

Rose Kellerille antamani vastaukset Valtikassa koskien EU-politiikka ja naisten asemaa.

EU LINJAUKSET JA NAISTEN ASEMA

Yhteenvedona väittäisin, ettei EU: yleisiä linjauksia kuten Lissabonin sopimus ja strategia ja perustuslaki sekä sen variaatiot voi erottaa gender- ja kestävän kehityksen kysymyksistä. Nehän luovat niiden budjetti ja kehysraamit. Kun Lissabonin strategia on seuraavanlainen, siitä seuraa, ettei se voi olla heikentämättä ei-ostovoimaisten naisten asemaa:

LISSABONIN STRATEGIA

Eurooppa-neuvosto määritteli Lissabonissa maaliskuussa 2000 Euroopan unionille kunnianhimoisen muutosohjelman, jota ryhdyttiin kutsumaan kokouspaikan mukaisesti Lissabonin strategiaksi. Kyseessä on yhteinen visio siitä, mihin suuntaan EU-maiden taloutta ja yhteiskuntaa haluttiin seuraavan kymmenen vuoden aikana kehittää. Lissabonin strategia on yritys saattaa EU-politiikan taloudellinen ja sosiaalinen ulottuvuus uudella tavalla yhteen: sosiaalipolitiikka haluttiin liittää oleelliseksi osaksi Euroopan taloudellista ajattelua ja rakenteellista uudistusohjelmaa. Palolan & Särkelän mukaan (2006) Lissabonin päätösten myötä unionin sosiaalipolitiikka siirtyikin jyrkästä toimivallanjaosta ja lainsäädäntötoimista enemmän EU-huippukokousten ja komission harjoittaman poliittisen ohjauksen piiriin. Lissabonin strategia tiivistää monikansallisten yhtiöiden tuottavuutta, talouskasvua ja kilpailukykyä hyödyttävät ydinarvot, jotka on EU:ssa asetettu kansalaisten perusoikeuksien, tasa-arvon sekä ekososiaalisesti kestävän tulevaisuuden yläpuolelle, joskin hyvin salakavalasti. Nämä ydinarvot ovat kaikille jo suomalaisesta eliittipopulistisesta talousliturgiasta tutut hokemat: palvelutuotantoa on pakko uudistaa, rakennemuutokset ovat väistämättömiä. Juridisesti suomalaisen yhteiskunnan taustalla on ihmisarvon loukkaamattomuuden, yksilön vapauden ja oikeuksien sekä oikeudenmukaisuuden, kansanvallan, oikeusvaltioperiaatteen ja kansainvälisen yhteistyön muodostama kokonaisuus. Se ilmenee oikeus- ja hyvinvointivaltiona. On perusteltua puhua hyvinvointiyhteiskunnasta, jossa hyvinvoinnin takeina ovat paitsi edustuksellinen demokratia, myös suora osallistuminen ja yhteiskunnan rakenteisiin kiinnittynyt sitoutuminen yhteiskunnallisen oikeudenmukaisuuden tavoittelemiseen. Tämä on eri asia kuin usein esitetty näkemys, jonka mukaan hyvinvointiyhteiskunta muodostuu perheen, järjestöjen sekä mahdollisesti kirkon ja vapaaehtoistoiminnan talkootöistä ja hyvistä teoista. Palola & Särkelä kertovat edelleen, että Suomen hallitus antoi esityksen laiksi julkisista hankinnoista 28.4.2006. Sen tavoitteena on tehostaa julkisten varojen käyttöä ja avata julkisten hankintojen markkinat koko yhteisön alueella muista jäsenvaltioista tulevalle kilpailulle. Säästöjen sijaan onkin siis kyse suurten ja kannattavien talousalueiden avaamisesta yrittäjille ja vieläpä veronmaksajien rahojen käyttämisestä talouselämän hyväksi. Retorisena pyrkimyksenä on ”EU:n sisämarkkinoiden tavoitteiden toteutumisen sekä taloudellisen kasvun, kilpailukyvyn ja työllisyyden edistäminen” (2006). Miksi puhutaan hyvinvointivaltion säilyttämiseksi tarvittavista joustoista, jos ei siis ole aikomustakaan säilyttää tätä pohjoismaista mallia, vaan korvata se markkinavoimilla ja vahvimman oikeudella? Miksei PARAS- hankkeen kohdalla paljasteta tätä tausta-agendaa, ja lisäksi sitä, että Suomi on EU:n mahdollisesti taantumuksellisin ja oikeistolaisin maa—meillähän on tulkittu EU:n direktiivejä, veropolitiikkaa ja markkinalainsäädäntöä paljon muita maita tiukemmin. Kuitenkin muutoksiin viitataan väistämättöminä ja välttämättöminä, ikään kuin ei olisi lainkaan kyse poliittisista valinnoista.

Sosiaalipolitiikan ja sisämarkkinoiden suhde on tutkijoiden mukaan edennyt vaiheeseen, jossa unionin nähdään tarvitsevan uudenlaisen sosiaalisen mallin. Tavoitteena ei ole enää kompromissi jäsenmaiden erilaisten hyvinvointimallien välillä. Uuden sopimuksen ytimenä on uudenlaisen tasapainon löytäminen siihen, millaisen sosiaalipolitiikan kilpailukykyinen Eurooppa kestää ja myös kääntäen, millaista sosiaalipolitiikkaa kilpailukyvyn ylläpitäminen ja kehittäminen

edellyttävät. EU:n sosiaali- ja terveystalouden ajattelun lähtökohtana ei ole enää kansallisen ja eurooppalaisen hyvinvointiajattelun suhde, vaan eurooppalaisen hyvinvointiajattelun sovittaminen talouden vaatimuksiin. Perustuslain 124 §:ssä on säädetty niistä edellytyksistä, joilla julkinen hallintotehtävä voidaan uskoa muulle kuin viranomaiselle. Edellytyksenä hallintotehtävän antamiselle on, että siirto tapahtuu lailla tai lain nojalla, että se on tarpeen tehtävän tarkoituksenmukaiseksi hoitamiseksi ja että se ei vaaranna perusoikeuksia, oikeusturvaa tai muita hyvän hallinnon vaatimuksia. Perustuslain 124 § kieltää siirtämistä yksityiselle merkittävää julkisen vallan käyttöä sisältäviä tehtäviä (Palola & Särkelä 2006, 22.) Tarkoituksenmukaisuus perustuu arvioon siitä, millä menetelmällä palvelu on tehokkaimmin, tuottavimmin ja sen tavoitteet huomioon ottaen parhaiten toteutettavissa. Oikeusturvavaatimus edellyttää tehtävää hoitavalta yksiköltä riittäviä voimavaroja, koulutustasoa ja muita tekijöitä, joilla voidaan etukäteen varmistaa perusoikeuksien, oikeusturvan ja hyvän hallinnon vaatimusten toteutuminen. Lisäksi käytössä on oltava oikeusturvan keinot, kuten muutoksenhaku. (Palola & Särkelä 2006, 23.)

Palvelumarkkinoiden ”uudistukset” merkitsevät taloudellisten arvojen ja päämäärien asettamista valtion toiminnan keskiöön työntekijöiden oikeuksien kustannuksella. Parhailaan ovat menossa WTO:n ja GATT:n sopimuksen laajentamiseen tähtäävät neuvottelut. Niiden keskeinen aikomus on saada kilpailu ja tätä kautta laajeneva yksityistäminen koskemaan kaikkia julkisia palveluja. Sähkö ja vesilaitokset, sosiaali- ja terveyspalvelut, koulutus- ja kulttuuripalvelut, kulttuuri, vanhustenhuolto ja päiväkodit halutaan yksityisen voitontavoittelun, jopa osakkeenomistajien ahneuden piiriin. Perinteiseen pohjoismaiseen malliin on kuulunut mm. sosiaali- ja terveyspalveluiden kehittäminen Suomen perustuslain ja erilaisten yhdenvertaisuus-, perusoikeus- ja tasa-arvolakien pohjalta. Tämän näkökulman on kuitenkin viime aikoina korvannut Lissabonin strategiaan sisällytetty näkemys, jossa unionin väitetään vaihtoehdottomasti tarvitsevan uutta yritysvetoista sosiaalista mallia. Kilpailukyky on käsite, jonka varjolla usein pyritään oikeuttamaan lähes mitä tahansa kansalaisten oikeuksien heikennyksiä. Huolestuttava oli Helsingin Sanomien kolumni, jossa kysyttiin suoraan ”jos kilpailukyky ja demokratia ovat keskenään ristiriidassa, demokratian tulee joustaa.” Mikä kiteyttää selvemmin, ettei aikamme kovien arvojen eetos lainkaan tähtää kansanvallan ja perusoikeuksien ylläpitämiseen vaan raadolliseen korporaatiovallan vahvistamiseen.

Kun julkisia palveluja halutaan laajasti yksityistää, on taustalla niiden liittäminen osaksi vapautuvia maailmamarkkinoita. Palvelut halutaan markkinoistaa, tehdä myös niistä yksityisen voiton tavoittelun areenoita.

Taustalla on Euroopan unionin vuonna 2000 hyväksymä ns. Lissabonin strategia. Jatkuva taloudellinen kasvu, kilpailukyky ja (palvelu)markkinat ovat strategian ydinkohtia, vaikka siinä korostetaan ainakin muodollisesti myös hyvinvointipolitiikan merkitystä, ns. sosiaalista asialistaa. Taloudellisille kriteereille ja talouspolitiikan suurille suuntaviivoilla on siinä annettu etusija. Tärkeä osa tässä on ns. GATS-sopimus, palvelukaupan yleissopimus, joka kuuluu liiteosana Maailmankauppajärjestön (WTO) perustamissopimukseen. Sen keskeinen tavoite on palvelujen kansainvälisen kaupan vapauttaminen. Toinen tärkeä osa on EU:n valmistelema palveludirektiivi.

Kapeasti ymmärretty taloudellinen tehokkuus, ylipäättään talouden ylivalta on Lissabonin strategiassa kaiken toiminnan lähtökohtana. Siinä oletetaan hyvin epähistoriallisesti ja kritiikittömästi, että julkisten palvelujen tehokkuutta voidaan lisätä liikelaitostamalla, yhtiöittämällä, ulkoistamalla ja markkinoistamalla. Vapaa kilpailu, kilpailukyky ja tehokkuus ovat ensisijaisessa asemassa perinteiseen julkiseen hyvinvointipolitiikkaan nähden. Tätä kautta solidaarisuuden sijalle astuu kyltymätön voiton tavoittelu.

Parhaillaan ovat menossa WTO:n GATS-sopimuksen soveltamisen laajentamiseen tähtäävät neuvottelut. Niiden keskeinen aikomus on saada kilpailu ja tätä kautta laajeneva yksityistäminen koskemaan kaikkia julkisia palveluja: niin sähkö- ja vesilaitoksia kuin myös sosiaali- ja terveystaloudellisia sekä koulutus- ja kulttuuripalveluja.

Vaikka julkisten palvelujen yksityistämisestä perustellaan usein pääasiassa tehokkuussyillä, on keskeinen syy sittenkin poliittis-ideologinen. Nimenomaan EU:sta tulee vahvoja paineita julkisten palvelujen avaamiselle kilpailulle. Tilannetta mutkistaa edelleen se, että EU:n perustuslakiluonnoksessa unionille annettavat uudet kauppapoliittiset valtuudet ovat sosiaalipoliittisesti erittäin arveluttava kohta.

