







AN INTRODUCTION TO

Studies -

GENDER INA TRANSNATIONAL WORLD

An Introduction to Women's Studies

Gender in a Transnational World



Inderpal Grewal Women Studies, San Francisco State University

and

Caren Kaplan Women's Studies, University of California at Berkeley



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AN INTRODUCTION TO WOMEN'S STUDIES: GENDER IN A TRANSNATIONAL WORLD

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This book is printed on acid-free paper.

1234567890 DOC/DOC 0987654321

ISBN 0-07-109380-X

Editorial director: Jane Karpacz Sponsoring Editor: Beth Kaufman Development editor: Terri Wise

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Cover design: Asylum Studios

Cover photographs: ©Photodisc/©Stone

Typeface: 10/12 Times Roman

Compositor: Carlisle Communications, Ltd. Printer: R. R. Donnelley & Sons Company

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Grewal, Inderpal.

An introduction to women's studies : gender in a transnational world / Inderpal Grewal, Caren Kaplan.

p. cm.

Includes index.

ISBN 0-07-109380-X (alk. paper)

- 1. Women's studies. 2. Sex differences—Political aspects. 3. Women in popular culture.
- 4. Gender identity-Political aspects. I. Kaplan, Caren, 1955- II. Title.

HQ1180.G74 2002 305.4'071—dc21

2001042748

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Caren Kaplan is Associate Professor and Chair of the Department of Women's Studies at the University of California at Berkeley. She received her Ph.D. in the History of Consciousness program at the University of California at Santa Cruz. The author of a monograph as well as the co-editor of several books, she has collaborated with Inderpal Grewal for many years on essays and edited collections. Her special interests are the history of Western and international feminism, feminist theory, and aspects of imperialism and globalization such as travel, tourism, and information technologies.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book represents a truly collaborative effort. We began working together close to fifteen years ago and we have been writing and editing projects together ever since. This book in particular reflects our long-standing experiences as teachers and administrators in women's studies departments. Teaching the introductory course on an almost yearly basis, we found that we agreed on the limitations of the usual course design. We also agreed that the introductory course should be one of the most exciting and engaging classes in the women's studies curriculum—for both teachers and students. This book represents a labor of love on our part, as it overtook several years of our lives. We are immensely proud of this project and what we learned by doing it.

We have been helped by so many people along the way. First, we want to thank Beth Kaufman, our primary editor at McGraw-Hill. When we were unsure about undertaking this project, Beth had a good answer to our every worry. Once we signed on to the project, Beth continued to support us in every way. Her vision and commitment to women's studies as a field is exemplary. We also want to thank Terri Wise, our developmental editor at McGraw-Hill, for her outstanding editorial assistance in the process of bringing this book to publication. Terri's expertise made our jobs much easier. Other folks at McGraw-Hill we worked with, such as Cara Harvey, Kelly Delso, Cathy Schultz, Dan Loch, and Christina Lembo, have helped us as well.

We have also been greatly aided by stellar research assistants. In the first stage of the project, Cynthia Golembeski did a herculean job of digging and collecting materials. Gillian Harkins picked up the ball and never let it drop as she helped us with research and production of the manuscript. We thank her for her good humor and moral support. We also want to thank Valerie Larson and Ben Ansell for their help with research. Phoebe Southwood helped us with a database

early in the project and we thank her for her care and efforts. Finally, a special thanks goes to Deborah Cohler, our editorial assistant in the final stage of the project. Deb's meticulous work, sense of humor, and intelligent engagement with the theory and content of the project made it possible for us to complete this book. We cannot thank her enough for her help and companionship.

