CHAPTER 4: THE IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION ON WOMEN’S NGOS
Introduction

One of the most important concepts and terms raised in different academic circles in the past few decades is the term 'globalization'. This term has received the attention of many thinkers and ideologists with different theoretical foundations and points of view. The term 'globalization' was first used in the Webster Dictionary in 1961 and since the beginning of 1990s, it received the serious attention of researchers as a scientific phenomena. Today, the academic society is facing thousands of writings and various meetings on globalization as their core of discussion. Globalization is one of the important and controversial issues of the contemporary world and many thinkers and scholars discuss the issue from various perspectives. So far, not much agreement is seen on globalization and many implications and interpretations are given for it in as much that for some people, the term is a vague term for the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century. However, what is certain is that no one has been able to deny the principle of this phenomena and its effects on human life in the contemporary world and the arguments are in fact on the various dimensions of globalization, its effects and consequences or quality. It goes without saying that in terms of broadness of concept and range of effects, globalization has been one of the most controversial and challenging issues in different areas of human knowledge in recent decades and every day, tens of books, papers and articles are published and new seminars are held concerning the topic of globalization. Perhaps, it would be possible to collect a variety of viewpoints, ideas and critiques on globalization under the general term of globalization literature.

It is true that globalization is a logical consequence of modernity itself because modernity, as it originated in the West, is inherently universalizing in nature. Indeed, with widespread tourism, migration and rising diasporic communities, cultures are

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1 Daryosh Akhvan Zanjani, Globalization and Foreign Policy, the Center for Foreign Policy Studies, Tehran 2004, p.47.
continually overlapping, and together with economic globalization, a fluid/hybrid
global culture has begun to emerge. Globalization, therefore, needs special attention.
True, globalization cannot be imagined without modernity. But then, it gives a new
meaning to modernity. It is the modernity of the post-Cold War/post-socialist era
characterized by the overwhelming power of the market, the information revolution,
and heightened social mobility.¹

Admittedly, the end of the Cold War, rather than the collapse of the Soviet Union,
eliminated the most organized military, economic and ideological challenge to the
unfettered expansion of postwar globalization by the United States' powerful elite
through the world capitalist market. This reality, along with the quantum leap in
technology and communications, has brought the spatial limits of the entire world
within this homogenized version of globalization through the world market, with one
hegemonic power now also encompassing the cultural domain. This is historically
unique. So that, historically, while the process of globalization is not a new
phenomenon, what is new in the post-Cold War era is its pace and scale, range and
extent, and also, its techniques of enforcing the rules of the game.²

One may regard globalization as the latest stage of capitalism, with the major
institutions of economic globalization being the MNCs, the World Bank, the IMF,
the WTO, the U.S. Treasury and indeed the Ministries of Finance of an increasing
number of states. Economic globalization has its detractors and its enthusiasts. The
enthusiasts claim that economic liberalization of prices, trade and financial markets
will lead to domestic and foreign investment, economic growth, employment
generation, and higher standards of living. The detractors point out that it leads to
cut-throat competition, reduced social spending, widening income gaps, growing
inequalities, and rising unemployment. Feminists point out that in either case, it
devolves upon women to provide both productive and reproductive labour, often

¹ Avijit Pathak, op.cit., pp.6-7.
² Aswini K. Ray, Globalization and Democratic Governance, The Indian Experience, Postcolonial
Political Economy, in Catarin Kinnvall and Kristina Jonsson, Globalization and Democratization in
with inadequate or no remuneration, and with few social rewards. Of course, some women do fare well with economic globalization, but the available evidence shows that there is a serious downside to the global shift from Keynesian to neo-liberal economics.¹

Today, globalization has become a commonly used term in media, business, economic, politics and intellectual societies. The frequent use of this term in different disciplines of social sciences, such as political science, international relations, communications and economics has led to various definitions and interpretations of the term.

Definitions of Globalization

The term 'globalization' has been used in a multiplicity of senses. Concepts like the global interdependence of nations, the growth of a world system, accumulation on a world scale, the global village, and many others, are rooted in the more general notion that the accumulation of capital, trade and investment is no longer confined to the nation-state. In its most general sense, globalization refers to cross-national flows of goods, investment, production and technology. For many advocates of the globalization thesis, the scope and depth of these flows have created a New World Order, with its own institutions and configurations of power that have replaced the previous structures associated with the nation-state.²

Globalization has many definitions. We will quote some definitions in this part. As David Held (1999:483) puts it, Globalization is a process or set of processes which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions, generating transcontinental or inter-regional flows and networks of

¹ Valentine M. Moghadam, *Globalization and Women in the Middle East*, in *Middle Eastern Women on the Move: Openings for and the Constraints on Women's Political participation in the Middle East*, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Middle East Project, 2003, p.75.

activity, interaction, and power. People and countries with similar cultures have been coming together and yet people with different cultures have been and still are moving apart. Political boundaries are increasingly redrawn to coincide with cultural boundaries, that is, ethnic, religious, and civilizational.

Globalization has activated a host of processes that were either non-existent or in a passive mode in the past. International, transnational and non-governmental organizations have become the major conduits for penetration and diffusion of global products, values and processes. Of course, such development has been aided by the expansion of neo-liberal policies advocated by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, by encouraging borrowing countries to privatize their state enterprises, liberalize their markets and deregulate their economies. These processes have contributed to the development of local organizations, micro-communities and small businesses in the developing countries, thus helping the processes of localization of global demands initiated by the international agencies. ¹

Globalization, a historical process, encapsulates a vision of shared universal values, goals and measures to advance society. Hence, globalization is not a homogenous process, and, indeed, needs to be re-conceived to encapsulate and integrate universal and specific, varying and multiple, local identities and values of diverse societies. This demands re-thinking the goals and strategies of globalization to create a borderless world while retaining and nurturing sharply contrasting, possibly conflicting values, which can minimize disintegration of nations and societies and embrace diversity. Both state and non-state institutions, including international, regional and civil society, encompassing non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and protest movements, have a role in grappling with and moulding this process. ²

Globalization is a relatively new idea in the social sciences, though some commentators argue that what the term denotes is an ancient or at least not novel set of phenomena (see Giddens, 1990; Robertson, 1992; Waters, 1995). Major transnational corporations are the most important and most powerful globalizing institutions in the world today, and by virtue of this fact they make capitalist globalization the dominant form of globalization. This does not mean, however, that it is the only form of globalization.

The central feature of the idea of globalization current in the social sciences is that many contemporary problems cannot be adequately studied at the level of nation-states, that is, in terms of national societies or inter-national relations, but that they need to be theorized in terms of globalizing (transnational) processes, beyond the level of the nation-state.\(^1\)

**Dimensions of Globalization**

Is globalization an old or a new phenomenon? Those convinced of the former maintain that the capitalist economy has, since its inception, continuously increased in geographical scope, always encompassing what at any given time constituted the world. It is only now that the economic reach is truly global, but this does not in principle challenge the continuity claim.

There are four aspects of globalization, although the last two are on occasion combined into one. Economic globalization refers to the familiar technological advances in communications and transportation technology, enabling the easing of international exchange (Frieden and Rogowski, 1996). Political globalization addresses the adjustment of nation-states to this new environment, primarily the

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extent to which these entities can still fulfill their function of providing public goods. However, political globalization is not only a more or less inevitable consequence of its economic component, but is also its cause. The free flow of financial transactions is not conceivable without states relaxing capital controls; technological advance is a necessary but by no means sufficient condition for the advent of the global economy. Social globalization traces the winners and losers of globalization within and across societies. Finally, cultural globalization assesses whether and, if so, to what extent, individuals might shift their loyalties from their home countries to some other sub- or supra-national entity. ¹

Globalization today involves the increasing interdependence of national economies, financial markets, trade, corporations, production, distribution, and consumer marketing. This globalization process is driven by two mainsprings. The first is technology, which has accelerated innovation in telematics, computers, fiber optics, satellite and other communications, and their convergence with television, global multimedia, electronic bourses for trading stocks, bonds, currency, commodities, future options, and other derivatives; and the global explosion of e-commerce and the Internet. The second is the fifteen-year wave of deregulation, privatization, liberalization of capital flows, opening of national economies, extension of global trade, and the export-led growth policies that followed the collapse of the Bretton Woods fixed currency-exchange regime in the early 1970s. As the Soviet Union and its state-commanded economy crumbled, the wave of experimentation with deregulating global markets became known as ‘The Washington Consensus’, that is to say, the dominant Western economic paradigm promoted by the United States (US), the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and their dominant schools of academic economists on both sides of the Atlantic.

