

## CHAPTER 1

# Introduction

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**W**hat is globalization? How is it gendered? How does it work in the complex and varied societies of Asia and the Pacific?

This collection of sixteen original essays offers critical feminist analyses of dynamic global processes. We take our three anchor concepts—gender, globalization, Asia/Pacific—as points on an interactive triangle. There is no single starting point, but rather an energetic and changing set of relationships among the three areas. Each point both causes and is affected by changes in the others. Our inquiries are produced out of the vigorous intellectual energy our triad of concepts provokes. We take fresh stock of globalization’s complexities, pursue critical feminist inquiry about women, gender, and sexualities, and produce new insights into changing life patterns in Asian and Pacific Island societies.

“Globalization” here refers to the increasing scope, scale, and speed of movement of “stuff” around the world.<sup>1</sup> This disarmingly simple definition allows us to sidestep common assumptions that financial and information mobility and “free markets” are the primary signifiers of globalization, and instead to invite critical thinking about multiple, multidirectional flows. Layers of mobile chains and webs operate on two levels: material levels, where physical bodies, objects, resources and institutions do their work in concrete places; and semiotic levels, where languages, ideas, and images make it possible to represent the world in discourse. The flows of globalization connect some places and people while disconnecting others; they reinforce some power relations while interrupting or bending others. While capital, labor, and information technologies are often emphasized in studies of globalization, chains of care, violence, security, disease, pollution, media, representations, arts, intellectual resources, activist agendas, and subject positions form equally important circuits of connectivity and disruption.<sup>2</sup>

We are *not* just “adding women” to globalization. Instead, gender and sexuality are constitutive elements of globalization’s circuits. Rather than adding women, gender, or sexuality to an already established list of factors, these essays put the gendered dimensions of global flows into the center of analysis.<sup>3</sup> “Gender” and “sexual-

ity” do their work here as productive, performative, mind/body intersections, always located in bodies that are simultaneously raced, classed, and in other ways located in space and discourse. Gender is not exterior to globalization, nor is it simply one more vector or circuit: rather, the complexities of globalization are always already gendered, already doing their contradictory work on sexed, raced, and laboring bodies; gendered family relations; and masculinized and feminized institutions, ideologies, and identities. Similarly, gender and sexuality are not static precursors of globalization; rather, they are dynamic and porous practices simultaneously causing and effecting global flows. Practices of masculinity and femininity, as well as homosexuality and heterosexuality, both produce and reflect global economic, political, military, and cultural webs of relations.

“Asia/Pacific” is shorthand for our geographic setting of inquiry and for the cultural imaginaries at work here. It is a physical region of the globe, primarily represented in these essays by China, India, Japan, Okinawa, the Philippines, Thailand, Oceania, Samoa, Hawai‘i, California, Mexico, and South Korea. Our essays articulate and analyze gender/sexuality and globalization within these concrete historical and geographic spaces. Broad concepts that might otherwise become abstract and disembodied are anchored in specific sites and relationships. Asia/Pacific is also an idea, a narrative anchor in accounts of, among other things, gender and globalization. In much western scholarship, this rapidly changing region of the world has been figured as a site for colonial engagements and Orientalist fantasies of danger and pleasure. In discourses generated from Asian and Pacific spaces, global and colonial accounts both contest and intersect with local voices and claims to knowledge.<sup>4</sup>

## Central Themes of the Volume

### Representations and Reproductions

Feminists and other contemporary critical thinkers argue for ways of conceptualizing complex material that do not reduce to simple dichotomies (Joan Scott 1999; K. Ferguson 1993). Yet simply urging people to avoid thinking in dualisms carries little weight; rather, one must show *how*, with regard to particular oppositions, “either/or” thinking can give way to more productive and multiple understandings. These essays advance feminist rethinking of recurrent dualisms, including local/global, west/rest, man/woman, progressive/oppressive, gay/straight, agency/structure, and judgments about what is “good for women”/“bad for women.” By locating issues in particular spaces and times, one can apprehend general themes within a dense fabric of specific accounts, allowing nuanced, relational analyses to replace “either/or” thinking.

