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Racialism, Sexuality, and Masculinity: Gendering "Global Ethnography" of the Workplace

The recent wave of "globalization" scholarship in women's studies has prompted a reexamination of the paradigms and methodologies of many feminist subfields (Rosenfelt 1998; Mohanty 2000; Basu et al. 2001). As one, feminist ethnographic research of the workplace has also taken a turn. While earlier studies of the 1980s were primarily concerned with confirming the *presence* of gender in the global economy, scholars of the 1990s have elaborated upon and challenged this research by exploring the *complexities of gender as a category*. New studies focus on some of the same types of transnational work institutions (i.e., multinational corporations, informal economies, sex industries, etc.), but emphasize power structures that are unique from—but also intersect with—gender. In particular, they argue that the dynamics of race, class, sexuality, and region are crucial for understanding the range of disciplinary strategies women experience in the workplace and the form of women's countermobilizations. This essay reviews selected studies of racialism, sexuality, and masculinity as examples of this research and argues that they represent fundamentally new perspectives in the ethnography of the workplace.

I adopt the concept of "global ethnography" as a useful tool in describing this shift in feminist research. Even though global ethnog-

raphers have not engaged in direct dialogue with feminist scholars, I maintain that they have profoundly influenced each other through their implicit arguments. Thus, while global ethnography has transformed our understanding of gender, the reverse is also true: gender (and feminist analysis) has challenged the precepts of global ethnography. Below I provide a review of the field, first by assessing global ethnography from a feminist viewpoint as well as demonstrating its influence on the shift in feminist theories of the global assembly line. Second, I describe findings regarding racialism, masculinity, and sexuality, as well as the new forms of resistance that accompany the patterns of hegemony. The final section provides a critique of this literature and outlines directions for future ethnographies of gender in the global workplace.

Gendering Global Ethnography

Sociologist Michael Burawoy and his colleagues have recently called for a new way of doing ethnographic field work and analysis—the "global ethnography" (Burawoy et al. 2000; Burawoy 2001; Gille and O Riain 2002). While classical ethnography has been distinguished by a privileging of the "micro" and even isolating itself from the rest of the world, global ethnography asks us to focus on the "macro" and to locate the global *within* the local. One impetus for this approach is to broaden the contextual frame of how micro-level events operate. More important, however, is the need for recognizing the accelerated nature of global and local contact in recent years. Burawoy (2001) argues that three dynamics in particular require linking situational experiences to outside forces: "supranational forces" (e.g., global capitalism, politics, and culture), "transnational connections" (i.e., flows of goods, services, information, and people), and "postnational imaginations" (i.e., counter ideologies which galvanize collective action). In addition, global ethnography is especially relevant because "the very *production of globalization* can be properly the subject of ethnography. What we understand to be 'global' is itself constituted within the local; it emanates from the very specific agencies, institutions, and organizations whose processes can be observed first-hand" (Burawoy 2001, 5). This methodology, then, represents an important theoretical and methodological tool and promises to transform our way of doing ethnography.

Yet while Burawoy suggests that his vision of global ethnography is relatively recent, I would argue feminist ethnographers have been doing this (or aspects of it) for some time. Perhaps because of women's early incorporation into the current phase of globalization, femi-

nist scholars have been acutely aware of the need for linking the global and local. Particularly in the 1980s, such scholars were studying women's labor both in multinational corporations and export production within their homes (Elson and Pearson 1981; Beneria 1982; Nash and Fernandez-Kelly 1983; Fuentes and Ehrenreich 1984; Leacock and Safa 1986; Mies 1986; Mitter 1986; Ward 1990). In the 1990s, however, feminist scholars have expanded their conceptions of the global and the local in their analyses of the workplace. Thus while these feminist scholars have not necessarily self-identified as "global ethnographers," they share many fundamental assumptions of that approach.

Feminist research has incorporated elements of the global ethnography paradigm in three ways. First, it has broadened its concept of the global to include what Burawoy (2001) labels "supranational forces." While feminist research of the 1980s largely assumed globalization to be synonymous with world capitalism, recent theorists incorporate other dynamics as well. They show how political institutions like states, militaries, and nationalist movements are headed and dominated by men, and profit transnationally from women's labor and images of women in their activities (Jayawardena 1986; Enloe 1989, 1993, 2000; West 1997; Yuval-Davis 1997). They also point out that intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations (IGOs and NGOs) are forces shaping the global economy (Staudt 1990; Berkovitch 1999; Meyer and Prugl 1999). Women's work opportunities are structured not only by global export markets and multinational corporations, but by international financial associations like the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF). Their policies affect women directly as they force state governments to eliminate jobs in which women are concentrated, and indirectly as subsequent economic crises compel women to take on second jobs in order to maintain their families (Ault and Sandberg 1997). Even ostensibly "woman-friendly" organizations like the United Nations are reassessed to reveal how their conventions, committees, and programs privilege men (Peters and Wolper 1995), or mediate the varying and conflicting representations of "women's" interests (Booth 1998).

Moving even further from the economic, scholars point to "cultural" forces as important dimensions of globalization. Institutions like the media, film, advertising, and consumer goods are seen as part of the global power structure (Appadurai 1996). Gender is central in expressing and negotiating global politics through these conduits; a prime example being the proliferation of the image of the white woman in China—both as the agent of consumerism on calendars and fashion magazines, as well as the symbol of democracy in the

1989 Tiananmen square protests (Schein 1997). In all these ways, then, current scholars are recasting former understandings of the sources of globalization.

This leads to the second way that feminists have incorporated a global ethnography approach: in expanding the range of sites where one can study global dynamics of work. Just as Gille and O Riain (2002, 26) argue for a "transformation of our notion of the 'site'" in global ethnography, feminist scholars have begun to look beyond traditional "workplaces" for their analyses. Whereas previous research tended to focus on "global factories"—that is, manufacturing-type jobs, situated in formal organizational settings—new studies are broadening the focus of what is transnational: across class lines to "pink collar" clerical work and "white collar" professional work; across occupational lines to sex and domestic work; and across organizational types to non-governmental organizations, information industries, and entertainment industries (Kempadoo and Doezema 1998; Freeman 2000; Wright 2000). Feminist scholars have also transformed the way they study the labor process. Like previous research of the labor process, feminist ethnographers of the 1990s have conceived of labor not just in terms of job assignments and wages, but with regard to the micropolitics of control. This includes bureaucratic domination and its systems of rewards, punishments, and discipline (Edwards 1979), as well as worker participation and resistance (Burawoy 1985). They also add an exploration of the experiential and interactional dimensions of work, as well as elaborating on sites for corporate control, including the body and sexuality (Ong 1987; Salzinger 1997).

