights by impeding access to dignified and respectful employment as well as access to adequate and sustained food, housing, and healthcare (AWID 2003). AWID advocates for economic policies that prioritize the needs and rights of women and the poor over growth and efficiency.

AWID incorporates human rights throughout their analytical framework by cooperating with WHRnet. WHRnet is a women's human rights web-group that merged with AWID in 2003. The purpose of this merger was to base the virtual group of WHRnet into an actually existing organization and to expand the human rights dimension of AWID's analytical framework. The human rights dimension focuses on raising awareness of women's human rights violations, providing information to support human rights advocacy, and influencing and holding countries accountable to existing United Nations and regional human rights systems (AWID 2005b; WHRnet 2005).

Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era, Suva, Fiji

DAWN is an "autonomous inter-regional organisation of the South which advocates alternative development processes that emphasise the basic survival needs of the world's people, particularly Third World women and their children" (DAWN 2004).

DAWN prioritizes the interconnections of research themes for a framework to analyze and critique women's exploited and subordinate social position. DAWN has prioritized this interconnection of research themes since the 1990s (DAWN 2004). The primary goal of interconnecting research themes is to extend the "analysis of women's agency as an emancipatory project requiring the support of global civil society" (DAWN 2004:29). DAWN maintains that extending this analysis increases women's freedom and

undermines gender inequalities that are the basis of economic, religious, political, and cultural ideologies (DAWN 2004). To extend their analysis, DAWN currently engages four substantive themes: Political Economy of Globalization, Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights, Political Restructuring and Social Transformation, and Sustainable Livelihoods and Environmental Justice (DAWN 2004, 2005a, 2005b).

The 'Political Economy of Globalization' theme critiques the predominant economic growth model and analyzes the impacts of economic processes and policies of globalization on poor women of the South (DAWN 2004, 2005b). Additionally, DAWN calls for the radical restructuring of mainstream organizations such as the World Bank, the IMF, the United Nations, and the World Trade Organization and engages with mainstream institutions and developing agencies for the purposes of extending the DAWN analytic framework (DAWN 2005b). DAWN also creates informational programs on economic policies for civil society groups (DAWN 2005b).

The 'Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights' theme provides theoretical development and tactical guidance for organizations currently involved in struggles for reproductive and sexual rights. DAWN considers the main achievement in this area to be the refocusing of the population debate and issues of reproductive health into a broader analytical framework thereby eliminating the compartmentalization of these matters as simply personal 'women's issues' (DAWN 2004, 2005b).

'Political Restructuring and Social Transformation' became a major research theme and priority to the organization in 1998 (DAWN 2005b). The primary objective of this section is the analysis of unequal distributions of power within politics, states, and other arenas of governance. DAWN levels an overall critique of the economic processes

of globalization that continually erode the capability of states to protect and promote the rights and well being of women (DAWN 2005b). Additionally, DAWN provides analysis on the difficulties facing social movements in a global era and provides strategies to social movements and civil society for strengthening their struggles (DAWN 2005b).

The ‘Sustainable Livelihood and Environmental Justice’ theme’s primary work has been preparation for and contributions to the World Summit on Social Development that was held in 2002 (DAWN 2005b). However, DAWN incorporates sustainable livelihoods and environmental justice as necessary conditions for achieving goals contained within the other substantive themes.

AWID and DAWN are diverse organizations that focus on a variety of issues including women’s human rights, reproductive and sexual rights, economic inequality, the environment, social change, and leadership. Furthermore, both across and within AWID and DAWN, varying strategies, from participation in UN conferences to dissemination of regionally specific information, are used in working towards the organization’s respective objectives and goals. I now provide an assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of AWID and DAWN in framing women’s grievances associated with globalization and discuss to what extent AWID and DAWN advance the possibility for a cross-cultural and widespread mobilization of women for qualitative social change.

Assessment of AWID and DAWN

Reviewing the substantive themes of AWID and DAWN illustrates how each organization extends beyond an issue-based means of mobilization to encompass an array

of grievances pertinent to women throughout the world. Both organizations address women's grievances relating to production, reproduction, and engagement with the environment. AWID's substantive themes of 'Gender Equality and New Technologies' and 'Women's Rights and Economic Change' and DAWN's 'Political Economy of Globalization,' 'Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights,' and 'Sustainable Livelihoods and Environmental Justice' themes support this assertion.

AWID and DAWN identify political and economic aspects of globalization responsible for women's exploitation and subordination as well as the need to direct development in accordance with nature. The names and mission statements of the organizations, 'The Association for Women's Rights in Development' and 'Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era' provide some indication of the degree to which the organization prioritizes globalization in their analytical framework.

