Feminist Questions, Grassroots Movements: An Overview

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Abstract: *Women's organizations and others which attend to gender issues, have expanded considerably over the last 15 years. This article examines the changing context in which such organizations operate, including the contradictory effect of neoliberal global governance, particularly since the Beijing Women's Conference in 1995. Feminist practice approaches in anthropology continue to examine the cultural politics from which feminism and gender politics emerge in this context of globalization. The article encourages anthropologists to engage even more with the discursive and material effects that render these organizations and initiatives subject to the contradictory mechanisms of neoliberal global governance, including human rights initiatives that focus on women and the global consequences of economic restructuring.*

Key words: *Women, grassroots organizing, neoliberalism*

In fall of 2004, women's organizations in Newfoundland, Canada sponsored events organized by the Canadian Feminist Alliance for International Action, (CFAIA), a body which seeks to make Canadian governments accountable to international human rights treaties. These actions**,** including workshops, press conferences and celebrations of women's history month, attracted women from unions, government and front-line service organizations, such as women's centers and transition houses. By the weeks' end, a militant tone had permeated women's claims, as they noted that much has been lost these past 10 years. Programmes, opportunities and access are all the first to suffer as governments balance their budgets. Women are still underrepresented in government and the advocacy agenda has been sidelined as women's organizations must now work to provide services that were once part of the welfare state.

The concerns these women raised in Canada are echoed by women's organizations globally and reflect certain features of grassroots organizing today. For women living in regions of conflict and collapse, even the challenge of meeting local needs is further mitigated by the insecurities that long-term violence and abrupt transformation engen-

der. And, few grassroots organizations operate in a local vacuum. Rather, the grassroots is now inextricably linked to transnational initiatives that include larger social movements, 'development' agencies and the demands set by neoliberal agendas (Naples and Desai, 2002).

The rhetoric of global governance is optimistic: women have made gains in human rights and gender policies. They are 'consulted' and encouraged to participate in what is, ostensibly, the lobbying arena, although some formal representation in legislative bodies has also increased. Moreover, the diversity of issues that women now address has expanded dramatically since the 1990s. Women's participation as leaders and policy makers in transnational and non-governmental organizations has increased. I offer a quick summary of these gains and the losses they disguise to highlight the challenges feminists face in organizing at the grassroots, and the role that feminist anthropology plays in sorting out of the cultural politics behind these structural changes. My focus here is on women's organizations rather than on subjective, narrative accounts of individual activists.

Almost 10 years have passed since the UN conference on Women, and "Beijing plus 10" assessments are well underway. The outcomes are contradictory: gender mainstreaming, which purports to bring a gender sensitive analysis into governing structures is well underway in many countries and in many cases, has the support of "femocrats" or state feminists (Goetz, 1998). A gender sensitive analysis is encouraged for development initiatives by both non-governmental organizations and many bi-lateral donors. Some applaud Beijing for its successes: in furthering the issue and language around violence against women; for legitimating women's rights as human rights; for the mandate of gender mainstreaming and for the increased attention to broader issues, including women's experience of conflict and war, poverty and the right to peace, security and livelihood. (Barton, 2004).

Editor's Notes

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It has been an honor and a pleasure to edit this issue of *Voices.* I must, however, offer profuse apologies to members of AFA and other subscribers for its late arrival. The delay in production was partially caused by my recent move from Temple University in Philadelphia to the Indianapolis branch of Indiana University. Amidst the packing and unpacking and all of the other logistical challenges associated with moving, the newsletter had to be temporarily set aside. When I returned to it in the late spring, I decided to try and produce the newsletter, myself, using a desktop publishing program. Gentle Reader, I'll not bore you here with the trauma and drama that resulted from that decision; let us just say that it demanded a faster learning curve than I'd anticipated!

To move on to more substantive matters, I believe that this issue of *Voices* offers an excellent selection of articles which all deal in one way or another with the gendered consequences of economic restructuring. As I write these remarks, I am listening to the NPR account of the passage of CAFTA (Central American Free Trade Act) by the US House of Representatives late last night. I feel confident, as I am sure many of you do, that not only will CAFTA <u>not</u> make the lives of American workers any better—it will also make the lives of our Central American sisters considerably worse. The lessons of NAFTA have gone unheeded by our legislature, which once again has privileged the interests of corporations and capital over those of women, children and workers.

The articles in this publication represent examples of excellent scholarly work on the challenges grassroots women all over the world are mounting in the face of the global spread of neoliberal policies, like free trade agreements, and of the many other forces that threaten to destroy their communities. They also demonstrate that as feminist anthropologists, many of us are committed to acting as activist allies of women in struggle in whatever ways possible.

This emphasis on showcasing the intersection between grassroots activism and feminist anthropology grew directly out of board conversations with our two most recent presidents, Lynn Bolles and now Mary Anglin. Our president-elect, Florence Babb, will most certainly carry on this critical tradition when she takes office after this year's AAA meetings. As Mary Anglin asked in her piece in the last issue of *Voices* (November 2003), "Can we or do we, as anthropologists, make feminist knowledge useful beyond the academy?" The articles in this volume, I believe, testify to just how serious we are about interrogating that crucial relationship between knowledge, power and politics in our research, teaching and writing.

Lastly, I am particularly pleased to have been granted permission to publish remarks made by long-time activist and theoretician, Selma James, International Coordinator of the Global Women's Strike (among her many other political endeavors). I have had the privilege of hearing and talking with Ms. James in person, and the written word cannot do justice to her remarkable dynamism. Her work with grassroots women all over the world is one example of what Mary Anglin has described as "feminism in practice." I hope all of you find this discussion of the Global Women's Strike as energizing as I do, and that you will be inspired to organize or participate in similar events on International Women's Day wherever you live and work.

Special Feature in this issue: Remarks by Selma James, International Coordinator of the Global Women's Strike.

IN THIS ISSUE:

From our current President, Mary Anglin
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Never has there been a more important time for feminist scholarship and practice at the level of the local, the national, and the global. That message comes through quite clearly in this issue's articles on the persistence of racial/ethnic and gendered forms of oppression, and on the power of unofficial histories to inspire counter-hegemonic accounts of contemporary life and grassroots activism.

As Florence Babb notes in her column, issues of feminism and transnationalism have been at the center of AFA activities in recent years. We have held invited sessions on the theme of women and globalization at the Annual Meetings of the American Anthropological Association, and organized a page on the AFA web site (http://sscl.berkeley.edu/~afaweb/). This AFA project has been further developed through a 2005 seminar which organized by Nandini Gunewardena (AFA Board, 2003-2005) and Ann Kingsolver (AFA Board, 2001-2003) and which was sponsored by the School for American Research this past April. The purpose of the seminar and ensuing volume (to be published by the SAR in 2006) is to focus on the processes through which gendered economic marginality is constructed and contested. The role of immigrant women's labor in the global North, exemplified by the recent strike/lockout of hotel workers in San Francisco, formed a critical part of the material that was considered in the seminar.

Through this important work, we continue to learn about the diverse forms of contestation and analyses that inform feminisms in the plural. Giving serious consideration to *feminisms in the plural* requires attention in scholarship and practice to the intersections of gender with race, nationality, ethnicity, class, sexual orientation, geography, generation, disability or illness, as well as other dimensions of identity and social location. It also entails focusing the efforts of the AFA towards discussion and projects in coalition with other sections of the AAA, as Babb has suggested, and with activists located in and beyond the academy. Finally, and equally important, it means investing the resources of the AFA in support of graduate students and those who have recently completed their graduate education, for they represent the future of feminist anthropology.

From our President-elect, Florence Babb
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First, I would like to share the news that I have left the joint appointment I held for 22 years in Anthropology and Women's Studies at the University of Iowa. Over the years, Iowa has built up admirable strength in feminist anthropology, with faculty members Ellen Lewin, Meena Khandelwal, and professor emerita Margery Wolf, all joint appointments in the two departments. The strongest applicants for graduate studies often come from those wishing to specialize in feminist anthropology, making Iowa a magnet for doctoral study. The university also offers the PhD in Women's Studies, one of the earliest in the country.

In my new position at the University of Florida, I hold the Vada Allen Yeomans Chair in the Center for Women's Studies and Gender Research. An unusually large and vibrant faculty attracted me, along with evidence of serious institutional commitment to developing a new PhD program. This was recently demonstrated by the designation of an entire building for the Center, a historic women's gymnasium renovated as academic space to house the program. As an affiliate of Florida's Anthropology Department, I look forward to directing doctoral students there as well as in Women's Studies. Students wishing to pursue feminist anthropology will have more scholars, now including Stacey Langwick and Faye Harrison, to work with--making Florida another excellent venue for pursuing a doctoral degree.

When I assume the office of AFA President, I will want to continue the important work undertaken by past president Lynn Bolles and current president Mary Anglin. I'm particularly committed to the current emphasis on gender and globalization because I see attention to feminism and transnationalism as a very fruitful direction for scholarship and activism. I want to continue to strengthen the linkages with other sections of the AAA that share similar commitments, including the ABA, ALLA, and SOLGA, which also address questions of difference and inclusion--matters that concern us in our research as much as in our personal and professional lives. From my new vantage point in Women's Studies at Florida, I will welcome renewed attention to the important and long-term relationship between feminist anthropology and women's studies in carrying out groundbreaking work that promises to contribute both theoretical insights and political promise. If there is support for the idea, I will be pleased to explore the relationship between these two disciplines as an AFA initiative. We might consider the impact of anthropology more broadly on feminism and feminist studies over the last three decades--and, likewise, the impact of feminist scholarship in the discipline during the same time period. It may be time to take stock as we consider the state of the art today and the challenges we face for the future in our commitment to gender studies and gender justice, broadly defined in a transnational world.

La Victoria: Women, Community And Contestation In Santiago, Chile

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Abstract: *This article highlights the critical action and reflection of women activists in La Victoria, a población of Santiago, Chile. Women's contributions to community building, from the founding of the población in a 1957 land seizure, through the years of military rule to present day, are addressed. This article illustrates ways in which women talk back to the powerful political, social, and economic forces that shape and constrain their lives. The account is drawn from a larger collaborative project documenting women's community building from the Andes to the Rockies.*

Key words: *Women, Chile, community organization, neoliberalism*

Over the past few years I have been working in collaboration with women in four neighborhood and community-based organizations in Santiago, Chile, exploring ways in which women tell stories of struggle, give meaning to their social experience, and locate themselves vis-à-vis the state and neoliberalism. How do their stories address questions of meaning, power, context, and history? How do they speak of gender and themselves as women? How do they challenge the fictions of the social order and craft alternative possibilities? I focus here on conversations with women of *La Victoria*, a small *población* whose name looms large in the Chilean popular imagination.

Entry into *La Victoria*: August, 2000: I meet with three women activists of *La Victoria* in the *Junta de Vecinos* office on a winter afternoon. We huddle near the stove, sip Nescafe, and share stories of women's community work. My companions' talk turns to feminism, criticizing those who call themselves feminists while distancing themselves from the *pobladoras*. They challenge the "officialist feminism" of state-sponsored women's organizations: "Those women simply maintain the hierarchy of authority and the class system. There is no place for the *pobladora* there. It's all about self-esteem and personal development courses on exercise and meditation. That's all it is. They have no connection to the reality of the everyday struggles of women here." My companions begin identifying women and men whose personal stories speak to the collective struggles and hope of *La Victoria*. But first, they remind me, to understand *La Victoria* today, "you need to know our history." We formed a work group, and over the following winters we recorded residents' memories and histories, gathered archival materials, and began to write a collective story of organization, solidarity, and hope.

History and Memory: *La Victoria* is a small place with a large history. Its 96 blocks of humble adobe houses are home to 22,000 residents. Its street names – Carlos Marx, *Primero de Mayo* – mark a history of political consciousness and struggle. The *población* was founded in a 1957 *toma*, or land occupation, organized by committees of homeless workers and their families with support from left

political parties. Residents are quick to claim *La Victoria's* fame as the country's first successful mass *toma* and to recount their victory over the miserable conditions in which they had been living.

Upon seizing the land, *victorianos* began building community. They formed block organizations, plotted home sites, built the community clinic and school, and claimed land rights and recognition from the state. From the start, women played central roles in social and political organization. Women were trained as popular health workers; they started women's clubs, formed adobe brigades for home construction, and organized fundraising activities. Women who grew up in *La Victoria* were socialized to political consciousness and action from childhood. As one longtime community activist recalls:

> "First we won the land, then our parents had to make the bricks to build the houses and school, map the streets and the lots, put up the walls, and learn how to live together… Our culture grew from there in that we all knew one another and we all shared in the hardship, and we all shared in the poverty … we were part of everything our parents were doing … And when we began construction of the houses, we helped one another. They instilled this in us from childhood. This is our inheritance, this concrete solidarity. I believe that this is our wealth, to have a sense of belonging, to see oneself as a builder."

The streets of *La Victoria* figure prominently in women's stories as stages from which they crafted community and themselves with the resources at hand. Women fondly remember their socialization as performers from early childhood with the streets as their stage. Participation in neighborhood theater troupes, mural brigades, and musical groups were part of their everyday experience. As one woman recalls: "We were all artists. The streets were our paper and nails were our pencils." Throughout the 1960s and early 70s *La Victoria's* ongoing performance of collective possibility inspired other groups to act as *tomas* became a key part of popular struggle.

Mural art from *La Victoria*

The rupture of history is palpable in women's stories as they recount the military coup in 1973 and the brutality of

the dictatorship that followed. *La Victoria* became a laboratory for repression under the Pinochet regime. Raids, tanks, and arrests shaped the contours of everyday life. Further, Chile's poor and working classes served as economic shock absorbers as Chile became the showcase for neoliberal "reform." First in the shadows and then in the full light of day, *victorianos* continued to organize. Working with church groups and underground political organizations, women took leadership in forming food-co-ops, soup kitchens, milk distribution programs, and protest health brigades to aid victims of state violence. They worked to go beyond fear and into the streets in their efforts to keep grassroots resistance and resilience alive. As one activist recalls, necessity was the mother of invention:

> "We kept coming together and saying, 'we have to do something. What can we do?' The ideas had to do with our history, of inventing new possibilities... We had to break through the fear and get people out in the streets. For March 8, International Women's Day, we invented the 'tea club.' This whole street was filled with tables and chairs and everybody came out to have *onces* ["elevenses" or afternoon tea] for March 8. The men and children served the women. They cooked in the soup kitchen this day and they gave each of us women a red carnation. And the table was so big, it went on forever, it was really something. We did this every year on International Women's Day... We did the same thing for every anniversary. We celebrated every year on October 30."