These essays examine competing spatial imaginaries connecting local, re-

gional, and global interactions; they analyze how theories and concepts travel, becoming sites of struggle while moving into fresh intellectual and political spaces; and they ask how representations are recruited into, and can be disruptive of, dynamic power relations. Some of the key binaries commonly used to understand globalization include modernity/tradition, developed/developing, change/stasis, and of course global/local. The essays in this book show that these oppositions are themselves constantly changing in relation to each other. These are not stable dyads but historically produced and shifting relationships. In other words, these pairings are themselves part of the temporality and historicity of globalization. Moreover, each pair entails some key assumptions about globalization since the first is valued more highly than the second and is associated with the new and moving rather than the old and fixed. The oppositions change over time, of course. Globalization produces new oppositions of sexuality, for example, as Jyoti Puri shows in her analysis of the historical emergence of global gay discourses and Steve Dorné explains in his account of changes in Indian middle-class men's interpretations of masculinity and femininity in films. In our interview with Cynthia Enloe, she explores how the process of militarization does its work in relation to changing understandings of masculinity and femininity. In the heated feminist debates over women's global sexual labor, as the essays by Lucinda Peach and Nancie Caraway show, representations stressing sexual exploitation versus those stressing labor migration tap different discursive repertoires and suggest opposite political responses. In each of these essays, "either/or" thinking gives way to complex and layered understandings. "Local" turns out not to be a fixed and stable place, but a set of relationships with "global," while "global" always makes its appearance in a particular place.<sup>5</sup>

Movement of images and representations is essential to globalization. One of the important travelers is theory itself, as models of articulation, explanation, and analysis make their moves. Min Dongchao discusses the relation of women's studies centers and feminist theory in China to transformations in policies toward women in that country. Her analysis shows that policy changes require not only commitments by governments but also the emergence of local theoretical frameworks to persuade decision-makers of the wisdom of proposed policies. Several essays illuminate the "NGOization" of global feminism, where burgeoning numbers of nongovernmental organizations transform feminist practice.<sup>6</sup> An adequate understanding of globalization means tracing the circulation of practices of representation, attending to points of translation and reinterpretation.

A multidirectional understanding of conceptual travel is necessary for analyzing the spread of gay ideas and identities, militarized masculinities, trafficking claims, protest movements, notions of aggressive masculinity, and feminist concepts of gender. Activist agendas, as Gwyn Kirk shows in her analysis of environmentalism and militarism in Okinawa, South Korea, and the Philippines, nourish

one another through global interconnections. Concepts travel routes shaped by power relations, of course, with some theories validated by their association with powerful countries and actors while others are denigrated by their origins in politically and economically marginalized spaces. Teresia Teaiwa looks at the simultaneous appropriation and devaluation of Pacific Islanders in both right-wing and left-wing accounts of global militarism. Judith Raiskin similarly traces the complex travels and mutations of ideas called traditional in Samoa in relation to ideas called modern in colonial education. The extent of travel, like its directions, is also governed by power, shaped by factors such as the price of books, availability of the Internet, and extent of literacy. At an equally concrete level, the capacity of activists and NGOs to promote reform or changes in consciousness is deeply shaped by donor decisions, nationalist ambitions, and imposed agendas of international financial organizations.