Both our universities supported this project in many ways. At San Francisco State University, Inderpal would like to thank Dean of Humanities Nancy McDermid and Associate Dean Susan Shimanoff for their interest in and support of this project. A summer stipend and course release from the university greatly aided this project. Jenna Gretsch and Lisa Warren kept the Women Studies Department office running smoothly and helped in all kinds of ways. Inderpal would also like to thank her colleagues in the Women Studies Department, Minoo Moallem, Chinosole, and M. A. Jaimes-Guerrero. At the University of California at Berkeley, Caren would like to thank the Undergraduate Research Assistant Program for a summer grant that funded a research assistant as well as the Beatrice Bain Research Group and Designated Emphasis in Women, Gender, and Sexuality Studies staff, Phoebe Southwood and Gee Gee Lang, as well as the Women's Studies Department staff, Carla Atkins Patterson and Althea Grannum-Cummings. She would like to thank Dean George Breslauer for his support as well as her colleagues in the Women's Studies department, Norma Alarcón, Wendy Brown, Evelyn Nakano Glenn, Barrie Thorne, and Trinh T. Minh-ha.

Many colleagues suggested ideas, specific pieces, or approaches for this project. We want to thank Tani Barlow, Amrita Basu, Lauren Berlant, Chung-moo Choi, Lawrence Cohen, Cathy Davidson, Carolyn Dinshaw, Judith Farquhar, Elena Glasberg, Yukiko Hanawa, Donna Haraway, Gretchen Jones, Miranda Joseph, Suad Joseph, Laura Kang, Kim Kono, Rachel Lee, Lydia Liu,

Minoo Moallem, Donald Moore, Ambra Pirri, Allan Pred, Jasbir Puar, Priti Ramamurthy, Erica Rand, Brinda Rao, Sherene Razack, Lisa Rofel, Mary Ryan, Marilyn Schuster, Ella Shohat, Eric Smoodin, Jenny Terry, Susan Van Dyne, Ginette Verstraete, Leti Volpp, Robyn Wiegman, and Ken Wissoker.

We would like to thank the following reviewers for their comments on the manuscript in various stages of its development: Lisa Bowleg—Georgetown University, Nupur Chaudhuri—Kansas State University, Carolyn DiPalma—University of South Florida, Sophie Ho—Purdue University, Patricia Huckle—San Diego State University, Lisa Koogle—Russell Sage College, Joyce Ladenson—Michigan State University, and Eve Oishi—California State University, Long Beach.

We have been grateful for suggestions and feedback at forums where we presented our project in process, in particular, the meeting on international feminism at the University of Washington in Seattle in February 2000 (organized by Tani Barlow and Alys Weinbaum), a panel organized by Robyn Wiegman at the 1999 NWSA meetings, a seminar at the University of California at Irvine sponsored by Women's Studies, and a symposium at Smith College in January 2000. Minoo Moallem, Deborah Cohler, and Chinosole each taught the course as we designed it at San Francisco State University and gave us extremely valuable feedback. Our teaching assistants for the course were invaluable in helping us revise and rethink our project. Thanks to Lee Ann Assalone, Iliana Cordero, Valerie Larsen, Chris Guzaitis, and Sima Sakhshari at SFSU and thanks to Kim Kono, Christina Grijalva, and Jennifer Hosek at UCB. Our students in the course in both universities have been our greatest support and inspiration. Over a series of years we "test-drove" the textbook in our introductory classes and our students gave us the best feedback of all—their attention, their best efforts, and their embrace of learning to think about women and gender in a transnational frame.

In particular, we would like to thank our colleagues and friends whose work and comradeship means so much to us. Minoo Moallem has been friend, interlocutor, and inspiration for many years. Robyn Wiegman's intellectual and collegial support has meant much to us as we have worked on the project. Ella Shohat's warm support and interest is always sustaining to us. We are grateful, as always, to Tani Barlow for keeping things

interesting in women's studies, challenging our ideas, and giving us her friendship and support.