The Association for *Women's Rights in Development* aligns with a GAD perspective of development, recognizing the gendered impacts of development and even the gendered division of labor. In spite of this, the organization works within a development frame to achieve rights for women and girls without directly challenging the structured inequalities of globalization. AWID reflects this in their mission statement by stating: "AWID's mission is to connect, inform and mobilize people and organizations committed to achieving gender equality, sustainable development and women's human rights" (AWID 2005a). AWID critiques neo-liberal economic policies that prioritize economic growth and efficiency over the rights of women and the poor. However, AWID advocates for a more benign form of development that incorporates gender equity

and women's rights, rather than challenging the structures of capitalist development, and supporting an alternative and more equitable mode of production.

'Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era' signifies the organization's dissatisfaction with the capitalist patriarchal hierarchy and seeks to reformulate development in a way that engenders social justice for women of the South, their families, and their communities. DAWN reflects this by stating that their mission is

[t]o provide a forum for feminists from the economic South for research and analysis of the global environment as it affects the livelihood of people. DAWN is particularly concerned to generate processes which can support the mobilisation of women as a powerful force within civil society, to change gender relations, challenge globalisation and transform the state (DAWN 2005b).

DAWN sharply critiques and identifies globalization as a primary agent responsible for women's inequities. Specifically, the 'Political Economy of Globalization' and 'Political Restructuring and Social Transformation' themes propose a radical restructuring of development institutions and critiques globalization for diminishing the ability of states to provide and protect the rights of citizens to access resources for survival. DAWN also prioritizes the interconnectedness of research themes for a more holistic approach to challenging structures of inequality.

By identifying globalization as a historical reality with detrimental consequences for women throughout the world and by identifying how globalization works generally to inhibit women's rights and wellbeing, AWID and DAWN establish the collective nature of women's grievances. Furthermore, both AWID and DAWN overcome the global/local dichotomy characteristic of traditional movements to establish the collective nature of women's grievances. Member constituencies of AWID and DAWN extend beyond

national borders to include individuals from a number of different countries and cultures. Although AWID proclaims itself as an international organization and DAWN an inter-regional organization, member constituencies of both are *transnational*; that is, membership extends beyond a specific nation. Additionally, both organizations are *international* in focus; issues addressed are components of a larger web of social relations between nations - either directly through unilateral or bilateral treaties or trade agreements or indirectly through multilateral, though not necessarily equal, decision-making bodies such as the United Nations or World Trade Organization.

Organization of global conferences and participation in UN conferences further illustrates AWID and DAWN's recognition of women's grievances as collective in nature. In these contexts, AWID and DAWN advocate on behalf of women throughout the world. AWID advocates for women by stressing participation in forums and meetings and strategic communications to advance their substantive themes and achieve their objectives and goals. Similarly, at the global level DAWN participates in forums and meetings, enters into dialogue with like-minded development institutions, such as AWID, and engages civil society and social movements. By advocating for women throughout the world, these organizations recognize the uneven consequences of globalization for all women engaged in the social relations of production and reproduction.

Although radical in orientation, it appears as if both organizations run into barriers in achieving their goals and objectives within the paradox of modern societies. Policy prescriptions and strategies of both organizations often rely on the United Nations for change despite acknowledgements of the biases within these organizations.

Additionally, the UN and the World Bank have superficially incorporated suggestions and recommendations made by global feminist advocates. As a result, development institutions appear to be incorporating women's rights and perspectives into policies and poverty alleviation plans, legitimating the capitalist patriarchal system, and failing to challenge the structured inequalities of globalization. While there has been some success in advancing the rights of women in development, millions continue to live in poverty and take on the physical and social costs of capitalist development.

AWID and DAWN would be well served to strengthen their focus on local initiatives and practical implementation of their respective theoretical frameworks. AWID and DAWN are heavily involved in advocacy and participation in international conferences and institutions; however, it is at times difficult to see these accomplishments impacting the local realities of women throughout the world. Furthermore, the cultivation of local initiatives and practical implementation of theoretical objectives might prove useful in challenging globalization by providing equitable and democratic alternatives to meeting the needs of women, their families, and their communities. Examples of successful strategies in equitably meeting women's needs and subsistence may enable AWID and DAWN as well as local participants to extend feminist consciousness to other members of their families and communities. A quote from bell hooks illustrates the importance of local initiatives in bringing about a feminist movement for social change.

Our search leads us back to where it all began, to that moment when an individual woman...who may have thought she was all alone, began a feminist uprising, began to name her practice, indeed began to formulate theory from lived experience (qtd. Antrobus 2004:14).

