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A Feminist Analysis of Gender Mainstreaming: A Case Study of the
Women Leaders’ Network and the Integration of Gender in the Asia-
Pacific Economic Cooperation.

by

Elizabeth Novales, Hons. B.A.

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
and Research in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts in
Canadian Studies

Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario
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“A Feminist Analysis of Gender Mainstreaming:
A Case Study of the Women Leaders’ Network and the
Integration of Gender in the Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation”

submitted by Elizabeth Novales, Hons.B.A.

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

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ABSTRACT

In this thesis I analyze the mobilizing efforts of women organizing for the integration of gender into the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). I examine the Women Leaders’ Network (WLN), a forum of women that is recognized by APEC as my case study. The WLN have attempted to make space for citizen participation within APEC and is an example of women organizing in response to the neo-liberal shifts of economic globalization. My objective in this thesis is to advance a critical analysis of mainstreaming gender into international trade as undertaken by the WLN. I evaluate the extent to which the political space the WLN has created within the primary stage of APEC policy development can potentially work to alleviate the severe impact trade has on the economic, social and political interests of women. I explore the ideological and strategic differences between gender and women-centred approaches to mainstreaming within international trade agreements and cooperations. I argue that there are social, economic, and political costs involved when focus placed on gender. In developing my argument I present the position of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC), English Canada’s largest women’s organization. I argue that NAC opposes the WLN strategy of mainstreaming gender because it is a tacit acceptance of a fundamentally flawed economic system.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks to Pauline Rankin, who supervised this thesis and helped me to develop my ideas from their abstract beginnings to maturity. I appreciate her ability to push me to achieve my full potential.

To my supportive friends and mentors who gave me encouragement throughout this process. Of particular note, I would like to thank Brian McCauley for his continued support and understanding not only as the person who brought me into the Public Service but also as my mentor who I look to with admiration.

I also thank Susannah Bush and Kelli Dilworth for their continued words of encouragement and inspiration and who never ceased to amaze me with their love and support. They demonstrated the true nature of friendship through their faith in my abilities.

Finally, I would like to thank my mother, Arlene Novales and my brother Marcus Novales. This work would not be possible without their love, encouragement and tireless dedication to seeing my success. This thesis is not just an accomplishment of mine but of theirs as well.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract iii

Acknowledgements iv

## INTRODUCTION

Introduction 1

Chapter Outline 10

## CHAPTER ONE

**Economic Globalization and the Displacement of Women: International and National Context**

Introduction 13

Part I: Economic Globalization: Setting the Context 14

Economic Globalization: National Context 19

Part II: Feminist Analysis of Economic Globalization 25

## CHAPTER TWO

**Feminist Responses to Economic Globalization**

Introduction 37

Mainstreaming 37

Disengagement 40

Feminist Efforts at the International Level 41

The English-Canadian Women’s Responses to Economic Globalization 45
CHAPTER THREE
Gender Mainstreaming within APEC

The Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) 54
Feminist and Canadian Responses to APEC 57
The Women Leaders’ Network 60
Gender Mainstreaming 64
The Framework for the Integration of Women in APEC 68

CHAPTER FOUR
Analysis of the WLN’s Mainstreaming Strategy

Introduction 75
NAC’s Responses to the WLN 75
Evaluation of Gender Mainstreaming 79
Evaluation of Gender-Sensitive Responses to APEC 85

CONCLUSION

Introduction 90
Direction for Future Research 92
Appendix 1 94
Appendix 2 96
Appendix 3 98
Bibliography 99
INTRODUCTION

Introduction

Trends in international trade and economic globalization have been relatively constant over the past fifty years; the pace, however, has accelerated significantly in the past two decades (Liebowitz, 1996:1). Shifts in the global economy have transpired such that we are witnessing a steady march toward regional economic integration as seen through the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC) and, most recently, the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA). As a result, economic issues are rapidly becoming the most important foreign policy concerns that individual states are forced to confront.

The increasing importance of global economic integration challenges the social, political, and economic positions of women in all countries that have conformed to the ideology of regional economic integration. While arguably this economic process has impacted heavily on the employment patterns and economic power of all individuals (Bhagwati, 1994), it has weighed differently for women than for men. For women, the impact of such changes, coupled with their productive and reproductive roles in paid and unpaid labour, have not been matched by representative participation of women in policy-making bodies to promote and secure gender equitable policy development under globalization (Bhagwati, 1994).

The current processes of economic globalization, in fact, have limited the arena of participation for all citizens, allowing for fewer players in the social, political and economic decision-making processes of nation states. In turn, international trade agreements are limiting the sovereignty of governments that are increasingly signing
away their decision-making power in the interest of making their economy more attractive for investment. As the processes of economic globalization continue, international bodies such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, and the World Trade Organization (WTO) have shifted decision-making to the international, rather than the national level (Macdonald, 1994:267).

Women internationally are recognizing the narrowing of political space limiting their full participation in the decision-making processes surrounding the trade agenda. In the case of APEC, which is just one of a growing number of regional trade blocs, women's groups have organized from both inside and outside political and economic structures to respond to their marginalization from decision-making power. This thesis analyzes the mobilizing efforts of women organizing for the integration of gender into APEC. The Women Leaders' Network (WLN), a forum recognized within APEC, represents one group of women who have attempted to make space for citizen participation within APEC and is an example of women organizing in response to the contemporary realities of women's political, social, and economic lives within a globalizing world. The WLN is significant because they are the only group that has developed a gendering strategy for APEC. Using a case study of the WLN, this thesis offers an analysis of the opportunities and constraints involved in integrating gender into APEC.

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1 APEC is an economic co-operation not a free trade agreement as is NAFTA. APEC is not a legislated agreement and is not legally binding. APEC was established in 1989 with 12 founding members including: Australia, Brunei Darussalam, Canada, Indonesia, Japan, Republic of Korea, Malaysia, New Zealand, Republic of the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and the United States. A more detailed description of APEC will be provided in Chapter Three.
The theoretical contribution of this thesis lies in its evaluation of efforts to pursue gender mainstreaming, an approach that has become increasingly popular in international institutions and national governments over the past decade. Gender mainstreaming involves the integration of a gender analysis into the policy development process. Gender-centred analysis considers the differential impacts of policies on women and men. By contrast, a women-centred or feminist analysis adopts a much wider lens. A feminist analysis focuses on how policies impact women as a separate category from men as well as how policies impact women in terms of race, class, ability and sexual orientation. Such an analysis enables the identification of gaps in the policy development process where women have been excluded.

This thesis, however, considers what it means to take an approach that has gender instead of women at its centre. I argue that the strategy of mainstreaming operates at two levels. At a practical level, mainstreaming is an important approach for integrating gender issues into policy discussions. I maintain, however, that there are significant costs involved in using a gender discourse instead of a women-centred or feminist discourse as an approach to influencing trade policy in order to improve women's equality.

In this task, I am guided by the work of Nancy Adamson, Linda Briskin and Margaret McPhail in Feminist Organizing for Change: The Contemporary Women’s Movement in Canada (1988). Writing at the end of the 1980s, Adamson et al. were able to study trends in feminist practice as they were unfolding throughout the decade. In the 1980s, women’s groups attempted to mainstream women’s concerns onto the political agenda via traditional routes while other more radical forms of feminist practice advocated a complete disassociation from the state. It is not the purpose of this thesis to
examine feminist organizing efforts of the 1980s; however, it is important to note that the feminist practice of mainstreaming and disengagement very much informed feminist activism during this period. Adamson et al. theorized these strategies and have contributed to the current feminist understanding of organizing for social and political change. Over a decade later, this work continues to find a place in Canadian feminist scholarship. The discourse around “mainstreaming” has changed; hence my belief that feminist mainstreaming efforts as described by Adamson et al. still inform feminist strategies for change. According to Adamson et al., *mainstreaming* refers to the integration of feminist ideology into dominant structures such as formal political structures and government. Mainstreaming is the choice to work with and within such institutions. The feminist politic of mainstreaming cannot be understood in isolation from the feminist politic of disengagement. Disengagement is the choice to operate outside social and formal political structures. Both are necessary for a holistic feminist vision of change (Adamson et al., 1988:23).

Adamson et al. understand the politic of disengagement as the desire to create separate structures and ideologies based on a critique of the system (Adamson et al., 1988:23). Conversely, the politic of mainstreaming, according to Adamson et al.’s definition, reflects the desire to reach out to the majority of the population with popular and practical feminist solutions to particular issues (Adamson et al., 1988:23). Adamson et al. caution that both have strategic risks. Disengagement can easily lead to marginalization and the invisibility of the feminist vision; mainstreaming, to co-option and the institutionalization of the feminist vision (Adamson et al., 1988:23). The challenge for feminist practice is to achieve change by maintaining a tension between the
two approaches (Adamson *et al.*, 1988:179). Together, mainstreaming and
disengagement strategies work to develop a feminist practice that is finely balanced
between abstract vision and reality, all the while avoiding being either marginalized or
institutionalized (Adamson *et al.*, 1988:179). The interpretation of mainstreaming and
disengagement espoused by Adamson *et al.* informs my analysis of current trends to
gender mainstream international trade policies. The feminist practices of mainstreaming
and disengagement discussed by the authors above provide a feminist perspective with
which to analyze current efforts to integrate gender into dominant structures. Adamson *et
al.* caution of the dangers of polarized strategies recommending a balance between both,
mainstreaming and disengagement, as a necessary dynamic for organizing for change.
My analysis shows that gender mainstreaming as currently constituted does not
incorporate social, economic, or political critiques emanating from a disengagement
stance.

As I document, the WLN represents a strategic response to APEC that embraces
the practice of gender mainstreaming. The WLN uncritically accepts globalization as an
economic reality and seeks to influence policy through established political and economic
structures. The WLN focuses on integrating gender into APEC, rather than challenging
the capitalist system on which APEC is premised. The WLN acknowledges how
important it is that women themselves participate in setting the agenda for change and
pursues their agenda to mainstream gender into the APEC process. Their strategy is
guided by a liberal ideology that argues that women are able to achieve equality once
discriminatory policies and practices are removed (Tong, 1989:31). The danger with such
mainstreaming, however, is that it nullifies other approaches that recognize systemic
barriers inherent in the capitalist system that prevent women’s full equality. Adamson et al.’s earlier caution against adopting mainstreaming alone as a strategy because of the potential risks of institutionalization and co-optation provides a useful warning for mainstreaming strategies.

The WLN has gained recognition from the Canadian government as the main source of representation of women to APEC. As Punam Khosla argues, the Canadian government, as well as various governments throughout APEC economies, have been “captured by the WLN, upon whom the government relies as their informal source of women’s representation, to the exclusion of the established Canadian women’s movement” (Khosla, 1997:5). Khosla believes that the WLN holds a privileged position within circles of power and government. Indeed, the success of the WLN rests on its ability to influence elite decision-makers to mainstream gender into APEC policies and programs and maintain its access to the APEC leadership.

Fundamental to the WLN’s approach is their acceptance of the current neo-liberal economic regime. The WLN’s strategy is to gain an understanding of the politics of APEC’s economic structure, become familiar with the language APEC uses in trade negotiations and create a visible presence within APEC as this agreement is unfolding. WLN member Andrina Lever, president of Women Entrepreneurs of Canada, articulates this approach:

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2 As I understand it, neo-liberalism supports laissez-faire economics and free-market capitalism. This ideology is grounded in original liberal economic theories espoused by the 18th century economists such as Adam Smith, etc. Classical Economic theory assumes an even playing field and given the right economic conditions everyone stands to prosper equally. At fault, is the absence of the recognition of barriers based on multiple realities such as gender, race and class. Inherent in liberal economic theory is a bias because the theory reflects the position of a particular race, gender, and class in terms of who benefits in the participation in this economic model.
I think one of the reasons this whole model worked was that ... we had under secretaries of various ministries in Manila [WLN Conference 1996] working with us to make sure that we understood APEC and the APEC process and more importantly the language that we used was consistent with the language that is used in trade documentation. What we were trying to do is create a very positive relationship and not be antagonistic in any way... (Khosla 1997, 5)

This statement captures what I argue is the WLN’s liberal approach to integrating gender into APEC.3

My primary objective in this thesis is to advance a critical analysis of the process of mainstreaming gender into international trade as undertaken by the WLN. Study of the experience of the WLN within APEC affords a unique opportunity to evaluate efforts to gender international trade agreements and advance discussions of the opportunities and constraints of particular strategic choices for pursuing gendered responses to globalization.

In an era in which many formal democratic political spaces for women’s representation are closing, it is instructive to study the WLN as a group of women who have been able to occupy international space within the APEC forum. I look specifically at how the WLN has strategised to gain access to APEC’s working groups and committee structures. I evaluate the extent to which the political space the WLN has created within the primary stage of APEC policy development potentially can work to alleviate the severe impacts trade has on the economic, social and political interests of women. I also consider how strategies of resistance to APEC must be understood within the global context.

3 Many women who are members of the Women Leaders’ Network do not identify themselves as feminists and see their involvement in the Network as gender centred rather than feminist activism. For the purposes of my thesis, I will not interpret the WLN’s actions as feminist but rather gender centred due to their efforts to ensure gender sensitive policy development.
To help structure my research, I consider the following questions:

1. What kind of political space / opportunity is the WLN creating within APEC?
2. What are the limits of manoeuvrability in this “new” space?
3. Can one reconcile feminist principles / practice within APEC trade liberalization agreements? And;
4. What are the opportunities and / or constraints for gender mainstreaming development within APEC and more broadly within the context of globalization?

In this thesis, I explore the ideological and strategic differences between gender and women-centred approaches to mainstreaming within international trade agreements and co-operations. I outline the political, economic and social costs involved in making a theoretical shift between women-centred to gender-centred approaches to mainstream policy development. By addressing this dichotomy, however, I aim to suggest strategies for feminist involvement in policy development within trade negotiations. I believe it is imperative that women secure gender-equitable policy development in trade liberalization initiatives such as APEC. Despite the limitations of a gender approach, the WLN offers one political opportunity for the opening of political spaces for women and maximizing women’s chances to gain a place in key decision-making forums.

This thesis also situates the WLN within the context of the responses of the English-Canadian women’s movement to APEC. The need to be active in APEC’s political and economic structures is demonstrated by the history of Canadian women’s involvement in earlier international trade agreements. I argue that feminists in Canada did not organize successfully around the emerging structures of NAFTA negotiations and consequently were left in a disadvantaged and marginalized position. I examine the need
for women-centred interventions in contemporary trade negotiations based on the lessons learned from the NAFTA experience. Clearly, the WLN represents the efforts of one specific group of women to gain agency within the context of APEC.

The major organization representing women in English Canada, however, has adopted a very different posture on APEC. The National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC) maintains a strong opposition to economic globalization and trade liberalization. NAC's opposition to globalization rests on a number of arguments. One of the NAC's most compelling arguments against globalization is articulated by past president of NAC, Joan Grant-Cummings⁴:

The globalization of the capitalist economic system through structural adjustment programs in the South (Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean), as well as economic restructuring in the North, have wreaked havoc on the lives of most women and destroyed our communities. Its proponents, largely the business and corporate elite, supportive governments and right-wing followers, have in the last two and a half decades sought to eradicate all other economic systems and devastate the social economy ... As a consequence, the human rights of women and workers, including migrant workers, people living in poverty, indigenous peoples, people with disabilities, and people of colour, have been violated in some way, shape or form. In every category, women's rights and conditions have been the most adversely impacted (Joan Grant-Cummings, 1999:259).

The WLN's approach to gender mainstreaming as an attempt to alleviate the negative impacts of restructuring has been dismissed by NAC.⁵ NAC's analysis of economic restructuring rejects gender mainstreaming as a strategy for change and assesses gender mainstreaming as risking the institutionalization of women's concerns and representing a

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⁴ The quote is from a speech given by Joan Grant-Cummings while she was the president of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women. The speech was given at the University of Toronto for International Women's Day, March 8, 1998.
⁵ NAC argues that the current discussion around economic restructuring has to be reframed from its current capitalist framework to an equality seeking perspective. NAC sees the current economic system as fundamentally flawed and gender biased (interview with Joan Grant-Cummings, November 19, 1999).
tacit acceptance of globalizing trade that has produced growing inequalities between the rich and the poor. Unlike NAC, my argument in this thesis is to demonstrate through analysis of the Women Leaders’ Network, that the integration of gender into APEC policy offers a starting point at the international level to achieve more equitable policy outcomes for women.