"Women don't only want to give life; we also want to change it."

Their stories speak to ways in which *victorianos* drew on their knowledge and practice of community building, honed from the time of the *toma*, and strategically mobilized those practices for resistance and survival under the dictatorship.

Democracy and Determination: *La Victoria* 2004:

After seventeen years of military rule, Chile began its transition to democracy in 1990. Poverty and maginaliza-

tion still constrain the lives of *victorianos*. Residents live the contradictions of Chile's neoliberal economic "miracle."

They bear the consequences of structural adjustment, anti-crime campaigns, and other state-sanctioned forms of exclusion. Some women speak frankly of their exhaustion after years of struggle; others voice frustration of media-fueled images of *La Victoria* as a locus of crime, drugs, and violence. Some acknowledge the shards of truth within these images, then call attention to the delinquency inherent in the logic of neoliberalism and question the brutal calculus that legitimizes the human costs of economic growth. Women activists question what has changed and what has remained the same in the formal transition from dictatorship to democracy. They have talked back to the cultural politics of silence regarding the violence and violations of the military regime, and they challenge the erasure of collective memory and the historical amnesia that have accompanied the imposition of neoliberal ideology and policy (Moulian, 1997). Some women activists organize mural brigades to talk back to official silences and reclaim the meaning and power of collective memory. Others challenge a discourse which defines citizens as consumers in a market economy. They critically analyze the politics of fear behind "citizen security" campaigns. Some now speak of neighbors and neighboring to describe significant social and political relationships, turning away from a discourse of citizenship that has been compromised by neoliberalism. When asked about the lessons learned over fifty years, *victorianas* highlight the importance of remembering roots, the power of participation, people working together, the value of community over profits, and the need to create spaces to build together.

Women of *La Victoria* have talked back to power. They have questioned the legitimacy of a "depoliticizing" feminist discourse and practice. They have drawn inspiration from a history storied bigger than life. And they have invented possibilities for community survival from the cultural and material resources at hand. Their stories speak to the possibilities for transforming positions of oppression into resources for making political claims. They point to the need for imagining new forms of community in order to confront the challenges posed by the shifting forces of neoliberalism. They recognize the importance of claiming spaces of ambiguity and transforming them into places of solidarity and bases of critical action. For those of us engaged in critical scholarship and practice for social transformation their stories remind us that we must engage in deep play with the people, institutions, and practices that maintain and exacerbate inequalities. It is a game we seemingly cannot win, but that, at the same time, we must play.

Photographs courtesy of Janet Finn

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The Permanent Transition In Africa

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Abstract: *The negative impact of hegemonic neoliberal policies on women has been well documented globally, but it is more intense and absolute in Sub-Saharan Africa because of specific economic characteristics frequently found there. With few exceptions, its national economies are small, with especially small industrial sectors. Their orientation towards primary product exports, dominated by men locally and globally, remains strong from colonial rule, ended less than 50 years ago. Recent structural adjustment programs (SAPs) have only reinforced this imbalance. The credit and demand restraints associated with SAPs cause deep economic hardship among women and the poor, as consumers and workers. Capital shortage and unreliable infrastructure inhibit the anticipated supply response from local entrepreneurs or foreign investment. Widespread layoffs, higher user fees and government cutbacks in already minimal public services increase poor women's domestic drudgery, health care burdens and income pressures, while reducing their employment prospects and earnings.*

Key words: *Africa, women, development*

Under the banner of globalization, economic policies first promulgated across Africa as temporary corrective measures by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (WB/IMF) have turned into permanent conditions of life and work. These neoliberal austerity programs were called Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) because their avowed goal was to adjust the fundamental economic structures of a nation to fit with global realities. African governments, like others around the world, were assured that this policy medicine, though bitter, would hasten economic recovery for a healthy and prosperous future. Instead, the cure has been redefined as health, itself. The draconian loan "conditionalities" insisted upon by the WB/IMF as part of the SAP loan agreements, along with their painful side effects, were often accepted by ordinary citizens as a necessary punishment for their past indiscipline or other economic misdeeds. These same austerities now became evidence of success, or were even claimed as rewards for strict compliance with the policy regimen presented as the Washington Consensus. Structural features of the regional economy which had often featured in independence-era rhetoric as colonial legacies, or obstacles to be overcome through development, have now reappeared as desirable goals worthy of such public sacrifice.

Because of several features shared by many African national economies, SAPs have had some drastic effects in Sub-Saharan Africa. Many of the more usual negative effects on women and the poor, which have been documented in so many communities around the world, are intensified by these same conditions. African nations have**,** of course, many economic and other variations, and South Africa is at least a partial exception to many of the generalizations that are otherwise widely applicable to Sub-Saharan Africa. Most of these nations have relatively small-sized economies with smaller manufacturing sectors,

in comparison to nations on other continents facing similar neoliberal policy pressures, such as Latin America or Eastern Europe. Africa's former colonies were already externally-oriented in the extreme, emerging from a relatively recent colonial past that had reconstructed their economic institutions to facilitate agricultural and mineral exports. Their relatively small local demand offers little weight to stabilize external impacts.

The first WB/IMF loan "conditionality" to be enforced is often a drastic devaluation of local and regional currencies. In Africa, this has relatively little cost to multinational companies or banks, because they hold such low levels of local currencies and assets in Africa compared to Latin American currencies. Devaluation also can usually be implemented by executive fiat, without the messy delays of democratic process. Its immediate impact is to worsen terms of trade, which rapidly inflates prices of imported goods and, through the higher cost of gasoline and farm inputs, affects the prices of local foods as well Where government subsidies for gasoline or staples such as rice or cornmeal existed, they were removed to bolster supposedly "free market" trade, with a resultant sharp increase in the cost of basic subsistence goods. The major African products exported, such as cocoa, coffee, tea, timber, gold and diamonds, lack a commensurate elasticity in global demand. Even in cases where production rises to compensate, it creates excess supply that pushes prices down further. Total earnings therefore often fall, reducing both government revenues and private incomes. The shrinking of real incomes and effective purchasing power surprisingly crop up as an intended positive result, because they fit under the general rubric of demand constraint. This heading also includes credit restraint, with an abrupt halt to low-interest credit programs meant to stimulate local agricultural production or industry. The resulting lower local demand theoretically should stabilize local currencies, although with the corresponding supply response impossible or ineffective, a downward spiral remains evident in many countries.

Compounding the impoverishment from these financial policies, the pressure to balance national budgets generally results very quickly in massive layoffs of public employees. The small size of the private sector in many African countries increases the relative impact of these layoffs on average or total incomes. More of the high-paying jobs are within the public sector in Africa than in other world regions. Like in the US and elsewhere, women find more opportunities for employment in the public sector because of more extreme discrimination in private employment. In Ghana, as in many countries, women employees (public and private) were also laid off at a higher rate than men, if only because they had less seniority on average. These "redeployees" were exhorted to participate in the patriotic task of economic restructuring by becoming entrepreneurs. They were supposed to be absorbed by a predicted rapid expansion in the formal and informal private sectors, in response to supposed economic efficiencies.

Unfortunately, the working population did not see this private sector growth materialize. Formal private sector firms also laid off employees rapidly during this same

period. Many small manufacturers could not cope with higher input prices and increased competition from imports after trade liberalization. Although imported consumer goods were expensive relative to real incomes, capital or credit was not available on economically viable terms to increase local production. The predicted foreign capital investment lagged far behind projections and needs. The example of imported second-hand clothes displacing local seamstresses and tailors is repeated across the continent. Farm yields dropped in some countries, for example, because fertilizer and insecticide use dropped sharply with higher prices or the removal of subsidies.

Privatization of government industries did little to halt the trend of shrinking private sector employment, as many simply collapsed. In fact, there were few attractive assets to sell off except natural resources. Mining operations, one of the only expanding sectors, did see increased capital investment that went primarily to modernizing equipment and actually reduced the need for labor. Higher paying technical and management jobs in these joint ventures often went to expatriates, reversing whatever Africanization of the workforce might have taken place after independence.

Men as well as women thus swelled the numbers of informal workers but were dividing up a stagnant or shrinking pool of income generated. The informal sector was strictly limited in its expansion capacity by the restraints on demand and credit just described. Although the majority of women, who were already employed in the informal sector in large numbers, had never qualified for formal sector credit, they might have expected some access to incomes derived from wage labor through loans from family members with savings and through household support by formerly employed family members. The unemployment of these few more prosperous relatives had serious ripple effects, as they could no longer help less fortunate relatives and, in fact, now competed with them for the more lucrative positions in the informal sector. Women, as wives of newly unemployed or underemployed husbands, faced more pressure to replace the income now missing from them. The same women, as small-scale traders, faced falling incomes themselves, because they divided a shrinking pie of consumer demand with other women's unemployed husbands.

The reduction in government services through budget cuts globally affects women disproportionately as they are the ones called upon to compensate with their own services. It also hit African countries especially hard because their provision of services was often relatively thin at best. In education, the drop in overall school attendance was notable and the gap between boys and girls also usually increased. Even families that wanted to educate both boys and girls, as in most of Southern Ghana, had to make hard choices about who they could afford to send to school. Higher school expenses, such as uniforms and PTA contributions, were compounded by the increased pressure for older children to earn money as secondary workers in the household. Girls faced double disadvantages: their career prospects relied more heavily on public service jobs such as teaching and nursing, while pressures on their mothers

to work more created more demand for their domestic services in cooking and childcare. Pressures on schoolgirls to find financially supportive sexual partners also multiplied with family financial stress.

Health care responds directly to the level of public sector funding, with relatively little private sector service provision in most African countries. The AIDS epidemic makes the reduction in public health services even more tragic and even more gender-specific. Less publicized diseases like malaria and dysentery also cause high rates of illness and mortality, with a highly gendered impact due to the unequal distribution of health care. Increased user fees in Ghana reportedly force families routinely to withdraw their sick children from hospitals, although there have not been reports of discrimination between girl and boy children. Adults even question the use of seeing doctors when they cannot afford the medicines prescribed. Women and girls have always taken the major burden of home health care, a burden which intensifies as access to effective scientific medicine is reduced and sicker relatives require more care. When the caregiver herself becomes ill, her own access even to basic home care is questionable. The HIV infection rate is disproportionate among women, both an effect and a cause of their economic vulnerability. The burden then falls on older girls to meet both the care and income needs of parents and siblings.

Structural Adjustment Programs did not spare even the public utilities from budget cuts, including water and electricity, which also have their gendered aspects. As with education and health services, many African countries had relatively skimpy coverage even before they introduced neoliberal austerity measures. Unreliable supplies in urban areas helped discourage international investment and, less visibly, reduced profitability for small formal and informal workshops. Once user fees rose sharply, as a cost recovery measure, many urban families could no longer cover their monthly bills. Interruptions of service due to nonpayment added to those due to poor maintenance of lines, without generating enough money for significant repairs. Those rural villages fortunate enough to already have service confronted the same problem from a lower cash income base, so rural families had to cut back even on electric lighting. Electric power and piped water, where available, greatly reduce the drudgery of domestic tasks. Women who formerly had access to grinding mills had to return to grinding their grain by hand. Fetching daily water can take hours when it again means walking long distances to ponds or rivers, or waiting in long lines at the few faucets still operating. Privatization of water and electricity supply companies is increasingly common in African countries, since these are some of the few economically viable possibilities for joint ventures with non-African companies. While these projects sometimes increase the reliability of services, however, they rarely reduce costs or extend service to less profitable rural communities.

The loan conditionalities characteristic of Structural Adjustment Programs and still insisted upon for loan renewals direct what funds are available to exports, old and new. The principles of comparative advantage used to prioritize capital investments identify products with relatively low lo-

cal costs. These costs can remain low as a result of relatively recent colonial policies that made land and labor available to these industries at below replacement cost, either by direct appropriation and forced labor or by systematic undermining of more autonomous local options. Traditional export sectors like mining or cocoa generally show the least female ownership and formal employment. The "new exports" that receive special attention in WB/IMF reports are also characterized by low cost because they leave relatively little money in the producer country. Growing fresh flowers or green beans for air shipment to Europe, for example, often relies on unpaid family labor or casual piecework by rural women. This arrangement passes on most of the risk of volatile prices, as well as more of the cost, to the local community and specifically to poor women, with relatively few women among the contractors or employers. Such "comparative advantage" often uses land and labor with low current cost because of a history of colonial appropriation or disruption by force.

The neoliberal goal of reorienting economic activity in general towards the needs of the global economy implicitly turns it away from local needs and accountability. Loss of local control is a well-publicized common feature of SAPs in many parts of the world. Again, the situation in African countries tends to be more extreme for several mutually reinforcing reasons. Only a few African countries, perhaps only South Africa and Nigeria, have large enough national economies to buffer them significantly against external influences. Even these two countries' economic institutions are thoroughly externally oriented as a legacy of colonial rule. Almost all African countries are recently independent by global standards, so less than fifty years ago external economic priorities were still enforced by the colonial military. The coercion may now be economic, enforced by debt and dependence on foreign aid, but the outcome seems no less inevitable to most participants and observers. The sense of déjà vu is enhanced by the fact that the very policies enforced in many cases reinforce colonial patterns of meeting the industrial and commercial needs of international businesses. In Ghana, for example, the familiar colonial trinity of gold, timber and cocoa received the bulk of infrastructural investment financed by WB/IMF loans.