Caren would like to thank both her first women's studies teacher, Jill Lewis, and her other significant scholarly and pedagogical influence, Lester Mazor, for showing her how to combine courage, intelligence, and a passion for justice into a pedagogical practice. Jim Clifford, Donna Haraway, and Hayden White influenced many of the ideas that underscore this project. She would also like to thank her friends Sig Roos, Ruthie Rohde, and Meredith Miller for their long-term friendship. Margie Cohen's interest and support has meant a great deal. Thanks to Roberta Smoodin, Mitch and Heidi Kaplan, and Henry Flax and David Norton for making family matter. Doris and Arthur Kaplan showed their usual patience and support. Their interest in this and all the other work she does makes all the difference in the world. Finally, but not least, Caren thanks Eric Smoodin for reading and talking about everything, and helping in every way.

Inderpal would like to thank her family. She hopes all her nieces and nephews will take "Intro to Women Studies" in their college years: Elena and Emily Grewal; Aneel, Rajneet, and Simar Chahal; Gurmehar and Mankaran Grewal; Anthony and Vinnie Jessel; and Kyle Adams. She is also grateful to so many family members who put up with her working hours—both Jessels and Grewals. In addition, she thanks all those in the Park Day community and those friends who supported her so much, especially Pat Abe, Dan Calef, Bobbi Shern Nikles, Roland Nikles, Sharon Ruffman, Marilyn Ancel, Lois Segal, Mona Halaby, Michelle Mercer, and Bruce Golden. Without Maia Lohuaru and Ana Franco, this work would not be completed. The "Narika girls" put up with her missing many events—even though she heard all about it later! And last, but never least, thanks to Alfred Jessel, who makes it all possible.

In closing, we would like to dedicate this book to our two best helpers and jokers, Kirin and Sonal Jessel. They took a keen interest in the book and kept our spirits up with their questions and commentary. "When will you be done?" they asked year after year. "Soon," we said, year after year. As we have worked on this project, we have watched them grow into strong, smart, energetic girls who view awareness of gender issues as a natural part of their education. We are thinking about their future as we write and do our work.

INTRODUCING WOMEN'S STUDIES: GENDER IN A TRANSNATIONAL WORLD

At the turn of the century, after three decades of women's studies and feminist activism, what lies ahead for feminist teachers and students? In this book we will explore the many issues and topics that have grown out of women's studies over the last three decades, as well as the new economic and social conditions that we face in the world today. Women's studies in the United States looks quite different now from its beginnings in the early 1970s. At that time, hardly any feminist scholarships existed in academic departments and much of the writing of earlier feminists had been neglected or ignored in college and university classrooms. As women's studies classes grew in number throughout the 1970s, 80s, and 90s, they became part of a vibrant popular feminist movement linked to transformations in society at large, such as legal, social, economic, political, and cultural change. For instance, advances in approaches to sexual assault and harassment were made in the legal arena, changing workplaces and homes. Current attitudes toward the family, women's work and mothering, and sexuality would have been almost unthinkable in the 1950s and early 60s. Feminists have played a major role in these changes and women's studies classrooms have assisted in the formulation of new ideas and the analysis and discussion of the role of women in society.

In the late 1970s and 1980s, women's studies responded to challenges by changing its curriculum and content. For example, the earlier homophobia that marked some programs was answered by new emphasis on the study of sexuality and lesbian cultures.

Teachers addressed the race and class bias of early women's studies programs and projects by changing curricular content to include the study of women of color and working class women. During this time period and throughout the 1990s, the curriculum expanded to include women with disabilities, women from multiple ethnicities, as well as transgender and bisexual communities. Across several decades and through debate and struggle as well as success and achievement, women's studies courses reflected an increasingly diverse and multicultural world.

However, one emphasis was still missing or marginalized: an international perspective on women's lives and concerns. Until recently, there were only two ways of addressing international issues in the women's studies classroom. The first method, popular since the 1970s, was to point to the similarities among women around the world and across time periods. This "common world of women" approach focused on topics such as motherhood and family structure. While this wellmeaning approach seemed to propose a world of people without prejudices of skin color or national biases, all linked through biology or cultural activities that seem to be the lot of women the world over, it did not recognize that women are also divided by class, race, nationality, sexuality, and other signs of power. The second approach was a more hierarchical one that viewed Western culture as modern and other cultures as hoping or needing to catch up to the West in Western terms. This "women and development" approach posed an important set of questions about poverty, education, and xviii INTRODUCTION

health. However, many feminists could not avoid acknowledging that development programs in the poorest nations did not result in improvements in women's lives. Instead, women's power and influence in the household deteriorated as a result of modernization policies such as population control, increased industrialization, and the use of technology in agriculture. Given the problems with these two approaches, are there better ways for women's studies to introduce the study of women within and beyond the boundaries of the United States?

