

RESOURCE AND STUDY GUIDE FOR FACULTY AND STUDENTS
TO ACCOMPANY

*GENDER & GLOBALIZATION:
PATTERNS OF WOMEN'S RESISTANCE*

Erica G. Polakoff

Resource and Study Guide for Faculty and Students to Accompany Gender & Globalization: Patterns of Women's Resistance

Erica G. Polakoff

ISBN 978-1-897160-54-1

Copyright © 2011 Erica G. Polakoff

All rights are reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the author.

Cover image: 'Cut' © Stefan Rajewski / www.fotolia.com

Cover and book design by de Sitter Publications

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA CATALOGUING IN PUBLICATION DATA

A catalogue record for this book is available from the Library and Archives Canada.

de Sitter Publications

111 Bell Dr
Whitby, ON, L1N 2T1
CANADA

+ (1) 289-987-0656
www.desitterpublications.com
sales@desitterpublications.com

Contents

Preface: <i>Studying “Gender and Globalization”</i>	5
Introduction: <i>Women’s Resistance to the Violence of Global Capitalist Penetration</i> Erica G. Polakoff.....	9
• Characteristics of Global Capitalist Penetration	
• Colonialism and its Legacies of Violence	
• The Structural Violence of Global Capitalist Penetration	
• The Violence of Patriarchy	
• Women’s Resistance to the Violence of Global Capitalist Penetration	
Part I: <i>Neo-liberal Policies, Migration and Women’s Resistance</i>	21
• Neo-liberal Globalization in the Philippines	
• We’re Better Off Outside Our Country: Diasporic Ecuadorian Women in Spain Since the 1990’s	
Part II: <i>Women’s Resistance and Capitalist Production for Export</i>	25
• Push and Pull Factors in Female Labour Migration: Evidence from Sri Lanka’s Garment Workers	
• Historical Consciousness and Collective Action: Finding Women’s Resistance Where North Meets South	
• Waves of Resistance in the Colombian Flower Industry	
Part III: <i>Alternative Trade Associations and Women’s Resistance</i>	30
• Free Trade, Alternative Trade and Women in Peru: A First Look	
• Women’s Rights and Collective Resistance: The Success Story of Marketplace India	
Part IV: <i>Responses to Poverty: Women’s and Children’s Resistance</i>	33
• Urban Poverty Reborn: A Gender and Generational Analysis	
• Challenging Traditional Female Roles Through Social Participation: Tensions	

in Women's Experiences in Argentina's
Picketing Movements

- The Feminization of Poverty in Post-Apartheid South Africa: A Story Told by the Women of Bayview, Chatsworth
- Global Capitalist Penetration, Child Labor and Children's Collective Resistance in Defense of Their Rights

Conclusion: *Women and Neoliberal Globalization: Inequities and Resistance* 40

Appendix: *Informed Consent Form* 45

PREFACE

STUDYING “GENDER AND GLOBALIZATION”

We live in a complex, interconnected world where rapid change is driven by networks of money, power and technology.¹ It is a world in which a few million people have become multi-millionaires at the expense of many hundreds of millions who have been marginalized and excluded from access to the basic resources they need to survive—land, food, water, housing, education and health care. Inequalities between those who have power and resources and those who do not, are based on “differences,” particularly in skin color, ethnicity, gender, social class, and geography, and are structured into the fabric of everyday life. Discriminatory processes (policies, laws, and practices) systematically imposed upon people everywhere, especially during times of crisis (both natural and man-made), have exacerbated differences between the “haves” and the “have-nots.” These processes together constitute what has been referred to as economic, neoliberal or corporate “globalization” or what this text introduces as “global capitalist penetration.”

Because women are the primary caretakers worldwide, they bear the burden of poverty, hunger, ill health, homelessness, poor education and unemployment—all consequences of the discriminatory processes of global capitalist penetration. *Gender and Globalization: Patterns of Women’s Resistance* raises our awareness and increases our knowledge about the global forces driving contemporary social, economic and political life that create, maintain and/or exacerbate global inequalities. Through concrete country-specific examples, the text helps us make sense of the complexities of, and interactions between, the institutions, policies and practices involved in global capitalist penetration. The authors of the essays in the text go beyond analyzing the impact of these forces on the lives and livelihoods of women and their families; they emphasize the strategies that women have devised in order to defend themselves and their families. Thus, the text helps us to understand that social justice is possible through collective action.

This resource and study guide is intended for use by faculty, graduate and advanced undergraduate students. The guide includes suggestions related to the content of the text itself—the themes, concepts, theories, processes, strategies of resistance and outcomes. It focuses on critical thinking skills by posing questions for discussion about the essays in the text, provides recommendations

for additional reading, and offers suggestions regarding relevant documentary films, feature films and possible research projects. It includes a number of films because visual representations help all of us to understand processes that are as interconnected and complex as these, especially in regions of the world with which we may not be familiar. A powerful documentary or “authentic” feature film can provide us with the opportunity to see what often is absent in the mainstream media.² The guide offers additional information about activist organizations that are struggling to counter the negative impact of global capitalist penetration. Finally, it offers suggestions regarding the process of conducting research, particularly on the topics discussed in the essays throughout the text, and ways to enhance research and study skills. *Please note that the resources suggested throughout this guide are not intended to be exhaustive of the possibilities but rather to provide students and faculty with a starting point from which to begin further research. The overwhelming majority of sources listed are ones I have actually used successfully in teaching the senior thesis research seminar required of our Sociology majors.*

Scholarship and Critical Thinking:

A Note on the Nature of Knowledge and Knowledge Creation

An essential skill for any student scholar to acquire is the art of critical thinking. With an ever-increasing quantity of information readily available to us, it is especially important to raise questions about the interests that are represented, the kinds of data we are relying on, the ways in which those data were obtained and the ways in which they are presented. It is important that we pay attention to the sources we are using, especially regarding their reliability and validity. Of course, what counts as valid may depend on a person's political or ideological orientation and way of seeing the world.

For example, many scholars may rely on World Bank data on poverty without questioning whether the World Bank has an interest in presenting a particular picture of poverty. It is important to recognize that the World Bank's interests, for example, are represented in the way the research it sponsors is designed, and the way the conclusions are presented. Of course, this does not mean that we should dismiss, out of hand, World Bank data. It does, however, mean that whenever possible, we should have an understanding of the underlying interests that motivate the research in question. We should know something about the goals, objectives, mission, etc. of the organization, agency or institution sponsoring research and about

the individuals conducting it. Feminist researchers and scholars tend to state more openly what their goals and perspectives are. On the other hand, institutions like the World Bank tend to claim that the research they sponsor is “objective,” nonetheless, their goals, agenda and perspectives do exist but they may not be stated openly. Thus, as part of every library and internet research project, we should conduct background research on the providers of the information we are relying on. That is, regardless of who is sponsoring the research or who is actually carrying it out, we should ask critical questions about goals, motivations, ideological perspectives, and basic assumptions of the authors of the research. (I often ask students to include in their methodology section, a summary of their research on each of the major contributors to the information they are presenting in their research papers.)

We should also pay attention to the definitions being used—whether they are stated openly or assumed by the author of the research—for the principal concepts, factors, indicators, or variables used in the research. We should question whether the way in which the concepts or variables are determined, assessed or measured is consistent with their definitions. So, with regard to the concept of poverty, for example, we might ask the following kinds of questions: How is poverty defined? What counts as poverty? What kinds of assumptions are being made with regard to the definition? What kinds of factors are left out? Has the calculation of poverty changed over time? Related kinds of inquiry may lead us to look at the price of the “basic food basket” that is, how much it costs a family to provide a basic, nutritional diet for its members. And look at that alongside how much they earn. Other questions might be about other related concepts like employment and unemployment: How exactly is employment or unemployment defined? How is work defined? What counts as work? Is unpaid labor included in the definition of work? If the subject under scrutiny and investigation has to do with violence, we should ask, how is violence defined? What counts as violence? What are some of the obstacles to obtaining accurate information about domestic violence, for example? If the subject is health and illness, we might inquire about the obstacles to collecting accurate information on health and illness. What are some of the obstacles to collecting accurate information about the incidence of HIV/AIDS in a particular region or country, for example? Thus, it is good practice to make note of the author’s definitions of the principal concepts and to ensure that the concepts are “operationalized” accordingly.

It is also good practice to ensure that what is written in the abstract and the conclusions are actually borne out throughout the text and in the research presented. That is, short-cut methods sometimes used when pressed for time might include reading the abstract and the conclusions of an article and then using that information as objective “fact” in one’s own research paper, when the conclusions actually may not be consistent with the data reported in the body of the article consulted. It is good practice to examine many different reliable sources of information about the same topic and to come to one’s own conclusions. Knowledge, after all, is made; it does not materialize out of thin air.

