Overall Gender Synthesis

Anna Spiteri, Maurice Saïd, Dirk de Ketelaere

Overall Gender Synthesis

Work Package 6

September 2011

Overall Gender Synthesis

Anna SPITERI, Maurice SAID, and Dirk DE KETELAERE
(Integrated Resources Management Company Ltd., Malta)

Abstract

The EuroBroadmap EU FP-7 project is aimed at arriving at an evaluation of a shared and coherent vision of Europe's place in the world. In the following analysis we will be looking at the results of a student survey conducted in eighteen countries across four continents, and which represent a section of the research conducted for the project, from a gender perspective. We outline the main differences that emerge in the answers given by both men and women. We argue that these differences point to the existence of a gender hierarchy based on a patriarchal hegemonic structure. By comparing the results of the survey to the results of research conducted on migration at the Southern and Eastern borders of Europe, as well as an analysis of school textbooks, National visions and global trade flows, we single out particular aspects of gender in socio-relational contexts that emerge across most of the country case studies and attempt to provide, where possible, explanations for the exceptions. We further argue that the results collected and the existence of a gender hierarchy is reflective of a persistent structure of inequality that in some cases mirrors colonial structures of control, which are still being replicated today.

Outline of the EuroBroadMap Project

The EuroBroadMap EU FP-7 project is aimed at arriving at an evaluation of a shared and coherent vision of Europe's place in the world. The project in doing so aims to construct, through research, an idea of the way Europe is perceived by European and non-European countries. To this effect, part of the Eurobroadmap project is to examine the place allotted to Europe in the visions of Europeans and non-Europeans and to consider the implications of these perceptions in the future development of European society. The research is split across a number of work packages with the aim of arriving at a vision of a) Subjective Europe, b) Political Europe and c) Functional Europe. The results of the above three explorations will lead to an integrated vision of Europe.

As part of the research, a structured questionnaire was developed and given to students in universities in 18 countries and across 4 continents (Work package Mental maps of students). The questions were organised into four sections: 1) Some questions about you (level of family income, feeling of belonging to a particular religion, languages spoken etc.), 2) Your vision of the world (countries and cities students would like or not like to live in), 3) Your own world map (Students draw up their own divisions of the world), 4) your vision of Europe (outline of Europe's perceived borders and the choice of words students associate with Europe).

Looking at the questions provided, the data collected may be split into two categories: 1) Socio-cultural baggage, and 2) Perception. Socio-cultural baggage refers to factual information regarding each student that cannot, at this stage, be altered by outside forces. These are stationary variables such as family level of income or number of countries students have visited. Perception / personal dimension refers to information provided by students that reflects their own preferences and personal views / subjective realities. These are mobile variables that may easily fluctuate, not only from student to student, but also with regard to local / national / international and personal situations. Examples of these kinds of variables could be countries students would like or not like to live in. In most cases students were chosen from six domains of study: Art, Engineering, Health, Social sciences and Humanities, Business and Political science.

Following the collection of answers from each country case study, the results were split by gender in order to identify whether any significant differences exist between men and women's responses, and what these could possibly suggest. Thus, in the following pages we will be looking closely at the key differences in the results (outlined in the GWG reviews and final country reports of WP2) and commenting further on them from a gender-based standpoint. The focus on women in the following sections is an attempt at addressing shortcomings in the analysis of results that seem to be

too centred on men, or lacking in sufficient analysis of the overall gender perspective (as identified by Alexandru Rusu, Meenakshi Thapan, Manuela Martini and Marwan Hobeika in their gender reviews).

The project also looks at Migrants' visions of Europe and the world, and research was carried out across the Southern and Eastern borders of Europe as well as in Argentina and Mali, focusing on migrants' trajectories, challenges and hopes with regards to Europe and their projected final destinations. The research conducted with students and migrants is central to the construction of a vision of subjective (and to an extent functional) Europe.

Research on Political and Functional Europe is embodied in an analysis of school manuals and textbooks and national / international visions, as well as an analysis of migration, economic and political flows and networks. The following sections focus on the results of work conducted in each of these areas from a gender perspective, and aim to show how an integrated gender vision of Europe may be constructed from these results.

The following analysis is also a preliminary attempt at integrating the results into a broader discussion of gender (from literature and other projects), a task which may be somewhat constrained by the variety and extent of 'case study countries' involved in the surveys and research. The structure of this document has been moulded on the structure of the GWG review template, where the results obtained are analysed and then incorporated into a broader discussion of gender to determine whether the research conducted is able to provide a new perception of gender behaviour / pattern.

1 Mental Maps of Students

Women and Education

In the majority of cases, barring one or two exceptions, student responses are usually similar with regards to questions relating to socio-cultural baggage, yet differ greatly when it comes to perception. One such exception was the uneven representation of men and women in certain domains of study, namely an over-representation of men in Engineering and an over-representation of women in Health, and to a slightly lesser extent in Art and Social sciences. This clear cut division between men and women in education portrays gender as a division of groups (Goetz and Grant 1988), and this division is very much dependent on existing social and cultural norms and distributions. Stereotypes incorporated in the media and education system create gender hegemonic beliefs (Ridgeway and Correll 2004). This may account for the homogeneity of certain answers in particular social and cultural settings, where both men and women are imbued with the same ideas and conceptions of their social roles and what essentially makes a man, a man and a woman, a woman.

In an experiment conducted by Biernat, Manis, and Nelson (1991) among college students, individuals estimated the height of other students, both male and female, using photographs. In each photograph, for every male student of a certain height there was another photograph of a female student of the same height. A doorway or a desk were included in the background of each photo so that the height could be more easily and accurately estimated. The students estimating the heights all gave answers indicating that the men were actually taller than the women, even though they were of the same height. This was irrespective of whether the student answering was male or female (cited in Valian 2004). "The important point about this study is that a genuinely objective characteristic - height - is not immune from the effects of gender schemas" (Valian 2004: 209). Thus, students' answers are determined by preconceived ideas / notions of what characteristics a male / female student should typically possess, especially if they hail from the same socio-cultural environment. This may range from something as mundane as height, to dress, occupations and social roles. "Dobbert (1975), for example, had observed that in school boys are assigned manipulative jobs while girls are given nurturant tasks" (cited in Goetz and Grant 1988: 185). Furthermore, men are viewed as more instrumental and having more agency and thus, are more status worthy, while women are more communal and generally less competent (Ridgeway and Correll 2004: 513).

These culturally assigned social roles and notions of the typical man or woman create a platform for individuals' conceptions of the divisions between the 'self' and the 'other', and are instrumental in guiding individuals in their paths selection in terms of education or profession (Ridgeway and Correll 2004). Thus, Engineering is strongly associated with being a 'male' instrumental subject, while social sciences are a more female 'communal' subject. Engineering is seen as having more use-value than social sciences. "A meta-analysis of studies in which the same gender-neutral product is labelled as produced by a man or a woman shows a modest but significant tendency for the product to be evaluated as better if produced by a man... When the product is associated with a domain that is culturally defined as masculine, such as engineering or the military, but also management, the evaluative bias in favour of men is stronger" (Ridgeway and Correll 2004: 518). Thus, the overwhelming over-representation of men in engineering and women in the social sciences, health and art, is indicative of gender schemas and stereotyping that are not only confined to education.

Case study: Tunisia - An Exception

Whereas all the student survey results show an over-representation of men in engineering in comparison to women, Tunisia stands out as an exception. Women are over-represented in all domains of study in Tunisia, including engineering. The highlighted results present an anomaly that may have at

its roots the social and political reforms carried out in the years following Tunisia's independence. The newly established Tunisian government voiced its commitment in the 1950s, to work towards the universal education of girls (Thourson Jones 1980). It is worth underlining the exceptionally strong stand the government has taken in the promotion of women's rights, especially in comparison to other Arabo - Muslim states. Of particular significance is the granting of equal rights to divorce and the establishment of a minimum age for marriage (*ibid.* 1980: 106-108). Furthermore, in comparison to more conventional Arabo - Muslim states such as Egypt, Tunisia stands out as an example of a liberal case in this respect. In terms of marriage, family and the household, the husband cannot prohibit his wife from working, and obedience cannot be enforced. Instead obedience is substituted with the provision to share part of the financial burden of maintaining the family and household, a condition that has been in practice since 1993 (Mashhour 2005: 586). The Tunisian government has also attempted to direct more girls towards "the study of industrial subjects, with the possibility that this innovation may begin to break down the near - total exclusion of women from engineering and electronics" (Thourson Jones 1980: 122). This together with the high rate of unemployment (13%) and an even higher rate of unemployment for recent college graduates[1] may provide some background explanation for the anomaly in the results.