As theories and representations travel, however, they mobilize different interpretations and sustain contradictory relations to prior arrangements. Clear-cut judgments about what is “good for women” become blurred. For example, Vivian Price argues that the prevailing western critique of women’s work in the construction trades in India, which sees it as exploitative labor, overlooks the value of this work for the women who do it. Carrying heavy loads of rocks, a traditional source of income for women construction workers, can give women the strength to continue and a sense of independence and accomplishment, even as western audiences are appalled at the sight of sari-clad women walking up rickety stairs carrying hefty cement blocks on their heads while men receive higher pay for performing the skilled construction tasks. Teresia Teaiwa insists that indigenous women and men sustain complex relations to both colonial and national militaries, complicating critiques of militarism with her appreciation of local investments by Pacific Islanders in their military memberships. Similar challenges emerge, as Caraway and Peach explain, when some feminists claim sex work is inherently exploitative while others insist that it provides a decent living, or at least a better one than the available alternatives. Some transnational flows can be recruited to interrupt local hierarchies, as Judith Raiskin suggests in her account of globalized retellings of local stories in Samoa. In other cases, global flows significantly reinforce local power relations: Christine Yano analyzes the cultural capital circulated in a popular Japanese soap opera for its reinforcement of national hegemonies, while Rhacel Parreñas tracks the persistence of patriarchal divisions of labor within Filipino families when mothers labor globally.

While the pace of global conceptual travels has accelerated, such travels have long histories. As Virginia Metaxas shows in her study of nineteenth-century medical ideas in Hawai‘i, understandings of the body and healing traveled in the past as in the present. Understanding these travels involves analyzing intersections between

sets of ideas and ways of life and attending to multiple directions of interaction and to the ways representations join or contradict one another. Metaxas shows how colonial ideas of health became predominant, while indigenous perspectives persisted in pockets of resistance. Her essay gives a robust history to global flows, emphasizing the ongoing processes and the complex contradictions of colonial representations.

### Spaces and Borders

It has become a truism of scholarship on globalization to note that it shrinks global spaces, multiplies points of contact across nations, and renders borders porous (Appadurai 1996, 2001; Ong 1999). Yet the precise shape of this compression of space is contested, and its consequences uneven. These essays address the opportunities and anxieties attendant to global movements of bodies, ideas, and structures; they analyze enduring frictions and uneven changes in relations between public and private life; they contextualize global processes, analyze movements across borders, and analyze particular sites of struggle.

One of the primary assumptions about globalization has been that as transnational circuits increase in significance, the boundaries of nation-states weaken in strength and importance. As the global expands in strength, the argument goes, sovereignty shrinks. However, many of the essays in this collection suggest the opposite, showing that the relation between global and national spaces is complex and interactive. As the flow of people increases, so does the effort to maintain and police boundaries. Some transnational flows of ideas and people, such as sex workers and reforms designed to eliminate their trafficking, have the effect of strengthening borders. Anti-trafficking movements encourage more energetic border patrols and intensify regimes of incarceration and punishment. Building on the image of the vulnerable young woman tricked into prostitution, a key trope in the discourse of trafficking, governments are reasserting border controls and deporting illegal immigrants. In other words, the deterritorialization of people and cultural images produced by globalization may sometimes have the effect of reinforcing the state.

Similarly, human rights advocates appeal to the power of the international community in ways that might diminish the autonomy and sovereignty of the state, yet the central target of human rights reform *is* the state, the only entity that has the capacity to provide the social and economic services increasingly at the center of human rights demands. Thus, even as human rights activists seek to mobilize international pressure against states, they are forced to focus on reforming states and encouraging them to develop mechanisms for policing internal human rights violations, such as human rights commissions. Even though such commissions are usually politically autonomous, they are nevertheless supported by states. Similarly, environmental and feminist activists protesting poisoning of their homes by U.S. military bases must critique international military relations while pressuring indi-

vidual states to clean up polluted land and water. Within the environmental devastation wrought by global militarism, Kirk demonstrates, relatively weak client states like the Philippines are less able to moderate pollution on and around bases than are stronger U.S. allies such as Germany.