Third, feminist scholars have incorporated the global ethnographic notion of "transnational connections" in their studies of the workplace. Rather than seeing globalization as a simple process of imposition and homogenization (or even the opposite pattern of localization), the new theories see it in terms of linkages, circulations, and hybridizations (Pieterse 1994; Chauncey and Povinelli 1999). It is the continual interaction of domination and resistance that becomes the defining feature of globalization, not one or the other. Thus feminist scholars have called for replacing previous conceptions of global male domination:

There is an imperative need to address the concerns of women around the world in the historicized particularity of their relationship to multiple patriarchies as well as to international economic hegemonies. . . . We need to articulate the relationship of gender to scattered hegemonies such as global economic struc-

tures, patriarchal nationalisms, "authentic" forms of tradition, local structures of domination, and legal-juridical oppression on multiple levels (Grewal and Caplan 1994, 17).

Indeed, their twin notions of "scattered hegemonies" and "transnational feminist practices" are much more fluid and dynamic than older notions of a unified "international gender division of labor."

Despite all these parallels, however, the call for global ethnography has not included a mandate for incorporating or even recognizing gender. Like many other methodological paradigms coming out of sociology, there has been a lack of emphasis on gender in this new field (Stacey and Thorne 1985). And while many have criticized Burawoy's theory of the labor process (Davies 1990; Lee 1998), few have challenged the masculine precepts of global ethnography. Indeed, there are many limitations of global ethnography from a feminist viewpoint, and many ways in which feminist scholarship has pushed the boundaries of its approach.

The most basic element of the feminist critique is the challenge to Burawoy's conception of "global forces." This dates back to the 1980s, when feminist scholars were emphasizing the fundamental connection of male domination to the process of globalization. They noted, for instance, that most of the production work in multinational corporations was done by women—especially in industries such as electronics, garment, toys, and pharmaceuticals (Nash and Fernandez-Kelly 1983). They also emphasized that women throughout the world were being recruited in the industries that were internationalizing most rapidly and involved the lowest-status and lowest-paying jobs (Green 1983). Yet curiously, while many of the collections and literature reviews of global ethnography by Burawoy and his colleagues include feminist case studies, there is little theorization or even mention of male domination as a central element of the globalization process (Burawoy et al. 2000; Burawoy 2001; Gille and O Riain 2002). Thus while Burawoy expands the conceptualization of "domination" within the global arena to include that of politics and culture, he implies that there is a gender neutrality to these dynamics. In some cases, he even privileges global capital as the major component of globalization, while making gender, race, and colonialism secondary. Therefore, even though he has put forth a more nuanced view of globalization than previous scholars in the field, he is in many ways reproducing the same tired assumptions of Marxist sociology that neglect other axes of inequality.

Feminist scholars' second critique of global ethnography concerns the epistemology of its method. Burawoy's approach has emphasized

a particular type of methodology for global ethnography: the "extended case method" (Burawoy 1985; Burawoy et al. 2000). As is common in anthropology, this approach relies heavily on participant observation. Feminist scholars have also supported these types of methods as a means of improving subject-researcher relations and minimizing distances, but they have defined "ethnography" much more broadly. Often they conceive of it in terms of a variety of qualitative methods, such as unobtrusive observation, oral histories, and even structured or semistructured interviews (Fonow 1991; Gluck and Patai 1991; DeVault 1996; Gottfried 1996; Wolf 1996). At the same time, however, feminists have been much more uneasy with ethnography than has Burawoy; many argue that ethnography is plagued by "feminist dilemmas" (Wolf 1996), some of which are even greater than those of mainstream quantitative research (Stacey 1991). Indeed, a full discussion of the methodological debates concerning feminist ethnography deserves a separate analysis, beyond the scope of this article. However, later on I describe how global ethnography as a method poses particular complications as well as opportunities from a feminist perspective.

Finally, recent feminist scholarship has problematized gender itself as a concept. Central to this is transcending the exclusive and homogeneous focus on "women" (Ward 1993). These scholars argue, for instance, that we cannot understand femininities without understanding their relation to masculinities (that is, without attending to *gender*). Ignoring the role of men misrepresents significant elements of the global economy. Instead, we need to recognize the ways that men experience globalized pressures, both in forming their own identities and in determining their actions toward women. Recasting gender also means branching out beyond a unitary notion of gender. Because gender is socially constructed by individual and macro-level factors, womanhood and manhood take many forms. Therefore, masculinities and femininities are conceived in terms of *multiplicities* (Connell 1987). In addition, the multiplicities of masculinity and femininity need to be understood in terms of *hierarchies* in order to recognize the power relations between groups of women and between groups of men. Paying attention to the complexity of the hierarchies reveals how every group experiences simultaneous positions of privilege and subordination, each in unique ways (Collins 1999). Essential to this approach is analyzing gender in relation to other key structural dimensions of power: race, class, sexuality, nation, and region (Grewal and Caplan 1994; Alexander and Mohanty 1997). In making such challenges, the purpose is not to detract from the central notion of male domination, but rather to explore it in a deeper

and more complex way. By examining the intersections of male domination with other systems of inequality, we can expand our notions of who is implicated in and affected by the process.

The transnational research on racialism, sexuality, and masculinity in the workplace attempts to make such connections, and therefore constitutes the focus of the following analysis. In the process, this article also explores the implicit use of global ethnography as a framework to view the global within the local. Although the studies below do not necessarily identify themselves as "global ethnographies" or even "ethnographies," as case studies involving small populations and/or organizational settings, they do share common methods. Coinciding with a feminist vision of methodology, I classify ethnography as a range of qualitative methods in which researchers investigate groups in a nonhierarchical and in-depth manner (Wolf 1996).

Racialism

Racialism is central to gender and globalization in terms of the racial pluralism and hierarchies embedded within workplaces. The discussion here highlights two dynamics in particular that have generated multicultural contexts on a transnational level: the movement of people within the global labor market through international immigration, and the movement of companies around the world through the rise of multinational corporations (MNCs). With regard to these dynamics, recent ethnographies show that race is inherent to the global uses of women's labor, in terms of the initial hiring process, managerial control within the workplace, and the effects on women's home lives.

Research on gender and immigration has revealed how certain types of "women's jobs" are predicated on international labor markets and movements of workers (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994; Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997). In fact, given that transnational streams of labor are increasingly dominated by women, scholars have proclaimed a "feminization of international migration" (Tyner 1999). Both push and pull factors facilitate this process. Women experience a "push" from depressed local economies due to IMF loans and also from local governments that have set up "overseas employment offices" to coordinate employment contacts abroad and travel arrangements. "Pull" factors include special visas granted by first-world countries where women's labor is in demand.