Women and the 'Global' - Country Case Studies

Egypt

The results of the survey indicate that over 30 percent of women making up the Egyptian sample have indicated a feeling of belonging to the 'global'. It is also worth noting that of these women, none have quoted their family level of income as low. Egyptian women's choice of the global may be due to a number of factors, however the fact that most of these women come from a middle class to upper-middle class background is telling in itself. Women's access to higher education in Egypt is predominantly a luxury widely reserved for members of the middle class and the elite, and even then it does not predicate the possibility for employment following marriage (Sherif 1999). However, through access to higher education and increased employment opportunities, women have increased their possibilities for upward social mobility, although they receive little or no acknowledgement for their accomplishments and added contributions, and are criticised for "their inability to live up to the socio-religious ideal" (*ibid.* 1999: 10).

The socio-religious ideal implies that although women of a certain class and status have access to education, their social roles should remain tied to the domestic sphere of taking care of the household, husband and children.

---

[1] http://www.economist.com/node/17862305

For upper-middle class women, working has become a means by which to add to their husbands' salaries and maintain their family's prestige. It has also become an integral part of their identity (Sherif 1999: 11-12). It is a sign of status for women not to have to work outside of the home, unless they hold a prestigious civil service job (Larson 1991). The status and conversely the stigmatisation linked to employment, may represent a defining factor in Egyptian women's choice of the 'global', a means by which to be more socially mobile and have access to a less restrictive employment market. The popularity and prestige attached to foreign universities and institutes in Egypt is reflective of this attachment to the 'global' (Sherif 1999). In the case of the lower and lower-middle class, the return of successful migrants may also be a factor that consolidates the link with the global (Larson 1991: 51).

Portugal

The survey results for Portugal show a significantly high proportion of feeling of belonging to the 'global', especially among women. In the case of women, the choice of feeling of belonging is distributed between the local and the global, whereas that of the men is distributed between national and supranational. The choice of the local may suggest a link to the family, the locality where one retains one's close kin and social networks. The choice of the global may suggest a desire to extend one's options either in terms of employment or a different social environment. In fact the words associated with Europe which were over-represented among women were positive: tourism and beauty. Another two words which were predominant among the women were difference and diversity, both emphasise the positive and negative meanings these words may produce. For those women who chose the local, it may signify the difference and uncertainty of the image of Europe in comparison with the feeling gained and the image they retain of their locality and the associated norms. For those women that chose the global it may further emphasise the Europe which is different from Portugal and which attracts them, or the image of Europe which is tolerant of diversity (in this case being Portuguese in a foreign context). It is worthwhile noting that the choice of the word 'euro' was more predominant among women than among men, which may further emphasise the image of a Europe where there are more economic opportunities, which may be different to the local situation in Portugal.

In the case of men the choice of feeling of belonging is split between national and supranational. These choices are also reflected in men's choice of words associated with Europe, which all seem to reflect the political and economic aspects. Words such as: democracy, progress, social, Occident and cradle. The use of cradle in this context is interesting in that it may refer to the EU as a cradle for the birth of progress and democracy. It may also refer

to Europe in a historical context as a cradle of civilisation. It is unusual to find a word associated with Europe which is normally used in a nurturing context.

India

The survey results show that men's sense of belonging is attached to the local and supranational, whereas women's sense of belonging is attached to the global. The results also show that where the mother / father's level of education is higher there is a higher percentage of students who display a sense of belonging which is linked to the global level, whereas conversely when the mother / father's level of education is low there is a higher percentage of students who display a sense of belonging which is linked to the local. It is worth noting at this point that a significantly higher percentage of women than men quoted both their mothers and fathers as having a level of education which is in the medium-high to high categories. Other variables which point to a polarisation in the results are the level of income where a majority of students who quote their family level of income as low have a sense of belonging linked to the local level and a higher level of income showed a majority of students quoting a sense of belonging linked to the national level. It is again worth noting that a higher percentage of women than men quoted their family level of income as higher.

Taking the above variables together as a collective reveals a pattern that sheds some light on access to higher education, not only among Indian youths as a whole, yet also in terms of gender. If we are to comment solely on the dimensions indicated by the results of the survey, then the picture that emerges from the results obtained in India show that women have a sense of belonging that is linked to the global and national and less to the local. Most of the women in the sample also quoted their family level of income as medium to high, and a significantly higher proportion of women to men quoted their mother's and father's level of education as high. In the context of the national, India presents itself as an entity composed of varying social and political realities, and thus, in both their selection of the 'national' and the 'global' women are expressing a more expansionist view of their world. It is especially indicative that over two thirds of Indian women in the survey sample quoted their mother's level of education as being in the category of medium-high to high. The results also show that there may be fewer possibilities for access to education for Indian women coming from families of low income and education.

The attachment of men to the local and infra-national may indicate an attachment to their locality, an area where they have familiarity, established networks and which constructs their identity. The fact that India is largely a patrilineal society could go a long way in supporting this contention, in that

Indian men's personal and family responsibilities, and thus, their identities and local power and influence are inherently linked to their locale.

Women and the Global

Although, the answers collected regarding scale of belonging (Local, National, Global, Infra-national or Supranational) are not as clear cut between men and women as the choice of subject domain, there is still a notable difference between men and women's responses in this category. In fact, women's choice of the 'global' reflects the only significant general difference between women and men's answers in this section (Scale of belonging). The fact that a significantly larger percentage of women opted for the 'global' is hardly surprising, as Mills (2003) notes, "many women and men who provide transnational service labor are themselves pursuing globally inflected desires for class mobility and consumption" (Mills 2003: 46). What this suggests is that women who feel a stronger sense of belonging to the 'global' could be expressing a desire to be more socially mobile and move away from local restrictions and restrictive domestic responsibilities, shaped by living in a patriarchal society. Incidentally, the choice of the 'global' may indicate a desire / hope for social mobility and better chances of employment abroad, or an alleviated status in their local community through employment abroad as well as a degree of independence.

Joining the workforce in most cases is seen as better for women's social status / position (according to case studies), probably due to a move away from the domestic sphere which may be an indication of a better position in society. There is an emphasis on the need for women not to be dependent (or depended on); distance may therefore decrease the possibility of dependency (Ganguly-Scrase 2003: 557-558). Rural men in Kerala, India, view labour abroad as necessary, despite the uncertainty and risks that come with such a venture, to increase their status and increase their marriage options. Thus, rural 'poor' men and migrant women are in the same status boat (Mills 2003: 53). However, even though many migrant women occupy the role of 'care-givers', it is easier for them to find work opportunities on the side, even if most of the time this is in the form of domestic labour or small scale businesses such as the production and sale of food (Al-Sharmani 2006), activities that highlight domestic responsibilities in their home communities. Extra money that is made from these small ventures is then remitted to family members back home (*ibid.* 2006, Gundel 2002).

Taking care of children also implies that women are directly responsible for their socialization and education. This affords a myriad of benefits, as children grow up and are able to carve out livelihoods for themselves. Children will thus be able to provide financial support for their 'caregivers', they become a form of social capital. In this way they represent an extended reproduction of livelihood for the transnational family (Al-Sharmani 2006).

Through their children and through the money distributed as remittance, women are able to financially support family members and in so doing, improve their status and authority within the family transnational network (*ibid.* 2006). Thus, if we take this aspect into account, women's choice of the "global' need not be seen as an escape from a patriarchal society, yet rather the possibility of detachment from patriarchal communal / household relations. However, it should be noted that although the nature of domestic work may be extremely arduous (depending also on the social context), it may reward women with opportunities for agency and increased status within their communities (Thapan 2003).

