

**Title:** Gender and Labor in East Asia

**Student's name:** Chien-Ju Lin

**Category:** Gender, labor

**Institution:** State University of New York at Binghamton, graduate student

**Contact information:** clin2@binghamton.edu

## 1. Introduction

Traditional development theory is primarily defined in economic terms for nations in pursuit of economic growth. Dependency theory and world system theory tried to redefine development by arguing that colonialism and neocolonialism contributed both to shaping the underdevelopment of third world countries (Frank, 1967; Amin, 1976), and to shifting analysis from the nation-state to world system (Wallerstein, 1974). However, these development studies have been criticized for being gender-blind from the perspective of feminism (Ward, 1988; 1990; Misra, 1999; Freeman, 2001). Ester Boserup's book, *Women's Role in Economic Development* (1970), launched the integration of women into development. Her work inspired feminist scholarship focusing on the debate between the empowerment of women and the exploitation of women while women are integrated into the world economy. During the 1980s, global reconstruction depending on feminized labor forces in the Third World tended to strengthen these two existing debates (Ward, 1990). In fact, this debate between empowerment and exploitation has been criticized for homogenizing third world women, and denying women as active agents.

This paper does not intend to follow these two existing categories, but tries to ask how the feminized labor forces and gendered global economy are recurring in the third world from the perspective of Joan Scott, who suggests gender as a subject of analysis (Scott, 1999). Indeed, the global economy may affect women's employment in the third world, but it cannot determine women's life, experience and ideology. Gender struggle and resistance moves away from gender as object to gender as creative subject of feminist discourse; it also engages women of diverse backgrounds at the local level to take various cultural strategies and contested identities in the shaping of the global economy.

This paper is composed of three parts:

In the first part, I try to examine the work of early feminist scholars who brought women back into the economic processes. The integration of women leads to debates between empowerment and exploitation, which focus on the analyses of women in the household and women in the transnational corporations (TNCs). However, the fact that many women work in the informal and subsistence economy has turned feminists' attention toward reexamining the definition of work from the perspective of Marxist labor theory of value.

The dichotomy of economic production and reproduction universalized the categories of women's work, but could not adequately incorporate differences. Early studies focused on "gender and development" and "women and work"; later studies have shifted to the emergence of the feminized labor force, where cheap female laborers became the new favored workers in the next stage of development strategies:

the global restructuring. Beyond the macro level of world system / micro level of local women and the global as masculine / local as feminine, the meso level of transnational corporations (TNCs) provides an alternative way to examine the gendered global economy (Elson, 1994). The TNCs employ different kinds of strategies to redefine gender meaning and ideology, but this cannot work without the invasion of state policy. These will be discussed in the second part.

The predictable global imagery begins to be challenged by women in different localized contexts, with different daily practices; the result shows in the diverse forms of resistance and the shaping of gendered subjectivities. The gender meaning is continually reshaped by women's different real-life experience in articulation with ambivalent ideology, class and cultural practice; moreover, this illuminates the heterogeneous character of gendered subjectivity and gendered dynamics. These will be examined in the third part of my paper.

## 2. The early feminist scholarship on gender and development

In this section, I am tracing the early feminist scholars who contributed to the integration of women into economic development. Whether women were empowered by incorporation into the development processes or marginalized due to capitalist processes resulting in exploitation, these two debates led scholars to examine the household economy and women's employment in the TNCs. Another group of feminists proposed different questions to redefine the concept of work and to recognize women's role in the sphere of reproduction. In fact, the division between production and reproduction is based on the gender blind of Marxist theory of values of labor. This theory hides the fact of world accumulation that comes from the contribution of women's work in subsistence production. However, the intention of the analysis of Marxist materialism fails to consider other dimensions, leading to analyses which engage in universal economic categories and cannot incorporate differences.

### 2-1. The two debates regarding incorporating women into economic development

#### a. As a positive force for women's well-being

Tracing the works of feminist scholars within the mainstream modernization theories, Ester Boserup inspired the idea of integrating women into the economic system to empower them within the process of development. Boserup argued that the introduction of modern technologies and the expansion of cash cropping benefited men because of the marginalization of women in the development policies (Boserup, 1970). The absence of women in the modernizing projects led Irene Tinker to advocate that women be incorporated as active participants in development; she

suggested narrowing the inequality between men and women through the improvement of women's education (Tinker, 1976). Boserup and Tinker acknowledged that women were empowered by integration into the economic process, which helps to ameliorate gender inequality. However, Boserup's pioneering contribution and research were criticized by other feminist scholars who suggested that the incorporation of women in development led to increasing capitalist exploitation.

Inspired by Boserup's theory, feminist scholars began to notice the transformation of women's role in the household economy when women were employed in the paid work. In her work on factory daughters in rural Java, Diane Wolf pointed out that single women workers' low wages were not substantial to their families, but rather the families provided goods and services to factory daughters in their households (Wolf, 1992). Most women workers lived and ate at home, and their parents remained responsible for their daughters' economic welfare. This was different from the filial daughters, whose wages supported their family economies in Taiwan and Hong Kong (Kung, 1983; Salaff, 1981). According to Wolf's findings, seeking factory employment was neither the parental expectation of a daughter's role, nor a part of family economic strategy. In fact, daughters maintained control over their wages, bonuses and savings, unless there was a family emergency and parents were forced to ask for a daughter's help. Note that when they got married and had children, daughters' consumption patterns changed and they had responsibility for their own family's economy. Javanese daughters were not working to support their birth family, but to gain new experience and some cash for themselves. Their rebellions showed that parents had limited control over their daughters' labor, and resulted in intra household conflict that challenged the ideology of household unity. When their families had an economic crisis or their life-stages changed, daughters repressed their own wishes and adapted to family needs. From this perspective, Javanese daughters gain independent power to control their money through the benefit of waged employment. Since women's employment influences the household strategy in the third world, this household strategy should be treated as the process of negotiation, rather than the rigid structural determinism.

Unlike the ambiguous role of Javanese factory daughters in the household economy, working class women in the Dominican Republic, Cuba and Puerto Rico showed the changed role of the household in terms of the empowerment of work. Helen Safa's argument was that the concept of the male breadwinner was becoming a myth when women became increasingly important contributors to the household economy (Safa, 1995). Her findings supported that wage labor gave women greater participation in economic decision making for household's survival. However, the

women's wages only served to empower them at the household level. In fact, Safa pointed out that the primary locus of patriarchy had shifted with the development of industrial capitalism from the home to the workplace and the state, or from the private to the public sphere. When Safa compared the three countries, wage labor was not the sole source of empowerment among women in the household, because the wage work was conditioned by structural and ideological factors that varied across cultures and places. Safa's work indicates that the impact of paid employment on women's status is interwoven within a complex social and economic relationships and ideologies of family, household, and national culture.

b. As a negative force for women's well-being

Examining the effect of women's waged employment in the strategy of household economy, women do increase their bargaining power and promote the intra-household dynamics. However, studies from the perspective of a positive force for women's well-being insufficiently explain the employment of women causing both empowerment and exploitation, and at the same time leading to permanent gender inequality.