INTRODUCTION
WOMEN'S RESISTANCE TO THE VIOLENCE OF
GLOBAL CAPITALIST PENETRATION

(Erica G Polakoff)

The introduction, “Women’s Resistance to the Violence of Global Capitalist Penetration,” not only describes each chapter and the themes that are highlighted in each section of the book, but also introduces the major concepts and theoretical standpoints that are critical to the scope of the book in its entirety. The brevity of the introduction is deceptive—it condenses a lot of material in a few pages, assuming a fairly sophisticated knowledge base. Undergraduate students, even advanced undergraduates, may find it useful to discuss the issues and concepts over several classes and rely on additional sources to provide the background necessary to launch into the rest of the book and to lay the groundwork for their own research. My purpose here is to provide some suggestions on how to accomplish these two goals. I outline each of the conceptual threads comprising the introduction and offer suggestions regarding essential background reading and films. I include a set of discussion and study questions about the introduction. Then I propose a system for reading and studying each article emphasizing the skills needed to conduct library/internet research, in preparation for writing a research paper.

The first section of the introduction provides an overview of the problems associated with the global economic, political and social processes that are the subject of the book, that is, what has been referred to as “globalization” (corporate, economic, neoliberal) and which I describe as “global capitalist penetration.” In this first section, I map the terminology used to describe these processes. It is worthwhile to discuss the implications of each of the different terms and to come up with alternatives. Consideration of “global apartheid” should include the short essay by Booker and Minter, “Global Apartheid: AIDS and Murder By Patent” (which is cited in the references section at the end of the introductory chapter). Booker and Minter’s article is an important resource because in just a few short pages, it names many of the main “actors” responsible for exacerbating global inequalities. It also demonstrates the ways in which, for the purveyors of global capitalism, increasing profit has taken precedence over, and is valued more than saving human lives. Moreover, in the very first sentence, the authors allude to the fact that collective action can and does have an impact on policy and that global capitalist penetration is not inevitable.

The second section identifies the “Characteristics of Global Capitalist Penetration,” or what the International Forum on Globalization refers to as “key characteristics of economic globalization.” I recommend discussing each of the eight characteristics identified by the IFG, and researching concrete examples of each. (Note: the IFG is a North-South alliance of researchers, educators and activists promoting “equitable, democratic, and ecologically sustainable economies.”) The principal background reading for this section would, of course, be the IFG’s monograph, *Alternatives to Economic Globalization* (San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler, 2002), in whole or in part, which does provide numerous examples (see also: <http://www.ifg.org>), as does Chossudovsky’s, *The Globalization of Poverty and the New World Order*, 2nd edition (Pincourt, Québec: Centre for Global Research, 2003). For a good overview of the origins and objectives of the IMF, World Bank and World Trade Organization, see: Richard Peet’s *Unholy Trinity: The IMF, World Bank and WTO*, 2nd edition (London: Zed Books, 2009). Moreover, I recommend that students skim the abstracts and chapters of *Gender and Globalization* for specific examples of these key characteristics as well as for evidence regarding the imposition of structural adjustment policies of the IMF and World Bank, and to make note of these as a prelude to reading about them more closely later on.

For background on “free trade,” the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), see Claudio Katz’s article, “Free Trade Area of the Americas: NAFTA Marches South” [*NACLA: Report of the Americas* XXXV (4): 27-31.] Researching the origins and implementation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) is worthwhile. Another good source specifically on the impact of NAFTA is David Bacon’s *The Children of NAFTA: Labor Wars on the U.S./Mexico Border* (University of California Press, 2004). On the concept of free trade, generally, the privatization of public services and institutions, and other aspects of neoliberal policy, I recommend the early chapters of Naomi Klein’s, *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism* (NY: Metropolitan Books, 2007).

An excellent film for providing a visual, concrete example of many of the characteristics outlined by the IFG is Stephanie Black’s documentary, “Life and Debt” (2001), which demonstrates the impact of World Bank’s and IMF’s structural adjustment policies on the Jamaican economy. The film shows us very clearly how

countries like Jamaica, that are rich in natural and human resources and self-sufficient in the production of many goods for the domestic market, become beholden to, and exploited by, international financial institutions and corporations. As the government of Jamaica is increasingly compelled to reorient its economy toward the global market, the country is turned inside out, and poverty increases dramatically. The interviews with Jamaican farmers and with former Prime Minister, Michael Manley, are compelling, as are the contrasts between rich and poor. In addition, Black provides film footage that allows us to actually witness the destruction of the Jamaican economy.

The central role of transnational corporations as defined by the IFG and discussed in the introduction are further elucidated in Joel Bakan's book, *The Corporation: The Pathological Pursuit of Profit and Power* (NY: Simon and Schuster, 2004), and the film based on the book, "The Corporation" (2004) produced by Mark Achbar and Jennifer Abbott. Students should be familiar with the 1886 U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Santa Clara County v. Southern Pacific Railroad* (118 U.S. 394), which granted corporations the rights of personhood guaranteed under the 14th Amendment to the Constitution.

Regarding the relationship between world hunger and agribusiness or "for profit" agriculture, I recommend Robert Richter's early film, "Hungry for Profit" (1985). Richter demonstrates how transnational corporations involved in the business of producing food for export, have exacerbated world hunger. The film uses examples from several regions throughout the world including: the Philippines, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Kenya, the Sahel region in Africa, Brazil and Mexico. Deborah Koons Garcia's film, "The Future of Food" (2005), provides a chilling exposé of the role of transnational corporations in the patenting (and hence ownership) of seed lines, leading to the impoverishment of farmers worldwide. Another Richter film called "The Moneylenders" (2000), examines the impact of the structural adjustment policies of the IMF and World Bank on Bolivia, Ghana, Brazil, the Philippines, and Thailand.

The third section of the introduction very briefly discusses "Colonialism and its Legacies of Violence." As is the case with the other sections of the introduction, a whole course could be devoted to this topic. In order to grasp contemporary global inequalities, it is really important to understand that their foundations were forged during colonialism. There are many excellent books on the subject. Among the key sources referred to in this section are Memmi's analysis of

racism in *Dominated Man* (I would also recommend his work, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*), Rodney's, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Galeano's, *Open Veins of Latin America*, and Étienne and Leacock's, *Women and Colonization*. Also, several chapters in M. Jacqui Alexander and Chandra Talpade Mohanty's edited volume, *Feminist Genealogies, Colonial Legacies and Democratic Futures*, are particularly relevant including Maria Anna Jaime Guerrero's chapter, "Civil Rights versus Sovereignty: Native American Women in Life and Land Struggles," which provides a brief but excellent analysis of the conflicts between the United States and Native peoples regarding the centrality of land, the importance of sovereignty and the struggles of Native women to defend both. M. Jacqui Alexander's chapter in the same volume, "Erotic Autonomy as a Politics of Decolonization: An Anatomy of Feminist and State Practice in the Bahamas Tourist Economy," is an example of "heteropatriarchal recolonization" and the "renativization" of Bahamian women. Alexander examines the ways in which patterns of relationships between colonizer and colonized are reinvented by the State, in conjunction with global forces and interests, in contemporary intersections of tourism, imperialism and heterosexism.

A number of outstanding feature films deal effectively with the conditions imposed by the colonizers, their destruction of land and indigenous communities, and their undermining of native belief systems and cultures. One of the most powerful is Roland Joffe's feature film, "The Mission" (1986). The racism that justifies slavery and drives the accumulation of land and capital, and the role of Christianity in subordinating the life-worlds and hence the lives of the indigenous people of South America, that are depicted in this film, make an indelible impression and, I believe, are matched cinematically only in Phillip Noyce's film, "Rabbit-Proof Fence" (2002). Noyce's film, which is based on the book by Doris Pilkington Garimara called *The Stolen Generations*, examines the colonial treatment of Australian aborigines and, in particular, the Australian government's policy of forcibly removing from their families, children whom the government referred to as "half-breeds." This was, in fact, the Australian government's policy until 1970. Moreover, it was not until 2008 that the Australian government actually acknowledged its mistreatment of the Aborigines. (Note: Prime Minister of Australia, Kevin Rudd's apology delivered before Parliament can be viewed on You-Tube. It would also be interesting to follow the aftermath of the apology and the controversy surrounding it and the events to which that apology refers, as they

reappear in the press periodically—for example, at the International Indigenous Women’s conference in August 2010.)

I recommend that students watch both films in their entirety, outside of class, especially the footage on how each film was made, and then view excerpts in class. It is significant to note that in both films, indigenous peoples who were not professional actors played the roles of their ancestors (or people to whom they were closely related). Discussing the impact of their participation in the film on their own lives and on the other members of their communities, is warranted. Questions regarding cultural conflicts, cultural encounters and forces bringing about cultural change are certain to emerge.

The fourth section of the introduction defines “structural violence” and explains the “structural violence of global capitalist penetration.” Especially useful background readings are Galtung’s essays on structural and cultural violence, and Farmer’s book, *Pathologies of Power*. Farmer provides concrete, country-specific examples of structural violence by examining the health status of the poor especially in Haiti (among other countries). Here I would recommend that students read the introductory chapters focusing on Haiti and watch several documentary films on Haiti including, “Bitter Cane” (1983) and Jonathan Demme’s films, “Haiti: Killing the Dream” (1992), and “The Agronomist” (2004). In addition, an excellent, short film about structural violence, “Genocide By Sanctions” (1998), examines the U.S. policy of economic embargo and its impact on the Iraqi people during the years preceding the U.S.’s official declaration of war against Iraq. The film follows former U.S. Attorney General, Ramsey Clark, who witnessed and documented the devastation, poverty, starvation, illness and the death of over half a million Iraqi children from 1991 to 1997, as a result of the embargo.