This project suggests that long-term strategies for change may be achieved best through the melding of actions undertaken by both the WLN and NAC. In this way, the WLN might enter future dialogue within APEC informed by NAC’s insights and perspectives. Consolidating divergent strategies would ensure continuing dialogue and understanding of women’s position, thus facilitating better representation of women’s concerns within APEC discussions.

Chapter Outline

The thesis is divided into four chapters. The first chapter introduces the global context of economic globalization and then outlines feminist analyses of this situation. This chapter outlines a brief history of globalization at the international level, then focuses on the national level where I present the Canadian experience of economic restructuring. This discussion demonstrates how Canada has undergone an economic paradigm shift from a post-war consensus to a neo-liberal regime. The second section of Chapter One outlines Canadian feminist analyses of economic globalization and the accompanying reduction in opportunities for women to influence trade policy.

The second chapter outlines feminist responses to economic globalization. I consider feminist responses to globalization through analysis of the opportunities and
limitations of gender mainstreaming as a strategy for change. Examinations of feminist responses to globalization are presented from feminists from developing economies and feminists from Canada. This chapter uncovers common ground for feminists in the developing and developed world and suggests the advantages of building of global feminist networks to advance feminist activism to moderate the negative impacts of globalization.

The third chapter provides an overview of APEC and outlines Canadian responses to the co-operation. I then present a case study of the Women Leaders’ Network and outline its strategic approach and practice. In January 1998, I had the opportunity to work with one of the founding members of the WLN. As part of a 16-week practicum, Dr. Elizabeth McGregor, a senior analyst of Gender, Science and Technology at Industry Canada, invited me to work with her in documenting the history of the WLN through personal case studies. We set out to interview 15 leading women who were instrumental in founding the Network. The methodological approach to this study included survey questionnaires and short telephone interviews. For my study, follow-up interviews were necessary, but were restricted to Canadian WLN members only.6

In the fourth chapter, I analyze whether it is possible for the WLN strategy to mainstream gender to effect significant change for women. To deepen my analysis, I present the feminist response to the WLN as represented by NAC. This material draws

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6 Please see Appendix I for the sample interview questions. There are two sets of questionnaires: one aimed at members of the WLN and the second more general questionnaire was used for my interviews with the president of NAC and others.
on interviews conducted with NAC, Canadian government and women's non-government organization (NGO) representatives between 1999 and 2000.

In the conclusion, I answer the questions posed earlier in this introduction. I confirm the kinds of political spaces the WLN is creating in the context of APEC and the limits of manoeuvrability in this new space. I reconfirm the findings of my feminist analysis of the WLN and restate why one cannot reconcile feminist principles within APEC. I hope to present the opportunities and constraints for mainstreaming gender in international trade and propose a new direction for the English Canadian women's movement in this time of strategic realignment.

Theoretically this interdisciplinary thesis is grounded in the discipline of Women's Studies and draws upon literature from economics and public policy. My goal is to provide an integrated feminist analysis of efforts to gender international trade – using the case study of the WLN and APEC. In writing this thesis, I hope to consider critically one response to globalization and its impact on the social, political and economic lives of women. Although the WLN is not a feminist organization, its objective is to effect gender equitable policy development in order to lessen the negative impact of international trade on women. As such, I argue that despite the limitations of this approach, the WLN is integral to the pressing task of gendering international trade.
CHAPTER ONE

ECONOMIC GLOBALIZATION AND THE DISPLACEMENT OF WOMEN:
THE INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL CONTEXT

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to establish the international and national context of economic globalization and its implications for women. This chapter is divided into two parts. In the first part, I explore the term “economic globalization”. I explain the role of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) in setting the neo-liberal agenda that dominates the new global economy. My focus then narrows to examine what economic globalization looks like in Canada. Part two of the chapter outlines feminist analyses of economic globalization. I present the feminist perspective that argues that women everywhere are increasingly disadvantaged by this economic reality. It is the purpose of this section to survey how feminists around the world have read and interpreted current neo-liberal trends experienced by women both in Canada and throughout the developing world.¹

The discourse around policies and programs within international trade and economic globalization traditionally are cast in gender-neutral, neo-liberal terms.² Recent feminist literature on this subject has analyzed gender neutrality in economic policies and

¹ I choose to use the term “developing world”/“developing economy” instead of Third World when describing the countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean. My choice to use the term “developing economy” more accurately describes the process of economic restructuring these countries are undergoing. Women from the developing world have previously been described as Third World women.
² Feminist economists have criticized economic policies as being male-biased. Much of the drive behind structural adjustment programs and economic restructuring policies that have been implemented in both the developing world and in Canada have been guided by neo-liberal ideology. Neo-liberal ideology supports laissez-faire economics and free-market capitalism. For a further discussion see Diane Elson 1991; Janine Brodie 1990, 1995, 1996a, 1996b; and Isabella Bakker 1992, 1994, and 1996.
has uncovered the differential effects these policies have on the economic power of
women. Before we delve into a feminist analysis of economic globalization and its
impact on women, however, it is necessary to set the context of economic globalization.

Part I - Economic Globalization: Setting the Context

Economic globalization may be defined as the integration of national economies.
It is often referred to as internationalization; however, these two terms are not
synonymous. Internationalization refers to the increasing geographical spread of
economic activities across national boundaries (Dicken, 1992: 12-13). While trade and
investment between states have always been important, it was not until recently (except in
cases of colonialism) that companies moved large portions of their operations “offshore”
(Liebowitz, 1996:19). Globalization, however, is much more complex. Globalization is
understood in terms of trade liberalization, reduction in state spending and regulation, the
maximization of exports to encourage economic growth, and increased regional economic
integration (Dicken, 1992:20). It implies a shift in power from institutions defined in
terms of nation-states to those defined by international markets (Keller-Herzog, 1996:17).
In short, economic globalization is a process whereby nations restructure their economies
with the aim of opening their markets to optimize foreign investment. The philosophy
embraced by neo-liberal ideology asserts that the new global economy requires deficit
reduction, government deregulation, privatization, international competitiveness, and
export-led growth. Neo-liberal economic theory maintains that the invisible hand of the
marketplace will inevitably lead to social benefit and contends that the capitalist free-
market economic model becomes self-regulating in the sense that critical variables of
efficiency and competition are inevitable (Bakker, 1994:5). Furthermore, neo-liberal economic theory is presented as if the economy operated outside any social or political context.

The current round of economic restructuring can trace its history from the period of economic reform beginning in the post World War II era. Peter Dicken provides a detailed account of the history of globalization in *The Global Shift: The Internationalization of Economic Activity* (1992). The evolution of a world trading system, Dicken documents, is based on flows of international trade over a period of centuries. This world trading system led to the development of an economic "core-periphery" structure. This structure is marked by the synchronous activity of industrial production from core industrialized nations, namely the United Kingdom, Germany and the United States, that export to the periphery, which also functions as the main supplier of raw materials for core industrial production (Dicken, 1992:11-12). Before the Second World War, much of the core-periphery activity was confined to the colonial territories of the core nations. Hence, the core-periphery model laid the groundwork for industrialization and the beginning of an international division of labour (Dicken, 1992:12).

The emergence of transnational corporations (TNC) marked an evolution in the global economy. Dicken argues that the first firms to engage in production outside their home country did not appear until the second half of the nineteenth century (Dicken, 1992: 12). Today, transnational corporations have come to dominate the world economy. A significant characteristic of TNCs is their power to override and redefine the political, environmental and social policies in whatever country they choose to operate. This
process leads to the growing concentration of wealth and power in the hands of undemocratic global corporations who have little or no commitment to the communities in which they operate with no accountability to governments or citizens. The integration of the world economy directed by TNCs marks a shift from the global production process of internationalization to contemporary economic globalization processes. A brief history of this economic evolution follows.

Between the First and Second World Wars, transnational investment grew substantially. By the end of the First World War, the United States, Britain and Continental Europe were home to growing transnational investment, with the United States quickly emerging as the world’s leading industrial nation (Dicken, 1992). The global economic system that emerged after 1945 was a result of economic restructuring in the post-World War II period. This new system reflected the sharp ideological division between the East and West that came to dominate world politics for the next fifty years: the Cold War era.

In 1944, leaders of Western industrial nations congregated for a conference at Bretton Woods in New Hampshire, USA. Bretton Woods is significant because it created the international financial institutions that would shape the global political economy and pave the road for economic restructuring. Leaders at this conference wanted to ensure a liberal, capitalist economy once the war ended. The objective of the Bretton Woods conference was to develop a strategy for international economic stabilization, a much sought-after goal following what was predicted to become a devastating economic crisis after the war (Danaher, 1994:1). Therefore, there was a need for international bodies that could enforce rules favouring the free international movement of capital (Danaher,
1994:1). The two institutions created to facilitate these goals were the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development, also known as the World Bank.

These international lending institutions were created to encourage development in countries rebuilding after the war. The primary mandate of the World Bank was to give post-war loans for infrastructure projects typically unable to attract private investment. The IMF was established to maximize world commerce by reducing foreign exchange restrictions and to create a reserve of funds for countries experiencing economic difficulty with their repayment of loans to the World Bank (Danaher, 1994:21). The objective here was to enable these countries to fully integrate into a liberal capitalist economy and continue trading without interruption.

Although the ideological framework behind the World Bank and the IMF was to create economic growth that would ensure the continuance of a capitalist free-market global economy, the focus of this framework was problematic. Focusing on economic growth, rather than human rights and poverty reduction, was a recipe for social and economic crisis in any era. Structural adjustment programs (SAPs) imposed by the IMF on many developing economies have been problematic because they failed to address issues of poverty, hunger, gender and the environment. Feminist analysis of these development programs has strongly indicated that women and poverty reduction ought to be the central focus in development schemes (Bakker, 1992, 1994, 1996; Elson, 1991, 1992; Joekes, 1987; Marchand 1996; and Sparr, 1994). Women and poverty should not be treated as secondary "add-ons" in development policies. However, central to the neo-
liberal philosophy is the understanding and definition of poverty as self-made. The current neo-liberal conceptualizations of poverty are based on assertions that the poor are responsible for their own condition (Danaher, 1994:26). It is difficult to believe any rhetoric about development and the alleviation of poverty put forth by the World Bank or the IMF given the ideological backdrop against which these institutions were created and mandated.

The devastating consequences of economic policies implemented by the World Bank and the IMF is seen through the steady decline of the developing world into increased poverty. The implementation of SAPs in order to alleviate debt through loans has led many developing economies to spiral into perpetual dependence on TNC investment. Governments of such economies initiate SAPs as a condition of receiving new loans from foreign commercial banks and multilateral lending institutions. Nations undergoing structural adjustment are encouraged to undergo a profound shift from a "more autonomous, nationalistic, inward-oriented, state interventionist, and socialist models towards laissez-faire capitalism" (Sparr, 1994: 2). The growing body of literature that specifically addresses the gender dimension of global restructuring has placed particular focus on SAP. This focus will be further explored when I present the feminist analysis of SAPs in my second section.

In this section, I have presented the international context of economic globalization and the ideological framework informing the World Bank and the IMF as international lending organizations that operate to ensure the continuance of a free-market

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3 The neo-liberal philosophy does not recognize the systemic nature of poverty. Rather, poverty is seen and understood as a failure on the part of the individual, not as a result of the economic, social and political reality.
global economy. It was noted, however, that the promotion of economic development through structural adjustment policies omitted critical factors such as the representation of gender and poverty. This lack of representation for marginalized interests is a disturbing characteristic of globalization. Political space for the representation of citizen voices has narrowed both at the national and at the international levels. Governments and multilateral organizations continue to create policies without fair and representative consultation with members of the communities these decisions effect. The issue of diminishing political space is further discussed in Chapter Three when I outline the various ways women in the developing world have organized to create political space in international forums. First, the following section examines the Canadian experience of economic globalization.

**Economic Globalization: National Context**

In the late 1970’s, Canada’s governing practices and fiscal policies began to shift in an effort to conform to international pressures of globalization and the new global economy. Since this time, Canada has witnessed a sharp increase in neo-liberal governing practices and the dismantling of the Keynesian welfare state (Bergeron, 1996:111). Economic restructuring in Canada has shifted the boundaries between state and market, national and international, and public and private (Bergeron, 1996:111). Manifestations of neo-liberalism in Canada are seen through a number of indicators - examples being economic restructuring toward free-market economics, trade liberalization and the rise of Canada’s entry into regional free trade agreements. This shift in governing practices reflects a paradigm shift in how Canadian citizens have come to engage with the state. There is a general sense of readjustment and realignment in how
Canadians understand their relationship with the state. This period of readjustment reflects the transition out of the post-war consensus and Keynesian welfare state (KWS) ideology into the neo-liberal era.

The current round of economic restructuring is based on redrawing the boundaries of citizen engagement (Bergeron, 1996). Canadian governing practices have shifted to reflect this change. Practices that once determined that all citizens had the right to basic needs now condemn the very idea of entitlement (Bergeron, 1996:122). This condemnation has permeated the political culture and has influenced popular political discourse. Current political discourse demonstrates that the word ‘public’ itself has become more pejorative in the 1980s and 1990s. The word ‘public’ is associated with social services and programs aimed at the “undeserving poor” (Bergeron, 1996:122). National, provincial and territorial governments have become preoccupied with what Jim Stanford argues are real or imagined deficits (Stanford, 1998). Nevertheless, this preoccupation has directed governing practices through reduced government spending to social services and the downloading of national public programs such as health care to the provinces and territories. Governing practices shifted toward deregulation of the national economy, decentralized governance and the privatization of state enterprises (Armstrong, 1996:29).

Gone are the days of KWS ideology. This ideology rested on three fundamental pillars: the development of a comprehensive social welfare system; the use of macro-economic levers to control inflation or stimulate growth and protect the national economy from international disturbances; and adherence to a more liberalized international trading regime (Brodie, 1990:149). Over the past few decades, Canada has been preoccupied
with dismantling the KWS to advance a neo-liberal agenda. The result is that Canada’s post-war social safety net has been stretched, stressed and redefined beyond recognition.

A defining mark of the neo-liberal state is the subordination of social policy and the exaltation of labor market flexibility. According to neo-liberal ideology, the state should neither protect domestic industry from global pressures nor provide a comprehensive social welfare system for its citizens (Brodie, 1995:49). This direction in policy is in sharp contrast to the KWS ideology. The neo-liberal ideology has created a new discourse and shaped the way we come to speak about our relationship with the state. The restructuring discourse has displaced KWS ideology with “hyper-liberal” claims about self-regulating market forces and the primacy of the market in creating a new social order (Brodie, 1995:49). This process elevates economics over politics and suggests that this process is inevitable, neutral and beyond our control (Brodie, 1995).

The idea that the market will determine both the direction of economic growth and resource allocation effectively takes these issues of public policy off the political agenda. The process silences groups that seek to influence public policy (Brodie, 1995:51). Again, as is true of women in the developing world, women in Canada are also experiencing the loss of representation, as the democratic political process narrows. The neo-liberal agenda gives ascendancy to the market thus closing political spaces, demobilizing and excluding those very groups who would challenge the new social order that the economic restructuring is creating (Bakker, 1996). It is important to note that this process of restructuring does not mean that the state is disappearing; rather, state power has been refocused from social welfare concerns to the enforcement of the neo-liberal
agenda. (Brodie, 1995:51). The replacement of the social welfare state with a neo-liberal alternative requires strong commitments from governments and political intervention.

It is now widely acknowledged that neo-liberal governing practices and economic restructuring have weakened the foundation of the KWS. There has been a systemic dismantling of the KWS ideology and, in this process, a laying of the groundwork for neo-liberalism with economic restructuring presented as natural and self-regulating. Worse still, the new social order is presented to Canadians as if we had “no choice” but to accept the inevitable process of adjustment. This “no choice” argument has been used to justify severe government cuts to social programs and has all but eliminated the social infrastructure that was established during the KWS era (Brodie 1994, 1996a, 1996b; Bakker 1994 and 1996; and Cohen 1992 and 1996). The neo-liberal consensus holds that these changing international realities have imposed new rules on all governments - Canada included.