Establishing an alternative model for identifying priorities and holding policymakers accountable is an uphill battle, even in intellectual circles. In most African countries, very few citizens have been educated in Western terms to the point of negotiating on a level playing field with World Bank experts. The indigenous elite may even be working for the World Bank. Arguably, their Western training discourages them from taking up the less abstract interests of home and gender. More immediate are the economic incentives to work in directions that attract funding from multilateral and bilateral development agencies.

The startling proliferation of consultants and entrepreneurial NGOs has been remarked upon in many parts of the world, not least in the area of gender and development. Like so many of the other trends noted here, the relative dearth of other employment opportunities in most African countries, even with multinational corporations, makes the

NGO phenomenon especially conspicuous. The incomes available through these international connections are quite out of proportion to locally-generated incomes, whether in business or the academy. This elite sector, based mainly in the capital city, visibly prospers under the globalized knowledge economy and sustains the impression of growth and prosperity. Men in general predominate in its more lucrative upper levels, but it also incorporates a sizable proportion of the progressive educated women, who then scramble to survive and raise their children amidst cutthroat competition.

Few women or men in this precariously privileged position risk going beyond the accepted bounds of liberalism, assessing the social costs of adjustment rather than criticizing its basic assumptions. Nonetheless, international organizations like UNECA, UNICEF and CODESRIA have been important sources of resistance by publishing critiques of structural adjustment.   These groups rarely integrate gender issues into their general publications, but they do afford African scholars a rare platform on which to construct a more feminist perspective. Much of the research effort expended by Africans and expatriates so far has concentrated on documenting the hardships women suffer in various countries because of Structural Adjustment Programs. Those scholars with an economics background have also documented the lack of predicted growth or the unbalanced character of the growth that can be measured. UNDP and the more radical voices in UNIFEM and OXFAM have begun to suggest alternative directions for development, but they lack the resources to move beyond small-scale demonstration projects. The once more liberal donor countries have now mostly fallen into line, no longer supporting programs or countries that lack the WB/IMF seal of approval.

Years of documentation of the adverse effects of structural adjustment by leading researchers have apparently fallen on deaf ears. The same policy regime, now usually called globalization, is still widely represented as a positive, or at least inevitable, choice. It is difficult for many committed scholars to move beyond denouncing it, while its ill effects remain so evident. The Gender and Economic Reform in Africa initiative of Canada's North-South Institute offers seed money for research on activist alternatives, but its first round of grants generated mainly additional impact assessments. For some African women, however, the evident extreme hardship seriously undermines their commitment to the status quo. Inverting the usual modernization assumptions, they portray neoliberal policies as the real dead end, presenting no new opportunities, no basis even for reproduction and no potential for growth or meaningful development. When African activist researchers gathered in their regional preparatory conference before the Beijing UN Conference On The Status Of Women, they decided on a platform plank based on social reproduction and their hopes for the future: the rights of the girl child. These new radicals adopted the banner of survival first, for all, in the face of AIDs as well as in the deepening shadow of the old specters of starvation and war. Their dangerous current situation has given women's groups in Uganda and

Liberia the nerve to tackle some of the most difficult issues first, including land tenure and peace.

A remarkable feature for anthropologists is these radical activists' dynamic and possessive approach to local cultures. Retaining a fierce commitment to their cultural identities, they draw on cultural resources selectively. They reserve the right to "choose what we want;" to redefine the content or markers of those identities. They seek models for group solidarity that reject fragmentation and polarization, whether they place gender, religion, ethnicity or other loyalties at the center. These models are compatible with the globalized situation of their communities, accommodating emigration and other foreign experiences as an integral part of their local belonging. In similar ways, they represent their push for autonomy in opposition to Western feminist individualism, as a new and stronger expression of their loyalty to community. Increasingly, they are working and publishing through Africa-based institutions for research and advocacy, such as Third World Network (Accra), AA-WORD (Dakar) and African Gender Institute (U. Cape Town). The new agendas for social action and intellectual growth generated by these new centers pose exciting challenges to agendas arising within multilateral aid agencies or Western-oriented universities. The continuing hegemony of neoliberalism in the distribution of material resources, however, constitutes an important factor containing this implicit threat. While neoliberal policies themselves are consistently minimizing or eliminating other potential sources of funds, finding the means to enact, test and refine these alternative practices and theories of development remains a daunting obstacle.

NGO Policy, Sex Workers and Structural Violence: Looking Beyond the Brothel Village

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Abstract: Different styles of intervention collide when non governmental organizations' operationalize their respective discourses on human rights and risk. In this article, I examine this issue in the context of Vietnamese sex workers in Cambodia. Some NGOs see themselves as "rescuing" sex workers from brothels, while other NGOs try to empower them as sex workers as a strategy to reduce the spread of HIV. Each undertakes a project designed to "do good," but neither addresses the structural violence that make sex work one of a very few options for these women. In this article, I present four of the structural problems that create conditions for entire villages of brothels to thrive. Particularly important is doi moi, the 1986 economic liberalizing project in Vietnam.

Key words: NGOs, sex workers, Cambodia

In this article I examine two non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that address issues of sex workers in a "brothel village" outside of Phnom Penh in Cambodia. One organization seeks to "rescue" women from the brothel while the other embraces a harm reduction strategy. Yet neither approach adequately addresses the conditions that have created an environment that allows brothels to flourish. Here, I offer four structural reasons I uncovered in my fieldwork that explain why sex work has become so endemic in this region.

There are up to 10,000 Vietnamese sex workers in Cambodia (UNICEF cited in Busza, et al 2004)), and four brothel areas are located near Phnom Penh. While being a prostitute is legal in Cambodia, brothels are illegal—a contradiction that is resolved through bribery. The clientele include Cambodian and Vietnamese men, in addition to men visiting from Asia and the West. About 300 sex workers inhabit 20 brothels in Svay Pak, a so-called "brothel village" that is an entry point for Vietnamese sex workers. The women in Svay Pak were largely brothel-based during the time of my research in 2000-2001, however with the introduction of the 100% condom use policy instituted by the Cambodian government, surveillance seemed to be curtailing the open-air style market for sex, and, ironically, was driving it underground, making it more difficult to address safe sex practices in a responsible manner.

Most women working in these brothels are debt-bonded—they or their families borrow a sum of money that is reimbursed in increments from paid sexual encounters. Usually half of what women earn from each client goes towards paying off her debt, and the other half is profit for the brothel owner. Any expenses such as food, medical bills, fines, clothes, jewelry, are added onto her debt. The debt ranges from $250 to $1000 (a sizeable amount considering the average annual income in Cambodia is $300 (Kamm 1998) and $420 in Vietnam (Packer 2005)), and once it is repaid in 6-12 months she may either continue working to save money, borrow more, or return home. The money is borrowed to pay medical bills, to build a house for the family, to educate siblings, or in one case, to pay off gambling debts incurred by the woman's family. Frequently, mothers bring their daughters to the brothel -- one brothel owner attracted families who knew her in Vietnam-- or they are trafficked. By "trafficked" I mean that through a network of people involved in the sex trade, the women were able to identify Svay Pak as a destination, and arrange to get there from Vietnam. I do not use "trafficked" to mean that a woman is deceived (told she will be a waitress for example) or subjected to the use of physical force. In the 18 interviews I conducted with sex workers, none said she had experienced bodily violence. A survey showed that only 6% of the women there stated that they had been deceived and that they did not know they would become prostitutes (Busza, et al 2004).

Each of these styles of intervention has commendable goals—removing people from abysmal conditions, and improving health and well being. But they might not ultimately accomplish those goals because the prevalence of sex work is not the fundamental problem: it's a symptom. The

problem is the structural violence inherent in new economic strategies that has shaped women's choices. In the next section of this article, I discuss four factors that I feel have made the conditions in Cambodia an inviting destination to impoverished sending families in Vietnam.

First, Cambodia suffered greatly as a result of its history of colonization, civil war, and US bombing during the American-Vietnam War. In addition, the dictatorship of Pol Pot and the 10-year occupation by Vietnam extended violent conflict through the 90s. The disequilibrium that followed as a result was horrifying. By the end of the Pol Pot era, an estimated 1-2 million people had died, there were 45 doctors where there had once been 450; two-thirds of the population were now women, infrastructure including transportation and communication were destroyed, and currency had been abolished. Most educated Cambodians emigrated or were killed (Myslliwiec 1988; Heder and Ledgerwood 1996). The ramifications of these tragic events are still felt today and manifest themselves in the appearance of persistent lawlessness. Brothel owners bribe police to continue business; some brothels are even owned by police.

Second, influencing the flow of women from Vietnam to Cambodia is the Vietnamese economic policy known as *doi moi*, introduced in 1986, which liberalized the trade and service sectors, infused agricultural production and industry with capital investment, and allowed foreign investment (Hoang 1999; Tran 1999). While *doi moi* greatly increased rice production by essentially de-collectivizing farming, like most free market policies, it also had a negative effect. In the South, where the majority of women working in Svay Pak are from, land ownership became concentrated, and some families had to resort to low-wage labor to survive (Tran 1999). Illiterate girls were left with few options.

A third factor, linked to *doi moi*, is the extremely limited availability of micro-credit operations in Vietnam (Packard 2005). If a family owns land they have access to low-interest loans. Without land ownership, loans are virtually unavailable. If a crisis strikes, the economic niche of debt-bonded sex work provides relief for the family.

Fourth, a confluence of events placed Svay Pak firmly on the world sex tourism map. Svay Pak had once been a fishing village where ethnic Vietnamese settled in Cambodia. It had several brothels for small-scale, local consumption. But in 1992-3 there was an influx of 21,000 soldiers and personnel representing the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia, each with a daily allowance equal to the average Cambodian's yearly income (Kamm 1998). At the same time, a series of fires leveled the village's wooden structures, and given the new demand for sex tourism by wealthy foreigners (and the market for exoticized Asian women in particular), the village was rebuilt in concrete and the streets were widened.

Several different local and international NGOs work in the village and are commonly divided into two camps: the "abolitionists", who periodically conduct raids on the brothels to "rescue" the women, and the "harm-reductionists", who work in the village with the women and the brothel owners to try to empower the women and to increase their efficacy. In this article, I contrast the efforts of two NGOs: International Justice Mission (IJM), a Christian organization from Washington, DC, and Horizons Project, an HIV-reduction program that is funded by a grant from United States Agency for International Development. While each organization is "doing good" on behalf of the women they attempt to serve, they each have very different strategies for approaching this situation and therefore, the outcome of each of their efforts is also quite different (Fisher: 1997). And despite their efforts, neither addresses the structural forces that have pushed women into sex work in the first place.

IJM carries out its abolitionist mission by conducting raids on brothels in South and Southeast Asia in order to rescue women. In its raids, it assumes that all women in the brothels are forced into sex work and on that basis it removes them, usually in a sting-style operation. The sex workers are then taken to a local shelter. IJM also embraces a "law and order" approach, which includes having brothel owners arrested and prosecuted in addition to the raids. Some sex workers may be relieved by IJM's efforts, but not all, as evidenced by the escape of "rescued" women from their shelter (Jones 2003). Periodic raids in Svay Pak by abolitionists were looked upon with dread and concern by brothel owners and sex workers alike as both sides recognized that compromising sex work would result in bribes, increasing debt-loads, and restriction of movement for the women.

In a recent, televised raid that took place in Svay Pak (Dateline NBC 2003), IJM performed a botched sting operation on a house where young girls were prostituted for oral sex. The IJM associates, posing as clients, seized some girls and took them crying and screaming from the house. The girls seemed to think they were being kidnapped. In addition to this raid, IJM also raided multiple brothels in the village, breaking locks on buildings, and seizing some women and transporting them to a shelter. Most women later escaped. IJM also took the debt records left behind—an unfortunate event for the women who returned to the brothel to work, as this was likely to be the only record of their debt-repayment. An interview with the manager of the shelter said many of the women leave after they are rescued, and return to their brothel. They cannot afford to lose their livelihood, or to leave before they repay their debt.

In looking at the strategies used by abolitionists, one striking feature is the alliance between feminists and Evangelical Christians. The language of feminists such as Catherine MacKinnon (1993) and Donna Hughes (2002; 2003) is echoed in the discourse of IJM (Haugen 2002; 2004). The discourse of IJM sees all sex work as coercive, and most women as devoid of agency in terms of sex work—they simply could not have *chosen* sex work. As they write, "... the rape-for-profit enterprise called sex trafficking. All around the world, millions of women and girls are abducted, sold and imprisoned in brothels and other enterprises of the commercial sex trade where they are forced to provide sex to paying customers" (Haugen [founder of IJM] 2003: 6). (This number has been contested. Shapiro (2004) quotes

Ann Jordan, director of a trafficking program run by the International Human Rights Law Group in Washington, DC: "The situation has been exaggerated; that seems to be the reality we're learning.") In its literature, web site and interviews, IJM focuses on the most emotional, individual, cruel instances in making its case against sex work (see *www.ijm.org*). However, these horrific cases do not reflect the reality for all. In fact, many of them agree to do this work. One woman I interviewed asked me, "Is it OK if I say I like it here? I like it here!"

For a contrasting approach taken by another NGO dealing with sex work, I turn to Horizons. In 2000 Horizons began a two-year research project with sex workers. Horizons operated out of a clinic in Svay Pak that was run by Doctors Without Borders. Space there was dedicated to a social area where the women could meet and relax, and the women named it the Lotus Club, or *Câu Lac Bô Bông Sen*, after the name they use for themselves: "the women who sell their flower" (Busza et al 2001: 9). The project was a participatory, learning and action (PLA) project where project facilitators taught the women critical thinking skills so they could gain control over what they did and how they did it. Together the women and the PLA facilitator learn about a situation that the women identify as important, come up with solutions, and analyze those ideas and set realistic objectives. The goal is for the women to develop a sense of cooperation and community among themselves and between brothels so they can strengthen themselves, achieve shared goals, and indirectly reduce the women's vulnerability to HIV (Busza et al 2001).