The fifth thread introduces the “Violence of Patriarchy.” Patriarchy has been written about extensively, for example, Maria Mies’ *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale: Women in the International Division of Labour* (1999), Gerda Lerner’s *The Creation of Patriarchy* (1987), and works by Zillah Eisenstein and Hester Eisenstein. With regard to the violence of patriarchy, perhaps one of the best analyses of contemporary cases of violence against women is the World Health Organization’s July 1997 report, “Violence Against Women,” referred to in the text of the introduction. The report begins by defining violence against women, and thus provides another good example of the importance of defining one’s principal concepts even if the individual elements of the concepts are

presumed to be commonly known and well understood. The report then examines the forms of violence against women that are prevalent at different stages in women's life cycle. A more recent report, "WHO Multi-country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence Against Women," a study of ten countries, is available online at the World Health Organization (WHO) website: http://www.who.int/gender/documents/women_and_girls/9241593512/en/print.html. Researching the *NY Times* archives for recent examples of the kinds of violence discussed in the WHO report is recommended. I also recommend Martha Fineman's edited volume, *The Public Nature of Private Violence: The Discovery of Domestic Abuse* (London: Routledge, 1994). Finally, students should preview the chapters in *Gender and Globalization* for a sense of the forms of male dominance and kinds of violence women endure, which are discussed in the text.

Though often painful to watch, there are many excellent documentary films that deal with patriarchy and violence against women. Foremost among these are: Ayfer Ergun's "Against My Will" (2004), which is filmed primarily at a women's shelter in Lahore, Pakistan, and focuses on "honor killings"; Lourdes Portillo's "Señorita Extraviada: Missing Young Woman" (2001) about the hundreds of young women murdered in Ciudad Juárez across the border from El Paso, Texas; Kim Longinotto's "The Day I Will Never Forget" (2002), about the practice of FGM or female genital mutilation (also referred to as "female circumcision"), by Somalians living in Kenya and among some indigenous Kenyan cultural groups (the Kikuyu, for example). The necessity of the complicity of women that is alluded to in the Introduction, is evident in all three films, but especially in the latter. In addition, it is important to note the very strong evidence of women's resistance, especially in "Against My Will" and "The Day I Will Never Forget," and to discuss these in class. There have been a number of recent articles in the *NY Times* about these incidents, which would be helpful to have on hand.

The pervasiveness of violence against women is sometimes difficult for us to comprehend and acknowledge. One cautionary note about showing films about violence in other cultures is that it can lead to denial of its existence in the United States (or Canada). Thus, it would be important to discuss statistics regarding domestic violence and sexual assault here, for example, along with evidence of patriarchy and violence against women elsewhere.

It is also important to note that in addition to physical violence there is violence in representation. The power and gendering of representation are addressed in Jean Kilbourne's short

documentaries on the representation of women in advertising, a series of films beginning with “Killing Us Softly” and “Still Killing Us Softly,” and in “Tough Guise: Violence, Media and the Crisis in Masculinity” (1999), a film by Jackson Katz and directed by Sut Jhally, which examines the representation of men in the media. And, of course, one merely has to turn on American television any night of the week to witness the regularity of stories involving incidents of the rape and battery of women.

It might also be helpful to include evidence of other manifestations of male dominance and structural violence and their impact on women. For example, in the United States, the struggle for women’s right to vote did not end when the 19th Amendment was ratified in 1920, but rather continued for decades. According to a *New York Times* op-ed piece by historian Christine Stansell, “A Forgotten Fight for Suffrage,” Mississippi did not sign on to women’s right to vote until 1984 (*NYT*, August 24, 2010). Thus, in addition to statistics on physical violence and representations of physical violence, differences in education levels, income levels, occupational segregation, civil rights and the gendering of wealth and of poverty, are all worth discussing.

The sixth thread of the introduction, “Women’s Resistance to the Violence of Global Capitalist Penetration,” focuses on the concept of “resistance” and integrates all of the preceding concepts and theoretical building blocks in anticipation of the individual sections and chapters of the book. For background reading on the concept of resistance, I recommend Bettina Aptheker’s chapter on resistance in her book *Tapestries of Life: Women’s Work, Women’s Consciousness and the Meaning of Daily Experience*. There is however, an important difference in the kind of resistance that Aptheker emphasizes and the kind of resistance that we emphasize throughout our book. Aptheker primarily focuses on individual resistance for individual survival, while we focus on the **power of collective resistance to bring about social change**. Nonetheless, Aptheker provides a good overview of the concept and this chapter serves as a counterpoint to our main discussion. A reading of Aptheker’s chapter along with our book should make it clear that both individual and collective resistances are necessary, and as a number of our contributors demonstrate, they frequently occur side-by-side. Saskia Wieringa’s edited volume, *Subversive Women: Women’s Movements in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean* (London: Zed Books, 1997) is a valuable resource on women’s resistance worldwide. (Note: I reserve

discussion of films on women's resistance to global capitalist penetration for the specific chapters of the text.)

A discussion of the concept of “intersectionality”—the diverse ways in which global and local forces manifest themselves and their differential impact on people and place based on particular intersections of race, class, gender and geography, would also help readers to anticipate the rest of the chapters in the book.

Questions for Study and Discussion

1. Explain the meaning of global capitalist penetration. What is the basis of Polakoff's argument that this term is more accurate than the others to describe the global processes that are the subject of this book?
2. Explain the meaning of each of the key characteristics of “economic globalization” and provide examples of each.
3. Which institutions are the key purveyors of global capitalist penetration? Explain the processes through which they operate.
4. What is the role of the governments in global capitalist penetration?
5. Research the history and objectives of the IMF, World Bank and WTO. Familiarize yourself with their websites (<http://www.worldbank.org>; <http://www.imf.org>; and <http://www.wto.org>); in particular, read their mission and objectives. Note that World Bank data on poverty are frequently cited in academic studies of poverty. What might be some consequences of this practice?
6. Explain the meaning of “free trade.” Research some of the consequences of NAFTA for the Mexican economy and society.
7. Explain what is meant by the “legacies of colonialism.” What are some of the legacies of colonialism? Research the colonial history of any of the countries highlighted in this book. Save your research for later discussions of contemporary conditions in that country.
8. Discuss relationships between racism, sexism and colonialism.
9. Explain the meaning of structural violence. In what ways can the processes and requirements of structural adjustment be viewed as forms of structural violence? Explain relationships between patriarchy and structural violence.
10. What are the ways in which patriarchy is manifested in the United States today?
11. What is the meaning and significance of women's resistance? Why does this book focus on women's resistance?

12. Why would you expect diversity in women's resistance to global capitalist penetration? What kinds of factors contribute to this diversity?
13. What are the themes around which the book is organized?

Reading, Study and Research Skills

1. For the background readings associated with the introduction, and for the rest of the essays in the book, the following process is recommended. (Note: The Booker and Minter essay is used here as an example.)
 - In preparation of reading the essay, first scan the essay in its entirety, taking note of its length and its organization. Make note of headings and subheadings (usually in bold) that provide structure throughout the essay. (If there are no subheadings present as is the case in many short essays like this one, take note of the subjects of each paragraph.)
 - Note the title and speculate on its meaning.
 - Then read the essay and write down the key concepts mentioned throughout the essay. (I define a key concept as one with which we need to be familiar in order to fully understand the meaning of an author's work.)
 - Identify Booker and Minter's thesis, using the correct citation form for quoting it exactly and for paraphrasing it.
 - What evidence do the authors provide in support of their thesis?
 - Come up with a list in bullet form, of Booker and Minter's major points. These should be brief but sufficiently detailed for presenting the essay orally.
 - Compare the results of a google scholar search and a google search using combinations of the key concepts.
 - Search within the IMF, World Bank and WTO websites for country-specific data at: <http://www.worldbank.org>; <http://www.imf.org>; and <http://www.wto.org>. In this case, search for background information on the South African economy.
 - Explore the United Nations websites and publications. The UN provides country profiles. In addition, UN research reports published by specific United Nations agencies may be useful. A few of these agencies include: Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA); United Nations

Development Programme (UNDP); United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF); United Nations Public Administration Network (UNPAN); UN Women (UN Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women) and WomenWatch (<http://www.un.org/womenwatch>); United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC); HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS); Human Settlements (UN-Habitat); Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC); Trade and Development (UNCTAD); United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP)

- Based on the abstracts provided and the descriptions of the sources, identify the 3 or 4 most relevant articles and documents (using each search engine), for contextualizing the essay by Booker and Minter. Create a personal bibliography page of these sources, using correct citation form.

Suppose we highlighted the following key concepts: Big Pharma, HIV/AIDS, drug patents, World Trade Organization, South Africa, apartheid, human rights, United Nations. We would note how the addition, subtraction or substitution of a concept changes the nature of the search. We would note differences between sources—scholarly books and journal articles, documents published by research organizations and institutes, and others. We would consider issues of reliability and validity, looking closely at the authors of the sources and their affiliations. We would also note which sources are available in our library and in libraries nearby (which is an option in GoogleScholar).