The 1980’s saw the beginning of rapid movement of Canada’s entry into regional trade agreements, i.e. the Canada - United States Free Trade Agreement (CUFTA) leading to the 1992 signing of North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). These free trade agreements are saturated with neo-liberal assumptions and solutions for Canada’s “economic ills”. The neo-liberal agenda, promoted through these trade agreements, advanced the erosion of national sovereignty and limited the ability of the government to respond to the demands of the electorate. The CUFTA and NAFTA represent a “new constitutionalism” because they define and guarantee new rights to transnational corporations; rights which often override those of Canadian citizens. Canada’s entry into CUFTA and NAFTA was very much elite driven. The majority of Canadians did not
want entry into these trade agreements and despite strong opposition from the Canadian electorate, the Progressive Conservative government and, later the Liberal government, signed and ratified these agreements. In 1989, the Conservative government, under the leadership of Brian Mulroney, signed Canada’s entry into the Canada - US Free Trade Agreement. Then on December 17, 1992, United States President George Bush, Mexican President Carlos Salinas DeGortari, and Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney signed the North American Free Trade Agreement. NAFTA went into effect January 1, 1994 and the signing of this free trade agreement solidified Canada’s entry into the new global economy. The Canadian electorate exercised their opposition to Canada’s adoption of neo-liberal ideology and governing practices and effectively voted out the Conservative government at the next federal election. The signing of NAFTA consolidated the neo-liberal shift in boundaries between national and international, public and private, state and market. Ironically, the newly elected Liberal government solidified the agreement by ratifying it in the next parliament.

NAFTA at the time of its ratification was the world’s largest regional trade agreement. Canada has since entered into larger regional trade blocs such as the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) and the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA). However, when NAFTA emerged it was the largest trade bloc with a labour market of more than 362 million people and a combined annual gross national product of over $6.5 trillion (Liebowitz, 1996:23). The importance and magnitude of this agreement led to extremely active and contentious debates in Mexico, the US and Canada over the benefits and drawbacks of facilitating regional economic integration (Liebowitz,
1996:23). A further analysis of the English Canadian women’s movement’s position on NAFTA will be discussed in part two of this chapter.

Free trade agreements like NAFTA hold considerable power to limit Canadian democracy. For example, trade agreements can limit the power of the state by prohibiting the government from either favouring domestic producers or subsidizing national industries (Brodie, 1995:51). NAFTA stipulates that all governments must declare everything that exclusively rests with the public sector within two years after the implementation of the agreement. Those services not named will be deemed “tradable” or open to the private sector (Brodie, 1995:52). Examples of this are Canada’s natural resources and public services such as health, education and social services, which were opened to privatization. This example clearly illustrates NAFTA’s redrawning of new boundaries between the public and the private by reducing the public sector and preempting any new growth.

The parallels between structural adjustment in the developing world and Canada’s experience with economic restructuring have become increasingly clear. Structural adjustment policies, as we saw in an earlier section, have failed in their objective to create economic growth through a free market global economy. Governments of developing nations have been forced to deregulate and open their economies as a condition of receiving loans from the World Bank and IMF. Lessons learned from the developing world show that focusing on economic growth rather than human rights and poverty reduction are a recipe for social and economic crisis. Economic restructuring in Canada has failed to recognize that economic policies do not work in isolation from society.
Economic policies have social implications on social welfare, health, education and employment patterns. Pat Armstrong argues that the Canadian example of economic restructuring suggests that, instead of improving the lot of the disadvantaged, globalization leads to less secure, part-time or short-term, non-union jobs (Armstrong, 1996:53). The drive toward privatization has produced job cuts in the non-commercial services, in areas where women have found their best jobs and where employment equity and pay equity action has been most successful (Armstrong, 1996:53). The English Canadian women’s movement has stated from the outset that economic restructuring is a gendered process where capitalism relies heavily on the unpaid labour of women. Moreover, government deregulation and reductions in state spending further diminish women’s economic power.

The following section presents a feminist analysis of economic globalization. I outline feminist critiques of how economic globalization has affected women in the developing world and how it has impacted women in Canada.

**Part II - Feminist Analysis of Economic Globalization**

This section examines how feminists in the developing world have read and interpreted economic globalization. Feminist scholarship that has examined economic globalization has concentrated on the gendered impacts of economic policy in two areas: economic development and structural adjustment. In the next two sections, I endeavour to uncover dominant feminist understandings of these two areas as well as present feminist analysis of the restructuring process in Canada. I draw clear parallels of analysis between women’s experiences with economic globalization at the international level, and
with the Canadian experience of economic restructuring. The analysis will show that
economic globalization is happening on a gendered terrain and has serious consequences
that limit women's economic, social and political status.

The growing body of feminist scholarship that specifically addresses the gender
dimensions of global restructuring agrees on the importance of understanding how
economic policy impacts on gender. Changes in the international economy, especially
given the prevalence of new trade agreements, have gender-specific effects on women.
Feminists are concerned about whether new trade practices will contribute to a more
equitable distribution of income and labour between women and men, or whether these
changes will exacerbate the inequalities that currently exist.

Feminist analyses of economic restructuring have placed particular focus on
structural adjustment policies (SAPs). As previously explained, governments of
developing economies initiate SAPs as a condition of receiving new loans. This practice,
as analysis reveals, has consequences for women, as economic policies do not take gender
into consideration. The theory behind SAPs presumes that a nation's economy is more
efficient if its production is geared towards exports (selling in the world market) and
tradables (production of goods for domestic consumption that are internationally
competitive).

Feminist critiques of SAPs focus on neo-liberal assumptions that surround this
economic model. For example, neo-liberal economic theory is created as if it were value-
neutral and operates as if it were an objective science; in fact, what is missing is the social
impacts of these policies on women. Pamela Sparr identifies the problem of neo-liberal
economics as its refusal to acknowledge its subjectivity:
Neo-liberal economics is not a value-neutral science. It is predicated on culturally and historically specific interpretations of human behaviour seen through the lens of a particular race, ethnicity, class and gender of thinker — not on objective facts. The impacts of policies, unlike scientific experimental results, are not scrupulously evaluated for error (Sparr, 1994:15).

The economic theory behind neo-liberalism does not consider the social dimension of economic policies. It reflects a particular position where “economic man” is foremost in mind. The problem with this position is that it leaves out any other considerations such as gender, race, ethnicity, and class. In short, multiple dimensions of race, class and gender must be included in economic policy development.

International feminist analysis of economic globalization has focused on SAPs because they are the strongest indicators of a neo-liberal economic model. There is a general consensus among feminists that SAPs further marginalize women’s economic, social and political status but views begin to diverge when feminists analyze the primary roots of the problems.

Diane Elson, a feminist economist, has written extensively on the male bias in neo-liberal economic theory. In her book, *Male Bias in the Development Process* (1991) she critiques a “woman-only” approach that means when economic policy is examined this approach isolates women as a separate category from men. Although Elson sees merit in the “woman-only” approach she contends that it is not good enough to look at women alone as a social category. She believes that this promotes victimhood and subordination for women. She advocates a gender-relations approach over this “women-only” approach. The emphasis on gender-relations Elson argues tends to permit greater awareness of the different ways women experience gender (Elson, 1991:2). An emphasis
on gender highlights the relevant power differences between women and men and points to the systemic nature of male bias in economic policies.

To help conceptualize this male bias, Elson points to the systemic nature of male bias in everyday attitudes and practices. For example, it is commonplace in many cultures to understand women in relation to men. Economic policy makers in the 1970s and into the early 1980s defined women as mothers and wives through welfare and home economics policies (Elson, 1991 and Bakker, 1992), rather than as autonomous individuals outside of those roles. The adoption of a gender-relation analysis, Elson argues, would expose seemingly gender-neutral language in economic policies as distinctly male biased.

Being a worker, or a farmer, or an entrepreneur, does not overtly ascribe gender ... these supposedly gender-neutral terms are imbued with gender implications. In fact, the 'worker' or 'farmer' or 'entrepreneur' is most often taken to be a man – creating male bias in both economic analysis and economic policy. (Elson 1992, 2).

This quotation illustrates the value of a gender-relations analysis whereas this point may not have surfaced through a “woman-only” approach.

Swapna Mukhopadhyay casts a different light on this view. She suggests that the social context rather than the economic concepts themselves are to blame for gender bias and policy outcomes (Mukhopadhyay, 1992:158). She illustrates how gender-neutral economic policy can reinforce social inequalities and she does this by presenting an example of how market relationships bypass the domestic sphere. Mukhopadhyay argues that since power relationships and workloads within the family are tilted against women, concepts that relate only to the public sphere will never capture the impact of such inequalities that persist outside it (Mukhopadhyay, 1994:158). She furthers her argument
by citing the example that estimates of national income systemically exclude the value of housework done primarily by women (Mukhopadhyay, 1994: 158). In short, feminist analysis of economic globalization reveals how women’s contributions to the economy are undervalued and hidden.

Other feminist analysts of economic globalization, such as bell hooks and Chandra Mohanty, stress other dimensions such as race, class, gender, ethnicity and sexuality. They postulate that not recognizing the multiple dimensions of the economic process contributes to the continued marginalization of non-western women. Promotion of the free-market economy undermines the position of women in terms of their paid and unpaid labour because this economic system benefits from the continued silence of these underlying dimensions. Most approaches to economic policies assume that gender has nothing to do with policy development. By ignoring the element of gender, it is assumed that the economic process is gender-neutral. Likewise, by ignoring the intersections of the multiple dimensions of gender, race and class, we presume that the capitalist economic process does not benefit from sexism, racism and classism either.

Feminist scholarship of globalization literature discussed above reflects current thought on the gendered nature of globalization from the perspective of non-Canadian feminist scholars. The myriad of feminist analyses from the developing world indicates that this economic process is highly detrimental to the lives of women. As seen from the discussion above, the discourse of gender in economic policies has many dimensions and all these dimensions have been brought to the surface through the feminist analysis of SAPs. In the following section, I explore the impact of economic globalization on the lives of women in Canada.
Women in Canada are also experiencing impacts of economic globalization in a particularly gendered way. As presented previously, economic globalization in Canada is observed through economic restructuring, cuts in government spending and deregulation of the state. All this has had serious implications for women’s social, political and economic status and has created a new feminist approach to working with the state. As this discussion evolves, I hope to uncover the parallels of analysis of the impacts of globalization between women in the developing world and women in Canada. This will demonstrate that Canadian feminist interpretations of globalization have been informed by feminist analysis of women from the developing world. Whereas impacts and severity of economic globalization will vary significantly across boundaries, the analysis will demonstrate that the experiences and analyses of women in the developing world can enrich feminist analysis in Canada.

The economic implications of globalization in Canada are multiple and severe and have impacted women profoundly. Reductions in public sector services, increased privatization, shift in formal and informal labour, and the impacts of regional trade blocks have eroded gender equality gains achieved during the post-war era.

The sharp increase in neo-liberal governing practices and the subordination of social policy devastated most, if not all, of Canada’s social and public programs. The emphasis on deficit reduction and the drive to balance the budget that emerged in the political and economic discourse of the 1980s and 1990s seemed to grow out of control. The result was the creation of a powerful myth that perpetuated a “deficit-mania” (Stanford, 1998). Conservative partisans promoted this “mania” by citing several unbalanced and often misleading arguments regarding the causes and consequences of
our public finance problems (Stanford, 1998:31). The aim was to create popular belief for the position that Canada can no longer support expensive social programs.

Coinciding with this era of deficit mania, women’s economic position began to decrease. As public and social service programs diminished, women and children who relied on those services increasingly moved into higher levels of poverty and unemployment as rates of unemployment and levels of job insecurity increased during this time. It is noteworthy to mention that public-sector jobs, which have traditionally provided secure well-paid employment for women, have decreased overall. The total public-sector employment in Canada has been rather stagnant since the 1970s (Stanford, 1998:32). Measured in comparison of our total labour force, public-sector employment has shrunk steadily as our population and overall workforce has continued to grow (Stanford, 1998:32). Public service jobs now account for approximately 13.5 percent of the labour force and this is a marked decrease from the past two decades (Stanford, 1998:32).

Another example of the impact of economic restructuring is illustrated through the shift in employment patterns. Pat Armstrong writes about the shifting economic role that women play as a result of globalization and argues that a consequence of this new regime is the feminization of the labour force. Overall, women as a category of workers have never enjoyed to the full extent the benefits of employment, as have men. Armstrong argues that the impact of economic restructuring on employment patterns in Canada indicates a feminization of the labour force and deterioration in men’s positions (Armstrong, 1996:31). The restructuring that is part of globalization has created more women’s work in the market (Armstrong, 1996:30). At the same time, it has eliminated
some men's jobs and altered many of the jobs traditionally done by men in ways that make them more like women's work. This kind of feminization of the labour force does not mean that the position of women has improved; instead, it mean that the position of some men has deteriorated, becoming more like that of women (Armstrong, 1996:30). Armstrong argues that women's progress in the labour market is usually measured against the male standard. Current labour market trends indicate signs of women's progress. But feminist analysis of these trends suggests in fact there is a decline in men's position rather than real gains for women. Restructuring for a global economy has meant the disappearance of full-time jobs in all but the non-commercial services and services to business (Armstrong, 1996:52). Restructuring is not only eliminating many men's jobs and creating many part-time or part-year ones, it is also transforming many of the full-time jobs that remain (Armstrong, 1996:52). Job insecurity has increased and women who have moved into traditional male work frequently find that it has become more like traditional women's work where there is less security, less unionization and inadequate remuneration (Armstrong, 1996:52).

Parallels in analysis between feminists in the developing world and feminists in Canada reveal that economic globalization is happening on a gendered terrain. The neo-liberal economic model directing Canada's fiscal and social policies is guided by the same assumptions behind SAPs. As Joan Grant-Cummings argues, "Northern feminists did not for the most part see or understand the threat to the North. It was not until the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s that Northern feminists realized we needed to understand SAPs and their impact on the political, economic and social life of women in the South" (Grant-Cummings, 1999:262). Feminist analysis of the capitalist economic
restructuring process in Canada has been transformed from one of traditional benevolence and patronization toward the South to an equality-seeking anti-racist perspective where analysis of women from the developing world is valued and fully integrated in the economic analysis of the English Canadian women's movement (Grant-Cumings, 1999:263). On this point, it is noteworthy to mention Laura Macdonald's feminist analysis of "unequal partnerships" between countries of the developing world and developing economies. Referring mainly to the relationship between Canada, the United States and Mexico in the example of NAFTA, Macdonald argues that Canada's entry into regional trade agreements with countries with developing economies should not be understood as "partnerships". "Partnership," an apparently egalitarian discourse, hides the power relations implicit in almost any partnership and unconsciously mimics the discourse of imperialism (Macdonald, 1995:113). Macdonald's analysis can be easily transferred to the international dynamics of the English Canadian women's movement and the establishment of international links of "global feminism". Her observation is a cautionary note that should be in the forefront of global feminist engagement, especially in this era of increasing regional economic groupings between developed and developing economies.

As Canada began adopting more neo-liberal governing practices, vehicles for democratic participation of women's organizations began to shut down. Women's equality-seeking organizations no longer influenced the direction of government policy. The English Canadian women's movement, under the umbrella organization of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC), voiced its strong opposition to the neo-liberal shift in Canadian economic and social policies and, indeed, the once
harmonious relationship between NAC and the federal government, quickly diminished. The result was that NAC chose a strategic shift away from working with the state, through a mainstreaming approach, to becoming completely disengaged from the state. Disengagement from the state is a characteristic feature of neo-liberalism and has caused great concern among feminists.