¹ Ibid., pp. 2-3.
Today's globalizations are new, and they are leading to the radical restructuring of national economies and societies. Spanish sociologist Manuel Castells’ three-volume work, *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture* (1998), is praised by many leading theorists, including Anthony Giddens of the London School of Economics, as the most compelling attempt yet made to map the contours of the global information age. Castells states: “A new world is taking shape in this end of the millennium. It originated in the historical coincidence around the late 1960s and mid-1970s of three independent processes, the information technology revolution, the economic crisis of both capitalism and statism, and their subsequent restructuring, and the blooming of cultural social movements, such as libertarianism, human rights, feminism, and environmentalism... the interactions between these processes and the reactions they triggered brought into being a new informational / global economy and a new culture”.

The Economic Dimension of Globalization

Globalization is interpreted basically as a free flow of goods, services, knowledge, and labour. It is built on the theory of free trade, which in turn is built on the economic model of perfect competition. These theories basically argue that the most efficient method of running the economy, maximizing resources and maximizing benefits is by allowing factors of production, in this case including services and knowledge, to move freely to take their positions within that maximizing model.

Globalization of economies has been recommended and pursued under a so-called market economy which gives pride of place to what is called sound finance, to the

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exclusion of the fundamental needs of the society. It is a truism that to keep forging ahead requires integrating with the rest of the world.¹

Globalization means expansion and deepening of bonds and counter-relations at the world level; however, in economic terms, globalization has its own concept. Economic globalization means that the process of distribution and production of goods and services is carried out in a global level with no regard to the geographic-political borders; therefore, globalization of economics means global factories, global managers, management organization at a global level, technology that could be used across the world and banking, financial, insurance, transportation...services at a global level. The results of this situation could be described as the changes which have passed its high acceleration stages in the recent decade and are still continuing, establishing a situation (or has already made it in limited range) where national products, national technology, national companies and national industries would not exist any more. Almost all production factors such as money, factories and machinery pass borders easily. Globalization of economy emphasizes on the borderless nature of economic flows; the result of this situation is loss of power to order national economics and a global economic system replaces it.²

In many theories and definitions on globalization, the economic element of the process is emphasized in a way that shows many theoreticians believe the economic aspect to be the dominant aspect of the process. In historical terms too, the priority and superiority belongs to the globalization of economy.

Globalization of economy itself contains different aspects and ranges, each being the cause of establishing different indexes of globalization. The most important of them are:

A. Globalization of trade:

Development of world trading organizations should be known as a symbol of the globalization of economy in the trading aspect.

B. Foreign investments:

Increase in foreign investment accelerates world trading and at the same time with foreign investments, other forms of capital circulation have been made. In any event, unprecedented increase in the financial transactions at the global level and capital flow are basic aspects of globalization of economy and should be known as an effective factor on the structure of political systems.

C. International work division:

This is one of the aspects of globalization of economics. Some theoreticians talk about a 'new international work division' instead of the traditional form of work division that requires international class systems. In the new international work division, producing goods is divided into stages and each part of the world may possess some part which is the result of the most profitable outcome of the combination of capital and work.

D. Free market economy:

One of the aspects of globalization is the globalization of the competitive free market.

E. Multi-national companies: These companies are the pioneers of economic globalization. The existence of these companies and their production is not limited to the company and different production representatives in different countries produce goods and services based on the direct foreign investments. The systems of this type of companies use the advantages of the workforce and inexpensive sources of less developed countries.

F. Organizational change: Changes in the organizational conditions of the economic actors that are effective in the globalization process is another important and effective aspect of globalization in economy as experienced in different parts of the world in various shapes. Using models such as Fordism or Taylorism that make new organization for economic changes through lowering the cost and expenses, increase the products and large-scale savings in the utilization of capital.
facilities...the Japanese organizing model that later received serious attention by researchers have examined different aspects of the model in cultural respects.

G. Migration of workforce: Today, in addition to the transfer of goods, money and capital, there is an increasing number of people who leave their countries to find jobs.

The series of the above-mentioned factors and elements shall be considered as important aspect of globalization of economy that could affect democratization of the political systems structure.¹

Globalization has been described as the gradual elimination of economic borders and the concomitant increase in international exchange and transnational interaction (Dolan, 1993). Increasing globalization is manifested in various ways. These include increased collaboration between companies in production and research, greater use of international financial markets, spatial spread of production activities to utilize local cost advantages and gain access to new markets, increased intra-firm trade and trade in semi-finished parts, increased mergers and acquisitions and greater use of the international labour market for specialized and senior management staff (Gibson, 1994).² Consistent with the contradictory nature of globalization, the impact on women has been mixed. One feature of economic globalization has been the generation of jobs for women in export-processing, free trade zones, and world market factories. This has enabled women in many developing countries to earn and control income and to break away from the hold of patriarchal structures, including traditional household and familial relations. However, much of the work available to women is badly paid, or demeaning, or insecure; moreover, women’s unemployment rates are higher than men’s almost everywhere. The feminization of poverty is another unwelcome feature of economic globalization. Worse still is the apparent growth in trafficking in women, or the migration of prostituted women.³

¹Globalization and Democracy in Iran, op.cit., pp.93-99.
³Globalization and Women in the Middle East, op.cit., pp. 75-76.
The Political Dimension of Globalization

Political globalization refers in part to an increasing trend toward multilateralism and transnational political activity, in which the United Nations plays a key role, national non-governmental organizations act as watchdog over governments, transnational advocacy movements increase their activities and influence, and moves are made toward the establishment of an International Criminal Court. Some have called this the making of a global civil society, while others have raised concerns about the continued political power of the countries of NATO and OECD. Political scientists and sociologists have pondered the prospects of the nation-state and national sovereignty in a context of regionalization and globalization in which international financial institutions and other institutions of global governance have increasing power over national economics and state decision-making.¹

The phrase ‘the purpose of globalization of politics’ means that the issues and subjects which belonged to the internal range and sovereignty of governments finds more global dimension as time passes. Some issues such as migration, destruction of environment or arms and ammunition have a natural global quality; however, some others such as the Tiananmen Square crisis find global dimensions automatically due to several pressures on them by the governments, transnational corporations, non-governmental organizations and universal communication systems.

National sovereignty which forms the foundation of the state model has been facing changes under the effects of globalization and has lost some of its former requirements. For this reason, those political systems that look at globalization from a traditional viewpoint would inevitably face problems and become vulnerable. Globalization of policy includes different aspects and ranges and each of them causes different indexes of globalization. The most important of the indexes are:

¹ Ibid., pp.75-76.
A. Globalization and state: The most important political aspect of globalization is its effect on the state as universal phenomena a with few centuries of history behind it. Some people believe that globalization is essentially, in political terms, freedom of social affairs from the domination of the government. They believe that globalization lowers the authority and autocracy of the governments. Some others believe this phenomena diminishes and holds back national governments, while and some go further and declare the extinction of national government as a result of globalization.

In turn, some writers do not believe in the weakening of states as a consequence of globalization and say that even by globalization, the core role of the movements are maintained and they still stand as the main organizing force. Some others with no focus on the discussion of the survival or fall of governments pay more attention to the changes in the source of supervision and believe that following globalization, the focus of supervision is transferred from national governments to the governmental and semi-governmental or trans-governmental organizations. In other words, the governments will survive but their ruling method will be significantly different.

B. Globalization of politics and new political actors: These new political actors have been effective both in the inter-governmental dimension in terms of establishment of groups and ethnic, regional and provincial organizations and in transnational dimensions, by establishing transnational organizations and institutes that are divided into two classes: inter-governmental trans-national organizations and the non-governmental international organizations.

