

TROUBLING SECULAR ASSUMPTIONS: WHAT “EARLY” FEMINIST  
RESISTANCE CAN TELL US ABOUT GLOBALIZATION,  
RELIGION, AND SECULARISM

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by  
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## ABSTRACT

This project uses the archive at the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), an international Quaker peace and social justice organization headquartered in Philadelphia, PA, in order to shed light on the globalization resistance labor of the Nationwide Women's Program (NWP) and its transnational networks. The NWP was an internal program at the AFSC, initiated by women staff and committee members who challenged the practices of gender discrimination within the organization and initiated external AFSC programs that served women's unique needs in peace and social justice initiatives. By focusing primarily on the serial inserts of the group's newsletter from 1978 to 1988, entitled *Women and Global Corporations: Work, Roles, Resistance*, this project draws attention to the dense networks of transnational communication and resistance against global economic restructuring during this time. It uses and challenges social movement scholarship by suggesting that the analytical frameworks of transnational advocacy networks *and* social movement mobilization more accurately capture the antiglobalization activity that took place several decades prior to when it is conventionally identified in 1999.

The project highlights the NWP's social movement brokerage and the embodied social movement activities of the activists, scholars, and laborers in its orbit. These social movement activities included boycotts, letter-writing campaigns, labor organizing, and a plethora of other on-the-ground activities and discursive practices against global corporations and the institutions that supported them. An investigation into the sources of the NWP's knowledge production in brokering this movement reveals both Quaker

and feminist influences that call into question the conventionally accepted binary between religion and secularity in the Western imaginary. The presence of Quaker and feminist influences on the NWP's understandings of globalization provides the opportunity for thinking through at least two possibilities: how a tacit Protestant secularism within the organization contributed to its own erasure, and how contemporary globalization narratives are infused with a Protestant secularism that insidiously frames globalization resistance as retrograde and fuels a universalizing (and therefore exclusionary) notion of progress and unsustainable economic growth.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

During the course of this project, I had the pleasure of listening to a radio interview with novelist and memoirist Ann Lamott (2012) in which she quipped that “writing is when you know more at its end than at its beginning.” While this bit of wisdom guided me through writing my dissertation, I find that it resonates with me once again as I reflect upon my gratitude to the scores of people who have supported me along this journey. I know more now whom I need to thank than perhaps I have known all along.

Academically speaking, I owe a great intellectual debt to several scholars at the three institutions of higher education that I have had the privilege to attend. At Bucknell University, Carol Wayne White prompted my undergraduate interest in the study of religion, even when it was a frightening and foreign enterprise for me. I am grateful for her patience and understanding that the academic study of religion posed a challenge for the devout and rather sheltered Roman Catholic young woman I was then. The continued draw of such study later pulled me to Drew University, where Laurel Kearns introduced me to the subject of globalization and my very first inkling that I would someday commit myself to its study. Otto Maduro and the late Ada Maria Isási-Díaz oversaw my Master’s Thesis at Drew, where they guided me well in listening to the voices and experiences of marginalized people. I am grateful to each of them for making Drew the right choice for me.

At Temple University, I have spent the last six years in the most supportive and intellectually engaging place I have ever known. John Raines is the reason I was able to

begin graduate school at Temple—when I did not initially receive fellowship funding, he walked my application essay over to the Writing Center, where I spent the next six years employed in work that I loved. He remained my most unconditional supporter throughout my time at Temple. Terry Rey taught one of the first graduate seminars that I took at Temple and inspired my interest in religion, race, ethnicity, and class. His thoughtful support of graduate students regularly included me, and his open-door policy (or just open door) has invited me to many spur-of-the-moment and thought-provoking conversations with him. At this moment, I am appreciative of his close reading. Jane Gordon was a ready outside reader for my work, and though I met her late in the process, her inspiring words kept me calm in preparing for my dissertation defense. Laura Levitt, the chair of my dissertation committee, is one of the most committed and supportive teachers I know; she gives endlessly to her students, and I am deeply grateful to have been one of them. Not only did she provide enormously helpful feedback on my written work, she taught me how to do scholarship on “hot coals,” as I have come to think of it—to critically approach scholarly works in a way that recognizes, even embraces, complexity and calls into question taken-for-granted norms. This approach has informed my doctoral research, and, without a doubt, has had the greatest impact on me as a scholar and thinker. I am grateful for her endless giving.

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Rachael Kamel needs special mention as my colleague from the Department of Religion, since she introduced me to the Nationwide Women's Program (NWP) and the American Friends Service Committee archives—or, to my dissertation subject. I believe that she knew what she was doing when she hired me to assist her with the NWP research project in the summer of 2007, and I am eternally grateful for her vision and her investment in me and my work. She read several drafts of initial chapters and always replied with thoughtful and insightful feedback. I thank her for this and also for her dear friendship.

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enthusiastic manner. His assistance and good conversation made my research more pleasurable than it would have been without him.

Patricia Fernández-Kelly generously agreed to be on my committee, despite the demands on her time at Princeton University. I am grateful for her support and for the engaging exchanges we had during my defense. I look forward to our continued work on this project and perhaps bringing together in the near future the women of the Nationwide Women's Program for discussion about early globalization resistance movements.

Susan Getze was my "Faithful Reader" for the last year of this project and a precious gem that made all the difference in my ability to complete it. Her encouragement carried me through when I was at the most challenging phases of the writing process, and I will never forget her invaluable support. With each draft I submitted to her, she read with fervor and always asked for more. She also had the patience of a saint when I resisted her most logical suggestions! I am happy to know her, and indebted to my wonderful Aunt Janet for introducing us.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### Interventions

Banks got bailed out; we got sold out.

--Protest chant at Occupy Philly, 2011

Throughout the UN's International Women's Decade (1975-1985), events addressing themes of Equality, Development and Peace have only occasionally mentioned the impact of transnational conglomerates, international financial institutions, and the structure of the global macroeconomy in shaping both daily life and public politics.... Each day, decisions made in corporate boardrooms determine what (and whether) people will eat, where and how they will live and work, how many children they will have, and what changes seem possible.

--Saralee Hamilton, NWP Director, 1985

I sit down to write after having just returned from Occupy Philly, Philadelphia's iteration of the Occupy Wall Street movement that began at Zuccotti Park in New York City on September 17, 2011. Seemingly overnight, encampments of people sprung up in cities and towns across the United States and other countries in solidarity with Occupy Wall Street, drawing attention to and voicing outrage over the federal bailout of several Wall Street investment firms in 2009, the corporate excesses that led to the bank failures and the concomitant global recession, persistently high rates of unemployment in the U.S. since the bank failures, gross income and wealth inequalities in the U.S. and the world, and a variety of other, related issues. By October 15, 2011, Occupy Philly took up much of Dilworth Plaza on the west side of City Hall in downtown Philadelphia, with over 300

tents, a medical station, a library, a media/technology center, a stage, an interfaith tent, and a general assembly gathering each night.

I return now from one of Occupy Philly's general assembly meetings, feeling invigorated by the sense of hope among the occupiers for radical systemic change. Yet I return also with a sense of reservation about this movement, about what I understand as some of its blind spots. For instance, it seems to see itself as something new rather than a culmination of decades of related social mobilizations resisting neoliberal economic restructuring the world over. It thus neglects the richness of these prior movements and overlooks the connections among what seem only on the surface to be unrelated issues. For example, on October 12, 2011, the U.S. Congress—a congress that is otherwise pathologically bipartisan—passed legislation for free trade agreements between the U.S. and Panama, Colombia, and South Korea with virtually no political wrangling or public debate. Given the history of free trade resistance movements in the U.S.—visible in the culminating “Battle of Seattle” in 1999 that drew connections between free trade agreements and U.S. job loss, growth of economic inequality, and corporate excess—one might think that the Occupy Wall Street mobilizations would have raised their voices in vehement opposition to these newly minted trade agreements as well.

There was, however, nary a sign nor slogan to this effect on my several visits to Dilworth Plaza throughout the fall of 2011, even on the days surrounding the congressional passage of the trade deals. While Occupy Seattle in Washington State and Occupy Seoul in South Korea did speak out against the trade agreements, and Occupy Wall Street in New York City had a teach-in about them (and mock water cannon attack), the Occupy movements overall—if one could capture a common voice—did not focus on

this element of the global economy.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, at the Philadelphia encampment, there were no signs or slogans referring to globalization, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), or the World Bank, as there had been at the public gatherings of those involved in what the mainstream media have called the antiglobalization movement, which seems now to have been eclipsed. At the moment, the antiglobalization movements and the Occupy movements in the U.S. are at best only contiguous with one another rather than continuous, with the focus of the latter being more narrowly placed upon the U.S. economy and responding as if the policies, practices, and ideologies that led to the current financial crisis were as new and provincial as the 2008 bankruptcy of Bear Sterns.<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, one of the primary complaints about the Occupy movements in the mainstream U.S. news media has been that they are instead unfocused, that issues as disparate as homelessness, student loan debt, racism, war and militarism, corporate personhood, and the federal bailout of the banks are all vying for position at the encampments with no apparent thread connecting them. I would concede that the thread has not been made prominent enough, though not for want of existing. The thread is globalization—or rather the decades of global neoliberal capitalist policies and ideologies, produced by global (though primarily Western) business and political elites, that have wreaked social, cultural, political, and economic havoc on many communities

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<sup>1</sup> For information on the Seattle and Seoul occupations with regard to the trade agreements see Bacon (2011) and Park and Ik-Jin (2011) respectively; for information on the New York teach-in, see Hong et al. (2011), and for the mock water cannon attack in NYC in solidarity with Occupy Seoul, see Kim and Weissman (2011).