In writing and compiling this book, our hope is to encourage women's studies to invent new ways to internationalize our curricula. Without throwing out the valuable work from the past or ignoring our local concerns and agendas, we believe that it is the right time to alter our frameworks and diversify, once again, the subject matter of women's studies. The field has shown, over several decades of dialogue and debate, that it can change and become stronger. When the world changes, a field such as women's studies must engage these changes and lead the way in analyzing and discussing women and gender in new ways.

The goal of this introductory textbook is to encourage people to be more aware of the connections between their lives and what they learn about the rest of the world from their families, teachers, communities, and the media. For example, how do women's studies students understand world events in the newspaper? In 1999, an article and accompanying photograph appeared in national newspapers describing a visit by then-First Lady Hillary Clinton and her daughter Chelsea to Egypt for a women's rights conference. Hillary Clinton was quoted as supporting women's rights to education, health care, and political participation in so-called developing countries. The photograph showed mother and daughter with scarves covering their heads in accordance with Islamic tradition. We asked our students to write about this article and to focus on the significance of the main quotations and the ways the two women were dressed. Were there any connections between political and social issues in the United States and the presence of the spouse of the President at a women's rights conference in North Africa? In particular, we asked our students to think about how they might have read this article before they took the class. Most students reported that either they would have ignored the article altogether or, if they were interested in Hillary Clinton, they would have accepted her endorsement of women's human rights and the need for development in Egypt and other "Third World" countries at face value. What they learned in the class was that things can be more complicated. Thus, Hillary Clinton may indeed support women's rights around the world, but it is in the best interest of the United States to represent this as a foreign need rather than one that could also be necessary for some women at home. Similarly, the adoption of modest headgear could signal her attempt to please her Egyptian hosts—but it also could be seen as a sign of her willingness to play the role of a "traditional" wife in the midst of her husband's impending impeachment trial. For women's studies students and teachers, there are many interesting things to notice and discuss about this article and photograph, some related to international issues and many connected to other topics closer to home in the United States.

This example from our class meetings shows that "internationalizing" the women's studies curricula does not mean focusing on the foreign, the strange, or exotic women in distant places. Nor does it mean an inattention is paid to women in the United States. Rather, to begin to think more internationally means that we learn to make connections between the lives and cultures of women in diverse places without reducing all women's experiences into a "common culture." We can begin by asking why we see certain items in the news and not others. How does information reach us? What local and national influences shape our view of the world in which we live? What do we think we need to know or learn about? How can we discover what other people think about us and why? These are just a few of the many questions raised in a course that internationalizes women's studies.

The next compelling set of concerns for our students is the increasingly global world in which we all live. Our jobs, our shopping habits, our recreation, the food we eat, are all determined to a greater or lesser degree by a global economy. The spread of this global economy around the world is known as globalization. This globalized economy is new in many ways, and we must learn more about the trade agreements and the international bodies that govern the financial world. But the seeds of this economy were sown much earlier. Starting in the sixteenth century, European expansion and colonization led to a world linked no longer simply through trade but also through military might and