Another aspect of space and borders is the impact of diasporic communities on the construction of nationalism at home. Such communities are often politically important, supporting movements in the home country such as the Hindu fundamentalists in India or the IRA in Northern Ireland. Diasporic communities send substantial funds and political support to reinforce an imagined nation, even as they themselves grow more distant from that nation. Portrayals of the continuing loyalty and enthusiasm of this community for the project of cultural nationalism support nation-building at home. Yano's analysis of Japanese nationalism in relation to the TV serial *Sakura* illustrates this process clearly. She argues that the figure of the young female Japanese American, with her enthusiasm for calligraphy and other symbols of national heritage and identity, is used to reinforce the value of Japanese-ness, even as Japanese nationals are becoming less enthusiastic about these practices and turning to the United States for cultural models. Yano shows how the diaspora looks back and celebrates the country of origin rather than disdaining it or returning with new ideas. Here, the diaspora is reappropriated in order to strengthen the center, not to pull away from it. Similarly, the ambivalent rhetoric of the government of the Philippines towards its migrants, as Parreñas shows, reveals efforts to recuperate the nation while encouraging the transfer of workers who will send home remittances. Thus the government praises migrants for their contribution to the nation, but at the same time criticizes women for abandoning their families. The state needs both mothers and remittances, so state officials at the same time encourage and condemn women's global labor.

Many of these essays focus on the renewed significance of borders under the impact of globalization. Borders become critical sites for the maintenance of the state as well as places of vulnerability. Thus, borders are places where state governance is threatened and at the same time strengthened, as they become sites of control. Movement is both allowed and limited. For example, as Maria Ibarra's analysis of Mexican domestic workers shows, low-wage immigrants may be permitted to enter a richer nation but they may be denied legitimate status, so that they become the ideal docile, low-cost laborers who perform useful work but cannot demand more pay. Complex hierarchies may emerge within the immigrant communities, relying on (rather than supplanting) cross-national networks of kin relations. Rural/urban boundaries take on an important role in regulating movement, a phenomenon Nancy Riley documents in China. Riley's essay shows how women's self-understanding as mothers in global contexts can reinforce the established power of multinational corporations, states, or men; the analyses of

Ibarra and Parreñas highlight women's creativity in negotiating global parenting, as women labor within kin networks to combine work in foreign sites with mothering at home. In all these situations, the inevitable porosity of boundaries threatens to undermine control and challenge the nation itself, leading to renewed efforts to manage the borders by increasing surveillance. Although much of the discussion of border controls examines the efforts of rich nations to stem the tide of poor immigrants, most of the movement of refugees across borders occurs among poorer countries or between cities and the countryside within an industrializing country. Here again, massive movement of populations across relatively porous borders creates new problems of people out of place: poverty, violence, and enormous demands on receiving areas to accommodate the migrants.

Thus, from a spatial perspective, globalization entails neither the elimination of boundaries nor their rigidification, but instead fosters a complicated porosity allowing certain kinds of movement while establishing new forms of control over those who move. Interactive global flows have clearly reshaped the labor market and the position of workers along with the place that gender, race, and class play in structuring the labor market. Price gives a dramatic account of the nature of women's labor force participation in India, showing how they cope with the limited work and income available to them, as they struggle to maintain a toehold in physically demanding construction work in the face of increasing mechanization of the labor process. Globalization has brought not a single pattern, but a diverse array of globally interconnected labor markets that work in relationship to each other, mediated by the spatial effects of partially controlled borders.

Meanwhile, media productions such as TV soap operas and films also move across boundaries, conveying ideas from elsewhere that both challenge national ideals and underscore the value of the nation and its culture. Transnational reform movements take place in increasingly globalized cultural spaces and similarly challenge national practices at the same time as they reinforce nationalism by focusing on the capacity of the state to control itself and provide benefits. Both Caraway's and Peach's essays critically explore the complex reform practices of global NGOs in relation to trafficking. Clearly, analyzing the movements of persons, ideas, and practices through space and across/around borders is a critical place to make inroads into understanding globalization. Borders are key ambiguous sites, areas of intensification of control and at the same time of a massive and widely recognized failure of regulation. They are central places of anxiety about control and sovereignty.

### **Voices and Bodies**

These essays attend carefully to voices of women in various Asian/Pacific settings and to the practices of production, reproduction, and representation that women create and that, in turn, create women.<sup>7</sup> They track competing articula-

tions and negotiations of the available cultural capital in specific local/global settings; raise important methodological questions about gaining access to subaltern voices through interviewing, participant observation, and interpretation; and interrogate complex resistance strategies that use resources made available by some aspects of globalization while challenging or evading other aspects.