This means that many occupations are increasingly multicultural, in terms of both the relationship between employers and workers, and relationships between workers. It also entails a distinct type of transnational racism and development of racial hierarchies. Domestic

work is a prime example of this (Lindio-McGovern 1997); indeed, this occupation has become especially globalized in the past decade through the immigration of third-world domestic workers to the first world. An examination of the racial preferences for nannies in Europe reveals how the process works. Although it is not surprising that race is integral to most of these hiring decisions, it is amazing how variably these relationships are constructed through the local politics of race, nationality, and physical features (Anderson 2000). In some cases, "color" is more important than nationality, as in Greece, where Filipina domestics are given higher status and paid more than local blacks. In other cases, however, "color" is less important than nationality: Albanians and Ukrainians are low on the hierarchy—even though they are white—because of their status as "foreigners." Sometimes there are even variations within a "color" based on differences in nationality. In France, for example, there are many types of "blackness"—"darker" Haitians are preferred over lighter-skinned Algerians because of the neo-colonialist political tensions with northern Africa. Issues of weight and appearance are racialized as well. Some Spanish employers discriminate against Filipinas because they are believed to be "too small" or "unpresentable." Alternatively, race can be used to create fallacious groupings among female domestics just as it is used to distinguish and divide them: domestics in Lebanon are often called "Sri Lankaises" no matter where they are from.

Pei-Chia Lan (2000) describes how such racial dynamics affect the work process as well as the initial hiring of domestics. Focusing on Taiwan, she studies the triangular relationship between Taiwanese employers, immigrant Filipina domestics, and local Taiwanese domestics. As above, these employers use race as a central criterion to begin the process, by explicitly choosing Filipinas over Taiwanese workers. They do so believing Filipinas will work for cheaper wages and assume heavier workloads, but they also believe they can benefit from the global isolation of Filipina workers and the way this obstructs collective action or resistance (Lan 2000). One employer told Lan (2000, 36), "A Taiwanese worker has more . . . personal networks. Not like a Filipina, she is here alone. Even if you abuse her, nobody would know about it." Equally telling is how Lan describes the racial hierarchies these employers create between Filipina domestics and local Taiwanese (in the circumstances when they hire both). Different types of chores are assigned to each worker: migrant women doing "menial" labor like cleaning, and local women doing more "spiritual" or "mental" labor in terms of child care and socialization (Roberts 1997). Local workers are trusted more, given copies of the house key, and allowed to sit with the family at the dinner

table, while migrant women sit separately. Local Taiwanese workers are even given the job of keeping surveillance over migrant women, becoming the disciplinary "eyes of the employers" on them. This type of study provides a sense of the complicated constructions of race and gender that prevail in these multicultural workplaces.

Moreover, the global nature of domestic work has a curious domino effect. In what Arlie Hochschild (2000) has termed a "global nanny chain," a series of child care problems is generated by the fact that when a third-world woman moves to the first world to do domestic work and care for another woman's children, she has to hire yet another woman back in her home country to care for her own children, and this local woman may in turn have to ask her elder daughter to take care of her own young children.[1] Blurring the boundaries of home and work, global nanny industries subjugate women both in the first world, through the experience of the labor process, and in the third world, where the system denies women the ability to fulfill their household and family responsibilities. Moreover, the degradation of domestic work escalates down the global nanny chain, with first-world nannies earning much more than their third-world counterparts (Parrenas 2000).

International immigration has lead to complicated multicultural dynamics in other industries as well. In electronics companies in Silicon Valley, employers use an "immigrant" logic to hire their women workers (Hossfeld 1994). In a study of about twenty semiconductor firms, Karen Hossfeld found that 80 to 100 percent of the assembly workers were third-world women, representing more than twenty-one countries. Dispelling any doubts about the propensity of these employers to select third-world women over white candidates, Hossfeld has compelling evidence from a study of the application process. She had her assistants phone the employers, covertly posing as applicants: the female assistants who put on accents in their voices—whether Asian, Pacific Islander, or Latino—were three to five times as likely to be told there might be a job opening than the men who used Anglo accents. Later, Hossfeld (1994, 77) was told by those employers they were fearful that whites might be journalists or union organizers—"trying to get a story or stir up trouble." Also, when interviewing the employers, Hossfeld found that they maintained a "clear racial, ethnic, and national pecking order" among the various nationalities of workers. Asians were clearly preferred over Latinas or blacks and were given more jobs with upward mobility opportunities, since they were considered more dependable and less likely to quit. Moreover, by creating these kinds of distinctions among workers—largely on the basis of fictitious stereotypes—managers are often able to divide and therefore control workers.

Transnational corporations create a different type of multicultural tension. And in a sense, this is an opposite process to the previous one, since it involves the movement of the *workplace*, rather than the *workers*, around the world. Racialism manifests itself in this setting through the relationship between the "global" corporation and the "local" workforce. Many classic studies have explored this tension, revealing the way multinationals appropriate, recompose, and/or transform "local" forms of male domination when they move overseas (Elson and Pearson 1981). More recent studies are focusing on the complications of this dynamic in terms of the dimensions of race, ethnicity, and nationalism. Tensions can develop between the "local" workers and "global" technology, for instance. Through computers and fax machines, women clerical workers in Puerto Rico are in daily contact with the global elite in New York, which ironically "bring[s] San Juan secretaries closer to the world of Wall Street finance than many working-class Puerto Ricans who are actually living in Manhattan" (Elson and Pearson 1981, 226). In the process, however, these secretaries must contend with computer programs, manuals, and transcription machines which are all in their nonnative English (Casey 1996). Moreover, they are subject to linguistic control by training consultants in their business conversations on the telephone. Puerto Rican phrases like "Chacha! No me diga!" (Girl, you don't say!) are considered too informal and personal for corporate etiquette, so workers are encouraged to speak more like "North Americans" (Casey 1996, 228).

Another feature of racialism in transnational corporations is a proliferation of ethnic diversity, and in turn, an intensification of organizational stratification. As in the case of an export-producing factory in Trinidad, elaborate ideologies are deployed to justify complex racial and gender hierarchies among three different groups—blacks, East Indians, and whites (Yelvington 1995). Positions in the factory are assigned according to vivid racial stereotypes: whites as managers because they will "protect" the property; East Indians as factory supervisors because they are "industrious and reliable"; and blacks on the shop floor because they lack any of the positive attributes associated with the higher status jobs. Gender enters this dynamic in terms of the hegemonic ideals of beauty that are deployed against the women workers of color in the factory. White, European features (like straight hair and straight noses) are held as the standard to which black and East Indian women are compared. Yelvington's analysis would benefit, however, by moving beyond discussions of beauty to ask how gender and racial hierarchies intersect in the discipline of women of color as *workers* (as we will see in the next section).