As may be seen in the previous section societal-gender segregation in terms of employment, education and status are created and composed of "complimentary processes acting simultaneously, often at different levels of analysis, such that the elimination of any single process will not be sufficient to eliminate the phenomenon" (Ridgeway and Correll 2004: 512). Most societies tend to be patriarchal, with socio-culturally similar ideas of the roles men and women play. They mostly push forward a gender hierarchy based on male hegemony. In another experiment provided by Valian (2004), students were asked to identify the leader in 3 groups of 5 people seated around a table. One group was composed solely of men, another solely of women and the last was mixed. In the first two groups the person at the head of the table was identified as the leader, whilst in the mixed group the woman seated at the head was not identified as the leader by either male or female students, but rather a man seated elsewhere at the table was selected (Valian 2004:209). Men seen and preferred in the roles of managers or leadership, could be an extension or emulation of the domestic sphere where men are typified as the breadwinners, thus, they hold more status.

Another possibility for women's selection of the 'global', and this is more probable for those with little or no experience abroad, is the media. Advertising and foreign programmes constantly propagate the idea that consumerism and with it individualism are the foundations of free choice and 'modernity' (Ganguly-Scrase 2003). Thus, images of the liberated woman driving her own car are incredibly appealing (*ibid.* 2003), images associated with the 'global out there'. Access to spatial mobility as a result of joining the global labour force, allows for opportunities for access to new behaviours and lifestyles as well as new commodities, and to do so while still operating as a respected member of a community (Mills 2003). The trend seems to point to migration as a desperate act to escape situations of turmoil or economic strife in an individual's home country. However, it may also account for simply a change in scenery, far from parental expectations and gender-based discrimination and the application of gender schemas on the part of schools and employers (Goetz and Grant 1988). Thus, the selection of the 'global' is plausible in the cases of both men and women, but more so with women attempting to

detach themselves from patriarchal communal / household relations.

Gender-Role Replication (as Evidenced by the Results of the Survey)

As has been noted the major differences between men and women emerged in the choice of subject domain and women's choice of the 'global'. These differences alone point to a persistent replication of gender-stratified social roles, with men opting more for subjects portrayed as 'male' and instrumental and women opting more for subjects portrayed as 'communal' and 'nurturing'. In the case of women's selection of the 'global', it is also worthwhile comparing the differences between men and women's choice of countries they would like to live in. France featured in students' top 3 choices for women in 15 countries and men in 10 countries, while USA featured in students' top 3 choices for women in 7 countries and men in 12 countries. France's popularity with women fits in with the previous comment of the idealised image of the liberated and modern woman, with access to new and ranging commodities, which is embodied in the portrayal of France as the fashion, romance and shopping capital of the world. In the case of men the choice of USA, fits the idealised image of the USA as technologically advanced, a powerful military, political and economic entity. The latter seems to be reflected in the overall tendency of men to associate Europe with words that denote power and development, a possible competitor to the US. In both cases therefore, men and women's choices support common gender stereotypes of most likely choices based on sex segregation, very much parallel to the choices of domain of study.

Thus, "gender is something one "does" rather than "is"(Ridgeway and Correll 2004: 516). This can be understood in this context, as a woman being seen as a woman if she chooses Health or Social sciences, choosing to live in France as opposed to USA, being shy as opposed to having agency, taking care of her appearance within the confines of what is socially and culturally accepted as the normal attire for a woman. Diverting from this course makes a woman somewhat of an 'oddity'. Thus, social pressure and social convention influences women and men alike to continue to replicate from a young age the socio-culturally accepted norms for a typical woman or man, so much so, that even the idea of independence is somewhat tainted to conform to a typified ideology of what an independent and modern woman should look like, and how she should act.

Shalinsky (1980), "suggests that the strength of the mother-daughter bond assures social replication across generations" (cited in Goetz and Grant 1988: 185). This emphasises the "focus on social structures as the locus of traditional rules and expectations" (Goetz and Grant 1988: 185). This is supported by the results of the survey, in that when asked about their parents' level of education, over two thirds of the women quoted their mothers'

education level as high, whilst in the case of men both mother's and father's education were more equally balanced between high and low. This was especially the case in Azerbaijan, Cameroon, India and Senegal, where a considerable majority of women over men claimed that their mother's level of education was high. Consequently, the majority of women in these countries in comparison to men, claimed to come from a family with a high level of income. As Xiao notes, "patterns of parental values condition not only adults' attitudes and behaviours in raising children but also children's pathways to success" (Xiao 2000: 786). Thus, if we take this into consideration it is clear that mothers with a high level of education consider this (education) to be of value and replicate the process with their daughters, by encouraging them to continue with their education. In the four countries cited, a considerably higher percentage of women claimed that their mother's level of education was high, in comparison to their father's level of education which was low. This illustrates the affinity between mother and daughter in the role of replication, which conversely highlights the point that gender-role conceptions begin at home and are highly motivated by parental values and expectations.

Arriving at a Male - Hegemonic Structure

As has been noted in the previous sections, sex segregation cuts across the domains of education, parental values and expectations, employment, social and more specifically domestic roles (reflected in the results emerging from WP2 country reports), in such a way as to put into play a process whereby women and men's paths are conditioned by specific actions taking place in socio-relational contexts. Gender beliefs define gender hierarchy within the structures put forward by a society and its cultural praxis (Ridgeway and Correll 2004: 523). While these institutionally and culturally defined roles are always in the foreground, gender is always in the background. For example, if Math is culturally defined as a 'male domain' then these beliefs will be evident even in a same - sex class (*ibid.* 2004: 516-517). In the context of our survey, the fact that few women in comparison to men chose engineering is indicative of the cultural beliefs regarding gender roles in relation to engineering. There are no 'rules' forbidding women to take engineering, but dominant cultural beliefs condition students' choice of subjects, thus, the larger number of male students in engineering confirms the stereotype that it is essentially a masculine domain. Gender is seen as a background issue in this case, as there are no official structures impeding women from joining the engineering course, even though the social environment presents obstacles in this respect.

We have already alluded to the fact that women are seen as generally less competent and tend to occupy lower status job positions. Women may here be compared to the 'subaltern' in earlier colonised societies, in that social

norms, together with male hegemony, limits the extent of their agency. The adoption of colonial institutions and structures, in terms of education, politics, economy and social structure, resulted in the emulation of the colonisers' norms and structures by the 'colonised'. This is what Homi Bhabha termed as 'colonial mimicry'. The colonised are remoulded by the colonial structures and institutions they adopt into a recognisable entity that is similar yet still different, integrated yet still suspended on a lower rung of the social ladder within Western society (Bhabha 1984). The colonial history of India, for example, is formulated by the elite with a political vision aimed at the acquisition of the same structures of power and dominance displayed by their European predecessors, to be executed over the subaltern. Thus, what defines the subaltern is the lack of social mobility and agency; they are voiceless and have not been given the chance to outline their conditions and their history.

Identities are functions of calculated constructions leading to the satisfaction of a particular political agenda or social process (Gairola 2002). The subaltern, have been defined as lacking social mobility and avenues for self-expression (Spivak 1998). One of the major dilemmas in post-colonial theory has been for the unbiased representation of marginalised people (particularly women), where attempts at representation have often led to the recreation of the same structures and institutions enforcing their subjugation. Spivak and other post colonial theorists (Bhabha, Gairola, Hall, Nederveen Pieterse and Parekh, Sharpe) stress the importance of self-expression in the representations of the subaltern woman and criticise the trend in academia to speak for them, often leading to gross misrepresentations and misinterpretations. In talking about the subaltern woman, discussions and arguments have a tendency to be shaped by the same colonial institutions that project the Western-based ideology and conception of the orient as the 'Other', the exotic, the backward or the underdeveloped or third-world.

Following the same trend, gender policies and institutional structures are often authored by men and continue to replicate the same stereotypes that encourage the continuity of gender-segregated roles. If we look at the phenomenon of illegal immigration in Europe, if illegal immigrants represent the subaltern, then the subaltern woman is ever more marginalised and silenced (Spivak 1998). Cross-cultural replications of dominant cultural beliefs may be seen in the homogeneity of responses, between men and women, to the survey which was carried out in eighteen countries across four continents. While the ex-colonies attempt to replicate, whether consciously or unconsciously, the same economic structures inherent to the West, the consequence is an emulation of Western cultural beliefs, social structures and norms. This is seen in the earlier example provided by Ganguly-Scrase (2003), of Indian women aspiring to a western conception of what it means to be a 'modern' and 'liberated' woman, as a result of western advertising

in India. Global hegemony "promotes consumerism and cutthroat individualism and works against collective action that could be aimed at eradicating social inequalities" (Ganguly-Scrase 2003: 547). Thus, an understanding of gender hegemony cannot be separated from the economic, political or socio-cultural, but is a part and parcel of the socio-cultural structure of beliefs of a community, that transcends local, national and international economic and political structures and agendas.