As with space, globalization's temporalities have been compressed. Yet the particular convergences of historical time, as in the time of colonial conquest, and individual lived time, as in the time of child-rearing or aging, are impossible to grasp outside of specific social settings. Over the course of a lifetime an individual intersects with the global in various ways. Raiskin's study of Samoan literature illustrates this point dramatically, as the various characters pass through different phases in their own relationships to global forces, developing various identities as they do so. A focus on mutual (if politically uneven) interchanges of embodied voices challenges the myth that, before the headlong race of change we call globalization, there existed some kind of social precondition, a more stable and authentic or "traditional" way of life that has been inexorably swept away. Instead, Raiskin's interpretations of Samoan literature and Metaxas's analysis of changing health practices in Hawai'i emphasize that societies have always been changing and vulnerable to external influences. Transnational change is hardly new, even though its speed is increasing and its scope is expanding.

Globalization produces dramatic forms of change, often at a dizzying speed, often provoking collective anxieties, perhaps even moral panic. Such anxieties are temporally and spatially located, as are the strategies that emerge to resolve or deflect them. For example, a potent source of anxiety is fear of the dissolution of the nation, and of the proper subject positions upon which the nation depends, and its/their reconstitution as something other. There are also older anxieties about the capacity of immigrants to assimilate properly as well as the danger that they may succeed in doing so. Yano's study of Japan and its nationalistic soap opera, which relies heavily on a Japanese-American woman who celebrates Japan, sketches a popular public presentation of such anxieties as well as one route to overcoming them through official articulation of a properly national global subject.

Citizens and elites also express anxieties about the capacity of societies in this era of rapid change and global challenges to replicate themselves through child-rearing. Given conditions of family life and the pace of change, there is anxiety that young people will abandon the nation, even their families, and simply leave (at the same time that transnational movement is praised for the opportunities it offers). Anxiety can focus on whether adolescent girls can learn to discipline themselves, and how they can be disciplined when they cease following their parents' lead. The "delinquent" girls with whom Yau Ching works make use of global flows of information, consumption, and media in ways that make authorities very nervous, while



also giving the young women resources for their own troubled negotiations for power and respect. The new forms of discipline created by the globalizing state involve teaching habits of self-expression and self-governance, in draconian closed institutions if necessary, where young women are schooled to control their feelings and self-expression to become proper national and sexual subjects.

Given the significance of sexuality in global flows—as a kind of labor, commodity, marker of subject positions, qualification for marriage and kin relations, site of pleasure, and form of danger—anxieties and negotiations about sexuality abound. For example, there is a visible global preoccupation with masculinity as defined in action movies whose main story line travels easily across cultures and countries. Derné's examination of the film-viewing habits of nonmobile middle-class men in India finds that they often turn to foreign movies exalting aggressive masculinity. Anxieties about change and control often focus on women's bodies, leading to more stringent restrictions on dress and comportment. In more and more places around the world, women are expected to dress modestly, and mechanisms to control their sexuality seem to be on the increase, whether in the form of greater restrictions on movement in public spaces or increasing rates of risk of sexual assault. At the same time, global conditions of labor, persistent wars, and transnational family structures require/force/allow women to move around. Anxieties about women who appear to have escaped familial surveillance often generate increased desires to control women's sexuality. Enhanced anxiety about preserving women's virtue and governing their sexuality amplify concerns about prostitution, sexual assault, and trafficking. As the dichotomous gender binary fades in favor of more complex categories of sexual identity, including the contested emergence of global gay identities that Puri charts, and the shifting roles of *fa'afafine* that Raiskin finds in Samoan literature, shifting sexualities signify both opportunity and danger.