While the hierarchies of race may be explicit in these global settings, the process of defining the racial categories that underpin them may be highly ambiguous. One reason for this is the transnational origin of the categories, and the contradictory experience it entails for workers: "They are in a position of inventing and maintaining beliefs about ethnicity and descent, but experience alienation when confronted with the actual 'homeland'" (Yelvington 1995, 142). Indeed, racial identities for many of the Trinidad workers are not only rooted in the local context, but in transnational immigration and globally determined notions of "color." Thus a woman recounts how she finds herself unconnected to the social environment of India even though she calls herself "East Indian," and a black woman recounts how it was her experience living in New York more than Trinidad that made her choose a rasta lifestyle. Thus the sources of ethnicity and ethnic stereotypes that workers and managers invoke against each other (and internalize themselves) are often heterogeneous, and at times insubstantial or problematic.

An even trickier problem in the construction of racial identity among women occurs when multinational corporations straddle national boundaries. *Maquiladoras* on the U.S.-Mexican border are prime examples of this phenomenon (Wright 2000). Melissa Wright observes these settings, to show how labels of "American" and "Mexican" are invoked in ways that are unrelated to workers' actual birth origins. She compares two women on the managerial career track in a motorboat factory—one born and raised in the United States as a Chicana, and another born and raised in Mexico with a short stint of residence in the United States. As they both attempt to rise up the ladder, they become labeled—and/or label themselves—with opposing racial identities: the Mexican transforms herself into an "American" by distancing herself from Mexican women, claiming "American business sense" and professing to know "both sides" of the labor/management and Mexican/American divides, while the American becomes known as a "Mexicana" for failing to shed her Mexican habits of dress and allegiance to shop floor workers. Both are responding to perceived racial and ethnic assumptions on the part of management, suggesting that corporate leaders and managers can manipulate ethnicity in multicultural settings to control women workers on the shop floor.

In sum, these studies reveal how integral racial pluralism is to global industries. Definitions of femininity in such work settings are conceived according to race. At the same time, categories of race are constructed through the use of unstable criteria, and consequently, applied in varying and even contradictory manners. These studies also emphasize women's agency in this process. Notions of racial

identity are not constructed solely by employers or organizations, but by women workers themselves as they negotiate their political relations to the other actors involved (corporate policies, bosses, co-workers, subordinates, etc.). Finally, this literature reveals the expansion and intensification of racial hierarchies *among women*. Perhaps the most salient feature of racialism in the current era is that women from the north and south are increasingly working side by side, both in tension and in unison, in globalized contexts.

Sexuality

Sexuality is central to gender and globalization on a number of levels. In an obvious way, sexuality is the basis for a number of industries in the global economy such as prostitution (Kempadoo and Doezema 1998). Moreover, because many of these industries are illicit, this makes it an especially precarious source of work for women. Sex is among the top three most lucrative illegal international industries (following weapons and drugs), accounting for much of the global trafficking of women (twenty million women each year, by some estimates) (Making Contact 1999). Even "legitimate" global industries are heavily based on sex: airline companies, international hotels, and resorts commodify and manipulate women's sexuality (either implicitly or explicitly) for the purpose of global tourism (Enloe 1989; Sinclair 1997).

What recent studies add to this literature is a glimpse of sexuality in other global industries as well—even those that seem unlikely sites for it, like manufacturing. Sexuality pervades these contexts because of the way that the body—particularly the female body—has become a target for labor control. Feminist scholars reveal how the "newly configured corporate discipline" is not just about automation, deskilling, and technological surveillance, but about manipulations of the physical body and sexual intimacy (Freeman 1993, 176):

> Focusing on hardware alone ignores the processes by which the technology is mediated through a host of other social practices (language, dress, etc.). It is these processes that deserve greater attention within critical labor studies. Technological transformations carry ideological, social, and economic implications that are distinctly gendered.

Globalized settings such as multinational corporations are especially likely to exhibit these practices because of their unique legal privileges. Lacking accountability to the labor laws of the home country, the host country, and even at times international legal authorities like the United Nations, such companies have the freedom to insti-

tute more egregious forms of gender and sexual discrimination when abroad (Poster 2001). In the following discussion, I examine two patterns of globalized control of sexuality among women workers: first, in regulating the degree of women's sexuality, and second, in regulating the content.

Especially in export processing zones, managers often institute formal or informal rules concerning sexual intimacies, often to construct particular images of the feminine factory worker. The curious feature of this trend is how wildly the ideal for women's sexuality varies. In some cases, managerial intention is to suppress intimate relations among workers. Aiwa Ong's (1987) study of a Japanese company in Malaysia is the classic example. Sexuality became a central concern of managers, in part because of the social climate surrounding the factory—specifically, local Muslim taboos against sexual promiscuity and media reports that free trade zones foster promiscuity. In response, management instituted strict regulations on women workers, such as prohibiting social events inside the company. They also required women to live in well-monitored dormitories, enabling supervisors to watch over young women workers just as their family would have. In an opposite case study, however, sexuality is actually *promoted* by both production workers and staff in Caribbean factories (Yelvington 1995). Women are encouraged by male bosses and workers to engage in sexually charged games on the shop floor, ranging from verbal games like "sweet talk" and sexual bragging, to gesturing, displays of body parts, and horseplay. Although this "flirting" is initiated by both genders, it is ultimately transformed into a dominating practice against women. Flirtations can take on "violent undertones" when male supervisors use flirting as part of their corporate authority over women.

The varying transnational approaches to sexual discipline are illustrated even more clearly in Salzinger's (1997) study of export processing zones in northern Mexico. Seeking to dispel the overgeneralized association of "docile young women" with global factories, Salzinger asks how localized labor politics interact with global imperatives. She compares three similar maquiladoras, finding that managerial control influences localized patterns of sexuality. In a company where managers keep very close watch on the workers, flirting is active and visible. While monitoring the production line, managers also praise women who wear lots of make-up, lipstick, eyeshadow, and miniskirts. The women, in turn, respond positively to this type of attention, and even risk being late to work in order to primp themselves sufficiently. In contrast, managers in the second company care less about monitoring the shop floor and leave it up to the male workers. Thus, even though women are again encour-

aged to engage in flirting, it is mostly with the men on the line with them. Finally, sexuality is discouraged in the third company, which neutralizes gender distinctions between the workers and thereby de-sexualizes them. No make-up or jewelry is allowed here, and workers are required to wear similar-looking full-length smocks. As a result, one male worker laments: "You couldn't tell who the pretty ones were" (Salzinger 1997, 23).

Global ethnographies reveal that variations of gender labor disci-pline can even occur within the same transnational corporation (Lee 1998; Poster 1999). Studying two subsidiaries of a common U.S. manufacturing company in South China, Ching Kwan Lee finds that sexual images of women depend upon the interaction of global cor-porate guidelines with local state, business, and labor constellations. In the first setting, with a passive state and a strong familial-based labor market of older workers, women were desexualized and treated as "matronly workers." In the second setting, however, with a clientist form of state-capital relations and a younger labor force, women were sexualized and treated as "maiden workers." The point is that global production in electronics and garments is very often predicated on the manipulation of popular sexualized images of women workers, while the specific direction and degree for that sex-ualization depends upon localized conditions and managerial inter-ests as well.