An alternative view of gender inequality was suggested by feminist scholars who treated the integration of women into the economy as the further marginalization and exploitation of women. Although women's employment had been increasing in transnational corporations (TNCs), Patricia Fernandez-Kelly comparing two cases of export-processing plants along U.S.-Mexico border and the adjustments of electronics firms in Southern California, argued that incorporating women into the development processes led to a strengthening not only of capitalism but also patriarchal exploitation (Fernandez-Kelly, 1983; 1994). Rather than just bringing women into the economic institutions, she pointed out how the processes of capital accumulation affected men and women differently. Moreover, household units were still the source of capital accumulation, which contradicted the conceptualization of capitalism as a system whose expansion had destroyed all preexisting modalities of labor organization from the perspective of Marxism. The salient implication of the analysis of domestic units provided an economic substratum that enabled the replication of inequality, and at the same time was echoed by later feminist scholars who suggested reconsidering the roots of patriarchal power within the interplay of production and reproduction.

Noting the exploitation of women workers in export-oriented multinational export factories, Linda Lim provided a contradictory perspective of the overly negative stereotype of women's experience. She attributed the discrepancy to methodological flaws pervading the literatures without considering the disjuncture of

empirical records and theoretical research in the dynamism of developing economies (Lim, 1990). Moreover, according to Lim's methodology, just a small number of women were employed in multinational factories in the Third World, and the vast majorities were employed in agriculture, services and non-export, non-multinational manufacturing activities. This perspective reveals the incorporation of the Third Women into the labor force through not only formal labor process but also informal, subsistence and domestic labor as the sources of capital accumulation. Boserup's assumption of the benefit of modernization in women's formal employment begins to lose its ground. Feminist scholars develop another explanation for gender inequality that stems from the dialogue between feminism and Marxism, the analysis of production and reproduction. This leads them to reexamine the concept of work.

## 2-2. The relocation of women and work

The early feminists focused on the ways of viewing how women's empowerment and exploitation in the labor arena effected women's wellbeing. Unsatisfied with Boserup and the early feminists' work, Lourdes Beneria and Gita Sen (1981) contended that Boserup first did not analyze the women's role in reproduction, and second it did not examine the process of capital accumulation. In fact, the first critique is based on the debate of whether women's domestic labors are productive or not. This leads another group of feminist scholars to reexamine the Marxist labor theory of value, and redefines women and work. The second critique diverts attention from domestic production as an invisible sphere to the real economic activities that promote capital accumulation. Thus women's unpaid labor begins to be noticed by feminists who try to challenge Marxist theory, which misses the gender analysis.

The separation of productive and nonproductive labor rested upon the Marxist labor theory of value. As defined in Volume I of *Capital*, the exchange-value was treated as an economic activity through market mainstream, and the use-value outside of market exchange took place both in the household and in the subsistence sector. The advent of capitalism, with the growth of marketable goods and commodities, endowed the exchange-value and further limited the use-value in the domestic sphere to maintain the labor force. This implicitly indicates that women's domestic labor is irrevocably equated with use-value production, which means nonproductive labor. The traditional Marxian framework, which does not treat use-value as productive activities, has been revised by the later feminist scholars. Lourdes Beneria suggested that the use-value production should be included in the productive economy to redefine women's work within use-value as part of exchange-value of production (Beneria, 1982). Caludia Von Werlhof argued that the theory of

exchange production should be reformulated to include other patterns of production, those in the informal sector and the household (Von Werlhof, 1988). Maria Mies, taking a similar position to Beneria and Welhof's, claimed that women's everyday work for life and for subsistence should be incorporated into the production (Mies, 1986). All of these scholars attempted to relocate women's central role in the sphere of production and recast women's triple economic activities of formal, informal and household work. As Kathryn Ward suggested, the overlap between formal, informal and household production in women's work was more fluid than the distinct boundaries between men's formal work and their contribution to housework (Ward, 1990). Her claim takes into consideration the interaction between reproduction and production, as well as women's role in the reproduction, which are missed by the scholars who focus on women's formal employment in the economic development.

The argument of production vs. reproduction then turns to another debate: the process of capital accumulation that is not only coming from productive work, but also largely coming from subsistence work. Through working at home, women have increasingly been recruited to work as subcontractors, producing goods for export firms. Marai Mies's empirical study showed that Indian women lace makers were confined at home to participate in nonhousehold production for the world economy (Mies, 1982). The interaction of production and reproduction became the source of world accumulation that came from housewives, the women's non-productive labors. Mies further indicated that the husbands, as world contractors, sold their wives' lace products to the world markets. The husbands survived on the base of the subsistence production of their wives. This maintained the gender division of labor and the link of capital accumulation to patriarchy.

Tracing the origins and functions of patriarchy, Heidi Hartmann characterized patriarchy as an independent system of domination anteceding capitalism and rooted in the sexual division of labor (Hartmann, 1976). Hartmann defined patriarchy in terms of men's domination over women in the household both in pre-capitalism and in capitalism, so that the domination outside the family is assigned to capitalism. Hartmann pointed out the importance of patriarchy in the analysis of women's subordination. However, recent feminist scholars have preferred not to narrow the definition of patriarchy in any particular type of household and try to analyze patriarchy across classes and races. This does not mean that generalizing the patriarchy appropriates women's sexuality and labor. Instead, patriarchy may do not oppress women alone without the domination of classes, races, sexualities and ethnicities. As Mies suggested, the processes of capital accumulation depended on the link between patriarchy and capitalism that exploits women's labor, and thus led to the greater class and gender polarization, which needed to be reconsidered. In fact,

the patriarchy and capitalism cannot work together without other possibilities of dimensions that are invisible in the discussion of the processes of capitalist accumulation.

The early feminist scholars focus on the ways that integrating women in the economic system empowers them. This perspective leads the debates of whether the integration of economy empowers women or exploits women. The assumption of the exploitation of women can be traced from Marxist labor theory of value, the division of production and reproduction, that marginalized women in the subsistence and domestic sector with the low wages. However, in order to challenge Marxist theory, feminist scholars overemphasize women's role in the sphere of reproduction and the interaction of production and reproduction. This leads them drop into the dualistic categorizations such as productive and reproductive work, paid and unpaid work, formal and informal economy. These dichotomies ignore the differences of analytic categories, especially to those who cannot fit into the rigid dualistic grid. Actually, these dichotomies have promoted a universal way to examine economic theories and human behaviors. Could we analyze women's work and experience in an alternative economic framework and other categories? With postcolonial feminists' respect of further differences, how could alternative economic theories go beyond the limiting categories of these dichotomies but in fact still be based on the traditional political economics of materialism? Does this narrow focus on the economic materialism of the gender lens continually influence the study of world system theory and the advent of global restructuring? In the next section, I will begin to link women and work from the point of view of economic development to global restructuring, which brings out another question.

### 3. The feminized labor forces in the global restructuring

During the late 1960s and into the 1970s, women had become the new favored workers in the export processing or light labor-intensive industries in the global assembly line. This period had also marked the feminized labor force, which was associated with such descriptive qualities as flexibility, low cost and docility. It was these qualities that made a gendered workforce so crucial for attracting foreign investment from core countries. How are the feminized labor forces represented and reproduced with the expansion of the global economy? In this section, I will review the dialogue between world system theory and feminist theory, and try to take the cultural perspective as a new way to reexamine global restructuring. Adopting a meso-organizational level in the analysis of gendered global labor forces, the question becomes how the manipulation of TNCs develops different kinds of new strategies in the shaping of gender meanings and ideologies. It needs to mention that gendered

laborers are also constructed by the cooperation of state gendered policies and the TNCs. Finally, the interactions between TNCs and states lead to the emergence of gender subjectivities in the process of production.