(Heinonen 1999, 14-17)

Täsmävastauksia Rose Kellerin kysymyksiin

1. The EU is not some abstract entity that knows everything about every member state. The left groupings however should be motivated to find out about and become familiarized with the gender issues of the left parties in Finland. That depends now on what info the members of the EU parliament are motivated to hand out. Esko Seppänen being the only European member, we seem dependent on what his contacts are. To my knowledge, not terrific. I doubt that the EU takes a more serious interest in left gender issues than the government did before we joined the EU.

As regards EU-supported funded projects... as a women's group or network we are not involved in any that I know of.

2. Progressive gender agenda. Trafficking, increased socio-political-economic equality reforms of gender mainstreaming:

Some thoughts on the links between prostitution and neoliberal EU politics:

Prostituutiota voidaan varmaankin pitää uusliberalistisen talouspolitiikan vahvimpana ja selkeimpänä talousväkivallan vertauskuvana—ja todellisuutena. Uusliberalismin väistämättömin seuraus on varallisuuserojen kasvaminen ja prostituutiosta on kyse nimenomaan varallisuuseroista. Mitä eriarvoisemmaksi yhteiskunta muuttuu, sitä yleisempää ja monimuotoisempaa prostituutiota tulee. Prostituutioon liittyy laajamittaisia ja vakavia ihmisoikeusongelmia. Feministien kritiikin mukaan prostituoitujen käyttämisellä on myös taipumus muokata miesten naisia koskevia asenteita kovemmiksi ja väkivaltaisemmiksi. Kansanterveydellisestä näkökulmasta tärkein prostituutioon liittyvä ongelma on sukupuolitautiin leviäminen (112-113).

Prostituutiota voidaan oikeutetusti pitää köyhien naisten hyväksikäytön ehkä kaikkein epäinhimillisimpänä muotona. Samalla se on kuitenkin aina muodostanut myös tietyn viimeisen taloudellisen turvaverkon lukemattomille ahdinkoon ajautuneille naisille.

Aina kun yhteiskunnan sisäiset varallisuuserot kasvavat niin suuriksi, että erilaiset yhteiskunnalliset turvaverkot ylikuormittuvat ja pettävät eriarvoisen prostituutio kasvaa köyhien naisten viimeiseksi eloonjäämisen keinoksi. Prostituutio merkitsee siis lukemattomille köyhille naisille samaa kuin huumekauppa ja eräät muut järjestäytyneen rikollisuuden muodot miehille.

Nais- ja lapsikauppa on maailman kolmanneksi kannattavinta ja laajinta rikollista toimintaa, josta organisoitunut rikollisuus ansaitsee vuosittain arviolta 7 miljardia dollaria. Joka vuosi noin 500 000-700 000 naista ja lasta kuljetetaan kotimaastaan läntiseen Eurooppaan ja Yhdysvaltoihin työskentelemään prostituoituina vasten tahtoaan.

Naiskauppa toimii globalisoituneen talouden säännöillä. Sen räjähdyksmäinen lisääntyminen johtuu valtioiden rajojen avautumisesta, lainsäädännön puutteellisuudesta sekä valtioiden ja yksilöiden välisestä taloudellisesta epätasa-arvosta. Köyhät maat toimivat lähteinä, joista salakuljetetaan naisia ja lapsia rikkaimpiin maihin. Laittomina siirtolaisina heiltä puuttuvat ihmisoikeudet ja lain turva. Monissa Etelän maissa seksin myyminen on laitonta. Vastoin tahtoaan seksibisneksessä työskentelevät naiset ovat siis lähtökohtaisesti rikollisia.

Prostituution yleistymistä voidaan siis torjua tehokkaasti vain vastustamalla talouden globalisoimista ja hyvinvointivaltion purkamista. Jos ihmisillä on muita mahdollisuuksia elättää itsensä prostituutio pysyy melko marginaalisena ja merkitykseltään vähäisenä ilmiönä. Mutta jos nykyisen kaltaisen hyvinvointivaltion annetaan romahtaa, prostituutio yleistyy jälleen merkittävästi myös Suomessa.

Erään arvion mukaan viisi prosenttia maailman suurempien kaupunkien naispuolisesta aikuisväestöstä olisi prostituoituja. YK:n väestörahasato on arvioinut, että puolet Afrikan ja 30-35 prosenttia Kaakkois-Aasian suurkaupunkeihin muuttaneista yksinäisistä naisista olisi ainakin jossakin elämänsä vaiheessa joutunut harjoittamaan prostituutiota.

Vapaakauppapolitiikan ensimmäisen aallon saavuttaessa huippunsa Englannissa 1800-luvun puolivälin jälkeen Lontoossa oli 100.000 prostituutiota, vaikka kaupungin koko väkiluku oli vain vähän yli kaksi miljoonaa. Lähes viisi prosenttia kaupungin koko väestöstä ja 15-20 prosenttia naispuolisesta aikuisväestöstä ansaitsi tuolloin ainakin osan elannostaan prostituoituina. Lukumäärä on ällistyttävän korkea, varsinkin kun otetaan huomioon se että tutkimuksen mukaan prostituoituidut harjoittivat ammattiaan keskimäärin vain 4- 5 vuotta (114).

Yleisesti ajatellaan, ettei naisten seksuaalisuutta enää kontrolloida Suomessa jossa abortti ja ehkäisy ovat olleet pitkään sallittuja ja esiintyy usein väitteitä, että miehiä sorretaan lasten huoltajuusoikeudenkäynneissä äitien hyväksi.

Käsitys, ettei pohjoismaisen naisen seksuaalisuutta kontrolloida samoin kuin esim. Lähi-Idän kunniamurha- kulttuureissa tulee kuitenkin tarkistaa, joskaan myytit pohjoismaisten naisten seksuaalisesta ja muusta vapaudesta eivät ole pelkkiä myyttejä. Toki naiset ovat onnistuneet saamaan enemmän oikeuksia ja saavuttamaan tasa-arvoa kuin monissa muissa maailman kolkissa. Sylvia Walbyn mukaan naisten itsenäistyminen yksityisen alueella on kuitenkin johtanut siihen, että heidän seksuaalisuuttansa kontrolloidaan yhä voimakkaammin julkisella alueella. Pornografia ja prostituutio ovat tämän julkisen kontrollin näkyvimpiä muotoja. Paradoksaalista onkin, että näitä instituutioita usein puolletaan seksuaalisen vapauden nimissä (Näre 1995, 34). ”Vapaa” länsimainen nainen riisutaan lisääntyvästi kaupallisiin alkutekijöihinsä markkinatalouden mantraksi muodostuneen kilpailukyvyyn ja talouskasvun, tuottavuuden nimissä. Kun uskonnollinen fundamentalismi haluaa kätkeä naisen synnillisen ja syntiin kiihottavan ruumiin, taloudellinen fundamentalismi haluaa taas lypsää siitä kaikki mahdolliset ja mahdottomat, rivot, voitot. Ihmisyyden on globalisaation ajalla alennus-myyntinä ja nainen tämän eetoksen keulakuva pornoistuvassa arjessa. Seksuaalinen kaksinaismoraali ja siihen liittyvä naisen seksuaalisuuden hallinta ovat arkipäivää niin Lähi-Idässä kuin pohjoismaissa.

Elina Haavio-Mannila ja Osmo Kontula julkaisivat vuonna 1993 tilastokartoituksen suomalaisten sukupuolielämästä, joka oli muuttunut myönteisempään suuntaan. Naisten suhtautuminen pornografiaan oli kuitenkin muuttunut kielteisemmäksi. Suurin osa naisista vastusti myös prostituutiota ja yhteiskunnallisesti valvottujen bordellien perustamista. Miehistä runsas puolet oli näiden instituutioiden kannalla. Enemmistö suomalaisista ei siis näytä kaipaavan kaupallista seksiä, puolet miehistä kylläkin. Pornografiaa tutkineen Sari Näreeseen mukaan 1990-luvun seksibuumi ja Bkeskustelu näyttääkin suostuttelevan varsinkin naisia myönteisiksi kaupallista seksiä kohtaan. Käynnissä on siis tällä erää kaupallisten pikemmin kuin uskonnollisten intressien virittämä taistelu sukupuolimoraalista (Näre 1995, 35). Sari Näre tulkitsee pornografian taloudelliseksi funktioksi massateollisuuden, jonka päämääränä on taloudellisen pääoman kerääminen seksuaalisuuden kaupallisen esittämisen keinoin. Kaupalliset päämäärät tavoittelevat mahdollisimman suuria kuluttajamääriä, mikä edistää pornografian sisällön toistumista, kaavoittumista ja pelkistymistä. Sosiaalisen funktion suhteen Näre toteaa pornografian sosiaalisesti ulottuvuudeksi useampia tasoja, joiden yhteisenä rakenteena on seksismi ja naisviha. Gisela Breitling määrittelee pornografian seksuaalisuuden naisvihaa ilmentäväksi kuvaukseksi. Hän muistuttaa, että pornografian ideologiana on naisviha. Tämä ideologia sisältyy pornografian myyttisiin rakenteisiin, jotka tulivat esille hänen tutkimuksessaan suomalaisista miestenlehdistä. Näre on nimennyt tämän myytin kiimaisen naisen myytiksi

3. THE GENDER IMPACT OF EU POLITICS AND POLICIES

An article I have written (as yet unpublished) on these issues provides answers to some of the questions raised: I have underlined the sections that offer answers from a left perspective to the questions with additional comments focussed on the Left Party.

Kaarina Kailo

The New Socio-Economic Order in a Globalized World: an Overview of Women’s Rights and of Women as Property¹

1. Paper delivered at the International Workshop, "Property, Gender and the Development of the Socio-Economic Order in Western Societies and the Arab-Islamic World. Workshop organized by the University of Vienna, Austria. Dec. 4-6.

The women's movements worldwide have taken issue with the reinforced patriarchal and technocapitalistic agenda that it is threatening women's hard-won rights from the Nordic welfare states to the overexploited countries of the South. The new socio-economic order of the globalized world is perceived by many activists in the women's movements as the apex of the patriarchal and capitalistic exchange economy (Vaughan 2004)—or whatever name is given to the new oligarchic systems controlling women's lives in the public and private sphere. Women's groups are increasingly rising up in protest, trying to raise consciousness about the world's Commons being appropriated as the property of the world's corporate male elites and their allies.

Women are 70 per cent of the world's poor, and they own one per cent of the world's wealth. In every country in the world, women are poorer than men, and their poverty and economic inequality affects every aspect of their lives--their basic survival and the survival of their children, their access to food and housing, their physical security, their sexual autonomy, their health, their access to education and literacy, their access to justice, their ability to participate in public life, their ability to influence and participate in decisions that affect them. Women's economic inequality is integrally connected to their sexual exploitation, and to their lack of political power. As long as women as a group do not have an equal share of the world's economic resources, they will not have an equal say in shaping the world's future. (Day 2000, 12 qtd. In Kailo, 2002)

Rather than outline women's property rights in individual countries, I focus on the threats to women becoming increasingly nothing less than economically useful corporate and elite male property themselves. My approach is intentionally not country or continent-specific although I provide comparative data as examples of the global trends. ALTHOUGH THE EU HAS ADOPTED MANY APPARENTLY PROGRESSIVE GENDER MAINSTREAMING INSTRUMENTS AND PROGRAMS, THEY REMAIN TO A GREAT EXTENT SUBJECTED TO THE OVERALL STRATEGIES AND VISIONS OF THE EU AS A WHOLE—THE LISBON STRATEGY WHICH SETS ECONOMIC COMPETITIVENESS, PRODUCTIVITY, COST-EFFECTIVENESS ABOVE GENDER EQUALITY, ECOSOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY, THE ENVIRONMENT. SINCE IT BELIEVES THAT THE ECONOMY OVERRIDES OTHER ISSUES, IT CANNOT BE AN ALLY OF THE KIND OF WELFARE STRUCTURES AND SOCIETIES THAT HAVE BEST GUARANTEED WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND ACCESS TO CONTROLLED, EASILY ACCESSIBLE AND NOT TOO EXPENSIVE SOCIAL SERVICES. SINCE ALL OF THESE SERVICES ARE BEING DOWNSIZED OR REPLACED BY PRIVATE ENTERPRISE AND CORPORATE GREED TO TAKE OVER THE PUBLIC SERVICES, THERE IS NO WAY THEY ARE INTERESTED IN PROMOTING ALL CITIZENS'S BASIC RIGHTS. THEIR GOAL IS PROFIT, NOT TO GUARANTEE SOCIAL JUSTICE. EU IS VERY DANGEROUS TO WOMENS ISSUES IN THIS REGARD.