Migrants and Borders

Gender and Migration

The majority of migrations follow a movement from 'third' world / economic peripheries into developed / economic cores. Regional economic background plus the social status of the individual concerned determines their employment opportunities. As was noted by Meenakshi Thapan and Maitrayee Deka in their background paper for EuroBroadMap on South Asian migrants in Europe (entitled 'South Asian migrants in Europe: Heterogeneity, Multiplicity and the overcoming of difference'), 'women from lower economic strata countries like Bangladesh, enter the job market in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs'. Occupying the bottom rung in this respect are Bangladeshi women, who as a consequence are usually employed in the garment industry, sweat shops and small businesses. Perhaps the major problem faced by migrant women is their portrayal as dependent migrants, where most receiving states enforce laws in the sector of immigration that tend to favour 'men's rights'. With respect to immigration laws, the marriage laws which form the most significant aspect when differentiating between indigenous and immigrant communities, discriminate against a large percentage of immigrant women, who as a result are dependent on their spouses' legal status. This places immigrant women in a vulnerable position that may easily be misused and exploited by immigrant men (Lutz 1997). The latter means that women are not recognised as being independent of men, and this together with the lack of recognition of household labour as actual work makes migrant women, the majority of who work within this sector, more vulnerable. This leads to the construction of an image of migrant women workers as dependent, in such cases actually making them dependent, and propagates the image of immigrant women as passive victims, denying them agency. In the case of Somali immigrant women, it denies their potential to embark on the harrowing journey across sub-Saharan Africa independent of men, and works under the assumption that they are passive pillions throughout their trajectory. This is particularly not the case for Somali immigrant women, as in most situations it is the eldest daughter who leaves on behalf of the family left behind.

Meenakshi Thapan (2011) notes that, with Indian immigrants in Italy,

both men and women are subject to forms of violence brought about by an inability to integrate into Italian society. With migration, inevitably comes a situation of changing social realities. Indian women express having more freedom and mobility in India, as a result of the presence of family and other local women's networks which offers them more protection. As Thapan and Deka state, "the restriction of women as housewives in a limited space can also be the result of the control of their husbands or other members of the family. There is an element of violence in keeping the women embedded in the traditional systems of values which are much more rigid in a foreign land" (Thapan and Deka 2011: 49). On the same note migrant Indian men must compromise a blow to their status and social position, taking up manual labour where before in India they may have occupied employment positions that offered more liberty and social standing. The tediousness of manual labour together with the inability to adapt and integrate into a foreign culture may result in them questioning their position and feeling hopelessness, so much so that their only source of mobility is seen as being through their children's advancement. These examples illustrate how migration impinges on gender relations. The cause of this impingement may be attributed to the ambiguity of receiving states' immigration policies as well as the overall structure of relations between people from diverse economic regions. In this case the EU's politics is seen as nothing more than a variation of previous colonial political structures.

Thapan and Deka state that, "in Britain women were not allowed entry in the 1960s and 1970s unless they came as a marriage migrant reaffirming their dependence" (Thapan and Deka 2010). They further purport that "a liberating future and position could be imagined for a South Asian woman only when she moves from traditional roots to becoming a 'modern' woman" (Thapan and Deka 2010). The terms defining a 'modern' woman are incorporated in the reversal of traditional customs, roles, taboos and cultural praxis for migrant women, in order to adhere to those 'notions of modern woman-hood' of the host country. "Modernization, as MacLeod (1991, 12) has pointed out, 'does not inevitably liberate women but rather challenges them by removing sources of influence, sometimes replacing them with male prerogatives" (cited in Nyhagen Predelli 2004: 478). An example of the latter may be seen in the reversal of traditional roles between Indian migrants in Italy, where in some cases men are no longer the breadwinners, and their wives sponsor their passage to join them in Italy. However, this reversal of roles does not necessarily grant Indian women new status with regards to household affairs and family matters. Nyhagen Predelli (2004) gives us another example of immigrant Muslim women in Oslo, where in many cases women utilise Islam as a malleable artifice for the expression and justification of their own views and practice, leading to a syncretism between modernist conceptions of gender rights and values in Norway, with those values and

practices professed by Islam (Nyhagen Predelli 2004).

A similar situation may be observed among Moldovan migrants in Gagauzia, Moldova. A fourth to a third of the Moldovan population work abroad, and Moldova was the second in the world in 2008, in terms of the weight of remittances as part of the GDP (38%). Three fourths of the immigrants in Romania are Romanians with Moldovan Citizenship (refer to Cuguat Tigris' Background paper on Romania for EuroBroadMap, entitled 'Visions of Europe at the European Union Eastern border: Focus on Moldavian migration to Romania', this forms part of Migrants and Borders: final report 2011). The majority of Moldovan migrants emigrate to Russia, Romania and Turkey, with Romania being seen as the gateway to Europe, especially since its entry to form part of the European Union. Keough (2006) notes that, "it is women's transnational labor and their absence from families and villages that has provoked considerable anxiety over transformations in the social order" (Keough 2006: 432). Due to the unavailability of sufficient information on the numbers and experiences of Moldovan migrants moving across the borders of Romania and other surrounding studies, it is useful, at this point, to refer to a case study that deals with Moldovan migrants that may shed some light on the reasons behind migrations and the consequent repercussions for women. Looking at the southern Moldovan region of Gagauzia, a considerable proportion of women are migrating to Russia and Turkey to work for extended periods of time. The choice between working in Russia or Turkey is a choice that determines the moral standing of a woman and consequently affects her status in the village. Women who leave their husbands behind to go and work in Turkey are regarded as immoral, and the common assumption is that they choose Turkey to engage in immoral relations with Turkish men. They are also seen as not being hard-working and as choosing the easy way out. Moldovan women, who migrate for work in Russia, tend to be joined by their spouses and work together in agriculture or construction (Keough 2006). Therefore, "migrant women and their communities understand transnational migration in Moldova in moral terms that are highly gendered" (Keough 2006: 436). Moving away from the region of Gagauzia, where migrations are mainly focused on Russia and Turkey, there is a marked over-representation of women migrants moving towards EU countries through Romania from Moldova (Tigris 2009: 9, draft version of EuroBroadMap background paper on migration through Romania). Women who migrate alone and leave their children and husbands behind are viewed as bad mothers and are stigmatised. This stigmatisation extends to the husband left behind, especially if he takes on the roles of child-caring and household maintenance, "that they do these 'womanly' tasks is an indicator of disorder in the village" (Keough 2006: 445).

Thus, the interchangeable roles of women and men are viewed as detrimental not only to the family, but to the village as a whole, and is indicative

of the patriarchal structure that is firmly embedded in the consciousness of the community. This is especially apparent as it is the women of the village who are at the forefront, advocating the retention of such a system and accusing those who divert from this course as immoral. The family network and the gendered roles that go with it are intrinsic in constructing an image of the transnational migrant woman, as may be evidenced by the Moldovan and Indian examples.