### 3-1. The outcome of global economic processes

Prior to globalization, the terminology in the feminist and other literatures focused on “modernization” and “development”. The progressive change of modernization was then challenged by the world system and dependency theorists, who argued different pictures of development. Depending on traditional Marxist analyses, Immanuel Wallerstein went further and suggested that capitalism was premised on the notion of many different forms of production, particularly in the periphery. The world system theory had noted the increasing exploitation of wage laborers in the peripheral countries, but it did not consider to women’s subsistence works as exploitation. According to Wallerstein’s assumption, women were incorporated as members of households with class interests consistent with those of their husbands. Since women’s work in the subsistence economy was not treated as exploitation, their interests were not considered distinctly from those of men of their class. The lack of gendered lens in the world system theory was one of the most potent critiques from the feminists who tried to create dialogue between world system theory and the feminist theory. Mies provided the detailed research to show how Third World women producers linked to First World housewives, which led to the international division of labor (Mies, 1986). Ward criticized that neither world system theory, nor traditional Marxism’s prediction, could explain why subsistence economies have expanded rather than contracted (Ward, 1993). He suggested that class and race should be taken into consideration in the inclusion of women into the world system theory, so that the analytic categories can be broadened. Joya Misra established a dialogue across the boundaries of the macro-level of world system research and the micro-level of feminist theory, rather than integration of one into the other (Misra, 1999). With communication between the two sides, the integration of women’s work into world system theory provides the ground for understanding the coming of globalization.

From Ward’s perspective, global restructuring referred to the emergence of the global assembly line, in which research and management were controlled by the core and assembly line work was relegated to semiperiphery or periphery (Ward, 1990). The global assembly line approach to production was attractive to TNCs, whose targets were female workers as the source of cheap labor for highly economical competition. By shifting the analysis from world system theory to globalization, Ward embarked upon a gender analysis of global restructuring. However, he

involved too much economic determinism to understand globalization, so that he easily dropped into the doctrine of Marxism. Beyond the economic determinism of global restructuring from Ward's perspective, and more than just inserting women into the existing structure of globalization, Marianne Marchand preferred to speak of global restructuring rather than globalization, since restructuring directly affected the day-to-day lives of real people (Marchand, 1996). In order to move beyond narrow economic determinative analysis of global restructuring, she suggested including ideas, identities and cultural dimensions in the analysis of global restructuring. Addressing the work of Marchand, she bridged the divide between the economic determinism of global restructuring analysis and a critical analysis of the ideational / cultural underpinnings of global restructuring. She went beyond the early work linking the micro-level of feminism and the macro-level of world system, and later economic determinist focus on global restructuring in the analysis of women's work. At this point, feminist scholars begin to consider global restructuring as being gendered in different ways; this leads to another question regarding the centrality of economic factors in the feminized labor force in global restructuring. Aihwa Ong suggested that industrial modes of domination were accomplished by new techniques operating to reproduce gender practices and consciousness (Ong, 1991). This does not mean that the economic dimensions of global restructuring in analyzing of gendered laborers are unimportant. Instead, Ong's work introduces the new idea that global restructuring is embedded in the contingent localized social and cultural process as new forms of domination to organize production systems emerged. The cultural dimension provides another perspective to understand the global restructuring beyond the confines of economic models that are treated as the only way to solve women's problems. As a consequence, the concept of empowered women as defined solely in the economic domain should be reconsidered.

Where Ong's and Marchand's works both indicates the cultural dimensions and human practices at the center of gendered labor analysis, Carla Freeman demonstrated that the categories of knowing, the dualisms of global as masculine and local as feminine, should be reconfigured in the discussion of informal entrepreneurs in the suitcase trade (Freeman, 2001). Freeman focused on the flux in the dualistic category of global vs. local. Moreover, she challenged the implicit gendered categories that picture the global as masculine and local as feminine. This meant that gender needed to be reevaluated the interaction of men and women, not only on the local level but also in the global contexts. Learning from Freeman's ideas, we find that the emergence of gendered global economy implies the deconstruction of the binary categories of gender hierarchy. Moreover, the deconstruction of the binary categories of gender hierarchy is also showed in the global entrepreneurial models of

masculinity that are beginning to influence at the local levels. This does not mean that gender meanings and identities are represented by masculine entrepreneurs; rather they are ongoing constructions of both masculinities and femininities in the localized factory regime between male managers and female laborers. These constructions are discussed in the next section.

### 3-2. The outcome of transnational corporations' strategies

When most scholars had focused on the macro or micro phenomena to examine feminized labor force in the global economy, some scholars began to notice the role of TNCs in the shaping of ideal female labor forces from the perspective of the meso-organizational level. Diane Elson, who went beyond gender differentiation at the household or micro level, analyzed how gender biases were constituted at the meso and macro levels (Elson, 1994). She argued that these biases occurred at the meso and macro levels, because institutions, actors and policies became gender bearers. In other words, these institutions were gendered because they were embedded in social norms and networks. Elson pointed out that gender operated at the multiple levels that were intricately interconnected in the meso level as a new perspective for the analysis of gender and labor in the global restructuring. With the coming of global restructuring's demand for cheaper labor, women workers are favored workers for TNCs due to the ideal image of female workers. How do the TNCs manipulate the ideal image of female workers while pursuing the maximum profit? Beyond taking the advantage of the connection of production and reproduction on the women's role, what kinds of new strategies are developed by TNCs keeping to reproduce and maintain traditional female image? Ong's and Lee's studies suggest that cultural dimensions are incorporated into TNCs' strategies in order to reconcile the conflict of gender and class. Salzinger focuses on the management's structure in the shop floor: it is the key source to investigating the gender meaning, and the gender meaning depends on the practice of femininity and masculine. While the heavily feminized labor forces are reproduced within the diverse gendered labor control strategies, Steven Mckay provides a different version, the gendering of technology leading to the potential masculinization of skilled work in the high-tech production.

In her study of factory women in Malaysia, Ong argued that Malaysia-based Japanese firms co-opt the Malay culture of male superiority to emphasize the moral authority of the Japanese management (Ong, 1987). At the same time, state policy supported the belief that Japanese cultural values were akin to the morals and ethics of Malaysia society. The emphasis on the cultural values created a moral imagery to win the support of Malay-Muslims in the investment of Japanese firms and further to

incorporate this into the factories for facilitating Japanese management. This not only strengthened racial superiority but also maintained the male domination. ChingKwan Lee provided another example of the cultural strategies of TNCs to shape the gendered labor forces (Lee, 1998). She explored how the social construction of the local labor markets shaped shop-floor gender and class process within the same company that separately set up in Shenzhen and Hong Kong. Shenzhen's factory depended on the local networks and patriarchal authority. Male locals and relatives as guardians controlled young female rural migrants away from home. The class domination implicitly exercised by male locals over female locals became more effective and less overt. In Hong Kong's factory, working mothers' gender role in the family shaped the condition of their employment so that management had an interest in incorporating familialism as a control strategy. By facilitating women's fulfillment of motherly responsibilities through shop-floor practices, managers succeed in stabilizing the supply of experienced laborers and keeping wages low. In fact, part of the cost of labor reproduction was transferred to the women's families. Thus, Lee's and Ong's case studies show that the strategies of management are now involved in different cultural practices to reproduce the gendered notion of women as docile, dexterous and cheap laborers for the global economy. Further, Ong's case study indicates that the domination of race is hidden in the cultural strategies that are skillfully adopted by Japanese managers. Lee's case study shows the same way that the domination of class in the factory is replaced by the domination of localism and familialism in order to avoid the conflict between laborers and managers. Both cases indicate that the domination of class and race is in the guise of different labor control methods that are interlocked with local culture, localism and familialism in factory specific regimes.