C. Common problems and issues of people on earth: There are common problems and issues among people that go beyond their nationality, race and ethnic and are effective in the collective destiny of human. One of the aspects of globalization of politics is the special attention to those issues. Although many of the issues have a long history in human civilization, attention to and discovering the importance of some of them, such as environmental problems, could be known as characteristics of the globalization of politics.

D. Human rights: Human rights are the most important common issues among the human societies and most people admit the place and importance of those rights.
Serious attention to human rights and raising it as one of the most important issues of today's world could be known as a characteristic of globalization. The point that each individual has some rights which are specific for human beings and shall be protected against the invasion of the sovereignty of governments and other powers has an older history than the new wave of globalization; however, the new attention to this concept as a general and transnational principal and efforts in adopting systems beyond governments to protect those rights should be considered as a result of globalization.

*E. New political culture:* One of the important aspects of globalization is its effects on and being affected by the political culture. Before this, the existence of cultural-identity borders that were strengthened by the interference of governments caused serious variation and differences in cultures among nations and groups; however, globalization made those borders less significant and helped in penetration through national borders in order to change people's culture, making it more independent from states. That is, globalization tries to establish a type of common political culture among all human beings. Theories such as Fukuyama's end of history show this viewpoint that the world is moving towards a single political culture that, in his view, was nothing more than the Western liberal-democracy. Political culture is an essential aspect of the globalization of politics. In any event, globalization causes a kind of unity in political culture and propagates common values such as peace, justice, equality, freedom, democracy, free competitions and elections as common values of all human kind. The cultural analogy in the global level is an effect of globalization of culture.¹

**The Social and Cultural Dimension of Globalization**

Cultural globalization refers, in part, to worldwide cultural standardization as in Coca Colanization and McDonaldization. The various aspects of globalization have promoted growing contacts between different cultures, leading partly to greater

¹ *Globalization and Democracy in Iran*, op.cit., pp.100-105.
understanding and cooperation and partly to the emergence of transnational communities and hybrid identities. But globalization has also hardened the opposition of different identities. This has taken the form of, inter alia, reactive movements such as fundamentalisms, which seek to recuperate traditional patterns, including patriarchal gender relations, in reaction to the Westernizing trends of globalization. Various forms of identity politics are the paradoxical outgrowth of globalization.¹

Globalization of culture has different aspects and dimensions, a part of them are as follows:

A. Development of communications

At the same time as with the development of communications, changes took place. Waters names five processes in this path: 1. shrinking in terms of decreasing the size of mass media, 2. personalization, meaning making the range of mass media use more private and limited every day, 3. integrity, meaning application of microchips for transmission of sound, image, text...4. Broadcasting, meaning increase in access to mass media technology, 5. Independence seeking, meaning increasing expansion in the independence of media users from the media rulers and the possibility of having a wider chance to choose.

B. Consumerist attitude: One of the core characteristics of globalization of culture is the universality of the consumerist attitude. Purchasing is the central core of the consumerist code and has become a part of the routine life of people. The consumerist culture encourages people to consume more than their vital needs so the capital accumulation could be continued. Consumerism has cast its influence on all parts of the contemporary world and for most people of the earth; it has become a serious necessity.

Globalization has a strong relationship with consumerist. That is, it has expanded it; in addition, the trend to consume more is affected by new global technologies such as aircrafts, tourism and advertisements, which have also a significant role in the expansion of consumption.

¹ Ibid., p.76.

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Therefore, consumerist culture as one of the basic elements of capitalism has changed into one of the most axial elements of the globalization of culture. This shall be known as one of the cases where capitalism has been successful in affecting the globalization process and by changing the structure of people's needs, changes them in the direction of accumulation of capital.

Consumerist culture as the most universal aspect of global culture has changed into a factor in the homogeneity of local and regional cultures. Another point is the American identity of this culture that emphasizes the expansion of the consumption attitude more than any other factor. Globalization of the consumption of products such as McDonald fast food, Coca-Cola, Hollywood pictures, Walt Disney, Gillette, and so on are all examples of the globalization of consumption in its American form.

In facing the globalization waves, the ethnic groups have showed one of the two reactions. They either yielded to diminishing and dissolving the local culture or resisted by maintaining their traditions. In this way, the effects of globalization were not necessarily a deleting process but on the contrary, has sometimes led to their strength and survival. Therefore, globalization should not be taken as equal to the omission of ethnic groups and localization; but instead, sometimes, it revives them against nations too.

Despite this, the movement towards a single global culture based on consumerism, development of communication and mass media imbued by a more American nature is an inevitable truth.

It is true that cultures have their own specific contexts: ethnic communities, linguistic groups, religious associations, territorial boundaries and even modern nations. It is also true that cultures do have an immense power of resilience. Cultural boundaries are not like iron walls. Instead, cultures often meet, interact, overlap and overcome ethnic, linguistic, and territorial boundaries. In modern times we have witnessed a sustained interaction of cultures, leading to the dissemination of the
discoveries in science, liberal democracy and nationalism all over the world. Because of this ongoing interaction, Urdu and English, Christmas and Id, tea and Mughlai food, and cricket and cinema have become integral components of cultural practices in India. Cultures are continually expanding their horizons.¹

In the formation of a global environment caused by the compressed space and time of today, the fall of borders and limited or relatively traditional atmospheres, clashes of cultures can result in the dominance of the universal culture: and some resist seriously, while others submit to a peaceful co-existence and as a group, choose dialogue and cultural exchanges. In the time of globalization of culture, cultural specialization based on ethnic schools of thought, religion, or a combination of them, appear and some even take radical shape. The Aecom, Zapatistas, fundamentalists, Jewish fundamentalist and racist groups are in this class.²

In his discussion on globalization, Robertson, while emphasizing the compression of time and place as the characteristics of this phenomena, addresses the idea of global knowledge and its intensity in the course of globalization and in this way, believes in a special place for the cultural dimension of globalization. In this way, the cultural dimension of globalization receives special attention as the basis of the formation of globalization. In its absence, it would not be possible to imagine other dimensions of this phenomena.³

Effects of Globalization

Malcolm Waters suggests that globalization has essential effects in three arenas: economic, political and cultural. In the economic arena, it affects social systems of

¹ Avijit Pathak, op.cit., pp.6-7.
production, distribution and consumption of goods and services; in the political arena, it affects systems of centralization and enforcement of power, and; in the cultural arena, it affects social systems of production and exchanges of symbols that represent the realities, feelings, concepts, beliefs, priorities and values of human beings.

One of the political arguments of globalization theorists has been that a diffusion of democratic institutions, or the democratization of existing institutions, accompanies the growth of free markets. This process has unfolded at various levels. One has been a widespread trend towards decentralization of government that for the most part can be traced back to initiatives from above and within the state apparatus. In theory, if not in practice, this process has created some of the mechanisms and conditions (local power) for popular participation in public decision-making (Veltmeyer 1999a). However, the critics of decentralization point to the lack of control by local authorities over the allocation of funds and the design of a macroeconomic policy, and to the undemocratic nature of the selection of local officials. Another dimension of the (re) democratization process has been a shift away from military regimes and unconstitutional governments, and towards civilian regimes formed within the institutional framework of liberal democracy.¹

Most noticeable has been the advance of citizen organizations and movements, now a distinct third sector in the world, holding the private and public sectors more accountable. More access to information has helped empower citizens, increase consumer choice, and empower employees and socially responsible investors. The information society has created new winners and has metamorphosed into an age of truth. Corporations are learning that ‘green washing’ does not work for long. Politicians find themselves more accountable for shady dealing and dubious contributions to their election campaigns. Grassroots citizens’ campaigns can go global, as did Jubilee 2000, which is now in forty countries and has changed the

¹ James Petras and Henry Velmeyer, op.cit., pp. 22-23.
thinking of governments, central banks, and economists about the need to cancel unrepayable and illegitimate debts of the poorest countries. A new identity is emerging, that of the global citizen, even before the arrival of global governance structures.

Other positive aspects of today's uneven globalization are the rapid proliferation and sharing of concepts of sustainable development, commonly defined as development which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. Innovative ideas for greener technologies, local sustainability, homegrown economics, community-contract organic agriculture, local currencies and barter systems, micro-credit, and new indicators beyond GNP are all transmitted at web-speed. Never has it been easier to share visions of reshaping our societies and global economy on principles of social justice, citizen participation and ecological awareness.