<sup>2</sup> Bear Sterns was the first of several Wall Street investment and brokerage firms to fail during the global financial crisis in 2008. To prevent the bank from going completely out of business, the U.S. government brokered a negotiation for J.P Morgan to purchase Bear Sterns in March 2008. For an accessible history of the 2008 banking crisis and U.S. government bailout, see the film *Inside Job* (Ferguson 2010). A study guide for the film can be found at [http://www.sonyclassics.com/insidejob/\\_pdf/InsideJob\\_StudyGuide.pdf](http://www.sonyclassics.com/insidejob/_pdf/InsideJob_StudyGuide.pdf)

and nations throughout the world. In many ways, what the U.S. is experiencing now, in terms of high unemployment, growing economic inequality, unfettered financial markets, and a (further) gutting of social welfare programs, is a domestic consolidation of the very policies that our political and corporate leaders have already implemented among working class and marginalized communities in the U.S. and in many economically impoverished countries throughout the world for several decades.

What the occupiers are responding to now is essentially economic globalization “coming home to roost” among the middle classes of the U.S.<sup>3</sup> The deregulation of financial markets that led to the recent Wall Street bank failures was merely another iteration of the deregulatory thrust that has underwritten global corporate agendas, free trade agreements, and the structural adjustment policies of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank for several decades. It is just that the deregulatory fallout has now cast a wider net in terms of those negatively affected by it, bringing together diverse groups of people impacted in a diversity of ways by an unjust global economic system. Perhaps in their awakening, the U.S. middle classes can lend more of their social, political, and economic accoutrements to the various movements resisting economic globalization; perhaps they could understand and articulate better how their own situated concerns are always and already tied up with those who have been struggling for far longer.

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<sup>3</sup> I borrowed this phrase “coming home to roost” initially from Juan Gonzales’ (2001) *Harvest of Empire*, which explores the ways in which current human migration patterns from Latin American and Caribbean countries to the U.S. are the result of U.S. foreign and economic policies in these regions for many decades. I owe Rachael Kamel for pointing out that Malcolm X used this phrase after the assassination of John F. Kennedy, by which he meant that a climate of hate in the U.S. resulted in Kennedy’s assassination. I use the phrase here in a consistent manner with both instances, meaning that there are consequences to actions and/or policies that cause harm. The global economic policies that have previously helped some classes of people in the U.S. at the expense of others in the U.S. and beyond are now expanded to such a degree that they are harming even those who had previously been in a position to benefit from them.

Yet in order to do so, the Occupy movements, or any movement seeking change in any of the diverse issues brought recently to the (mainstream media) fore by the occupiers, would do well to understand the thread that pulls these complex issues together. They also would do well to become familiar with the myriad resistance movements that have been exposing, unstitching, and restitching global economic systems—if incrementally and/or infinitesimally—for the past several decades. There is a rich history there to be mined and combined with current movements for radical systemic change.

I say this with conviction after having spent several years in the archives of an organization that has laid bare the seams of economic globalization for at least four decades. That organization is the American Friends Service Committee, an international Quaker peace and social justice organization based in Philadelphia, PA. More specifically, my research has focused upon an internal body within the American Friends Service Committee, called the Nationwide Women's Program, and the transnational advocacy and resistance networks within which the Nationwide Women's Program operated.<sup>4</sup> I will return to the concept of transnational advocacy networks in greater depth in Chapter 2, but here it suffices to say that the Nationwide Women's Program was engaged in a vibrant international network of scholars, activists, and laborers who were coming to terms with and beginning to challenge a multitude of issues regarding the global economy in the 1970's and 1980's.

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<sup>4</sup> I borrow this term, transnational advocacy networks, from Keck and Sikkink's (1998) *Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* and address this concept as well as the added notion of transnational *resistance* networks in Chapters 2 and 3.

What I found in the archival collection of the Nationwide Women's Program's many memoranda, letters, notes, newsletters, minutes, reports, pamphlets, and amicus briefs sheds light on these networks and some of the gaps and fissures in the contemporary movements resisting global capitalism, be they the Occupy movements or even the so-called antiglobalization movements preceding them. This dissertation aims to bring to the surface a record of these women's analytical, activist, and transnational labors in order to fill some of these gaps, to show that globalization and the movements resisting it date back several decades. These movements have taken on multiple forms in many places throughout the world, including the United States, and, when considered together, the connections among seemingly disparate issues and the continuity between past and present movements can be drawn.

Yet intervening at the level of social movement activism is only one point of entry that can be made with the material found in the archival holdings of the Nationwide Women's Program. Its work can be used to make a discursive intervention among several scholarly conversations about globalization as well, such as those among economists interested in the popular promotion of economic globalization, feminists concerned with the local and gendered dimensions of global restructuring, and religion scholars trying to understand the place of religion amidst shifting global dynamics. This scholarly contribution is probably best elucidated through the following story of my own introduction to the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) archives, and thus my arrival at this dissertation topic.

In the summer of 2007, I was invited by my friend and colleague, Rachael Kamel, to assist her with a research project at the American Friends Service Committee, her place of employment at the time. The organization's Nationwide Women's Program, which had begun to coalesce in 1971 and engaged in a plethora of social justice initiatives within and beyond the organization for several decades thereafter, had lain dormant for several months. In order for the AFSC Board to decide how to move forward (or not) with the program in 2007, it needed to review a chronicle of the program's efforts over its many years of existence.

During the years in which the Nationwide Women's Program existed, the American Friends Service Committee operated as a highly decentralized organization that relied upon committees of non-staff persons to guide the work of a particular international or domestic office. By 2007, the AFSC had over 500 employees in thirty-five offices in the United States and in at least fifteen different countries. As such, it was perfectly feasible for the Nationwide Women's Program to have undertaken social programs, projects, and initiatives during its decades-long tenure that did not become part of the common knowledge of the AFSC Board or the overall organization. There was, therefore, a need for this report. Kamel was tasked with producing it, and I readily accepted the invitation to assist her in researching and writing it. My portion of the project focused on the labor that the Nationwide Women's Program and its committee put toward challenging the deleterious impacts of the global economy throughout the 1980's (and into the 1990's).<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Kamel (2007) wrote an impressive report, entitled "Nationwide Women's Program American Friends Service Committee 1975-2006" of which I wrote the section, "Women and Global Corporations: Work, Roles, Resistance." While this dissertation focuses on the NWP's antiglobalization labor, Kamel's report is

During my foray into the AFSC archives for this research project in 2007, I was simultaneously enrolled in a course on globalization at Temple University. Thus it was that on Monday and Thursday mornings of the early part of that summer, I found myself at Temple University, ascending to the sixth floor of the humanities building, where I partook in a graduate seminar offered by the Department of Religion, entitled “The Globalization Debate”. There, we read, critically analyzed, and often vehemently disagreed with the texts of four contemporary male authors: Joseph Stiglitz’s (2006) *Making Globalization Work*, Thomas Friedman’s (2006) *The World is Flat*, Michael Yate’s (2003) *Naming the System*, and John Agnew’s (2005) *Hegemony: The New Shape of Power*. On the remaining days of the week, I descended into the basement archives of the AFSC, where I read, critically analyzed, and delighted over the texts of the many feminist scholars, activists, and laborers connected in myriad ways to the Nationwide Women’s Program.

What I found as I alternated between these two spaces was that their discourses did not intersect, despite their common subject matter. That is, the globalization analyses and resistance work of the feminist activists that I found in the basement records did not appear in the narratives of the contemporary texts we read in “The Globalization Debate” course. The most startling omission of what I had come to see as a rich, vibrant, and critical realm of globalization analysis and resistance recorded in the AFSC archives came in the “Acknowledgments” section of Stiglitz’s text. In 2006 Stiglitz wrote:

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a survey that covers the greater diversity of the NWP’s programs and initiatives, which included, for example, work on reproductive rights, poverty reduction, anti-militarism, and lesbian feminism. My initial foray into the NWP’s work did not include the 1970’s; this came later, when I returned to the archives a couple of years later (as I describe below).

The public debate about globalization has been especially lively within the last half decade, with important contributions by Martin Wolf (*Why Globalization Works*), Jagdish Bhagwati (*In Defense of Globalization*), Bill Easterly (*The Elusive Quest for Growth*), Jeff Sachs (*The End of Poverty*), and Thomas Friedman (*The World is Flat*). Onstage and offstage, we have continued these debates... which hopefully will play a role in shaping public policy in this vital area. (XXII-XXIII)

Here, Stiglitz marks as visible, and thus legitimate, only those conversations about globalization that had been taking place among a small group of elite men since 2001. Such a statement, however, conflicted with the body of work I encountered in the AFSC basement: the previous three decade's worth of lively conversations about globalization among feminist scholars, activists, and laborers the world over.

Thus became evident some of the gaps in the first scholarly conversation about globalization that I encountered, that of elite economists writing to a popular audience in defense of globalization.<sup>6</sup> Their work omitted not only the scholarship produced by some of the feminists associated with the Nationwide Women's Program—published texts that were easily available to these economists<sup>7</sup>—but the critical issues raised and the resistance work deployed by the scholars, activists, and laborers in their transnational networks. Indeed, by 1978 the Nationwide Women's Program had already planned and

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<sup>6</sup> It should be noted that in *Making Globalization Work*, Stiglitz is critical of the current regimes of globalization (i.e. free trade arrangements, international debt burdens, environmental crises, etc.), yet the thrust of the text is to reform globalization, not to question its seeming inevitability or overall desirability. Michael Yates is an exception among the authors in the course in that he is not elite in the way that the others are, lacking connections to the World Bank, the World Economic Forum, or the press that the others hold. Yates focuses a section of his book on the marginalization of radical economists within academia and considers himself one of these marginalized academicians. He is also not writing in defense of globalization but in opposition to it. His omission of gender as a critical component of globalization and its resistances is perhaps, then, even more striking.