A critique leveled at such intervention by abolitionists is that it normalizes sex work. "Harm reduction is more than an approach to combating AIDS; it is a movement with an ideological agenda to normalize and decriminalize the sex trade and drug use. People and organizations with these fringe political agendas have hijacked many of the HIV/AIDS prevention projects" (Hughes 2003). A main concern for Horizons was the well-being of the women, and the protection of their health, given the realities of their work. But in a sense, some of the empowerment projects did teach the women how to be safer sex workers by using techniques such as putting condoms on with one's mouth in order to persuade the client to use a condom. While this was intended to counteract the women's relative powerlessness against a drunk or violent client, it sexualized a part of the body that had not been heretofore. As one woman said, "the mouth is for eating."

Yet there are limitations to working toward empowerment as a goal of reducing HIV, as one informant pointed out:

> …There's a ceiling in terms of the kind of empowerment we can do. I mean there's a ceiling in that women prioritize their risks in terms of what they believe their family will get. So if a client doesn't want to wear a condom and offers $20 more, sure some of the women are not going to say yes. But some of them will. Because it's all about supporting the family… the question that comes to me, the biggest

question that has come out of my work here is do we try to fracture that family structure and say to them, 'you are your own person. You have to make your decisions for you.' or do we support the family structure and say 'if you protect yourself you can live longer to serve your family longer.' I'm uncomfortable with that approach… I think there's an enormous amount of pressure that's put on the women from their family and their sense of filial obligation. And we need to make choices about whether to break through that or not. And I don't believe we've made that choice and said to them that you're your own individual person. We're doing it slowly and gradually by introducing them to thinking for themselves, by engaging them in activities where they have to think and have to come to decisions by themselves. But it's difficult.

One informant with another harm-reduction NGO discussed the nuances and complications of the empowerment approach in her discussion of why they had started extending their social and medical services to children in the village, something that would certainly be disturbing to abolitionists. "We were unable to walk outside the clinic door and not see 10 or 11 or 12 year olds who we knew were engaged in sex work," and so began offering sessions for children once a month where issues around being assertive, how to say no, and language for sexual health were raised. She said:

> The problem is that families know exactly what is going on; they're the one complicit in arranging their children to work in sex work. So it's hard to work with the children and encourage them to say no when their families are saying yes…We understand trauma when we understand a different context; we recognize that our behavior is out of a normal context once we understand the definition of that normal context. These children don't have that outer definition. There's nothing to compare it to. They live in Svay Pak; they don't go to school. They see the sex workers flirting with young men. They know if they flirt with the men they get a Coke. The parents are condoning—the ultimate moral social structure, right? So it's normal. They don't even think twice about it…So we're trying to get them to have some perspective, to just wedge it open a little bit so they have that little sliver of objectivity so that they can start to think about what's happening.

It's here that the difference between the two groups is most visible. I suggest that the abolitionists do not acknowledge the complexities of the situation. They believe it is best to remove the women from the area, and arrest brothel owners, not recognizing that prostitution is an economic

niche that will be filled by other women who have the same economic need. Abolitionists attribute the blame for this situation as resting on the patriarchal system of male domination, and and see this inequality embodied in the brothel owners and clients. And abolitionists simplistically critique harm-reductionists' efforts as encouraging sex work. In contrast, harm reduction organizations recognize that women and children are not necessarily trafficked, or coerced, but that there is an entire community built around the industry of sex work, and just removing individuals, whether or not they want to leave, will not address the problem. They recognize that the problem of sex work is rooted in gender inequality, poor education, and lack of sustainable jobs in sending communities (Busza *et al.* 2004). Sex work is an economic niche, as is owning a brothel, and as long as the conditions of need are present, someone will fill them

Policies of groups like IJM and attempts to rescue women from brothels, while well-intentioned, do little to acknowledge or rectify these inequalities. Indeed, an argument could be made that by rescuing and removing the women IJM exposes even more women to the detriments of sex work as new "recruits" rush in to fill the void that results from a raid. Meanwhile, Horizons attempts to help women survive by teaching them strategies around sexual health. Neither approach, however, addresses the fundamental structural forces that have pushed the women toward this option. Considering that both of these programs receive some funding from the US government, and, as such, are seen as representing its interests, this failure to address underlying causes is a serious shortcoming. It's made even worse by the fact that part of Cambodia's ability to trade with the US is conditional and depends on the Cambodian government's commitment to decreasing "trafficking," something that is certainly beyond Cambodia's control, especially since most of these sex workers come from Vietnam. Especially disconcerting is the trend towards sex workers leaving the brothel and working underground, away from the surveillance of NGOs who are attempting to at least introduce safe sex practices in the context where HIV is a threat. Unfortunately, the spread of infection will likely increase as the current U.S. policy allows funding only to those projects that focus on eradicating sex work, and harm reduction projects such as Horizons' PLA are no longer supported (Saunders 2004). In keeping with the tenets of a globalized neoliberalism, such welfare services are now subcontracted to faith-based organizations that advocate only an abolitionist, abstinence-based program of intervention in their attempts to eradicate sex work.

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And yet, many activists remain skeptical. Women's participation in a global civil society is offset from within and beyond their social and national arenas by the unilateral practice of US governments (and their allied followers); the dominance of transnational gender politics by Euro-North American women's organizations, and the effects of neo-liberalism. Issues brought forth at the UN table are not given equal consideration as the individualized focus on civil and political rights still prevails over more collective struggles (Barton, 2004).

It is impossible here to parse the different kinds of women's organizations, except to stress their variability. Many have emerged from socially embedded relations and identities or within larger social movements; others emerge from recent crises or to provide a basic service. What they do share is some relationship to broader globalizing processes and some exposure to transformative gender perspectives, such as 'feminism' (which they may embrace, redefine or reject) (see, for example, George 2004). While women's organizations have expanded substantially in numbers, many operate within the mandates set by states, non-governmental bodies and even larger social movements, all of whom are eager to display their attention to women and gender issues in order to meet UN mandates, or to maintain funding allotted for women and/or gender initiatives (Molyneux, 2001) Moreover, it is important to note that the Beijing conference was held in the same year that the World Trade organization was formed, signaling the increased role of corporations in effecting a global economy that favours economic rationalization, downloading and fiscal restraint over social welfare. Women's organizations survive on thin budgetary resources and find themselves in a tricky balancing act, as service providers and advocates; and as subjects of a rationalizing process who are accountable for every moment passed and every resource spent.

In spite of the apparent increase in women's organizations and an attention to gender issues then, it can be argued that women's organizations, including more disputatious feminist and women-centred organizations, have been increasingly marginalized particularly in Anglo industrial centres (Bashevkin, 1998) and/or downplayed, undeveloped and discouraged in post colonial and post Soviet nations (eg. Hrycak, 2002). Moreover, the insertion of women's mobilization into NGO structures has debatably created a professionalization of change agents, and de-politicized this social and political arena (Alvarez, 2004). Interestingly, the expansion of transnational gender ideologies, including feminism itself, has made it difficult to even apprehend, define and appreciate grassroots women's responses to on-going political, social and economic changes worldwide.

The practice approach of feminist anthropology has effectively scratched the surface of these globalized structural arrangements to reveal, how changes framed by glob-alization are lived and negotiated by women, including everyday expressions of resistance and organizing around a wide range of issues. There is an ethnographic tradition for situating resistance within a cultural politics (more recently, see Cole, 1999; George, 2000, 2004) that exposes the way relations of power are both challenged and reproduced. There is a burgeoning and I would argue, still under-represented attention *in our analyses* that should extend beyond resistance to consider the ways in which women's grass roots experiences are discursively and materially framed by national and transnational politics (in the vein of, for example, Stephens, 1999 Babb, 2001). And the reflexive orientation of a practice approach ensures that social movements, including those with a progressive and gender orientation, are not immune to the processes of differentiation and privilege that distinguish women on the basis of ethnicity, region and class.

Annalise Moser's (2004) study of the *comedores populares* in Peru, shows for example the class based privilege along with the essentializing tendencies of elite women who are involved in this food providing service. As Amadiume's (2000) focus on Nigeria shows, the diversity of women's organizations at the grassroots, many of which are grounded in pre-existing social relations and identities, are not well represented in national women's organizations. In another example, an ethnographic account of a shelter for homeless women explores the challenges and difficulties that women, as clients and providers experience, thereby illustrating a more nuanced attention to class dynamics than is often the case in ethnographic work that deals with women (Bridgman, 2003). Class privilege emerges again, along with ethnic identity in comparative studies of women's activism in conflict zones in Sri Lanka and Belgrade (Giles et al, 2004). The latter examples challenge the parameters of transnational feminism as a transformative politics by exploring women's diverse participation in social movements that are both militarist and nationalist on one hand, while other women are active in anti-war mobilizations.

However, seen 'from below', globalization can also provide new avenues for making change, as it has helped produce an expanding network of transnational movements accompanied by discursive shifts that makes gender matter at many levels of government (Prugle and Meyer, 1999). Of particular interest is the expansion of activist strategies that have emerged from the grass roots, ranging from legal cases and rights claims to the creation of alternate marketing and income generating strategies; from internet communication and creative networking to local and transnational coalition building. If, for example, the national arms of women's organizations reached more women through their grassroots associations, and linked them to local political structures, greater democratization and representation might occur (Amadiume, 2000). More narrative accounts, of course, show how women move through, beyond and outside formal organizational structures and allow us to capture the meanings women assign to activism and the gendered social relations which are both woven through, or missing altogether from formal organizational structures (George, 2004).

Let me return to the events in Newfoundland, where I was reminded of the importance of debate in the way issues are framed and/or silenced. One woman, a director of the local women's center was discouraged that the Feminist Alliance for International Action (FAFIA) had devoted so little attention to rights regarding sexual orientation. FAFIA agreed. Another woman perceived the entire discussion about rights to be far removed from the realities of getting legal aid for women who need it, an insight shared by many women in many countries. And almost all present had an opinion on the value or problems with using "gender" or women in the move toward mainstreaming. In other words, these women were actively engaging with issues and meanings that had personal, local and transnational resonance. Perhaps a focus on the discursive frameworks in which women debate might bring together the local, regional and transnational more effectively.

In other words, the current state of gender politics provokes broader questions that perhaps anthropologists could bring more into their work, as these questions are being asked at all levels of gender-based organizing, albeit in very different, culturally informed, ways: First, has a shift away from women-centered activism occurred and if so, does this occur at the expense of women or does it offer a broader and more multi-leveled space for women to mobilize and effect change? And, second, have women's organizations and grassroots organizing become de-politicized with the expansion of the non-governmental sector and gender mainstreaming? These are questions that have both analytic and political resonance.

In Newfoundland, women were adamant that the shift toward 'consultation' of the grassroots does little to engender meaningful participation in policy making. The human rights agenda, however useful, should not be a focus at the expense of organized mobilization and alternate vision-making. Discussion of the Women's Global Charter for Humanity, which derived from the Women's World March, is well underway there, in preparation for events in 2005 which will see more than 5551 groups from 163 countries participate in local and translocal ways. Activist networks and alternate spaces for engagement are continually evolving and emerging, to draw in a wider range of groups, many of which are socially grounded in women's lives. Research in this area requires the interdisciplinary orientation that feminism has developed quite well but which could be enhanced by the methodological tools that feminist anthropologists have refashioned.

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Forthcoming Special Publication by AFA on Women and Globalization

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As one of the products of the two-year thematic focus on women and globalization, agreed upon during the presidency of Lynn Bolles, the AFA is compiling a volume titled *Gendered Globalizations: Women Navigating Cultural and Economic Marginalities,* co-edited by Nandini Gune-wardena and Ann Kingsolver. Initially, this volume was intended to come out in the form of a "big" *Voices* special issue, which would draw from the paper presentations in an AFA panel at the 2003 AAA meetings. That session was organized by Nandini Gunewardena and Lynn Bolles, and it was called "The Other Side of Peace: Women and Global-ization," in keeping with the AAA theme for that year. As we began to recognize the importance of globalization as a critical force affecting women in contemporary times, we realized that the AFA could make an ethnographic and theoretical contribution to the existing literature on the gen-dered nature of economic restructuring.

Faced also with budgetary constraints in putting out another "big" *Voices* issue, such as the one Sandi Morgen had edited in 2001 on women and impoverishment, Mary Anglin (as the current AFA president), Nandini Gunewar-dena and Ann Kingsolver approached the School of Ameri-can Research (SAR) about the possibility of a book project on the subject. The SAR Press staff responded positively, asking for a short seminar proposal in line with their cus-tomary procedure for considering book projects. Initially set for November 2004 in San Francisco, in conjunction with the 2004 AAA meetings, this seminar was rescheduled be-cause of the controversy surrounding holding the AAA meetings in the middle of the UNITE/HERE union lockout by the San Francisco Hilton.

The seminar was then convened on April 7 at the SAR in Santa Fe, New Mexico (concomitantly with the meetings of the Society for Applied Anthropology) with the participation of Lynn Bolles, Karen Brodkin, Faye Harrison, Louise Lamphere, Mary Moran, Sandi Morgen, and Patricia Zavella, who advised us on the structure of the book; the three organizers (Anglin, Gunewardena, and Kingsolver); and Catherine Cocks, Executive Editor of the SAR Press. The result of the seminar will be a set of concluding essays for the volume. The chapters for the collection include sev-eral from the above mentioned 2003 AFA session, and oth-ers solicited from another session," Global Apartheid, Envi-ronmental Degradation, and Women's Actions for Sustain-able Well-being," organized by Faye Harrison for the 2004 meetings of the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (ICAES). The ethnographic es-says in the volume will document and analyze women's experiences of globalization in and across several societies and regions (including Ghana, India, Jamaica/the Carib-bean, Liberia, Latin America, the Philippines/Rome/Los An-geles, the U.S. South, Sri Lanka, Sweden/Thailand), and will examine how women navigate the cultural and eco-nomic marginalities they encounter and how they engage individually and/or collectively in contestations of capitalist relations. We expect the book to be published in 2006 and hope that many members of AFA will find this book a useful resource for our teaching and further research on this topic. Please look for announcements of the book in AAA publica-tions and in the SAR catalogue.