The purpose is rather to show what kinds of pressures are flowing from the WTO, World Bank and the EU among the central institutions forcefeeding citizens and decision-makers with their recipies of the new socio-economic order, and how like-minded "structural restructuring programs" and values are combining around the world to entrench elite male control of the world's resources. My ultimate goal is to trigger more scholarly interest in country-specific analyses of the gender impact of the neo-liberal agenda. This is sorely needed to get a full picture of the backlash that feminist economics claims is taking place in an unprecedented fashion. I believe that this gender-sensitive information is itself lacking or scanty precisely as a result of the mixed rhetoric and agenda of the leading institutions regarding women's role in the new economic order. One

might even claim that there is intentional manipulation of world citizens by the leading media to accept the new economy as beneficial to all—including women. As a women's studies researcher, municipal delegate and left PARTY activist (Feminists for a Gift Economy, Attac, FemAttac, Finnish Ecopsychology Association), I have had an opportunity to travel to numerous international meetings and conferences in the past years, where women's and concerned pro-democracy groups have addressed the threats to democracy and citizen rights, among other issues.² This, together with research on the gender impact of the global market economy, has provided me with the continued confirmation of the gender effects that I will proceed to describe.

ALTHOUGH THE LEFT PARTY WOMEN'S NETWORK AND COUNCIL DOES ADDRESS ALL OF THE ISSUES HERE RAISED IN THEIR ELECTORAL AGENDA AND BOOKLETS, THE DIRECT LIAISONS WITH EU REPRESENTATIVES ARE ALMOST NON-EXISTENT. THIS NEEDS TO BE LOOKED AFTER AND IN FACT HAVING GENDER EXPERTS AS THE EU ELECTIONS' CANDIDATES IS A STEP IN THAT DIRECTION—OF STRENGTHENING THE LINKS TOWARDS THE EU BETWEEN THE LEFT ALLIANCE AND THE EU...

I call the dominant Western paradigm and world view to do with human identity and consciousness the Master Imaginary in order to stress its history of colonial and master/slave relations. The concept condenses the artificial and arbitrary dichotomies that have allowed white heterosexual elite men to dominate nature, women, native populations and people of colour, as well as men defying the heterosexual and heteronormative gender contracts. To fully understand the patriarchal and power-related roots of the neo-liberal imaginary as an offshoot of the master imaginary, it is necessary to grasp its development as a kind of high point of masculated thinking and conditioning, what Vaughan (1997) calls the "exchange economy." I claim that the neo-liberal world view is a contemporary subcategory of the master imaginary assuming different forms and manifesting itself on a different scale on the patriarchal continuum across time and space.

Among the central elements of the Master Imaginary are assumptions and projections of non-egalitarian difference (eg. humans vs. animals, primitives vs. the civilized) which, upon closer scrutiny are merely the ideological tools through which the dominant or ruling class has sought to control, subjugate and label those it has placed in the periphery of its hierarchical order. Reason, the ego and notions of male honor and pride are among the gendered dimensions of being that have led to a most harmful gendered division of ethical and moral labour in the Western world. Rationality, as Max Weber among others has argued, is a highly valued and even naturalized feature of human (male) society, whereas the nurturing, emotional, empathetic qualities and the unconditional gift economy (Vaughan 1997, 2004) projected as the domain of women have not been even considered as Arational.® They do not form part of the male realm of Reason, because its defining, hidden features are economic interests where solidarity and the "soft" values associated with the feminine have no place. Today the male interpretation of rationality has been exposed as

²Three times at the World Social Forum (Porto Alegre, Mumbai) and once at the European Social forum, I have also been active in the Finnish local and national social forum movement. My research material for the article's "key threats to women's property and human rights" consists of the many grassroots brochures, leaflets, handouts and actual speeches I have heard at these meetings, as well as the research activists and scholars have produced in recent years on the gender impact of globalization in terms of my focus. I AM also the coordinator of the womens issues at NELF, the New European Left Forum and have tried to get the networking between various European left parties into a stronger status. The Left party has not helped this along due to poor communication but we are still determined to continue with this task. The plans are to make the liaison stronger than it has been. We have launched common campaigns and written statements about the issues threatening women's rights in the EU.

limited and reductive and a more multilayered, complex understanding has emerged regarding the different varieties of rationality based on care, responsibility and productivity. The Master Imaginary, for all of its historic and geographic specificities has at its core the protection of a hegemonic group's property rights and monopolies, including spiritual, religious, psychological and epistemic capital and resources, as well as their regulation and control. This imaginary has at its core a dualistic, dichotomous ordering of reality and of the sex/gender system.

Honour-based patriarchy is related to the Master Imaginary to the extent that the former is as a structure and institution rooted in a sharply dualistic and hierarchical outlook and the politics of “power over.” Its special features within patriarchal systems have to do with the centrality of the concepts of male honour and female shame, expressing and epitomizing the asymmetrical power relations/property relations between the sexes. The Master Imaginary condenses the psycho-social unconscious, implicit and explicit world view and values while honour-based patriarchy represents its concrete manifestations and structures. The sex/gender system in Hirdman’s (1988) interpretation is regarded as a socially constructed order regulating and structuring men’s and women’s thoughts and actions to gain societal acceptance. Hirdman claims that the gender system is based on two principles, segregation and hierarchy, which structure individuals’ ideas and actions, both horizontally and vertically. The first principle says that what men do, women do not, and vice versa. The second principle, the hierarchical dimension of the gender system, determines the power distributed between the two genders. I incorporate these insights into my concept, adding to them a dimension that Hirdman has not focussed on: that women, too, can identify with the hierarchical order and its system of prestige, even when the asymmetrical division of worth, value, prestige and social power puts down the female gender and the whole area of life codes as “feminine”. Although patriarchy as a social order run by fathers and sons concentrates power in the male enclaves, its traditional religious underpinnings have begun to weaken in parts of the world—particularly the Nordic welfare states. As heads of families, women no longer depend, at least not exclusively on the male “breadwinner”—itself already a myth—but patriarchy has assumed new forms as “hegemonic masculinity” (R.W. Connell 1999) has replaced a more organized religious patriarchy. Under the EU gender mainstreaming programmes, there is a high risk of women increasingly identifying with the masculated social agenda and information society, themselves adopting the hierarchical and dualistic ordering of the world. As Ehrenreich has exposed, many women treat the economically vulnerable women of the third world as the masters have treated them—from a position of privilege and self-interest. Thus Ehrenreich refers to the care chains whereby women who have entered the male professional enclaves have more economically dependent women looking after their emotional, care and nurturing responsibilities. The notion of a Master Identity adds to Hirdman’s analysis of the sex/gender system with its segregations and hierarchies that women can themselves reproduce and keep in place similar categories of oppression for less advantaged women. The Master Imaginary is also characterized by monocultural forms of rationality based on One truth and monolithic conceptions of right and wrong, “true” and “false.” It is often also characterized by an either/or way of seeing life involving a fragmented, compartmentalized relatedness to the world, to mind and matter, the soul and the earth. At worst, it is intolerant of other ways of perceiving and evaluating life, denigrating other forms of rationality (for more on the master identity, read Val Plumwood, 1993; Kailo 2000, 2004).

Many women and feminists also embrace the values of the Master Imaginary, not hesitating to treat less privileged men and women, as well as nature as the “other.” What then does this Master Imaginary have to do with neo-liberal agendas and the digital and other divides that are pitting citizens in different locations of privilege against each other in today’s globalized world? I add one more dimension to the Master imaginary as it is reflected in the market economy.

1.2. The Master Imaginary, the Neo-liberal Agenda and Patriarchal Honor/Shame systems

I stress the link between private property and the notion of a “master”, for it is the economic motivation for this ideology and vision that grounds it, even though the desire to control the “other” (women, Native, animal for example) also has sexual and socio-political dimensions.

“Honour murders” is the term used to describe the murder of women by their male relatives or husbands to punish them for shaming the family or the husband. The very term may legitimate the view that it is honourable to take a person’s life using the excuse of cultural customs. It is important to call these murders “shameful femicides” because from a human/woman rights perspective, one cannot accept ANY excuses for the murder of a society’s members, particularly the most vulnerable ones (women, girls, children).³ The relevance of the honor/shame research for understanding women as property and violence as the means of securing this “entitlement” is that shame and shaming are an important psychological trigger for violence, both economic and physical. As Baker (1999) among others has shown, although shaming works in different ways for both sexes, for men shame is defined either as a signal of danger to one's sense of self or as emotional anguish from the exposure of one's failings. This is not an abstract, timeless “male” self but one rooted in hegemonic masculinity/patriarchy where specific power relations between the sexes make of a woman’s independence a threat to many if not all men’s sense of identity. For Baker, it is an integral part of Western society but it is less familiar because it has become hidden in the smaller family or individual units of society (1999: 8). The operationalization of traditional honour and shame has thus been changed in many ways in Western societies. Without denying the importance of distinguishing between sex/gender system with stronger or weaker Master imaginaries or honour/shame subsystems, I stress the similarities between male-legitimated and defined sex/gender contracts in order to keep gendered violence more visible, also in the Nordic countries. I replace the notion of a "honour related violence" with SHAMEFUL FEMICIDE to foreground that we are not dealing with cultural customs but quite specifically, with male violence against women. The term (should the very term be useful) serves to send a much stronger message reminding us that shame should be attached to misogyny and murderous customs instead of it being projected on innocent victims of control and sexual mastery. We must send a strong social signal in the name of women’s human rights that the concept of honour can have no place in the context of violent relations and actions whereby more vulnerable and dependent members of society are controlled and treated as property. As the honour/shame system implicitly reveals, both men and women are subjected to collective shaming which is beyond their personal control; both men and women can lose their reputation for deeds on which they have no control, and which they have had no stake in provoking or bringing about. Having to monitor the sexual behaviour of one's sister, and having to take radical action (even a murder) in response to her possible "defilement" is no doubt a position of moral conflict, particularly for men living in a new host country and host cultures whose moral mores would strongly condemn such behaviour (even when it might be based on a double morality, one not applied to the host country). A man whose refutation is lost owing to female relatives’ independent actions is in the same subject position as the woman who loses her status, value and even health by being raped or assaulted through no fault of her own. Still, women by