Stiglitz says: 'Globalization has brought huge benefits to a few with few benefits to the many'.¹ Cultural diversity is now a fact of life in today's 'global village'. Many people have been experiencing the negative effects of the globalization process. Towards the end of the last completed century, there have been some protest movements against globalization and the new-world economic, political, cultural, technological, and religious order, and the way the pros and cons of a new global world have been assessed.²

The Negative Consequences of Globalization

To illuminate the discussion, first the viewpoints of opponents of civil global society on the negative consequences of globalization are discussed and more details on their arguments are given. The opponents of globalization in Europe and America

¹ Devaki Jain, op.cit., p.17.
² Sotshangane, Nkosinathi, op.cit., pp. 214-220.
find their addressees among different classes of people in the world and the groups of people who have always fought against injustice are now gathered in the following groups to protest against globalization:

1. Labour groups and syndicates (due to the migration of capital, lowered job opportunities and employment, import of cheap goods, difficulty in selling agricultural and industrial products and lowering purchase power).

2. Environmentalists that believe capitalism looks at the environment from a profit-loss viewpoint and that his mercantilist view in practice damages nature significantly. They believe that globalization has enabled the multi-national companies escape national restrictions. In addition, as a result of globalization, multi-national companies have dominated over the third world countries. As an example, Shell Oil Company forced Nigerian government to execute one of the environmental activists of this country, Ken Saro Wiwa.

3. The European farms and their representatives in the Seattle movement.

4. Free groups and anarchists such as pressure groups that oppose any social orders.

5. Social movements.

6. Poor countries and their supporters.\(^1\)

A. Harmful Economic Effects

In fact, one of the criticisms expressed by NGOs about the globalization process is that globalization causes unjust distribution of activities and incomes in the world.\(^2\) Since the collapse of communism and from the time when the West suggested its marvellous economic treatment to the Soviet Union, more than 150 million population of the ex-Soviet Union were doomed to taste poverty. Along the unjust distribution of economic activities across the world, global incomes have

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\(^1\) Kiyapoor, op.cit., pp.138-9.

become unfair.\textsuperscript{1} Based on the estimations of the critiques of global system, each year, due to unequal work divisions, a loss of billions of dollars is incurred by the peripheral countries, sometimes at least twelve billion dollars loss for such countries. The consequences of this issue and the expansion of globalization led to the division of people in some countries into two classes of the poor and the rich. The middle income class people who play an important role in maintaining political and social stability is shrinking every day. The absence of a vast middle income class is a serious risk to democracy in those countries and makes them unstable. Another reason for opposing globalization in the economic aspect is the growth of unemployment. The free trade policies lead to shrinking or closure of firms that try to produce to replace imports. In this way, in the process of such activities, the unemployment rate increases. The possibility of increase in the unemployment rate, instability of insurance services and bank interests and failure of heavy industries as well as decrease in the power of governments to enforce supervision on economic relationships are among the major reasons that make some policy-makers hesitant to follow policies that lead to economic freedom.\textsuperscript{2}

\textbf{B. Harmful Political Effects}

In the political philosophy aspect, theories expounded by the eighteenth-century philosophers as modern policies (such as modern government, modern society, industry, nationalism and socialism), which led to the French and American revolutions, underwent basic changes under the pressure of the vast power of globalization. The victory of the market and extensive development in globalization, have made clashes between capitalism and democracy inevitable. Capitalism ends to the centralization of wealth and economic tools in the hands of a minor group and their domination over the majority of the population in the world. Of course, the global capitalism forces, for the time being, support expansion of the democractic

\textsuperscript{2} Kiynapoor, op.cit., pp.144-146.
framework to be used as a support for establishing a single global civilization, because democracy with its institutions and organizations has become an attractive system and is imitated in many parts of the world, even among the enemies of West. However, democracy and freedom of the market, in the absence of balance and the procedure of controlling the potential of free trade, will inevitably lead to their clash. Due to the existing contrast between the contents of democracy and liberalism, there is no way one of them can leave in favour of the other one. Globalism has practically allowed the concept of market economy to dominate over democracy, the result of which is an increase in poverty and unemployment, lack of social correlation, political instability, increase in rate of crimes, insecurity and destruction of environment.¹

C. Harmful Cultural Effects

Critics believe globalization is the cause of the destruction of local traditions, the cultural dominance of rich nations' cultures over poor regions and an analogy of culture and routine life. They describe the quality of penetration of global economic, political and cultural forces in establishing a new global culture. The rise of this culture could be taken as one of the important characteristics of globalization and in other words, localization could be better seen in the domain of culture. This culture, alongside tragic expansion of capitalism and new political and transnational organizations, computer and technology information have been born. A part of this culture has aggressively flourished in a consuming society with the perspective of goods and services, abundance of media technologies (which visualized the dreams of Marshal Mc Lohan and his global village), consumption, production, identity, expansion of private cabling systems and satellite systems that have expanded the trade market across the entire world. Principally, culture is a local and unique force which distinguishes people and societies. Culture provides the forms of local identities, functions and mode of life in order to make a barrier against the invasion

¹ Ibid., p.155.
of thoughts and identities and resist against peripheral issues and problems. Today, the global force has penetrated into the local cultures and has made a new form of colonialism and resistance cultures, global homogeneity and identities and local overlapped structures. On the other hand, by expanding new media, information technology and cybernetic spaces, globalization has gone beyond the borders of time and place and has made a super culture. In fact, we are facing a new paradigm, the paradigm of cultural uniformity. The paradigm of global cultural uniformity emphasizes on the effects of commodity exchange in the global system of market. Based on this paradigm, the cultural differences vanish through replacement of local products with mass-produced goods. This stage of colonialism or the neocolonialism of non-Western countries is taking place through a new institutionalism of consumption which is frequently called Coca Colonialism. The trends leading to more global dependence lead to the collapse of all strong cultural identities. The cultural exchanges and global consumption among nations brings a ‘common identity’ among people who live far from each other in long distances and times, as they act as purchasers of goods, customs of one type of services, addressees of messages and symbols. Today, the dwellers of small and seemingly deserted villages of the third world countries are able to receive the messages and images of rich and consuming Western cultures in their private homes, linking those villagers to the global village of new communication networks. For example, jeans, that is, the uniform kind of pants in the culture of Western youth are worn in south Asia in the same manner as in Europe and USA. As social life is exposed to the images of global networks and communication systems, the identities go farther from time, place, history and tradition and can act more freely. The reason for this is the imbalanced current of cultural transactions between West and other parts of the world. Although global capitalism shows a picture of transhistorical and transnational phenomena and a perfecting, globalizing and modern force, in fact, this is just an act related to Westernization; that is, exportation of goods, values, priorities and life modes of Western countries. In the process of an unequal cultural encounter, the non-Western countries have no choice but to accept the domination of Western countries and obey them. The global networks of cultural distributions, with
events such as the Persian Gulf War, social trends, models and cultural phenomena such as Madonna, Rap music and Hollywood films, they make a type of ‘global people’. With respect to the value foundation of the East in the globalization process (homogeneity of values), in order to destroy differences and variety, the West would not use armed forces. Instead, it chooses the dimensions of local differences and challenges those that would help in the domination of the West, while it denies the legitimacy of the others. Since culture is the basis of communication of people in a group, society or world, it is also a tool for the dominance of a part of the same group or society in the world. John Esposito considers globalization as a synonym with Americanization and believes that there is a just concern and that is, perhaps many Europeans would not see any threats in Westernization, but instead, they see it as Americanization. American music, American movies, American relations and American viewpoints People such as Hanser consider globalization as a general global concept. Hanser classifies a few scenarios in the uniformity of cultures as follows:

1. The scenario of cultural humanity that narrates the full dominance of Western culture, including the Western lifestyle, consumption trends, values and norms. These processes are realized through the availability of similar goods in shops and chain stores, similar dramas performed in theatres, similar cars in streets and menus in restaurants, broadcasting similar movies in cinema, similar news in newspapers and similar programs and music in televisions.