Comparisons of GoogleScholar, Google and NY Times searches using the key words: “HIV/AIDS, drug patents, South Africa, WTO, Pharmaceutical,” result in the following:

Google Scholar. 2,340 scholarly sources including: Attaran, A., and Gillespie-White, L. (2001). “Do patents for antiretroviral drugs constrain access to AIDS treatment in Africa? *JAMA* 286 (15):1886-1892; Ataran, A. (2004). “How do Patents and Economic Policies Affect Access to Essential Medicines in Developing Countries?” *Health Affairs* 23 (3): 155-166; Park, R.S. (2002). “The International Drug Industry: What Future Holds for South Africa's HIV/AIDS Patients? *Minnesota Journal of Global Trade* 11:125-; Bass, N.A. (2002) “Implications of the TRIPS Agreement for Developing Countries: Pharmaceutical Patent Laws in Brazil

and South Africa in the 21st Century.” *George Washington International Law Review* 34: 191.

Google: 25,500 sources including documents by organizations, news agencies, etc. including, for example: Mutume, G. (2001). “Health and ‘Intellectual Property’: Poor Nations and Drug Firms Tussle over WTO Patent Provisions.” *Africa Recovery* 15 (1-2).

NY Times: 658 sources including: Birdsall, N. et al. (2005). “How to Help Poor Countries” (reprinted from July/August 2005 issue of *Foreign Affairs*).

Newspapers and general Google searches are good sources to use in order to find a topic to research, to get a sense of the degree to which issues have been addressed in the media, to obtain background information about a topic, or to get a quick overview of related issues. GoogleScholar provides scholarly sources once you have identified your research topic.

2. Before reading each chapter, review its description in the introduction. Also read the author’s abstract and consider the meaning of the title of each essay. Write down brief notes on what you expect to find in the chapter.
3. As you read each chapter, prepare an outline of its major points. Include enough information to enable you to give an oral presentation of the chapter. For example, an outline of the introduction, “Women’s Resistance to the Violence of Global Capitalist Penetration” would begin with what appears in the Table of Contents to this study and research guide, and then expanded with brief but sufficient detail.
4. Research the colonial history of the specific countries discussed in each chapter. What are the legacies of colonialism? For colonial and more contemporary histories of specific countries and for an overview of the economy, and of the political, social, and cultural environment and ecology of specific countries, consult <http://countrystudies.us/> then add the specific country at the end. This is information on each country housed in the United States Library of Congress.
5. As you read each chapter, note the forms of women’s resistance discussed by each author. What are similarities and differences in the patterns of women’s resistance in the different countries

and regions discussed?

6. Finally, look through the references section after each chapter and make note of sources that may be relevant to your own research interests.

PART I

NEO-LIBERAL POLICIES, MIGRATION AND WOMEN'S RESISTANCE

- “Neo-liberal Globalization in the Philippines”
- “‘We’re Better Off Outside Our Country’: Diasporic Ecuadorian Women in Spain Since the 1990’s”

As discussed in the Introduction to the text, Part I focuses on specific neoliberal policies—trade liberalization, deregulation, privatization, finance capitalism, labor flexibilization and labor export. While a number of other authors in their essays also highlight these policies and their consequences, the two essays in Part I both look at the link between neoliberalism, increased poverty and the labor migration of women.

Additional Resources

Films: The segment on the Philippines in Robert Richter’s, “The Moneylenders” (2000), deals specifically with international financial institutions—the IMF and World Bank—and the impact of their policies on the Philippines. “Life on the Tracks” (2002) is an excellent and sensitively filmed documentary by Ditsi Carolino about a poor Philippine family, the Renomerons, and their neighbors, who live alongside the train tracks in Manila.

Anayansi Prado’s documentary “Maid in America” (2004) focuses on Latina immigrants to the United States who work as nannies and housekeepers caring for the children of North American families in Los Angeles, California. While it is neither about Ecuadorian women migrants to Spain, nor about Philippine women migrants, the film raises important feminist issues regarding housework, women’s work and the global transfer of services, raised in both chapters in Part I.

Aaron Gwin Wolf’s, “Dying to Leave” (2003) is a two-hour video that deals with human trafficking and the risks taken by “undocumented” emigrants who leave their homeland and migrate to other countries in their struggle to survive. Note that the film deals specifically with “illicit” or undocumented migration, while the two articles deal with both “legal” (and, not infrequently, government supported or sponsored) and undocumented migration. In spite of

the fact that neither the Philippines nor Ecuador are featured in the film, it still powerfully demonstrates how desperate the conditions are at home that make emigrating the only viable and realistic solution for so many families. (For more information, see: <http://www.pbs.org/wnet/wideangle/episodes/dying-to-leave/video-full-episode/1126/>). There is also a one-hour version of the film.

I recommend showing and discussing the two and a half minute video on YouTube referred to in Cuesta's introduction, of the attack on a young Ecuadorian woman by a Spanish man on the Barcelona train. (See: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LG1SZFSwjmQ&feature=related>.)

Study and Discussion Questions

1. What is Lindio-McGovern's thesis and what evidence does she provide to support it?
2. Explain the meaning of "neoliberal globalization."
3. Which institutions are the main proponents of neoliberal globalization? Whose interests do they serve?
4. Discuss the impact of the neoliberal policies imposed upon and implemented by the Philippine government, on the Philippine economy and society.
5. Research the colonial history of the Philippines. What are some of the important legacies of colonialism in the Philippines?
6. Research the history of the IMF, World Bank and WTO in the Philippines. See for example, U.S. Library of Congress country studies for the Philippines at: <http://www.country-data.com/cgi-bin/query/r-10471.html>. You can also find this information at: <http://countrystudies.us/philippines>. And, search within the IMF, World Bank and WTO websites for country-specific data.
7. Explore the United Nations documents about the Philippines. For example, a 1997 publication, "The Philippines: Globalization and Migration" written by Anny M Hefti is relevant background information related to Lindio-McGovern's essay, and is available at the United Nations Public Administration Network (UNPAN)'s website.
8. In what ways does the Philippine government support the export of Philippine labor?
9. In what ways have women's lives and their ability to survive and provide for their families' well-being been compromised by these policies?
10. In what ways have women in the Philippines responded to and resisted these policies?

11. In Esther Cuesta's chapter on women migrants from Ecuador to Spain, she discusses the economic crisis and living conditions in Ecuador. Briefly outline these. What factors have contributed to the crisis? Why are women so desperate to leave Ecuador?
12. Research the colonial history of Ecuador. What are some of important legacies of Ecuador's colonial past?
13. Research the roles of the IMF, World Bank and WTO in Ecuador.
14. Discuss how Ecuador with its wealth of natural resources, can become so impoverished.
15. Research the impact of Ecuador's economic crisis on its indigenous people and the environment. What forms of resistance have indigenous peoples in Ecuador engaged in?
16. In what ways does the Ecuadorian government support the migration of women to Spain?
17. What are conditions like in Spain for many Ecuadorian women migrants?
18. According to Cuesta, what is the impact of Ecuadorian women migrating to other countries on the family members left behind?
19. Why does Cuesta emphasize the role of the media and representation in the migration experiences of women from Ecuador?
20. Research the immigration policies of Spain.
21. What roles do the Spanish and Ecuadorian media play in the lives and experiences of Ecuadorian migrants to Spain?
22. Why do you think the governments of Ecuador and the Philippines support women's migration? What are possible consequences for the present and future of each country?
23. Discuss the ways in which the migration experiences of women from Ecuador are similar to, and different from, those of women migrants from the Philippines.

Social Movements, NGOs, etc.

Philippines: Migrante International—defends the rights of Philippine migrants worldwide (see: <http://migranteinternational.org/>); **Gabriela** (the General Assembly Binding Women for Reforms, Integrity, Equality, Leadership and Action)—the national women's coalition, an alliance of over 250 organizations in the Philippines, defends the rights of women and fights against "oppression, foreign control and male domination." (see: http://members.tripod.com/gabriela_p/); Also of interest: **The Kalipunan ng Katutubong Mamamayan ng Pilipinas** (KAMP)—the national alliance of indigenous peoples'

organizations in the Philippines (see: <http://katutubongmamayana.org/>)

Ecuador: **The Association Ruminahui** is a non-governmental organization based in Spain established to protect the rights of Ecuadorian migrants in Spain. (See: <http://www.ruminahui.org/>). Founded in 1986, **The Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador** (CONAIE) is an umbrella organization of indigenous peoples in Ecuador that seeks to protect their land and rights, and provide indigenous people with a voice in politics (see: <http://conaie.nativeweb.org/>).

PART II

WOMEN'S RESISTANCE AND CAPITALIST PRODUCTION FOR EXPORT

- Push and Pull Factors in Female Labour Migration: Evidence from Sri Lanka's Garment Workers
- Historical Consciousness and Collective Action: Finding Women's Resistance Where North Meets South
- Waves of Resistance in the Colombian Flower Industry

Part II highlights capitalist production for export in manufacturing and agricultural industries. Judith Shaw's chapter on women workers in the garment industry in Sri Lanka extends the theme of migration from Part I, but looks at internal migration from rural areas of Sri Lanka to Export Processing Zones within Sri Lanka, rather than migration out of Sri Lanka. Mary Frederickson's chapter provides a historical account of the migration of the garment industry from processing zones in the north to the south of the United States and its more contemporary incarnation as migration of industries from the United States to Mexico, Haiti and China in search of "cheaper labor." She also details women's participation in the labor movement and their resistance to the conditions of work imposed upon them, both historically and today. Olga Sanmiguel Valderrama builds upon her earlier work on the conditions of work for women in the Colombian flower industry and here writes exclusively about women's resistance in the industry—especially their recent more successful strategies. She also documents the tactics used by the industry's owners and managers to oppose workers.