<sup>7</sup> Examples are Fernández-Kelly's (1983) *For We Are Sold: I and My People: Women and Industry in Mexico's Frontier*, Enloe's (1989) *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*, Kamel's (1990) *The Global Factory: Analysis and Action for a New Economic Era*, and Sparr's (1994) *Mortgaging Women's Lives: Feminist Critiques of Structural Adjustment*. Each of these authors collaborated with the Nationwide Women's Program to varying degrees in the 1970's or 1980's.

implemented an international conference exploring three specific industries within the shifting world economy: agribusiness, garment/textiles, and electronics. A brochure for the conference noted: “The world is becoming one global system, in which people, particularly women, especially from poor and third world communities, are being exploited as workers and as consumers for the benefit of giant corporations which answer only to themselves” (NWP 1978b). This conference brought together a group of already-active critics of globalization and helped to spark further communication among them.

I will explore these early contributions of feminist antiglobalization networks more deeply in later chapters, but for now it is enough to say that the contemporary economists from “The Globalization Debate” course—and many others in their discursive circles—fail to mention, for example, that when U.S. firms began to globalize their production lines, moving their capital from the U.S. to the free trade zones or export processing zones of Mexico, South Korea, the Philippines, Taiwan, or Sri Lanka in the 1960’s and 1970’s, the workers they hired were 80-95% women, depending on the industry. These women also received pitiful wages and worked in hazardous conditions, other points omitted from the economists’ more sanguine portraits of globalization (or its supposed potential). These contemporary economists overlook, then, the many gendered and localized aspects of global restructuring that the women of the Nationwide Women’s Program were able to see because of their transnational connections with people (largely women) being hired in the places where capital was relocating at the time. This dissertation, then, sheds light on the historical record of these activists, countering their erasure from contemporary globalization theory.

Inspired by the work of the feminists of the Nationwide Women's Program and their transnational interlocutors that I encountered in the AFSC archives, I momentarily set aside the economists' set of conversations on globalization and turned to another set of conversations, that of feminist scholars critically analyzing the effects of globalization on different populations of women (e.g., Mies 1982, Ong 1987, Enloe 1989, Wolf 1992, Sparr 1994, Freeman 2000, Mohanty 2003). Here I found a different look at the economic aspects of globalization, moving away from abstract, "gender neutral" macro analyses to ones that situated global economic restructuring amidst historically inscribed and gendered bodies, communities, and institutions.

These latter scholars highlight the social constructedness of globalization, thus recognizing the social agencies, practices and discourses that produce its implementations and those that resist them, denaturalizing the seeming inevitability of globalization. It is this set of feminist conversations that resonated best with the record of work residing in the Nationwide Women's Program archive, though not without its own gaps. For example, in highlighting local acts of resistance and/or agency, these feminist scholars overlook the fact that a transnational web of scholars, activists, and laborers existed in the formative years of globalization, one that included feminists in the United States.<sup>8</sup> The body of feminist scholarship on globalization also tends to be ethnographic work that focuses on a particular locality's indigenization of globalization, de-emphasizing the macroeconomic connections among these different indigenizations. Yet the scholars,

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<sup>8</sup> Typically, contemporary feminists critique U.S. feminism (or feminists from the global north) for having ignored both third world women's concerns about global economic issues and their own complicity with global capitalism during this early period of "second wave" women's movements in the 1970's and 1980's. I explore this claim further in Chapter 3.

activists and laborers in the NWP's orbit deftly attended to both the macro and micro dynamics of the shifting global economy. The record of antiglobalization labor in the NWP archives can thus be used to intervene among feminist scholars' analyses of globalization (the literature of which is more often characterized under "women in development" or, more recently, "gender and development").<sup>9</sup>

Before turning to that work, however, there is one more piece of my own journey that informs a third scholarly intervention that can be made with this archive, within the sub-field of religion and globalization. As previously mentioned, "The Globalization Debate" seminar was offered in the Department of Religion at Temple University. While the course texts provided an important macroeconomic framework to understand some of the more powerful nodes of global capitalism, "religion" seemed to be missing from these texts and, for the most part, our conversations of them as well. Similarly, the feminist scholars I thereafter engaged also lacked any attention to religion.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, after having spent the summer of 2007 in the AFSC archives researching the Nationwide Women's Program, I claimed that "religion" was somehow missing from this record as well—this, despite the fact that the Nationwide Women's Program was hosted within a Quaker organization. Yet I had come to the doctoral program at Temple University to study specifically "the role of religion in those movements resisting economic globalization," as I often characterized my scholarly interests. How could I, in a

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<sup>9</sup> See Freedman (2002) for further elucidation on the shift from "women in development" (WID) to "gender and development" (GAD); see Nagar et al. (2002) for a review of feminist literature on globalization.

<sup>10</sup> Aihwa Ong's (1987) *Spirits of Resistance and Capitalist Discipline: Factory Women in Malaysia* is an interesting exception to this statement. Her look into the limited means of resistance, namely spirit possession, available to the women workers in foreign-owned electronics factories in Malaysia in the 1980's is likely unchristian enough to be *included* in feminist discussions of globalization and, for the same reason, *excluded* from that of the religion and globalization scholars.

department of religion, with a desire to study religion's role in globalization resistance movements, write a dissertation that might ignore the subject of "religion" altogether?

This nagging question prompted two moves on my part: entry into the set of scholarly conversations that engage religion and globalization (e.g., Beyer and Beaman 2007, Juergensmeyer 2006, Vasquez and Marquardt 2003, Beyer 1994, Robertson and Garrett 1991) and entry into those that interrogate the power relations endemic to the scholarly discussion and demarcation of religion (e.g., Jakobsen and Peligrini 2008, Masuzawa 2005, Fessenden 2007, Castelli and Rodman 2001, King 1999, Chidester 1996, Smith 1978). The former body of work surfaces the subject of "religion" in the discussion of globalization, the latter questions religion's very existence or, more specifically, reveals the ways in which the concept of religion has been produced within power-laden discourses in the Western academy that have, for centuries, defined religion along Enlightenment Protestant Christian norms. This limited definition of religion has excluded much of what might otherwise be considered religious and produces what is commonly and academically seen as religion's polar opposite, the secular. These latter texts cast doubt on the assumed bipolarity of the religious and the secular, revealing the many ways in which these demarcated realms actually interpolate one another. The first set of texts, those engaging the subject of religion and globalization, largely take for granted the concept of religion that is critiqued among these latter scholars.

This shift in perspective that sees the blurring together of religion and secularity is not mere intellectual indulgence but a political positioning that brings into resolution the stakes involved in producing a particular normative understanding of "religion" and "not religion." Academic conversations do not take place in a vacuum but in dialectical

relationship with the world outside of academia as well; the economists mentioned above are key examples of this dialectic, as their texts are written in conversation with non-scholars for a popular audience in defense of globalization. For me to claim that religion was missing from their texts would be 1.) to reproduce the political legacy of the Western academic study of religion that has presumed a Protestant Christian understanding of religion separate from the secular, and 2.) to ignore the ways in which these authors promote the supposedly secular realm of economics by deploying Enlightenment Christian norms of progress in tacit yet powerful ways that dangerously “other” those who resist it. In reading the economic and feminist analyses of globalization mentioned above and the Nationwide Women’s Program documents in 2007, I was seeking a particular kind of religion, an Enlightenment-informed Reformed Christianity model of religion that I declared to be missing and thereby invisibilized more complex yet subtle interpolations of the religious and the secular that are operative in these sites.

This realization of my own presumptions about religion and secularity prompted me to rethink the Nationwide Women’s Program.<sup>11</sup> How might its record intervene not just amidst activist, economic and feminist conversations about globalization but also shed light on the absence and yet presence of “religion” in these supposedly secular spaces? How might I see religion differently, both in the archives and in the myriad places where globalization is discussed, so as to recognize it in its more secularized forms and the insidious ways in which its invisibilization can function politically? This

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<sup>11</sup> It should be noted that this re-thinking did not come unprovoked. I had so internalized Western academic Christian presumptions about what constitutes religion, and was looking from my own protestantized Roman Catholic disposition, that I needed serious prodding from one of my dissertation committee members, Laura Levitt, in order to reconsider the very existence and the stakes of my own intellectual proclivities regarding this project.

invisibilization is most commonly seen in global capitalism's depiction as natural and inevitable by its proponents, as linear "progress" and "development"—technologically, economically, and materialistically speaking—that is similar to the Enlightenment (Christian) norms of progress that were tied up with the civilizing projects of European colonization.<sup>12</sup> There is also common among globalization's proponents a Christian-like supersessionary celebration of capitalism's triumph over communism, as (supposedly) evinced in the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989.

It is with these analytical frames that I returned to the AFSC archives in 2009 and 2010, when the record of the Nationwide Women's Program became the official focus of my dissertation. I spent these two years intermittently sorting through the vast holdings of the Nationwide Women's Program's work on global corporations, thinking about how the interstitial and overlapping terrains of the religious and the secular could make visible what is missing from and hidden within many contemporary conversations about globalization in these regards. The combination of my first and second engagements with the archives inform the following chapters, wherein I offer several discursive interventions based on the historical record of the Nationwide Women's Program's transnational advocacy and resistance networks and the antiglobalization movements in which they were situated.