In the case of illegal immigration, women already occupy a precarious position throughout their trajectories on their way to and into Europe. These difficulties are further heightened on entry into a transit country, where migrant women are subjected to gendered state policies that treat them as dependents. Interviews were carried out in Malta among Somali immigrant women, as part of the research for the EuroBroadMap project. As the southern-most state of the European Union, Malta is a gateway and transit country for thousands of sub-Saharan Africans attempting to make their way into Europe, either for economic reasons, or as is most often the case, to escape conflict and persecution in their own countries. An increasing percentage of illegal immigrants are found to be women, who take on the arduous journey across North Africa and the Mediterranean. All the women interviewed experienced violence, humiliation and racism throughout the course of their trajectories. All the women interviewed were also noted to be the eldest daughters in their families, suggesting that within the family economy it is the eldest daughter that takes on the burden and responsibility of engaging in a migratory journey. It may also be the case that they are the most vulnerable, as unmarried women of a certain age are more susceptible to gender-oriented violence in Somalia, and of being forcefully taken away for marriage. The reasons for migration for Somali women are very much centred on the family, although they leave their children and family behind, they do so with the aim of making enough money to send back to them, and eventually apply for family reunification (this is not easily available in the case of Malta). As with the Moldovan case, Somali mothers see themselves as selflessly taking on the difficulties of migration, whether legal or not, to support their children. In the case of Somali women in Malta, there was also a case of 'love migration' with one of the women interviewed, who escaped Somalia to be able to marry the man she loved against the wishes of both their fathers. This is significant in that it illustrates the extent to which migration may give both women and men more autonomy and allow them to act in ways and take decisions that would not otherwise be possible. The latter case is especially significant, in that it moves away from the trend where gender is used as a substitute term for woman, and outlines the difficulties in relations between a man and a woman (in this case belonging to different clans), as a result of their ethnic and social background. In much of the cases cited above, the focus is placed on women who are unequally

represented and as a result of social stratifications, made more vulnerable. However, the same difficulties may extend to the low-status man.

Since the 1970s migrations from Africa have become more balanced in numbers between men and women, where today as many women as men are embarking on migratory journeys to Europe. In the case of Mali, internally the number of migrations from rural to urban areas have increased dramatically over the past two decades, so much so that the number of jobs available in the capital of Bamako and other cities has been severely reduced for the newcomers to the city (refer to Jean-Yves Blum le Coat's paper on Mali for the EuroBroadMap project entitled "Les représentations de L'Europe des candidats au départ au Mali, this forms part of Migrants and Borders: final report). The youth testify that in Mali they are nobodies, and lavish food, commodities and technological gadgets construct their image of Europe. In the interviews conducted in Mali with youths preparing to leave for Europe, city dwellers conceive Europe as a place where equality between men and women is encouraged, a situation which they believe is the opposite in their own country. However, on arrival their views are subject to change, and many Malians are aware of the difficult position African immigrants hold in European society. Most notably, the difficulties associated with family reunification and the failure to achieve the latter is in many cases interpreted by Malians as a form of violence that especially targets women. The unavailability and constraints connected to the difficulties of family reunification may lead to the transformation or the severing of family ties and family networks (a situation already noted in the case of Somali women in Malta). Malian women criticise the European conception of the family which they say lacks unity and respect for the elderly and promotes an individualistic approach, whereas men on the other hand associate Europe with sexual freedom far from the constraints of the family and the responsibilities that come with it.

"The struggle for control of kinship - residence, marriage, childcare, sex, intimacy, inheritance, generational obligations - (in its most encompassing anthropological sense), also involves redefining social reproduction" (Strathern 1992 cited in Borneman and Fowler 1997: 494). This control serves as a limiting factor in the case of integration, and controls not only the way in which the local community is structured in terms of socio-political and economic relations, but also controls the factors that may influence it and indeed change it. Thus, in many cases marriages are not recognised as valid, as with Somali migrants in Malta (see background paper on Somali women migrants in Malta by Schmoll, Said and Spiteri, entitled 'Visions of Europe among Somali women in Malta', this forms part of Migrants and Borders: final report), while family reunifications are also not allowed in the majority of cases.

Marriage is therefore being used as the 'gatekeeper' to fortress Europe, especially with regards to immigration law in Europe. The control of kinship

relations, in which women are at the core, is a control of the level of impact and the social imprint migrants have or may have on a community. In this respect European immigration law enforces the idea of the man as the bread-winner and upholds the conception of the nuclear family pattern, which is constituted by the husband, his wife and their children, such that the immigrant woman loses all rights and access to citizenship in the absence of a 'recognised' partnership. Thus, even in the domestic sphere men are depicted as the core unit / leaders and women are constructed as ancillary. In this way European immigration law not only heightens the inequalities between immigrant and host-state men and women, but further enforces the belief that immigrant populations are embedded in traditional structures, whereas the European men and women are shedding the bonds of old-fashioned lifestyles, creating a diametric opposition in consciousness, especially with regards to a space of belonging (Lutz 1997). As Lutz puts it, "citizenship is constituted by difference" (Lutz 1997: 107), with difference here referring to a notion of superiority / uniqueness in comparison to outsider groups, a relationship made up of 'us' and 'them', hence the construction of such ideological conceptions as 'third world'. In contrast to a feeling of belonging, citizenship implies the act of belonging, carrying with it the conditions for membership based on regional economic position, gender, and individual status (all of which carry their own particular sets of criteria). Where in contemporary European society women already occupy a lower status position to men, immigrant women are placed in the most disadvantageous position.

On top of this, transnational migration reproduces patriarchal structures by limiting migrant women's access to employment to domestic and low-status forms of labour, and thus, in doing so the visibility of migrants in the public sphere is also severely limited. "There are elements of control and oppression in domestic labour" (Coppola, Curti, Fantone, Laforest and Poole 2007:98), and economic regionality, gender, and social status are reflected in the form of labour / employment available which repositions migrant women at the bottom of the social pyramid, where their subjectivities and status are multi-dimensional and "involve the 'multiple subjugations' of gender, class, ethnic, race, and citizenship positionalities" (Keough 2006: 434).

Transnational migration explores not only people's movement, but also their reactions and forms of expression in creating their own space, and indeed a sense of belonging. This can be seen in the syncretism of more traditional customs, modes of dress, food etc. with those predominant in the host country. When the French government sought to ban the veil, which was seen by them as being representative of the dominance of the Muslim men over 'their' women, it resulted in an uproar, with Muslim women in many cases voluntarily taking to the streets (see Thapan and Deka background paper for EuroBroadMap on Indian migrants). For a number of Muslim women in France the veil was seen as an expression of their cultural identity,

an avenue through which they could express themselves, yet still participate and form part of the milieu of French citizenship.

2 Ideology and Global Networks

Gender and the Nation-State

School Textbooks, National Ideology and Curriculum

With specific reference to the results of Work Package 4 (Politics and Ideology), the teaching emphasis in geography school textbooks across all countries in the sample is focused on the geography of their own country and / or specific region. The general teaching framework, not only of geography but of a wide range of subjects making up the curriculum, is very much marked by the national perspective and in some cases embedded in a national political agenda (as in the case of Malta). The regional approach to teaching geography in many cases lays an emphasis on traditional ways of life, which is also reflected in the focus on regional and local modes of production and local landscapes. In the case of Malta and Portugal, the emphasis is on the Mediterranean region (WP4 textbook analysis-final report: 12), which shows a parallelism with the results obtained in the student surveys in Work Package 2, particularly students' mapping of their region. The content also brings out the political ideology as in the case of India, where neighbouring Pakistan is excluded from the discussion, whereas there is great emphasis on the good relationship between India and China. Taking this observation a step further, it was noted in the textbook analysis that with regards to the EU member states making up the sample, "increasing emphasis on the EU tends to highlight the political dimension of European identity". The political dimension recorded in textbooks, not only in geography but also a number of other subjects making up the curriculum, runs parallel with the results obtained in Work Package 2 in that the material utilised further propagates gender biases. Photos and language used in textbooks reflect gender stereotypes enacted in the public space on a day to day basis, where women are portrayed in traditional domestic roles and men are depicted in dominant roles as heads of households, political movements etc.

The final section of the student questionnaire in Work Package 2 asks students to write down words they associate with Europe. While there are differences in the answers given from country to country, the top three answers given by men and women of the same country are almost exactly the same, in some cases they are exactly the same. This homogeneity in the answers indicates that the perception of Europe is very much influenced by local, national or international contexts or events, together with the influence of the media and public opinion. Yet, it may also indicate that this perception is a result of the content in the school textbooks and curricu-

lum. This becomes a more probable explanation when we consider that the answers are the same in each country but different across countries. It is also worthwhile noting that the answers from country to country bear most similarities between member-states of the EU, with such words as Union, Euro and Culture.