Tracing the traditional study of factory regimes, Michael Burawoy argued that factory regime included political apparatuses of production which reproduced the relations of labor process (Burawoy, 1985). However, Ong's and Lee's studies have pointed out cultural strategies as new strategies of TNCs; this is missing in Burawoy's theory. Meanwhile, Ong and Lee suggest that factory regimes are gendered institutions interweaving with the operations of class and race. This revises Burawoy's theory that the apparatuses of class domination within factory regimes shape gender and race. It does not mean that political apparatuses have been replaced by cultural strategies in the labor process of factory regime. Lee's study tires to provide a new way to examine local labor markets, which are shaped by localism and familialism, beyond the discussion of political apparatuses in the Burawoy theory. However, she fails to notice the flow of foreign investment in China and the gendered state policy that influences the local labor markets. When

China instituted economic reforms in the 1980s, during the trend of global restructuring, China's cheap labor and big domestic markets attracted the flow of foreign investment in China. The entrance of foreign investment has led to the floating populations, especially young women, who migrate from rural regions to the Pearl River Delta region where foreign companies are concentrated. In fact, the transfer of *hukou* system<sup>1</sup> (household registration) in state policy facilitates the mobility of female labors. Temporary residence certificate seems to provide opportunities of female temporary workers to work in localities without having local *hukou* registration. Excluded from the resident *hukou* of state's welfare and protection, female temporary workers easily fall into dependence on wages from foreign companies. Moreover, the power of granting temporary residence certificate guarantees an ample supply of cheap labor for TNCs and also leads to a conspiracy between local governments and TNCs to avoid the state government's regulation. Thus, the gendered state policy cannot be excluded from Lee's study, which simply defined local labor markets in terms of social and cultural structure. This does not mean to embrace Burawoy's theory, which focused on state intervention and political capacity in the labor process. In fact, the gendered state policy is exactly what Burawoy missed in his theory of politics of production.

Gender comes to be regarded as a factory made product that give much attention to the feminized labor force in global manufacturing, but far less research has traced how the discourse and experience of masculinity are also implicated in the shifting dynamics of gendered global economy. In her study in the US-Mexico border region, Leslie Salzinger argued that the docile, feminine workers were the stuff of managerial fantasies around world (Salzinger, 2003). Examining different factories in the same region, she found that the production of docile femininity needed ongoing investigation. In the powerfully feminized world of a television factory, the factory managers, who organized the labor process to guarantee the construction of a certain model of femininity across the factory floor, were obsessed by the women, who in turn were obsessed with seeing and being seen. The gender meaning is thus made by managers' expectations and at the same time is reinforced by female workers themselves. In the more powerfully masculine condition of a hospital garment

---

<sup>1</sup> The *Hukou* system is the policy of the Chinese government to control and restrict the high level of migration from the countryside in the 1950s. The *hukou* system is not just a system of blocking rural urban migration but a part of larger economic and political systems that are set up to serve multiple state interests. For economic reasons, the Chinese government is responsible for urban citizens' lifetime employment, subsidized housing, education, medical care and pensions. The high cost of this economic package explains why the state tightly controlled access to urban *hukou*. For political reasons, the city dwellers are rigidly controlled with work units and neighbourhood committees to maintain public order. Security officials often viewed migrants as rootless people who lacked the constraints of government and community and were prone to causing criminal or having antisocial ways (Chan and Zhang, 1999).

factory, femininity seemed to disappear behind a masculinization of work that was formerly considered women's work. The disappearance of femininity did not result merely from hiring men to replace women, but from a concerted effort to masculinize women, men and work. Salzinger suggested that this did not mean that the image of feminine assembly work disappeared; it still functioned, but as a source of fruitful contrast to challenge rather than to emulate (Salzinger, 1997). Salzinger's work points out how the managerial practices in the local factory play a crucial role in determining what kinds of gendered meanings shape particular factory relations within a global production process. Does this mean female workers are passive receptacles for the managerial practices? They are shaped but not determined by the managers' management. In fact, the gender meanings and subjectivities are going to be continually constructed by the interactions of femininities and masculinities in highly specific and culturally contingent ways. According to their own interests, female workers engage in a contested process of femininities and masculinities for defining their identities. So, the gender meaning is not a single set of masculinities or femininities, but a flexible process using different strategies of labor control.

Salzinger's work also indicates that the managers' desire, rather than the capitalist interests, dictates a new way to control laborers from the perspective of traditional Marxism. Due to the shortage of female laborers, females have been increasingly replaced by males in some Mexican factories; however, managers still prefer to recruit female laborers, even from remote areas. Actually, looking for female laborers far away from factories depends on the managers' desires, but does not correspond to capitalist interests. In global restructuring, the cheapness of a female labor force is in the interests of capitalism, but it has ultimately made them desirable for managers to seek out. Can the managers' desire replace capitalist interests, which leads to a new type of labor control? Or does Marxist analysis of the process of labor control need to be reconsidered because managers struggle between their own desires and their interests? All of these questions should be put under a gender lens and re-examined again.

When workers' skills are introduced into the practice of masculinities and femininities as another component of labor control strategy, the desirable feminized assembly laborers need to be revalued. Using a comparative case study analysis of three multinational electronics firms in the Philippines, Steven McKay examined the gendered impact of technological upgrading (McKay, 2006). Admitting technological upgrading as potential avenues for improving women's employment, empowerment and socioeconomic mobility, McKay argued that the skill-based requirement reproduced rather than challenged the existing gendered ideology and gender hierarchies. While the gap between female shop floor operators and male

technical workers seemed to be based on the introduction of technology, the gap, in fact, came from the established gendered stereotype and new economy male-domination in the gendered globalization (Acker, 2004; Kelkar and Nathan, 2002). The dominant growth sectors in the new economy, such as information technology and global finance, were all heavily male-dominated, although women filled some of the jobs in the middle and the bottom. The coming of technological upgrading and new automated machines that are not as gender specific as old machines come less dependence on fine vision and dexterous fingers in the process of production. Thus, do the demands of standardized labor process become regendered, from the desirable female workers to the new demand for masculine workers? This new question leads to continued suspicion of the feminized labor forces in the globalization.

### 3-3. The outcome of state strategies

Many scholars have mentioned that the state apparatus plays as an important role in achieving economic development by providing a favorable climate for foreign investment through investment incentives and free tariffs, the establishment of infrastructure, and by employing a lower waged female labor force. Scholars contend that women's subordination in the employment is in the interests of capitalists, state and international markets. However, scholars seldom notice that the state as a producer of gender ideology has been able to reconcile the potential conflict between the capitalists' interest in having plenty of cheap female labor and the patriarchal demand for the unconditional services of full-time housewives. How and what kinds of strategies are adopted by the state to construct the gender meaning that benefits the patriarchal family and at the same time national development and world accumulation? Wolf found that the Indonesian government set up women's organizations to propagate state images of gender roles in helping the family and national development (Wolf, 1992). These organizations were not grass-roots movements from below, but push down apparatuses from above that insinuated every household and family. Although the state-run women's organizations claimed to aim at improving women's life and problems, the organizations did not benefit women, but rather served the state's policy that reached all the way to the grass-roots level. Through the penetration of grass-roots women's organizations from below, the Indonesian government re-produced gender meaning to control women's behaviors and labor forces which in turn maintained both the state's development and the patriarchal power. Ong's study of factory women in Malaysia indicated a different set of state strategies to represent gender ideology (Ong, 1987). She pointed out that the Malaysian government integrated different local values and ethics into cultural

configuration for the management of the nascent Malay working women. On the one hand, the Malaysian state presented a moral imagery to validate the new labor relations and to win Malay-Muslim support for a program of female employment in the foreign factories. On the other hand, by means of the “public gaze,” the state simultaneously facilitated the process of industrial transformation and maintained men’s power in the workplace. The ideological construction of labor relations and national development was strategically integrated into cultural values that were potentially manipulated by the Malaysian state in the vocabulary of moral responsibility. In fact, the gender ideology was still consolidated by the state in the name of cultural protection and the patriarchal power.