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<sup>12</sup> A more explicit example of the politics of religion/secularism in globalization discourses comes in Peter Berger's (2006) treatment of the concept of global civil society, which he deems a collective good. Berger looks at what he calls "[t]he two most dynamic religious movements in the contemporary world" to make his point: popular Protestantism and resurgent Islam (16). Pentecostalism (part of the former religious movement), he claims, "has no violent segment, and it does not seek to impose itself on the larger society" (18). Yet he argues that "Islam, even in its moderate forms, has certain characteristics that are unfavorable to the development of civil society," namely, its understanding of religious law and the role of women (Ibid). Berger is both a prominent figure in the sub-field of religion and globalization and unremarkable in his promotion of secularized Christianity as compatible with globalization and his marginalization of what is seen as too-religious and violent Islam as incompatible with it. I discuss these points further in Chapter 5.

By bringing this historical record to the surface, I aim to add a deeper history, a broader transnationalism, and a gendered analysis that brings together macro and micro dimensions of global capitalism to activist and scholarly conversations about globalization and its resistance today. In the process, I contemplate how such “early” awareness of globalization took place among these activists, and how their labor has been erased from the contemporary narratives of globalization. In considering how the religious and the secular intersect with one another in the workings of the Nationwide Women’s Program, I offer insight into how an Enlightenment Christian normativity infuses popular and scholarly promotions of neoliberal global capitalism. Altogether, this work should help to lay bare the connections among seemingly diverse sets of issues that have more recently come to the fore (again) by the Occupy Wall Street mobilizations, as well as to intervene among economic, feminist, and religion scholars’ contemporary impressions of globalization and its resistances, offering a heretofore hidden history of them both.<sup>13</sup>

### **The Politics of a Term**

Before turning to an outline of the following chapters, it is important to clarify my use of the term globalization, which is, in large part, the subject of this dissertation.

Globalization is a widely used and contested term within academia and popular culture,

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<sup>13</sup> The Occupy Philly encampment ended on Sunday, November 27, 2011 at 5 p.m., when Mayor Michael Nutter sent police officers to clear Dilworth Plaza of any remaining occupiers. The occupation at Zuccotti Park in New York City ended less than two weeks prior, on November 15, 2011. As of this writing, the Occupy Wall Street Movement continues as a nebulous, network-type of movement that likely has some similarities with the network I describe in this body of work. Interestingly, the American Friends Service Committee (and the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting) served as a support entity for Occupy Philly during its nearly two-month encampment, offering access to meeting space, the large kitchen, and bathrooms (AFSC 2012a)

so much so that its analytical utility has been hampered. In short, the term globalization means a dizzying array of different things to different people, some of which are mutually exclusive. For example, there are theorists, pundits, and activists who characterize globalization in strictly economic terms, lauding or lamenting the global integration of finance, capital, and labor markets. Other observers focus on political iterations of globalization, celebrating or decrying the enervation or the fortification of the nation-state amidst emerging transnational bodies, such as the International Criminal Court, the World Trade Organization, and international non-governmental organizations. Still others turn their attention to the cultural elements of globalization, fearing or welcoming a prospective homogenization or heterogenization of cultural values and practices. Environmentalists point to the global proportion of various environmental threats, as in global warming; yet some among them also find hope in the promise of global cooperation in addressing such dangers (e.g., through agreements like the Kyoto Protocol).<sup>14</sup>

Meanwhile, feminist theorists and activists interrogate the gendered manifestations of globalization in its various localized and embodied forms, finding complex ways in which people and their communities are both instruments of and agents of/within/against different aspects of globalization. Finally, threaded throughout these conversations and beyond them, there are those who argue that globalization is something distinctly new, while their interlocutors counter that it is instead as old as the spread of ancient religious traditions. With these myriad renditions of the term, I am tempted to

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<sup>14</sup> The Kyoto Protocol is an international agreement linked to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change; it sets binding targets for thirty-seven industrialized countries and the European community for reducing greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions (U.N. 2012).

agree with economist Michael Veseth's (1998) wager that "globalization must be a terrible, wonderful thing" ...but only tempted.<sup>15</sup>

Instead of being drawn in by the expansiveness of the term globalization, I prefer to enter with a very specific understanding of it, one that is both etymologically informed and intentionally political. Let me clarify. Etymologically, the current use of the active noun, globalization, seems to have its origin in economic trends of the 1960's and 1970's, since economists and other social scientists concerned with political economy began to use it at this time (Steger 2009).<sup>16</sup> The suffix "-ization" attached to the adjective "global" denotes the activity, movement, or shifting of something on a scale that was being noticed as more capacious than what was previously observed, hence the need for a new term or conceptual frame in order to capture it. Yet what was in need of conceptual capture on a global scale at this time?

I suggest that it was the growing phenomenon of multinational corporations. By 1973, multinational corporations had become the center of so much concern that the United Nations had convened a "Group of Eminent Persons" to research and advise on their role in economic development (U.N. 1973). The group's first report in 1973, entitled "Multinational Corporations in World Development," refers, not only to the growing trend of multinational corporations, but to a growing attention to them. The introduction of the report contextualizes its subject in the following way:

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<sup>15</sup> Veseth makes this claim in the context of the political ramifications of globalization, wherein he observes more specifically that: "Globalization can apparently destroy democracy, create it, and be used by political entrepreneurs to manipulate democracy. This globalization must be a terrible, wonderful thing" (53). Given the more expansive contradictory renditions of globalization listed above, I feel that Veseth's ironic quip is even more fitting; yet, in the end, I do not cast my lot with him.

<sup>16</sup> The term globalization first appeared in an American English dictionary in 1961 (Scholte 2002).

The unprecedented expansion of the multinational corporation has evoked a strong interest in this phenomenon among scholars, the mass media and the general public. While much information and understanding have been gained from this surge in interest, the complexity of the subject and the controversy that surrounds it call for serious analysis lest myths should prove more appealing than facts and emotions stronger than reason.... The deliberations of the United Nations on this subject reflect the preoccupations and currents of thought of the times (Ibid. par 2, 3).<sup>17</sup>

The expansion of multinational corporations proved so large by 1973 that this initial report resulted in the formation of the U.N. Centre on Transnational Corporations (UNCTC), which produced scores of reports on the economic, social, and political dimensions of multinational corporations from 1974 through 1990 (U.N. 2012).<sup>18</sup>

At this same time, Barnet and Müller (1974) published the popular text, *Global Reach: The Power of the Multinational Corporations*, with the following “Note to the Reader” that highlights the fact that this new phenomenon was garnering wide-spread attention by the early 1970’s:

The subject matter of this book is both global and controversial. Global corporations operate everywhere. They cross the frontiers of academic disciplines

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<sup>17</sup> The following terms are parsed differently in different texts: multinational corporation, transnational corporation, and global corporation. In the U.N.’s 1973 report on these new phenomena, the terms are used interchangeably (yet by 1974 the U.N. shows a preference for the term transnational corporation). The Nationwide Women’s Program also (mostly) used these terms interchangeably, along with the term “runaway shop” (as such corporations, or shops, seemed to be “running away” from the organized labor and environmental and safety regulations of their home countries). I also use these terms interchangeably, bearing in mind that convincing cases can be made for differentiating among them (see Peters 2004; Korten 1995; Barnet and Müller 1974 for such arguments).

<sup>18</sup> UNCTC arose at the same time as the U.N.’s adoption of the Declaration of the Establishment of the New International Economic Order (NIEO), which I address in more detail in Chapter 2. It might be argued that the much-discussed NIEO in the 1960’s and 1970’s was what gave rise to the new term “globalization,” yet I have not found the term globalization in the texts that I have read about the NIEO; “internationalization” is more often the term used. I have, however, read the term globalization and “global” more regularly in the early texts on multinational corporations. Interestingly, multinational corporations (or transnational corporations) are mentioned repeatedly in discussions of the NIEO, typically as something to be wary of. In this regard, the UNCTC seems to have been influenced by the NIEO, since one of the UNCTC’s roles was “to strengthen the negotiating capacity of host countries, in particular developing countries, in their dealings with TNCs [transnational corporations]” (Ibid.).

as easily as they cross national frontiers. Any serious attempt to understand what they are doing or the meaning of what they are doing involves a journey into politics, sociology, and psychology as well as economics. Because they are bold, powerful, and new, they elicit strong opinions of all sorts. (7)

In defending their use of the term global corporation—over the more fashionable term that appears in the title of their text (i.e. multinational corporation)—the authors offer this assessment:

What makes the global corporation unique is that unlike corporations of even a few years ago, it no longer views overseas factories and markets as adjuncts to its home operations. Instead, as Maisonrouge puts it, the global corporation views the world as “one economic unit.” Basic to this view, he points out, “is a need to plan, organize, and manage on a global scale.” It is this holistic vision of the earth, in comparison with which “internationalism” seems parochial indeed, that sets the men who have designed the planetary corporation apart from generations of traders and international entrepreneurs who precede them. (18)<sup>19</sup>

Finally, in arguing that the world economy had now been put under a new corporate regime of only a few hundred global corporations, Barnet and Müller claimed that “the rise of the global corporation represents the *globalization* of oligopoly capitalism” (213, italics added).

Hence, the rise of the term globalization seems to have been instigated by a shift in corporate practices and policies that had, by the early 1970’s, consolidated enough to draw increasing concern and a specific *naming* of a process separate from what was already seen as an international or world economic system. Specifically, this initial shift was in the production processes of U.S. (and, soon after, Western European, Canadian, and Japanese) labor-intensive manufacturing firms, wherein the production of goods, such as textiles, garments, toys, and shoes, was moved to the export processing zones (or

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<sup>19</sup> The reference to “Maisonrouge” in this passage is to Jacques Maisonrouge (1969), a top executive at IBM who helped the company become one of the first multinational corporations. Maisonrouge wrote in support of the global corporation; Barnet and Müller use his words in warning of a class of business men interested in ushering in what the authors saw as a dangerous and unprecedented form of capitalist power.

free trade zones) of other countries where labor was cheaper and taxes and regulations were more favorable for increasing profit margins (Fernández-Kelly 1983; Elson and Pearson 1981; Lim 1978). Barnett and Müller also argue that this era included a globalization of finance capital, and the globalization of capital-intensive and service-oriented enterprises followed soon after.