If gender transcends local, national and international economic and political structures and agendas, then an analysis of a state's national vision should incorporate a gender dimension, even in the absence of a direct reference in this respect. National policies, curriculum and institutions outline the maintained structures of patriarchal systems. In a workshop on 'Gender and Curriculum' conducted by The Southern Natal Gender Committee (South Africa) in 1994, teachers were invited to share their views on the content of school and subject curriculums. It was concluded that "the actual learning material is deeply rooted within a patriarchal understanding of knowledge and learning" (The Southern Natal Gender Committee 1994: 59). The general absence of the social contributions of women and mention of women's organisations and events in textual narratives, gives a one-sided account of local, national and international history and social realities that further downplays the role of women in a community. It is not only the official curriculum that plays this role, but more so the 'hidden curriculum', which "operates at the level where feelings are engaged and attitudes are formed" (*ibid*. 1994: 61). The 'hidden curriculum' is characterised by classroom and socialising attitudes that emphasise differences between men and women. Thus, a textbook analysis should not only involve an analysis of the content of the textbook, as this results in nothing more than a book review, but should involve an analysis of the structures and methods for imparting what is contained in textbooks.

Furthermore, the portrayal of women in school textbooks propagates gender stereotypes, as is evidenced by the results of the Textbook Analysis as part of WP4 of the EuroBroadMap project. In Brazilian geography textbooks, photos of European people, which portray 'European ethno-types', show photos of women in 'traditional' skirts dancing around babies in prams, further reinforcing the connection between women and the domestic and 'nurturing' spheres, as a result of their capacity for motherhood. Photos in US textbooks of the war in ex-Yugoslavia show women as refugees and seem to portray women as comprising the vulnerable groups of society, at the mercy of aid and men. Thus, rather than being resilient women are portrayed as dependent. The language used in school textbooks also reinforces these stereotypes, with the European Union being described as a 'celebration of brotherhood', and the mention is made not of the protection of human rights but of the 'rights of man'. Thus, women play a passive background role in these textbooks. It is significant to note that the textbook from Burkina Faso highlights the fact that immigrant workers and women are the first

and main victims of economic competition in Europe. Yet, the textbook also refers to the typical European home as having a 'fully equipped kitchen [which] is necessary for the European woman' many of whom, work and have little time for cooking and cleaning'. This example is particularly significant, in that it acknowledges the presence of women in the labour force, yet still outlines women as being linked to the domestic and family spheres. Cooking and cleaning are thus exemplified as typically women's roles.

The analysis also features extracts of text from "Let's Explore Europe", where the narrative includes a moral dimension about the European identity:

> 'Regrettably, there have been many quarrels in the European family. Often they were about who should rule a country, or which country owned which piece of land. Often a ruler wanted to gain more power by ruling his neighbours, or to prove that his peoples were stronger and better than other peoples. One way or another, for hundreds of years, there were terrible wars in Europe. In the 20th century, two big wars started on this continent but spread and involved countries all around the world. That is why they are called world wars. They killed millions of people and left Europe poor and in ruins. Could anything be done to stop these things happening again? Would Europeans ever learn to sit down and discuss things instead of fighting? The answer is 'yes'. That's the story of our next chapter: the story of the European Union.' (Textbooks analysis WP4 - part 1: 55).

The above text, which is found on the official website of the EU, is steeped in patriarchal connotations. It attempts to depict an image of the 'European family', one that is headed by men, where rulers are men and women have no function or role. The narrative continues to depict the Union as a "celebration of brotherhood", and the questions at the end of the above narrative therefore seem to be addressing the new leaders, the men of the new Europe, as capable of sitting down and resolving all problems, an image that links men to the sphere of power and authority. The narratives and questions of politics and power are again emphasising the centrality of men, they are essentially a male affair, while women are vulnerable victims in need of rescuing, an attitude that is very much reflected in the content of many school curriculums and textbooks and the exclusion of women in the latter.

Malta's national minimal curriculum (NMC) is likewise "symptomatic of the very patriarchal structure of Maltese society, a structure which the NMC perpetuates" (Borg *et al.* 1995: 348). Participation in public social life is recognised as predominantly a male domain, and girls at school seem to accept the adoption of a secondary role in society. The inclusion of home economics as a subject that is generally available in girls' schools points to the acceptance of retaining women's social roles attached to the domestic sphere,

yet the language utilised in the NMC suggests that there is relative equality between the opportunities available for boys and girls. Home economics for example, is a subject which is defined as being made available for both girls and boys, but yet is subsequently chosen by a vast majority of girls and is made more widely available to girls (*ibid.* 1994).

National Ideology and Policy Approaches to Gender

Gender does not only entail representations of social conceptions of men and women, or of femininity and masculinity, but through the use of 'gender-friendly' or 'gender-sensitive' terms it is constructed as a category. The use of gender-training and gender-oriented programmes, may serve to construct and propagate the image of superiority of one sex over the other, as they enforce the notion that men and women should be treated differently, rather than equally. Thus, programmes and initiatives which serve to educate about gender issues, may construct an understanding of gender within the framework of stereotypes that already exist in circulation (Manicom 2001). "The danger is that the objectives of women's emancipation are buried by the rationalities of administration" (*ibid.* 2001: 11). This is reflected in governments' policies, particularly in terms of definitions relating to the family, which not only affect women forming part of the community rubric of the nation-state, but have a debilitating effect on migrant workers. The "classification categories used in policies" serve to limit the social position and employment opportunities for the groups that fall within the boundaries of those categories, particularly women (Morokvasic 1991: 71). Membership to a category defines an individual's or group's relationship to the state, on the grounds of class, ethnicity, religious belief, sexual orientation and gender. "The receiving state also uses its own definition of the family, which in some immigrant groups isolates women from important family networks" (*ibid.* 1991: 74).

The family plays a central role in the construction of a nation's vision of itself in terms of values, social structure and cultural praxis. Indeed the control of marriage, citizenship, inheritance, childcare benefits are a testimony to this centrality. Who is allowed to marry whom and who is accepted to form part of what community are all processes which are carefully outlined by state policies, government, and law and regulations. Control of the family unit as a unit within the state's jurisdiction is an exertion of power over the socio-economic and political structure of that community, or to be more precise, control over the modes of production and reproduction. "Patriarchy and capitalism are so inseparably related through the institution of the family as an economic unit that to make the greatest headway, women must find ways of uniting struggles against both" (Leacock 1981: 486). The family and the family network represent the basic economic unit, and the accepted conception of what constitutes a family, is a definitive point utilised in re-

taining the same system of patriarchy and social stratification. It is through
the family, from children's upbringing and their education both at home and
at school that the essential gender and social stratifications and segregations
are established and pummelled into individuals' consciousness, creating a
domino effect that continues across each domain of one's social upbringing,
forming what is inherently in the end a national characteristic and a national
vision. "the contention that there is a strong tension between capitalism and
patriarchy over the exploitation of women's labour has led to the logical
expectation that patriarchy would wither away as traditional social forma-
tions are eliminated" (Ertürk 2004: 10). This has clearly not happened, as
sexual division of labour remains a persistent reality, as does the worldwide
patriarchal system, an aspect which is reflected in curriculum and classroom
structures and relations. Furthermore, gender is essentially an inseparable
characteristic of any traditional social formation. Focus should be placed
on the meanings created through socialisation and experience, both during
childhood as well as adult life, with particular attention given to the par-
ticularity of membership to a social group and the internal customs, beliefs
and values that construct identity, and how education and the way this is
imparted help shape the outcomes of socio-relational contexts.

With respect to the EU, national visions are amalgamating to form a
more unified vision. This is evidenced by the presence of a common currency,
football championship, film festivals, law etc. "The penetration of the market
and the EU into marriage and kinship is redefining national life courses and
creating the possibility for European ones" (Borneman and Fowler 1997:
494). The amalgamation of national visions into one vision has the backlash
of excluding particular localised sensitivities with regards to family, kinship
and the market, and may result in vulnerable groups becoming evermore
vulnerable, and may facilitate the masking of latent social stratifications.
The more gender inequalities are embedded in a wider social network, the
more difficult it becomes to dissolve these inequalities from the structures of
the global consciousness transcending all domains of social life.