While sexual relations and behaviors are the focal points of many of these studies, other scholars reveal more direct kinds of sexual control over women's bodies. This is the case with data processing industries in export processing zones. Because of the "pink collar" nature of this work, corporate hegemony focuses less on women's intimate relations, and more on their physical appearance and image. An American airline company in Barbados, for instance, encouraged the "professionalization" of women's bodies through a "dress for success" program (Freeman 2000). Women workers were given semi-nars on how to wear suits, high heels, and even deodorants. By trans-forming women's bodies in this manner, managers were able to play upon the symbolic status of doing office work while at the same time obscuring the menial and routine working conditions (which are not that different from nearby electronics and garment multinationals). Furthermore, the company supplied international plane tickets as productivity rewards for the workers. These workers could then travel to the United States, where they purchased clothes and shoes to elevate their status further from their sisters and neighbors in fac-tories at home. The company used these transnational strategies to separate these women from "ordinary workers" by virtue of their professionalized adornment and dress.

Similar dynamics occur in Puerto Rico, where clerical workers face employee dress codes as well as competition with coworkers over fashion and hairstyles (Casey 1996). Sexuality is even more tightly regulated in the context of domestic work, where employers have control over the most intimate aspects of women's bodies. In Hong Kong, some Filipina domestics are not only told how to dress, but when to go to bed and when to bathe (Constable 1997). They are also given short "masculine" haircuts in an attempt to preclude sexual relations. Workers' private romantic lives are seen as a threat to their job performance, and therefore they are closely monitored and manipulated.

The second major theme in these studies is the regulation of the content of women's sexuality in globalized labor contexts, specifically the manipulation of homosexual versus heterosexual identities and practices. Same-sex intimacy and transgendered identities are especially subject to managerial control, since they are seen as threats to the corporation as well the larger global industry (Chauncey and Povinelli 1999). International tourism is a case in point. In the Bahamas, tourism is the central financial wellspring for the local economy, and 58 percent of the population works in this industry (Alexander 1997). Because tourism is so dependent upon both heterosexual romantic images and heterosexual service workers (especially women), the state became fearful of lesbianism as a threat to the national economy. Indeed, the government passed a "Sexual Offenses and Domestic Violence Act" to criminalize homosexuality in 1991. Penalties include prison sentences with a minimum of seven to fourteen years and a maximum of twenty years if the homosexual act was committed in a public place. Through such laws the state seeks to produce "loyal sexualized citizens to service heterosexuality, tourism, and the nation simultaneously" (Alexander 1997, 90).

Heterosexism plays a large part in the globalization of labor migration as well. In southern Africa, the increased mobility of labor across borders has been accompanied by a rise in both xenophobia and homophobia (Hoad 1999). As the governments of Namibia, Zimbabwe, and South Africa have had difficulty providing jobs and social services for these workers (due to the structural adjustment policies described earlier), locals have become more and more hostile to outsiders. Furthermore, linking foreignness with sexual deviance, locals refer to new immigrants in the vernacular as "queers." Hoad (1999, 571) interprets such actions as follows:

The imputation of queerness be[comes] a strategy for dealing with the anxiety that they steal jobs from South Africans, and consequently . . . a remasculinizing response to the perception

that many of the immigrants are removed from recognizable familial ties and are parasites on, rather than productive and reproductive members of, the national body.

Thus, even though gay and lesbian rights are now part of the human rights framework of the antiapartheid South African government, homophobia still exists on a popular level.

Women's and men's sexuality, therefore, is controlled in many labor regimes through the power of global corporations and global industries. In some cases it stems from broader practices of marginalizing and pathologizing "the other" (women, gays/lesbians, etc.) in situations of economic and political crisis when resources and jobs are scarce. In other cases it is related to corporate opportunism, and the expediency of manipulating sexual identities and bodies for the purpose of labor discipline and consent. Whether the purpose is to raise workers' status ("professional attractiveness") or lower it ("shop floor flirting"), to suppress women's sexuality ("motherly workers") or promote it ("maiden workers"), global corporations use their privileges in offshore locations to manipulate bodies, images, and relations.

Masculinity

Recent studies emphasize the importance of recognizing that "gender and globalization" is not just about women, and that men contribute significantly to the process too (Connell 1998). On the one hand, men participate in the transnational exploitation of women (whether directly or indirectly), urging women to explore the global and local contexts that propel men to do so. On the other hand, men are also subject to pressures of globalization, compelling separate analyses of their particular experiences of subordination. Connell (1998, 12, 16) offers the concept of "global hegemonic masculinities" as one approach:

The shape of globalization, concentrating economic and cultural power on an unprecedented scale, provides new resources for dominance by particular groups of men. This dominance may become institutionalized in a pattern of masculinity that becomes, to some degree, standardized across localities. I will call such patterns *globalizing masculinities*. . . . The hegemonic form of masculinity in the current world gender order is the masculinity associated with those who control its dominant institutions: the business executives who operate in global markets, and the political executives who interact (and in many contexts, merge) with them.

"Western" elite forms of masculinity, therefore, often hold the position as the hegemonic masculinity. As an example, Connell cites how almost all world leaders have adopted the "Western business suit" as part of their jobs as heads of state. The important underside of this dynamic, however, is the simultaneous construction of "subordinate masculinities." This term applies to representations of disempowered masculinities, very often among nonwhite, non-Western, and nonheterosexual men. Recent ethnographies have illuminated how dynamics of hegemonic and subordinate masculinities play out in global labor contexts.

Subordinate masculinities are evident in sex industries, to start with. While much of the literature on sex work has focused on women, many scholars now emphasize the significant presence of men. Kempadoo and her colleagues point out that male hustlers are prevalent in Brazil, Japan, and Malaysia (Kempadoo and Doezema 1998; Kempadoo 1999); sometimes they are young boys who sell sex to other men, while in other cases, they are male transvestites who turn to homosexual prostitution as a result of being cast out from government or private sector jobs because of their cross-dressing. In either case, these men are subject to violence from both clients and police and are often shunned by the same health care agencies that service female prostitutes. Such agencies often want to distance themselves from the doubly stigmatized combination of prostitution and homosexuality. Furthermore, it is especially difficult to address these forms of discrimination when people refuse to recognize male hustling as a social issue and actively resist public discussion of it. An incident in Morocco is an example. Although female prostitution had been a frequent topic within the news media, a popular magazine mysteriously disappeared from city newsstands when it published an issue on male prostitution (Brand 1998; Salime, personal communication 2000).