AWID and DAWN contain strengths and weaknesses for challenging the disproportionate consequences of globalization for women and for engendering qualitative social change. By incorporating a number of issues pertinent to women, identifying the collective nature of women's experiences, and recognizing globalization as a responsible agent for women's exploitation and subordination, AWID and DAWN advance a more comprehensive frame for addressing women's grievances. Diverse leadership and member constituencies, global advocacy at UN conferences, and facilitation of communication between individuals and movements, suggest that AWID and DAWN are successful in overcoming national and cultural boundaries that could otherwise serve to undermine objectives and goals. AWID and DAWN draw on women's social position in the relations of production, reproduction, and engagement with the environment to establish the collective nature of women's grievances. In prioritizing a grievance frame oriented toward globalization, AWID and DAWN embrace the diversity of women rather than seeing diversity as an obstacle to mobilization.

Although AWID and DAWN advance a more comprehensive frame by identifying neo-liberal globalization as disproportionately impacting women, disparities continue to exist between the organizations' theoretical objectives and the means used by these organizations to implement these objectives. Strategic disparities include: using the United Nations as a tool for change despite the uneven power distribution within the institution, which often favors wealthy, powerful nations of the North; and calling for the restructuring, rather than the elimination of, international monetary institutions, which prioritize the prosperity of the world market over the prosperity of the world's people. For this reason, it is imperative that further research be conducted to examine why

organizations identifying globalization as a negative social force detrimental to women's wellbeing continue to promote policy prescriptions and strategies that sustain the structured inequalities attributable to capitalist social organization.

V. Women, the Vanguard for Social Change?

Globalization, through the amplification of the structures of inequality inherent to capitalist system, greatly inhibits, the ability of women to meet the basic needs of subsistence under the current mode of production. An examination of the gendered consequences of globalization with particular emphasis on women's production, reproduction, and engagement with the environment advances a clearer understanding of the structured inequalities impacting women's experiences and revealing the flawed and contradictory social foundations of modern, capitalist societies.

A materialist feminist perspective calls for the reframing of women's grievances oriented toward capitalist globalization to identify the systemic and collective nature of women's grievances. Feminist movements, specifically materialist feminist movements stressing the production, reproduction, and sustainability of physical and social relations necessary for survival, contain the possibility of overcoming dichotomous power relations characteristic of capitalist globalization and recognizing the importance of formal and informal relations in meeting the needs of women, their families, and their communities.

Antrobus (2004) rightly claims that women's position within a capitalist patriarchal hierarchy facilitates women's increasing awareness of the links between gender oppression and other manifestations of inequality. Furthermore, women's strategic position in the social relations of production and reproduction and women's socially designated role of caregiver provides a material basis for the political organization of women to challenge globalization (Antrobus 2004; Gimenez 2004).

Challenging the disproportionate impacts of globalization for women requires a feminist movement for social justice exist as a larger movement for global justice.

The proliferation of capitalist markets, cultures, and values and the subsequent worsening of conditions for women throughout the world requires further examination into contemporary feminist movement's theoretical development and strategies. Vast possibilities exist for future research on the complex and adaptive dynamics of women's exploitation and subordination as well as women's responses to their experiences.

Qualitative interviews and in-depth analysis of organizations active in the contemporary feminist movement provide one possibility. Further exploration into AWID and DAWN is called for and WEDO and UNIFEM might also be constructive organizations to explore. Determining how specific organizations delineate globalization and conceptualize social justice may provide greater insight into why movements and organizations advocating for social change fall short in engendering social justice. Further questions to explore include: what elements of transformation are required to achieve social justice? What are the movement's methods and means of meeting or advancing these necessary elements? How is democracy ensured?

To supplement organizational interviews, a content analysis of websites and publications for terms such as globalization, social justice, equity, and democracy may provide insight into ways these organizations challenge or fail to challenge the structured inequalities of globalization. How do publications, websites, interview responses etc, differ from actual strategies being implemented by the movement? More importantly, how do the experiences of women throughout the world reflect the efforts of social movements?

Given the escalating “war on terror” and the rapid social, cultural, environmental, and economic transformations of globalization, it is imperative that contemporary feminist movements respond quickly and sharply to global injustices and emerge as active leaders for qualitative social change. The Association for Women’s Rights in Development and Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era serve as examples of two organizations adopting this challenge and lend support to the possibility of a widespread and cross-cultural movement of women for social change. To adequately challenge globalization and engender qualitative social change, both AWID and DAWN would be well served by a more comprehensive analysis of globalization and modern societies, by greater collaboration with one another, and by critically assessing the alignment of theoretical objectives and organizational strategies.

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