It was in this discursive and material context that the Nationwide Women's Program came of age. In fact, in November of 1976 the NWP convened a small seminar at the Friends Center in Philadelphia, entitled "Women and Multinational Corporations and the New International Economic Order." Mentioning *Global Reach* as one important influence on their work, the seminar participants discussed the impact of both the domestic and international economic order on women employees and their communities, particularly the impact of multinational corporations on third world women (NWP 1976a).<sup>20</sup> This seminar laid the groundwork for the globalization resistance work that the NWP undertook for the next several decades. While they rarely used the term globalization in the 1970's and 1980's, they were interested in what was being captured as such at the time: the transnational conglomerates, international financial institutions, and the structure of the global macroeconomy in shaping both daily life and public politics, as NWP Director Saralee Hamilton noted in a 1985 *AFSC Women's Newsletter* (WGC 1985).

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<sup>20</sup> I will address this point in more detail within later chapters, but the Nationwide Women's Program used the term "third world" (in lower-case lettering) to denote people of color who were socially, economically, and/or politically marginalized, regardless of geography (i.e. including people in the U.S.). From the outset of their work on global corporations, the NWP had an appreciation for the global nature of the issues at hand and a need for including a diverse array of voices, as even the small group of fifteen women at this seminar intentionally included women from Asian, Chicana, Black, white, and Native American backgrounds.

Informed by this etymological and historical backdrop, I insist that globalization was, and remains, about the socio-economic shifts that prompted its coinage, regardless of how much the term has expanded in use over time. Herein lies the political dimension of my deployment of the term. I share with feminist historian, Joan Scott (1993), the notion that knowledge production is political, that power relations inform who has the power to produce “social consensus” about anything, be it history, globalization, or, in this case, the history of globalization. While the range of conceptions of globalization today suggests that there is no social consensus about it, there is a collective amnesia that accompanies almost all contemporary understandings of it. That is, they overlook the simultaneity of the following issues: the rise of multinational corporations as powerful and expanding entities since the 1960’s (at least), the socio-historical and gendered politics of whom these corporations hired and why, the growing awareness of these entities and their hiring practices during the early decades of the 1970’s and 1980’s, and the feminist critique and coordinated resistances that were launched against them at this time from the global north and south.

For example, many hegemonic renditions of globalization discursively mark its beginning, not when the term was coined, but when it became a popular, household term after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 (e.g., Stiglitz 2006, Friedman 2006, Sachs 2005, Bhagwati 2004).<sup>21</sup> The 1990’s saw an exponential explosion in references to

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<sup>21</sup> By hegemonic in this case, I mean the scholarship of politically influential scholars and pundits, such as Joseph Stiglitz, who was the senior vice president and chief economist at the World Bank and on former President Clinton’s Council of Economic Advisors; Jagdish Bhagwati (2004), who writes that, with his influence as special advisor to the United Nations on Globalization, then-Secretary General Kofi Annan began “to lean more toward the view that globalization is part of the solution, not part of the problem” (xi); economist Jeffery Sachs, who is referred to as “the great economist” by rock star and AIDS activist Bono (2004, XII); and columnist Thomas Friedman who is considered a “globalization celebrity” (Bown 2007).

globalization in scholarly and popular media (print and digital), seeming to represent something new in that moment. I concede that the opening up of capital, labor, and finance markets in the former communist bloc allowed for a more comprehensive spread of global corporations than before, but this was merely an expansion of earlier trends and the expanded use of an existing term to capture it. To mark the start of globalization in the 1990's is not only to elide the social, political, and economic realities of what came before, but to put into place a supersessionary tale of the triumph of capitalism over communism (I address this concept further in Chapter 5).

On the other hand, many other assessments of globalization put forth that it is instead much older than the 1960's. Some religion scholars claim that globalization is as old as religious practice itself because, for example, "religions have permeable boundaries that absorb 'foreign' influences as they move around the globe, carried by their peripatetic practitioners" (Juergensmeyer 2003; see also Esposito et al. 2008). In his attempt to make globalization understandable to a wide (English-reading) audience, Steger (2009) notes in *Globalization: A Very Short Introduction* that globalization is as old as ancient religious movement. Yet such conceptualizations of globalization have a tendency to naturalize and depoliticize it, making it seem an inevitable force of nature (almost god-like), rather than a contingent and humanly constructed outcome of very intentional and specific practices, policies, and institutions. They also ignore the on-the-ground realities of globalized capitalist production (what some have called "post-Fordist") and its later iterations.

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Each of these authors has also written *New York Times* best-selling books on globalization, suggesting that they are not merely politically influential, but influential in producing a wider social consensus about globalization.

Other scholars point to the Atlantic slave trade (Matory 2005), European colonization and the concomitant world system (Giddens 2000; Wallerstein 1974), or the spread of capitalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Agnew 2005) as markers of globalization's inception. Yet I would argue that to use the term globalization to describe socio-economic integrations such as these before the 1960's is to use the term anachronistically, projecting onto earlier times the lexicon of a later one that was trying to capture something distinctly—and significantly—different from these earlier, though related processes. It is possible to speak accurately of earlier diasporas, border crossings, trade, migrations, international capitalism, world economies, etc., but to retroactively name these processes globalization can be politically onerous, especially if it works to overlook the specific social and economic restructurings that global corporations affected.<sup>22</sup> Globalization should instead be seen as having historical continuity with these earlier trends but with notable departures from them as well.

While I insist that globalization is about economic shifts that began to consolidate in the 1960's and early 1970's, I am not suggesting that its discussion should be confined to macroeconomic assessments of it, as globalization theory tends to do. Indeed, cultural anthropologist, Carla Freeman (2001), writes that, while designing a course called "Globalization and Culture," she began to recognize "two distinct categories into which the texts for the course fell: macroanalyses of the history, structure, and expansion of economic forms of globalization and microanalyses of women's insertion into the global

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<sup>22</sup> Other authors, such as Robertson (1991) and Appadurai (1996) and Featherstone (1990) somewhat bypass the economic elements of globalization to focus on social and/or cultural globalization in a macrotheoretical manner (or metanarrative), also overlooking the embodied realities of the rise and spread of global corporations and the many resistances to them.

economy as workers and members of third-world countries” (1007). The former she designates as “masculinist grand theories of globalization” that systematically omit gender; the latter category of texts she designates as localized, ethnographic studies that enlist gender as a central analytical tool to focus on the real bodies upon which abstract, global economic and cultural shifts impinge. “By and large,” she argues, “many of the works that have become the defining sources of globalization within the social sciences have been macroanalyses that do not engage these linkages” (1009).<sup>23</sup>

Yet the Nationwide Women’s Program and their interlocutors balanced the perspectives of both the macro and micro analyses, revealing that while globalization signaled important institutional economic shifts, it also signaled related, locally iterated social and political changes. I assert that any understanding of globalization must also attend to these scalar differences.

Additionally, in positing this understanding of globalization, I recognize that I am drawing a line in the sand, standing on shifting ground. Language is not a static thing; terms that arise for specific reasons morph over time to reflect developing thoughts, events, productions of knowledge—indeed, globalization today (and in the 1960’s) includes more than the manufacturing processes of multinational corporations. It includes international lending institutions, trade agreements and institutions, pervasive neoliberal ideologies.<sup>24</sup> I maintain, though, that there are political stakes in claiming the term globalization as I have here. A focus on the developing phenomenon of

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<sup>23</sup> Freeman was working with the following “macroanalytical” texts: Hannerz (1996), Waters (1995), Robertson (1992), Sklair (1991), Appadurai (1990) Featherstone, (1990), (Harvey 1989).

<sup>24</sup> As I will argue in later chapters, from this point of entry of multinational corporations, the Nationwide Women’s Program was able to see, early on, these other facets of globalization as well.

multinational corporations provides the occasion to focus upon this unique turn in neoliberal capitalist expansion, the socio-historical and gendered dimensions of these corporations' instantiation and growth, and the acts of resistance that they engendered. It is this last point that I feel is the most important, as no text that I have read about globalization or movements resisting it (outside of those I accessed in the AFSC archive) makes reference to the existence of feminist antiglobalization movements in the 1970's and 1980's. That is the work of this dissertation: to offer a history of these earlier, related movements against globalization.<sup>25</sup>

### **Chapter Outline**

The first chapter to follow this introduction, Chapter 2, provides an historical context for the Nationwide Women's Program. As previously noted, the Nationwide Women's Program was not an independent organization but a program within the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC). This chapter explores the formation of the American Friends Service Committee in 1917; its expansion from a peace-seeking organization to a social change organization; and the various material, spiritual, and political resources it came to accrue over its many decades of existence. This chapter also explores the external and internal politics that produced the 1975 formation of the AFSC's Nationwide Women's Program and the 1979 formation of the NWP Committee.

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<sup>25</sup> As one final note on this matter, I point out that, for the sake of varied prose, I use the terms globalization, economic globalization (despite the redundancy), global restructuring, global capitalism, and neoliberal capitalism interchangeably, each with the basic understanding that globalization is about the rise and proliferation of the multinational corporation and now has several other entities, such as free trade agreements and institutions, the austerity plans of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, and neoliberal ideologies and practices to augment its spread and success.