Women and Global Trade Flows

The analysis of global trade flows and networks is highly gendered as a result
of the relative exclusion of any consideration of the gender dimension, or to
be more precise, the exclusion of a discussion of women's contributions and a
feminized approach. Much of the social debate on the analysis of gender and
global trade flows has revolved around the topic of gender and development.
However, gender and the feminization of labour have had a direct impact on
the rate and direction of global trade flows. As indicated by the research
conducted in Work Package 5 (Flows and Networks), trade flows in terms
of technological goods follow the lines of and are constructed on the core /
periphery model. In analysing the trade relations of 'core' countries in the

sample with other countries around the globe, a distinctive trend may be noticed especially when taking into consideration the trade relations of 'core' EU countries such as: Belgium, France, Portugal and Sweden (we exclude the newer EU member states of Malta and Romania for the present discussion). With respect to the latter EU member states it is noted that there is an internalisation of trade within the EU, where in all cases preferential trade is concentrated and a positive asymmetry may be noticed. Where there is negative asymmetry and a dominance of these 'core' countries over other countries, where the 'core' country in question buys raw materials from and sells manufactured goods to the 'periphery' country, the dominated countries tend to be ex-colonies or countries that have experienced a feminisation of labour in their industrial sectors (especially textile industry), as well as industrial expansion (Fontana *et al.* 1998).

The "expansion of export production has been associated with the feminisation of the industrial labour force, at least in its initial stages" (*ibid.* 1998: 2). This may be seen in Figure 6 (page 20) of the final report (Del. 5.8), where a significant rise in the textile industry and the production of primary products, much of which may be attributed to the opening up of these industries to women, a move which is also known as the 'feminisation of labour', where women's labour force participation dominates over men's in certain sectors.

To understand the history of non-western economies, it is integral to acknowledge their 'incorporation and survival in a global capitalist system of material and social relations in which the subordination of women has always been ideologically conceived as an integral part of the natural order and perpetuated by cultural praxis, religion, education and other social institutions' (Acosta-Belen and Bose 1990: 299). If we are to analyse global trade flows, then such an analysis must take into account the persisting structures and networks of power relations moulded under the veil of colonialism. Utilising the idea of the world divided into economic cores and peripheries, trade flows may be seen as flows of exploitation, where international and multi-national companies utilise cheap labour in other countries (obtained mainly from vulnerable groups, mostly women and children) to re-appropriate products into the 'global market' (McRobbie 1997). "It is the economic and political relations among different regions within the world economy that define the core and periphery and that the presence of a periphery is essential to the presence of the core" (Hoeschele 2002: 223). The exploitation of both women and colonies was and still is integral to the "global system of capital accumulation" (Acosta-Belen and Bose 1990: 300).

When the UN proclaimed international women's day it was established that "women were performing two-thirds of the world's work and receiving only 10 percent of all income, while owning only 1 percent of the means of production" (*ibid.* 1990: 305). The existing trend to devalue women's work

and segregate them into the domestic and nurturing domains of the employment and labour market, based on their capacity for motherhood and care-giving is in itself an aspect of colonisation, the colonisation of women by men, which has been dubbed by Acoste-Belen and Bose (1990) as the "housewifization of their work" (Acosta-Belen and Bose 1990: 311). Family maintenance and child-rearing are socially assigned roles, and highlight the polarisation of the family and the economy, where family localises social relations and economy globalises social relations. Thus, taking this into consideration we may also draw some conclusions / assumptions regarding the recent increase in the number of illegal immigrant women into Europe, where the economic periphery of Europe is also the main source of migration to Europe (Van Hamme *et al.* 2011). The increasing numbers of illegal immigrant women embarking on the harrowing journey across sub-Saharan Africa to Europe, may be seen as an attempt to localise their families and kinship networks in Europe and in so doing globalise their economic network through better employment abroad and remunerations back to their home countries. These Migrant women or "global women", as Ehrenreich and Hoshchild call all poor women who migrate to work abroad (cited in Keough 2006: 434), have become the pillars on which western and 'third' world economies alike have come to depend. The dominant trade flows that exist between core global economies and peripheries translate into and to an extent are determined by the movement of the labour force along the same lines / flows.

"Everybody, including people in very poor societies whom we in the West frequently speak about as though they inhabit a world outside culture, know that today's "goods" double up as social signs and produce meaning as well as energy" (Hall 1989: 131). Thus, the transfer of goods as raw materials from the periphery to core countries and back as finished products to the periphery and core alike is also the transfer of ideas, of modernity. Media advertising utilised to sell products, projects and sells images of what the modern man and woman are consuming, what he or she looks like and how he or she acts (Ganguly-Scrase 2003). The fashion industry, which is a wholly feminised industry and a female sphere of production and consumption (McRobbie 1997), works along these lines, transferring images, trends and meaning through the same networks of consumption that exist between the major economic cores and their peripheries.

Relevant to gender and global trade flows is the transfer of funds through international development programmes from core to periphery countries. Although aspects of gender-mainstreaming may be evident in core countries, they may be lacking in EU funded development programmes (Ulmer 2004). The adoption of 'gender-practice' in international development introduces a globally-idealised and a global and institutionally conceptualised idea of gender that ultimately excludes the penetration of local sensitivities and

differences into this definition and practice. "Institutions of global governance... promote strategies (such as micro-credit schemes) that attempt to draw all women into the relations of global capital" (Spivak 1996: 259). The interpretation of gender and practice emerges from a political agenda that attempts to maintain a unilateral trend and ideology that will ultimately be of benefit on a wider global scale. "National gender politics are regulated and disciplined in terms of particular cultural and political constructs of gender and forms of gender politics" (Manicom 2001: 14).

Concluding arguments

As we have alluded to earlier, the student surveys where conducted in eighteen countries across four continents. Of these eighteen countries, seven are members of the EU. The results collected show that there exists a gender-hegemonic structure that extends to all countries participating in the study. The final section of the questionnaire asks students to write down words they associate with Europe. While there are nuances between the answers given from country to country, the top three answers given by men and women of each country are almost exactly the same, in some cases they are exactly the same. This homogeneity in the answers given indicates that the perception of Europe is very much influenced by local, national or international contexts or events, together with media influence and public opinion. For example, while in general positive words (even though this is subject to interpretation) are used in association with Europe for most countries, Cameroon, Senegal and Tunisia on the other hand associate Europe with Racism. What is interesting here is that there is no majority of women in any country that seem to link up words that suggest gender equality or gender disparity, gender in general plays a background role or no role at all. Rather, it is the choice of subject domain and the choice of the 'global' that suggest there is a gender dimension, albeit a somewhat 'hidden' dimension that requires unearthing.

Gender is concerned with systems and structures of social relations that create the social idea of a man or woman and the relations between them, and through this system, determines the status, power and material resources in a society to which they are entitled (Barriteau 1998: 188). The parallelism between a gender-hegemonic structure and the colonial structures of control is no coincidence. Gender inequalities in particular, that dominated throughout the colonial era, persist and are maintained in the post-colonial period. "While states may seek to act in the best interests of all their citizens, state policies implemented by governments may reproduce existing gender asymmetries, they may intensify, decrease or subvert them, but policies are not gender neutral" (Barriteau 1998: 192). There is a need for states to identify the hierarchies that exist and that consequently construct and give form to gender inequalities, in the same way that they identify other social,

political and economic imbalances (*ibid.* 1998). In essence, the structure of domination that existed between the colonised and the colonisers persists today under the veil of the global capitalist structure, between the core and periphery, and maintains the same structures of inequality. "In many pre-colonial societies, women's position and participation in productive activities were parallel to those of men, rather than subservient" (Acosta-Belen and Bose 1990: 306). Colonialism brought about the establishment of a global male-hegemonic social consciousness.

The results of the surveys and research into migration, national visions and global trade flows clearly support the existence of ongoing gender stereotypes that dominate in the areas of education, employment, and national, local and domestic environments, which therefore points to the existence of a gender dimension. Gender is a complex system of social relations, maintained by a number of varied components that intersect all areas of social life, and tackling any one of them separately will not eliminate the phenomenon (Ridgeway and Correll 2004). States "choose to maintain unjust gender systems because these satisfy specific, indigenously defined objectives of state interests" (Barriteau 1998: 195), and when gender relations are unequal it becomes a relation of domination (*ibid.* 1998). Although the results of the surveys show a commonality between countries' responses, the issue of gender beliefs and gender hierarchies is one which is culturally specific and cannot therefore, be addressed in a universal way, even though they fall under the auspices of a global capitalist economy. It is not enough to implement policies and offer benefits and access to material resources, if the socially constructed and culturally specific ideological conceptions of gender are not considered in the process.