There is a growing scholarship of feminist work on gender and international trade. This emerging scholarship examines the gendered implications of trade but concedes that more research is necessary for an understanding of what is at stake for women as the process(es) of economic restructuring proceeds. Marjorie Griffin Cohen (1987 and 1996) has researched the impact of restructuring and trade liberalization on women. Her research reveals that women are the major losers as the drive toward free trade accelerates (Cohen, 1996). One fundamental consequence of free trade is that national governments deregulate and reposition policies. Cohen maintains that, throughout the immediate post-war period, national and provincial governments were significant vehicles through which disadvantaged groups could locate their struggles. Trade agreements, however, hinder government's effectiveness to respond to citizens' demands therefore leaving the possibilities for democratic participation by disadvantaged groups severely constrained (Cohen, 1996:190).

In the period following the passage of the Canada - United States Free Trade Agreement (CUFTA) and then the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) disturbing new developments in Canadian low-income statistics emerged. Traditionally,
poverty eases somewhat when unemployment declines and the economy grows (Battle, 1998:53). However, trends in 1994-1995 show that although the jobless rate declined and the real Gross Domestic Product grew, the proportion of Canadians with low incomes rose (Battle, 1998:53). The main cause of persistent and growing poverty is the precarious labour market, which co-exists with an improving economy (Battle, 1998:53). A feminist analysis on the gendered effects of free trade has found that poverty increased among female-headed households as well as among elderly women (Liebowitz, 1996:14). In addition, feminist analysis reveals that women have acted as shock absorbers during periods of economic adjustment because when government spending is reduced, services once provided by public agencies are transferred into the home with the assumption that women will absorb this extra labour. Further findings show that gains made toward the goal of gender equality in the 1970s are rapidly eroding due to shifts in economic restructuring in the labour market. This results in reduced public spending with cuts to public agencies which consequently produce fewer good jobs and women are forced to take lesser jobs with consequent lesser pay and benefits. Furthermore, progress towards pay equity has come to a standstill.

To draw a parallel between women in the developing world and women in Canada, the aforementioned feminist literature reveals that women’s economic, social and political standing diminishes the further they are positioned from the state. The restructuring process in Canada and the structural adjustments imposed on the developing world through globalization pose fundamental restrictions that limit government’s ability to respond to disadvantaged groups. Only when steps are taken to address the needs of
women and the multiple intersections of race, gender and class, will these inequalities be addressed through economic policy and the status of women improved.

In the following chapter, I present ways in which feminists in Canada have responded to economic restructuring. The discussion follows what has been outlined in this chapter in terms of how women have read and interpreted economic globalization.

One idea that emerged in feminist scholarship is the need to mainstream gender into economic decision-making processes. In the next chapter, I endeavour to present feminist responses to the new economic order and explore how the strategy of mainstreaming gender is positioned in this response.
CHAPTER TWO

FEMINIST RESPONSES TO ECONOMIC GLOBALIZATION

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to consider feminist responses to economic globalization. A major feminist strategy in mobilizing around economic globalization has been “mainstreaming”. The following section presents two different and opposing definitions of this term. The contrast between these two definitions has significant implications for efforts to advance women’s equality within economic restructuring processes.

Mainstreaming

Groups that limit their activities to mainstreaming pursue incremental changes within existing organizations (Stienstra, 1994:38). Mainstreaming is the choice to work with and within international institutions, structures and trade agreements. Critiques of mainstreaming contend that such an approach fails to challenge dominant structures that have traditionally perpetuated systemic discrimination and inequality; thus, mainstreaming runs the risk of becoming institutionalized. Groups that adopt this practice acknowledge that there is some strategic advantage to mainstreaming. With the presence of this practice, institutions are forced to acknowledge women’s issues and keep women’s concerns visible.

Critical to my discussion of feminist responses to economic globalization is awareness of two different and opposing conceptions of mainstreaming. Feminist interpretations of mainstreaming use a women-centred analysis. A women-centred analysis of mainstreaming is the process by which focus is placed entirely on women. An
example of this women-centred analysis regarding an impact of trade policy would look at the policy outcome on the lives of different categories of women. Such different categories would include race, ethnicity, religion, class, age and sexuality and location. These considerations are important because feminist analysis considers the interconnecting “isms” such as racism, sexism, and classism that perpetuate the marginalization and oppression of women. Feminist analysis acknowledges that these categories influence who will and who will not benefit as a result of a particular policy. A women-centred analysis integrates a feminist view of the social, political and economic environment and relates everything back to the realities of women’s lived experiences.

An alternate mainstreaming approach adopts a gender-centred analysis. Gender is a category separate from women. Gender forces the recognition that impacts of trade policy are not unique to women alone but men are also affected by these policies. A gender-centred approach examines policy impacts on women in relation to men. This analysis indicates an interconnectedness of women and men’s realities but the problem with this approach is that there are specific realities unique to women as apart from men. State and international bodies interpret mainstreaming as the differential impacts of proposed and/or existing policies and programs on women in relation to men (Commonwealth Secretariat, 1999). An example of this would be a focus on the job rather than on the worker. In other words, gender mainstreaming as an approach to policy making considers the macro, rather than the micro lens of the policy-making picture. Consequently, micro level realities such as occupational gender segregation and women’s participation in the workforce are measured against the male norm. The danger with this approach is that it may treat women as a universal category. For example, public policies
aimed at eradicating gender disparity in the public sphere continually fail to achieve
gender equality because policy makers fail to make the link between the public and the
private sphere. Women’s experiences in the private sphere are uniquely different from
those of men and consequently have impact on their ability to equally enjoy the benefits
of public policies. Furthermore, the comparative nature of a gender-centred analysis
leaves little room for broader considerations of how policies can have multiple impacts
on women in terms of race, class, ability, sexual orientation and location.

The danger in mainstreaming with a gender focus is that it may sideline women’s
issues by only adding women into policy analysis without comprehensively examining
the structural factors that contribute to women’s disadvantaged position. Gender-based
analysis (GBA) as presented by the Canadian government, for example, represents an
important “first step” in getting down to addressing women’s inequality (SWC, 1995;
1998). The positive impact of GBA is the official recognition that women experience
public policies differently from men. GBA has brought gender into the policy picture by
recognizing that policies are not gender-neutral. But the gender analysis is nonetheless
limited to its relational term, i.e. understanding policy impacts on women in relation to
men. The analysis, however, should not stop there. The universalization of women and
men as categories of analysis cannot entirely address issues of inequality. The purpose of
this explanation is to help clarify why it is important to keep in mind the differences
between feminist strategies of mainstreaming and government strategies of gender
mainstreaming. The following section will examine the second strategy of
disengagement, as an alternate process, which women’s groups have pushed in mounting
resistance to economic globalization.
Disengagement

Disengagement, by contrast, is an attempt by groups to remain separate from existing societal institutions and instead provide critiques of, and alternatives to, these institutions (Adamson, et al., 1988:184). The practice of disengagement can be a negative force to feminist advancements due to the risk of marginalization of women’s issues:

Marginalization results from the fact that many women do not see the larger visions of feminist change as relevant or viable ... and when feminists situate themselves too far outside what the majority understands about the process, nature and possibilities of social change, they remove themselves from the audience they most want to reach. They spend their time talking to the already converted (Adamson et al., 1988:185).

Disengagement can also result in marginalization from processes of decision making. State or international organizations may refuse to deal with groups who practice a feminist politic of disengagement because they do not “play by the rules” or are unable to be policy-relevant (Stienstra, 1994:40). Disengagement, however, is an important dynamic of feminist organizing for change because it facilitates important critical analysis of the system. It is important to sustain this critique because such critiques can be vital catalysts for substantive change.

Strategies for social, political and economic changes that are emerging from recent protests against international trade agreements and poverty alleviation are taking on an approach of disengagement. This situation is interesting because disengagement here may not always be by choice. The familiar pattern of closed-door meetings between

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1 It is important to note that the objectives of protesters are not all the same. Some protesters are there in an attempt to be included in the trade discussions, thus, protesting to gain access to the institutions and negotiations. Others are there to protest the ideology behind economic globalization. I conclude that the
trade ministers and corporate elites has effectively cancelled the option of mainstreaming, leaving strategies of disengagement as an alternate approach. This more radical form of popular protest is gaining legitimacy as the example of the protests in Seattle that effectively shut down the World Trade Organization ministerial meetings in 1999 (Gould, 2000). Disengagement is a potentially radical approach that is regaining popularity as political spaces for representation diminish and the democratic process grinds to a halt. Responses by women’s movements to economic globalization demonstrate that both practices have been adopted as strategies for social change.

Feminist Efforts at the International Level

Little attention has been given to the ways in which women from developing economies act as agents of change by engaging and participating in political economic dialogue about their future (Liebowitz, 1996:3-4). Feminists from the developing world have pointed out that much of the feminist analysis of women and economic change has depicted “Third World” women as “passive recipients of change” (Mohanty, 1991:60-61). While women face significant constraints in their ability to act as autonomous agents in the area of international trade, it is important not to overlook the strategic ways women have attempted to gain agency and organize politically. Women have responded to economic globalization in a number of ways; mobilizing internationally through women’s organizations is perhaps the most visible.

latter group is practicing true disengagement as they are rejecting the current system and calling for alternative economic structures.
Women have been organized and active around human rights issues at the international level since 1840. Their activities have been largely focused on bringing about change in the lives of women (Stienstra, 1994:145). Women’s international organizing around economic globalization is not considered a new strategy to effect social change. What is new is the integration of a feminist perspective. International women’s organizing has differed in its commitments to feminism. Prior to 1970, many women’s groups did not use feminism as their framework for working for women. Their brand of “feminism” was based on the principle of equal rights for women and men (Stienstra, 1994:147). After 1970, women’s groups began to identify themselves as feminists and to work within feminist frameworks that incorporated different strands of feminism.

The subject of feminist strategy was hotly contested throughout the Decade for Women (1976-1985) especially as many women from the developing world challenged the ethnocentrism of many feminists’ principles and actions. In the latter half of the Decade for Women, there was increasing consensus on the conceptual framework for feminist strategy that could allow participation of all women. In 1979 the issue of whether one could describe feminism as the goal and conceptual basis of women’s organizing at the international level was addressed (Stienstra, 1994:108). At an international workshop in Bangkok, sponsored by the Asian and Pacific Centre for Women and Development (APCWD) of the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asian and Pacific, women from 15 countries were brought together to discuss “Feminist Ideology and Structures” (Stienstra, 1994:108). The participants at this workshop described two long-term goals of feminism:
First the freedom from oppression for women involves not only equity, but also the right of women for freedom of choice, and the power to control their lives within and outside of the home. Having control over our lives and our bodies is essential to ensure a sense of dignity and autonomy for every woman ... The second goal of feminism is therefore the removal of all forms of inequality and oppression through the creation of a more just social and economic order, nationally and internationally. This means the involvement of women in national liberation struggles, in plans for national development and in local and global strategies for change (Stienstra, 1994:108).

These goals provided a firm conceptual basis upon which women’s international organizing could build (Stienstra, 1994:108).

During the Decade for Women, the focus of activity through international forums such as the United Nations was directed towards an equal rights perspective to an integration of women in development perspective. A redirection from an equal rights perspective came from the 1968 conference on human rights in Tehran, which recommended a long-term program for the advancement of women (Stienstra, 1994:118). The outcome of this conference placed women at the centre of national development plans and increased attention to different aspects of women in development (Stienstra, 1994:118). It was at this time that a link was made between women and economic development. Such acknowledgement of women’s productive contributions to the economy represented a significant shift in women’s political visibility on the world stage.

Contemporary feminist responses to economic globalization trace their development from the 1970s. Women developed communications networks and a feminist framework at the international level to express their concerns and mobilize around their issues. Whether lobbying formally through governments or obtaining consultative status with the United Nations, or informally pursuing non-governmental conferences and grass roots activities, women have steadily increased their international
mobilization efforts since the 1970s. Non-governmental conferences, in particular the Nairobi forum in 1985, showed the strength of the international women's organizational capacity. This is where the grassroots feminist organizing from the developing world first met to create networks to share information and strategies for future collaboration. This was the beginning of international activism by women working outside governmental agendas (Stienstra, 1994:148). Nairobi was a carrying forward of the international organizing efforts that began with the Mexico City conference of 1975.

The Copenhagen conference in 1980 brought to the fore the ethnocentricity of western feminists and highlighted the lack of recognition of the varying experiences of women's oppression based on race, class and nationality. The women delegates to this conference were almost exclusively from the middle or upper classes in their countries and many were unable to speak from the experience of working class or poor women (Stienstra, 1994:129). This created a tension between feminists from the developed and developing world and sparked an international discussion to revisit the previously defined goals of feminism. In 1982, women met again to discuss feminism and to develop a framework to situate the direction of their activities. The Dakar Declaration² (1982) captured a unified and diversified definition of "feminism" which can apply to feminists around the world (Stienstra, 1994:109). This articulation of feminism, in the global context, remains at the foundation of much contemporary feminist organizing at the international level (Stienstra, 1994:109).

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² The Dakar Declaration was the result of international women's efforts from the South and the North who met to discuss feminism and developed an analysis of the links between women's situation and the direction of development (Stienstra, 1994:019).
The fourth significant world conference on women was held in Beijing. Out of that conference came the *Beijing Platform for Action* and a key recommendation requiring that all United Nations bodies, and specialized agencies, consider the gender dimension when formulating policies and programs (*Beijing Platform for Action*, Beijing, China, September, 1995). This is the first time gender mainstreaming has been identified in the context of international efforts as a key strategy for advancing the status of women.

In summary, international women’s organizing efforts have incorporated both debates over disengagement and mainstreaming approaches, within the rubric of feminist practice. Women’s efforts with respect to contemporary economic globalization now focus on organizing around the international trade agreements such as NAFTA, APEC and most recently, the FTAA. As never before, questions of strategic responses are paramount.

The following section discusses the responses of Canadian women to economic globalization and restructuring. Debates around the passage of NAFTA will be used as a starting point for my engagement with this topic.

**The English-Canadian Women’s Movement Responses to Economic Globalization**

This section examines the English-Canadian women’s response to economic restructuring in Canada. NAFTA offers a good starting point for this discussion for two reasons: first, because NAFTA symbolized the beginning of Canada’s entry into the “new” global economy as neo-liberalism is expressed through economic restructuring, reduced state spending (the fall of the welfare state) and the rise of trade liberalization. The second reason is that it precipitated the beginning of a new feminist strategy.
The Keynesian welfare state (KWS), as mentioned in Chapter One, created space for the growth of women’s organizations. During the post-war era, women’s groups established a close relationship with the state. KWS ideology advocated certain principles and within this ideology a space conducive to carry forward the demands women expected from the state was legitimized. Beginning in 1972, the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC), an umbrella organization of over 500 organizations, became a key frontline organization that shaped a collective identity for the women’s movement. The organization was, in part, state funded but remained separate from the state. During the 1970s, NAC and other women’s organizations lobbied the federal government to expand the social welfare system to make it more responsive to women’s needs (Brodie, 1995:44). NAC had become a critical and strategic political arm of the women’s movement. This development forged a strong bond between the English-Canadian women’s movement and the federal government (Brodie, 1995:41). In turn, the organized women’s movement was increasingly recognized as a legitimate lobby group entitled to consultation in the policy-making process, was worthy of gender designated funding and programs and had access to strategic points within the federal bureaucracy (Brodie, 1995:45).

By the 1980s, governments had accepted women’s interventions on issues deemed to fall within the realm of “women’s issues”. Marjorie Griffin Cohen argues that

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governments accepted women's right to speak on day care, reproductive choice, pornography – anything they saw specifically as a "women's issue" (Cohen, 1992:217). Later in the decade, when women's movements began to discuss issues lying outside the narrow definitions of social policy, such as macroeconomic policy, the interventions of the organized women's movement were unwelcome (Cohen, 1992:218). Cohen observes that women's contributions to these broader debates were always treated as a discussion of welfare policy, not economic policy:

When we began to talk about economic issues, like the budget, trade policy, privatization, deregulation and the general structure of the Canadian economy, we were going too far. These were not women's issues: women were not "experts" and therefore, our criticism had little credibility (Cohen, 1992:218-219).

When women's voices moved outside the narrow definition of women's issues, their scrutiny was interpreted as inappropriate. NAC had been recognized as a legitimate player in the state's business, but only within the specific parameters of what was understood as women's issues. Nevertheless, representation of grass roots concerns did have a voice where government could hear women's concerns.