PingChun Hsiung’s study of Taiwan indicated different state strategies in producing gender meaning (Hsiung, 1995). She argued that the Nationalist Party Kuomintang (KMT) inaugurated two major development programs, *Mothers’ Workshops* and *Living Rooms as Factories*<sup>2</sup>. While they attempted to incorporate married women into productive labor, contributing to Taiwan’s economic development, these two programs at the same time maintained the traditional ideology of a woman’s role in the family as wife and mother. The KMT advocated that housewives should contribute to national economic development through homeworking, which in effect made many families’ living rooms into factories. Through the *Living Rooms as Factories* program, married women were incorporated into productive labor not as regular workers but as homeworkers; this not only reconciled the conflict between female labor force participation and women’s role in the family, but also contributed to national development and capital accumulation. These women who worked at home or were recruited by the kinship network showed that KMT had implicitly transformed class conflict on the shop floor into intra-family disputes that were then resolved by patriarchal power. The state constructs gender meaning and ideology for reconciling the tension of capitalism and patriarchy, and at the same time takes responsibility for the mediation of gender and class.

Is the fit between the interests of capitalism and patriarchy harmonious, as Hartmann suggested? When women become the wage labors in the factories, how does women’s role reconcile the conflict of working in a workplace when they are supposed to work in the household? Wolf’s and Ong’s case studies show that the state intervened between the interests of capitalism and patriarchy when the two

---

<sup>2</sup> The Mothers’ Workshops program was set up by KMT in the local communities to provide different classes, such as sewing, cooking, snack making, household decoration and family planning. Throughout various classes of the Mothers’ Workshops, KMT reinforced the traditional image of womanhood. The Living Rooms as Factories program that was referred to as the Family Subsidiary Employment Program was designed to bring the surplus labor of communities into productive work (Hsiung, 1995:48-50).

conflict. Unlike traditional strategies of state policy from the top, the Indonesian government injects the state gendered policy into every local family and household through the state sponsor grass-roots of organization, which means that their influence of gendered policy spreads from the bottom. The state gendered policy is concealed under the protection of traditional cultural values; in fact it serves the interests of capitalism and patriarchy, and moreover the state's interests. Unlike the hidden role of gendered policy in Indonesia, the Malaysian government as a gender watch in the public sphere not only practicably strengthens the traditional Muslim culture, but also produces new gender relations and ideologies in the workplace. The Taiwanese government plays the same gender producer role in the public sphere as does the Malaysian government, but the Taiwanese government obscures the conflict of class within the patriarchal power. This shows the double roles of state with respect to patriarchy and capitalist interests. These case studies advocates that cultural values, as the source of different strategies for legitimizing of state gendered policy, overcome the conflict of capitalism vs. patriarchy, and at the same time maintain both interests, as well as state's own interests. It further indicates that the harmony of capitalism and patriarchy cannot be understood outside the practice of a state gendered policy that hides in the economic program of national development.

Kati Griffith and Leslie Gates' work in El Salvador indicated that state gendered policy served not only economic development but also political motivations (Griffith and Gates, 2002). They found that the state co-opted the laborers with legal constraints and inducements in order to keep its political stability. On the one hand, the state regulated legal constraints on labor unions and repressed strikes and protests. On the other hand, the state offered gender labor reform policy to offset the legal constraints and induce male laborers' support. Unlike the harmonious interests of state and patriarchy in the economic dimension of previous studies, Griffith and Gates' study pointed out that the state and patriarchy were in the competitive position when the state was facing unstable political conditions. With respect to national economic development, the state's interests corresponded with those of capitalism and patriarchy. However, this argument hides the potential conflict between the state and patriarchy in the political dimension, and ignores gendered reforms as the state's inducement in bargaining with male laborers for political cooperation. This further indicates that economics as the reason for state gendered policy is not the only way of feminist analyses with respect to the coming of global restructuring; indeed, the alternative dimensions of culture and politics need to be addressed in comprehensive analyses.

### 3-4. The outcome of interactions which produce gendered subjectivities

Salzinger's study was unlike the recognition of gendered subjectivities in the household sphere in the early feminists' research. She began to investigate how the gendered subjectivities were shaped by the managerial ambitions, intentions and constraints in the process of production. Under the strategies of hiring female workers, the factories never succeeded in reaching a half-female workforce. Nonetheless, managers were reluctant to hire male workers, and continued to believe that an all-female workforce should be achieved through hiring. The managers were committed to hiring women as far as possible, rather than training any available workers to maintain production. This kind of strategy was adopted in the absence of managers on the shop floor. Gendered subjectivity was evoked by competitive male co-workers that were necessarily hired to fill the workforce. On the one hand, female workers received the comments of male workers who disparaged women's ability to do the work on the shop floor; on the other hand, to be good workers, female workers were to focus on the work itself. The gendered subjectivities were fragmented and contested, evolving with struggle between workers and management *and* between female and male workers. In contrast to the above situation, the management strategy of paying by the piece made the workers' gender irrelevant, even though the workforce was still seen in a feminine framework. The gendered subjectivities were unstable and continually negotiated between many opinions about women, men, and work; there were no constant gendered subjectivities. These two different management styles on the shop floor result in different gendered subjectivities produced by the interaction of male and female workers; moreover, the gendered subjectivities appear to be unpredictable in the proliferation of gendered discourse; there is no single set of meanings of masculine or feminine affecting production on the shop floor. Salzinger's study successfully shows that the gender subjectivities emerge at work places beyond the traditional boundaries of women's experience in the household. Moreover, she indicates that the malleable gendered subjectivities should be understood in the particular configuration of localized frameworks that challenge the rigid gendered categories in the global factories. However, Salzinger's argument regarding the emergence of gendered subjectivities in the production process fails to consider commodity consumption, which opens newly imaginable possibilities for gendered subjectivities.

Carla Freeman's study of female informatics in data entry showed how dress and appearance define the new feminine identities for working women as members of the new pink collar service class (Freeman, 2000). In contrast to the emergence of gendered subject in production that was described in Salzinger's work, Freeman argued that Caribbean women used fashion to identify themselves as

pink-collar<sup>3</sup> workers. Crossing the various boundaries between gendered producers and consumers, manufacturing and service sectors, and blue-collar vs. white-collar labor, Caribbean women workers defied expectations predicated on the globalization literature. Although Caribbean informatics operated on a piece-rate system much like factory-based production, and their products were information that was manipulated and produced in electronic form as a service to clients overseas, the Caribbean women were bound up in consumption practices that gave rise to a new gender meaning and further influenced the shape of “ideal” global workers. Maria Mies suggested a paradigm of female production workers in the Third World and housewife consumers in the First World that were geographically and hierarchically opposed (1986); however, in their specific cultural context and gender dimension, the Caribbean women occupy an ambiguous place inbetween. The pattern of consumption of Caribbean women is not a matter of false consciousness, but a set of symbolic elements that identify their class consciousness. The pursuit and exchange of cultural capital reconfigure women’s class consciousness and transform the traditional meaning of class consciousness. This challenges a basic premise of Marxist theory and the early feminist theory: the economic material basis of women’s subordination. If we admit E.P. Thompson’s ideas, which show the making of the English working class as a culturally and historically specific experience of class formation, and Scott’s concept of class as multiple and contested meanings, the Caribbean women’s experimentation with fashion, blurring the imagery of class, reconfigures their class consciousness to reshape global gendered subjectivity.