Additional Resources

Films: There are several excellent films about transnational corporations, the manufacturing industries and export processing zones. I highly recommend showing "The Global Assembly Line" (1986) by Lorraine Gray, Ann Bohlen and Maria Patricia Fernandez Kelly. The film documents the earlier years of U.S.-based industries going abroad in search of cheaper labor and higher profits. Though made in 1986, the film is, unfortunately, ever more relevant today. It focuses on the Philippines, Mexico and the United States, and thus helps to make an almost seamless transition from Part I to Part II of the text. Interviews with workers in all three countries, industry leaders and a journalist from the United States who documents a

hunger strike in Mexico, help us to see the impact of “runaway shops” and the “global assembly line” on people on both sides of the “border.” The struggles of workers to form labor unions, and recognition of the need to create alliances across borders are featured. Conditions in the sweatshops in export processing zones abroad are also featured in this documentary. Two important changes have taken place since the mid-1980's: the wages are even lower now than they were in the mid-1980's and the workers are much younger than before with the majority now very young women (fifteen or sixteen years of age) instead of adult women.

Another excellent film that highlights “the race to the bottom”—the reduction in both wages and the age of workers over time and worsening work conditions—is the National Labor Committee's film “Zoned for Slavery: The Child Behind the Label” (1995). Highlighted here are the free trade zones of Central America, with most of the filming done in Honduras. “Made in Thailand” (1999) by Eve-Laure Moros and Linzy Emery documents conditions in a Thai factory where a workforce of mostly women make toys for the Disney Corporation. Their resistance through labor organizing is notable, especially following a factory fire that killed a number of workers. The 1996 film “Mickey Mouse Goes to Haiti,” produced by the National Labor Committee and Crowing Rooster Arts, interviews workers who make Disney products in a factory in Haiti. “Mardi Gras: Made in China” (2005) by David Redmon takes a close look at the conditions of work in a rural Special Economic Zone where young Chinese workers, again most of whom are young women, endure dangerous and stressful conditions of work, often far away from their families. The title gets its name from the Mardi Gras celebration in New Orleans, Louisiana: the beads that are offered as “prizes” during Mardi Gras are made by the teenagers in China. The relationship between capitalism and patriarchy, the exploitation and “disposability” of women and girls becomes increasingly apparent in each film.

Alternatives to the capitalist system of factory production for export are the subject of “The Take,” a 2004 film by Naomi Klein and Avi Lewis. “The Take” examines the takeover of abandoned, bankrupted industries in Argentina, by their former workers, in a movement of worker-owned, worker-managed production for the domestic market. The roles of the IMF and of successive corrupt governments of Argentina that have supported the elites at the expense of millions of people, are delineated, as are the resistance efforts of workers to recreate viable employment opportunities

against all odds. As the film documents, the movement began with the women workers of a suit coat factory, and spread across all sectors of the economy, despite many confrontations with powerful forces and obstacles including entrenched legal and political systems, international financial institutions, and riot police.

On women workers in the Colombian fresh-cut flower industry, see Marta Rodriguez's and Jorge Silva's documentary "Love, Women and Flowers" (1988). Although produced in 1988, the conditions of work depicted in the film are, unfortunately, still accurate today.

Books and Articles

The Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras. (2007). *NAFTA From Below: Maquiladora Workers, Farmers, and Indigenous Communities Speak Out on the Impact of Free Trade in Mexico*.

For additional books and articles on NAFTA, free trade and free trade agreements, see the sources discussed in the section of this guide on the introduction.

For an earlier discussion of women's resistance in Sri Lanka's manufacturing industries and free trade zones, see:

Rosa, K. (1990). "Women Workers' Strategies Of Organizing and Resistance In The Sri Lankan Free Trade Zone (FTZ)." *South Asia Bulletin*, volume 10 number 1.

Risseuw, C. (1991). *Gender Transformation, Power and Resistance Among Women in Sri Lanka: The Fish Don't Talk About the Water*. New Delhi, India: Manohar Publishers

Study and Discussion Questions

1. Explain the significance of the export-oriented garment industry to the Sri Lankan economy.
2. What are the "push" factors that contribute to women's labor force participation in the Export Processing Zones (EPZs) in Sri Lanka?
3. What are the socio-economic characteristics of the women workers in the EPZs in Sri Lanka?
4. How do the workers in the EPZs in Sri Lanka compare to the average worker in Sri Lanka?
5. How do the workers in the EPZs in Sri Lanka compare to the workers in the *maquiladoras* in Mexico and the FTZs in Haiti and China?

6. In what ways does the domestic migration of women workers to the EPZs in Sri Lanka challenge traditional cultural expectations?
7. Research recent changes in the political economy of Sri Lanka.
8. Explain the parallels between the garment industry within the United States between 1900 and 1950, and its contemporary incarnation worldwide.
9. Historically, what roles have women workers played in organizing the labor movement in the garment industry?
10. What are the obstacles and challenges facing labor in the *maquiladoras* or sweatshops of the garment industry in the 21st century?
11. Research the political economy of Haiti, China and Mexico.
12. Research the impact of NAFTA on the Mexican economy.
13. Research the labor history of Colombia.
14. Discuss some of the problems associated with the self-regulation and self-certification of industries.
15. What are some of the ways in which the Colombian Fresh-cut Flower Industry (CFI) undermines the organizing efforts of its workers?
16. What are some of the factors contributing to the “globalization” of local labor struggles in the CFI?
17. Explain the concept of intersectionality within the context of the CFI workers.
18. Research the Colombian-U.S. free trade agreement, *Plan Colombia*. How is the agreement likely to affect women workers?
19. Discuss the patterns of resistance among women workers in the garment industry and women workers in the CFI.

Social Movements, NGOs, etc.

The Americas: The Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras (see: http://coalitionforjustice.info/CJM_Website/New_Sites/Home/Home.html); **Women on the Border** (see: <http://www.womenontheborder.org/>) lists many additional resources about maquiladora workers and their communities. **Grassroots Global Justice – Alianza Popular por la Justicia Global (GGJ)** (see: <http://www.ggjalliance.org>) is an alliance of organizations in the United States “building a popular movement for peace, democracy and a sustainable world. We support each other’s local struggles and collaborate with international allies who share our vision and commitment to building a transformative social justice movement beyond borders.” **La Mujer Obrera – The Woman Worker** is an

organization established in 1981 to defend the rights and dignity of women workers (see: <http://www.mujerobrera.org/>). **The National Labor Committee** is a U.S.-based organization that defends the human rights of workers by researching working conditions especially but not exclusively in the sweatshops throughout the world, publishing reports and planning protest actions to end exploitation. (See: <http://www.nlcnet.org>.)

Colombia: **Ruta Pacífica de las Mujeres** is an alliance of more than 300 feminist organizations working against violence and war and for truth, justice, reconstruction, rights and reparations for women in Colombia. (See: <http://www.rutapacifica.org.co/>); **Corporación Cactus** was founded in 1995 to protect communities, the environment and the rights of workers, in the production and export of flowers from Colombia. (See: <http://www.cactus.org.co>).

Global: **International Labor Rights Forum** (ILRF) is a workers' advocacy organization established "to achieve just and humane treatment for workers worldwide." (See: <http://www.laborrights.org>). **International Labor Organization** (ILO) is the agency of the United Nations devoted to labor issues. The ILO carries out research and advocacy for workers everywhere (See: <http://www.ilo.org>).

PART III

ALTERNATIVE TRADE ASSOCIATIONS AND WOMEN'S RESISTANCE

- Free Trade, Alternative Trade and Women in Peru: A First Look
- Women's Rights and Collective Resistance: The Success Story of Marketplace India

Part III focuses on Alternative Trade Organizations (ATOs). ATOs are typically worker-organized and NGO-supported associations that are alternatives to the exploitative work conditions present in most transnational corporate models of capitalist production for export. Alternative trade associations often provide a wide array of services for workers and their communities (such as literacy training, consciousness raising, health programs, loan programs, banking services, etc.) in addition to employment opportunities. In "Free Trade, Alternative Trade and Women in Peru," Jane Henrici notes the diversity of women participating in alternative trade organizations and warns against generalizing about them and their experiences. In addition, that diversity may not be reflected in the composition of the leadership of the NGOs that fund the ATOs, which could create conflict. She cautions us about the potential for the marginalization of workers in ATOs especially as a result of the implementation of transnational free trade policies. Margaret McLaren's chapter, "Women's Rights and Collective Resistance: The Success Story of Marketplace India" offers a model of a successful ATO as an umbrella organization that seems to provide low-income women with skills, a modicum of economic power and a stronger collective identity.

Additional Resources

Films: There are a number of excellent (albeit early) films on Alternative Trade Organizations, beginning with Michael Camerini's and Shari Robertson's "Kamala and Raji" (1991) about the Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) discussed by McLaren. Focusing on two women leaders of SEWA, Kamala, a *bidi* (cigarette) maker, and Raji a vegetable merchant in the marketplace, the film documents the struggle of women in India against the violence of both poverty and male dominance. The film makes explicit, the ways

in which some women internalize oppression (in Kamala's case), and either accept or resist the patriarchy of the State and the patriarchy they experience in their homes. A more recent film about SEWA is Patricia Plattner's "Made in India" (1998). Together these films provide us with a real sense of what McLaren's chapter is all about, namely how organizations like Marketplace and SEWA, provide women with economic rights, a sense of collective organization and a sense of self-identity, which are essential to women's empowerment and well being, and to the true development of their communities.