With neo-liberalism, there has come a redefinition of how citizens are able to have their concerns heard by the state. The breakdown of the post-war consensus and the erosion of the KWS commenced in the mid 1980s. The English-Canadian women's movement had to adjust its strategies from one of critiquing the welfare state to that of defending its right to participate in the policy process.

With the election of the Conservative government in 1984, women's groups were put on the defensive. The newly elected Conservative government rapidly initiated a shift in Canadian political ideology. The sun had begun to set on the social welfare ideology
that dominated politics since the end of the Second World War. Social Welfarism was
rapidly replaced by economic restructuring discourse. It was becoming increasingly
apparent that the political space once afforded to the English-Canadian women’s
movement was beginning to erode.

Following the election of the federal Conservatives, NAC and other women’s
organizations challenged this neo-liberal shift by raising awareness of the multiple
negative effects brought about by Canada’s adoption of this agenda. At the forefront of
NAC’s activities was a focus on free trade agreements because they foresaw how the
trade deal would negatively impact women workers, many of whom were immigrant
women in the most vulnerable manufacturing industries such as textiles (Brodie,
1995:65). NAC recognized at an early stage that much more was at stake for women in
the trade deal than just jobs. NAC argued that free trade would lower the standard of
public services, i.e., health care, education and social programs; would hinder the
advancement of gender equality and would diminish the policy-making capacity of
Canadian governments (federal, provincial and territorial) (Brodie, 1995:65-66). This is
important because NAC was establishing a strong position on economic and trade
policies not traditionally considered “women’s issues”.

The battle over the signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement
(NAFTA) led not only to the economic integration of Canada, the United States and
Mexico, it also engendered new forms of cooperation among women. Women mobilized
transnationally in response to the free trade deal because their social, political and
economic rights were considered too precious to sit passively by and for them to watch
disappear. Activism organized by the English-Canadian women’s movement was at the
forefront of the broad-based political coalition that stood in opposition to neo-liberal 
premises and governing practices. From the beginning, feminists recognized that 
women’s equality conflicted with the vision of neo-liberalism (Brodie, 1994:34). 
Women’s equality came under attack as neo-liberal discourse called for less government 
intervention and state spending.

NAC encapsulated the feminist response to economic globalization and trade 
liberalization in Canada. Past President Joan Grant Cummings, commenting on NAC’s 
mobilizing around NAFTA and international trade agreements in general, argues that the 
focus in trade agreements traditionally had been on economics but this approach failed to 
take into account, race, class and gender. Beginning with the NAFTA debate, NAC 
cautioned against the danger of conceptualizing economic globalization through the lens 
of neo-liberal ideology because it does not make visible the systemic oppressive 
foundation upon which this system is predicated. As Grant-Cummings explains, NAC’s 
analysis exposed capitalism as an economic system structured along race, class and 
gender lines and argued that capitalism is the perfect tool to continue the perpetuation of 
inequalities. Therefore, Grant-Cummings explains, NAC supported alternative strategies 
that focused on the multiple impacts of globalization that perpetuate the marginalization 
of women and the poor.4

It became evident to Canadian women that building international networks with 
women from the developing world was advantageous for feminist strategies confronting 
economic globalization. At a trinational women’s conference on free trade and 
continental integration in February, 1992, participants from all three countries, Canada,

United States and Mexico met to discuss the interconnections between women in Canada and Mexico by considering the differing and multiple impacts of NAFTA on the political, economic and social status of women. This aided in creating a cross-national feminist solidarity (Gabriel and Macdonald, 1994).

NAFTA made visible the common links that exist between women in Mexico and their counterparts in Canada. It also made visible the inequalities between the two. Women in Canada and Mexico experience similar elements of economic and social subordination. In both countries, these similarities are seen in the following ways: systemic discrimination gives women unequal access to resources; women’s participation in economic activities is largely governed by sexual division of labour within the household; and women’s work in reproduction and production is undervalued (Gabriel and Macdonald, 1994:539). In each country, gender differences interact with differences of class, race and ethnicity. These similarities provided a basis for a common context of struggle for women in Canada and Mexico. However, the struggle needed to be situated within recognition of the material and ideological power differences between women in both these countries (Gabriel and Macdonald, 1994:539).

As outlined in Chapter One, feminist academic Laura Macdonald argues that partnerships between developed and developing world economies rarely function as true “partnerships”. This caution may be applied to women’s transnational activism as well. Partnership implies equality, yet Macdonald argues that using this discourse hides power relations that inherently follow unequal relationships (Macdonald, 1995). An example of this is seen in how women’s groups in Canada had access to a number of forms of
support such as a social safety net and a basic minimum standard of living. This distinguishes them from their Mexican counterparts who had few if any such supports.

Not only was NAC involved in mobilizing around NAFTA, but other organizations joined the campaign. NAC was successful in forging coalitions with groups from diverse classes, regions and social groups. An example of this coalition building can be seen through NAC’s participation in the Action Canada Network (ACN). The ACN was a coalition of labour unions, women’s groups, church organizations, anti-poverty associations and native groups which formed in 1987 to fight the Canada-US free trade agreement (Gabriel and Macdonald, 1994:552). The significance of this coalition is that opposition was heightened against free trade agreements, and given the situation of NAC’s reduced funding and lessened access to the state, these combined voices have strengthened their stand. Although NAC and ACN found common ground to oppose free trade, there was some tension between labour and women’s voices. Women’s organizations did not achieve the degree of unity and influence that they hoped for therefore partially contributing to the limited role of women’s initiatives in these free trade debates.

Another explanation as to why feminist-organizing efforts around NAFTA did not have the desired results is due to the lack of cohesion of feminist efforts between Canada, United States and Mexico. The women’s movement in Canada had been state focused, whereas the national women’s movement in the US, under the National Organization of Women (NOW) functioned within a liberal feminist framework, it was predominantly

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5 NAC’s policy focus moved beyond women’s issues to incorporate a broader national agenda. This movement became known as the Pro-Canada Network. This network is a precursor to the ACN.
middle class, lacked widespread support from grass-roots organizations and was characterized by anti-statism. In contrast, the women’s movement in Mexico remained detached from the state due to great distrust between social movements and the state, but there is strong grass roots influence and the movement works within social feminist and radical feminist frameworks. Therefore, mobilizing on a trinational level was complicated by disjointedness among national women’s organizations (Gabriel and Macdonald, 1994).

NAC’s response to NAFTA was informed also by the specific experiences of women of colour. Judy Rebick, a past president of NAC, argued that immigrant women brought the perspective of the developing world to the Canadian women’s movement (Gabriel and Macdonald, 1994:551). For example, the Coalition of Visible Minority Women, a NAC member group, told a provincial cabinet committee on NAFTA:

Free trade and free trade zones are all too familiar to us. They conjure up memories of low wages, horrific working and living conditions, sexual harassment, and the suppression of union organizing. We remember governments all too willing to suppress the democratic rights of their citizens in order to compete for the ‘prizes’ offered by transnationals.

We are familiar with all this because the free trade zone experiment was piloted and refined in Third World countries. Many women were casualties of free trade in their home countries – that’s why they left. (Gabriel and Macdonald, 1994:551)

At NAC’s 1992 annual meeting, members endorsed a campaign against NAFTA calling for new ties to be developed with international women’s groups (Gabriel and Macdonald, 1994:552). The specific objective here was related to the creation of international strategies in mobilizing around NAFTA. This strengthened NAC’s commitment to international solidarity and redefined their strategic practice.

In summary, NAC’s strategy of disengagement was, in part, not one of choice but one of response to the neo-liberal shift in the direction and redefinition of the role of the
state in free trade. These circumstances propelled NAC into building international alliances and ironically have strengthened its analysis of economic globalization through serious integration of the insights from women from the developing world. This, in turn, facilitates an analysis of the global connections between the current situation in Canada and the experiences of women in the developing world. This more holistic perspective, in turn, enabled NAC to draw on the experiences of women in the developing world and advocate for alternative economic structures.

To recap the issues developed in this chapter, I have outlined the various strategies feminists have adopted in response to economic globalization including mainstreaming and disengagement. These strategies were evident in the action of feminist groups as well as English-Canadian women. Women-centred mainstreaming responses were illustrated by women from the developing world and evidenced by the proliferation of international feminist activity focused on international organizations. NAC’s shift from a mainstreaming to disengaged stance in the context of the NAFTA debate was highlighted as an alternative effort to create feminist political space within the new economic regime.

In the next chapter, I present my case study of the Women Leaders’ Network and their attempt to create political space for women through their strategy of integrating gender into policies and programs of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation. This case study will illustrate mainstreaming from a gender-focused, rather than woman-focused position.
CHAPTER THREE

“Gender Mainstreaming within APEC”

The Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC)

Our current era of globalization proclaims free trade as the primary engine of economic growth. Over the past two decades, Canada has become increasingly preoccupied with international trade as witnessed by the ratification of NAFTA and Canada’s commitment to liberalize trade through APEC. Decision-makers, including the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Trade Organization (WTO), leaders of industrialized nations, newly industrialized economies, and transnational corporations insist that markets, not governments, determine the production and distribution of goods (Riley and Mejia, 1996).

APEC\(^1\) was created in 1989 as a response to growing interdependence among Asia-Pacific economies. It was established to promote the goal of free trade and investment by 2010 for developed member countries, and 2020 for developing member countries.\(^2\) The work of defining APEC is done through the meetings of the member economies’ ministers of foreign affairs and trade and industry. This is a cooperative alliance, which does not hold a formal trading agreement but is a consultative forum where decisions are not legally binding for individual governments. Therefore, Canada has not been required to present the agreement to Parliament for ratification. Operating

\(^{1}\) APEC is made up of 21 member economies: Australia, Brunei Darussalam; Canada, Chile; People’s Republic of China; Hong Kong, China; Indonesia; Japan; Korea; Malaysia; Mexico; New Zealand; Papua New Guinea; Peru; the Republic of the Philippines; Russia; Singapore; Chinese Taipei (Taiwan); Thailand; Vietnam and the United States.

\(^{2}\) APEC has adopted the term “member economy” to accommodate sensitivities associated with the simultaneous participation of China, Hong Kong, China, and Taiwan.
by consensus, peer pressure and accountability mechanisms exert pressure on APEC members to observe commitments. Since APEC came into existence, governments are embarking on negotiations that have the potential to make this one of the largest free trade agreement in the world (NAC, September, 1997). Despite the opposition to free trade and NAFTA mounted by women's organizations and other popular movements APEC was formed completely outside any public debate or scrutiny. Regardless of APEC's consultative status, governments are committing their economies to free trade agreements despite opposition from the citizenry.

    Canada has been involved in APEC since its creation. According to the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) website, Canada's objectives in APEC are to strengthen the overall economic and social environment of the Asia-Pacific region (www.defait-maeci.gc.ca.html). Since APEC's foundation, Canada has continued to pursue the broader goal of promoting trade liberalization within the APEC forum. DFAIT plays a very important role in coordinating Canadian trade policies in APEC. In defining Canadian policies, DFAIT consults with a broad range of government departments, business associations, academic institutions, and non-governmental organizations to ensure that the policies that Canada pursues, and initiatives it takes in APEC, accurately reflect Canadian "stakeholder" interests in the Asia-Pacific region.

    A second Canadian governmental organization involved in APEC is the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). The Asia Branch of CIDA is committed to the Agency's mandate of supporting sustainable development, reducing poverty and contributing to a more equitable social/economic order. The Asia Branch has a
Southeast Asia Regional Program that focuses on three specific priorities: environment, good governance, and gender equality (www.acdi-cida.gc.ca). CIDA's integration of gender equality within their policy making framework reflects an evolution of thinking in terms of gender from the importance of women's participation in the development process to recognizing the need for gender equality emphasizing women's human rights (www.acdi-cida.gc.ca). CIDA defines gender equality to mean that women and men have equal conditions for realizing their full human rights and potential to contribute to national political, economic, social and cultural development and benefit equally from the results (CIDA document, November, 1998). Attaining gender equality, according to CIDA, demands recognition that current social, economic, cultural and political systems are gendered and that women's unequal status is systemic. CIDA's analysis of gender inequality goes one step further from the popular Canadian practice of gender mainstreaming by acknowledging that patterns of women's inequality are further affected by race, ethnicity and disability and it is necessary to incorporate women's specificity into all major social institutions (CIDA document, November, 1998). One of CIDA's major priorities is building development partnerships with regional institutions and networks such as APEC. This program provides a mechanism for CIDA to strategically participate in APEC by promoting CIDA's mandate. Gender equality is an important sub-theme within this project.

1 In the past, CIDA used the concept of gender equity in its programming. Gender equity strategies however, are used to eventually attain gender equality. In 1998 CIDA underwent policy change that changed gender equity to gender equality. Gender equality policy now reflects this evolution in CIDA's vision (Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). CIDA's Policy on Gender Equality. Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada, 1999).
Feminist and Canadian responses to APEC

The debate around APEC in Canada has not seen the same degree of discussion, as did the CUFTA and NAFTA. These two trade agreements were publicly debated because they needed ratification by the Canadian Parliament. APEC, on the other hand, is a consultative forum not requiring ratification; therefore APEC emerged onto the Canadian scene relatively unnoticed.

Because of the secretive nature of Canada’s involvement in APEC, feminists were slow to respond to this new reality. In spite of the government’s proclamation of consulting key “stakeholders”, the one area of major interest that was omitted from this process was the concerns of women’s groups. This reflects how women’s groups have become disengaged from the decision-making process. As a measure to counteract this exclusion from considerations in APEC, NAC, as an advocacy group for English-Canadian women’s concerns, participated in international conferences against APEC.

Sunera Thobani, past-president of NAC, speaking at an international women’s conference against APEC in November 1997, said that increased poverty and inequality are not accidental outcomes of free trade agreements:

It is not that our political leaders are not aware that it is women’s labour that creates corporate profits, it is very important to recognize that the agenda of globalization is very much based on the continuation of women’s exploitation...It is not enough to fight for gender sensitive policies, the system itself is faulty and we cannot work within a system that is fundamentally flawed (Thobani, 1997:26).

NAC’s participation at this international conference was important because it created the opportunity for grass-roots feminists to voice their opposition to APEC. Their opposition was multifaceted: disagreement with the undemocratic way it was imposed on Canadians; rejection of the exploitative aspects of capitalism it would perpetuate; and
anger that APEC would not take into account feminist views of the social, economic and political impacts of trade on women.

The Canadian response to APEC has made democratic rights its central focus. Critics note that representative democratic process have all but disappeared in this new era of globalization. Canada’s entry into APEC is an example of the “politics of stealth” (1995)⁴ the Canadian government has adopted. There was no consultation with the Canadian citizenry regarding its entry into this trade cooperation. In response, the Canadian government refutes all accusations of undemocratic process claiming they consulted key “stakeholders” in their negotiation in APEC. Critiques of the state’s current undemocratic actions assert however, that Canadian citizens ought to be brought into the “stakeholder” category because the current use and definition of stakeholder is ambiguous at best. Moreover, equality-seeking women’s organizations argue that it seems as if there is a “disenfranchisement” of women’s rights as the political space available for women’s voices is disappearing. Women’s groups are calling for a more democratic process for trade negotiations but Canada is increasingly joining regional trade agreements without any representative democratic process.

Scenes of demonstrations and protests such as witnessed in Seattle, Vancouver, and, more recently, Quebec City are commonplace in today’s news media. Canada’s first large scale citizen revolt to globalization and diminishing democratic rights was realized during the 1997 APEC summit in Vancouver. Protestors and student demonstrators witnessed the democratic process shut down before their eyes. Riot-equipped police and senior R.C.M.P. officers immediately confronted anti-APEC protestors in an effort to

⁴ The “politics of stealth” (1995) is a term used by Janine Brodie that describes the elusive way the federal and provincial governments have redefined their governing practices.
quell agitation brought on by the combination of the lack of democratic representation and the controversial participation of President Suharto of Indonesia in the APEC meetings. A University of British Columbia law student had this to say when he recounted his arrest as a peaceful anti-APEC demonstrator:

The question is, should they be using the R.C.M.P. to assure the psychological comfort and distance from demonstrators? There was no other reason for the involvement of the Prime Minister’s Office, the Department of Foreign Affairs, senior level R.C.M.P. officers and the Indonesian government; there is no other purpose for their involvement here except to limit, and where possible, suspend the constitutional rights of Canadian citizens.\(^5\)

The Canadian government, in essence, bargained away the constitutional rights of Canadian citizens to ensure the success of the APEC summit and to prevent the embarrassment of President Suharto. The elevation of economics over rights of citizens is a disturbingly increasing phenomenon.