Global anxieties impact ideas about how to maintain personal and national security. Sometimes anxieties coalesce into moral panic, when a large number of people feel similar dis-ease. There are traces of moral panic throughout these studies of globalization and gender. Sometimes it emerges as apparently contradictory mandates, such as the Philippine government urging women to go and earn money and at the same time avoid leaving their families. Similar anxiety-producing contradictions inhabit Samoan stories relating colonial education to the maintenance of cultural traditions. The widespread concern about the trafficking of sex workers suggests another sphere in which anxieties abound and global citizens seem to feel out of control.

Nowhere are official expressions of anxiety about global flows stronger than in areas of military operations and "national security." Kirk's revealing exploration of the logic of the American military's environmental policies for its overseas bases documents the gendered patterns of U.S. security practices. In the

name of military readiness, oil is dumped into the ocean, toxic chemicals are flushed into fragile ecosystems, the health and well-being of local communities is endangered, and more environmentally careful practices are routinely ignored. By stressing militarization and demilitarization as ongoing global processes, requiring continuous, step-by-step maintenance, Enloe calls our attention to the enormous energy and pervasive anxiety that go into the maintenance of militarism. Teaiwa's analysis of the militarization of Oceania shows how local practices of masculinity can intersect with national and transnational military recruitment to create highly gendered opportunities and identities. The mobilization and deflection of globalizing anxieties about masculinity and security offer a fascinating window onto the diverse trajectories of globalization.

Multilayered attention to voice illuminates complex circumstances rather than flattening women's stories into single narratives or simple judgments. It is tempting to conflate voice and agency in an uncomplicated manner, but interviews, ethnography, and other qualitative feminist research methodologies problematize the relationship. As Anne McClintock (1993) argues with regard to global sex workers, collapsing distinctions among women's perspectives, actions, and situations leads to monolithic portrayals of their lives. Nuanced distinctions among voices, actions, and circumstances are crucial both to respecting the diverse experiences of women and to theorizing about those experiences in useful ways.

Riley's interviews with rural Chinese women working in an urban economic zone reflect the variety of experiences and agency the women express. She maintains that, while the conditions of their labor merit critique, it would be simplistic to view these women only as exploited workers. Their voices reflect considered labor choices and reveal reasons ranging from commitment to a better future for their children to longing for the latest fashionable clothing. Most importantly, Riley shows that these two desires are not necessarily mutually exclusive, and that sometimes the women she interviews are likely to express both sentiments simultaneously. Parreñas introduces a similar complexity in her investigation of the double standard for Filipina migrant workers as seen through a juxtaposition of interviews with their children and interpretation of the Family Code of 1987. Women are supposed to be both senders of remittances from abroad and stay-at-home mothers, an impossibility that ties state policy in knots while complicating women's labor. Through Parreñas's interviews we gain the perspective of the women's children, who view themselves as abandoned while still valuing and praising the attention from their mothers abroad. Ibarra also discusses long-distance families, interviewing mothers who are working as domestic help in Santa Barbara, California, and O'ahu, Hawai'i. These women have created networks to help themselves and each other and have invented job-sharing arrangements in order to periodically "go back home" to spend time with their families, an ingenious example of using global kin

networks to negotiate global labor markets. Yau also finds creative agency in her interviews with “troublesome” Japanese girls in a correctional institution. These girls see the authorities as troublesome and constitute themselves in more complex fashions. They resist the institution’s authoritarian regime by performing their “bad-girlness” for Yau’s cameras and (re)inventing themselves in her interviews.

Voices of men as well as women are critical for assessing global productions of gender consciousness. Derné’s interviews with middle-class men in India reveal how their sense of masculinity emerges from viewing foreign (western) films. The men’s voices show a strengthening of their attachment to a very conventional (and convenient) masculinity. The dyads feminists are working to problematize, including global/local, man/woman, and west/rest, are precisely those upon which the men rely. Both Parreñas and Derné reveal strategies by which men recruit global resources to maintain male privilege, even when those same resources are producing enormous changes in gender roles.