The gendered subjectivity in the new pattern of consumption also links to the image of modernity that is showed by Thai women in the global labor force (Mills, 1999; 2003). Mills indicated that single Thai working women’s subjectivities were fragile under the tensions and contradictions between their desire for Thai modernity as consumers and their traditional gender identity as good daughters. Although the ambivalent gendered identities changed the experience of exploitation into more limited expression, Thai women’s subjectivity expressed the new sense of autonomy and agency to understand who they were and who they wished to become. Now, the gendered self images not only cross the boundaries of production and consumption on the economic sphere, but also broaden the discourse in the cultural dimension. Lee’s new study of labor subjectivities in post-socialist Chinese reform had a strong “statist”

---

<sup>3</sup> From Freeman’s perspective, pink collar denotes two major processes. The first is the feminization of work not only because it recruits women workers almost exclusively, but also because the process itself is imbued with notions of appropriate femininity. Femininity here suggests a quiet, responsible demeanor along with meticulous attention to detail and a quick and accurate keyboard technique. The second process is the linking of work and clothing and the physical space women workers inhabit as workers. These are integral to women’s experience of these jobs, and ultimately to their emergent identities (Freeman, 2000: 3-4).

orientation that was interpolated by the state's ideological categories of class, comrades, and citizens (Lee, 2002). The assumption of responsibility for guaranteeing a minimum level of general welfare in Mao's era still played a pivotal role in instituting and enforcing the rules of the market economy. The nostalgic labor subjectivity had historical and political roots that interacted with the production of economics. With the formulation of alternative strategies beyond the economic dimensions of a global gendered image, the exploration of gendered subjectivities should be embedded in a much more comprehensive picture of contingent economic, social, political and cultural processes; in other words, the experience of everyday life.

#### 4. Understanding women's resistance and agency on the new global assembly line

Women have been typically treated as passive subjectivities in the analysis of global restructuring. However, they are active participants who have adopted different resistant strategies to challenge the global gendered labor forces and homogeneous gendered meanings. So, in this section, I continue with the previous section of 3-4 that women have redefined themselves through the process of economic production and consumption into the experience of everyday life. This then raises another question: are newly diverse gendered subjectivities with the coming of women's resistance reducible to the only way that challenges the exploitative condition in the workshop? Different from the large-scale counter movement in the export processing zones of Philippines, South Korea and Mexico (Fox, 2002), women's resistance begins to engage in everyday resistance that is showed in the next following discussion.

##### 4-1. Resistance as product of biography and labor market position

Susan Tiano's work showed that Mexico's women, as a sufficient sense of agency with accommodative or resistant consciousness, engaged in daily struggle on a personal or collective level to improve their lives (Tiano, 1994). She found that young single women with better education and higher mobility were reluctant to work in the factory. The labor turnover of these young women showed that women had an ability to search for better jobs and better working conditions away from assembly work when the service sector expanded. In order to respond to the missing the "ideal" female worker, the factories began to employ older women whose families needed subsistent support, and they further reinforced the ideology of reproduction in terms of the wife-mother role that was encouraged by patriarchal power. These older working women expressed their job satisfaction that reflected their acceptance of their restrictive employment opportunities. Although they had limited options to choose

better working conditions, the waged employment did expand the women's bargaining power to confront patriarchy in the household and at the same time improve their autonomy. These women's notions of their wage-earning roles were opportunities for personal growth with the positive incentives of waged employment. Thus, facing the endless exploitation of international capital and structural patriarchy, young single women with highly labor turnover and their occupational mobility demonstrate that women gained alternative options to choose better working conditions. The older women who are responsible to support their family with limited choices depend on the employment of wages labors to increase their freedom and autonomy. Tiano's study indicates that women as an individual agency, through their thoughts, actions and interactions, express a personal struggle to confront the transformation of labor market and structure of patriarchal power.

#### 4-2. Resistance as product of transforming female practice of disruption and sexuality

Like Tiano, Ong's working women in Malaysia also showed two contested ideologies, but are represented in different ways (Ong, 1987). On the one hand, the accommodation of Malay women was internalized self by different fields of power relations on the shopfloor. On the other hand, the spirits of resistance were treated as unbearable pressure in the work place and the loss of self-control. Ong pointed out that international corporations adopted local culture to discipline Malay working women whose subjects were constructed by not only the factory surveillance but also the public gaze, such as families, state institutions and local culture. However, it does not mean that Malay working women fail to constitute their own subjectivities. In fact, their sporadic disruption of daily social conformity under the covert resistance shows the protest against male management and the emergence of self-consciousness. In fact, Malay working women act independently of each other. They individually constitute an anonymous protest against worker pressure and male domination rather than collective actions with specific demands on the management. The sexuality as an area of contestation is adopted by Malay women who challenge the male domination, and at the same time develop a self-defining identity. Through the ambivalences of cultural conformity and covert resistance, Malay working women, drawing on the cultural resources, are in the process of redefining themselves, restructuring gender meanings and relations. These ways have formed localized struggle against the threats from capitalist incorporation.

#### 4-3. Resistance as product of articulated self-interested and NGO participation

Junita Elias who studied factory girls on the multinational firm in Malaysia came to different conclusions from Ong (Elias, 2005). She doubted if everyday

struggles could be treated as a way for understanding the politics of resistance in the international political economy. Although the everyday resistance brought about some kinds of positive change for female workers, it did little to challenge the way in which women were constructed as diligent and dexterous workers. Noticing the interplay between the global and the local masculinities, Elias pointed out another question: was there a space for the articulation of the interest of women workers? Mary Mill provided a new observation to activist working women in Thailand that belied stereotypical images of docile female workers in the third world (Mill, 2005). She found that Thai women negotiated multiple dimensions of experience and meaning to build ties of commitment and solidarity for the grassroots labor organization through the nongovernmental organization's (NGO) contribution. NGO alliances sponsored labor workshop and small study groups for helping women learn the skill of self-expression. Moreover, grassroots activists recognized that the continued power in conventional gender norms as well as kin-based values dominated female laborers' lives. In order to gain female laborers' support in labor politics, activists invoked localized gender meanings, such as obligations of sacrifices and mutual care, rooted in the families spaces of kin and community. These localized gender meanings with the images of unionists as sibling, not only evoked the intimate relationship between the emigrant working girls, but also developed a concrete collective interest against the employers. Mill's study indicated how Thai women lived experiences of contradiction constituted localized women's movement and redefined the iconic image of docile female workers which were structured by global capitalism. No longer solely at the local level, working women with transversal strategies began to cross the geographical boundaries. They proposed a model of diversity and solidarity to confront the homogenizing effects of global thoughts (Marchand, 2003).