2. The second scenario is the special feature of the previous process. It is called the saturation scenario in which, the time dimension is affected. According to this scenario, the peripheral places gradually and slowly absorb the cultural patterns of the centre and become saturated and in this way, in the long term Andover a short period of time, there will be no sign left of the local meanings, cultural forms, ethnic sensations and cultural feelings.
3. The third scenario is that of the peripheral consumption that reveals the destruction and alteration of Western culture in the process of taking in the peripheral. This process is delineated by Martin Winver, who states that the third world countries take the shape and face of Western civilization without accepting its requirements and conditions. George Riterz, who could be named as one of the most famous non-Marxist critics of the globalization idea, expresses a large part of his opposition to this process in the framework of the McDonaldization sociological phenomena which he has shown in other parts of the world in relation to the penetration of American culture.\(^1\) About the McDonaldization phenomena, Riterz says that the expansion and development of fast food (like the McDonald model) is a particular aspect of global culture which has already expanded and has found popularity in all places and different cultures. He calls this a symbol of the uncontrollability of the penetration and popularity of global culture models. In Ritzer's viewpoint, cultural patterns of fast food restaurants of the McDonald type are to empty cultures from the desirable and pleasant characteristics of preparing traditional and household food, loss of the homemade and emotionally evocative traditional spaces (home and old restaurants). In the new modes (the global branches of McDonald) services are provided with average and low quality. The encounters are not personal and the creation of a certain kind of atmosphere is dominant, with the serving of food that is not similar to that made at home. The fast food restaurants have penetrated everywhere, be it large cities, small cities, highways, universities, schools, airports, bus terminals, hospitals, or sports gymnasiums.

At the same time, the overall effects of McDonaldization can also be seen in all other aspects of social life, with McDonald derivations finding their way to newspapers, novels, and other spheres of social life. Extraction of the McDonald pattern has been common in banks, telephone companies and other everyday places of interaction. The invasion of American culture has led the 'symbol of gaining

personal prestige' towards issues that would trap the peripheral countries into consumption and staying away from production and creativity. The media criteria of social classification that urges the imitating peripheral nations to move towards changes in fashions in different aspects of life, such as using luxury goods. The large volume of power and wealth accumulated in the framework of multi-national companies breaks through governmental borders and national identities easily and subtly forces their values (neo liberalism) on the world. Those who are masters of the economic situation and give the people their daily bread as if in charity are doubtless able to make them accept their ways and impose on them their ideas on how to think, how to live and how to die. Death, life, love, hatred, beauty, ugliness, behaviour, values, norms and ultimately, culture are defined in such a process and dictated to the world.

Women and Globalization

The effects of globalization differ in different societies, developing countries, city and village and with respect to men and women. Among these, the effects of globalization have more depth and complexity in the case of women. If a positive view is taken, globalization has given a chance to women to overcome the lack of attention they faced during development and to use the chance for empowering themselves. Globalization has the characteristics of increase in knowledge, information and expansion of communications; therefore, it seems that globalization enables women to develop their potential and provides means for their presence in the society. The presence of women along with men, particularly in the political decision-making of the world, will play a major role. Opportunities such as the presence of women in economic and business activities, increase in the employment rate of women, lowered poverty, lowered birth rate, global division of work and new opportunities resulting from it, development of information and communication technology, expansion of attention to women's rights and expansion of NGOs are some trends that have benefited women. Along with these, however, are threats such
as expansion of unofficial, lack of job security, low wages, low food security, increase in marriage age, lowered role of women in education, expansion of consumer culture, expansion of women’s trafficking and exports and global sex trade, all of which comprise the main challenges faced by women in the whole world.

In the fierce undercutting that pits one country against another, the globalized woman is burnt up as natural fuel. She is the piece-rate worker in export industries, the worker living abroad who sends back foreign currency, the prostitute or catalogue bride on the international body and marriage markets, and the voluntary worker who helps to absorb the shock of social cutbacks and structural adjustment. The strategic function of the globalized woman, within the broader project of globalization driven by economics and politics, is the execution of unpaid and underpaid labour. This plays a significant instrumental role in the deregulation and worldwide restructuring of the job market, as well as in the cutbacks in social provision.

Women have been affected by globalization in the diverse aspects of their lives and in the furthest reaches of the world. The effects have been multiple and contradictory, inclusionary and exclusionary.

**Gender and Globalization: The Economic Dimension**

The various analyses of globalization reflect the difficulties of coming to terms with its multidimensional nature and containing it within the formal boundaries of theory and grand narratives. From the standpoint of developing countries, one of the main vehicles of globalization has been the implementation of structural adjustment and stabilization policies, carried out largely as a result of IMF and World Bank conditionality. These policies forced many developing countries into an economic and political straitjacket, so integrating them into the global process. The effects of
these policies on women have been profound and well analysed (see for example Afshar and Dennis 1991; Bakker 1994; Elson 1992b; Elson 1995; Singer 1991; Sparr 1994). As the consequences of structural adjustment have become institutionalized in the global development process, the coping strategies developed by women in times of crisis have now become embedded in their daily lives.

Structural adjustment has forced the pace of global integration through its emphasis on free trade and free markets, broadly defined as neo-liberal economic policies. It has led to a shift away from a state-led national approach to development, epitomized in many countries by the policy of import-substitution industrialization, to an open economy and free market approach. Female employment in global production has thus become more extensive.

Patriarchal structures within the labour force have not disappeared, but have been transformed through the changing demands of global capital. The combination of global integration and fragmentation has been facilitated by economic liberalization. Women's work is often insecure, temporary or part-time, with little protection and few fringe benefits. Female employment has long been concentrated in the informal sector, and gender segregation has cut across both the formal and informal sectors (Scott 1995). The removal of state regulations and changing production practices by large companies and transnational corporations facilitated significant changes in the gender division of labour and increased fragmentation in the processes of production. Deregulation of labour markets, fragmentation of production processes, deindustrialization, and new areas of export specialization have all generated an increased demand for low-paid, flexible female labour. Through outsourcing and subcontracting, women of all ages are often employed in smaller firms or workshops, or at home producing for transnational companies. The consequence has been an erosion of any separation between the formal and informal sectors as linkages between the two have been reinforced and changes have occurred in previous forms of gender segregation across different types of economic activity. Female labour is
thus increasingly integrated into global production, but in a fragmented form with contradictory consequences.

The fragmentation of the labour process combined with the feminization of labour markets has imposed new demands on women’s time. So the process of exploitation and gender division is perpetuated, based on the assumption that women’s time can extend infinitely (Elson 1992a). But it also institutionalizes the fragmentation of this provision, and thus women’s integration perpetuates their marginalization as an essential element within the new global structures. Structural adjustment generated the triple burden for women (Moser 1992), and globalization has reinforced its consequences. As state welfare systems have been disbanded, much provision has shifted onto unpaid female labour, community organization and/or the free market, necessitating money income. In the new global labour market based on low-paid, flexible work, poor households cannot depend on a single (traditionally male) breadwinner to survive (Standing 1989). Women have become an integral part of this liberalized labour market, but have simultaneously been marginalized within it as they have had to develop coping strategies for dealing with conflicting demands of fragmented insecure work, domesticity and community participation (Moser 1992).

The contradictory effects of globalization have been both empowering and disempowering for women (Afshar 1998; Rowlands 1997; Ward 1990). Frequently, the immediate employer is a kinsman or a relative, and the patriarchal politics of the family essentially prevent women from embarking on any form of active self-protection. However, the potential for new forms of resistance is emerging as women are drawn further into the global production process (Rowbotham and Mitter 1994; Ward 1990). Cross-country dialogue and alliances between networks of women activists and academics (Hale 1995) enhance a gendered approach to the global political economy. Increasing household dependence on female income-earning capacity helps to raise the status of women, giving them the potential for greater independence and empowerment (Afshar 1998; Afshar and Alikhan 1997;
Kabeer 1994; Rowlands 1997). However, changes in gender relations within the household often lag behind those in the labour force. There is a strong resistance on the part of men to accept the possible reversal of roles and domestic responsibilities. There is also a trend for men to migrate, nationally and internationally, in search of paid employment, thereby creating an increasing number of female-headed households (Chant 1997). The extent to which the globalization of the economy and its employment patterns have empowered women, or would in the long run, is open to discussion. Although there are benefits in gaining access to paid employment, the pay and conditions are often such that in the short run it is not easy to conclude that the majority of working women have necessarily benefited from the process (Afshar and Dennis 1992).