³ According to **RBHRV**, “Honour related violence is common in many Mediterranean countries, the Middle East and parts of Central Asia, and also in other parts of the world such as Ecuador, Brazil, Egypt, China and Uganda. In the last years the problem has been identified as extensive in many parts of Europe as well (2003: 7). The United Nations also estimates that as many as 5000 women and girls worldwide were killed in 1999 by family members (Women’s international Network News 1999). *The RBHRV* defines HRV as follows: “Honour related violence (HRV), with honour killing as its most extreme manifestation, is a form of violence against girls and women. It can also affect boys and men, within strong patriarchal family structures. Honour related violence is one of the darkest aspects of strong patriarchal traditions and of failed processes of intercultural meetings. Both host and immigrant communities can gain greatly from this knowledge” (2003: 7). The RBHRV argues that HRV must be separated from other forms of gender violence: “In this project honour related violence has been defined as the “violence occurring when families with ‘honour-norms’ violate girls’, women’s and boys rights”. (UN Convention on Human Rights, the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and laws in the country of immigration.) Honour related violence can be distinguished from other kinds of violence when the violence is “excused “ by the perpetrators’ culture. Not by all its members, but “understood” by most in the light of their collectively based culture” (2003: 7).

virtue of their more dependent position are more at risk for threats and physical harm, including murder by close relatives. Men defying the heterosexual code and the dominant gender contract are, however, also at risk for the harshest forms of punishment for their deviance. More than the leading men, however, this system blames women and those who are the most vulnerable members of the community in terms of access to power and resources ("gypsies", "deviant" individuals, outsiders). They are often made to carry the projections of the group and receive collective blame as scapegoats. Older women without power or protection, for instance, are vulnerable to unfounded accusations of demonic powers, the evil eye or their modern variations. Ehrenreich and English have shown that in the Middle Ages, during the Witch-craze, elderly women were particularly vulnerable to economic and physical abuse as elite men wished to seize their property. The violence was justified by scapegoating the vulnerable with the most imaginary accusations and by shaming the women in different ways. THE ELDERLY WOMEN ARE TARGETED IMPLICITLY AND IN SURREPTITIOUS WAYS EVEN TODAY BY THE CORPORATE EU POLITICS THAT IGNORE THE NEEDS OF THE MOST POOR AND FAVOR POLITICS ADDING CHOICES OF SERVICES TO THOSE WHO HAVE MONEY. THE GENERAL RESTRUCTURING AND DOWNSIZING OF THE WELFARE STATE LEADS NECESSARILY TO THE WEAKENING OF THE STATUS OF THE ELDERLY, AS HAS CLEARLY HAPPENED IN FINLAND, SOMETHING PEOPLE HAVE PROTESTED AGAINST STRONGLY IN THE RECENT ELECTIONS. EU DOES NOT CARE ABOUT THIS BECAUSE OF ITS MONOCULTURAL, SINGLE-MINDED CORPORATE AND PRIVATIZATION AGENDA.

The dysfunctional, widely-spread cross-cultural system of gendered behavior and gendered division of labor and resources is the deep core and pivot of patriarchy and as such inseparable from property relations, particularly those stressing individual, private property rights and entitlements rather than group or communal, collective responsibilities. As is well-known, in honor-based patriarchy woman is the symbol of the collectivity and is punished more harshly when her symbolic or individual body is defiled. At the heart of the shameful femicides lies the notion of group responsibility and honor, not individual human/woman rights. However, this collectivity consists ultimately of the leading male members of communities whose interests the system protects over the rights of women even to life and security. The neo-liberal ethos contrasts sharply with that of the ethics and rationality of care and ecological be-longing or responsibility—characterizing girls and women more than boys and men. The reasons have to do with a different upbringing and socialization processes. The ethos also contrasts with the ecologically sustainable and balance-oriented world view of many non-patriarchal or honor-shame related nations. In the traditional honor/shame- patriarchies, women's honor guaranteed the property rights of the men while in the rhetoric, this supposedly safeguarded the economic survival and prosperity of the entire family. One wonders to what extent a murdered, excommunicated or defiled woman would personally benefit from such a community honor-system. What can be a higher good than one's self-determination and personal integrity? An abstract notion of family that does not honor the life of its own members? In the name of family "honor"? One might argue that likewise, today nations seek to exploit women—particularly young women in their reproductive years who risk creating social benefits related expenses to employers—in the name of a "higher good"—the competitiveness of the entire country. Once again, by forcing and submitting women more than men to be the flexible work force in precarious working conditions, elite men are abusing of the rhetoric of common, abstract good (the "national economy"). It is a way of manipulating women to submit to their dependent and unjust status or roles and preventing them from recognizing that the competitiveness (eg. "male honor") provides asymmetrical power, resources, honor, prestige and money to the men at the expense of the women. As within globalization, this collective good (competitiveness or honor) does not trickle down to the women, as the arguments go, but accumulates as the capital of the men or the corporations.

It is also based on an understanding of power as “power over, “ rather than as solidarity politics or the notion of the interconnectedness and inherent value and rights of all citizens or members of a broad community (including the ecosystem). The Master Imaginary is also characterized by the espousal of monocultural forms of rationality based on One truth and single-minded or black-and-white ways of seeing life, involving a fragmented, compartmentalized relatedness to the world, to mind and matter, the soul and the earth. At worst, it is intolerant of other ways of perceiving and evaluating life, denigrating other forms of life. I stress the link between private property and the notion of a “master”, for it is the economic motivation for this ideology and vision that grounds it, even though the desire to control the “other” (women, Native, animal etcetera) also has sexual and socio-political dimensions (Kailo 2004).

1. 1. The Master Imaginary and the Social Gender Contract

Patriarchy can be defined as any ethnoculturally, historically contingent system of dominance by fathers where men occupy the subject position and women are defined in relation to male relatives or authorities as the other, at worst, as male property. Under religious patriarchy, the only truly appropriate roles of women have consisted in supporting the male-defined divine order while the most prestigious religious and spiritual power has been concentrated in male authorities, experts and leaders. The proper place of woman has been to protect the male divine property rights. Under neo-liberal economic patriarchy, women’s economic position is no longer legitimated on the basis of religious calling or the need to sacrifice in the name of the Divine. Nor does it refer to women’s naturalized spiritual roles as nurses, care workers, providers of emotional support and positive stroking (Lee Bartky), reproducers of patriarchy and its sons in the traditional sense. Today the same proper areas of female work—or rather, their poor, underfunded working conditions are explained and justified with the pretext of women’s unproductive, “non profitable” work (health care, nurturing, day care duties, work in the public sector). Despite the shift from theological to economic terminology, the end result is the same—the sex/gender systems controlled by men set women up as the property of fundamentalist philosophies and ideologies without regard for their equal rights, their rights to be self-determining agents of their own socio-economic destinies. The proper role for women and woman-dominated fields is whatever advances the assumed entitlements to property of dominant, hegemonic males; women occupy the role of supporting the Master Imaginary, the patriarchal world order. Women’s property issues, the issue of women as property, as the proper object of the Master Imaginary, cannot be understood except through such broad concepts as the honor-based social contract, and more particularly a gender-sensitive political analysis that does not conceal gender under patriarchal abstract logic, abstract neutral theories or the clearly gendered but gender-neutralized public policies and politics. According to Carole Pateman, the original contract said to initiate civil society is both social and sexual: ‘

The sexual contract...establishes and democratizes male sex-right, the right of individual men to command individual women in labor and especially in sex. It institutes a series of male/female master/subject dyads. (qtd. in Allen 1999, 14).

This definition would have seemed overdrawn and almost caricatural in the 1970s, at least in the Nordic welfare societies where gender equality was promoted with the expansion of day care centres, equal pay for equal work and many other educational, political and affirmative action programmes, policies and processes. Today the written and unwritten laws of male sex-right and economic control once again threaten women’s rights to their bodies, self-determination and equality. I agree with Pateman that the essence of patriarchal dominance consists in the mastery over women’s sex and economic status. The market economy based on neo-liberal competitive values exposes most clearly the extent to which patriarchy has now evolved as an increasingly

totalitarian world view; in its neo-liberal guise it now submits considerations of women's rights/human rights, citizen rights and the basic rights to work, security and health to hard-core economic principles benefiting giant unaccountable corporations (Nader). To advocates of neo-liberalism nothing—not even these inalienable rights, must stand in the way of profits and the short-sighted, unsustainable politics of profit-making. As is well-known, trafficking in women and children has turned into a major profit-yielding business even in areas where it was practically non-existent—Northern Europe, the Nordic countries, not to mention Russia (Penttinen 2004). As the social safety networks have been weakened or dismantled while unemployment has soared, many women have been pushed, willingly but even more often, unwillingly, into the trap and violence of sex trade. Under neo-liberalism, women risk more than ever being turned into commodities and unprotected male property. I will return to these claims after defining the Master Imaginary.

EU DOES NOT LEGISLATE SUFFICIENT IMPEDIMENTS TO THE ABOVE ISSUES OF TRAFFICKING. THE DEREGULATION OF FINANCIAL TRANSFERS, CASINO CAPITALISM LIKEWISE MAKES WOMEN MUCH MORE VULNERABLE TO ABUSE THAN THEY WERE PRIOR TO THE EU. OF COURSE, SOME OF THE LESS HUMAN-WOMAN-RIGHTS ORIENTED COUNTRIES LIKE TURKEY OR POLAND MAY BE FORCED TO BECOME MORE GENDER SENSITIVE AND JUST BY JOINING THE EU BUT THE OPPOSITE TREND IS ALSO POSSIBLE AND IS PARTLY BEING CONCRETIZED---THAT THE NORDIC WELFARE STATE AS THE GUARANTOR OF WOMEN'S POSSIBILITIES TO COMBINE FAMILY AND WORK—IS SACRIFICED AND WOMEN'S STATUS IN THE NORDIC COUNTRIES WEAKENS. THIS IS ALREADY HAPPENING

I situate it on the continuum of honor-based patriarchy whose key psychological concepts can be summed up as male honor and female shame. Key related notions are the harmful impact of the masculated ego, a position established in relation to femininity and women, seen as the other, as the measuring rod of men's higher, superior humanity, being and power. What I wish to add to the dominant feminist analyses of sex/gender systems is the central importance of "male honour" and "female shame" which I see as epitomizing the asymmetrical gendered power relations. The former aspect of the sex/gender "contract" legitimates male control of women as currency of exchange while adding insult to injury: placing undeserved cultural shame on the very victims of this abuse of power.^{i 4} Male cultures based on the exchange economy and notions of male honour, pride and heroism have existed for centuries; however, it is in the context of today's economic and religious fundamentalisms, exemplified by the Anglo-American political leaders and many Muslim extremist regimes among other patriarchies that peace, and particularly women's rights are under an unprecedented global threat.ⁱⁱ *Visions, policies and debates about eco-social sustainable development, the defense of democracy and freedom are mere rhetoric unless they take into account the deep psychosocial and cultural roots of the global dysfunctions, the growing wedge regarding well-being between men and women, the rich and the poor. We cannot transform the misogynistic and eco-phobic global culture--terminator patriarchy, macho-technology, in which men, too, are victims--unless we make visible and tackle the deep roots of "male" or nationalistic pride and honour in all of their ethical contradictions.*

⁴The same master technique operates within the World Wide Wedge which has resulted from "free trade" globalization: the people(s) marginalized economically and politically by multinational corporate take-overs of resources are shamed and blamed as if individuals and entities without access to resources had control over structural policies and violence within high-level politics (eg. Korten 1996).