The spotlight here is primarily on the transnational advocacy networks of which Nationwide Women's Program was a part and which they simultaneously helped to produce. The chapter closes with a look at three specific venues through which the Nationwide Women's Program produced and facilitated linkages of communication, advocacy, and resistance vis-à-vis global corporations: the 1978 conference they hosted in Des Moines, Iowa, called "Women and Global Corporations: Work, Roles, Resistance;" the organization that formed out of this event, called the Women's Network on Global Corporations; and the *AFSC Women's Newsletter* insert, also called *Women and Global Corporations: Work ·Roles ·Resistance*, which the NWP published from 1978 to 1988. These specific sites of connectivity show that globalization existed several decades before the term was in popular usage and that various mobilizations resisting it arose decades before the World Trade Organization protests in Seattle, WA in 1999 became the popularly recognized start of such resistance.

In Chapter 3, I argue that, while helpful and accurate to some degree, the concept of advocacy networks is insufficient for capturing the social movement activity that took place in the NWP's orbit of interlocutors in the 1970's and 1980's. The metaphor of a network, particularly in Keck and Sikkink's (1998) rendition, focuses too narrowly on discursivity and too little on the materiality of on-the-ground mobilizations of resistance. Yet the NWP's newsletter publication, *Women and Global Corporations: Work, Roles, Resistance*, from 1978 to 1988, provides evidence that a great deal of social movement activity was taking place around the world at this time in response to the new, threatening phenomenon of multinational corporations. Ultimately, I argue that an analytical frame that recognizes both the importance of networks and more conventional

social movement activities is needed to more accurately—and less hegemonically—capture the zeitgeist of this historical period.

In this regard, I highlight the NWP's social movement brokerage efforts at their 1978 "Women and Global Corporations" conference and throughout the following decade of their newsletter insert publication. Using the cultural politics approach to social movement analysis offered by Alvarez et al. (1998), I suggest that the NWP framed the impending threat of multinational corporations (and global capitalism) in a way that allowed women from different socio-cultural locations to find commonalities across difference, without disappearing difference. The final section of this chapter then moves the spotlight beyond the NWP to the many organizations that comprised the movement at hand. By reading closely the pages of the newsletter insert, it is possible to identify more than 150 organizations (from the global north and south) that were doing some sort of work that the NWP saw as part of a much-needed movement against global capitalism. Their strategies and successes serve as worthy consideration for movements resisting global capitalism today.

In Chapter 4, I move to the question of how it was that the Nationwide Women's Program knew what it knew about globalization in the 1970's and 1980's. How was it able to play the brokering role of bringing into communication a variety of mobilizations against global corporate practices so "early" on? I approach this question from the context of having been introduced to the NWP's archival material when I was simultaneously engaging popular texts that instead marked globalization's beginning at 1989 and antiglobalization's beginning at 1999. Yet my further inspection of the

archives produced interesting challenges to this conventional timeline and simultaneously shed light on the relationships between religion and globalization.

In this chapter I argue that, despite the initial secularity with which I invested the Nationwide Women's Program, the group's formation and the content and method of its work was actually informed by Quaker notions of authority and peace as the American Friends Service Committee interpreted them. Additionally, the collection of feminist voices in the NWP, specifically Quaker and socialist, contributed to the NWP's epistemology and methodology in challenging global capitalism. These Quaker and feminist sources problematize conventional Western definitions of religion by demonstrating multiple ways in which Quaker ideals and (supposedly) secular realms of feminism and/or globalization actually interpolate one another.

Finally, the NWP was able to do its work based on the institutional scaffolding that the American Friends Service Committee provided, not just within its own offices but with influential institutions outside of AFSC. The closing section of Chapter 4 explores the compatibility between the at-large Christianity of the Quakers at the AFSC and otherwise seemingly secular Western institutions, such as nation states, the Nobel Foundation, and the United Nations. I argue that the previous argument about Quaker and feminist influences within the NWP, which allows us to see "religion" (in this case Quaker Christianity) where it had previously seemed absent, can be used to see tacit Christian norms in places that purport to be secular. This lays the groundwork for the next chapter, which begins the work of thinking about what happened to all of the feminist, anti-racist, anti-capitalist social movement activity in which the NWP and its interlocutors engaged in decades ago. It also sheds light on the fact that this activity

was not “early” at all but rather only seems so from the context of contemporary globalization discourse that functions as supersessionary trajectory narratives that elide their own past.

Chapter 5 gestures in the direction of addressing how an entire movement—or a collection of vibrant and publically visible movements resisting the oppressive elements of globalization—could be so elided from historical records. While the triumph of neoliberalism seems an obvious cause of such omission, I suggest that the progress narratives and (unwitting) universalizing moves that the NWP’s Quaker and feminist perspectives produced also contributed to its own erasure. This chapter ends with recommendations for more work on how neoliberal globalization discourses also display imperializing progress narratives and universalizing moves that should be challenged, and how current movements resisting globalization might benefit from learning about the counter-hegemonic—and, perhaps more importantly—the simultaneous hegemonic work that the NWP and its network did several decades ago. Universalizing norms and narratives seem terribly persistent, even in the face of concerted efforts to avoid their pitfalls. The NWP is a particularly useful site from which to learn this lesson, and it indicates the need for persistent vigilance against the hegemonic habits of homogenizing difference.

### **Approaches, Caveats, and Commitments**

As I have already pointed out, this project is based on a case study of an internal body of feminists at the American Friends Service Committee, known as the Nationwide Women’s Program, and its web of interlocutors concerned about global capitalist

restructuring several decades ago. Though the NWP formally existed from 1974 through 2008, I focus my attention on its neophyte iteration in 1970 through its work on global capitalism (usually stated in terms of “women and global corporations”) into 1988. My research is based predominantly on the primary documents in the American Friends Service Committee archives at the headquarter office in Philadelphia, PA. Secondary texts augment this archival data, as I attempt to construct a history of the international antiglobalization advocacy networks that existed in the 1970’s and 1980’s, the movements that these networks represented, and the ways in which the NWP was able to stitch them together as a movement.

The two decades of the 1970’s and the 1980’s are vastly different from one another in terms of reigning political and economic ideologies, both domestically and internationally. The political and social movements that were still vibrant in the 1970’s (e.g., New Left, civil rights, feminist, peace) were all deeply challenged and eclipsed by the Regan Era of the 1980’s. However, the NWP documents in the AFSC archives show that a great deal of social movement activity in each of these separate and often overlapping movements was still happening during this decade. I therefore move forward by referring to these two decades more monolithically than is typically done. In the final chapter, however, I point out some of the important differences between these two decades that may have contributed to the disappearance of these various movements, specifically the one(s) resisting neoliberal global capitalism.

This project is an inter-disciplinary one with multiple methodological approaches. Primarily I deploy a close reading of archival texts in order to craft a history of the AFSC, the NWP, the networks and movements resisting globalization, and to explore

some of the reasons that the NWP was in a position to know about and criticize globalization, on the one hand, and know about and bring together resisting parties, on the other. I also rely on these texts to conjecture about how this history has been omitted from every contemporary account of globalization and antiglobalization that I have encountered. I use secondary texts to provide a larger social, political, and economic context for the NWP's work. At the same time, I also engage in several scholarly conversations, such as social movement, feminist, and religion scholarship, in order to contribute to the existing work in these fields on globalization and antiglobalization, feminist recollections of its own pasts, and how religion and secularity interpolate one another—and how each of these overlap in this particular case study of the NWP.

I have written this dissertation with a commitment to feminist standpoint epistemology and methodology, which demands explanation on several different levels. First of all, with several feminist scholars who have influenced my thinking in this regard (e.g., Harding 1991; Collins 1990), I recognize that knowledge is always partial and situated within particular social locations; this includes legitimated knowledges of powerful people and groups as well as ways of knowing among marginalized people and communities. It is arguable as to whether the NWP was a “marginalized” group or not, but feminist activist newsletters, for example, are not a typical site of academic knowledge production, feminist or otherwise. Yet I offer the NWP's newsletters, memos, reports, brochures, etc. as valid epistemic sources from which to glean glimpses of our past. The different groups that contributed to the newsletters also serve as legitimate, if partial, reflections of knowing and being during the course of the decades under investigation.

As an extension of this epistemological and methodological commitment, my style of writing up to this point—and in what follows—includes some first person narrative. As a researcher, I am aware that I have brought my own experiences, proclivities, assumptions, and desires to this project. I suggest that it is more honest scholarship to acknowledge these presences than to distort them with textual absence. While even-handedness and supported argument are critical to the work that I have done, there is no denying (or point in denying) that this dissertation materialized out of my own struggles with the subject matter and my affectations for the archive, and so my personal voice is threaded throughout it. As I understand it (and experienced it) the archive is a liminal thing—the past and present together, and so the story unfolds in a manner that places them side-by-side and includes, at times, my presence.

It is worth mentioning, therefore, the lure and limitations of working with an archive. I often commented over the last several years that the women in or associated with the Nationwide Women's Program came alive off the pages of the documents I encountered in the archives. I came to feel encouraged by their sense of urgency and hope that the world could be more radically egalitarian, even if their views were partial and yet sometimes also cast in universalizing terms. I came to like them, to enjoy their "company" as I worked through their many boxes of folders and papers, and to be enchanted by them and the "truth" they offered in the face of different understandings of globalization that I found dubious or lacking in some way. This allure was made all the more intimate by a noteworthy technicality regarding the archival material at my disposal.