imperial rule. The inequalities produced by colonial expansion created a new map of the world. "West" and "East" came to refer to Europe and its "others" (all regions and cultures Europeans had encountered since the Crusades of the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries). In the twenty-first century, the legacies of these encounters remain within the difference between what is called the "North" (industrialized countries of North America and Europe) and the "South" (the so-called underdeveloped or rural countries of Latin America, Africa, and Asia, among others). Divisions between the so-called Third World and the First World reflect the aftereffects of earlier colonial and imperial policies. For instance, European colonization created a difference between those who were seen as "barbaric" or "uncivilized" and those who believed themselves to be "civilized" and superior. This difference was often expressed in racial, cultural, or national terms. In addition, throughout this time period, differences between men and women were tied to differences of race and class. Differences between women from "barbaric" cultures and those from "civilized" cultures become key to understanding gender then and today. These histories of gender in relation to race, class, nationality, culture, religion, sexuality, and other factors are a crucial part of the women's studies curriculum in what we call a transnational world, where inequality and differences rather than commonalities can be highlighted.

A transnational approach to women's studies requires some new methods. The term transnational means a number of different things. First of all, it means, literally, moving across national boundaries. Throughout this book we refer to the ways in which people, goods, money, and media images cross national boundaries in new ways that start to change our very idea of what we mean by national and local identities. Second, the term transnational enables us to see how this transformation of national boundaries depends not only on political changes but also on economic and cultural shifts. In women's studies we can look at these changes from an interdisciplinary perspective, drawing on many fields of study to begin to understand these complex conditions. Third, the term transnational refers to new forms of international alliances and networks across national boundaries that are enabled by new media and technologies as well as contemporary political, economic, and cultural movements. These transnational networks are often aided by nongovernmental organizations and new social movements. Fourth, it is very important to stress that these new international communities and identities do not simply create an ideal world where women are all the same and equal. Rather, a transnational approach pays attention to the inequalities and differences that arise from new forms of globalization as well as from older histories of colonialism and racism. A transnational approach, as we use it in this book, emphasizes the world of connections of all kinds that do not necessarily create similarities. Rather, the transnational world in which we are all living is a world of powerful possibilities and challenges.

- How to Use This Book

Women's studies scholarship is so industrious and interdisciplinary that the field seems to shapeshift every few years. This changing and dynamic quality of women's studies is exactly what excites those of us who participate in it. Yet it poses a problem for the authors of textbooks who need to present an overview of the field: How do you harness this growing entity that we call "women's studies"? This challenge confronts anyone who contemplates the introductory course. What to put in and what to leave out? Our decisions are difficult and often partial. Some people resort to disciplinary approaches to narrow down materials, creating a more "sociological" or "humanities-based" design. Others limit the course to the United States. Everyone worries about the introductory course: is it representative or inclusive enough? We addressed this problem by working together, combining our knowledge and experience as researchers and teachers. We also consulted students, friends, and colleagues in many fields. In many ways, we compounded our problems, since the materials for our book increased exponentially. But we also renewed our commitment to the intellectual and political challenge of the introductory course as a kind of laboratory for interdisciplinary work. And we rediscovered the pleasure of learning new ideas and content. In the process, the course has become more effective overall and interesting to teach. We hope that whether you are an instructor or a student, using this textbook will bring you a great deal of pleasure and new knowledge.

It is impossible to include everything we think is important to introduce the study of women and gender in a transnational frame. We have had to make difficult decisions. Even so, there is a lot of material in this book. Although we have taught the sections in this book exactly as you find them in the table of contents, we expect that people will use them as the foundation for a class and then add other materials that make sense based on their own expertise. We have ordered the sections in such a way that they build on each other, but we encourage users of the book to move around in it and find the paths through the materials that make the most sense. The instructor's manual also provides helpful suggestions and additional materials.

To help you decide how you want to use the book, we have written introductions to each of the four parts. These introductions provide you with primary concepts, questions, and terms as well as the rationale for the sections. In addition, our short comments precede each excerpted piece to situate the author or topic in a more specific way. We have included key words to clarify and define concepts and events as well as to identify historical figures. Summary questions follow each section to facilitate class discussion and reading comprehension. Many of our colleagues have asked us why we chose to use excerpts instead of leaving pieces intact. Our first answer is length! In attempting to use pieces that refer us to many different places and time periods, we found that we needed a variety of examples of scholarly and popular work. Our solution was to edit pieces and use only part of each one. Our comments at the start of each piece are a way to place them in a larger context and link them together. Nevertheless, we encourage people to read the entire article or book if they like. If a piece interests you, you can find the full citation in the bibliography at the end of the book.