I. The Neo-liberal “imaginary” as The New Patriarchy

David Korten has well summed up some of the key assumptions and beliefs behind neo-liberal economic philosophy and practice:

Cavanagh has provided another useful list of the goals that the restructuring programmes implemented by neo-liberal new managerialism seek to meet as the processes of trade liberalization and deregulation deepen across the world:

- Promotion of hyper growth and unrestricted exploitation of environmental resources to fuel that growth
- Privatization and commodification of public services and of remaining aspects of the global and community commons
- Global cultural and economic homogenization and the intense promotion of consumerism
- Integration and conversion of national economies, including some that were largely self-reliant, to environmentally and socially harmful export-oriented production
- Corporate deregulation and unrestricted movement of capital across borders
- Dramatically increased corporate concentration
- Dismantling of public health, social and environmental programs already in place
- Replacement of traditional powers of democratic nation states and local communities by global corporate bureaucracies. (Cavanagh 2002, 19)

In order to understand the extent to which the above measures are gendered, reflecting the outcome of male rather than female socialization and values, it is necessary to define such notions as sex/gender systems and the Master Imaginary supporting the dominant world view.

The above-listed measures have already resulted in a most contradictory gendered agenda regarding the distribution of wealth, resources, jobs and security in the free trade areas. While much has been written about the world-wide-wedge and digital divide separating the wealthy and less wealthy or downright poverty-stricken countries and groups, the gender impact of the neo-liberal politics is not addressed or recognized sufficiently (Eisenstein 1996??). The situation appears to have only worsened as studies reveal in both East and West (Dokmanovic 2002, Ngan-Lin Chow E 2003, Wichterich 2002). Women's lack of political and economic power translates into the devaluation and incorporation of their gift labour in all of its public and private forms—emotional, domestic and related to public services. The new socio-economic order has often been summed up as the feminization of poverty and the masculinization of power. Even though the truth is of course more complex and requires taking into account such variables as ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, age, ability and geographic location, it is undeniable that we are facing massive threats to the rights women achieved in the course of history. The new dominant imaginary does contain cutting-edge opportunities for the privileged, educated and technologically savvy men and women, particularly of the industrialized North. However, although the new information technology also represents a powerful new tool of cross-cultural, global networking for less privileged women, the majority of women face great difficulties as a result of the weakening public sector and accessible, moderately priced or free services. It is argued that women's employment opportunities have greatly increased and this is true. However, what the advocates of neo-liberalism fail to report that these opportunities are mostly in poorly paid jobs with little or no job security, sweatshops style, and that more women than men also are provided only part-time or precarious, short-term positions or contracts. If women

are having increasingly more trouble making ends meet, they are hardly accumulating capital and possessions, and hardly worried about property. I suspect the great majority worry more about proper social services, education, healthcare and social well-being for all.

In the following chapter I outline the elements of the current world view with its economic underpinnings that are gendered and also contain gendering effects—although this is not recognized by the EU and other economic entities ruling women's lives.

2. The Gender Impact of the Neo-Liberal Values

As Ruminska-Zimny sums it for women in Eastern Europe struggling to :

Women face also gender specific barriers. Most networks, such as trade and business associations as well as informal “old-boys” networks, do not include women. Women are thus in worse position than men in terms of getting important information on credit, training opportunities, finding business partners and markets. they have also less access to collateral as privatisation has given to men more access to assets than to women. Finally, the social climate in many countries and stereotype views of gender roles translate into an adverse public attitude towards women entrepreneurs, unequal treatment by the state administration and discrimination in connection with bank loans. . In many countries, women are also more vulnerable as victims of new forms of criminal offence, widespread in a number of transition economies. Early, entrepreneurship is not an option open to all women looking for employment. For many of the, the only option is to accept low pay and insecure jobs in a private sector where their jobs are seen as a way to lower operating costs. Women most often find labour-intensive and low paid jobs in small firms, partly in the “grey economy”, while men get better paid managerial positions in larger companies. Private employers tend to offer short-term contracts or casual work to women to avoid costs, which might arise from maternity and childcare. Part-time and other less secure work contracts are on the rise and in a number of countries, here is a trend towards feminisation of this segment of the labour market. (Ruminska-Simny 2002, 19)

EU DOES ADD GENDER EQUALITY PROGRAMS ETC. BUT THEIR MAIN BENEFICIARIES WILL BE ALREADY PRIVILEGED WOMEN, NOT WOMEN IN LOWER WAGE-JOBS, THE ELDERLY, THE UNEMPLOYED ETC.

THE LOSS OF FUNDING TOWARDS WOMENS SHELTERS IS A CLEAR EXAMPLE OF THE NEGATIVE IMPACT OF THE CORPORATE COST-CUTTING AGENDA. SEINÄJOKI AND JYVÄSKYLÄ HAVE CUT SPENDING ON WOMENS SHELTER SERVICES DIRECTLY AS A RESULT OF THE DOWNSIZING OF THE STATE AND STATE FUNDING, PLUS PUBLIC SUPPORT MONEY TO NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATIONS. FINLAND IS MISSING A HUNDRED SHELTERS BECAUSE MUNICIPALITIES NEED TO “SAVE!”

I claim that the current neo-liberal agenda is itself a gendered and gendering world view which goes back to the patriarchal honor/shame system, itself in its essence a socio-economic order. Since the advocates of the neo-liberal world order abuse of their media control and spread misleading views of the “necessity” and “unavoidability” of the new order in a near-total lack of gender sensitivity and concern for the ecological and social impact of the agenda, I will at first describe the

sex/gender system behind its values and assumptions. We need to provide answers to the fact that the neo-liberal agenda projects new opportunities and well-being for all, while totally ignoring the deep attitudinal and structural inequities that fail to make the public space a level playing field for men and women. As Maria Karadenizli (2002) points out in her analysis of the impact of economic reform and structural adjustment and social rights in the transition countries of Eastern Europe:

As stated in the 200 UNIFEM's report on the Progress of the World's Women, 'conventional conceptions of the way in which economies operate offer limited guidance for policies to promote women's empowerment and ways to combine gender justice with economic justice.' In this context, it is important to examine the gendered assumptions and biases inherent in the formulation of macro-economic and social policies in general..as well as the feminist responses to the neo-liberal agenda, which is considered to be "gender-blind". This analysis is crucial in the direction of facilitating an understanding of the process of formulation of macro-economic and social policies and the ideological framework in which these policies are conceptualised and implemented. (2002, 24)

She points out that the neo-liberal agenda has been focusing on the fact that it lacks an analysis of the factors that contribute to the complexity of the process of economic change and an overview of the different parameters that impede a genuine process of social mobility such as lack of access to information, lack of contacts and access to capital. An additional obstacle in relation to women's empowerment and their equal participation in the economy is the existence of gender biases in the policy making process leading to economic reform initiatives. (Karadenizil 2002, 24)

Feminist economists have developed critical views and analyses over the role of the welfare state and the market and more specifically, over their impact on women's livelihoods. Feminist economists argue that markets as social institutions are inevitably structured asymmetrically to the advantage of some participants over others and in concert with other transformative scholarship and progressive social movements, raise a number of very important concerns about how markets allocate resources and determine welfare. (Karadenizil 2002, 24)

More specifically, referring to the gender biases of social policies and programs, Diane Sainsbury 1996 analysed the process of conceptualisation of the relationships of women to the welfare state. As Sainsbury emphasizes, according to one prominent view, women are primarily conceived as objects of social policies and their relationships to the welfare state has been primarily analysed in terms of dependency and social control. According to Sainsbury, central to the analysis of feminists is how formal employment-paid work- results in better welfare entitlements than informal unpaid work, with a specific focus on the ways in which the traditional division of labour between men as earners and women as carers produces a gendering of social rights, and benefit levels. In this context, an important contribution of the feminist tradition as argued by Lourdes Beneria 1995 is the conceptualisation and visibility of women's reproductive work, including domestic production as well as voluntary work in institutions and communities. Beneria carries on by arguing that the invisibility of women's reproductive work (due to the fact that it was not directly linked to the market economy), together with the gendered views of the proper role of men and women in society, resulted in the traditional undercounting of women's economic activities. (Karadenizil 2002, 25). More specifically, literature dealing with gender and structural adjustment has developed an analysis of the unequal distribution of the burden of adjustment between men and women and challenged the gender neutrality implicit in the theoretical and policy models themselves.

1. HONOR SHAME SYSTEMS WITHIN PATRIARCHAL SEX/GENDER SYSTEMS

I claim that systems such as honor-based patriarchy which exist in stronger and weaker forms in different cultural contexts share the basic notions to do with asymmetrical power relations. In such systems women constitute a particular class of exploitation and symbolize the ideal or polluted nation as an abstract embodiment (Mary Douglas 1988?) All aspects of women's life are today affected by the market economy and the fundamentalisms of religious and economic nature. The market extends its tentacles to all dimensions of European life—and beyond its borders. One cannot separate in this analysis the political and religious dimensions of the rising fundamentalism. Globalisation treats fiscal and trade policies as separate issues from human rights commitments and obligations. But this compartmentalized thinking has serious effects on women's lives because it prevents analysts from being sensitive to their gendered roots and impact. The fact that women's work feature nowhere in the economic calculations of the GNP, and is simply deemed "unproductive" is an illustrative case in point. Further, as part of honor-based patriarchy, men tend to deny their dependency on the invisible work women carry out to reproduce workers and their very health. Women cannot be equal until the personal, academic and theoretical backgrounding of women's contributions is recognized.ⁱⁱⁱ One needs to make visible a particular historical trend – the recurrent tendency to look upon women as precarious reserve labor or as a form of exchangeable property between men and the most "competitive" corporations now vying for control of resources and markets.⁵

2. The gender and gender impact of the current economic world order and male conditioning.

Economic policies and the neo-liberal fundamentalisms masking as mere "economics" divorced from other social fields or value-creating activities are portrayed as gender-neutral, objective and in the context of current politics—as near-universal. The EU has anchored neo-liberalism as the one and only "natural" and desirable political system in the Constitution now awaiting ratification. The

⁵ HONOR/SHAME SYSTEMS

The operationalization of traditional honour and shame systems has been changed in many ways in Western societies. Without denying the importance of distinguishing between sex/gender system with stronger or weaker Master imaginaries or honour/shame subsystems, I stress the similarities between male-legitimated and defined sex/gender contracts in order to keep gendered violence in all of its economic and cultural forms more visible, also in the Nordic countries. I replace the notion of a "honour related violence" with *shameful femicide* to foreground that we are not dealing with cultural customs but quite specifically, with male violence against women. It is necessary to send a strong social signal in the name of women's human rights that the concept of honour can have no place in the context of violent relations and actions aimed ultimately at securing male property entitlements. Yet, economic, physical and religious violence is perpetrated against women increasingly under the new world order, under the pretext of deficits, excessive public expenditure and the need to ensure "competitiveness." It is well-established that economic dependency makes women more vulnerable not only to the economic but also to psycho-social and physical violence. Today's men from business leaders to politicians and religious fanatics are sacrificing women's rights of multilevel self-determination to cost-efficiency or national interests—in either case violence against women is increasing and its conditions enhanced. The very notion of competitiveness has the male ego as its pivot—countries are vying for the dwindling oil, water, gas and other resources, and fall back on the discourse of humiliation, revenge and honor to justify aggressions.

Constitution recently accepted in its draft form contains severe contradictions. The first part outlines the values of equality, the promotion of basic rights and human rights and other rhetorical turns of phrase. However, to naturalize and anchor neo-liberalism or the market economy as the one and only acceptable ideological and political system undoes and contradicts the first part. After all, neo-liberalism is intimately related to the policies promoted and even imposed by the WTO, IMF and World BANK (WB) for whom environmental and human rights or basic employee rights legislation must not stand in the way of the profit-making machine. However, it takes knowledge and understanding of the patriarchal-capitalistic assumptions and values of neo-liberalism to seize the nature and impact of this deception and misleading claim. The downsizing of human social, environmental and economic rights and their submission to the economic rights of corporations is not openly admitted. It is taking place in a backhanded and undemocratic fashion behind the backs of citizens. Christa Wichterich among others has circulated knowledge about the impending GATS agreement in the internet as **“Ten Reasons to resist the GATT” (2003)**, see appendix.