#### 4-4. Resistance as agents of forming their gendered subjectivity

If we review different forms of women's resistance in the previous discussion we will find, as suggested by Mills in the study of Thai women, that women's labor activism engages in gendered politics of place (Mills, 2005). Acknowledging that women's political activities were rarely limited to the public and official arenas of debates, Mills argued that the gendered politics of place encompassed the broad contexts of women's lives, linking the intimate settings of family, household and the body with wider communities and social environments as important sites of contest and struggle. Mills' analysis provided a new way of observation to assess women's resistance, which should be considered the multi-dimensional aspects of women's subordination. Having benefited from the

emergence of the service sector in Mexico's labor market, younger women with a better education had a chance to get away from assembly work. Older women had replaced younger women who used to work in the factories, but the wages increased older women's power to confront patriarchy in the household. In the context of the strong cultural values of Malay society, women's sexuality as a contested area restructures gender meanings and identities. In Thailand, NGO's participation led Thai women to engage in the activist labor movement. Along with the incorporation of different women's roles in various local contexts, these different modes of women's resistance challenge the exploitative conditions of the global assembly line. At the same time, the diverse women's subjectivities that are redefined and transformed by their resistance to the management should be understood within culturally and locally specific settings. Thus, the hybrid gendered subjectivities are not the product of resistance for challenging of the control of management in production. Rather, the hybrid gendered subjectivities recast themselves as agents in different strategies of resistance. In addition, different modes of gendered resistances are no longer confined to the localities, but instead are beginning to engage in grassroots movements across geographical boundaries. Rather than the creating a new politics of anti-globalization, Feminist scholars bring another dimension of globalization from below to develop the gender analysis of the politics of resistance (Falk, 2000; Gills, 2002). These assumptions regarding the shaping of gendered subjectivities and resistance now lead scholars to rethink the pivotal role of women laborers in the emerging politics of counter-globalization.

#### 4. Conclusion

This paper begins to review the works of early feminist scholars who treat women as the subject in the process of economic development. The incorporation of women into the economy did lead the strategies of household economy in the process of conflicts, contradictions and negotiations that challenge the household economy as a single utility. Also, Lim's research provides positive investigation of women's work in the TNCs. However, the empowerment of women's employment is also accompanied by existing forms of gender inequality and exploitation. Beyond the debates of positive and negative forces for women's well-being, alternative perspectives of feminists seek to include the inquiry of production and reproduction and the ways of capitalist accumulation to relocate the concept of women's work. These two alternative perspectives focus on the analyses of waged and non-waged labor. These perspectives bring two contributions. First, the process of capitalist accumulation straddles the subsistent reproduction and the production that invisibly transforms labor forces from reproductive sphere to productive sphere. Second,

women is no longer confined in the reproductive sphere but is broadened to the part of the productive system that is further influenced by various dimensions of patriarchy, class and sexuality.

The gendered elements in economic development are exacerbated in globalization. The transformation of knowledge categories, from the framework of materialism to cultural underpinnings, becomes a new way to understand the global restructuring. This new gendered mapping is occurring more fluidly and flexibly when TNCs begin to cross the national borders in order to search for cheap female laborers in the peripheral countries. The embedment of local culture becomes a new strategy of TNCs to reconstruct labor relations and gender meanings. This does not mean that the domination of class and race disappears but rather they incorporate into the cultural strategies of TNCs. Moreover, the interaction of managers' sexual desire and women's subjectivity shows that the gendered meaning is a dynamic terrain that is contested, reworked and potentially transformed. The experience of masculinity and femininity illuminates that the gendered meaning needs to be an ongoing investigation. Meanwhile, the manager's desire as a kind of labor control also challenges Marxist analysis of the process of labor control that is based on the capitalists' interests. However, in terms of the technological upgrading, the increasingly full automation and the persistent gender ideology show that men have been gaining ground by masculinizing the new economic process in the degenderization of the feminized labor force in the shop floor. This leads the regenderization of masculine to reshape the imagination of feminized labor force in the globalization.

In fact, the manipulation of TNCs cannot work alone without the support of state gendered policy to reconcile the conflict of capitalism and patriarchy when female workers become the target of global restructuring. On the one hand, the state sustains traditional cultural values to consolidate the patriarchal power for winning men's support. On the other hand, the state reproduces the new gender relations and meanings in the factories for the management of labor control. State gendered policy mediates the tension of capitalism and patriarchy and further transfers class conflict in the domination of patriarchy. However, the state and patriarchy are not always harmonious when states are facing political instability. In order to keep political stability in the historical contingency, the state negotiates with male laborers through the legal constraints and the inducement of gendered policy. So, the state gendered policy serves the economic development that is now transferred to serve political goals.

Without denying the interactions of TNCs and state gendered policy in the global economy, the gender subjectivities begin to be constituted in the process of

production. This redefines gendered subjectivities that are shaped in the domestic sphere. Gendered subjectivities are not confined to production processes. The new modes of consumption together with production lead the emergence of new gendered subjectivities. Furthermore, the construction of gendered subjectivities, across the boundaries of the economic dimension, which expand to the political, social and cultural spheres, are incarnated in everyday life. These new perspectives challenge Marxist labor theory and later Marxist-feminist theory of the 1970s. In what she was calling “the quintessential worker problem,” Rose Sonya criticized the universal, individualist and abstract subject in orthodox Marxist labor history that left women out of working class history (Sonya, 1997). This critique should be traced back to the foundational assumptions of working class formation in the Marxist theory. Marx and Engels assumed that the origins of class struggle and the development of class consciousness were located in the public sphere that was dominated by men. Women who were located in domestic sphere took the responsibility of reproduction. Based on the dichotomous spheres in the analysis of working class formation, much Marxist-feminist theories in the 1970s attempted to show how women’s role in the private sphere contributed to capitalist accumulation. However, the work of early feminists basically reproduced the idea of separate spheres within Marxist analysis of capitalism. The subject of working class history was still constructed by working class men. Scott, transforming the paradigm of men as the subject in the history, suggests to bring women back into the working class history and to develop gender as an analysis category (Scott, 1999). Enlightened from Scott’s historical analyses of gender meanings, the later feminists analyze gendered subjectivities in different local places. This goes further to examine the interaction of living subjectivities and the practice of everyday life. As the result, the gender meanings and subjectivities are not the product of conventional gendered categories but the outcome of those people in a specific area with their strategies and struggles.

Unlike passive objectivities in the past, women, as active subjectivities, adopt different strategies of resistance to reshape the gendered meaning and the global imagery. It seems that the contested ideologies and everyday resistance are the contradictory of meanings and practices in the conventional concept of political resistance, but these should be read from the women’s point of view that redefines the nature of politics of resistance in the large-scale counter movements. As Lourdes Beneria and Martha Roldan conclude that however small the changes...that women have accomplished may appear to the observer, these changes do not look insignificant to the women themselves (Beneria and Roldan, 1987:162). What is reviewing of various strategies in different places, discovered that women’s everyday resistance is embedded into highly localized cultural strategies. This further

indicates that gendered subjectivities are diverse; they are constituted in the acts of everyday resistance within locally and culturally specific settings, instead of the product of resistance for the challenge of the owners of production in the framework of Marxist theory. Further, the new trend of grassroots movements that are organized by variously gendered experiences build a coalition across the national boundaries. This also makes women as an active agent to form their resistances.