The impact of globalization on women has often been complex and contradictory, both in the context of their inclusion and exclusion. To be understood it needs to be analysed not only at the global level, but also at the local and household levels. Feminists have been disaggregating the specificities of women’s experiences in the context of the global process, but this work has yet to find its way into much of the core debate over globalization.

**Gender and Globalization: The Political Dimension**

The effects of globalization have been made more complex by the inability of states to defend their national interests and include any kind of explicit gendered politics. The global political economy, with international institutions and government and governmental agencies, dictate global political and economic terms, simultaneously demanding good governance and the retractions of state-funded welfare programmes.

What is left of the services of the state has been devolved to nationally and internationally funded, non-governmental agencies, frequently organized and run by
women. Grassroot organizations as well as development projects are much more likely to attract international funds if they are decentralized (Schuurman 1997: 151). As the state loosens its hold, an increasingly layered, multidimensional and overlapping system of governance is being developed locally to provide a level of protection for individuals, frequently against the policies of the national government, which is perceived as merely an agent of the global institutions (Mittelman 1994). Often the activists are women working with and for women, a process which has heightened the political profile and presence of women in the public arena. But many women activists are paying a high price for their struggles. Landed with the triple burdens of paid and unpaid work and political activism (Mose 1992), such women have to stretch the little time that they have even further (Elson 1992a) to fulfil all the moral and economic duties imposed on them by their kin (Afshar 1989). At the same time, the new burdens placed on non-governmental agencies have changed the nature of these organizations from small, egalitarian democratic units into larger organizations with new hierarchies, often without the appropriate career structures and organizational infrastructures. Once more, it is the time and the goodwill of women that is usually exploited.

Changing gender patterns of paid productive employment have, of necessity, led to renegotiation within the household. The burden on women has increased, and many women have not been able to continue their traditional role simply by virtue of their absence through paid employment. Gender has gained increasing importance because of the increased role of women as breadwinners. This has impacted on local communities, which have not responded or been able to respond in terms of provision of nurseries, crèches, etc., forcing an increased reliance on kinship and neighbourhood. The reconstruction of a fragile network of extended families also suffers from instability and economic insecurity, and the need to be mobile in search of employment opportunities. Different and shifting opportunities could erode or undermine the support of this network, which does not have the strength of traditional moral obligations to hold the kinship patterns together.
Fragmentation within the neo-liberal market economy has thus been accompanied by a similar political process and a hollowing out of the state. An approach that was formulated in the West to deal with the problems of post-Fordist working processes has been exported across the globe (Schuurman 1997; Singer 1991). The market has extended deeper into the functioning of women's lives. Traditional subsistence production has been undermined, entitlements and capabilities depend more and more on money income, and even the poorest in many developing countries are drawn into a fantasy world of global consumerism (Sklair 1991). Poverty is now often associated with those in insecure flexible, waged employment, those called the working poor. But many of the poor are sucked into a consumer-led debt spiral. When poor households are in debt, it is often women who make the bigger sacrifices, searching for work on any terms to keep the debt collector from the door, and at the same time reinforcing the triple burden women carry.

In some countries, women's social integration through the process of globalization has led to the potential for new forms of participation and empowerment. In some places, greater participation by women in the political and social process has helped to raise their awareness and level of activism. This is reflected in the growth of women's groups, community organizations run by women, and local NGO support for women's initiatives within developing countries (Rowbotham and Mitter 1994). These have often been fragmented, locally specific and frequently concerned with particular demands. They are neither homogeneous nor cohesive, but are nevertheless partly the outcome of women's collective responses to the impact of globalization.

In other cases, the process has led to a reaction against modernity and a variety of forms of revivalism. The failure of Westernization and modernization to deliver on its promise of universal prosperity has opened the arena for political discourse, where both men and women have come to express grave doubts about the validity as well as the social and economic sustainability of modernization. An important anomaly of the free market has been its corrosive effect on moral principles such as
the sanctity of marriage, motherhood and the family. Erosion of the social and economic standing of men and women and greater social instability have in some cases led to a reconsideration. This process has had different reactions in different contexts. In some case there has been some pressure on the state to give some consideration to the increasing numbers of marginalized people.

As changing gender relations have been a central aspect of the global process, some international organizations now give greater importance to gender. Significant amongst these has been the United Nations, which organized the Conference for Women in Beijing in 1995 (Krause 1996). Some states have also been forced to recognize the importance of gender, and elite women have succeeded in placing their rights and the states’ obligations at the heart of political discourse (Afshar 1998; Moghissi 1996). Responding to the political struggles of feminist and women activists, some developing countries have instituted women’s ministries or taken gender issues on board, at least formally, though often the practice is different from the rhetoric. As the debates on the nature of globalization exemplify, the role of the state in this process remains a problematic issue. The problems of legitimacy, the extent to which the state has or has not disappeared, and whether it can really deal with social issues, especially relating to gender, remains unresolved. This raises the question of whether the gender dimensions of state policies have really changed or have merely shifted onto a different plane.

Consistent with the contradictory nature of globalization, the impact on women has been mixed. One feature of economic globalization has been the generation of jobs for women in export-processing, free trade zones, and world market factories. This has enabled women in many developing countries to earn and control income and to break away from the hold of patriarchal structures, including traditional household and familial relations. However, much of the work available to women is badly paid, or demeaning, or insecure; moreover, women’s unemployment rates are higher than men’s almost everywhere. The feminization of poverty is another
unwelcome feature of economic globalization. Worse still is the apparent growth in trafficking in women, or the migration of prostituted women.

The weakening of the nation-state and the national economy similarly has contradictory effects. On the one hand, the withering away of the welfarist, developmentalist state as a result of the neo-liberal economic policy turn has a uniformly negative outcome for women, in developed and developing regions alike. On the other hand, the globalization of concepts and discourses of human rights and of women's rights, and the activities of international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) are emboldening women and creating space for women's organizations to grow at both national and global levels. In turn, this represents a counter-trend to the particularisms and the identity politics of contemporary globalization. Indeed, in my view, the one positive aspect of globalization has been precisely the proliferation of women's movements at the local level, the emergence of transnational feminist networks working at the global level, and the adoption of international conventions such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action of the Fourth World Conference on Women.¹

The Effects of Globalization on NGOs

Among major characteristics of modern times, one may call the changes in the role of national governments and creation of new actors in the global politics and economy. The duties which were assigned to the governments before are now entrusted to institutions and organizations, most often above the non-democratic state or nation. In such conditions, with respect to a lack of political construction that would fit the 'globalized world', it reminds us of the risk of weakening of the democracy, a new flourish of corporatism and a rapid movement towards a more