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Although AFA does not usually publish book reviews in VOICES, we do post book reviews to the AFA Web site. Our book review editor is Suzanne Baker. We invite you to submit reviews of recent books that you think would be of interest for feminist anthropologists.

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"INVEST IN CARING NOT KILLING": REMARKS ON THE GLOBAL WOMEN'S STRIKE

Selma James, International Coordinator, Global Women's Strike

(selmajames@crossroadswomen.net)

The following remarks are excerpted from a speech given by Selma James, long-time activist, theoretician and author, founder in 1972 of the International Wages for Housework Campaign, and international coordinator of the Global Women's Strike. The Strike take place annually on International Women's Day (March 8) when grassroots women take actions with the theme: Invest in Caring Not Killing. Women in over 60 countries take part, including Argentina, Guyana, India, Italy, Ireland, New Zealand, Peru, Spain, Trinidad & Tobago, Uganda, Venezuela, USA as well as England where Ms James is based. This speech was given in April 2004 at the Crossroads Women Centre in London, headquarters for the international coordination of the Global Women's Strike. The occasion was a gathering of several GWS coordinators from all over the world, including representatives from the USA. In her remarks below, James captures her life-long commitment to bringing together women across divisions of race, nationality, sexual preference, age, disability, including both women who identify explicitly as feminists and women who are grassroots community activists, toward the common goal of ensuring that women get the recognition we are entitled to on a global scale.

For more information about the Global Women's Strike, see www.globalwomenstrike.net

To get involved in the Global Women's Strike in the USA:

On the east coast contact:

Global Women's Strike

c/o Crossroads Women's Center/Philly

Box 11795

Philadelphia, PA 19101

Tel: (215) 848-1120 Fax: (215) 848-1130

On the west coast contact:

Global Women's Strike

c/o Crossroads Women's Center/LA

Box 86681

Los Angeles, CA 90086

Tel: (323) 292-7405

DEMANDS OF THE GLOBAL WOMEN'S STRIKE:

- **Pay equity for all, women and men, in the global market.**

- **Food security for breastfeeding mothers, paid maternity leave and maternity breaks. Stop penalizing us for being women.**

- **Don't pay 'Third World debt'. We owe nothing, they owe us.**

- **Accessible clean water, healthcare, housing, transport, literacy.**

- **Non-polluting energy & technology which shortens the hours we work. We all need cookers, fridges, washing machines, computers, & time off!**

- **Protection & asylum from all violence & persecution, including by family members & people in positions of authority.**

- **Freedom of movement. Capital travels freely, why not people?**

FROM: www.globalwomenstrike.net

SELMA JAMES:

I want to explain why this meeting came together. Some women here may not be familiar with the words we use and how they are expressed. Don't be worried about it. And if there are ideas that you don't understand, you may want to ask here. You may want to ask later. And you may decide you don't agree with them when you find out what they are. You may decide that they're very useful. Whatever it is, don't let any "not understandings" become misunderstandings. And try always, as much as you can, and I know it's very hard, to raise what's on your mind.

And part of the work we'll do in the next seven days is really to find out not only more about each other, but about ourselves. That is a process that goes on together, if it goes on at all. And I do want to say that this process is not only to get to know each other. That's fun and that's important. But we also want to get to know the organizations that we come from. And that's harder to do. We want to find out not only what we do, but how we do it. We want to compare that. We can learn enormously from each other, even though our situations are very different. And together we can find out about the world in which we live.

And the censorship about the world in which we live is much bigger than any of us can imagine because we are really kept apart, not only by language, and geography, and the fact that it costs a lot to travel but also because what we do to change the world is often not known to others. And we'll speak about that at some length this week because it's a very important part of what we want to conquer. What we want to achieve is really knowing more about what actually women and men and children are making happen in the parts of the world represented at this meeting here. And, by the way, there are quite a number of parts of the world that are represented here.

Now, I want to say how the world has changed since we last came together. I think some people here know that during the '80's and '90's, we said, we just have to hold on until the movement emerges. Well, the movement is out there and it's beginning to bubble up from the grassroots. I think one of the high points for me in the last year was the Venezuelan revolution. And we do feel that we can not only support what they are doing but can contribute to what they are doing.

And, if you look at the people … who say they represent anti-racism, the one thing they do not discuss is the struggles of women of color.

We work very hard at finding out what our conflicts are and confronting them. We also try to address the divisions among us. We know that the divisions among us in the world, what keep us divided, are what keeps capital in power against us. And we don't expect to go out into the world and tell everybody how they should fix themselves up when we have so much work doing that right here. We are tremendously aware of our responsibility as women in in-

dustrial countries to women in non-industrial countries. We try in every way possible to support those struggles in the Third World as an integral part of building the movement right here.

As the world has changed a number of things have changed with it. You know, we used to believe, and we were not wrong, that anti-racism and anti-sexism have to do with job discrimination, and it certainly does. And that it has to do with police brutality against black people, and police refusing, for example, to investigate cases of rape. And we were right about all those. But really, the basic racism and sexism that we suffer from is that our struggles are hidden. More than any other one thing, what distinguishes us as human beings is that we demand to be treated as human beings and will struggle in every way possible against the treatment, the exploitation that we have had to suffer. And if you look at the people around who say that they represent anti-racism, you will see the one thing they do not discuss is the struggles of women of color.

… the struggle for survival is always the struggle for change.

And this is what we are going to be concentrating on in this week, what those struggles are because that is the basis of our anti-racism and anti-sexism. I have to say that the experience of the Strike—and you will hear more about that, too—tells us that the most extraordinary organizational imaginations are residing where women have the least power. What women in Africa have been able to generate from very, very little, from almost nothing, has been extraordinary. And the tainting of that continent as victim only-- and not as agent-- is the most outrageous example of racism and sexism that I can conceive of. And that's something that we have really to consider very deeply, that denying people the struggle they have undertaken at great cost to themselves and that has kept them alive, is probably the worst repression that can be visited on you.

I want to say that one of the things we've also learned, and it's obvious, but I suppose the truth is always obvious, is that the struggle for survival is always the struggle for change. And that these struggles cannot be divided. We have been told they are divided as a strategy to hide the fact that there *is* a struggle for change.

One of the other things that we face as a movement is that people do not know why women should organize independently from men. On the one hand, people are very demoralized by independent organizing because it has put us in the hands of feminists who have drawn us away or tried to draw us away from the fundamental struggle of class. Women who are not organizing independently are also critical, however, because they are repudiating the feminist view that it's only a women's struggle that is needed, which usually refers to women's struggles to get them into elective or legislative offices. We have decided that we want an independent international women's network but we also work with women who, in many countries, are organizing side-by-side with men.

What we are absolutely clear about, however, is what the movement wants to express and where it is going. We have no doubt about that. That is, we are organizing for the end of capitalism, for the end of the divisions among us, for the end of exploitation. Once we have decided on that, then we can look at the different ways people organize themselves to achieve that end. You do what you can do, and you don't do more than that. The problem that we have had is that we have been isolated one from the other in all kinds of ways. And the Strike aims to attack that isolation.

Now, this is why we organize as women: for one thing, it's clear that men are a minority of the poor. Seventy per cent of the world's poor are women. Now that doesn't mean that we don't care about the men. That is not the point at all. It means that we need to work to reorganize the economy so that it invests in caring and not killing. It means that we must organize as women to make sure that the economy addresses itself to the majority of the world's poor because otherwise we will be left out. That's one reason that you organize autonomously. The fact that 70% of the world's poor are women tells you that all of the propaganda about how good the economy is in Britain and the US and elsewhere is nothing but an atrocious lie. It is the same lie that says we are making good progress, that the economy in Britain is in very good shape. This does not acknowledge that as technology develops, so has the working day increased. These are the truths of our lives. And these are the lies that are pasted over to cover them. And Marx put his finger on it 150 years ago. That lie that says the economy is other than what happens to people. This is the lie that our theme, "Invest in Caring, not Killing," attacks. That's not exactly what Marx said, obviously, but it reflects what Marx was describing. That is the most profound restatement of a Marxist program that I know—that the economy is about people's lives. What a concept. It's entirely popular, but it is entirely in keeping with the body of Marxist theory as well.

We need to reorganize the economy so that it invests in caring and not killing.

We also need a theoretical perspective. When you read some of the theory that was written in the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, you realize that one of the reasons Marx or Lenin or Rosa Luxemburg (and this is particularly true of her) wrote that theory was that she wanted to get middle-class people to do some work for the revolution. Our job is really to see that the organizations, whether it's Wages for Housework or the Global Women's Strike, not only don't stand in the way of the movement, but that they facilitate the movement, that they help to make it possible for more people to be more active on their own behalf. We also need music, we also need theater. This is a very important part of the way that we communicate with the larger public.

Okay, I only have one more thing to say. And that is, because we come from different sectors, we will find it very difficult to be straight with each other. And you have to be aware of yourself, to understand how you censor yourself when you speak to people from other sectors. And you

have to work on it and find out how to tell them what you actually think in ways that you are comfortable with and, if necessary, that you are not comfortable with. We are not into guilt trips. We are not into rhetoric that makes us sound either holier than thou or more sacrificial than thou. But we are into speaking our minds to each other. And part of the reason that we do that is not only to inform other people about our sector but to inform ourselves about our sector. We don't know our sector except in relation to others.

We all live in ghettos. We are all cut off from other people. We all resent others who seem to have more power than we have and do less than we would do with it. We all have these hang-ups about each other.

… we have to use the struggles that we have been engaged in ...

And organizing internationally, one of the things that we have to do is to use the struggles that we have been engaged in and the power this has given us to speak straight with each other and tell our stories and our views and our doubts and hesitations and our problems. This is how we will build an international revolution, a revolution to which women collectively will contribute much leadership, moving to re-organize the economy both globally and locally, so that we will see a world in which the kind of resources that now go to support warfare will go to support the welfare of all people beginning with the carers. Invest in caring not killing! Thank you.

This photo was taken in London 2004, at the meeting where the remarks above were delivered by Ms. James. *Photo courtesy of the Global Women's Strike.*

For more photos of strike actions from around the world, see *www.globalwomenstrike.net*

Gender, Globalization, and HIV/AIDS Treatments

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Abstract: In this investigative article, I explore how the HIV/AIDS pandemic has increasingly become gendered, whereby low-income women who, especially in the global south, are the population most at-risk of contraction and transmission, are simultaneously subjected to the stigmatization associated with the disease, and are least able to access treatment and care. I argue that women's preponderance in marginal locations as both voluntary migrants (i.e. for work and leisure), and involuntary ones (e.g. as refugees and compulsory labor in the sex industry, domestic work and sweatshops) that characterize neoliberal globalization has added to their vulnerability to HIV/AIDS. To illustrate how global corporations focused solely on profit generation subvert assurance of equitable access to treatment, I discuss the recently settled lawsuit filed by the pharmaceutical industry against the South African government, which attempted to block efforts to make affordable generic drugs available to an impoverished HIV/AIDS infected population of over 4.2 million, many of whom are increasingly women.

Key words: gender, globalization, HIV/AIDS

Globalization is implicated in the HIV/AIDS pandemic because of the accelerated rates of voluntary and compulsory human mobility stemming from refugee exodus, labor migration, commercial, or leisure travel that has accelerated its spread. Women's over-representation among refugees,[1] the growing global demand for cheap female labor, and the corresponding preponderance of women in local and global migratory flows[2] amplifies the gender dimension of this concern. The increasing demographic shift in the pattern of infection, evidence of transmission from women to children, and the disproportionate burdens of "care work" borne by women and girls in the household economy as male providers stricken with the disease relinquish their roles as workers, reinforce and amplify women's greater vulnerability in the HIV/AIDS equation. Gender-based disparities in access to affordable treatment across the world compound the gender dilemmas inherent in the pandemic.

South Africa's recent struggle to ensure wide access to generic HIV/AIDS anti-retrovirals epitomizes the global inequities in health care access, and demonstrates how such inequalities are inscribed in law in this era of globalization, as seen in The World Trade Organization (WTO)'s intellectual rights stipulations. While intellectual property rights have become an increasingly contested domain in contemporary times, the application of the World Trade Organization's (WTO) Trade-Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs) agreement pertaining to patents and intellectual property governing medicinal drugs makes it even more controversial. TRIPs are indicative of the indiscriminate power exercised by corporations in an era of globalization, even with respect to such matters as essential medicines that could be used to save lives. Their insistence over the right to profit over the right to medical treat-ment prioritizes corporate profits of drug companies over the survival of human beings. The positive resolution of South Africa's problem as recounted below is, however, instructive of the power of collective transnational action in over-turning the hegemony of corporate power.