Interviews with activists and intellectuals reveal similar complexities of agency and voices. Puri places herself within the discourse on the “global gay,” both as an activist and as a researcher critically aware of her role as proprietor of an uncomfortable gaze on sexual otherness. Min discusses the subtle changes of Chinese terms for gender consciousness and feminist consciousness as mediated through her interviews with Chinese feminist academics. Kirk shows Okinawan, Korean, and Filipino women’s agenc(ies) through their accounts of protests against U.S. military imperialism and environmental destruction in their respective native lands. Raiskin holds a conversation with Sia Figiel’s novel, *where we once belonged*, locating sites in Samoa where indigenous knowledge is both acknowledged and devalued at the same time, encouraging us to understand the complexity of that duality, and applying it to our further reading. Teaiwa attends to complex and painful reflections by Samoans on their relations to the U.S. wars they help to fight. Finally, the interview with Enloe encourages us to welcome surprise and to harness that surprise by maintaining our curiosity about the complex contradictions characterizing women’s relation to global militarism. The qualitative research contained in this volume stems from that same feminist curiosity and in turn facilitates further questions and reflections. The voices in the following essays long to be engaged, to be both understood and questioned.

## Notes

1. We thank Steve Derné for offering this useful definition in his presentation in the first Women’s Studies Rockefeller colloquium at the University of Hawai’i in April 2001. While we are informed by the critical economic analysis of Palat (2004) and others, we enlarge the common emphasis on economics and technologies to include multiple sites of

globalization. We share this multiplication of globalizations with the “Globalization and Gender” issue of *Signs* (2001), but with an Asia/Pacific locus.

2. We share our focus on interdisciplinary process with Olds et al. (1999); but their essays focus primarily on economic dimensions and lack an engagement with gender. With Naples and Desai (2002), we insist on globalization as something that people *do*, and we attend to the daily lives and struggles of women negotiating global flows. Yet unlike Naples and Desai, we concentrate on Asia-Pacific settings and explore ways in which women’s global negotiations are sometimes complicit with, as well as resistant to, global hegemonies. We share the literary and cultural focus in Dissanayake, Yip, and Tam’s (2002) collection, while also incorporating economic and military factors.

3. We are indebted to earlier investigations of gender and globalization. Aguilar and Lacsamana (2004) combine a trenchant critique of neoliberal economic programs with attention to women’s political organizing. Yeoh, Teo, and Huang (2002) foreground feminist scholarship by geographers. Manderson and Jolly’s collection (1997) focuses primarily on sexuality. Rai (2001) looks at the gendering of development. Sarker and Niyogi De (2002) look specifically at gender in South and Southeast Asia, while Lim, Smith, and Dissanayake (1999) focus on gendering in culture and literature.

4. Strong analyses of globalization in particular geographic areas include: Merry (2000) (Hawai’i); E. Lee (Hong Kong); Young (Mexico); Zheng (China). Analyses that examine globalization, but lack significant attention to gender and sexuality, include Davidson and Weekley (1999); Rowley and Benson (2000); and Chiang, Lidstone, and Stephenson (2004).

5. Here we are indebted to Steger’s insistence on the “uneven, contradictory, and ambiguous nature” of globalization (2004: 1) and to Sassen’s decomposition of unitary categories in favor of “contradictory spaces characterized by contestation, internal differentiation, continuous border crossings” (1998: xxxiv).

6. Merry (2006) has found comparable links between the spread of global feminism as an ideology for thinking about violence and the development of government programs. The linkage between feminist ideologies and state policies in the global spread of human rights approaches to violence against women is documented in thirty-six countries by Weldon (2002).

7. With Enloe, we embrace a feminist curiosity requiring, as she explains, “listening carefully, digging deep, developing a long attention span, being ready to be surprised” (2004: 3). The nexus of gender with globalization has been the subject of numerous books and articles informing this collection. To name a few: Wichterich (2000), Chang (2000), and Ehrenreich and Hochschild (2002) all have a primarily economic/labor focus, as do Beneria (2003) (development economics), Parreñas (2001) (labor migration), and Bahramitash (2005) (neoliberal economic reform). R. Kelly, Bayes, Hawkesworth, and Young (2001) explore relations of globalization to democracy.