Though more focused on providing credit opportunities and not quite as holistic in its approach or its policies as either Marketplace or SEWA, the Grameen Bank supports small business or micro-finance projects in Bangladesh. A good film on the Grameen Bank is "Sixteen Decisions" (2000) by Gayle Ferraro, which documents the policies of the bank, and the ways in which the bank challenges certain aspects of traditional culture while supporting others.

Questions for Study and Discussion

1. Explain why Henrici views ATOs as a band-aid solution to free trade?
2. What factors are important to consider when assessing the impact of ATOs on low-income women?
3. The production of hand-made goods or handicrafts in the ATOs in Peru is necessarily a substitute for what kinds of subsistence activities?
4. In what ways do NGOs in Peru "reinforce existing inequalities" rather than challenge them?
5. Research the United States-Peru Trade Promotion Agreement (PTPA). Consider its impact on the Peruvian economy and women's ATOs in Peru.
6. Research the impact of the IMF on the Peruvian economy.
7. In what ways is women's participation in alternative trade associations a form of collective resistance?
8. What aspects of women's rights does McLaren focus on in her study of the women of Marketplace India?
9. Review McLaren's outline of feminist critiques and defense of rights.
10. Identify and explain McLaren's thesis.
11. How does McLaren explain the connection between economic rights, cultural practices and the law in India?
12. In what ways is Marketplace India similar to and different from

- the alternative trade associations discussed in the previous chapter by Henrici? In what ways is Marketplace India similar to and different from the Self-Employed Women's Association?
13. What are some of the outcomes of women's participation in Marketplace for the women themselves?
 14. Which aspects of Henrici's critique of ATOs in Peru potentially could be applied to Marketplace India?
 15. In what ways does the cooperative model on which Marketplace is based avoid some of the problems raised in Henrici's chapter?
 16. Research the political economy of India and the role of the IMF and World Bank in India.

Social Movements, NGOs, etc.

The International Gender and Trade Network (IGTN), a feminist organization that examines the impact of free trade on local communities and “acts as a political catalyst to enlarge the space for a critical feminist perspective and global action on gender, trade, and globalization issues.” (See: <http://web.igtn.org>.) **Women Thrive Worldwide** (formerly the **Women's Edge Coalition**) is a coalition of over 50 organizations with the goal of shaping U.S. policy so that “U.S. international assistance and trade programs prioritize women.” The coalition views empowering women in developing countries as “the most effective *long-term* solution to world poverty” (See: <http://www.womenthrive.org>.) **The Center for Peruvian Women Flora Tristán** is a feminist organization in Peru founded in 1979 with the goal of protecting women's rights, particularly though not exclusively, women's reproductive rights. (See: <http://www.flora.org.pe>.)

The **Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA)**'s website is: (<http://www.sewa.org>.) The **Grameen Bank**'s website is: (<http://www.grameen-info.org/>). **Marketplace India**'s website is: (<http://www.marketplaceindia.org/Main.aspx?status>). **Global Exchange** is “an international human rights organization promoting social, economic and environmental justice throughout the world” through campaigns and protests against the exploitation of human and natural resources. (See: <http://www.globalexchange.org>.)

PART IV

RESPONSES TO POVERTY: WOMEN'S AND CHILDREN'S RESISTANCE

- Urban Poverty Reborn: A Gender and Generational Analysis
- Challenging Traditional Female Roles Through Social Participation: Tensions in Women's Experiences in Argentina's Picketing Movements
- The Feminization of Poverty in Post-Apartheid South Africa: A Story Told by the Women of Bayview, Chatsworth
- Global Capitalist Penetration, Child Labor and Children's Collective Resistance in Defense of Their Rights

While every chapter in the book is about low-income women and their strategies of resistance and survival, Part IV focuses specifically on women's resistance (and in the case of the last selection in this section, children's resistance) to poverty.

Additional Resources

Peru: *Films:* Heddy Honigmann's documentary film of life in Lima, Peru entitled "Oblivion" (2008), sensitively shows the contrasts between the wealthy and poor and Peru's recent political and economic history.

Articles: Hays-Mitchell, M. (2002). "Resisting Austerity: A Gendered Perspective on Neoliberal Restructuring in Peru." *Gender and Development* 10(3): 71-81; Moser, A (2003). "Acts of Resistance: the Performance of Women's Grassroots Protest in Peru." *Social Movement Studies* 2(2): 177-190.

Argentina: *Films:* An excellent film about Argentina is Susanna Muñoz's and Lourdes Portillo's documentary, "Las Madres: The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo" (1985), which helps to contextualize Argentina's political economy, especially background on the "Dirty War" of the 1970s and 80s, and women's resistance to militarism and violence in Argentina, which inspired human rights struggles worldwide. The plight of the grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo is the subject of Luis Puenzo's moving feature film, "The Official Story" (1985). This film is especially effective in elucidating the relationship between patriarchy and violence against women. Because of its length, I recommend that students watch this film

outside of class (it is widely available), and come prepared to discuss its implications in class. Finally, if Naomi Klein's and Avi Lewis' film, "The Take" (2004) recommended in the section on Part II of the text, was bypassed, this would be a another good opportunity to show it. "The Take" gets into the political economy of Argentina in the 21st century and the resistance to neoliberal policies and practices, discussed in the chapter by Ada Freytes Frey and Karina Crivelli, but also provides a fairly comprehensive political history including the prominent role of the IMF and World Bank in the Argentine economy, which is very helpful for contextualizing their chapter. Several short videos on the piqueteros or picketing movements in Argentina discussed by Freytes Frey and Crivelli can be found on YouTube at: (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AKE1flrtMR4>).

Articles: For a good background and overview of the *piqueteros* or picketing movements in Argentina that places them in the context of Latin American social movements generally, is James Petras' (2002) essay, "The Unemployed Workers Movement in Argentina," *Monthly Review* 53(8).

South Africa: *Films:* "Yesterday" (2004) is a beautifully and sensitively filmed South African feature film in isiZulu by Darrell Roodt about the struggles of a woman with HIV/AIDS to care for her husband (who also has AIDS) and their daughter. The film eloquently demonstrates the violence of patriarchy and poverty, both of which are the subject of Saranel Benjamin Lemert's chapter. For background films on South Africa during apartheid, see the following: "You Have Struck a Rock" (1981) by Deborah May and the United Nations, documents women's protest against apartheid; "A Dry White Season" (1989) directed by Euzhan Palcy is a feature film about the Soweto uprising and protests by schoolchildren in the 1970s, and their slaughter by South African government forces in 1976; "Nelson Mandela: Journey to Freedom" (1996) is an A&E biography of Nelson Mandela; "Long Night's Journey into Day: South Africa's Search for Truth and Reconciliation" (2000) is a documentary that focuses on four people's experiences during apartheid as they tell their stories before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in the post-apartheid period.

Books: Walker, C. (1992). *Women and Resistance in South Africa*; Brooks, P. (2008). *Boycotts, Buses and Passes: Black Women's Resistance in the U.S. South and South Africa*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press; Hassim, S. (2006). *Women's Organizations and Democracy: Contesting Authority*.

Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press; Browdy de Hernandez, J. et al. (eds.) (2010). *Women Writing Resistance: An Anthology*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.

Children, Poverty and Child Labor: Films: Mira Nair's "Salaam, Bombay" (1988) is a feature film with documentary qualities, about a community of street children in Bombay, India. "Born into Brothels" (2004) is Ross Kaufman's and Zana Briski's documentary film of children in Calcutta, India. "City of God" (2002) by Fernando Mereilles and Katia Lund is a feature film about children of the shantytown, City of God, on the outskirts of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. "Children Underground" (2001) by Edet Belzberg is a documentary about children living on the streets of Bucharest, Romania. All of these are very powerful visual representations of children living in poverty. If the National Labor Committee's short documentary film, "Zoned for Slavery: The Child Behind the Label" was not shown in conjunction with Part II of the text, this would be another good opportunity to show it. The same holds true for "Mardi Gras: Made in China." Also, Nicholas Kristof of the *New York Times* has a number of op-ed pieces and short videos about child sex slaves in Cambodia, which can be accessed through the archives of the *NY Times*.