Finally, this paper could treat the beginning of the study of gender and labor in the Eastern Asia. From the perspective of global commodity chain, eastern Asia women are no longer confined to production tasks in the manufacturing industries. Most of female workers have moved on from the non-skill of assembly work to low-skill technical operator in the high-tech industries. Moreover, in terms of industrial upgrading, the traditional management of labor control in the factory regime that is based on the power of managers has been replaced by the bureaucratic regulation and rules. Thus, addressing the element of technology, does the emergence of the labor control of bureaucratic management eliminate the inequality of women's work? Or does the bureaucratic management develop new strategies of labor control to regenderize new gender meanings and ideologies in the factory regime constantly evolving into women's everyday life? Does the rational bureaucratic management challenge the manager's interests in Marxist theory? What kinds of new cultural struggles or strategies are engaged by women when they are facing the new forms of domination? All of these questions are needed to do further research.

### **Bibliography**

- Acker, Joan. 2004. Gender, capitalism and globalization. *Critical sociology*, 30(1).
- Amin, Samir. 1976. *Unequal development: an essay on the social formation of peripheral capitalism*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Boserup, Ester. 1970. *Women's role in economic development*. New York: ST. Martin's Press.
- Beneria, Lourdes. 1982. "Accounting for women's work." Pp119-149 in Lourdes Beneria (eds) *Women and Development: the sexual division of labor rural societies*. New York: Praeger.
- Beneria, Lourdes and Martha Roldan. 1987. *The crossroads of class and gender*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Beneria Lourdes and Gita Sen. 1981. Accumulation, reproduction, and women's role in economic development: Boserup revised. *Signs* 7(2): 279-298.
- Burawoy, Michael. 1985. *The Politics of Production*. London: Verso.
- Chan, Kamwing and Zhang Li, 1999. *The hukou system and rural-urban migration in*

- China: processes and changes. In *China Quarterly*, 160:815-855.
- Elson, Diane. 1994. Micro, Meso, Macro: gender and economic analysis in the context of policy reform. In Isabella Bakker(ed), *The strategic silence: gender and economic policy*. London: Zed books.
- Elias, Juanita. 2005. The gendered political economy of control and resistance on the shop floor of the multinational firm: a case-study from Malaysia. *New political economy*, Vol. 10, No.2
- Fox, Julia D. 2002. Women's work and resistance in the global economy. In Berberoglu, B (ed), *Labor and capital in the age of globalization*. MD: Rowan and Littlefield.
- Falk, Richard. 2000. Resisting globalization from above through globalization from below. In Barry Gills (ed), *Globalization and the politics of resistance*. Palgrave.
- Fernandez Kelly Patricia M. 1989. Broaden the scope: gender and international economic development. *Sociological Forum*, Vol.4, No.4: 611-635.
- Freeman, Carla. 2000. *High tech and high heels in the global economy: women, work and pink-collar identities in the Caribbean*. Duke University Press.
2001. Is local: global as feminine : masculine? rethinking the gender of globalization. *Signs*, Vol.26, No.4.
- Frank, Andre Gunder.1967. *Capitalism and underdevelopment in Latin America*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Gills, Dong-Sook S. 2002. Globalization and counter-globalization. In Dong-Sook S Gills & Nicola Piper (eds) *Women and work in globalizing Asia*. Routledge.
- Kati L. Griffith and Gates Leslie. 2002. A state's gendered response to political instability: gendering labor policy in semiauthoritarian EL Salvador. *Social Politics*, Vol. 9 Issues, 3.
- Kelkar, Govind and Dev Nathan. 2002. Gender relations and technological change in Asia. *Current sociology*, 50(3).
- Hsiung, PingChun.1996. *Living rooms as factories: class, gender and the satellite factory system in Taiwan*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Hartmann, Heidi. 1976. Capitalism, patriarchy and job segregation by sex. In M. Blaxall and B. Reagan (eds), *Women and the workplace*. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- Kung, Lydia. 1983. *Factory women in Taiwan*. Ann Arbor: university of Michigan Press.
- Lim, Linda. 1990. Women's work in export factories: the politics of a cause. Pp.109-119 in Irene Tinker (eds), *Persistent inequalities*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Lee, ChingKwan. 1998. *Gender and the South China Miracle: two worlds of factory women*. University of California Press.
2002. From the specter of Mao to the spirit of the law: labor insurgency in China, *Theory and Society*, 31.
- Marchand, Marianne. 1996. Reconceptualising “gender and development” in an era of globalization, *Millennium*, 25:3
2003. Challenging globalization: toward a feminist understanding of resistance. *Review of international studies*, 29.
- McKay, Steven. 2006. Hard drives and glass ceilings: gender stratification in high-tech production. *Gender & society*, Vol.20, no.2.
- Mies, Maria. 1982. “The dynamics of the sexual division of labor and integration of rural women in the world market.” Pp1-29 in Lourdes Beneria (eds), *Women and Development: the sexual division of labor rural societies*. New York: Praeger.
1986. *Patriarchy and accumulation on a world scale: women in the international division of labour*. London: Zed.
- Misra, Joya. 1999. Gender and world-system: engaging the feminist literature on development. In Thomas Hall (ed), *Cases, places and people: world- systems studies*. Totowa, N.J.: Rowman& Littlefield.
- Mills, Mary Beth. 1999. *Thai women in the global labor force: consuming desires, contested selves*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
2003. Gender and inequality in the global labor force, *Annual review of anthropology*, Vol.32.
2005. From nimble fingers to raised fists: women and labor activism in globalizing Thailand. *Signs*, Vol.31. Iss. 1.
- Ong, Aihwa. 1987. *Spirits of resistance and capitalist discipline: factory women in Malaysia*. Albany: State University of New York press.
1991. The gender and labor politics of postmodernity. *Annual review of anthropology*, Vol.20.
- Salzinger Leslie. 2003. *Genders in Production: making workers in Mexico’s global factories*. University of California Press.
1997. From high heels to swathed bodies: gendered meanings under production in Mexico’s export-processing industry. *Feminist Studies*, Vol.23, Iss.3
- Salaff, Janet. 1981. *Working daughters of Hong Kong*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Safa, Helen I.1995. *The myth of the male breadwinner: women and industrialization in the Caribbean*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press.
- Scott, Joan.1999. *Gender and the politics of history*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Sonya Rose. 1997. Class formation and the quintessential worker in Joan R. Hall (eds), *Reworking class*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Tinker, Irene. 1976. The adverse effect of development on women. Pp.22-34 in Irene Tinker and Michele Bo Bramsen (eds), *Women and world development*. Washington DC: Overseas development council.
- Tiano, Susan. 1994. *Patriarchy on the line: labor, gender, and ideology in the Mexican Maquila Industry*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Von Werlhof, Caludia. 1988. "Women's work: the blind spot in the critique of political economy." Pp.13-26 in Maria Mies, Veronika Bennholdt-Thomsen, and Caludia Von Werlhof (eds), *Women: the last colony*. London: Zed Press.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel. 1974. *The modern world system I*. New York: Academic Press.
- Ward, Kathryn. 1988. Women in the global economy. Pp.17-48 in Barbara Gutek, Laurie Larwood and Ann Stromberg (eds), *Women and work #3*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
1990. *Women workers and global restructuring*. Cornell University Press.
1993. "Reconceptualizing world system theory to include women." Pp. 43-68 in Paula England (eds), *Theory on gender/feminism on theory*. New York: Aldine De Gruyter.
- Ward Kathryn B. and Pyle Jean Larson Pyle. 1995. "Gender, Industrialization, transnational Corporations, and development: an overview of trends and patterns." Pp.37-56 in Christine E. Bose and Edna Acosta-Belen (eds), *Women in the Latin American development process*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Wolf, Diane L.1992. *Factory daughter: gender, household dynamics and rural industrialization in Java*. Ithaca, N.Y.: ILR Press.