It is important to stress that gender refers to the relations of and between men and women and their varying roles and attitudes. It is not a term that may be used to replace or to mean the equivalent of 'woman', as it is sometimes used. Although throughout this analysis, the emphasis has been placed more on the condition of women than of men, this is a result of an absence of sufficient probing into and analysis of women's realities in each section of the project. It has also served to highlight the predominance of inequalities and discrimination faced by women in these scenarios and their specific realities. When dealing with gender there are a variety of sex-specific problems and differences, however the trend always points to a more dominant system of male privilege (Ertürk 2004). Both men and women find themselves embedded in structures of subordination, where men are lower in the social order than other men and women, and women find themselves lower in the social order overall. However, "both forms of subordination are rooted in the same system of domination that sustains itself through the male / female dichotomy" (Ertürk 2004: 14). In light of the above, it is clear that efficient policies and their implementation need to be constructed within

a framework that tackles all areas impoverished by discrepancies in gender status and relations, implying therefore the implementation of effective institutional and structural changes at every level of society. Furthermore, gender as an applied category in institutional frameworks emphasises the existence of difference between men and women, and for there to be any significant change the very term 'gender' needs to be deconstructed in order to give it new meaning that allows for social relations based on equality.

References

Acosta-Belen E. and Bose C., 1990, From Structural subordination to Empowerment: Women and development in Third world contexts, *Gender and Society*, 4(3).

Al-Sharmani M., 2006, *Living Transnationally: Somali Diasporic Women in Cairo in International Migration*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing.

Barriteau E., 1998, Theorizing Gender Systems and the project of Modernity in the Twentieth Century Caribbean, *Feminist Review*, 59.

Bhabha H., 1984, Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse, *Discipleship: A special Issue on Psychoanalysis*, Vol. 28.

Borg C., Camilleri J., Mayo P. and Xerri T., 1995, Malta's National Curriculum: A Critical Analysis, *International Review of Education*, 41(5): 337-356.

Borneman J. and Fowler N., 1997, Europeanization, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 26: 487-514.

Brah A., 2002, Global Mobilities, Local Predicaments: Globalization and the Critical Imagination, *Feminist Review*, 70: 30-45.

Coppola M., Curti L, Fantone L, Laforest M, and Poole S., 2007, Women, Migration and Precarity, *Feminist Review*, 87: 94-103.

Ertürk Y. 2004. Considering the Role of Men in Gender Agenda Setting: Conceptual and Policy Issues in *Feminist Review*, No. 78, Empirical Interrogations: Gender, 'race' and class, pp.3-21.

Gairola R., 2002, Burning with Shame: Desire and South Asian Patriarchy, from Gayatri Spivak's "Can the Subaltern Speak?" to Deepa Mehta's "Fire", *Comparative Literature*, 54(4): 307-324.

Ganguly-Scrase R., 2003, Paradoxes of Globalization, Liberalization, and Gender Equality: The World Views of the Lower Middle Class in West Bengal, India, *Gender and Society*, 17(4): 544-566.

Goetz J. and Grant L., 1988, Conceptual Approaches to Studying Gender, *Education in Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 19(2): 182-196.

Gulati L., 1997, Asian Women in International Migration: With Special Reference to Domestic Work and Entertainment, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 32(47): 3029- 3035.

Gundel J., 2002, The Migration-Development Nexus: Somalia Case Study, *International Migration*, 40.

Hall S., 1989, The Meaning of New Times, in Hall and Jacques (ed.) *New Times: The Changing Face of Politics in the 1990s*, London, Lawrence and Wishart.

Hoeschele W., 2002, The Wealth of nations at the turn of the Millenium: A Classification System based on the International Division of Labor, *Economic Geography*, 78(2): 221-244.

Keough L., 2006, Globalizing 'Postsocialism': Mobile Mothers and Neoliberalism on the Margins of Europe in *Anthropological Quarterly*, 79(3): 431-461.

Larson B., 1991, Women's Work and Status in Rural Egypt in *NWSA Journal*, 3(1): 38-52.

Leacock E., 1981, History, Development and the Division of Labor by Sex: Implications for Organization, *Signs*, 7(2): 474-491.

Lutz H., 1997, The Limits of European-Ness: Immigrant Women in Fortress Europe, *Feminist Review*, 57: 93-111.

Manicom L., 2001, Globalising 'Gender' in: Or as: Governance? Questioning the Terms of Local Translations, *Agenda*, 48: 6-21.

Mashhour A., 2005, Islamic Law and Gender Equality: Could there be a Common Ground? A Study of Divorce and Polygamy in Sharia Law and Contemporary Legislation in Tunisia and Egypt, *Human Rights Quarterly*, 27(2): 562-596.

McRobbie A., 1997, Bridging the Gap: Feminism, Fashion and Consumption, *Feminist Review*, 55: 73-89.

Mills M., 2003, Gender and Inequality in the Global Labor Force, *Annual review of Anthropology*, 32: 41-62.

Morokvasic M., 1991, Fortress Europe and Migrant Women, *Feminist Review*, 39: 69-84.

Jan Nederveen P and Bhikhu P. 1995. Shifting imaginaries: decolonization, internal decolonization, postcoloniality. In: Jan Nederveen P and Bhikhu P (eds.), *The decolonization of imagination: culture, knowledge and power*. London: Zed Books. Pg 1-19.

Nyhagen Predelli L., 2004, Interpreting Gender in Islam: A Case Study of Immigrant Muslim Women in Oslo, Norway, *Gender and Society*, 18(4): 473-493.

Quiminal C. and Blum le Coat J.-Y., 2011, *Migrants and Borders: Final Report* EuroBroadmap working paper[2].

Ridgeway C and Correll S. 2004. Unpacking the Gender System: A Theoretical Perspective on Gender Beliefs and Social Relations in *Gender and Society*, 18(4): 510-531.

Risman B., 2004, Gender as a Social Structure: Theory Wrestling with Activism, *Gender and Society*, 18(4): 429-450.

Sharpe J. and Spivak G.C., 2002, A Conversation with Gayarti Chakravorty Spivak: Politics and the imagination, *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture*

---

[2] http://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00638245/fr/

and Society, 28(2): 609-624.

Sherif B., 1999, Gender Contradictions in Families: Official vs. Practical Representations among Upper-Middle Class Muslim Egyptians, *Anthropology Today*, 15(4): 9-13.

Simard P. and De Koninck M., 2001, Environment, Living Spaces, and Health: Compound-Organisation Practices in a Bamako Squatter Settlement, Mali, *Gender and Development*, 9(2): 28-39.

Spivak G.C., 1998, Can the Subaltern speak? In Ashcroft B., Griffiths G. and Tiffin H. (ed.), *The Post-colonial Studies Reader*, London and New York, Routledge, pp. 206-209

Thapan M., 2003, Marriage, Well-Being, and Agency among Women, *Gender and Development*, 11(2): 77-84.

Thapan M and Deka M., 2010, South Asian Migrants in Europe: Heterogeneity, Multiplicity and the Overcoming of Difference - Working Paper Series, European Studies Programme, Dept. of Sociology, University of Delhi[3].

The Southern Natal Gender Committee, 1994, Gender and Curriculum, *Agenda*, 21: 59-64.

Thourson Jones M., 1980, Education of Girls in Tunisia: Policy Implications of the Drive for Universal Enrolment, *Comparative Education Review*, 24(2): s106-s123.

Ulmer K., 2004, Are Trade Agreements with the EU Beneficial to Women in Africa, the Caribbean, and the Pacific?, *Gender and Development*, 12(2):. 53-57.

Valian V., 2004, Beyond Gender Schemas: Improving the Advancement of Women in Academia, *NWSA Journal*, 16(1): 207-220.

Van Hamme G., Pion G., Bahoken F., Beauguitte L., Didelon C., Grasland C., Sainteville M., Abreu D. and Marques da Costa N., 2011, Divisions of the World according to Flows and Networks, EuroBroadMap working paper[4].

Xiao H., 2000, Class, Gender, and Parental Values in the 1990s, *Gender and Society*, 14(6): 785-803.

---

[3] http://europeanstudiesgroupdu.org/pdf/South%20Asian%20Migrant%20Studies%20Programme.pdf
[4] http://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00654535/fr/