Canadian social justice, labour, and women’s groups again braced themselves for the suspension of their constitutional rights when in April, 2001, thirty-four countries convened in Quebec City for the annual Summit of the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA). Again, governments entered free trade discussions without any accountability to the representative democratic process. Again, large-scale peaceful protests and demonstrations ensued and concerned citizens rallying to protect their democratic rights were met by the increasingly familiar scene of riot-equipped police and the R.C.M.P.

Given this background, I proceed to an examination of a different woman-based strategy designed address the negative impacts of free trade. Previously I discussed the strategy of disengagement as illustrated by peaceful protests and mass demonstrations against what is seen as undemocratic imposition of trade agreements. Now, I will turn my
attention to a mainstreaming strategy illustrated though the example of the Women Leaders' Network (WLN). The following section provides an outline of the WLN's emergence and development.

The Women Leaders' Network

The formation of this organization began with a workshop in Jakarta, Indonesia, in 1996. The workshop was funded and organized by the Indonesian Institute of Science and Technology. This international workshop included participants from the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) as well as other international governments such as the Philippines Department of Science and Technology. This response was designed to increase the representation of women in the science and technology sectors of the APEC free trade negotiations. The women developing this organization recognized that in comparison to boys and men, girls and women comprised a disproportionately higher percentage among the numbers of illiterate. Inequalities in education between men and women were highlighted as being a prime reason for concern for the future of women's participation in the new global economy. This became a primary reason for the formation of the WLN.

The original countries represented in the WLN were Canada, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. Women from these economies brought expertise in the gender dimension of trade, investment and development cooperation and their discussions centred on how gender issues and interests could be integrated into the APEC

\footnote{Information gathered from the CBC, The National Online, 1 November, 2000. \url{<http://www.tv.cbc.ca/national/pgminfo/apec/doc.5.html>}}
process. Participants questioned their exclusion from APEC and discussed ways in which they could participate in the trade negotiations to ensure beneficial outcomes for women.

There were very few women involved in APEC. I asked, “what is wrong with this picture?” There were no women in it … policies were being made that would effect women and they had no representation (Andrina Lever, President of Lever Enterprises, co-founder of the WLN, 1999).

Later that month, CIDA representatives met with United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in Jakarta in January 1996 to discuss gender and trade. The discussions centred on how gender issues and interests could be integrated into the APEC process to ensure beneficial outcomes for women (WLN document, 1996). These discussions led to the development of strategies for mainstreaming gender, primarily in the field of science and technology, which were to be presented at the APEC forum in Manila in November of 1996. This led to the formation of a small network of women leaders from the private and public sectors of science and technology in the aforementioned countries. They called themselves the Women Leaders’ Network.

The WLN is not an official APEC forum but is designated as being APEC-related. It consists of women leaders from 21 APEC economies who have made significant contributions to their economies and societies in one or more fields. The objective here is to be recognized as a consultative partner and to promote the integration of gender perspectives into APEC’s work. The WLN is an informal and flexible regional network of women leaders who represent business, government, academe, and civil society from APEC economies. While officially non-governmental, the WLN’s membership overlaps
substantially with government bodies (Macdonald, 1999:25). The WLN operates through national “focal points”. Meetings of the WLN rotate with the APEC chair: the Philippines held the inaugural meeting in 1996; Canada hosted the meeting in 1997; Malaysia in 1998; New Zealand in 1999; Brunei, Darussalam in 2000; China will host in 2001; and Mexico will host in 2002. There is no formal membership for the WLN. For example, there are no membership fees. Women from the private sector who become involved in the WLN tend to represent the interests of women in Small & Medium Size Enterprises. The WLN has been criticized for having too much focus on business where some members express fear that the WLN has deviated from its original mandate, which is to promote the integration of gender perspectives into APEC process and to recognize women’s vital contributions to their economies.

Membership in the WLN is open to any woman who is a leader in her profession and typically women get involved in the Network by word-of-mouth or by invitation. Membership is flexible but there are some informal criteria for membership. One, members must recognize that economic globalization and trade liberalization are a fait accompli. Therefore, there must be a willingness to work within the APEC structure. A second criterion is that members must have the ability to do three things:

1. To get together women who are leaders in their community and sector who are willing to use their influence to influence ministers;
2. To get more women involved in the APEC process, to teach women about APEC and what APEC is and how it could impact their lives; and
3. To offer themselves up as a source of expertise so that claims can no longer be made that there are not enough women who qualify to sit on policy

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6 Civil society refers to any organization that is non-profit and non-governmental in nature. Civil society ranges from trade unions to professional organizations and women’s associations. Interestingly, the Canadian component of the WLN does not have any trade union representation.
7 Each economy in APEC has a focal point. The focal point acts as the contact representative for the working group for that economy.
committees, working groups, or to be involved in the consultative process (Andrina Lever [interview] 1999).

The WLN operates differently from economy to economy. In Canada, the WLN is coordinated in a joint partnership between the focal point and the Status of Women Canada (SWC). SWC has been involved in the WLN from the beginning in its capacity to coordinate the integration of women into the work of APEC. The focal point acts as a point of contact for the country in terms of coordinating the work of the WLN and in particular in coordinating Canada’s role in the annual WLN conferences that takes place before each Ministerial Meeting on APEC. The focal point sits for a term of two years.¹

Key to WLN membership is having women who are familiar with the APEC process and who can speak the language of trade policy. The strategy of the WLN is to penetrate the APEC structure and become familiar with APEC processes. This strategy allows members to operate within the system and to participate in decision-making forums.

The timing and presence of the WLN was strategically well planned. The first WLN conference took place one month before the annual APEC leaders’ summit, which was held in Manila in 1996. This helped to position gender onto the APEC agenda. With the formation of the WLN, there was a clear mandate to promote the integration of gender perspectives into APEC. This mandate was carried forward as Fidel Ramos, then President of the Philippines, adopted the recommendations put forward in the WLN document Call to Action which advised economic and ministerial leaders to establish working groups to develop a framework for the integration of gender into APEC. Canada
has been involved in the WLN through various government departments and agencies from the very beginning. CIDA, for example, supported the inaugural WLN meeting in 1996. Status of Women Canada (SWC), Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT), and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) headed a sub-committee with the objective to develop a document outlining the framework for the integration of gender into APEC. SWC plays an important role on the sub-committee acting as a resource in providing “expertise” on gender issues including the implementation of gender-based analysis (GBA) (Gibb, 1997:38). SWC also informs the Canadian government on APEC’s gender commitments to multilateral organizations such as the Commonwealth Secretariat and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (Gibb, 1997:38). In the SWC’s Report on Plans and Priorities for 1997 – 1998 (SWC, 1997), Hedy Fry, Minister of Status of Women, announced that SWC played a strong role in promoting gender perspectives internationally and will continue to integrate gender concerns into key international areas including the United Nations, the Commonwealth, APEC and the OECD.

Gender Mainstreaming

“Trade liberalization is happening. Make it work for women instead of against them. Sometimes it means getting in bed with the enemy – but it doesn’t mean sleeping with them” (Dana Peebles, 2000).

The above quotation captures the sentiment that the WLN has adopted regarding the strategy of gender mainstreaming that is used by governments and international bodies. At this time, I want to re-state the distinction between the two interpretations of

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8 At the time of writing this thesis Andrina Lever was acting as Canada’s focal point. She was instrumental in co-ordinating Canada’s efforts in the WLN meetings in New Zealand (1999) and Brunei Darussalam
mainstreaming as previously mentioned in the Introduction and Chapter Two. One interpretation places women at its centre. A woman-centred analysis of mainstreaming is similar to NAC's position that places its focus entirely on women recognizing the intersections of race, ethnicity, religion, age, class and sexuality. A women-centred analysis integrates a feminist view of women's lived experiences.

The second interpretation places gender at its centre. What is meant by "gender" is a reference to the socially determined differences between women and men such as roles, attitudes, behaviors and values. This term is not to be confused with "sex". Sex identifies the biological differences between women and men; gender is a relational term that includes both men and women. Gender roles are learned and vary across cultures and over time. It is this interpretation that I will expand upon in relation to the WLN strategy to integrate gender into APEC's work - gender-centred focus as opposed to women/feminist-centred mainstreaming.

Shaping the WLN's gender mainstreaming strategy is the gender strategy practiced by the Canadian government and in turn, the Commonwealth Secretariat. The Canadian state instituted gender mainstreaming into policy development as a response to international pressures that evolved during the Decade for Women (1976–1985). In 1995 the Canadian government endorsed the United Nations Platform for Action and the Commonwealth Plan of Action on Gender Development which obligated the government to implement a gender analysis mechanism into state processes (SWC, 1996:5). This committed all federal departments and agencies to incorporate gender-based analysis (GBA) into their policy development. At this point, governments are identifying bureaucrats as "gender experts" within the public service but these experts often have

(2000).
varied backgrounds and experience but may lack any training in feminist theory and/or practice. Furthermore, governments are acting without feminist input leaving organizations such as NAC out of the stakeholder group. In short, women's equality-seeking organizations have been marginalized and a valuable resource for inclusion in policy development remains overlooked.

As we will see in the following section, Canada, in partnership with the Commonwealth Secretariat, led the initiative and development of the Framework for the Integration of Women in APEC. Defined in the context of international trade, gender mainstreaming means women and men have equitable access to, and benefits from, society's resources, opportunities and rewards; and have equal participation in influencing what is valued and in shaping directions and decisions. The gender mainstreaming mandate of the WLN has been to incorporate gender perspectives into the goals, structures, policies and decisions at all levels of APEC (APEC Secretariat, 1999).

Gender analysis is an important component of the APEC approach to the integration of gender into mainstream APEC activities. Gender-based analysis is an approach to policy development that ensures that potential differential impacts of trade policy on men and women are discovered and modified before policy is implemented (Dwyer-Renaud, 1998). It incorporates gender differences into the overall planning process and activities of a policy, program or service. It is a methodology that identifies the differences in the lives of women and men and among women of varying socio-economic levels. GBA assesses how policies and programs may impact differently on women and men and girls and boys. Women and men's relative social and economic
status indicates that inequalities still persist, and GBA is tasked to address these inequalities.

Differing political and social realities go unnoticed in trade policy-making processes. Gender neutrality remains the current practice and assumes that policies achieve a desirable outcome if men and women are always treated exactly alike (Dwyer-Renaud, 1998). This is in perfect accordance with the notion of formal equality. Formal equality ignores the different social and economic positions and life experiences of men and women. To achieve true equality means ensuring that all people, regardless of their differing social and economic positions, have the same access to the benefits and outcomes of policy.⁹

Substantive equality, in contrast, recognizes that treating women and men identically will not ensure equal outcomes because women and men occupy different social levels and experience different living conditions (Dwyer-Renaud, 1998). In Canada, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms has given legal force to the concept of substantive equality. However, countries which support gender-neutral economic and trade policy on the premise of formal equality have failed to address the structural barriers that remain hidden from view under the guise of “sameness” (Dwyer-Renaud, 1998).

Gender-based analysis looks at socio-economic data of both women and men (Gender-based Analysis Backgrounder, 1997:19). When we look at socio-economic data broken down by gender we see that men have, on average, higher incomes in relation to

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⁹ For more information, please refer to Gender-based Analysis Backgrounder. This document is published by the Women’s Bureau, Strategic Policy Branch, March 1997. Human Resources Development Canada (HRDC).
women. Women have socio-economic disadvantages as a result of the social roles they perform and the value accorded to those roles (Gender-based Analysis Back grounder, 1997:19). In short, the theory behind GBA is about fully analyzing policy consequences so that all people have the same access to the benefits and outcomes of policies.

The next section will discuss a document called The Framework for the Integration of Women in APEC jointly developed by the APEC Secretariat, members of the WLN and the Commonwealth Secretariat. It is this document that is used for a measure of success for WLN’s objective to integrate gender into mainstream APEC fora.

Framework for the Integration of Women in APEC

In 1997, APEC economic leaders made the commitment to integrate women into mainstream APEC activities and as part of this commitment the first APEC ministerial meeting on women was held in Manila in 1998. This meeting happened, in part, due to the number of countries who said that they were interested but also because the WLN put pressure on various governments involved (Peebles [interview], 2000). Public sector WLN members worked hand in hand with government departments as well as with the private sector and academe to push the mainstreaming agenda forward. At the APEC leaders meeting in Kuala Lumpur in 1998, on the recommendation of WLN, the leaders endorsed the integration of women in APEC activities and in 1999 an ad hoc task force was created to develop The Framework for the Integration of Women in APEC. Within less than a year, the taskforce completed its mandate and the document was finalized.10

10 The Framework for the Integration of Women in APEC is a document produced by the taskforce co-chaired by Canada, New Zealand and the Philippines. In my interview with Dana Peebles, it was revealed that Janet Burn from Status of Women Canada engineered the whole framework. Janet Burn, at this time of writing, is unavailable for interview because she is assigned to the APEC Secretariat in Singapore.
APEC ministers and leaders endorsed the document at the APEC economic leaders’ meeting in Auckland, New Zealand in 1999 (APEC Secretariat, 1999). Along with the endorsement, senior officials at this meeting established an advisory group for gender integration in APEC. The purpose of the advisory group is to provide gender advice and expertise to senior officials and to other APEC associates on the implementation of gender mainstreaming initiatives. The framework responds to APEC leaders’ recognition that gender is a cross-cutting theme in international trade negotiations. This document is a practical and systematic approach to guide policy makers in the achievement of gender mainstreaming protocols. These protocols are comprised of three interrelated elements: gender analysis, collection and use of sex-disaggregated data, and the involvement of women in the decision-making process. The 1998 ministerial meeting on women identified these three interrelated elements as essential for reinforcing the role of women in economic development.

The Framework document is a breakthrough for gender mainstreaming efforts in the area of regional trade liberalization initiatives. At first glance, the Framework document appears to be nothing more than a symbolic piece to appease international pressures to mainstream gender and in many instances may be of little concern for some APEC member economies. However, the document can potentially have far-reaching positive impacts on the social and economic well being of women in the APEC region. Most problematic is the fact that measures of accountability to ensure the successful

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Although Canada played a lead role in the creation of the framework, the task force included the participation of most APEC economies in its preparation.

11 For more information on this advisory group, please see the APEC Secretariat website at www.apecsec.org.sg.
integration and use of the Framework are weak. However, the Framework has been endorsed at the highest levels, which positions the document giving it more credibility.

Ministers and Economic Leaders at the APEC meeting of 1999 endorsed the Framework for the Integration of Women in APEC. At the same time, the Senior Officials Meeting (SOM) Advisory Group for Gender Integration was formed to provide gender advice and expertise to the SOM, and other APEC forums on the implementation of the Framework. An annual progress report on the implementation of the Framework will be provided to Leaders and Ministers when they meet in 2001.

The Framework is an important piece of work because it is the first document of its kind to be endorsed by a regional trade cooperation such as APEC. The Framework brings gender to the forefront of trade and economic policy discussions. It also makes visible that APEC activities related to trade and investment liberalization are closely inter-linked and have major implications for women. The document is written for policy makers and provides comprehensive examples of gender-neutral policy development and examples of gender-sensitive policy development. But perhaps the most important contribution this document makes to advance women’s contributions to society is that it exposes women’s achievements to the economy and recognizes that women’s unpaid work constitutes a major contribution to the economy. Therefore, it is the purpose of the Framework to enable policy makers to understand the impact of economic policy on the lives of women. To help policy makers and economic leaders in their objective to follow through with the goals of the Framework, the Advisory Group on Gender Integration has produced a Guide for Gender Analysis. The Guide complements the Framework and it is

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12 Membership of the advisory group to provide gender advice and expertise is largely made up of members of the WLN and others. Exact membership has not been disclosed.
written as a tool to assist in the implementation of the Framework and for mainstreaming gender into APEC directions and policy recommendations and projects. The Guide illustrates questions and information that help make gender mainstreaming more effective in policies and projects and provides many illustrations to demonstrate the difference between gender-neutral (or gender-blind) policy analysis versus gender-aware policy analysis.