As we have worked on this project, we have been thinking a great deal about the different kinds of people who choose to teach and to take courses in women's studies. Since our goal for the course is to provide an interdisciplinary introduction to the field, we have thought a lot about how to encourage our colleagues across many disciplines to use this book. For some, a book outside of their discipline may seem inadequate. Yet, in putting together a book on international and transnational issues, we have found that we need many disciplines as well as contributions from interdiscipli-

nary fields. Such an approach allows us to see how gender comes to mean different things in different places in the modern world and how emerging feminist movements can draw upon this history in their organizing and theorizing. In the years we have worked on this textbook, we have read work in many fields. We have tried to include as many approaches as we could. There are certainly some topics and approaches that are not represented in this book and some locations or regions that we have not mentioned. Similarly, there may be important issues we have not been able to include. This book is a place to begin the study of women and gender in a transnational world. There is much more to be said. We hope that this book will inspire you to add materials and bring your own interests and concerns to the introduction of women's studies.

- The Sections of the Book

I. Women's Bodies in Science and Culture

How to begin the study of women and gender in a transnational world? There are many points of entry to this interdisciplinary field. We decided to begin this textbook at the point that works for us and for many of our students: the rise of Western science and the emergence of modern notions of sexual and racial difference. If we understand this history, we can see how terms and concepts that we take for granted, such as sex, gender, and race, change their meaning and significance over time. Therefore, we begin this textbook by asking questions about the history of scientific and medical knowledge as a way to demonstrate that all kinds of information about bodies, male and female, raced or classed or ethnicized, come from a social or cultural source. How some of these sources gain power and credibility, influencing ideas about men and women and society in general, and how some do not is a key part of women's studies. The spread of these ideas and explanations about sex, gender, and race is influenced by economic, political, and cultural changes on a global scale.

The pieces excerpted in this section introduce the history of science and medicine in a way that shows how different people are studied and defined according to methods that place some populations and groups in very unequal relations to others. In particular, we look at the notion of scientific objectivity as it

has been applied to human biology and the rise of sex differences as the primary explanation for human diversity. We also examine the participation of women in science and technology. The rise of eugenics and other racialized sciences of population control is included in this section to provide links among the history of racism and European colonialism, biological notions of sexual difference and social class, and stakes in controlling or influencing reproduction. Crucial to the history of women's bodies in science and medicine are the new local and global forms of education and organizing activities. These activities have altered the relationship between gender, science, and medicine.

II. Gendered Identities: Individuals, Communities, Nations, Worlds

Identity is a crucial part of feminist analysis. In the first part of the book, we show how science and medical knowledge create powerful identities of gender, race, class, and ethnicity in the modern period. In Part Two, we assemble materials that show how specific identities become crucial to the operation of the nation-state; that is, how the political structure that has become the dominant form of government around the world produced a new kind of political entity—the individual citizen, who can vote, own property, and participate in national life. What role have women played in the formation of nation and state in modern times? How does gender shape and inform politics on a local level in communities as well as on a larger scale? Just as the economic system of capitalism brought about new needs for technologies and scientific practices, the emergence of democratic nation-states in Europe and its former colonies has prompted new roles and identities for people, such as the citizen and the individual. In this part of the book, we explore the ways that the modern state requires national, ethnic, and gendered identities in order to operate. Just as every person in the modern world must possess a nationality, it seems that each person must be able to be identified fully and clearly as male or female. Since most people also hold identities in relation to families and other groups, we can see that there are many possible identities that can influence the power and agency that women hold in the world.