Subordinate masculinities are also evident in international labor migration (Tyner 1999). Global migration patterns among Filipinos, for instance, involve a dual and sex-segregated structure: women go to Asia, Europe, and North America to do nursing and domestic work, while men go to the Middle East, Africa, and Oceana to do construction work. In this respect, Jane Margold conducted a fascinating study of Filipino men migrating to Saudi Arabia for construction and menial labor. Due to the intense subordination they experienced in the Middle East, these men's sense of masculinity was severely undermined (Margold 1995). After being yelled at on the streets, called "dogs" and hit with Pepsi cans by teenagers; being forced to watch public dismemberments and executions; being "lent" to other contractors alongside the pieces of equipment they worked

on, their ability to act as "men" when returning home to Filipino society was severely compromised. The experience lead them to adopt extreme caution, self-control, and silence, all of which were counter to their previous norms of masculinity.

Tensions between subordinate and hegemonic masculinities are evident in ethnographic work on Japanese industries and multinational corporations (Hamada 1996; Kondo 1999). In a study of the Japanese fashion and advertising industries, for instance, Dorinne Kondo (1999) reveals how the "Japanese business suit" has an important symbolic role in international politics. Drawing upon the country's historical sense of racial inferiority and current sense of economic insecurity vis-à-vis the West, ads for the designer line "Comme Des Garçons" empower the Japanese businessman through a new sense of masculinity. His suit represents the uniqueness of Japanese style, culture, and economic innovation, by means of a masculine "strength, leadership, individuality and intelligence" (Kondo 1999, 306). In this way, the masculine corporate image is intended to elevate and negotiate Japanese culture within global politics. This provides a new twist to Connell's (1998) analysis of the "transnational hegemonic masculinity." While the "business suit" is clearly appropriated by the Japanese media as a symbol of power, it is not done as an emulation. Rather, the business suit is reinterpreted as the symbol of Japanese masculinity in opposition to that of the West.

Japanese multinational corporations in the United States reveal the conflict of masculine codes even more directly. In one case study, Japanese corporate ideals of masculinity run counter to features of "Euro-American masculinity" among the American male workers (Hamada 1996). This includes practices such as having an open office space (instead of having private offices); touching male coworkers affectionately (instead of limiting body contact to handshaking); and basing promotions on familism and nurturance (instead of individuality and competitiveness). American men in these companies feel that such practices threaten their sense of masculinity, although they accept them reluctantly. This study provides an excellent application of the concept of "multiple masculinities" (Connell 1995) and demonstrates how masculinity—just like femininity—has to be renegotiated in transnational settings.

Given that Japanese and American masculinities clearly vie with each other for hegemonic power in these two case studies, the Kondo and Hamada examples illustrate the complexity of negotiating positions within the global hierarchy according to race. While Japanese corporate masculinity is subsumed to Euro-American masculinity in the former example of the "Japanese business suit," the reverse is true in the context of the Japanese transplant on U.S. soil. Thus posi-

tions of dominance and subordination among masculinities must sometimes be determined according to the particular micropolitics of the transnational setting.

Notions of masculinity in the global arena are not always in conflict, however. In European Union (EU) organizations like the "European Commission," there are many shared or compatible notions of masculinity, despite variations in the national origin of the employees (Woodward 1996). Such shared notions include hierarchical practices of French public bureaucracy and German legalistic procedures; informal masculine discussion topics such as food, wine, and soccer; and recruitment, socialization, and reward policies that are based on extensive lobbying and "cowboy-like" behaviors. This case reminds us that some forms of masculinity can coexist in global settings regardless of the localized differences in their origins. It also reminds us that international political organizations are not immune to masculine practices.

In sum, it is clear that globalization is not only a process that affects women; men's bodies and sexualities are appropriated in the global economy, too. More important, masculinity is embedded in a variety of international work institutions (including intergovernmental organizations and multinational corporations). It is embedded in global politics too, in terms of the legal, economic, and symbolic relations between countries. An understanding of these dynamics can illuminate the reasons why individual men both perpetuate and react against systemic forms of male domination.

Intersections and Complications

While the studies presented here recognize themes of sexuality, masculinity, and racialism individually, there is less attention paid to the connections between them. Consider the important linkages that are not always brought to the forefront. Sex industries, for instance, are very much based on *racial* global hierarchies. As Kempadoo (1998, 11) notes, this is the case with sex tourism:

Even with the heightened exoticization of the sexuality of third-world women and men, they are positioned within the global sex industry second to white women. White sex workers invariably work in safer, higher paid and more comfortable environments; brown women—Mulatas, Asians, Latinas—form a middle class; and Black women are still conspicuously over-represented in the poorest and most dangerous sectors of the trade, particularly street work. Whiteness continues to represent the hegemonic ideal of physical and sexual attractiveness

and desirability, and white sexual labor is most valued within the global sex industry.

Like domestic work, prostitution is an industry in which there are distinct ethnic preferences for women workers and distinct reward systems based on the ethnic hierarchies. Sexuality is racialized in factory work too. Flirting activities among workers in multinational corporations are not random; rather, they are often racially specific and used as "an exercise of power . . . between ethnic groups." In the case of the Trinidadian factory, "The flirting between supervisors and line workers tends to reproduce a system whereby white men had [historical] sexual access to black and East Indian women" (Yelvington 1995, 182). Race is linked to sexuality in the data processing industries as well. The corporatization of women's bodies in Puerto Rico occurs by manufacturing and opposing a "racially-neutral, professional" appearance with one that is "ethnically promiscuous." Management consultants touted "a preference for sedate, conservative clothes" while denigrating women workers for dressing "in a seductive style that was 'too Latin, too tropical'" (Casey 1996, 227). Thus clothing as a symbolic representation of women's bodies has become a tool to demarcate the hierarchies between racial-ethnic groups of women. The connection between race, bodies, and transnational labor has even entered the commercial realm: Hong Kong toy manufacturers have produced for their local market a "Filipina maid doll" that wears a domestic worker's uniform (Constable 1997).

Masculinity is connected to sex in a number of ways. Case studies in Kempadoo and Doezma's collection *Global Sex Workers* (1998) reveal how prostitution is an increasingly male profession, not limited by any means to women. In corporate settings, masculinity is linked to sex in terms of norms of heterosexuality. Kondo (1999, 311) argues that the reason that women are included in Japanese fashion advertisements for the male business suit is to deflect homosexual implications—she functions as "his audience, his mirror, his guarantor of heterosexuality." The association of masculinity and homophobia is also salient in the research on immigration. The "queer" label directed at southern African immigrants is an attempt to "remasculinize" local male workers, whose jobs—and manhood—are being threatened (Hoad 1999).