A second element of the Framework is the collection and use of sex-disaggregated data. This is an area of potential weakness for APEC to truly achieve positive impact of gender mainstreaming because data collection is difficult in many APEC economies. Many do not have established government departments such as Statistics Canada. However, there are alternate possible sources of data such as international agencies, research centres or NGOs. The Guide includes a section devoted to the collection and use of sex-disaggregated data. The use of sex-disaggregated data helps APEC to decide on how activities can be carried out effectively, equitably and in a way that is beneficial for women. As the Guide explains, sex-disaggregated data can be used to:

- identify the differing situations of women and men including changes over time;
- consider the impact APEC activities will have on both women and men, and track the impact they do have;
- identify and define problems, develop options and choose the option which will be most effective and beneficial for both women and men;
- more fully understand the impact of events such as the regional economic crisis on women, and hence assist in formulating activities in response to these events; and
- evaluate and monitor results and outcomes by sex.

The purpose of sex-disaggregated data is to achieve more equitable results through gender analysis and sex-disaggregated data but it is clear that the focus remains on a comparative analysis between women and men. A wider scope of analysis incorporating considerations such as sex, race, and class, would in my opinion lead to even more equitable results.

The third element of the Framework is the involvement of women in APEC. At the 1998 APEC Ministerial meeting on Women in APEC the involvement and promotion of women was recommended. A special mention was accorded to raising women's participation and involvement in decision-making. The Framework makes some suggestions on how women's participation in the APEC can be improved. The suggestions are as follows:

Encourage economies and all APEC fora to increase women's presence and participation in activities and projects, especially as decision-makers; through analysis of the current involvement of women in APEC and addressing factors that may constrain women's participation; and through the promotion of an environment within APEC and its member economies that will be conducive to greater women's participation by the implementation of the Framework (Framework, 1999).

The Framework clearly outlines measures that will promote the participation of women in APEC but it omits the mechanism to reach grass-roots women's equality-seeking organizations. Participation of women should also be extended to include women's voices from the grass-roots communities. How else will women from the more senior
levels truly represent the voice of women if there is no dialogue between women on the inside with women on the outside?\textsuperscript{13}

The Framework also includes a section on implementation and accountability. The implementation strategy sets out the essential actions to integrate women into APEC. The implementation strategy recognizes that change will occur incrementally and over time and will build on existing APEC processes and mechanisms. The strategy implies liberal orientation where women are simply added into the already established structures and processes.

There is a shared responsibility throughout APEC for the implementation of the Framework for the Integration of Women in APEC. The Senior Officials Meeting (SOM) has a major responsibility for ensuring the implementation of the Framework. The accountability mechanism outlined in the Framework is weak however, and can easily become nothing but a symbolic token to appease the current buzz around gender mainstreaming. There is no real solid accountability mechanism built into APEC to ensure compliance among member economies to gender mainstream and no sanctions in place to punish those members who do not choose to integrate women into APEC policies and projects. As outlined above, APEC is a trade cooperation that works by consensus; peer pressure and accountability mechanisms exert pressure on APEC members to observe commitments. Although peer pressure has the ability to influence certain types of behaviours, it is not strong enough to enforce compliance.

\textsuperscript{13} Women on the “inside” represent women officials who have access to APEC structures and working groups. Women on the “outside” represents grass root equality-seeking women’s organizations who endure the largest burden of economic restructuring and trade liberalization initiatives.
In this chapter, I have outlined feminist and Canadian responses to APEC. Although APEC is a trade cooperative that is not legally binding, Canada’s participation in APEC signals an increasing commitment to the neo-liberal agenda with the consequent liberalization of the Canadian economy. Because of the fact that the Canadian government was not obliged to face public debate in this decision, this strengthened the argument that citizens are increasingly losing their democratic process.

As one response to trade liberalization, I presented the case study of the Women Leaders’ Network as a vehicle through which to improve the situation for women in international trade negotiations. The WLN, an elite grouping of women, has found some strength in its approach to integrate gender into the APEC process. The Framework and the Guide are examples of ways in which international trade can influence policy development to include gender sensitive outcomes. In the next chapter I deepen my analysis as I present the feminist response to the WLN strategy of gender mainstreaming in APEC.
CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF THE WOMEN LEADERS’ NETWORK’S
MAINSTREAMING STRATEGY

Introduction

Thus far, I have set the context of economic globalization at the international level and then at the national level. I have presented various feminist analyses of the situation and provided some discussion of the high profile responses. In these responses I have presented two strategies that have been taken; one, mainstreaming and the second, disengagement. The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the concept of gender-centered mainstreaming as presented in Chapter Three. I present my analysis of this strategic approach to international trade and APEC. To do this, I draw on concepts and information already presented in this thesis. To complete my analysis, I answer the four questions posed in my Introduction. To recap, those questions were: 1) what kind of political space/opportunity is the WLN creating within APEC? 2) what are the limits of manoeuvrability in this “new” space? 3) can one reconcile feminist principles/practice within APEC trade liberalization agreements? and 4) what are the opportunities and/or constraints for gender mainstreaming development within APEC and more broadly within the context of globalization?

To begin this discussion I first present NAC’s response to the WLN.

NAC’s Response to the WLN

The WLN embraces the strategy of mainstreaming gender concerns within APEC. This strategy stands in opposition to the fundamental feminist framework from which
NAC operates. To explain NAC's opposition to this strategy, I begin by providing an example of this strategy. The WLN has stated from the outset that it is committed to working within the structure of APEC. The WLN agenda is to advance the objectives of economic globalization and trade liberalization and its mandate is to increase women's involvement in the APEC process and to mainstream gender issues.

Members of the WLN are aware of the criticism leveled against their strategy to work within the APEC structure. For example, the WLN does not disagree with the issues of the women's movement. The difference between the two is that the WLN has chosen to work within the system. The strategy of the WLN, Ms. Lever explains, is "to work with the people who are in positions of power or influence and who will use that position to effect change" (Lever [interview] 1999). There is a confidence expressed by the WLN that one can accomplish more by working within the system than by standing on the outside in opposition. Ms. Lever continues by arguing that Canada cannot live in isolation; globalization will continue so the WLN has opted to work from within this economic structure. The strategy of mainstreaming gender issues into the structure is believed by the WLN to be much more effective to achieve positive outcomes for women. However, as noted by Adamson et al., the choice to mainstream the issues presents the risk of straying too far inside the existing framework thus losing perspective on the initial goal and, with it, the ability to make significant change.

NAC, on the other hand, has opted to stand on the outside in opposition to economic globalization. They adhere to a strategy of disengagement and continue to call for alternative economic systems (Grant-Cummings [interview] 1999). Advocating disengagement from the dominant economic structure enables NAC to step back and
critically assess the oppressive nature of the capitalist economic system. Again, Adamson et al., caution the choice of feminists who act only as critics of the system and who create too much distance from the institutions because they run the risk of being unable to reach and activate people (Adamson et al., 1988:179).

The polarized approach evident in the case of APEC illustrates an oversimplification of what Adamson et al. caution in their analysis of what constitutes effective social change. What they say is that a balance between the two is required. A formula for effective change would be to achieve the feminist vision of change integrated into the dominant structure while maintaining a critical analysis of the structure itself.

Both strategies have been successful in their own time and both strategies are critical to maintain, if not, feminist activism would be limited. In response to feminist strategies for change Ms. Lever explains “in order to gain credibility within multilateral agreements like APEC one has to deal initially with the economic issues” (Lever [interview] 1999). This is not to say that social issues are not important. There is a confidence expressed by members of the WLN who believe that in order to attain credibility, within the flawed system, one has to “talk the language of the boys” (Lever [interview] 1999). Upholding a liberal feminist approach, the WLN presumes that once women are represented in the decision-making process they can start to deal with some of the broader social issues. They have a strong belief that if one helps women become more economically self-sufficient, some of the social problems begin to start taking care of themselves (Lever [interview] 1999).

A liberal feminist analysis of the WLN would attribute merit to the Network in the ability to integrate a gender perspective into the APEC structure. The WLN has been
successful in creating space for discussion on gender within an increasingly closing
arena. The WLN is a unique example of women strategizing to create changes no matter
how small or large, within a new economic and political framework. A socialist feminist
analysis, however, would argue that the strategy of gender mainstreaming as currently
practiced does not go far enough to create any substantive change for women.

NAC responds to the WLN by maintaining that the structure of economic
globalization is inherently flawed. NAC points to the evidence that women’s groups in all
APEC-affected countries have indicated that the system of “trickle-down” economics
does not work for the betterment of women’s socio-economic status. They point to the
growing numbers of women and children living in poverty. Feminist analysis of the
capitalist economic system reveals that capitalism is maintained on the exploitation of
waged labour. This exploitation becomes more transparent when we add in the dynamics
of gender, race and class. In all cases, it is women’s labour that is being exploited.
Furthermore, this analysis can also include the ways in which the capitalist system
benefits through the unpaid productive and reproductive labour of women.

Social activist, Elisa Tita Lubi of GABRIELA, supports this point. GABRIELA,
a Filipino social justice organization, cautions not to allow “mainstreaming” strategies,
such as those propagated by the WLN to depoliticise the women’s movement (Lubi,
2001). This caution is advised for fear that “mainstreaming” can negate the gains that
women’s and social movements worldwide have achieved. Moreover, it speaks to the
ineffective capacity gender mainstreaming strategies have in addressing women’s issues
within the neo-liberal framework of APEC. Gender mainstreaming, as a strategy, is
problematic because by taking a gender-centered approach, gender may become the only
axis of analysis, an example being analyzing policy outcomes on women in relation to men. The danger in this analysis is that it universalizes women and men without considering other dynamics of difference such as race, ethnicity and class.

The examples cited above illustrate the distance between NAC and the WLN. In the next section, I evaluate the strategy of the WLN to mainstream gender.

**Evaluation of Gender Mainstreaming**

Gender mainstreaming has offered the WLN a strategy to have gender recognized in APEC. The current literature illustrates that many international organizations are creating space for the integration of gender analysis in economic and social policy development. Mainstreaming discourse increasingly is accepted internationally and there is international pressure promoting governments to gender mainstream. This is evident in the directions the Commonwealth, the IMF and the World Bank are taking toward the mainstreaming approach in economic development policies. This has helped the WLN to integrate gender considerations into APEC negotiations. On one level there is advancement for the women’s movement because prior to international efforts to gender mainstream, the concept of gender was totally absent from economic considerations. On another level, feminist analysis reveals that couching women’s issues into the broader concept of gender denies attention to specific women’s issues:

Transforming women’s equality into gender equality has far-reaching consequences not only for what it conveys but for what it does not convey (Grace, 1997:583).

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1 For further information on international gender mainstreaming initiatives, please see the World Bank website at www.worldbank.com and the Commonwealth Secretariat website at www.commonwealthsecretariat.org.
Many women’s organizations oppose the strategy of gender mainstreaming as practiced by the WLN because it does not support a feminist framework. They state that gender mainstreaming as a sole trajectory of action to eliminate the negative impacts of economic policies does not go far enough to address the systematic nature of economic globalization. Absent from the WLN’s approach is a well-defined critique of the capitalist system itself. Feminists say that inherent to the strategy to mainstream gender into the APEC process is a fundamental acceptance of the current capitalist system. Furthermore, as already stated, the dichotomy between gender and women risks leaving women’s issues out of the discussion completely. By framing the discourse around gender, it takes the focus away from women and women’s issues. It translates the goal of women’s equality into a “vague, all-encompassing concept that does not attend to the distinctiveness of women or of women’s oppression” (Grace, 1997:585).

The approach of the WLN places an overemphasis on mainstreaming as the only mechanism to effect change. Adamson et al., argue that change occurs when a social movement has achieved a balance between the practice of mainstreaming and the practice of disengagement. Each plays its own role and both are necessary components for any strategy of change. Furthermore, an overemphasis on one or the other seriously undermines the possibility of making change because of the risk of institutionalization or marginalization (Adamson et al., 1988:176). The WLN strategy to penetrate the APEC structure allows members to operate within the system and to participate in decision-making forums but at the risk of institutionalizing the purpose of their objective, i.e. gender mainstreaming.
In defense of the WLN it is noteworthy to point out its ability to bring women together internationally. The WLN represents a network of women from both developed and developing economies that are working together with the common goal to mainstream gender into APEC policies and programs. Remarkably, WLN membership extends throughout 21 APEC economies and members work in partnership to achieve the goal of gender equality. However, Macdonald's point about unequal partnerships must be kept in mind. The term "partnership" implies an equal relationship. Working across social, economic, cultural, and religious differences as does the WLN lends to the possibility of unequal partnerships. The term partnership implies an egalitarian discourse which hides the power relations implicit in almost any partnership and which unconsciously mimics the discourse of imperialism (Macdonald, 1995:113). Moreover, the strategy of gender mainstreaming can also be viewed a symbol of imperialism because much of the drive behind this strategy is directed by women from the developed world.

The strategy of gender mainstreaming that is promoted by the WLN does not fit a feminist framework and is criticized as a band-aid solution. NAC states that gender mainstreaming is simply an attempt to resolve disadvantages based on gender without looking deeper within the system to understand the nature on these disadvantages (Grant-Cummings [interview] 1999). It is my opinion that gender mainstreaming has lost sight of the underlying forces at work within neo-liberal ideology and economic globalization. The forces behind neo-liberal ideology have led governments to deregulate national interests and cut government spending to social programs and services. This shift in philosophy has had a negative impact on women who typically are the larger recipients of
these social considerations. Furthermore, the many gains previously achieved by women were the result of strong government intervention such as employment equity and pay equity. Neo-liberalism calls for less government intervention and has placed the advancement of women's interests into question. Moreover, gender mainstreaming has sidelined women's issues by raising gender as the sole area for analysis.

In summary, there are many reasons why the strategies of mainstreaming gender within international trade are not effective as measures to promote women's equality. In the next section I examine WLN's membership and present my analysis of the potential problems this also presents for their success.

The WLN's membership and representation is another cause for criticism. Where the WLN will see their membership as a strength, it can also be seen as elitist. The dynamic membership of the WLN presents a situation where, on one hand, there are women who have much to offer with respect to their ability to influence trade policy but on the other hand, they cannot speak from a perspective of grass-roots women. The negative impacts of trade policy, vis-à-vis the loss of socio-economic power, is not as immediate to the concerns of women of the WLN. Women who are members of this organization do not have the "everyday pressures" of having to manage household incomes while balancing work and family. These are realities that speak specifically to the concerns of the average North American woman. And this speaks even less of the daily concerns of the majority of women in the Asia-Pacific regions. Therefore, it is important that members of the WLN be informed of women's socio-economic realities.

In Canada, there has never been any consultation between the WLN and women's equality-seeking organizations. This lack of consultation is problematic on two levels.
One, it appears patronizing to women's groups and it also limits the ability of the WLN to make informed recommendations to effect significant change. Second, it indicates the complete lack of democratic process characteristic of economic globalization. Members of the WLN are not elected officials who are voted to APEC to represent women's issues. The WLN is a grouping of women who have organized to represent gender issues in trade with no guarantees that their issues will reflect those of women's equality-seeking organizations. Therefore, the question is raised as to how the WLN will make informed recommendations that will lead to beneficial outcomes for women's general social, political and economic advancement.