unjust world. Social transnational movements, particularly NGOs, could be considered as active actors in the civil society of the world which is taking form. The NGOs defend the rights of international citizens and put pressures on the governments for the realization of those rights. Despite their reformatory and slowing effects on globalization, they are still one of the main actors. In the globalization of decision-making or globalization from below. As the NGOs step into decision-making, the effects of governments and companies in international changes decrease; for, a new actor with new demands has stepped into the field. This new actor claims to be the voice of people and speaks for them. If such a claim is accepted, then we could see that via the NGOs, people have found a share in making decisions. This means that there are few macro decisions with no reflection of the peoples' voice in it. The reflection of the people's voice in decision-making brings decisions out of the vertical state (participation of governments, governmental organizations and multinational companies) and finds a horizontal shape. (The NGOs as representative of public opinions have a share in decision-making. Now, by the NGOs serious step into the international arena, the decision- and policy-making come out of the monopoly of governmental institutes and organizations and will be affected by the NGOs as well. One may say that as globalization continues in the economic, culture, decision-making and policy-making on important and different international issues take a global aspect. Today's international system is facing a greater number of actors more than any other time; the actors that are either representative of more than one government or protect the interests of a special group. The broad spectrum and range of interest have led to a variety of non-governmental actors who work in different fields. A number of the fields of activities have appeared as a result of the disappearance of ideological clashes of the Cold War; however, no doubt, as the process of globalization intensifies, the NGOs' power would improve. This in turn leads to increase in the interference of the mentioned actors in political issues with no precedent. Changes in the number and type of non-governmental actors are in a close link with the weakness of states. In any event, the rapid increase of NGOs in various ranges in internal and international levels is one of the signs and the key index in globalization. One of the serious
effects of globalization is paying attention to NGOs and independent institutes along with state and governmental actors in the international field. This has contributed to the expansion, variety and increase in the number of organizations in the range of national governments and since the NGOs constitute an important foundation in a civil society and help strengthening democracy in these societies, many defendants of gradual social changes support the idea of a global civil society made of different types of NGOs as the 'third section' and believe it as being an advantage to dominate the colonialism and autocracy of a government in the market. The NGOs which are effective in civil society play an important role in legitimating the authority of governments inside and the authority of international institutes at the world level. Therefore, globalization on one hand strengthens the organizations and NGOs in the national and transnational levels and on the other hand, these organizations help in the improvement of democracy in both levels. Globalization has contributed to the expansion of NGOs at the national and transnational levels. These organizations, which have been established by focusing on subjects such as human values and the fundamentals of democracy, have been playing an effective role in strengthening democratic movements and in the growth of the participating political culture in the societies. Therefore, globalization in its different dimensions and aspects could be effective in making grounds for the expansion of democracy and the growth of its indexes. The amount and quality of effectives varies as per the conditions and existing grounds in any society. In any event, the increase in the number of NGOs, whether in terms of the number of the variation and range of activities, is one of the effects of globalization.

Globalization From Below and Above

Women have organized themselves in response to the hegemonies of global capital. Their new political presence has been defined alternately as global civil society (Waterman 1998), or globalization from below (Falk 1993). While some analyses see these scattered counter-hegemonies as ineffective against the
hegemonizing presence of global capital (e.g., Sklair 1991), others celebrate the new
global solidarities (e.g., Brecher, Costello, and Smith 2000). As I have shown,
however, the important point is that global capital is not unchallenged. Many
resistance strategies embody a radical critique not just of global capital but also of
pre-existing social inequalities based on race, class, gender, sexuality, and
nationality. Many activist women’s efforts focus, to varying degrees and in various
ways, on developing concrete economic alternatives based on sustainable
development, social equality, and participatory processes, though such economic
initiatives have not been as successful at the transnational level (Basu 2000a). These
counter-hegemonies have succeeded in transforming the daily lives of many women
at the local level.¹

Conferences provide the ambiguously alternative global social movements with
an equally ambiguous space in which to discover, collectively construct and organize
themselves. In so far as the social movement and NGO activists are overwhelmingly
from the (university) educated middle classes, they represent a globalization from
the middle rather than one from below. Recognition of the above
dominant/alternative duality as a dialectical relation found expression at a forum/  
conference. It suggests the necessity in the future for priority attention to
communications and culture not only from movement specialists but also its
generalists, both political and theoretical.²

Theorists have distinguished between globalization from above and globalization
from below. The former refers to those neo-liberal economic policy measures (e.g.,
the Washington Consensus or Atlantic Consensus) that have been criticized. The
latter refers to those transnational advocacy networks, global social movements, or
solidarity movements across borders: environmental, human rights, labour rights,
and women’s rights movements and organizations. Even the groups that make up

¹ Manisha Desai, Transnational Solidarity, Women’s Agency, Structure Adjustment, and
Globalization, in Nancy A. Naples and Manisha Desai, Women’s Activitism and Globalization,
² Ibid., pp.32-33.
what is called the anti-globalization movement in fact reflect the positive side of globalization; that is, the ability of people to unite and act transnationally. Although there have been international solidarity movements in the past (e.g., the abolition movement, the suffrage movement, the workers’ movement), contemporary globalization from below is distinguished by its breadth, scope, and efficacy, largely the result of the technological revolution.

Compared to other regions in the world economy, the Middle East and North Africa is, for better or for worse, less integrated into the trade and financial circuits of the global economy, participating largely as an exporter of oil, and receiving less foreign direct investment (FDI) than other middle-income regions. This has implications for female labour and employment patterns. Compared to other regions in the world economy, women still have lower rates of employment. This may also be a factor in the low rates of political participation among women. Women’s political participation in formal organizations, such as trade unions, women’s organizations, political parties, and solidarity networks, is usually correlated with employment and educational attainment.

Thus, the women of the Middle East seem to be somewhat marginal to globalization-from-above, and to globalization-from-below. The good news, of course, is that women’s groups are proliferating in the region, and some are beginning to work together in a coordinated fashion, such as the Maghreb-Mashreq link. Women's organizations include professional associations, charitable societies, women’s studies centres, women’s rights organizations, development NGOs that service women, and worker-based organizations, as well as the official or governmental women’s organizations. Women’s groups, and especially feminist groups, are working toward the following: (1) modernization of family law; (2) criminalization of violence against women, including domestic violence and honour crimes; (3) granting women nationality rights; (4) enhancing women’s employment

1 West and East
and political participation. These objectives entail efforts to enhance women's civil, political, and social rights. There is some evidence of human rights and women's rights groups working together, as well, and such coalitions could positively affect public policy in countries of the region in the future.¹

Another version of world citizenship which does take into account the overwhelming power of large-scale capital, sees the globalization process as taking two forms: the first, that of globalization from above, reflecting the collaboration between leading states and the main agents of capital formation. This is evidently seen as anti-democratic. The second is globalization from below, which is desirable and is an array of transnational social forces animated by environmental concerns, human rights, hostility to patriarchy, and a vision of the human community based on the unity of diverse cultures, inclined towards a one-world community and a global civil society [Falk 1993:391]².

The pressures of international institutions and multinationals to globalize are making interest groups, such as NGOs and other civil society movements, evolve globalization from below. This concept embodies the vision of the poor, their goals and needs, and independent measures, while collaborating with the state and non-state institutions, to complement and re-shape globalization from above. Local movements, in particular, rooted in struggles against discrimination on the basis of class, gender, ethnicity or religion, within and beyond the nation state, could be critical in advancing such a goal. This is evidenced, for example, in India, where many popular movements have emerged. These could be absorbed by the NGOs or they could maintain their own identity while supporting, sustaining and reinforcing the goals of the former. This unfolds in the context of complex, and highly unequal

² Globalization and Women in the Middle East, op.cit., pp.77-80.
social and political systems in developing countries. This makes it essential to motivate locally rooted strategies that can act independently of the power structure.¹

The Impact of Globalization on Women's NGOs

Women’s NGOs are the nucleus of the global civil society en route to the twenty-first century. The women’s NGOs clearly understood themselves as a third force apart from the government and private business. Several times before the event in Huairou there had been some suggestions that the highly decentralized international women’s movement needed an organizational umbrella so that it could act as a force of global civil society vis-a-vis the United Nations and the corporate global players. But this proposal was not taken any further, nor was the idea of a women’s UN as a counterforce to the United Nations, which on its own admission has been a failure.²

Broad public participation by citizens, employees, the poor, and marginalized groups, so producing greater democracy, equity, and transparency, are requirements for reshaping the global economy. The successful campaign against the MAI (Market for Alternative Investment) has led to a backlash against more open processes of negotiation. Martin Wolf, writing in the Financial Times, argues that the claims of NGOs to represent civil society as a whole and, as such, to possess legitimacy rivalling, or perhaps even exceeding, that of elected governments is outrageous. Such arguments over-generalize, while ignoring the actual functions of pressure groups in modern democracies described by Mancur Olsen in ‘The Logic of Collective Action’ (1965), whether advancing views of business, lobbyists, unions, environmentalists, or groups opposing MAI.