Gender and poverty in HIV/AIDS Demographics

More than 95% of all HIV-infected people live in developing countries, with 25 million living in Sub Saharan Africa. Only about 1 percent of this population has access to anti-retroviral cocktails known to extend life expectancy. By 1997, women's infection rate in Sub Saharan Africa had already begun to surpass that of men. Worldwide, half of the 40 million people living with HIV/AIDS today are women. As noted by the UNAIDS project, women now represent half of all new HIV infections around the world, while girls and young women under the age of 24 account for nearly two-thirds of HIV sufferers. At the end of 2003, women represented 58 per cent of those infected in sub-Saharan Africa. In Asia, HIV infection rates have risen by 10 percent among women in the last two years and are nearing rates among men, according to the United Nations.[3] In South Africa, home to over 4.2 million cases, where in addition to AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria also take a toll of hundreds of thousands lives every year, 1 in 10 individuals are HIV positive, and HIV/AIDS is estimated to reduce life expectancy by 20 years by the year 2010. In the US, the percentage of AIDS cases among American females has more than tripled in 13 years, from 7 percent in 1985 to 23% in 1998.[4] African-American and Hispanic women account for over three-fourths of the AIDS cases in the US even though they make up less than one-fourth of American women. UNIFEM's[5] Executive Director Noeleen Heyzer has noted that the rapid increase in the infection rate among women — from 38 per cent a decade ago to 50 per cent today — places women at the "epicentre" of the epidemic. In addition, mother to child transmission has placed children at greater risk of contracting HIV. Their disproportionate responsibilities for the care and nurture of family/household members means that AIDS imposes greater burden on women, further exacerbating the gendered aspects of the HIV/AIDS crisis.[6]

While the relationship between poverty and HIV/AIDS is complex,[7] poverty is highly correlated with HIV/AIDS — not only because of the pervasive poverty in societies where the disease is concentrated (further discussed below) — but also because of issues related to compromised survivability. The reduced ability to cope with the disease by lower income groups given their lower human resource levels (i.e. educational attainment, skills levels, and occupational placement), financial assets (necessary for accessing treatments and dealing with long-term care), and social endowments,[8] as well as the resulting spiral of deepening poverty complicates the picture. Moreover, the global concentration of poverty among women — the "feminization of poverty" — in both the industrialized North, as well as the impoverished South has serious implications for the increasing gender impact of this pandemic. A related concern is the intergenerational effect of HIV/AIDS, as parental (especially mother's) mortality leads to the dissolution and restructuring of families, neces-

sitating reliance on alternate care-givers such as the elderly. Often, school age girls curtail their education to assume the care and maintenance of siblings and other family members. The long-term loss of the productive contributions of such individuals intensifies the cycle of household poverty while, in the meantime, it also takes a toll on the development potential of the society and places strains on the social fabric. As Cohen[9] has pointed out, the relationship between poverty and HIV/AIDS has to be traced in terms of the aggregate effects of the disease on impoverishing individuals and communities and the resulting erosion of the social system's capacity due to the loss of human resources.

The South African Case: Wrestling with PhRMA for generic cocktails

The intense contestation over South Africa's right to bypass patented anti-retrovirals dates back to 1997 with the passing of the Medicines and Related substances Control Amendment Act aimed at making affordable generic drugs available to the mostly impoverished population of over 4.2 million South Africans infected with HIV/AIDS. The response of the pharmaceutical industry was to file legal action against the South African government in 1999, thereby blocking the implementation of this bill on the grounds that it violated the World Trade Organization's (WTO) Trade-Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs) agreement pertaining to patents on essential medicines. This action was filed by an association of the pharmaceutical industry, Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America (PhRMA) along with a total of 39 companies (including pharmaceutical giants such as Bristol-Myers Squibb, Glaxo-Wellcome, and Pfizer), which make the most widely used AIDS drugs. This suit appeared to be based on the legal clauses governing intellectual property rights stipulated in TRIPs, and charged South Africa with violating the WTO rules. Despite the fact that the disputed act is TRIPs compliant,[10] the charge raised by the suit surrounded the fact that it proposed making anti-retrovirals and other drugs more affordable via several measures widely used in Europe[11] and the U.S., such as generic substitution, price controls, and parallel importation.[12] Given that parallel importation is permitted under TRIPS Agreements, it is clear that the action filed against the South African government was a clear case of bullying by the pharmaceutical industry, driven by its objective of averting competition from cheaper manufacturers of anti-retrovirals (i.e. Brazil and India).[13] After a three-year battle, with global pressure mounting via an international campaign led by *Medicins sans Frontiers* (Doctors without Borders), the pharmaceutical companies dropped their case in April 2001. Subsequently, the WTO adopted a "Declaration on TRIPs and Public Health" during its Ministerial Conference in November of that year, affirming the sovereign right of governments to take measures to protect public health.

The linkages between globalization, gender, poverty and health

" To the surprise of no one living in Africa, data reveals that poverty is on the rise across the continent and that women in

particular are worse off today than they were a decade ago when structural adjustment programs pushed by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund became widespread."

African Women's Economic Policy Network[14]

Apart from corporate dominance and profiteering, the implementation of structural adjustment programs (SAPs), as part of the neo-liberal policies associated with globalization, has resulted in negative consequences for the health of low-income populations, especially that of women and children around the world. Privatization of public services, a key requirement mandated by SAPs, has led to cutbacks in national health care spending. As I have discussed elsewhere,[15] supported by documentation from UNICEF,[16] the spending cuts in health and education and the increased costs for health care due to privatization have seriously compromised maternal and child nutrition, and have exacerbated morbidity and mortality rates. Also implicated in privatization is large-scale unemployment and retrenchment, again disproportionately experienced by women in countries adopting SAPs[17] (see also Gracia Clark's article, this issue). The diversion of national budgets away from investments in health, education and welfare and toward debt servicing has aggravated the deepening poverty that many developing nations are trapped in, and has also had a disproportionate impact on women. According to one report,[18] $13.4 billion was paid out to external creditors by African governments in 1994, more than the combined spending on health and education. Women's lower purchasing power due to currency devaluation (another component of SAPs) and accompanying inflation has compromised access to food staples and other essential commodities. Reduced access to productive resources (land and capital), with the shift to export crop production (a stipulation of SAPs) and lower support for subsistence agriculture (where low-income women producers are concentrated) has further diminished women's wellbeing and survival capacities.[19]

As Paul Farmer and colleagues have noted nearly a decade ago,[20] a consideration of how income, resources, and power are related to women's risk of HIV/AIDS contraction is essential in any comprehensive and sustainable strategy geared to address the gendered nature of this global pandemic. The social and economic disempowerment, that have been set in motion by the operations of neoliberal globalization, are no doubt instrumental in exacerbating the economic, social and symbolic marginality of women in the Global South. Our response(s) as feminist scholars and activists need thus to be constructed within a framework of transnational gender justice that simultaneously challenge the hegemony of global capital in its transnational guises and build on local-global coalitions of transformative, counter-hegemonic forms of protest and resistance.

End Notes

[1] Women are over-represented among refugee and internally displaced populations, constituting between 75 - 80 percent of those fleeing conflict-ridden regions of the world, according to the United Nations. Source: UN economic and Social Commission on Women, Women at a Glance web posting, available online at: http://www.un.org/ecosocdev/geninfo/women/women96.htm, last accessed 9/13/04.

[2] As sweat shop workers, as domestic servants, and as sex workers.

[3] Source: Commentary by Secretary General Kofi Annan on March 2004, World Women's Dau, and the Joint UN Program on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) Deputy Executive Director Kathleen Cravero.

[4] Source: The Centers for Disease Control.

[5] UN Development Fund for Women.

[6] Source: People & the Planet, web site located at http://www.peopleandplanet.net/doc.php?id=2167, last accessed 9/10/04.

[7] Even though the poor account for most of the infected cases worldwide, it is not confined to the poorest. The pursuit of life-styles that expose them to HIV/AIDS among the non-poor, as well as infection among intravenous drug users who are not all among the poor complicates the picture.

[8] Meaning their social positioning that often confers social marginality which may be linked to political disenfranchisement.

[9] Cohen, Desmond 1998. Poverty and HIV/AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa. UNDP Issues Paper no. 27. UNDP: HIV and Development Programme. Web article available at: http://www.undp.org/hiv/publications/issues/english/issue27e.html, last accessed on9/12/04

[10] Article 31 of the WTO/TRIPS Agreement permits a country to enact national laws permitting the use of a patented product without the authorization of the patent-holder (compulsory licensing) under certain specified circumstances.

[11] For a list of methods used by European countries to obtain reasonable drug prices, see the following article: Christine Huttin 1999. Drug Price Divergence in Europe: Regulatory Aspects. In Health Affairs, May/June, Exhibit 1, page 246.

[12] Parallel importing entails shopping for best value on the global market, given that the cost of production for patented drugs is significantly lower in the global South as compared to the North.

[13] In South Africa, where the majority of employed people support their families on incomes below $3,000 a year, the cost of purchasing AZT and 3TC (the basic antiretroviral drugs) from the U.S. would incur a price tag of $10,000 to $15,000 per patient, per year -- clearly well beyond their means. Instead, if South Africa were to purchase a generic version manufactured in Brazil (which makes free treatment available to its HIV infected population), the price for an AZT equivalent would be about $4,000 -- a significant reduction

[14] Source: African Women's Economic Policy Network 1996. Women Standing up to Adjustment in Africa. Available online at: http://www.developmentgap.org/awepon.html, last accessed 9/13/04

[15] Gunewardena, Nandini 2003. Reinscribing Subalternity: International Financial Institutions, Development, and Women's Marginality. In Journal of International Law and Foreign Affairs (Fall/Winter) 7(2): 201-238.

[16] United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and OXFAM 1999. Children in Jeopardy: The Challenge of Freeing Poor Nations from the Shackles of Debt. New York: UNICEF

[17] For example, see Faye Harrison's documentation of the impact of SAPs on Jamaican women. Faye V. Harrison 1997. The Gendered Politics and Violence of Structural Adjustment: A View from Jamaica. In Louise Lamphere et al (eds.), Situated Lives: Gender and Culture in Everyday Life.

[18] Samboma, Julian 1994. Africa Development: Debt Burden Growing at "Alarming Rate". In Inter-Press Service, 10 April 1994.

[19] See also Lisa A. McGowan 1995. The Ignored Cost of Adjustment: Women Under SAPs in Africa. *The Development Group for Alternative Policies (The Development GAP).*

[20] Farmer, Paul, Margaret Connors, Kenneth Fox, and Jennifer Furin (editors), with Dvid Devine Steven Lamola Joyce Millen and Janie Simmons 1996. Rereading Social Science pp. 147-205. In Paul Farmer, Margaret Connors, and Janie Simmons (eds.), Women, Poverty, and AIDS: Sex, Drugs, and Structural Violence. Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press.

Gender and Deindustrialization: Ex-steelworkers Discuss Women's Work in Pittsburgh, PA[1]

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Abstract: The effects of deindustrialization on attitudes towards women's work in Pittsburgh, PA are explored using narratives derived from twenty life history interviews of ex-steelworkers. Oral history is presented as an anthropological method capable of furthering feminist studies of masculine and feminine work experiences by attaining more democratic and humanistic accounts of historical events. Socio-cultural bias against women's work outside the home is identified in the industrial and post-industrial settings. The importance of women's work to economic security in the post-industrial period increases due to the instability of ex-workers employment after steel and the increasing prevalence of divorce. Findings indicate that cultural barriers against women's work remain prevalent in Pittsburgh's post-industrial cultural environment, despite the vast movement of women into the workforce.

Key words: gender, deindustrialization, steelworkers

Oral history has been considered an essential methodological canon in feminist anthropology since the 1960s, when oral historians first turned away from focusing on the oral accounts of "great men" and towards using oral accounts as a means of giving voice to the disenfranchised. The reflective, self-critical influences of feminist oral histories have displayed its importance as not only a democratic method but as an alternate theory of how one arrives at a truthful representation of history. The application of this methodology to understanding the impact of loss of work in Pittsburgh's steel mills has illuminated the importance of investigating the impact of deindustrialization on female gender roles.

In their life history interviews, several of the twenty Pittsburgh ex-steelworkers interviewed express a strong bias against women's work. They explain that women's work was an indication of the inability of their husbands to fulfill their most important social role of economically supporting a family. Their forgetfulness when recalling women's work reveals its social invisibility.

When asked about the work of female family members, Harry and Paul[2] both quickly responded that the women of their families did not work. However, in both cases during earlier parts of the interview each man had mentioned the work of a female family member. When I probed both informants regarding this inconsistency, they corrected their statements.

KJ: Were there any women working?

HARRY: There were no women working, they were raising their family.

KJ: What was your wife's work like through these years? There were times that she did some work to help out. Was she sporadically working or did she work full-time somewhere?

HARRY: No, when I worked for the Housing Authority, about 7 years, most of the time I worked Sat. and Sundays. I was off Tuesday and Thursday or something like that. She had a part-time steady job with this architect I was telling you about. Every chance she got she would take jobs like that to supplement our income.

KJ: Did the women work?

PAUL: I don't recall any of them working.

KJ: Except your mother?

PAUL: My mother?

KJ: Did she ever work?

PAUL: She went to work in a hospital.

KJ: Was this after she raised you guys?

PAUL: She worked there when she was 16. I don't know what she was doing. She ended up in the kitchen. From what I understand she worked there until she had my eldest sister and then she quit to raise her family and then went back part-time.

Michael described marriage-long conflict with his wife over her desire to work. Although she had a job when they met, he convinced her to stop working because he had a strong personal belief against his wife working. Michael explains how by not working his wife remains accessible not only as a mother, but as his wife and caretaker. Whatever money she could offer by working would not be as valuable as her concentration on his and their family's needs.

MICHAEL: It's the principle that I just don't want my daughter coming home to an empty house. We live in a very nice neighborhood, secure. I don't even lock my doors, you know. It wasn't that. It's just that I didn't want her to think, Well, I got to come home and now I got to... My wife, I know my wife. She would have had dinner ready, but that's saying... I need you home for me, too. I need you when I come home at the end of the day. I need...

KJ: Everything done?

MICHAEL: Yeah. She didn't go to work.

There may not just be "principles" involved when it comes to women's work. In the 1970s, due to new equal opportunity quotas developed during the Civil Rights movement, many women took jobs in steel production at the mills. These women were not welcome in the workplace where many of their co-workers felt they had no right to "displace" male co-workers. When the possibility of upcoming shutdown loomed, the harassment of the female steelworkers intensified, especially by younger male workers without enough age and experience for early retirement.

CATHY: The ones that gave you the biggest brunt was the 30-40 year old guys - because they couldn't cope, I don't think. I would hear, 'How can you be taking a job away from a guy?' I can remember people younger than me - because of course when they did layoffs they did it by seniority. People that were younger than me getting laid off giving me the third degree. 'I have a wife and kids.' You know, I'm still working - and they're not. And I mean nasty.

The negative impact of women's movement into the workforce was seen not only in terms its effect on her husband and the value of men's work, but on her family and community. When it became apparent that James' job security was being threatened by the loss of steel production in Pittsburgh, his wife went back to school for a professional degree in nursing. When James eventually did lose his job, his wife's ability to work as a nurse saved the family from severe economic repercussions. Although James recognizes that his wife's job buffered his job loss, he emphasizes that he did not necessarily see this as a positive thing.