As I discussed in my chapter on child labor and children's resistance, the Shine A Light Foundation is an umbrella organization with branches throughout Latin America that teaches children to make films about their lives. Links to the films can be found at: <http://www.shinealight.org>. For example: *Ambue Tape Rohekavo (The street: toward a new way)* [Guaraní with English Subtitles, 2009] (see: <http://www.shinealight.org/calleparaguay.html>) is a documentary about indigenous children of the Guaraní living on the streets of Paraguay; *Oré Ave'i Paraguayo (We are also Paraguayans)* [Guaraní with English Subtitles, 2009] is a documentary about a the Guaraní in Paraguay (see: <http://www.shinealight.org/guaraniparaguay.html>). For a fictionalized account of life in the *favela* (shantytown) in Recife, Brazil through children's eyes see: "Alto do céu" ("Sky High") at: <http://www.shinealight.org/AltoDoceu.html?docid=3071971610838694393&hl=en>. There are also short films about the making of "Alto do céu"; Three documentary films by children in Argentina about their work and their lives on the streets, "El Tunel" (The Tunnel, with English subtitles), "Tiempo Robado" (Stolen Time, in Spanish) and "Tambores, Puterman y La Luciérnaga" (Drums, Puterman and the Firefly, in Spanish); the

Sáliva Project among the children of a Mayan community in Colombia produced seven documentaries about their lives. (See: <http://www.shinealight.org/Saliva.html>.); “La Ruleta de la Vida” (“Life’s Roulette” in Spanish with English subtitles) is a fictionalized account by children who were child soldiers in the civil war in Colombia (See: <http://www.shinealight.org/ruleta.html>.) Interviews with the young men and women who made the film about their lives as child soldiers can be found at: (<http://www.shinealight.org/ruletadoc.html>.)

Study and Discussion Questions

1. In what ways does Jeanine Anderson’s longitudinal study of low-income families in Lima, Peru challenge dominant theories of the intergenerational transmission of poverty or “culture of poverty”?
2. What new sources of poverty does Anderson identify?
3. What are some of the sources of conflict between children and their parents?
4. Explain the differences in life experiences between female and male adolescents and young adults in the shantytowns of Lima.
5. What are some of the obstacles to independence for young people in the low-income neighborhoods in Peru?
6. In what ways do the picketing movements in Argentina analyzed by Ada Freytes Frey and Karina Crivelli challenge traditional gender stereotypes?
7. What was the motivation for women to become involved in the picketing movements?
8. What was the impact of women’s participation in the picketing movements on their sense of self and their expectations of their social roles?
9. Research the impact of the IMF and World Bank on the Argentine economy and society.
10. What were the consequences of “structural adjustment” for the people of Argentina?
11. What were the gains made as a result of the picketing movements’ protests in the early years of this decade? How did these change after 2004 under Kirchner’s presidency?
12. What impact did the demobilization of the picketing movements have on women?
13. In what ways did the “Families” Program reinforce gender stereotypes?
14. What is the significance of “women’s spaces” for women’s redefinition of their self- and collective identities?

15. Research the roles of the IMF, World Bank and WTO in South Africa.
16. Research the conditions of life under apartheid in South Africa.
17. In what ways have conditions improved for Black South Africans in the post-apartheid era? In what ways have conditions remained the same?
18. Explain the impact on impoverished Black women of the violence of apartheid and the violence of patriarchy.
19. Discuss the relationship between poverty and life chances for low-income Black women in South Africa.
20. Explain the relationship between the ANC's post-apartheid policy of Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) and neoliberal policy.
21. What was the impact of GEAR on employment and accessibility to basic services like water and electricity?
22. What are the forms of resistance engaged in by the women of the Bayview Flats?
23. In what ways are the lives of the poor in rural South Africa even more arduous than the lives of the poor in urban townships like Bayview Flats?
24. What has been the impact of their resistance on poor women and men throughout South Africa?
25. In what ways are the experiences of women of the Bayview Flats similar to and different from the experiences of women in the shantytowns in Argentina?
26. Identify and paraphrase Polakoff's thesis in her chapter on child labor and children's resistance.
27. What are negative and positive consequences of child labor?
28. Explain the relationship between global capitalist penetration, poverty and child labor.
29. Explain the principles of structural adjustment and its consequences.
30. What is the "Fourth World"?
31. Summarize the results of the Vietnam Living Standards Survey.
32. What constitutes "children's rights" according to the United Nations?
33. What are some of the risks posed to child farm workers in the United States?
34. Discuss the conditions of work faced by child laborers in the *maquiladoras*.
35. Explain the relationship between global capitalist penetration and the global criminal economy.

36. How has “globalization” changed the trafficking of women and children in the global sex trade?
37. In what ways have children organized to resist the consequences of global capitalist penetration?
38. Explain the relevance of representation to resistance in Cuesta's chapter on Ecuador and Polakoff's chapter on child labor.

Social Movements, NGOs, etc.

Peru: La Federación Nacional de Mujeres Campesinas, Artesanas, Indígenas, Nativas y Asalariadas del Peru (FEMUCARINAP – The National Federation of Peasant Women, Craftswomen, Indigenous Women, Native Women and Salaried Women of Peru) is an organization that defends women's rights in Peru across economic, social and cultural sectors. **La Confederación General de Trabajadores del Peru** (CGTP – The General Confederation of Peruvian Workers – <http://www.cgtp.org.pe>) has a department of women workers: (http://www.cgtp.org.pe/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=44:informacion-del-dpto-de-la-mujer&catid=18:departamento-nacional-de-la-mujer-trabajadora&Itemid=2). Also see the suggestions listed for Part III.

Argentina: Asociación Las Madres de la Plaza de Mayo (The Association of Mothers of the May Plaza) is a human rights organization established by women who had lost their children during the “Dirty War” in Argentina. Las Madres became a model for human rights organizations throughout Latin America and the rest of the world (see: <http://www.madres.org/navegar/nav.php>). **Grupo Alavío: Video y Acción Directo** (Group Alavío: Video and Direct Action – see: <http://www.revolutionvideo.org/alavio>) offer video workshops that provide everyday people with the technology and the skills to make public action videos. According to Russell Campbell and Richard Porton, the authors of *ARENA: On Anarchist Cinema* (Exeter, Eng: 2009), Grupo Alavío offers video as “alternative media,” that is, as a way to sidestep corporate representations of people and events and thus provide ordinary people with a voice and a means to bringing about social change. Another form of alternative media in Argentina is **Proyecto ÁgoraTV** a community television network that gives people greater control over the reporting of events and representation of themselves and their communities (see: <http://agoratv.org>).

South Africa: The Commission for Gender Equality through “research, public education, policy development, legislative initiatives, effective monitoring and litigation” defends and promotes the rights of women. (See: <http://www.cge.org.za>.) For a list of links to women’s organizations in South Africa see **Imbokodo: Women’s Struggle in South Africa**: (<http://www.sahistory.org.za/pages/governance-projects/womens-struggle/organisations.htm>). In the United States, **Africa Action** is a human rights organization fighting for political, economic and social justice in Africa. (See: <http://www.africaaction.org>.)

Children’s Collectives, NGOs: For **The Butterflies Programme** in India, see: (<http://www.butterflieschildrights.org>); for **Shine a Light** in Latin America, see: (<http://www.shinealight.org>); for the **Movimiento de Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes Trabajadores Hijos de Obreros Cristianos (MANTHOC – The Movement of Working Boys, Girls and Adolescents of Christian Workers)**, see: (<http://www.shinealight.org/MANTHOC.html>); for **The United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund (UNICEF)**, see: (<http://www.unicef.org>). For a list of national organizations of working children in Latin America see: van den Berge, M. (2009). “Children’s Social Movements in Latin America,” in Hindman, H.D. (2009) *The World of Child Labor*. M.E. Sharpe, Inc. Publishers.

CONCLUSION

WOMEN AND NEOLIBERAL GLOBALIZATION: INEQUITIES AND RESISTANCE

In her conclusion, Ligaya Lindio-McGovern highlights the major themes discussed in the chapters throughout the text, and then provides us with a set of unanswered questions that could form the basis of new areas of research. Thus, the study and discussion questions below, begin by reviewing the material, focusing on what we have learned from the examples of women's resistance to global capitalist penetration. The second set of questions is intended to stimulate future research, and is based on Lindio-McGovern's discussion. I end with suggestions for identifying a topic for senior thesis research related to women's resistance to the violence of global capitalist penetration and then include a list of actual research topics that students have pursued for their senior theses in my senior research seminar.

Study and Discussion Questions

1. Identify and paraphrase Lindio-McGovern's thesis.
2. In what ways have women's and children's labor worldwide been integrated into the global capitalist system? Why have women's and children's labor been targeted by the global capitalist system?
3. Describe the working conditions in transnational capitalist production for export. Provide examples from the text.
4. Explain the characteristics of structural adjustment programs and their impact on low-income families. Provide specific examples from the text.
5. Explain economic relationships between poor countries and rich countries under the "logic" of capitalist expansion.
6. Explain the relationship between the mobility of capital and the mobility of labor.
7. Explain the role of the major financial and trade institutions, the role of governments and the role of corporations in the new global economy. Provide at least three examples from the text.
8. Using examples from at least two chapters, explain how migrant workers' organizations have resisted the policies of both sending and receiving governments?
9. Using examples from at least three chapters, discuss the ways in

which workers and the poor have resisted the ways in which they have been represented by the dominant media by producing and promoting their own images of themselves and their lives.

10. Using examples from all four parts of the text, outline the different forms of resistance to global capitalist penetration that women (and/or children) have employed.
11. In what ways can the nation-state be held accountable for the deterioration in the conditions of life for the majority of peoples worldwide? Provide examples from the text.
12. Using examples from at least three chapters, explain how women (and children) have defended their economic, political and socio-cultural rights.
13. Explain the ways in which women experience both the violence of global capitalist penetration and the violence of patriarchy. Use examples from the text.
14. Using examples from at least three chapters, discuss the feminist methodologies used in the research and comment on the kind of knowledge gained as a result of those methodologies.
15. Explain the advantages and disadvantages of small sample sizes, direct and/or participant observation, longitudinal studies, and the use of open-ended research questions. Use examples from the text.
16. Explain the advantages and disadvantages of large-scale survey research.