Very often then, the linkages between race, sex, and gender are articulated in pairs instead of as a comprehensive set. If one conceptualizes these dynamics in terms of a "matrix of domination," then recognizing the interdependence of multiple hierarchies is vital in understanding the coexistence of privilege and subordination—

especially within individuals (Collins 1999). Consider the complications embedded in emerging forms of global sex work, for example: Western white women who seek services from black men in Barbados (Phillips 1999), and Western lesbians who seek services from local women in Jakarta (Murray 1999). In this way, women's subordination of other women and men of color is a rich topic for global ethnography.

Similarly, internal contradictions within men are emerging as well. One of my acquaintances is a gay man who used to work in the American fashion industry. He would travel extensively to countries like the Philippines to oversee garment production. Under direction from corporate leaders, he would exploit the local women workers by "paying" them with rejected pieces of clothing from the factory, instead of cash wages. Yet, at the same time, he personally encountered harassment from American immigration officials when returning to the United States. Homophobic officials would detain and interrogate him for hours in the airport every time he entered the country. Questions remain, therefore, as to how male experiences of subordination in particular contexts (such as institutional heterosexism) can be channeled toward the transcendence of oppressive behaviors in other settings (like global workplaces).

Resistance and Change in the Global Workplace

This article has shown how the ethnographies of the 1990s have broadened our understanding of globalization, gender, and work by redefining the concepts and revealing their interconnections. Central to this approach is a focus on systems of racism, homophobia, sexual and corporeal control, and hegemonic masculinity. In adopting this perspective, we see that there are new forms of discipline and domination, but also new forms of resistance (Connell 1998). Workers have responded to and challenged these forms of workplace control in highly innovative and remarkable ways.

Despite the isolated context of domestic work for instance, Filipina immigrants use their networks to ease job burdens. In Chicago, Illinois, they organized regular communal outings such as picnics where they can watch each other's (employers') children if needed and also exchange advice about dealing with their bosses (Lindio-McGovern 1997). Moreover, some immigrant women workers have resisted managerial attempts to divide workers along ethnic lines by using "their racial logic against them" (Hossfeld 1990). When a supervisor in Silicon Valley targeted "lazy" Chicana workers for production speedup by comparing and seating them next to "faster" Asian workers, the women used covert solidarity to maintain con-

trol: the Asians reduced their own pace so the Chicanas could catch up. Thus it is sometimes by appropriating racial stereotypes to their own advantage that women are able to gain power to challenge authority. Such solidarity among women is noted in other workplaces too. White and Latina women were able to overcome racial differences when organizing a union in a New Mexico garment factory (Lamphere and Zavella 1997), as did Gujarati Indian and white women in a British hosiery factory (Westwood 1988). In fact, in the Trinidad case discussed above, interethnic ties were stronger among women than among men within the factory (Yelvington 1995).

Workers also resist the pressures of sexuality and bodily discipline in global settings. Data processing workers, for instance, rebelled against corporate dress codes. Although workers in Freeman's study consented to these practices (due to the fact that corporate discipline became "interwoven with the pervasive and conservative Barbadian ethic that places great emphasis on grooming and deportment" [1993, 179]), those in Casey's (1996) study did not. These Puerto Rican women challenged dress code policies by demanding workers' uniforms through their union. Workers saw uniforms as a way to circumvent "the intense pressure to buy fashionable and expensive clothes" because "the cost was prohibitive and shopping took up too much of their time" (Casey 1996, 227).

Organizing around these issues on a transnational level has increased in the last decade. The Network for Sex Work Projects was created to advocate global human rights policies for sex workers, and to provide a link for local sex work organizations (Kempadoo and Doezema 1998). Gay and lesbian human rights groups have formed in southern Africa, such as the Lesbians, Gays, Bisexual and Transgender Persons Association and the Zambian Independent Monitoring Team (ZIMT), both of which have forged global links to similar groups in the United States and Europe (Hoad 1999). This is also the first time in history when international associations have formed to resist traditional masculinities. Within the United States, the newly formed National Organization for Men Against Sexism organizes around such issues, and transnational associations are beginning to address them as well, such as the International Association for Studies of Men and UNESCO (United Nations Economic, Scientific and Cultural Organization) conferences on masculinity (Connell 1998). Thus there is a momentum for transnational social movements on the basis of racialism, sexuality, and masculinity.

Transnational barriers to activism certainly exist, however. One such obstacle is that many international organizations are based in the West and consequently represent first-world interests even if they articulate "global" ones. Even with their generosity of resources,

they sometimes have implicit agendas that contradict the needs of local activists, as was the case in Zambia (Hoad 1999). Western gay/lesbian groups supported local associations like ZIMT only ephemerally, in response to state politics concerning the outlawing of homosexuality, rather than for the long-term needs of grassroots organizing. Similar tensions have arisen in transnational women's movements due to the global power of first-world women over third-world women (Mohanty et al. 1991). Even the editor of the leading women-centered magazine in New Delhi—Madhu Kishwar, of *Manushi*—refuses to self-identify as a "feminist" due to its Western roots and assumptions (Kishwar 1990). Many argue that transnational organizations have limited reach, even when they do appeal to local groups. For instance, although the international gay/lesbian movement is highly active in Jakarta, it is mostly accessible only to affluent classes in urban areas (Murray 1999).

Barriers to transnational unity also emerge from states and nationalist movements (Alvarez 1999). Scholars like Sonia Alvarez note that linkages between transnational women's organizations and state governments in Latin America have resulted in eclipsing or cooptation of grassroots organizations. Likewise, nationalist groups—often with antiglobalization agendas—have attempted to delegitimize local gay/lesbian and women's movements by associating them with the West. Both women's and gay/lesbian movements have been labeled as Western imports and conspiracies against local governments and society. Homosexuality has been accused of threatening ideologies as far ranging as the "socialist morality" in China to "African morality" in Zimbabwe (Blackwood and Wieringa 1999). "Western feminism" has been used as a form of slander by nationalist and leftist movements in India, in an attempt to curtail women's activism within their own struggles (Kumar 1993; Narayan 1997).

Newer studies are providing more optimistic accounts of the potential for transnational movements, however (Moghadam 2000; Thayer 2001). Moghadam argues that NGOs can help local associations thrive by creating viable global feminist networks, and Thayer shows how grassroots organizations can protect themselves from the dominating effects of Western organizations, while simultaneously benefiting from their resources and training. The question, then, is how we can use common experiences of global-local tension to link social movements representing gender, race, and sexuality, as well as international labor movements.