JAMES: I mean the steel mills were still going in the 90's but there wasn't large production like it was. I had told [my wife], 'You know, we've got all of our eggs in one basket here.' I said, 'If I lose my job, we're in trouble.' So then that's when she went back to school.

KJ: So luckily the timing actually worked out?

JAMES' WIFE: Yeah. The timing worked out.

JAMES: Yeah, so the planning worked out on a negative. Our planning for the negative to happen worked out. Every time we've planned for the better things, it didn't work out.

Although James' wife seemed enthusiastic about being a nurse and being able to help out when her husband lost a job and children wanted higher education, she lists many ways in which her work has conflicted with her roles as a wife and mother.

KJ: How do you like it? Is it a big loss for you? Do you miss being home?

JAMES' WIFE: It was hardest the first year because I was used to being able to be there for all of the kids' things. My first job I worked 3-11, so, I would miss evening things and I couldn't easily alter my schedule. And even now if I don't know ahead of time what I want then I can't always get it off.

Ex-steelworkers also point out that the conflicts between women's "public" and "private" roles have had a dramatic effect beyond the household to the community as a whole. For example, Tom indicates that female-headed households and women's work are part of the "destruction of the family unit", and lead to the neglect of children's needs.

KJ: Your saying that children from a one parent home is difficult because you don't have enough help for the program?

TOM: You have enough parents to help out the program but not enough to help out with the children. If mom is the only breadwinner you can't expect her to cut the grass, she may help out in the concession stand. It is tough to get their children to practices and get them home. The fact is the world changed a lot and I think it added to the destruction of the family unit. Mom had to go out and work not one but two jobs with no benefits.

Cathy also recognizes that woman's work has changed the social structure of the community. As she lives in the same home where she was raised, these social changes are quite apparent to her:

CATHY: We've got a lot of new people coming in. They're not as friendly, I want say, or outgoing, or socializing as we were, but then again, you didn't go as many places back then, you know, where now you're running... I mean, I run all the time with my kid in sports. I don't have time to, you know, chitchat with the neighbor all the time. People don't... The upkeep of the property, I think, is like it once was… Not so much just the fact that women aren't home. There's just so many things that changed that just all snowball, you know. You know, some single parent families here now and you didn't here about that before so, yes they have to work. Um... We've got several on this street of very old people that have been here, you know, widowers and, some widows and they're kind of by themselves here.

Cathy points out that, not only does women's work conflict with the care of husbands and children, but also the care of the older generation. During the heyday of the mills, the care of the elderly also fell to housewives. The loss of millwork and the impetus for women to work outside of the home made women no longer available as caretakers for the elderly. Once again, the work of women is shown to be costly to a community.

KJ: You said, with your mother's generation, the daughter, she stayed and took care of the grandmother.

CATHY: See, that's me. I'm the designated person to take care of my parents. That's me. I work part-time. Yeah, I could do full-time but I choose not to. My father died of cancer and before that he had quadruple bypass. Well, this is where he came to, he came back down here, you know, to me. I don't know, some kids I think do that and some kids don't. Not that it got too expensive, you just didn't' have the time to do it because you were working.

Concerns about urban pollution, conflict between management and labor unions, and globalization have been widely considered as important factors in the process of Pittsburgh's deindustrialization.

However, the feminization of labor and its impact on family and community structure is often left out of the story of American deindustrialization. The impact of gender biases on post-industrial economic reorganization needs to be added to the equation. Conflict between economic opportunities in the post-industrial economy for women and established female household and community roles has been identified and needs to be further explored in comparative contexts. Oral history may prove a useful tool in the further evaluation of the effects of international economic restructuring on women both within and beyond the United States.

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End Notes

[2] All names of ex-steelworkers have been changed to pseudonyms to protect the identities of research consultants.

Social Exclusion and Gender in Urban Regeneration Programs in the UK

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Abstract: This article examines the gendered impact of a policy concept, "social exclusion", on participation in urban redevelopment programs. It illustrates how the emphasis on developing "social capital" made women, as the keepers of "community" responsible for the success or failure of regeneration programs while the same regeneration programs frequently did not meet their needs.

Key words: social exclusion, urban regeneration, Great Britain

Between 1998 and 2002, I conducted research on the deployment of "social exclusion" as a policy construct in "urban regeneration" programs in the UK.[1] This article, though by no means a comprehensive analysis, starts to look at the gendered impacts and implications of adopting the concept of social exclusion as a principle informing urban redevelopment.

In 1992, the European Union (EU) adopted the term "social exclusion" to describe the interactivity and multiplicity of social problems faced by people living in deprived areas. The member states, of which the UK was one, subsequently embarked on programmes to address and eradicate the problem identified as "social exclusion". Up to 1995, urban regeneration efforts in the UK focused primarily on the physical environment. After the signing of the Maastrict Treaty, which established the EU in 1994, social concerns began to be incorporated into British urban regeneration programmes. Under the Labour government elected in 1997, "social exclusion" became the central organizing concept of urban policy and "regeneration" became the primary vehicle through which social exclusion was addressed. Though the concept of "social exclusion" was originally conceived as a structural analysis of the integrated nature of issues associated with poverty, it quickly became reconfigured as a way of describing the *attributes* of poor people, subsuming issues of class, race and gender within a discourse of citizenship and "community" participation. In this article, I focus on issues of gender, illustrating how gendered conflicts were frequently embedded within neutralized configurations of "community" and how women, as the presumed keepers of "community", often were further disadvantaged by their participation.

When it was adopted and applied to urban regeneration programmes in the UK, social exclusion was reconfigured to emphasize questions of citizenship as participation. In short, social exclusion became a meta-construct that incorporated and amalgamated the symptoms, causes and consequences of poverty, racism and other forms of discrimination, including gender, into a single term. In this way, multiple issues were singularly defined and their solution was subsequently advocated through a single solution - increased "social capital" produced through civic participation, which meant fostering better citizenship.

My central concerns are, first, the ways that "social exclusion", as a policy construct, reframed and redefined issues of poverty and racism and, in so doing, advocated not only a single particular view of individuals who were poor and/or who experienced racism, but a specific range of options for intervention. Second, I argue that the emphasis on "community" and "participation" has had serious implications for local women in particular.

Immediately after his election in 1997 Tony Blair established the Social Exclusion Unit as part of Cabinet Office. The Social Exclusion Unit formed eighteen policy research committees, each addressing a different aspect of social exclusion, for example, unemployment or homelessness. What the research did not do was question the validity of the concept. Thus, research served to provide proof positive of the existence of social exclusion and simultaneously established its legitimacy. The research contained no earth shattering findings; in general, it concluded that poverty, crime, education, un- and under-employment, and discrimination were linked and therefore needed to be "tackled" in an integrated manner. The most important function of the SEU was to "market" the concept of social exclusion. Its success institutionalized the concept of social exclusion as *the* way to frame all social issues.

Regeneration programmes addressing social exclusion, were delivered via "partnerships" among the public, private and community and non-profit sectors. Though eradicating social exclusion was at the top of central government's mandate, in fact the "new" funding that was introduced was less than the pre-existing regeneration funding that it replaced. This was consistent with the government's intent to do "more with less" by involving "the community" as volunteers and devolving responsibility for the implementation of policy to the local authority.

Partnerships became, after 1997, the only way to deliver regeneration initiatives (Clarke and Glendinning, 2002:34). The ideal partnership included public, private and non-profit sectors as equal participants. However, the majority of community-based and voluntary organizations lacked the resources to participate in urban regeneration partnerships. Many lacked core funding, operated on grants related to time-limited projects and relied on the labour of, primarily female, volunteers and low-waged staff. The dependence on grant funding (often allocated through the local government) established an unequal relationship between community and voluntary sector organizations and the other members of regeneration "partnerships".

While regeneration activities were intended to capitalize on community resources, "the community" was simultaneously viewed as lacking both the ability and the will to affect positive change while, at the same time, a "bottom-up" ap-

proach to regeneration, which relied on community residents' involvement, was advocated.

Atkinson has argued that the meaning of partnership was ""constructed" (i.e. produced and reproduced) in a context of power and domination which "privilege[d] official discourse(s) over others. This process of privileging ha[d] the effect of setting limits (or creating boundaries) and steering action in certain directions" (Atkinson, 1998:59-60). Following Atkinson's argument, the official partnership approach after 1997 was one committed to extensive consultation and to consensus-based decision-making models to ensure that the views of local people were represented. The ways of working – consultation and consensus – combined with the obligation for representation framed the way in which local organizations and community representatives engaged within partnerships. However, as the Head of Policy for the central government's Local Government Information Unit made clear, "the socially excluded themselves… have specific ownership of the strategy and are responsible for ensuring it is delivered" (Newman, 2001:14).

While the discourse of partnership was one of equality and egalitarianism, in practice, partnerships did not exhibit either quality. However, this was frequently not due to the unwillingness of individuals, but because of the way that "partnerships" were structured.

While community representatives were overburdened by their "representation", they also did not benefit from their participation to the degree that other partnership participants did. A 2003 article in *New Start* stated that community representatives receiving benefits had their benefits reduced proportionately to the amount they were paid for their involvement in regeneration activities. As a result one community resident earned a total of £10 per week for her involvement on a regeneration board, while professionals and political representatives earned between £5000 and £10,000 in addition to their salaries (Palmer, 2003, 28/3). The contradictions between regeneration policy and welfare policy operated to devalue the work of community representatives, to ensure their continued reliance on benefits and to maintain their "exclusion" both symbolically and materially.

At the same time, women were equally concerned about the impact their participation in partnerships had on their status within "communities". While they attempted to represent the community to the partnership, they found themselves the targets of personal criticism when regeneration activities did not reflect all interests. In one example, a local woman had been cajoled into representing the local community on a particular regeneration project. She was not prepared for the level of conflict that would arise over being a representative. As she said,

> "I had people coming to my door all hours of the day and night wanting to know what was happening with the project. They'd want to know when the next public meeting was. They'd want to know why the council was going ahead with a different design than the one we said we wanted. Some-

times I didn't even know the answers, because I wasn't the one making the decisions, but they'd blame me. Sometimes people wouldn't believe me when I said I didn't have the answers or that we'd have to wait… There were people that would turn their back to me when I went down to the shops or say nasty things just loud enough for me to overhear them. I tried to back out, but nobody else was willing to come forward so I've been pressured by the partnership to stay, but they have no idea what it's like. They don't have to live here."

Reconfiguring structural issues within a discourse of participation produced the conditions in which the social inequalities that the partnerships were to address were recreated and reinforced. In tackling social exclusion, the relationships among poverty, ethnicity and gender were conflated and complex social issues were reduced to issues of implementation. In one example, Rani's[2] legitimacy as a community representative on a partnership Board was challenged on the grounds that she did not live within the target area, which housed a significant Muslim, Bangladeshi population. It was true that Rani did not live on the target estate (public housing), though her large, extended family did. However, the objection to Rani's membership on the Board had less to do with her residence than with the fact that she was the Director of a local women's organization that offered support to Bangladeshi women. In this particular area, strong ties between Bangladesh and England were maintained. It was quite common for marriages to be arranged between families in each country and girls and women were expected to live with their husband's families. As a result, English-born girls of Bangladeshi decent faced relocation to Bangladesh and Bangladeshi women were brought to England. In both situations, women could find themselves in an entirely foreign environment, unable to speak the language, and isolated from their kin and networks of support – the people who would intervene on their behalf in the event of conflict. During the period of my fieldwork in England, there were two publicized incidents of bride burning in the target area and many more reports of family conflict in which both Bangladeshi-born women and English-born girls were particularly vulnerable. A conservative local mosque, the membership of which included elected members of the local government, had actively been attempting to close the women's centre. This context was not raised in the conflict that arose over Rani's membership on the regeneration partnership board, which was instead framed as an issue of representation and participation. Such framing misses the complex social and cultural relationships underlying the conflict and the fact that the outcomes of disputes may have serious implications for women in deprived areas. In this instance, Rani eventually was awarded a place on the Board. However, her tenure was fraught with challenges from conservative Muslim organizations and individuals. Her legitimacy was regularly questioned and she was publicly accused of fraud, an accusation that had to be investigated and which thereby pre-

vented her participation on the partnership Board for a period of months.

In another example, "youth" in the same area were to be consulted about what regeneration initiatives should be undertaken. When it became clear that Bangladeshi girls and boys would not attend the same consultation, two sessions were arranged. Boys expressed concerns with gangs, territorial competition among youth centers and opportunities for employment. Girls, in the same "community" expressed concerns with their brothers' attitudes towards them. A number of girls stated that their brothers expected them to conform to the boys' conception of "traditional" Bangladeshi female roles, despite their English birth, and that the girls' wishes for education and for the freedom to select their own partners and to seek employment were vehemently and sometimes violently opposed, not by their fathers, but by their brothers. While the consultation was a valuable tool for identifying complex issues and internal conflicts, resolutions to such issues were well beyond the scope of most regeneration programmes. The differing responses of girls and boys, combined with the focus on implementation established the conditions wherein the solution to the "problem" was the creation of different programs for boys and girls. Though girls had been "consulted", their concerns were not reflected in the subsequent regeneration programs. In this way, programs intended to address and resolve the problems associated with social exclusion may in practice have operated to exacerbate those problems by implicitly denying their importance and complexity through simplification.

Much more research needs to be done on the effects that the adoption of the concept of social exclusion produces for women, in particular. I have provided some examples, from my own research, that illustrate that the configuration of social exclusion as an issue of citizenship, rather than as a structural critique, makes local women, in particular, the keepers of "community" and therefore morally responsible for the outcomes of regeneration programs. At the same time, those same women may be disadvantaged through programs intended to address social exclusion by processes that simplify complex realities into single issues to be addressed through government interventions.

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End Notes

1. Urban regeneration, known as "urban renewal" in North America, referred to the process of identifying and targeting for governmental intervention urban areas that suffered disproportionately from economic decline or that did not benefit as expected from economic growth. Such areas were variously labelled "inner city," "deprived," or "derelict." They may have contained residential and/or industrial land uses. They were home to disproportionately high numbers of poor people and were associated with concentrations of interdependent "social problems"— poverty, poor health, high and chronic unemployment, low educational attainment, high crime and poor environmental conditions.