The fears linked with the new world order are summed up, among other documents, in the vision statement produced at the European Social Forum in Paris, in 2002 (ADDRESS). As European women at various events of the women’s movement have noted, the neo-liberal agenda presents few real advantages to women because it benefits elite women and entrepreneurs at the expense of poor women and women who are not able to become business owners. Tanja Djuric-Kuzmanovic summed up at the meeting of **FemAttac in Graz, Austria in 2003**, the effects of the transition of the former socialist economies to the market economies until now have worsened women’s status on multiple levels:

1. Increasing labour insecurity and flexibility of the labour force
2. Increasing grey economy and informal labour market
3. Increasing unemployment
4. Decreasing wages and pensions
5. Increasing poverty, corruption and crime
6. Increasing personal insecurity
7. Increasing social inequalities
8. Cutting social services and state care to education, health, family care, child care and social welfare system
9. Decreasing role and influence of trade unions, worker=s rights protection and healthy and secure working conditions
10. Decreasing environmental protection (Conference abstracts 2003, 29)^{iv}

It would be most urgent to compare and collect more data on the above in various free trade or market economy- countries; the research in many East European countries (**Dokmanovic 2003**) gives evidence of the threatening direction in which EU is moving regarding women’s rights. Members of the women’s movement have reiterated on many occasions and in many events, theories and contexts that the transition process towards a fully “liberated” market economy and structural adjustment programs, as dictated by the IMF and World Bank, are not woman-friendly acts. The neo-conservative economic restructuring programs, as Djuric-Kuzmanovic also notes, include four basic conditions:

- Removal of all obstacles to international trade and foreign investments
- Prompt privatisation (including the public sector)
- Labour market flexibility
- Reduction of all social costs

In summing up the roots of the feminisation of poverty, in ... x expresses how the neoliberal agenda impacts on women's status across the world.^v She also believes that the status of women in the transition countries in Southern Eastern Europe can be summarized under several points:

1. Women are the most marginalized and the largest social group affected by the negative effects of privatisation and transition.
2. The economic and social position of women in the whole region is constantly worsening, and out of public attention and public policy
3. The discrimination of women at the labour market and at work is speedily increasing and is socially invisible, in the same time.
4. Women suffer from unemployment, lack of resources and lack of opportunities more than men.
5. Women are excluded from the decision-making and policy shaping
6. More and more, women become cheap well-educated labour force
7. In the worst economic and social position are marginalized groups of women, as rural women, minority women, women refugees, elder women, self-supported mothers, disabled persons, young women, and Roma women. According to the official politics and economic policy, they almost do not exist at all

The policy makers and political parties do not recognize the gender issues and discrimination of women, steadily holding to the supposed gender equality reached during the socialist period. Thus, women's needs and interests are not integrated into the public policy and economic sphere. Michael Chossudovsky is among analysts of the neo-liberal agenda who has also heeded the gender impact of the structural adjustment programs embraced by the EU and other free trade areas: "The World Bank claims to have become the defender of women's rights urging governments to "invest more in women in order to reduce gender inequality and boost economic development. Through its Women in Development Program (WID) adopted throughout the developing world, the World Bank dictates the ground rules on gender policy. A "market-oriented" approach to gender is prescribedö a monetary values is attached to gender equality. Women's programs are to be framed in relation to the "opportunity cost" and "efficiency" of women's rights. As Chussowski notes, "World Bank contends that "free markets" broadly support the "empowerment of women" and the achievement of gender equality: "It is critical that governments take the lead where markets fail to capture the full benefits to society of investment in women... Investments in women are vital in achieving economic efficiency and growth" (Chossudovsky 2003, 65). Policies that "deepen markets" and "stimulate more competitive market structures" are said to contribute to greater gender equality. It is a truly amazing feat of misleading rhetoric to assert, contrary to the strident facts and statistics available since the early 1990s, that the structural adjustment programs (SAPS) improve women's economic status in the labor market, while acknowledging that there are also "risks" to women associated with the cuts in social spending and the downsizing of state programs" (Chossudovsky 2003, 65). The World Bank is today's God and Archipatriarch dictating the acceptable policies for its member countries. Its policies epitomize the most harmful possible impact of the Master Imaginary. Because the World Bank constitutes the main source of funding, national women's organizations—associated with the seat of political power—will often endorse the WB gender perspective. The main objective of the latter is not to enhance women's rights, but to impose a free market gender perspective and to demobilize the women's movement. Under the trusteeship of the international financial institutions, the "empowerment of women" is to be achieved through the usual macroeconomic recipes: devaluation, budget austerity, the application of user fees in health and education, the phasing out of state-supported credit, trade liberalization, the deregulation of grain markets, the elimination of minimum wage legislation, and so on. Donor support to women's programs—via WID funded projects—is conditional upon the prior derogation of women's rights through "satisfactory compliance" with IMF-World Bank conditionalities. In the most perverse exchange of "services" concealing the fact that they are disservices, the WB's micro-level credit

programs require the prior divestiture of the state-supported development banks, dramatic hikes in interest rates and the phasing out of the rural credit cooperatives. The same applies to the “anti-poverty programs.” The latter are conditional upon the prior adoption of macro-economic measures which generate mass poverty. The anti-poverty programs, implemented under the “social safety net”, are geared towards so-called “vulnerable groups”; disadvantaged women, indigenous women, female heads of households, refugees and migrant women and women with disabilities”. The structural causes of poverty and the role of macro-economic reform reflecting the values I condense in the Master Imaginary are not addressed. In other words, the so-called WB support to women’s empowerment is conditional upon the prior laying off of teachers, public servants, most of whom are women, the adoption of double-shift and multi-grade teaching (Chussowsky 2003, 66), the introduction of book rental fees, tuition fees, budget cuts affecting public services in their multiple forms. The end result of the SAPS has been the dramatic decline in both female and male school enrolment. Still, WB implements cost-effective “targeted programs” for girls while, at the same time, prescribing and imposing the withdrawal of the state from the financing of primary and secondary education. The end results of the cuts are also a resurgence in the overexploited countries of maternal and infant mortality (Chossudowsky 2003, 67). According to the WB, the concentration of wealth and property and the structures of corporate economic power have no bearing on women’s rights. Of course, contrary to what WB is willing to admit, the global economic system, the new world order based on neo-liberalism, is based on and thrives on cheap, mostly female labor in both the developed and “developing” or overexploited world, as well as the private accumulation of wealth (Wichterich 2002). In turn, the neo-liberal gender perspective is largely intent upon creating divisions within national societies, demobilizing the women’s movement and breaking the solidarity between women and men in their struggle against the New World Order.⁶ Property rights and economic profit-seeking goals are thus the red thread going through patriarchal policies and politics from the middle ages to the modern dark age of globalization. In both eras, religious and economic patriarchy has harnessed women to be the guarantor and source of the profit-making machinery profiting the upper classes and elites at the expense of women’s basic survival needs and rights.

3. THE RESPONSES OF THE EUROPEAN WOMEN’S MOVEMENT

What then, do European women’s organizations and citizen groups think about the new world order? First of all, there is of course no one unified or homogenous women’s movement and at best, the international meetings with women from various NGOs or associations contain different orientations, factions, even “party lines”. Although this very diversity of approaches, emphasis and views is part of the richness of social movements and women’s activism, there is a general consensus as to the shared threats creating a tangible backlash of rights for women. It has every possible impact on women’s property rights and women as property. The following represents the suggestion of the European Women’s Forum in Paris, 2002: In Finnish, see this in Tasa-arvon haasteita globaalina ja lokaalissa rajapinnolla, ed. Kailo, Sunnari & Vuori. Maailman

For example, in Sub-Saharan Africa, the tendency is towards the “de-professionalization” of health services, ultimately leading to the collapse of primary health care (Chossudowsky 2003, 67) Village Health Volunteers and traditional healers have replaced community health nurses. The savings to the Treasury are applied to servicing the country’s external debt. According to WB, informal health care is not only cost-effective, it is more “democratic” because it “empowers” women in local communities in the running of village-based health centers (Chossudowsky 2003, 67). In other words, as we see, in the Middle Ages, religious Christian patriarchy harassed and even murdered female traditional healers and care workers as witches, because they were an obstacle to the role of the Church and the emerging patriarchal medical science, rooted in theology (Deirdre and Ehrenreich). Today, patriarchy has reinvented ways of making profit at the expense of women’s equal opportunities and rights to life, health and security, now by returning women to their roles as midwives and healers no longer benefiting from the fruit of civilization, reserved for those who can afford to pay for them. (Chossudowsky 2003, 67).

sosiaalifoorumista ja Euroopan naisten oikeuksien seminaarin julkilausuma NEED TO ADD THIS...

Feminists for a Gift Economy is another group that has met around the world to share views on strategies to adopt and values, visions to circulate as replacement for the patriarchal exchange economy, or what I call the Master Imaginary. I will sum up my vision of this group's key responses to neo-liberal patriarchy. To replace the Master Imaginary, one needs a radically other world view which represents a radical departure from the hierarchical, dualistic mindset and structures of the patriarchal exchange economy.⁷ For Genevieve Vaughan, the prime motor behind the movement, the radically other world view (Kailo 2004) consists in making visible, appreciated and normative the logic of mothering and care work, which is now reserved only to women, and therefore suffers from lack of prestige and worth (Vaughan 1997, 2004). Vaughan theorizes that the masculated strategy of transforming the gift process and giving (characterizing women and Indigenous people more than men and white people) into an unequal exchange erases the other-orientation of both exchangers—making their equality only the equality of their self-interests. Exchange becomes a kind of magnetic template around which societies organize themselves. The thinking of both men and women gravitates towards the masculinist "template," giving it a great deal of credit, perhaps because of its similarity with naming and definition (the linguistic processes from which it derives and which we continue to use at least in English). Giftgiving continues unabated, but remains invisible and does not become generalized as a model, which is validated by having conscious followers. In fact, the gift paradigm gives way: it does not compete with the exchange paradigm. It is thus in the situation of giving value and giving many gifts to exchange (Vaughan 1997: 49).⁸ This sums up the dualisms and hierarchies of the Master Imaginary and exchange economies as part of patriarchal world views which precisely lie at the root of women's status as male property, or —from the feminist point of view—the inappropriate object of the asymmetrical trade which has reached its climax with neo-liberal fundamentalism.

Vaughan's insight is thus to consider the way in which the very notion of exchange—and today the patriarchal agenda of the market economy—comes to dominate a boy's and the adult man's cognitive maps. Because in most modern societies men have more power than women, they have the opportunity to project their own cognitive patterns and images into their work, politics, policies, honor systems, beliefs and institutions. In Vaughan's view, language and communication themselves need to be re-approached by divesting them of the cognitive and evaluative projections of the male theorists.⁹ Hence, we need to realize the extent to which they have governed and

⁷ For Genevieve Vaughan, the initiator of the Gift Economy Network, the exchange economy and the male upbringing behind it, are the roots of the dysfunctional, non-gift giving worldview. Her theories imply that the asymmetrical power and property relations have their roots in the fact boys unlike girls are not brought up to be the gift-giving gender. Vaughan argues that two basic economic paradigms coexist in the world today, the exchange paradigm based on power over, a 'selfish mode of trading, competition, short-sighted and divisive self-interest and on the other hand, the unconditional gift giving paradigm (Gift Economy) which seeks to satisfy needs and consolidate communal life (Vaughan 1997; 2002). The two basic orientations in life, with their gendered roots, co-exist and compete: @These paradigms are logically contradictory, but also complementary. One is visible, the other invisible; one highly valued, the other undervalued@ (Vaughan 1991: 84).