An Agenda for the Gendered Global Ethnography

The potential and future direction for a "gendered" global ethnography rests on clarifying several components. The first is a more

comprehensive and useful set of theoretical tools (Fernandez-Kelly and Wolf 2001). As two leading sociologists of gender and globalization, Patricia Fernandez-Kelly and Diane Wolf (2001, 1244) lament, "students of gender have failed to put forth a viable theory—that is, a coherent body of logically connected statements to explain variations in the relationship between men and women as part of larger orders of inequality." Indeed, the foundation for a theory of gender and globalization within sociology has often been Marxist "world systems theory," which emphasizes a hierarchal division of the world according to global capitalism and an international division of labor that links them (Ward 1993). However, the feminist version of this theory—the international *gender* division of labor—has never been sufficiently integrated with the mainstream Marxist line. In fact, feminist scholars are still debating the most strategic way of achieving such an integration, some arguing for the placement of gender "at the core" of world system theory (Ward 1993) and others calling for a "dialogue" between feminist and world system theories, given a fundamental incompatibility between the two in their levels of analysis (i.e., "individual" versus "world system," respectively) (Misra 2000).

Whatever the tensions between Marxist and feminist theories, the gaps are even greater with respect to global race and queer theories (Altman 1996; Batur-Vanderlippe and Feagin 1999). Indeed, despite the mantra of "race, class, and gender" in sociology, there has been little progress in merging the analytical frameworks of racism, sexism, heterosexism, and classism on the global level. When the theoretical tools are themselves so disconnected, it becomes difficult to "do" global ethnography with attention to intersecting inequalities.

A second consideration for a gendered global ethnography is to rethink its methodological foundations. On the one hand, global ethnography has a unique potential for illuminating important dynamics of globalization and gender in the workplace. By combining the best aspects of feminist epistemologies (i.e., recognizing multiple masculinities and femininities, emphasizing nonhierarchical relations, etc.) with the best of global ethnography (i.e., recognizing the global within the local), we are better able to detect the varying ways in which gender plays out according to race, class, and sexuality. Indeed, some feminist scholars believe these unobtrusive methods are more likely to give a voice to disempowered groups of women (Wolf 1996).

At the same time, however, there are considerable problems embedded in global ethnography. Feminist scholars in particular have pointed out many inherent difficulties of ethnography as a methodology—in any location—for reasons such as the problems of entering

and staying in the field, insider/outsider relations, and positionality, and after fieldwork representations of women in the analysis and write-up (Gluck and Patai 1991; Gottfried 1996; Wolf 1996). Furthermore, these scholars are now developing new critiques as they seek to map ethnography to the global level. Some argue that it is impossible to minimize power differentials between women across regions during the research process, citing factors such as the inherent hierarchies between first-world and third-world women (Narayan 1997); tensions between U.S.-based third-world women and the "local" women they research when returning to their "homelands," due to newly acquired global power and class status (Lal 1996); and stereotypes used by third-world women against interviewers from other third-world countries (Miraftab 2001). In addition, while most of the current feminist debates center around issues of race and nationality in the dynamics of global ethnography, the complications are magnified when issues of sexuality and masculinity are included as well (i.e., the politics of first-world men researching third-world men, heterosexuals researching gays/lesbians, etc.) (Blackwood and Wieringa 1999).[2] Therefore, future research needs to explore such methodological problems more fully in the context of global ethnography, as well as devise strategies for dealing with them.

A third issue for gendered global ethnography is incorporating new and changing forms of globalized labor among women. As patterns of transnational economies, politics, and technologies change, so do women's employment opportunities and barriers. Keeping up with the changes in what "women's labor" means is part of that process. For instance, the United Nations Human Development program projects that the "globalization of care" will be one of the greatest challenges for women (UNDP 1999). In the third world, this means eliminating jobs in sectors that women heavily occupy—teaching, nursing, domestic services, elderly care, and child care—as states cut back on a variety of caring services in order to boost their gross domestic products. It also means magnified burdens of unpaid care work for women who are already engaged in wage-earning and transferring care labor to minors—daughters, nieces, and so forth. In the first world, the globalization of care means transferring many services from the public to the private sphere and increasingly relying on foreign workers for care work. This is certainly evident in the foreign advertising of nurses and teachers by U.S. hospitals and schools. Ethnographic analyses could reflect on these changes in global employment opportunities as well as on the new interracial labor relations that are generated, and how women react to these transformations.

Another area of study that will benefit from global ethnography is women's work in information and communication technologies (ICT). Just as Carla Freeman (2000) has examined data processing industries, there is a whole host of "ICT-enabled" jobs which are rapidly globalizing and "feminizing" (ILO 2001). In fact, while global high-tech production is on the decline, high-tech services are increasing. Women are being employed by Western companies abroad to do a variety of these ICT services—from payroll to data archiving, medical transcription, and customer service calling. "Call centers" are among the fastest growing sectors of this work and are projected to employ 18 million people globally by 2002. Investigating why women are so heavily concentrated in this industry when they lag so far behind men in ICT education is yet to be explored.

A fourth issue for gendered global ethnography is the consequence of globalized employment for women. On the one hand, these global sites can become unique sources of personal and community empowerment for women. In Malaysia and Sri Lanka, women factory workers in free trade zones have offered their precious time toward developing women's libraries, classes on typing and public speaking, legal assistance, sexual harassment prevention, and food cooperatives (Rosa 1994). In Mexico, maquila women used their own factory wages to set up women's centers for child care, job training, and community waste management programs (Pena 1996). On the other hand, there are also unique forms of violence against women associated with globalized employment. This has been the case with "micro-credit" employment—transnationally financed loans for the poor in developing countries for the purpose of setting up personal businesses. These loans are given largely to women, who often apply their finances to a small business in the informal economy such as trade. Despite the benefits of these employment opportunities, such loans in Bangladesh have been associated with verbal and physical abuse by husbands against women—when the loan is not enough or does not come on time, for instance (Goetz and Sen Gupta 1994; Pepall 1998; Poster and Salime 2002). Similarly, recent events in Ciudad Juarez near the *maquilla* region of Mexico foretell another insidious trend. Since 1993, at least two hundred women workers have been murdered as they travel to and from the factories, which are largely U.S. owned. Though they earn only $3 a day, these women hold coveted jobs in a region that has high unemployment (Sheridan 1999). Local feminist activists attribute these events to "male backlash" against the factory workers (Brant 1998).[3] A gendered global ethnography, therefore, would provide many insights in exploring the links between opportunity for and violence against women in these transnational labor settings.

NOTES

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1. For another discussion of Sri Lankan domestics—this time in Greece—see the film "When Mother Came Home for Christmas" (Vachani 1996); see also Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila (1997).

2. While there have been some illuminating explorations of sexual attraction in transnational ethnographic settings (Markowitz and Ashkenazi 1999), less attention has been paid to issues of homophobia in the ethnographic process—either by researchers or participants—and how to overcome it.

3. See the escapinghades.com website for an excellent collection of news articles on this topic. I thank Caitrin Lynch, and her "Women in International Perspectives" course syllabus, for directing me to this.

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