Saralee Hamilton, the head of the NWP for thirty-one years, saved multiple copies of everything! When Kamel and I researched the NWP's history in 2007, we encountered an office full of as-yet-unarchived stuff: books, pamphlets, other organizations' newsletters, posters, minutes, reports, and so on. There were also boxes and boxes of unprocessed documents in the archival space in the AFSC's basement. By the time I returned to AFSC archives in 2009 to re-engage this project, there were multiple extra copies of otherwise already-archived materials. I was therefore permitted to take extra copies of NWP documents home with me (that would instead have been recycled). I say this to brace readers for my (perhaps surprising) reference to NWP newsletters, for example, that I took with me to a coffee shop or had spread across my dining room table at home. The archives in this case were more intimately a part of my everyday world than is typical with this kind of research.

Yet in "The Allure of the Archive, Performance and Censorship," Helen Freshwater (2003) reminds readers that the archive is not truth or history but a mediated and partial record of it. There are numerous decisions made about what gets included and excluded from the saved record(s), which is then always subject to the researcher's interpretation and purpose. The same holds true for the AFSC archives and the memos, newsletters, reports, brochures, etc. upon which I focus: they offer not a complete picture of transnational advocacy networking against globalization but a mediated and limited one, yet rich and intriguing all the same. I offer this as a legitimate yet partial site of knowledge production in the same way that scholarly works and this dissertation are also partial and mediated sites of knowledge production.

This leads to the final partiality worth noting. I mean this beyond the sense of it being incomplete, as any body of work necessarily is, but in the sense of it being partial to or favoring of a particular politics. If it is not already apparent, I cast my lot with the Occupy Wall Street movements, with movements resisting neoliberal global capitalism, with the feminists who have recognized and resisted its oppressive elements for decades. For a long time this dissertation was difficult for me to write because I could not fit together its disparate parts into something that felt meaningful. Feminist scholar, poet and activist, Adrienne Rich (1986) encourages the feminist critic to:

consider her work a resource also, a resource for *us*, for our movement; to see herself not as writing just for other critics and scholars, but to help make books both 'real and remembered', to stir ordinary women to read what they might otherwise miss or avoid, to help us all sort through which words, in Lillian Smith's phrase, chain us and which can set us free. (89-90)

While this is perhaps a bit too ambitious for a dissertation, it was only after visiting the Occupy Philly encampment and witnessing its blind spots that the relevance of the Nationwide Women's Program record became apparent to me.

The NWP's story is a vital resource for drawing together the as-yet-undrawn connections among the variety of issues that the Occupy movements have brought to the fore and ones they overlook; it is also a resource for tapping into a long legacy of social movement mobilizations that have been fighting global capitalism for several decades. It is my hope that my dissertation can also serve as a resource in bringing their story to the surface and putting it in conversation with globalization, feminist, and religion scholars, shedding light on their more confining and empowering words with regard to this context. There is, after all, more than the bank bailouts of the 2008 to focus on in this particular troubling time of global capitalism. We should still do what Saralee Hamilton

called for throughout her career with the NWP: consider “the impact of transnational conglomerates, international financial institutions, and the structure of the global macroeconomy in shaping both daily life and public politics” (WGC 1985).

As I will show in the following chapters, the NWP and many of its interlocutors recognized the different yet connected ways in which people of different races, ethnicities, countries of origin, citizenship status, genders, and classes were locally impacted by the macro realities of global capitalist institutions and how they resisted some of their more harmful effects. At the same time, there are lessons to be learned from some of the methods and outcomes of the NWP’s work, particularly in terms of its universalizing claims. The persistence of such universalizations—in the face of even explicit efforts to resist them (or at least to resist their inevitable exclusions)—is important for contemporary social justice movements to consider.

## CHAPTER 2

### ANTIGLOBALIZATION NETWORKS:

#### AN UNLIKELY AND FORGOTTEN HISTORY

I would be inclined to suggest that the uniqueness of the AFSC in the context of the whole range of program activity and concerns for issues that we are caught up in is its unrelenting search for truth.

--Louis Schneider, AFSC Executive Secretary, 1979

Whether the issue is runaway shops, sterilization abuse, drug dumping, labor questions in free trade zones, occupational safety and health, or the feminization of poverty, the NWP Newsletter and the staff of NWP has always been helpful in supplying NGLS [the U.N. Non-governmental Liaison Service] and non-governmental groups with the necessary information.

--Michael McCoy, U.N. Program Officer, 1982

When I have told people that my dissertation is about a group of feminists doing globalization resistance work out of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) in the 1970's and 1980's, the statement usually conjures one of two responses. Either people raise their eyebrows over a "do-gooder" image of white, middle-class Quaker women from the U.S. engaged in the culturally imperialist work of spreading feminism or Christianity or both, or they express surprise that globalization and resistance to it existed four decades ago. My conversation partners—family members, strangers at a coffee shop, friends at a cocktail party, fellow graduate students, occupiers at Occupy Philly—have been aware that China and India are contemporary sites of global outsourcing, but they have typically been unaware of the fact that the capital flight from the U.S. has a

longer history, one that includes many different countries and many different struggles against it.

If indulged, I have replied to these responses by offering a brief explanation that before U.S. corporations began outsourcing labor to China and India, for example, they had gone to places like Mexico, the Philippines, South Korea, Hong Kong, Sri Lanka, and Taiwan as early as the 1950's and 1960's (in some cases even earlier). They included companies in the electronics, toy, shoe, garment, textile, and agribusiness industries, and they most often hired women to work on the factory floors or in the fields (between 80-95% of laborers, depending on the industry) (Fernández-Kelly 1983, Elson and Pearson 1981, Lim 1978). The conditions in which these poorly-paid women worked were often hazardous and, and, though they may have needed and/or liked their work, they were not always the docile employees that the corporate managers expected them to be.<sup>26</sup> Indeed, many of these workers deployed an array of resistance tactics for better pay, less stress on the job, reproductive autonomy, safer working conditions, and labor rights.

As capital was taking flight overseas, working class white women and working class people of color in the United States were particularly impacted because they were often the “last hired, first fired” laborers within these “runaway shops,” as they were often referred to in these early years of global economic restructuring. At the same time,

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<sup>26</sup> This expectation of third world women's docility was evident in the advertising and public discourse of global corporate managers and the propaganda of governments aiming to attract foreign capital to their country at the time. A commonly cited example among NWP staff, committee members, and their interlocutors was from a 1970-1971 investment brochure put out by the Malaysian Federal Industrial Development Authority, stating: “The manual dexterity of the oriental female is famous the world over. Her hands are small and she works fast with extreme care. Who, therefore, could be better equipped by nature and inheritance to contribute to the efficiency of a bench-assembly production line than the oriental girl?” (as quoted in Lim 1978).

many of the shops that struggled to remain competitive in the United States began to seek cheaper and cheaper labor within U.S. borders, targeting poor people and undocumented immigrants. They too worked in hazardous and exploitative environments. Whether facing a factory shut-down or poor working conditions, the laborers in the U.S. deployed an array of tactics to resist corporate oppression that were very similar to those enacted by their counterparts in the places where capital was relocating abroad.

The Nationwide Women's Program (NWP) was in a unique position to bring together these disparate mobilizations: to help exchange information among these different laborers and activists, to connect them with each other and with researchers and scholars for mutual assistance, and to create the sense of a cohesive movement opposed to a growing global capitalist system. That is what this chapter is about. It explores how it is that a small group of women based out of the American Friends Service Committee in Philadelphia, PA was able to connect with a dense network of transnational advocacy and resistance networks challenging globalization in the 1970's and 1980's. They were, indeed, more than a group of white, middle-class Quaker women, even within their small rank of staff and committee members; they were even more diverse in terms of religion, race, class, and national status and origin in their web of connections. Together, they helped to launch and broker a little-known yet pioneering, vast, and (modestly) successful movement against global capitalism.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> It should be noted that it is not a common practice for Quakers to proselytize, though some do (see Hamm 2003 for an excellent account of Quaker diversity in the U.S.). Regardless, I have found that few people with whom I have spoken about this research project (outside of academia) are aware that Quakers, and particularly those at the AFSC, do not typically proselytize. Additionally, few of my conversation partners have been aware of the prominence of Quaker women in the nineteenth century women's rights movement, so the AFSC's foray into feminist resistance comes as a surprise to them.

Below, I first offer institutional and ideological histories of both the American Friends Service Committee and the Nationwide Women's Program to provide a backdrop for how they both came into existence in the first place. These sections provide brief surveys of their overall work, without focusing on globalization, in order to give a fuller sense of their historical contexts and the array of issues with which they engaged. The ideologies that informed their work—Quaker, feminist, socialist—are brought to the fore in these sections as the perspectives from which their later work departs (I analyze these perspectives further in later chapters).

The second half of this chapter focuses more specifically on the Nationwide Women's Program activities concerning the global economy. Using the work of two prominent social movement scholars, Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink (1998), I argue that social movement histories of globalization omit a very crucial past when they leave out the Nationwide Women's Program and its transnational advocacy and resistance networks. In this section, I establish that the NWP was part of a very dense, vibrant, and effective network of networks interested in countering the negative impacts of global corporations, one that denotes a significant presence long before the "antiglobalization" movement supposedly sprang onto the scene in Seattle, WA in 1999.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Notably, it is not just social movement scholars who omit this history; activists, feminist scholars, religion scholars, political scientists, journalists, and pundits (in the U.S.) seem not to see or know that this vibrant activity occurred in the history of global capitalism. Instead, most of these observers point to the "Battle of Seattle" in 1999, when activists shut down the Ministerial Conference of the World Trade Organization, as the start of such activity (see Greaber 2002 and Hardt 2002 as interesting exceptions to this genealogy; yet, in their deeper historical perspectives, neither author includes transnational feminist resistances from the 1970's or 1980's).