III. Representations, Cultures, Media, and Markets

Representation and gender are key issues in women's studies. Over the last thirty years, feminists have studied how women have been portrayed in art and popular culture in many periods of time. Stereotypes, both negative and positive, have been examined in areas such as politics, media, art, literature, advertising, and film. Thus, we have come to understand femininity and masculinity through the ways that culture conveys dominant notions of gender, race, class, and sexuality. In addition, the points of view and the work of many women who have been marginalized or oppressed have been sought out and recovered.

Recasting these issues in a transnational framework, we need to consider the industries that produce knowledge and ways of seeing. For example, images of women who appear to be "exotic" or "primitive" or "natural" cannot be viewed only as gendered but must be seen as part of the history of capitalism and modern imperialism. The power to produce and disseminate information in the context of modern European colonization has enabled the proliferation of various kinds of stereotypes linked not only to race but also to religion, nationality, sexuality, and class. In women's studies, therefore, we can learn about industrialization and the expansion of capitalism through communication technologies and media such as print, cinema, and the Internet. The globalization of advertising and media brings with it newly gendered meanings of the body, beauty, family, and culture. In this part of the book, we aim to provide not only a view of the various representations of gender that proliferate in the world but also an understanding of the production and consumption of these images and ideas.

IV. Gendering Globalization and Displacement

This part of the book discusses displacement in the context of globalization; that is, how the movements of goods, services, finance, people, and ideas have changed in the modern period. Since globalization shapes contemporary ideas about gender and links gendered roles across national boundaries, we examine both economic and cultural aspects of the emergence of this modern global world. What do we mean by

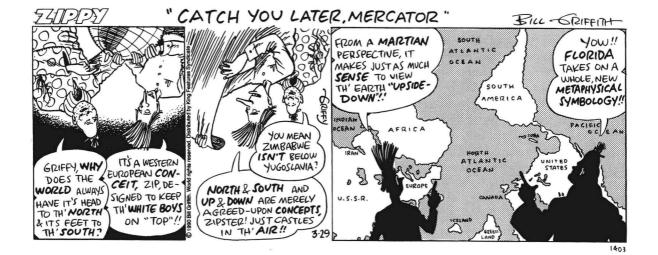
"modern" and by "global"? The phenomenon that we are examining here has been in the making for at least five centuries. From the fifteenth century, colonization and conquest began to change the ways in which people everywhere lived and worked, along with their sense of identity and belonging. The dramatic increase in prosperity in Europe brought about by colonization was linked directly to the impoverishment and genocide of people in the colonized zones. This prosperity and the search for more resources and markets encouraged more circulations of people and goods. Travel for trade and for war led to the development of transportation routes that, in later periods, enabled tourism as well as migration and urbanization. The forced displacement of millions of people through slavery and indentured labor contributed to the profits of the industrialized nations. These displacements continue to leave a legacy in which forms of culture and identity rooted in a place of origin become the basis for nationalist social and political movements.

In closing the book with this section, we want to focus on the ways that gender comes to matter in these diverse displacements. How has this history affected different women and in what ways? If some women have traveled for leisure, others have traveled to work in fields or homes or factories. When women are displaced by war or famine, they may face specific challenges and risks. Slavery and involuntary displacement

have affected women in particular ways. In looking at many forms of displacement across this long modern period, we ask: Has globalization created a common world for women? In Part Four, we provide examples of the ways in which the idea of a common world for women remains in tension with the continuing inequalities that globalization generates. These tensions are signs of connection or links between women as well as points of opportunity for deeper understanding and social change.

Conclusion

We end this book with a brief consideration of why feminism still matters in the new century. If we accept that women's studies and feminist approaches will always be changing in relation to current conditions and needs, then part of our task in this field is to recognize and comment on contemporary issues and debates, such as the effects of globalization. In our view, the task posed at this point in time is how to think transnationally. The world in which we live is not simply bounded by the borders of one community or nation. We will better understand feminist futures if we acknowledge the ways in which we are part of a complex and connected world, a world that is undoubtedly transnational.



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