⁸ Many empirical studies confirm this insight; indeed, women's sense of space and bodily boundaries are marked by their education, upbringing and conditioning towards sacrifice and yielding. This gendered dimension of occupying space is even reflected in sports. In Finland, for example, boys and men occupy public spaces and the commons with their motorized vehicles from snowmobiles to water scooters. Where the typically male sports take space not only spatially, also in terms of noise and sound, women and the typical female hobbies and sports are marginalized. Horseback riding is a good example of a form of sports cherished by girls. Yet, girls on horseback are not allowed on public roads and must be restricted to enclosures away from the public. Horses and girls must not take space from motorized sports. Additionally, the restricted space has its corollary in the restriction of public funding mostly to male sports. The girls' culture of tending to horses beyond the hierarchical and rougher male sports is not given public funding (eg. Kallioinen 2004).

directed our understanding of any number of social phenomena and discourses separating men and women, politics, economy and justice. One might look upon the exchange economy as also a form of mind colonization--ideological imposition. Where the current neo-liberal politics is based on an unrecognised unilaterality of taking, the Gift Economy stresses the value of unilateral giving to meet needs rather than exploit, especially when the gift recipients are not in a position to give back. In the exchange economy, profits motivate the unilaterality, in the latter, giving is a response to the satisfaction of basic needs. To transform the male thinking of women as property, and to address the increasing identification also of women and elites within overexploited “developing” countries, with the Master Imaginary and its asymmetrical distribution of the world’s resources, one needs nothing less than a radically other world view. Genevieve Vaughan organized several meetings or conferences addressing this need, at the world social forum in Mumbai, India (2003) and in Las Vegas, in 2004. While I cannot elaborate on the many inspiring papers and suggestions addressing this need and vision, I can sum up the shared focus on the “gift paradigm” or economy on one important level—the need to replace the individualistic and competitive values of the male norm of the human for that of the giving, generous, mothering, need-satisfying human. The alternative visions also can be summed up as a world view rooted in promoting an ecologically, culturally, economically, biologically and sexually sustainable and diverse future (Charkiewiz).

CONCLUSION

Citizen movements counter that the policies and processes of corporate globalization are destroying the real wealth of the planet while advancing a winner-takes-all competition that inexorably widens the gap between rich and poor. They reject as absurd the argument that the poor must be exploited and the environment destroyed to make the money necessary to end poverty and save the planet. (Cavanagh 2002, 8) As with male property rights and the honor/shame system, neo-liberalism seeks to deepen male property rights at the expense of non-privileged women’s rights to basic rights, let alone property. As a summary, then, the women’s movement in Europe and beyond is forming new re-sisterhoods to defy this latest stage in women’s history of property rights. I have outlined some of the shared, central features of the collective, if not homogenous views on neo-liberal patriarchy and the new economy. This does not mean, however, claiming that globalization affects women in a uniform fashion around the world. Clearly, it has a different impact in different ethnocultural and geographic locations, even when the structural adjustment programs contain similar threats to women’s equal status.^{vi} One also needs a new concept of honor—to replace one that has as its pivot accumulation and the safeguarding of male property entitlements. I will conclude with the comments of Anishnabeg Native Winona LaDuke who criticizes not only the property-related capitalistic world view of the Western world, but quite explicitly its understanding of “honour” which I fully agree is not only dysfunctional, but pathological and murderous:

The last aspect of industrial thinking I am going to talk about (although it’s always unpopular to question it in America), is the idea of capitalism itself. In this country we are taught that capitalism is a system that combines labour, capital, and resources for the purpose of accumulation. The capitalist goal is to use the least labour, capital, and resources to accumulate the most profit. The intent of capitalism is accumulation. So the capitalist’s method is always to take more than is needed. Therefore, from an indigenous point of view capitalism is inherently out of harmony with natural law. Based on this goal of accumulation, industrial society practices conspicuous consumption. Indigenous societies, on the other hand, practice what I would call “conspicuous distribution.” We focus on the potlatch, the giveaway, an event that carries much more honour than accumulation does. In fact, the more you give away, the

greater your honour. We make a great deal of these giveaways, and industrial society has something to learn from them. (LaDuke 1997, 28)

A final note to ponder: the Native peoples' potlaches and give away ceremonies were outlawed in Canada, in the 1800s. They were seen as a threat to the very notion and ideology of private property rights, and, of course, of capitalism as the doctrine for accumulating, not distributing goods. It is interesting, and worth much closer analysis, that the giving of gifts and free labor is no longer a threat to the competitive values of patriarchy. Women, after all, hold up the capitalistic and patriarchal system on their shoulders, and almost free of charge. The most radical of acts would be to drop it off our sacrificing shoulders. Patriarchy and capitalism would simply collapse. In this utopia, we would then reraise the sons to also recognize their dependency and interconnectedness with mothers, others, women and nature, and to assume their share of the responsibilities for the family and the private realm. To bring about the radical change whereby the logic of gift giving to meet needs would be the image and norm of the human, we would, however, need to radically alter the processes of socialization from schools, church and education to the role of media and mythic representations. However utopian it may be, we need a new Imaginary, something I call the Gift Gaze, a geography and world view of elsewhere. In this world view the only appropriate human property is that of caring, sharing and showing solidarity in politics as well as economics, family life and public action. As with traditional North West Coast Indians, the most powerful and admirable leader is the one who accumulates the least, who gives away the most in the name of distribution, not hoarding of collective property...

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ⁱ "Undeserved blame consists in blaming and punishing women for example for rapes, loss of virginity etcetera, particularly when the evidence is clear that they were victims, not willing partners. For horrific examples of blameless shame, see for example Women's International Network News (1999).

ii. I have elaborated on the links between these fundamentalisms and globalization in other articles (eg. Kailo 2003). See the writings of Eisenstein (1998), Ås (1999) and Shiva (1997) for an elaboration of the links between machoglobalization, information capitalism and the feminization of poverty.

iii In this regard Vaughan's writings echo also the views by Vandana Shiva and Maria Mies (1993) who find that deficit thinking and reductionism are inherent features in Western science:

"There seems to be a deception inherent in divided and fragmented knowledge, which treats non-specialist knowledge as ignorance and through the artificial divide, is able to conceal its own ignorance. I characterize modern, Western patriarchy's special epistemological tradition of the 'scientific revolution' as 'reductionist' because: 1) it reduced the capacity of humans to know nature both by excluding other knowers and other ways of knowing; and 2) by manipulating it as inert and fragmented matter, nature's capacity for creative regeneration and renewal was reduced. Reductionism has a set of distinctive characteristics which demarcates it from all other non-reductionist knowledge systems which it has subjugated and replaced. Primarily, the ontological and epistemological assumptions of reductionism are based on uniformity, perceiving all systems as comprising the same basic constituents, discrete, and atomistic, and assuming all basic processes to be mechanical. The mechanistic metaphors of reductionism have socially reconstituted nature and society. In contrast to the organic metaphors, in which concepts of order and power were based on interdependence and reciprocity, the metaphor of nature as a machine was based on the assumption of divisibility and manipulability. (1993: 23)

iv The privatization of public services usually hits women of all colors the hardest because it is within public arenas that demands for equality in sexual, racial, gender are heard, if they are heard at all. Private arenas, defined either as the family or the market have not done well in addressing issues of equality. Gains toward equality, when they appear have often occurred as a result of governmental action. A Black middle class developed largely as a result of civil rights struggles effected in government hiring and educational opportunities. Domestic violence, long hidden within family walls, was exposed by the women's movement and its critique of abusive family life. Resulting governmental legislation assumes an activist public responsibility for individual women's safety (Eisenstein 1998, 26).

v 1. Women's social exclusion and isolation, 2. Perpetual sustainability of the patriarchal pattern in society 3. Presence and development of various forms of inequalities, biases, and prejudices, 4. Barriers of access to decision-making, politics and public life for marginalized groups 5. Lack of resources. 6. Economic globalisation and world trade based on inequalities, exploitation, and profit

"(...) the idea of "flexibility" hides its nature of social relation: the fact that it demands redistribution of power, and implies an intention to expropriate the power of resistance of those whose 'rigidity' is about to be overcome. (...) Flexibility of the demand side means freedom to move wherever greener pastures beckon, leaving the refuse and waste spattered around the last camp for the left-behind locals to clean up; above all, it means freedom to disregard all considerations except such as 'make economic sense'. What looks, however, like flexibility on the demand side, rebounds on all those cast on the supply side hard, cruel, impregnable and unassailable fate: jobs come and go, they vanish as soon as they appeared, they are cut in pieces and withdrawn without notice while the rules of the hiring/firing game change without warning." (Bauman 1998, 104.)

vi. I have elaborated on the links between these fundamentalisms and globalization in other articles (eg. Kailo 2003). See the writings of Eisenstein (1998), Ås (1999) and Shiva (1997) for an elaboration of the links between machoglobalization, information capitalism and the feminization of poverty.

Reforms don't work because the system may not last very long because of ecological limits. Questions, is it fair for the Bangladeshi to be exploited in a factory or should he remain unexploited? Instead, industrialism is incompatible with the long-term survival of the world. This is the basis of the second paradigm—that this debate over North-South is irrelevant because in twenty or thirty years the whole system will blow up anyway.

In the second paradigm, we work for Gandhi-style, community-based, self-reliant family units of production, trading mainly within the community and the region and only making occasional exchanges with the rest of the world, as needed. (Cavanagh 2002, 14)

As we work and debate which initiatives make sense, we should be explicit as to whether we are arguing the first or the second paradigm.

Modern globalization is not an expression of evolution. It was designed and created by human beings with a specific goal: to give primacy to economic—that is, corporate—values above all other values and to aggressively install and codify those values globally. In fact, the modern globalization era has a birthplace and a birth date: Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, July 1944.

needs--basic needs to which all are entitled. Vaughan reminds us that our understanding of the nature of humans as either *homo economicus* or as *homo donans* cannot but impact on how gift circulating communities like those of women identified with traditional female upbringing, and Indigenous give back philosophies are perceived and evaluated. Scholars who have themselves naturalized human self-interest rather than the nurturing impulse end up projecting such a negative assumption on the cultures they are studying.

The social significance of the above theories in the neo-liberal modern context is obvious. The cutthroat individualism and one-upmanship of the neo-liberal politics can be exposed as anything but Anatural@ and unavoidable, to defy the persistence with which its tenets are disseminated and imposed. As David Korten (1996) among others has discussed, neo-liberalism is projecting crude and divisive self-interest as the essence of human nature, arguing also that this is what, together with competitiveness and greed, best motivates humans and thus best guarantees economic growth and increasing prosperity. Vaughan=s analysis adds a gender-sensitive dimension to the male discussions of economic fundamentalism, reminding us that macho-capitalism also has very obvious gendered roots. Aggression is no more natural than greed and self-interest. History has shown that the values labelled as feminine, responding to needs and the passing on of generational gifts of care and collective wellness have ruled over the mentality of tit-for-tat—today’s law of the jungle where might is right (Miedzien 1997?). The Gift Paradigm of Imaginary (Kailo 2004) is one response to the efforts of the new world order to naturalize an ethos without solidarity and group responsibilities.

GIFT

Citizen movements measure progress by indicators of the well-being of people and nature, with particular concern for the lives of those most in need. Indicators are deteriorating at a frightening pace, suggesting that in terms of what really matters, the world is rapidly growing poorer. (Except for some highly visible pockets of privilege enjoyed by advocates of ee)(Cavanagh 2002, 6)

The real world is moving ahead in the first paradigm. Many people are forced to work within the ee although they emotionally belong to the second paradigm.