Questions for Future Research

1. Do women resist global capitalist penetration/neoliberal globalization differently and organize differently than men? If so, how?
2. What kinds of alliances have successfully challenged neoliberal policies?
3. What kinds of non-capitalist, non-exploitative and more cooperative models of organizing production have been successful? (e.g., Brukman and Zanon in Argentina) What are the obstacles to implementing these worldwide?
4. What forms of resistance have been employed by indigenous people worldwide to protect their livelihoods, their communities and the natural environment?
5. What are the ways in which global capitalist penetration challenges community- and self-identities? How are people collectively defending their sense of self and community?

6. How are men, women and children of different social classes, ethnicities and communities differentially affected by natural and man-made disasters?
7. What steps can we take to demand corporate accountability and protect our rights to dignified work, a clean and healthy work and living environment, protection of our rights as citizens, protection of our children's future and the future of the planet?

Notes on Identifying a Research Topic

1. Since one of the consequences of global capitalist penetration is increased rates of poverty, the most general kind of research would focus on "women" and "poverty" in a specific region of the world or country. The research should emphasize the impact of global policies on women in particular, and discuss changes over time. If you decide to go this route, be sure to select a country or region of the world to which you have a personal connection.
2. An offshoot of the above would be a comparison of women's experiences in two different regions within the same country (rural vs. urban, or north vs. south, for example) or two different countries. Again, the selection of countries or regions should not be arbitrary but should have some personal meaning or significance, if possible.
3. More specific studies might focus on some aspect of #1 or #2 above, and women's resistance, for example, analysis of changes in the health status of women in specific region or country, again as the result of specific global capitalist policies or agreements (like structural adjustment policies or free trade agreements), or rulings by the WTO, etc. and their organizing efforts to obtain better health care services. Or you can focus on a specific illness like HIV/AIDS; or women and world hunger; or women and homelessness or unemployment; or women and education and the problem of illiteracy; or violence against women viewed through the lens of global neoliberal policies or politics; women and human rights; the impact of war on women; child labor; women's role in agricultural production or in the *maquiladoras* (sweatshops) of Latin America or elsewhere; or women and migration and the problems confronting immigrants from particular regions of the world to specific countries; the challenges confronting women domestic workers; or women and reproductive rights; the impact of global capitalist penetration on

indigenous communities in a particular region; women's experiences in refugee camps.

4. Another category of research topics would focus specifically on women's resistance to policies or practices that impoverish them, rob them of their dignity, uproot their families and communities, and destroy the environment. Here you could analyze a particular industry, like the oil industry in Nigeria, or the building of hydroelectric dams in India, and examine women's organized protests against the corporations responsible for displacing them and their families and polluting their land, water, and air.

Internet Search Techniques in a Nutshell

1. Be sure to use GoogleScholar's advanced search and be sure to save your personal preferences in googlescholar—for example, what language you would like the sources to be in; what disciplines you want to search in; which libraries; what years, etc.
2. Experiment with different search concepts, words and phrases and note differences in the results that changing a single word can make.
3. There is no magic number of results that is suitable for projects. Sixteen sources may not be sufficient for most projects, but may be right for another if the search values are very clearly defined. You can be sure that 200,000 sources would be too many. In the latter case you would want to redefine your concepts.

For example, suppose you want to compare women's resistance to oil corporations drilling in different countries. You may enter the exact phrase, "women's resistance" plus "economic globalization"/or "neoliberal globalization"/or "capitalist expansion"/or "corporate globalization"/or "transnational corporations" plus "drilling for oil." Sometimes changing "women's" to "women" can make a difference; likewise with changing "resistance" to "protest."

Another googlescholar search on a different topic—this time on "women's health and poverty in Haiti" yielded over 200 sources. Substituting "HIV/AIDS" for "health" refines the search and results in 15 sources. Depending on your area of interest, this may be too few to select from. Perhaps you are interested in "women's reproductive health." That yields approximately 30 sources. Suppose you want to compare women's reproductive health care in Haiti, Dominican Republic and the United States. You would then add those terms individually or simultaneously

and see what results you get.

Suppose you are interested in the impact of “water privatization” on “women’s health.” That search leads to over 900 sources. If you add “South Africa” that refines the search a little, resulting in 700 or so sources. If you substitute “Haiti” for “South Africa,” you end up with 85 sources.

Senior Thesis Research Topics

As I mentioned in the Preface to this guide, I try to encourage students to select research topics to which they have some personal connection. Many of my students can trace their origins to Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa and Asia. While quite a few were actually born in Ecuador, Nigeria, the Philippines or Haiti, for example, in other cases, one or both of their parents immigrated to the United States before they were born. In still other instances, their families migrated from the South to the North in the United States. Their research topics generally reflect an interest in the region or country in which they or their parents were born.

Also, quite a few students interview family members about their experiences growing up and living in another country. Migration stories also elicit a great deal of interest and excitement and students generally learn things about their family’s past and history that they never knew before; many also learn aspects of their culture and socialization about which they had been unaware previously. If students choose to interview family members and/or friends, they need to secure written consent from the interviewees. I have included in the Appendix, a sample “Informed Consent Form” that students’ can adapt to their individual project.

A Sample of Topics: Here is a sample of my students’ actual senior thesis research projects.

1. Three Women from Puerto Rico: Globalization and Puerto Rican Migration to the U.S.
2. Global Economic Tyranny: The IMF, World Bank and WTO in Latin America.
3. Economic Globalization, Exploitation and Child Labor in the Sweatshops of Central America and the Caribbean.
4. Neoliberalism, Civil War and the Expansion of the Criminal Economy in Colombia.
5. Consequences of Global Apartheid: Domestic Violence in African, African-American and Latino Communities.

6. Economic Globalization, Civil War and the Impact of the Diamond Trade on Women in Sierra Leone.
7. Restavek: Poverty and Child Labor in Haiti.
8. Poverty, Women's Health and Human Rights in South Africa.
9. The Price of Sex: Poverty and Sex Tourism in the Dominican Republic.
10. Women's Health and Poverty in Haiti.
11. Circumcision or Mutilation?: FGM, Globalization, and Women's Rights.
12. Global Capitalism and Women in the Middle East: Poverty, Gender Roles and Religion.
13. Women and Economic Globalization in China.
14. Women, Globalization and Human Trafficking in Nigeria.
15. The Price of Oil: Women's Resistance to the Oil Corporations in Nigeria.
16. Globalization, Women's Health and the Privatization of Water in South Africa.
17. Immigrant Women: Ecuadorian Migrants to Spain and the United States.

Appendix: Model Informed Consent Form [Note: this is a copy of the form I created for use by my students who are interested in incorporating interviews into their research. I also review interviewing techniques and require students to submit to me beforehand, the schedule of questions they are planning to ask their interviewees. [Note: I included this form in my *Instructor's Resource Guide* to accompany Paula S. Rothenberg's, *Beyond Borders: Thinking Critically About Global Issues* (NY: Worth Publishers, 2005)]. Students need a signed copy of this form for each person interviewed. The form is necessary in order to comply with ethical standards for conducting research with human subjects. Students should create a one-page form and include the following information.

Informed Consent Form

Project Title:

Researcher's (Student's) Name and Email Address:

College/University, Semester and Year of Project:

Project Coordinator's (Faculty's) Name and Email Address:

Project Description: (Provide a brief description of your Research Project here)

To the Interviewee: Your participation in this project is completely voluntary. You may stop participating at any time for any reason. You may also refuse to answer any particular question in this study. Furthermore, you may have the information you provide removed at any time from the Project by notifying the Project Coordinator in writing. Please note that in all research studies there are potential risks. This project has minimal risks. However, please be sensitive to protecting the privacy of other people to whom you may refer during your participation in this interview. We recommend that other people be identified by pseudonyms or by their relation to you. Please sign and initial all of the following that apply.

1. Please Print the NAME you would like us to use in order to identify your responses. If you would like to use a pseudonym, please include it here with today's DATE:
2. I agree to have the results of our conversations presented to the members of the class (COURSE TITLE) at (NAME of COLLEGE or UNIVERSITY):
3. I agree to have the results of our conversations presented at events on the (NAME of COLLEGE or UNIVERSITY) campus:
4. I agree to have the results of our conversations presented in public forums and in written documents beyond (NAME of COLLEGE or UNIVERSITY), including the internet:
5. I agree to have our conversations audiotaped:
6. I agree to have our conversations videotaped:

NOTES

- ¹ See: Castells, M. (1998) *The End of the Millennium* (Volume III of *Economy, Society and Culture*). Malden, MA and Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- ² Please note: For additional comments about many of the films discussed in this *Resource and Study Guide for Faculty and Students* and for additional suggestions, see my *Instructor's Resource Guide* to accompany Paula S. Rothenberg's, *Beyond Borders: Thinking Critically About Global Issues* (NY: Worth, 2006); for the online version of the resource guide go to: <http://bcs.worthpublishers.com/beyondborders/pages/bcs-main.asp?v=&s=99000&n=00510&i=99510.01&o=|00020|00510|99000|>].