2. This is a pseudonym.

"Lesbianism is a woman's issue": Lesbian Activist Organizing in Indonesia

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Abstract: *Indonesia has no laws regarding homosexuality. In this secular Islamic state normative discourse serves to shore up heterosexuality. State and Islamic discourses work together to represent a normative view of gender and sexuality that explicitly limits women's sexuality within notions of proper femininity and motherhood. Due to state pressures on women, it was not until the late 1990s and the fall of President Suharto that two well-organized activist lesbian organizations appeared in Jakarta. Despite fears of being attacked, these groups have begun to work carefully with the media in an effort to develop a "positive image" of Indonesian lesbians and to gain minority sexual rights.*

Key words: *Lesbian, sexual rights, Indonesia*

Since the beginning of its existence in 1945, the Indonesian state has maintained a benign legal stance toward homosexuality. It passed no laws proscribing transgender behavior or sex acts between individuals of the same sex (Oetomo 2001). This is at odds with the history of other post-colonial states that have embraced the moral codes of the colonizers. Dutch laws treated homosexuality and transgender behavior severely, but these laws were not imposed on the indigenous populations during the colonial period due to the Dutch policy of non-interference in local customs and laws.

The absence of explicit laws regarding same-sex practices does not mean, however, that the state condons such practices. Activist groups point to a pervasive pattern of discrimination, intimidation, and abuse directed toward lesbians, gays and *waria* (Diansari n.d.).[1] Gays and lesbians have been called sick, abnormal, sinful, deviant, unnatural, and carriers of HIV/AIDS. They have received death threats, been ostracized from families and communities, and faced emotional or physical abuse from their families.[2] As Foucault (1980) has pointed out, the deployment of sexuality in the modern era is not juridico-discursive but operates through a multiplicity of mechanisms to create a knowledge of sex. During Suharto's 31-year reign as president of Indonesia (1967-1998), state discourse on sexuality in Indonesia was not directed at "homosexuality" *per se* but at the creation of normalized, reproductive citizen-subjects. Rather than addressing "homosexuality" directly or through legal means, the state relies on a gendered discourse as the primary vehicle for conveying normalizing messages about sexuality and reproductive citizenship.

In this secular Islamic nation-state, the discourses of Islam serve to shore up gendered notions about human behavior and sexuality. Although there are many threads of Islam in Indonesia, most sects uphold the idea of "natural" gender difference.[3] State and Islamic discourses in many ways work together to represent a normative view of gender and sexuality that explicitly limits women's sexuality within notions of proper femininity and motherhood, a process that underscores the way "patriarchies collaborate and borrow from each other in order to reinforce specific practices that are oppressive to women" (Grewal and Kaplan 1994: 24). Laws against "homosexuality" were unnecessary because both state and Islamic gender discourses represent sexuality as the "natural" expression of one's sex/gender.

The normalizing discourse of womanhood and motherhood ensures negative repercussions for those who fall outside of these norms. Any sexuality other than that expressed within marriage is frowned upon for women. While I would argue that Indonesia is not quite the oppressive, patriarchal state that some feminists have claimed it is, the deployment of gender by the state and Islamic clerics works to secure a limited heterosexuality for *women*; sexuality is proper and permissible only within marriage and under the control of a husband. Women are punished for their infidelities through gossip and community sanctions to a much greater degree than men are (Sears 1996). This intersection of normative prescriptions means that women continue to face heavy pressures from families to marry a man and have children.

Due to pressures on women, it is not surprising that the first activist gay group in Indonesia was organized primarily by gay men. The activist gay organization called Gaya Nusantara (Gay Archipelago) has been in existence in Indonesia since the mid-1980s. Gaya Nusantara helped to nurture a small but growing nationwide community primarily of gay men. Its newsletter published a scant few articles about lesbians in Indonesia.[4] But it was not until the late 1990s that two well-organized activist lesbian organizations appeared in Jakarta, each with their own strategies. Sektor 15 formed in 1998 within a larger women's organization, the Indonesian Women's Coalition (Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia/KPI). Swara Srikandi (The Voice of Srikandi) was started on-line in 2000; it is a lesbian-only organization. Members of both organizations are, for the most part, urban, university educated, professional, working women from families in the upper echelons of Indonesian society. Some have degrees from American universities and are quite comfortable using the English language.

The appearance of these two organizations coincides roughly with the fall of Suharto's authoritarian regime in 1998 and the end of a number of repressive state policies. During the 1990s nationally recognized clerics and state officials had begun to make explicit statements disconnecting lesbianism from normal womanhood. Directly addressing the issue of lesbianism in a paper on Islam and women's rights, Abdurrahman Wahid (1994), a highly respected Muslim cleric who later became the fourth president of Indonesia (1999-2001), declared that lesbianism was deviant and should not be condoned because women have a duty to be mothers and wives. That same year the minister of women's affairs was quoted in a national newspaper stating that "lesbianism is not part of Indonesian culture or state ideology" (Murray 1999: 142). While falling short of legal injunctions, these statements reinforced nor-

mative notions of gender within the nation by declaring lesbianism deviant, anti-woman and foreign.

Because of anti-lesbian state and Islamic pronouncements as well as print media articles connecting lesbians with criminal or amoral element**s**, Swara Srikandi (SS) has maintained a low profile. None of the SS members are willing to reveal their identities, given the risks they face should they become known publicly as lesbians. This fear makes it doubly difficult to take public action. Over time, however, the organization has shifted its focus from serving primarily as a support group to embracing a more overtly political agenda. Since 2002 they have begun to work carefully and anonymously with the media in an effort to develop a "positive image" of Indonesian lesbians.[5] SS recognizes that part of the problem for lesbians is the fact they are women but they are primarily concerned with issues affecting lesbians as a sexual minority. Consequently, they have developed tentative alliances with Gaya Nusantara and international lesbian and gay organizations.

A planning meeting of lesbian activists in Jakarta. *Photo courtesy of E. Blackwood*

The Indonesian Women's Coalition organized to support women's issues and defend women's rights. As advocates of gender justice and equality, they have been actively pushing to insert human rights and women's rights into the Indonesian constitution. Sektor 15, the "minority sexual orientation group" that includes lesbians, bisexuals, and transgender individuals, was part of the organization from the beginning.[6] They have worked to include minority sexual rights in the Indonesian constitution but face an uphill battle because, as one of their founders stated, "Indonesia's culture and religion [Islam] deny the existence of lesbians and gays" (personal communication 5/31/02). They have conducted a number of seminars to educate lesbians in Jakarta and have worked through the media to educate the general populace about lesbians.

Sektor 15 is strongly aligned with women's rights issues. They draw a close connection between women's issues and lesbian issues, finding many of the problems that lesbians face arising from the larger burdens Indonesian society places on women. At a meeting I attended, one of the leaders of the group stated, "Lesbianism is a woman's issue. As women, lesbians are expected to procreate, not recreate, so they have less freedom." Sektor 15 members believe that gendered expectations and strictures on women's sexuality in general make it difficult for women as lesbians to be visible and politically active in Indonesia. Thus, Sektor 15 supports a range of women's issues, including women's right to sexual freedom. Their political strategy is similar to other lesbian activists internationally who find their greatest support within feminist organizations rather than gay organizations dominated by men.

The greater openness within Indonesia to human rights issues since 1998 has energized these lesbian organizations to build coalitions with gay and *waria* organizations as one strategy to fight for minority sexual orientation rights. A new coalition initiated by Sektor 15 and Swara Srikandi, called the Network of All Colors (Jaringan Kerja Warna-Warni), includes *waria*, gay, and feminist organizations. As a result of the activities of this network, all five presidential candidates in the 2004 election made statements for the first time in Indonesian history about "homosexuals" (homoseksual in the Indonesian language). The candidates' views ranged from a willingness to respect the rights of homosexuals to a complete refusal to recognize their existence. Unfortunately, the candidate who was elected president of Indonesia, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, opposes any rights for what his party refers to as "deviant sexual behavior" (Sinar Harapan 2003). The focus of these lesbian activist organizations for the next five years will be to prevent any anti-homosexual legislation from being passed and to continue educating people about lesbians, gays and *waria* in Indonesia.

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End Notes

[1] Although same-sex sexualities in Indonesia are by no means identical with the American categories "lesbian" and "gay," urban activists who have considerable facility in English generally translate their Indonesian cognates for female (lesbi) and male (gay) same-sex sexuality with those terms. See Blackwood 1999 for a discussion of the problems with those terms. *Waria* is an Indonesian term for males who typically live as women and take men lovers. See Oetomo 1996.

[2] Jaringan Kerja Warna-Warni, October 2003.

[3] See Hefner 2000 re Islam in Indonesia.

[4] See Wieringa 1999 for the early history of lesbian organizing in Indonesia.

[5] From the Swara Srikandi mission statement, 2000.

[6] The term "minority sexual orientation" is the term used by Sektor 15 in their English-language writings.

Zora Neale Hurston AAA Annual Meeting Travel Grant Winners

Continuing our tradition since 2002 of honoring the contributions of the first African American woman anthropologist, Zora Neale Hurston, the AFA congratulates the *2004 Zora Neale Hurston Travel Grant winners*. Because of changes in the scheduling of the 2004 AAA, some of these winners may actually be presenting their work at the 2005 meetings:

Mary Roaf, PhD Candidate, Temple University
Mary's paper is entitled, "Good Citizens vs. Good Workers: Low-Income Girls and Clashing Subjectivities in a Charter School Community."

Valerie Foster, PhD Candidate, Michigan State University
Valerie's paper is entitled, "The Interconnections of Widowhood, Food Insecurity, and HIV/AIDS in North Western Tanzania."

Lydia Cabell Boyd, ABD New York University
Lydia's paper is entitled, "Performing Christianity: Christian subjectivity, gender and social change." She has also produced a documentary entitled "Hattitude: Church Hats in Brooklyn."

The Zora Neale Hurston Travel Award reflects AFA's commitment to increasing participation in the AAA Annual Meetings of students and recent PhDs from U.S. groups of color that remain under-represented in the discipline of Anthropology, including American Indians, Indigenous Hawaiians, Black/African-Americans, Chicano/Mexican Americans, and Asian-Americans. The award is also a means for encouraging and supporting graduate students and junior scholars engaged in feminist research and teaching to participate in all of AFA's activities, including mentoring and developing new pedagogical initiatives, as well as facilitating the presentation of scientific papers.

We award approximately 5 travel grants annually for the purpose of traveling to the annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association (AAA). Eligibility is restricted to students and recent PhDs whose work focuses on issues of concern to feminist anthropology.

Please check the AFA web site for details of the 2006 competition.

SYLVIA FORMAN PRIZE FOR FEMINIST ANTHROPOLOGY

Every year, the AFA invites graduate and undergraduate students to submit essays in feminist anthropology in competition for the Sylvia Forman Prize. The winners, one undergraduate and one graduate student, will receive a certificate, cash award and have their essay summaries published in the Anthropology Newsletter. The prize is named for the late Sylvia Helen Forman, one of the founders of AFA, whose dedication to both her students and feminist principles contributed to the growth of feminist anthropology.

We encourage essays in all four subfields of anthropology. Essays may be based on research on a wide variety of topics including (but not limited to) feminist analysis of women's work, reproduction, sexuality, religion, language and expressive culture, family and kin relations, economic development, gender and material culture, gender and biology, women and development, globalization, and the intersectionality of gender, race, and class.

Please check the AFA web site for details about submissions for the 2006 competition.

CONGRATULATIONS TO THE 2004 FORMAN PAPER PRIZE WINNERS:

2004 UNDERGRADUATE WINNER

Women with Balls: Shaping Bodies and Testing Identity Boundaries in Italian Women's Rugby-Jennifer Conrad, Weslyan College *(jconrad@weslyan.edu)*

This ethnography of the Rugby Perugia Ragazze (Perugia Women's Rugby) team offers a semi-insider approach to the players' everyday negotiations of gender, bodily power and sexuality. Within the larger culture of "respectable" Italian femininity as heterosexual and maternal, these women use the "violent and hyper-masculine" collision sport of rugby to both unravel and reconfigure feminine social identities. Their bodies (as ethnic Italian, white, and middle class) represent critical tools in these mediations, which the rugby players use in experimenting with and subverting the very definitions of gender and poss/ability.

2004 GRADUATE STUDENT WINNER

"They even let their women work": negotiations of labor, honor and the communist legacy among Turkish immigrant women from Bulgaria
Ayse Parla, New York University *(ayse.parla@nyu.edu)*

This paper examines the material conditions and cultural meanings of work in the lives of Turkish immigrant women from Bulgaria. Unlike their local counterparts, Bulgarian-Turkish immigrant women contribute as much income to the household as the men, and in the case of the post-nineties migrants, are often the major breadwinners. This demographic difference, a result of the feminization of migration in the nineties as well as the immigrants' attitudes towards work, gives rise to and becomes the ground for struggles over proper gender roles, often waged over competing appropriations of the immigrants' communist past. Local interpretations of the immigrants' zeal for work as greed is expressed by the recurrent phrase, "they even let their women work." A rather common response on the part of older residents who begrudge the competition posed by newcomers for scarce resources has a cultural specificity in this particular instance in that the denunciation is articulated in terms of an appeal to gender propriety. In response, immigrant women defend their own norms about work through an appeal to the communist ethos, which they contrast to the local codes of honor and shame.
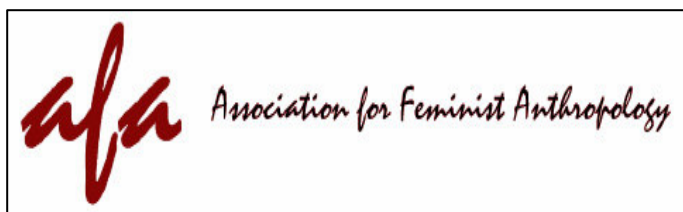
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