Martin Khor asks if we should trade with the rest of the world, we must make it very clear what our assumptions are and which paradigm we are proceeding from. Because at the end of the day, it is better if we can infuse the second paradigm into the first paradigm as a kind of transition. For example, as we grapple with trade and environment under the first paradigm, we would do well to ask how we make the globalized system more environmentally sustainable as a transition toward the second paradigm. And to do it in such a way that the poor do not suffer and the costs of adjusting are borne by the rich.

Khor believes that for now we must always try to work in both paradigms. In this sense, we can devise a system that moves toward environmental sustainability in a socially equitable manner that will reduce income inequalities, resolve the poverty problem, but at the same time solve the environmental problem. (Cavanagh 2002, 14)

stats (Cavanagh 2002, 30)

In its Global Trends, 2015 report, the CIA maintained that globalization will create “an even wider gap between regional winners and losers than exists today. [Globalization’s] evolution will be rocky, marked by chronic volatility and a widening economic divide....deepening economic stagnation, political instability, and cultural alienation. [It] will foster political, ethnic, ideological, and religious extremism, along with the violence that often accompanies it.” Such is already the degree of wealth concentration that the world’s 475 billionaires are now worth the combined income of the bottom half of humanity. (Cavanagh 2002, 30)

As Sarah Anderson and John Cavanagh of the Institute of Policy Studies report, the combined sales of the top two hundred firms grew faster than overall global economic activity between 1983 and 1999, reaching the equivalent of close to 30 percent of world GDP. Yet these firms employ only three-quarters of 1 percent of the global workforce. As they continue to grow larger and more globalized, they continue to replace workers with machines or to buy up competitors and eliminate duplicate jobs. Such economics of scale are intrinsic to the free trade globalization design, just as environmental pollution is intrinsic to export-oriented trade. Large-scale mergers and consolidations—bigness—produce fewer jobs, not more jobs. Indeed, the ideologies and rules of economic globalization have destroyed the livelihoods of millions of people while eliminating basic public services. (Cavanagh 2002, 31)

WTO tribunals have an impressive record for challenging democratically created laws and standards, particularly environmental protections. The WTO’s very first ruling was against the U.S. Clear Air Act, which set high standards against polluting gasoline. The act was found noncompliant with WTO trade rules and had to be softened. (Cavanagh 2002, 20)

Other controversial rulings have targeted other issues:

Japan’s ban on imports of fruit products carrying dangerous invasive species

Although only governments may submit WTO complaints, global corporations are almost always the driving force.

The govt of Guatemala cancelled a public health law that had forbidden infant formula companies, notable, Gerber, from advertising their products as being healthier than breast milk. And Canada cancelled its ban on the import of MMT, a fuel additive that can damage nervous systems. In both cases the reasons were threats of suit under trade regimes. In the Gerber case the U.S. threatened a suit in the WTO. In the Canadian case, Ethyl Corporation threatened to sue Canada under NAFTA’s

investor-state provision—likely to be expanded in the FTAA agreement—which allows corporations, for the first time, to sue sovereign governments, not in domestic courts but in international tribunals. ... the net effect is that the whole process produces a mutual ratcheting downward of environmental, labour, or health standards in all countries. ... Advocates love to call it FREE trade, but what they really mean is freedom for global corporations but suppression of the freedoms for communities or nations to regulate or otherwise maintain primary values, like the environment, health, culture, jobs, national sovereignty—and democracy. (Cavanagh 2002, 21)

After Bretton Woods, and especially during the 1980s, the World Bank and the IMF put tremendous pressure on these countries to abandon self-reliance, a term that came to be synonymous with isolationism and protectionism.

There is far less opportunity for global corporations if local populations or countries can satisfy their needs internally or regionally than if economic activity is designed to move back and forth across oceans, exporting importing, or reworking it and then exporting it again, with thousands of ships passing each other in the night.

efficiency ignores the costs of air, water, and soil pollution, toxic rivers, dead fish. unemployed (Cavanagh 2002, 27)

finally, industrial agriculture brings the social costs of taking care of all the farmers who lose their livelihoods through this system; together, social and environmental costs rise into the billions of dollars. Efficient? Madness! (Cavanagh 2002, 27)

So much for the rising tide that lifts all boats. Clearly it lifts only yachts. (Cavanagh 2002, 32)

I am presently working on a study centred around one example of the changes that have been taking place in Finnish public administration: the close-down of the former National Board of Building (N.B.B). From the ruins of the N.B.B. grew up the State Real Estate Agency (S.R.E.A.) and the Engel concern. Here my main emphasis is on the point I call the translation process, i.e. the change itself. The question is: How the global vocabulary of privatisation is translated into the local dialect or practices. When the N. B.B. was closed down at the turn of 1995, it was an organisation which employed 2083 women and 1153 men (July 1st, 1994 the number was altogether 3400 people). The largest single group of workers within these were the cleaning personnel: some 1500 people, all but a few of them women. The S. R. E. A. employed just over 200 people and Engel, in the beginning, employed 660; some also found employment in other public bureau=s. Yet about 1500 people had to find something else - most of them found unemployment or an early retirement. Among the people forced out, the cleaners were again the largest single group, almost 1000 people.

Many of the central bureau=s or ministries that were part of public administration had experienced the same fate, i.e. had gone through various changes during the 1980s and 1990s. Yet the close-down of the N.B.B. and its metamorphosis into new organisations had no parallel among the already realised rationalisations. The N.B.B. was one of the few state institutions that were completely closed down, others were mainly re-organised. Its size alone made the N.B.B. a "Titanic" compared to the other central bureau=s, for in addition to the planners, administrative

officials and experts it had also employed "workers". In numerical terms the uncertainty and/or despair experienced during the changes was also unparalleled, as was the amount of people who became unemployed or were forced on an early retirement. The uncertainty grew particularly great, since planning and talking about the forthcoming change took an exceptionally long period of time. The future organisational change was discussed throughout the 1990s (till 1995) and had already begun in the late 1980s.

One thing that contributed to the social setting which brought about the change in question was an economic depression also unseen in the Finnish history. Unlike the other European countries or the United States, Finnish economy prospered up to the end of the 1980s, largely due to export to the former Soviet Union. In the late 1980s banking had been freed from restrictions whereas before it had been strictly controlled by the Bank of Finland. Finland was known as Europe's Japan. Thus when the economic depression began, the crises in Finnish export and industry were made worse by a serious banking and loan crisis. When the depression started, a relatively unexperienced centrist-conservative government was formed to run the country. One of its most important ministers was the Minister of Finance, Iiro Viinanen, who has been characterised as a Thatcherite, and not without cause. The N.B.B. for its part was subject to the Ministry of Finance, and its future reform was planned at different stages by various committees and groups: sometimes these were formed solely from officials working in the N.B.B., sometimes from ones who worked both for the N.B.B. and the Ministry of Finance, and in the end the Ministry of Finance dictated the decisions all by itself. Altogether, there was a big organisational conflict between the N.B.B. and the Ministry of Finance. This was nothing new, throughout the history of these institutions they had had opposite opinions about the resources - money and architectural effort B invested to public buildings. This had also previously taken the form of political and hierarchical rivalry.

Decisions concerning the new organisations were made very late - or at least brought to the N.B.B.'s attention at a late stage. The N.B.B. had insisted that the bureau should be kept in one piece, or that it should keep tasks from planning to maintenance. This was not, however, the Ministry of Finance's plan, for it was interested in reserving to the future bureau merely the "ownership and property management". "Ownership and managing the property mass" means that almost all of the concrete work is ordered from consultants and subcontractors.

Miles, Angela. 2000?. *Local Activisms, Global feminisms and the Struggle Against Globalization. Canadian Woman Studies/les Cahiers de la Femme*. Volume 20, Number 3.

That in Canada women were recognized as people in law as late as 1920 only after a long struggle (Miles 2000?, 6).

Key to these transformative perspectives is an understanding that the unequal, competitive, individualistic, market relations that define this system were established historically through the

conquest and control of nature, women, workers and traditional cultures and communities in both "first and two-thirds world." (Mies) The globalization we hear so much about today is a continuation and intensification of these destructive processes.

In the industrial nations of the economic north, we are taught on the contrary, that "modernization", "development" and "globalization" represent unambiguous and benign "progress". Ever since the end of the second world war when all nations began to keep national income accounts, a country's GDP (Gross Domestic Product-value of market transactions) has been used as a measure of its wealth and well-being. (Waring) Growth in GDP and thus the opportunity for profit has become the policy priority of all national governments and development agencies as well as transnational corporations. Yet neoliberal agendas to maximize the growth of GDP, including privatization, devaluation, cuts to social welfare, downsizing and wage reductions have huge costs for people everywhere and the planet (Miles 2000?, 8).

Elsewhere I have called transformative feminist perspectives, "integrative feminist perspectives" and described them and their significance in more detail (Miles and Finn 1989; Miles 1996); Charlotte Bunch also describes and discusses the significance of transformative feminisms which she calls global feminisms (Bunch 1987).

For a powerful portrayal of this process in Europe see the video "Burning Times" about the history of witch burnings. It was directed by Donna Read and produced by Mary Armstrong and Maragret Pettigrew for Studio D of the National Film Board of Canada (Montreal 1990) (Miles 2000?, 9).

A few figures about the deepening wedge between the wealthy and the poor give hints regarding the direction in which humanity is moving under market economy and the economic world order:

- In 1994 the richest 20 percent of humanity garnered 83 percent of global income, while the poorest 20 percent of the world's people struggled to survive on just 1 per cent of the global income (World Bank 1994).
- Even in a country as wealthy as the United States, 6.1 million adults and 3.3 million children experience outright hunger. Some 10 percent of U.S. households, accounting for 31 million people, do not have access to enough food to meet their basic needs. These are some of the many indicators of a deepening global social crisis. (Cavanagh 2002, 7)
- The world's 200 richest people more than doubled their net worth in the four years to 1998, to more than \$1 trillion. The assets of the top three billionaires are more than the combined GNP of all least-developed countries and their 600 million people." United Nations Development Programme, "Human Development Report 1999".
- By 1992, the richest 1 percent of Americans gained 91 percent in after-tax income while the poorest fifth lost 17 percent of their income. This has led to the top 1 percent's total income equaling that of 40 percent of the population. (Eisenstein 1998, 79)
- The same government that has rewritten social welfare law and ended 'hand-outs' to the poor has in 1997 given away digital spectrum worth up to 70 billion u.s. dollars to commercial

broadcasters. The largest media companies in the world got the equivalent of at least five new channels in every market where they currently own one. (Eisenstein 1998, 83)

- Women in Canada are no better off economically in 2000 than they were 30 years ago at the time of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women (Monica Twonson in Report Card on Women and Poverty, Ottawa, Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, 2000)
- Poverty has grown by 67% in Toronto since 1991. One in every four people and one in every three children live below the poverty line. The average income of Toronto's poor families is \$14,800, less than half the already low \$31,753 low-income cutoff set by the government for a family of four. For an extensive study of increasing economic polarization in Canada see Yalnitzyan (1998).
- ...The amount of tax breaks given to corporations and wealthy individuals in 1996 was US 440 billion, more than seventeen times the combined cost of state and federal spending on AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children). (Eisenstein 1998, 62)

I cite the statistics as a representative, although partial perspective of the trends dominating giving sufficient evidence for concern regarding the ideological direction under neo-liberal politics.