In my interview with Dana Peebles, gender consultant and member of WLN, this concern was raised. When we discussed the question of representation, Ms. Peebles replied that she believes grass-roots concerns are important but one must carefully choose their words in order to achieve the desired results. Ms. Peebles admits that sometimes she does not use the word "gender" because it "threatens people where they live" (Peebles [interview] 2000). The strategy becomes: what are the goals we are trying to achieve and how do we use the language that it takes to achieve these goals (Peebles [interview] 2000)? Andrina Lever expresses concern about the possibility of wider representation by the WLN for fear that the issues could become diluted. Ms. Lever maintains that a process is required which enables representatives to stand before world economic leaders with the strength of women's organizations behind them. But the issues have to remain tangible to these leaders. The WLN needs to maintain its credibility by speaking the language of international trade and using the influence of its membership to push forward their goal of gender integration into APEC.
The next issue centers on "consultation". In my interviews with Ms. Peebles and Ms. Lever I broached the question of opening a dialogue between the WLN and NAC. My purpose for this question was to probe their openness to enhancing the WLN's capacity to speak to the broader concerns of women. Ms. Peebles replied that the WLN had in the past invited NAC to participate at the WLN conference held in Ottawa-Hull in 1997. She recounted that NAC declined the invitation stating that it was a political decision not to participate in this forum (Peebles [interview] 2000). NAC did not say that the WLN was too "mainstream" but the impression was that the invitation was refused because they chose the strategy of disengagement feeling that this was the better course to follow. Ms. Peebles agrees that there are some common issues that both the WLN and NAC could mobilize around but a common ground between the two has not been achieved. Ms. Peebles believes that there is space for consultation and that the WLN could benefit from NAC's participation. As stated earlier, Ms. Lever believes wider consultation will dilute the WLN objectives of trade dialogue. She believes in the strength of the WLN to speak the language of trade policy and advance the cause of gender using "mild, politically-correct" language. In the Asia-Pacific region, she noted, it is very difficult to talk about equity issues because the concept of gender is not understood in many Asia-Pacific countries. Ms. Peebles believes that one can be more effective if one chooses their words carefully. For example, it might be possible to integrate a feminist analysis into APEC and this discussion would benefit from such an analysis but if one pushes feminist discourse, support may not be forthcoming.
Considering the difficulties of merging the different ideological approaches in terms of mainstreaming, the next section will proceed to evaluate the possibility of making gender-sensitive responses to APEC.

**Evaluation of Gender-Sensitive Responses to APEC**

The most obvious success of the WLN is their development of the document endorsed as APEC’s *Framework for the Integration of Women in APEC*. The success of getting APEC to endorse this document leads to the conclusion that the WLN objective to integrate gender-sensitive policies into the APEC process has been met. Further to this, we also know that as APEC is an economic cooperation that operates by consensus and peer pressure, because it is not a legally binding agreement; also, because the concept of gender is not understood among many APEC cultures, then these two factors pose barriers to the success of any substantial gender-sensitive policy development. To overcome these barriers would require a paradigm shift in ideological conceptions of economic development.

As stated in the feminist responses outlined in Chapter Two, economic development requires human rights, the environment, and social justice considerations at its core instead of fiscal “bottom lines”. True economic development is not possible without these considerations. In order to implement gender-sensitive policies, one needs to mediate trade within a human-rights framework. In simpler terms, human rights should lead the direction of trade. There needs to be a socially-based economic system with a strategy based on equality and where the impact on communities and the environment
becomes the primary consideration in developing economic policies. With this in mind, I want to proceed to answer the four questions identified in the Introduction to this paper.

The first question relates to the political space/opportunity that WLN has created within APEC. The positive space allows for the recognition of gender and has facilitated the development of gender discussions in the more traditional cultures represented by the Asia-Pacific countries. For example, the WLN, through its elite membership has been able to influence powerful government members and thereby gain a foothold for instituting their objectives. The fifth WLN meeting was held in Brunei Darussalam, in 2000. This initially posed a barrier to the WLN because Brunei does not have a particularly strong women’s movement. Furthermore, it is a country where the majority of the population works for government and it is a wealthy country by most Asian standards. As a result of these considerations, Brunei was apprehensive about its participation in APEC, let alone its participation in the WLN. The WLN, however, was able to influence the APEC member from Brunei to support the inclusion of gender into their trade negotiations.\(^2\) But this positive space is overshadowed by gender discussions being limited to women in business, thus contributing to the idea that this is a business women’s network rather than one focused on gender policy development.

The second question deals with the limits of maneuverability in this space in APEC. In this regard, my opinion is that the WLN is limited in its space because of its choice to work within the APEC structure. Because the structure does not allow for

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\(^2\) This is where having influential women, as members of the WLN have been very helpful. Andrina Lever, member of the WLN also sits on the APEC Business Advisory Council (ABAC). Ms. Lever was able to convince the Brunei representative on ABAC of the value of hosting the WLN meeting in 1999 – an event that was facing serious barriers. Ms. Lever was successful in getting the Brunei representative to support the meeting. He, then in turn, used his influence to help WLN members in his country to get the momentum they needed to get the meeting recognized and endorsed by the Sultan of Brunei Darussalam (Peebles [interview] 2000).
flexibility they chose a strategy that has no built-in accountability mechanisms. What they do within the system gives no promise that all economies will honour gender considerations.

The third question relates to that of feminist principles within APEC agreements. Can one reconcile feminist principles within economic liberalization? My view on this is that it would be most difficult to reconcile these principles because the system is premised on the continued exploitation of women’s paid and unpaid labour and is further hampered by the multiple dimensions of race, class, and ethnicity. As outlined earlier, a feminist view of economic development conflicts with the objectives of APEC, and more broadly, the capitalist free-market economy.

The fourth questions deals with opportunities and/or constraints for gender mainstreaming within APEC and more broadly within the context of globalization. The opportunities for mainstreaming within APEC, as mentioned before, allows for the concept of gender to be integrated into economic policy discussions. When we look at the constraints of gender mainstreaming it is evident that gender does not adequately address the issues of women and its capacity to engender change is limited. If left up to the goodwill of individual economies, the concept will soon be lost. The relevance or the importance of the concept, for the most part, is not understood by many APEC cultures.

Given the above analysis, it would be easy to dismiss the WLN/NAC tension as an unresolvable dichotomy, but it is my opinion that we should not reject this apparent stalemate so easily. I am not suggesting that the strategy of gender mainstreaming must be abandoned. Gender is a key concept that should be maintained in policy analysis but it should not stand alone. Partnering the concept of gender with a feminist integrated
analysis would further contextualize women’s experiences and provide cues to economic and social policy development that are better able to capture women’s multiple oppressions. Feminist policy analysis makes us aware of the importance of incorporating women’s experiences into the research process. Awareness of these experiences produces reliable, usable information that can be subsequently incorporated into policy making processes thereby developing more comprehensive solutions to achieve women’s equality (Grace, 1997:591). Without employing a feminist analysis, gender mainstreaming risks being reduced to a process-oriented approach to policy that simply “adds” women in.

It is hoped that this thesis will promote feminist considerations of gender mainstreaming in this era of economic globalization. The concept of gender has moved beyond feminist circles and has permeated into government policy development and into international trade considerations. Incorporating a feminist framework can advance gender mainstreaming as currently practiced. Governments and international bodies are incorporating gender mainstreaming in their policy development but there has not been a simultaneous feminist debate around how this is being done. The feminist voice has not been heard in this area, and there are many reasons for this absence. One of the reasons for the absent feminist perspective is that gender mainstreaming is being implemented by policy makers who have sidelined women’s advocacy and are deemed gender experts without understanding the feminist position. Another reason is the closing political space for women’s equality-seeking organizations. Governments are no longer consulting women’s groups or including them in the “stake-holder” category. A further reason is credited to the neo-liberal direction of government not allowing for grass-roots contribution to policy development in trade negotiations. The only recognized players in
these forums are the corporate elites who are unelected and have no accountability to citizens and communities.

To follow through for future research on the evolution of feminist strategies for change in policy development, I would recommend further feminist debate around gender mainstreaming. The literature recognizes that economic policies have social and political impacts on the status of women but the challenge is to find a strategic response where everyone will enjoy the benefits of economic development.
CONCLUSION

This thesis presented an example of women organizing for the integration of gender into APEC. My examination of the WLN as my case study illustrated that there are opportunities and constraints involved in the strategy of mainstreaming gender into APEC negotiations and trade policies. I argued that the opportunities of gender mainstreaming are twofold; one, it brings women into the discussion of international trade and economic globalization and, although couched within the discourse of gender, I argue that it nonetheless begins to make visible the gender-neutrality of trade policies. The second opportunity of mainstreaming creates an international discourse on gender.

The constraints involved with gender mainstreaming, some would argue, far outweigh any benefits discussed above. I argued that gender mainstreaming operates at two levels: practical and theoretical. At the practical level, gender mainstreaming is the only way at this time to integrate gender into policy. At the theoretical level, I argued, there are costs associated in making the shift between women and gender as the focus for analysis. Gender mainstreaming uses an analysis that has gender at its centre. My analysis shows that gender discourse can erase women and transforms women’s equality into a vague all-encompassing concept that does not attend to the distinctiveness of women. This strategy only adds women into policy analysis without comprehensively examining the structural factors that contribute to women’s disadvantaged social, political and economic status.

NAC’s response to economic globalization illustrates the ineffectiveness of gender mainstreaming to address the faulty structural foundation on which trade policies
are established. Furthermore, NAC addresses the inability of gender mainstreaming to address issues of race and class.

The theoretical framework used to discuss this thesis presented feminist scholarship on feminist strategies for change. Adamson et al. provided a useful framework to guide my argument. I argued that there was a distinction between mainstreaming women's issues into dominant institutions, i.e. international trade, and gender mainstreaming. The case study of the WLN effectively illustrated the tensions between the integration of women and women's issues into APEC as against mainstreaming with gender at its centre. My interview with Dana Peebles revealed that there was willingness on behalf of some of the Canadian members of the WLN to open discussions with NAC. Establishing a working relationship between the Canadian members of the WLN and NAC holds the potential to facilitate feminist analysis in economic and social policy. This relationship could result in sustainable change for women because the strategy achieves a tension between mainstreaming and disengagement as seen respectively through the strategies of the WLN and NAC. Adamson et al. argues that a balance between mainstreaming and disengagement are both necessary components for a successful strategy for social change to occur.

A second theoretical line that informed my thesis, as previously mentioned, was the concept of gender mainstreaming as applied by the Canadian government and the Commonwealth Secretariat which does not assume a women-centred analysis as does the feminist practice of mainstreaming as outlined in Adamson et al. I presented the risks associated with a mainstreaming approach that had gender at its centre instead of women.
My goal in this thesis was to engage in a feminist discussion around the WLN and to suggest that their strategy to integrate gender into the APEC process, although recognizing that it does not go far enough to secure substantial change for women, is an important “first step” in creating alternative strategies in this new era of economic globalization. To engage in this discussion I traced feminist responses to economic globalization at the international level to feminist responses in Canada.

To effectively integrate women into mainstream institutions, as Dana Peebles stated above, “threatens people where they live”. Framing the issues around gender allows women’s issues to be understood in relational terms to men. Although gender mainstreaming is a step forward toward the recognition of the gendered effects of trade, it is a strategy that will not effectively result in any meaningful change for the improvement of women’s social, political and economic status.

Direction of Future Research

The WLN has contributed to strategies of gender mainstreaming international trade by creating political space for women in APEC. At a time where women’s voices are losing access to political spaces, the WLN has carved out political opportunity for women to gain access to decision-making fora. Gender mainstreaming of APEC policies is a critical step forward in the much-needed analysis of the gender dimensions of trade. But efforts for gender integration should not stop here. There is great potential and possibility for further research. The work of the WLN has opened the door for the opportunity of gender mainstreaming as a feminist strategy to begin to emerge. The political opportunity this affords should not be missed. I suggest critical follow-up of feminist work that goes beyond the already established gender mainstreaming approach.
A possible direction of where this research can go is to evaluate the impact of the *Framework for the Integration of Women in APEC* on APEC policies, programs and working groups. Are APEC economies integrating gender considerations into their economic policy development? A critical question to explore would be to evaluate the effectiveness of the *Framework*. Has the *Framework* been effective in its objective to mainstream gender in APEC? It would also be important to assess whether gender mainstreaming has contributed to the political, social or economic improvements in women’s lives.

I hope that this thesis contributes to the growing body of feminist scholarship on gender mainstreaming. My objective was to establish the importance of an effective working relationship between grass-roots women's equality-seeking groups and those who choose to work within the system such as the WLN. An ongoing dialogue between the two will facilitate the goals of women's equality. There are exciting possibilities for gender mainstreaming and feminist analysis to work together. At the very least, the combination of these two perspectives and approaches would constitute an important first step in realizing women’s equality within an ever more globalised world.
Appendix 1

**Questionnaire to NAC, government and non-government representatives**

Questions intended to guide the interviews with members of NAC, government and non-government representatives.

Please take a moment to review the following questions. These questions are intended to help guide the interview.

1. When did you first learn about the Women Leader’s Network (WLN)?

2. In your opinion, what is the WLN’s position on trade liberalization and APEC?

3. Do you think the WLN can effectively represent the interests of women in their capacity to introduce gender into trade fora?

4. Remembering the history of NAFTA, do you think it is important for Canada to have an organized feminist movement around APEC as its structures are emerging?

5. Why is there not an established feminist movement around APEC in Canada?

6. What do you see as the biggest barrier for feminists organizing around APEC?

7. If there were an organized feminist response to APEC today, what key issues should be targeted?

8. Does the women’s movement have a responsibility at the international level in response to economic globalization?

9. Do you think strategies of resistance would be effective?

10. What do you see as an effective trajectory of action in mobilizing efforts around APEC?

11. What do you think of my suggestion of a more inclusive praxis for feminist action?

12. Do you think there is space within the English Canadian women’s movement to consult with the WLN?

13. Is there anything further I need to know to fully understand your analysis of this topic?

If you would please update your personal information:

Title:
Institution / Organization:

E-mail address:

Mailing address:

Phone numbers:
Office: ________________________
Fax: __________________________
Home (optional): __________________________
Appendix 2

Questionnaire to members of the WLN

Questions intended to guide the interviews with members from the WLN.

Please take a moment to review the following questions. These questions are intended to help guide the interview.

1. When did you join the WLN?

2. What events occurred that led to the founding of the WLN?

3. What role did you play in founding or advancing the Network?

4. Who does the WLN represent?

5. Do you consider yourself to be a gender expert? Is it necessary to integrate a feminist analysis to be an effective advocate for the introduction of a gender perspective into trade cooperations?

6. Why did you evaluate that it was important to work on introducing issues of gender into trade fora? What incident or reality caused you to be aware that it is essential to bring special attention to the reality of women in trade liberalization and trade cooperation negotiations?

7. Has the WLN had an impact on the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC)? [i.e. changes such as gender sensitive policies, working groups, etc.]

8. What do you see as the strengths of the WLN?

9. What do you see as a threat to the sustainability of the Network?

10. What do you suggest as solutions to this threat (these threats)?

11. Has your membership in the WLN had an impact on you? Both positively and negatively?

12. What combination of factors is needed for the Network to succeed in the future or to grow and adapt in the future?

13. Will you continue to be actively involved in the Network in the future? If so,
what role would / could you play?

14. How do you envision membership growing and to who is it open?

15. Are you concerned about the anti-APEC groups? If so, what is your concern? [i.e. strategy, methodology]

16. Presently, there is no established feminist response to APEC in Canada. Do you think this is problematic? If so, why and can you make any suggestions as to what the Canadian women’s movement(s) could do to have their position(s) heard?

17. Do you think there is space within the WLN to consult with and/or be informed by the Canadian women’s movement(s)?

18. Is there anything further I need to know to fully understand your analysis of the Women Leaders’ Network?

If you would please update your personal information:

Title:

Institution/Organization:

E-mail address:

Mailing address:

Phone numbers:
Office: ______________________
Fax: ______________________
Home (optional): ______________________
Appendix 3

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE

I have read the information letter describing the purposes and the tasks involved in participation in a study on Women-Centered Trajectories of Action around APEC, which is being conducted by Elizabeth Novales of the School of Canadian Studies at Carleton University. I further understand that should the information I provide be used in publications or for teaching purposes, my identity will not be protected. I acknowledge that I may withdraw my consent to participate at any time.

This study has been reviewed by, and has received ethics clearance, through the School of Canadian Studies. This Office will receive any complaints or concerns with regard to your involvement in this study.

Participant’s Name: (please print) ____________________________________________

Participant’s Signature: ______________________________________________________

Witness’s Signature: _________________________________________________________

Date: ___ / ______ / 19___

Day Month Year

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