But contrary to many political, expert, and elitist views, such inputs from citizens are an essential form of expertise. Much experience with successful civic society

² Globalization and Women in the Middle East, op. cit., pp. 76-77.
inputs has been gained. Civic Society Organizations (CSOs), sometimes still called non-government organizations (NGOs), also went global. They incorporated the expertise of a broad range of new experts under-represented in conventional science. Such citizen groups soon learned that addressing purely local issues on a fragmented basis too often left them side-lined by powerful global corporations and financial players. They flocked to UN summits on the agendas of ‘We, the peoples of the Earth’, food, habitat, environment, poverty, unemployment, social exclusion, human rights, and ecologically sustainable, equitable human development. CSOs achieved success in campaigns to reform the World Bank, to block the MAI and to force the issue of debt cancellation onto the international agenda, and also achieved many victories in local struggles. Today, voluntary CSOs and civic societies are recognized as a new third sector in all economics. Indeed, in the drive to reshape the global economy and redesign its institutions, civic society is the primary source of social innovation. Thus, with our local experience, common wisdom, and systems approach, we can review the seven system levels from global to local. We can identify many of the new policies, programmes, social interventions, and innovations most likely to reshape a global economy aligned with principles of fairness, democracy, human development, and ecological sustainability.¹

Globalization has ushered in a shift in emphasis from state to non-state actors or institutions in shaping economic and political change. The outcome of such changes has critical implications for the displacement of the state, or, indeed, new ways of reinforcing its role, in conjunction with non-state institutions, to establish coherent national and global policies. Non-governmental organizations are emerging as important players in monitoring, questioning and increasingly channelling resources to support domestic and global policies to fulfill the specific needs of the poor and the marginalized in developing countries. They could complement the efforts of the state and the other non-state institutions.

¹ Christa Wichterich, op.cit., p 147.
Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are pressure groups supported by democratic participatory movements. They could reinforce the state and non-state institutions, especially international ones, to globalize, by guiding and channelling resources towards the poor and enabling them to assert more independence over the choice of goals and strategies. This unfolds against a backdrop of anxiety over the erosion of the state’s power and uncertainty over the extent to which existing international and regional (especially the former), and moreover, multinationals, can embrace the special needs of developing countries in the drive to liberalize and globalize. National governments are under enormous pressure to conform to free trade, remove impediments to foreign investment, and meet the conditions of structural adjustment policies.

The diminishing power of the state, under globalization with mounting doubts about its accountability, has created a vacuum. This has to be filled. New sources of influence have emerged within civil society. Alas, these often cater to specific interests and may further erode the state’s capacity to perform its tasks. In this respect, NGOs, supported by civil society pressure groups, could pursue the causes of the marginalized and the neglected. This assumes that NGOs function on the basis of democratic participatory principles. However, they are not homogenous and can sharply differ in their scope, performance, accountability and allegiance. They could be based in the North (developed) or South (developing), with different sources of funding, diverse and shifting agendas, pursuing one or more broad or particular concerns such as poverty reduction, human rights or environmental sustainability, through varying tactics. They may collaborate with similar institutions or with social and political movements, within and beyond national borders, to further their visions.

The initial enthusiasm over NGOs has to be scrutinized. There is a need to deepen and widen their expertise on the scientific, economic and political fronts to effectively challenge, cajole and guide state and non-state institutions on the inter-relationship between local and international problems. This impinges on
sustainability ranging from erosion of soil, urban pollution, deforestation, to industrial and trade strategies.

In spite of being incorporated into major international venues on sustainability, the actions of NGOs have been thwarted. This may limit their scope for changing policies. For instance, at Rio, they were unable to effectively challenge the market-based focus on sustainability. In contrast, they have been vehement supporters of fair trade and have been persistent in criticizing the norms and the policies of the WTO on globalization, as being anti-developmental.

Non-governmental organizations can certainly use their flexibility, individually and collectively, to ensure the formulation, establishment and monitoring of official mechanisms and procedures of implementing interstate agreements on sustainable growth, including by multinationals. Specifically, NGOs may persuade governments that sitting on major committees, and multinationals, which exert a major influence over the terms of investment, is necessary to maintain basic standards of employment and democracy. However, in spite of well-meaning aims, the extent to which NGOs can function independently is closely linked to their being able to maintain financial independence, the scope of working without the threat of state interference, and collaboration with similar institutions and movements.

Non-governmental organizations offer promise, though their diverse, shifting and conflicting norms make them only supportive institutions to monitor, guide and scrutinize the measures of both non-state and state institutions. However, their potential, encapsulated in globalization from below, democratic prowess, scope for absorbing grassroot struggles, and financial independence, could reinforce their capacity to become important independent players in re-defining globalization with a human face.¹

¹ Hazel Henderson, op.cit., pp. 21-22.
Alvarez notes the increasing NGOization of women's movements with its attendant decline in radical critique and an increasing role in serving as experts and implementers of government and international donors' programmes. Some NGOs are no more than fronts for the government, while others, which Alvarez calls hybrid NGOs, maintain links with movements, and try to work both within and outside the system. These NGOs simultaneously provide a critique of government agencies and actions as well as mobilizing resources to empower women.

Activist networks are often supported by public consciousness-raising efforts that are mainly located in the Northern countries and whose focus is educating Northern consumers. Many NGOs include consumer education as part of their advocacy work on behalf of maquiladora workers and other low-wage workers in the global assembly line. Focusing on women's agency in the global political economy, we see a complex set of relations that are built on pre-existing patriarchal, racial and ethnic practices. One also sees women creating new sites for action at the local, national and transnational levels in which to enact new political, economic and cultural practices. In this way, women activists offer alternatives to the seemingly inevitable course of global capital. Consequently, women's agency in this era of globalization challenges the dominant framing of globalization and opens up new directions for both feminist theorizing and activism. In addition to activist networks, many academic and policy-oriented international groups work together with NGOs around the context of the oppressive features of global economic restructuring. Groups like DAWN (Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era) and the Women's Alternative Economic Summit focus on research and policy through developing regional centres in Latin America, Asia, and Africa. While the local and transnational networks focus on women in the global economy, most women find themselves in the so-called informal sector where the struggle is to assert a right to work.¹

¹ Feminism in India, op.cit., pp.1-2.
Conclusion

The term 'globalization' has been used to define various aspects of global expansion in the past decade. It has been associated with key areas of change, which have led to a marked transformation of the world order. At a political level, the process of deregulation and liberalization has led to an apparent diminution of the state and a general assumption that all states everywhere must become more democratic and secure good governance over their people. At the level of the economy, globalization has been associated with the trend towards increasing economic liberalization. This has been reflected in freer trade and more deregulated labour, goods and financial markets. Combined with this has been an increasing dominance in global capital, as capital movements across countries have been facilitated by the removal of regulation and national barriers. Transnational corporations, which have benefited from the removal of national constraints on their activities, now occupy an increasingly dominant position. Within the developing world, the process of economic liberalization has been heralded by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank, which have imposed the new economic order on the more vulnerable debt-ridden countries through conditionality in their programmes. At the technological level, globalization has been facilitated by the innovation of mass rapid transportation and global communications networks, leading to the information revolution. The overall result has been the emergence of a global consumer society with a tendency to greater cultural homogeneity. The process has had a remarkably wide impact, affecting not only the first and the third worlds but also the former Soviet economies, which have been subjected to the shock of rapid political transformation and economic liberalization.

At its most expansive, the global vision has been presented as a borderless world, in which national economic boundaries are dissolving, and all countries are integrated into a unified global order. The result is an interlinked economy in which there is a free flow of capital, people, goods, services and information, and where
national government is displaced by global governance (Ohmae 1990). It has been countered that the move to globalization is not necessarily a new phenomenon, and that national capital, national markets and nation-states continue to play a significant role (Hirst and Thompson 1996). In this view, interaction on the world stage is a set of complex relations between nation-states, which between them ultimately determine international, as opposed to global, activity. A more pessimistic view contends that globalization is no more than the integration of the powerless marginal third world into the agenda set by the West (Dibaja, 1997:112), a process that is not open to rigorous analytical examination since globalization, which is rooted in modernist thinking, is unable to provide a theory which accounts for the failure of the development process in the third world (Dibaja 1997: 123).

Although the uneven nature of globalization and its unequal impact on developing countries have been analysed by some writers (for example Amin 1997; Hoogvelt 1997; Sklair 1991; Sklair 1994), it is glossed over in the mainstream debate. The debate on globalization has largely ignored the effects on marginalized groups, ethnic minorities and the experiences of women, as well as the specificities of major creeds and cultures, particularly in developing countries. What we would like to point out, however, is that it is globalization itself – globalization from below – that has also thrown up many NGOs which then try to grapple with the problems that have been exacerbated for marginalized groups with the process of globalization.