The Nationwide Women's Program not only used the existing networks within which it found itself within the AFSC and its committee structures but went a long way in producing and maintaining its own transnational linkages as well. These connections facilitated communication among a diverse collection of interlocutors: activists, scholars, and laborers from around the world. Yet, beyond communication, the Nationwide Women's Program took responsibility for giving meaning to and producing the sense of cohesion among those engaged in a disparate set of mobilizations against global capitalism. This meaning-making and value laden labor is explored in Chapter 3; below I put forth the contexts that made this work possible.

### **Institutional and Ideological Histories: The AFSC and the NWP**

At the first official gathering of the Nationwide Women's Program Committee in Philadelphia in 1979, Lois Forrest, one of the inaugural committee members, introduced herself to the group by noting that the American Friends Service Committee was in a "unique position," and that it had certain assets that other organizations did not have. She explained:

It has a wide range of knowledge, some of it related to the international communities, some of it related to the national political community. It has great contacts. I think it is freer to move in controversial areas than some other organizations, and although it has funding problems, it has less funding problems than other organizations. (NWP 1979a)

Another first-time committee member, Barbara Ehrenreich, commented in her self-introduction that she had been interested in "bringing more of an international perspective to the Women's Movement in this country [the U.S.]," pointing out that it is often too "parochial." The American Friends Service Committee, she said, "has a terrific

international network. Surely AFSC's work can help build some of those links toward having a more international women's movement, just as the Women and Global Corporations Conference did last year" (Ibid.).

These observations capture well the influential position of the American Friends Service Committee in 1979, when the Nationwide Women's Program was freshly underway in its work on "women and global corporations," as they so often referred to it. They also show that the women on the Nationwide Women's Program Committee were well aware of the resources they could tap into at the American Friends Service Committee and that they consciously intended to use them to form an international, anti-capitalist women's movement.

Yet what were these resources and how had they come to be so influential and far-reaching? Additionally, what was the Nationwide Women's Program, and how did it come to be a part of an institution such as the American Friends Service Committee? Here I touch upon the histories of these two entities in order to answer these questions. They are not complete histories, as both the American Friends Service Committee and the Nationwide Women's Program have engaged in such an immense number of activities that it would be impossible to fully chronicle their work here, but they capture the essence of their origins, their labor, and their ideological foundations.

### *The American Friends Service Committee*

The American Friends Service Committee was founded by members of the Religious Society of Friends (or Quakers) in 1917 in Philadelphia, PA in order to assist Quaker conscientious war objectors to enact their theologically grounded pacifism during World War I. Rather than resist the war draft by fleeing the country or enduring

incarceration, on the one hand, or serving in a non-combat role in the armed forces, on the other, U.S. Quaker men and some women were able to render their services “on the front lines” by partaking in American Friends Service Committee projects overseas. These included the reconstruction of war torn infrastructure, feeding war victims on both sides of the confrontation (i.e. in France and Germany), and driving ambulances and serving in hospitals in France, Poland, and Russia during or shortly after the war. At home (during the 1920’s), their work took the form of peace caravans, groups of young men and women traveling around the U.S. informing religious and community groups about diplomatic solutions to international conflict and peaceful alternatives to the build-up of military power (Davis 2012).

While the organization continued to implement the same or similar service projects overseas between the World Wars, it also turned its efforts toward service work at home in the United States during the Great Depression. Service in this case meant providing food, clothing, and sometimes shelter for economically impoverished communities. Assisting unemployed Appalachian coal miners and their families resettle in subsistence homesteads was one such project; organizing work camps to build homes and distribute clothes in poor communities in the U.S. was another (Hamm 2003). In 1938 and 1939, AFSC also provided humanitarian assistance to unionizing textile workers in North Carolina (Schneider 1979). In these situations, the consistency with the organization’s original goal to assist conscientious war objectors was evident in its desire to ameliorate some of the causes of war, such as economic injustice and racism.

During the late 1930’s, with war once again looming in Europe, the American Friends Service Committee sent assistance to Spain, where a devastating civil war took

its toll on the civilian population. The AFSC initiated a feeding program, which by 1938 was providing meals for hundreds of thousands of children on both sides of that conflict. The organization then resumed its role of providing non-combat opportunities for conscientious objectors during World War II. It set up alternative service camps for forestry, medical service, and reconstructive efforts in Europe and relocation assistance programs for Japanese Americans in the United States. Immediate post-war activity included sending food aid to Europe after the war (Marshall as quoted in NWP 1979a).

While provisioning those in need may seem like an uncontroversial act, this was actually not the case in the history of the American Friends Service Committee. First of all, conscientious objection was itself a controversial issue in the U.S., especially during the two World Wars. It did not matter that Quaker pacifism was theologically grounded and constitutionally supported; these wars were largely considered just wars and refusal to fight in them was deemed highly unpatriotic (and illegal during the WWI). The founders of the organization went to great lengths to convince the organization's various audiences—the federal government, the American public, the peace community, and even other Quakers—that its efforts were worthy (Frost 1992). AFSC's work was additionally grounded in the belief that all human beings have within them "that of God," and so it consistently tried to be as un-biased as possible in the delivery of relief and assistance to human beings in need, disregarding "enemy" status. This included reconstruction and feeding programs in France and Germany post WWI, equal assistance to refugees in Nationalist and Republican controlled areas of Spain, and relief for Japanese American families displaced during WWII (Davis 2012). Even assisting

striking mine and textile workers in the 1920's and 1930's in the U.S. was not uncontested activity, since labor organizing was a contentious issue in these decades.

It was the integrity with which the organization extended its services, regardless of the side of conflict on which the people in need were located, that won the attention of Nobel laureates in 1947. That year, the American Friends Service Committee and the Friends Service Council<sup>29</sup> collectively accepted the Nobel Peace Prize on behalf of all Quakers for their centuries-long efforts to heal conflict and work toward peace. The AFSC was named specifically for its even-handed reconstructive and humanitarian efforts in Europe and the United States during the two World Wars and the inter-war period. In his presentation speech, Nobel Committee Chairman, Gunnar Jahn, noted that:

Quakers gained confidence in all quarters through their work. Governments and individuals knew that they had no other aim than to aid. They did not intrude on people in order to convert them to their faith, and they made no difference between friend and foe. It is proof of this confidence that the Quakers were put in charge of large funds which had been given by others. (as quoted in AFSC 2012b, par 12)

This denotes the kind of moral and financial capital that the AFSC had begun to accrue, to which the Nationwide Women's Program Committee members mentioned above refer.

In the post-war years, rather than devolving the organization, the growing body of AFSC staff, board members, and committee members recognized the need to proactively render humanitarian service and conflict resolution during peacetime (or non-war time) rather than respond reactively during war. They began to recognize more and more that social inequalities and oppressions based on race and class were expressions of systemic

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<sup>29</sup> The Friends Service Council is essentially the British version of the American Friends Service Committee, or the standing committee responsible for the foreign service of the Religious Society of Friends in Great Britain. They too coordinated service and aid programs for conscientious war objectors during the two World Wars.

violence, which undergird wars, and must be struggled against in order to work toward peace. In recounting a post-World War II history of the organization, AFSC Board vice-chair, Gertrude Marshall, noted in 1979 that “[g]radually we began to look more and more to the causes of all of these problems that needed to be solved and that led us to become a social change organization as well as a service organization” (as quoted in NWP 1979a).

This proactive shift led the organization to partake in a host of activities in the decades following World War II that have ranged from sending aid teams to India, China, and Japan to working on social justice issues with Native American communities in the U.S.; from providing extensive support to civil rights movements in the U.S. to assisting civilians on both sides of the war in Vietnam; and from advocating for immigrant populations and migrant workers in the U.S. to implementing a Mexico-U.S. Border Project to support organizing *maquiladoras* in Mexico’s free trade zones. These are only a few of the many hundreds of initiatives that the American Friends Service Committee has implemented in its efforts toward a more peaceful and just world.

This list is not meant to be exhaustive—to be so would take a book in and of itself (which is in dire need of being written)—but to show that the American Friends Service Committee has been engaged in a plethora of social justice activities in the U.S. and abroad, with a vast network of national and international connections in place by the time the Nationwide Women’s Program began its work on the global economy. Indeed, by 1979, the year that the first formal Nationwide Women’s Program Committee convened, the American Friends Service Committee had been in existence for sixty-two years and had offices or programs in Mexico, South Korea, Singapore, Bangladesh, Mali,

Guinea-Bissau, Zambia, Guatemala, Chile, Nicaragua, Gaza, Puerto Rico, Colombia, Tokyo, Cambodia, Laos, and Mozambique (NWP 1976b). It also had ten Regional Offices in the United States and twenty-five additional Area Offices within those regions doing peace, education, service, and advocacy work on economic rights, Native American Affairs, criminal justice, farm labor, and rural affairs (NWP 1979b). The offices operated in a decentralized manner but were overseen by the Executive Secretary's Office in Philadelphia and governed by an all-Quaker Board of Directors.<sup>30</sup>

Additionally, the American Friends Service Committee administered an office at the United Nations, called QUNO (Quaker United Nations Office), which brokered a Quaker presence at the U.N. for seeking economic justice, human rights, and peaceful resolutions to conflict. QUNO ran Quaker House, which was (and remains) a four story brownstone located just blocks away from the United Nations office in New York to be used for "informal gatherings" of U.N. mission and secretariat members and representatives from non-governmental organizations (Ibid.).<sup>31</sup> The point here is that by 1979 the American Friends Service Committee was well situated to lend the Nationwide Women's Program several critical assets for its own work: a national and international communication infrastructure, moral legitimacy, relative financial stability, and established social change strategies.

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<sup>30</sup> The AFSC Board of Directors is comprised of thirty to thirty-three members of the AFSC Corporation, the legal entity of the organization established in the organization's by-laws. All 120-180 Corporation members must be members of the Religious Society of Friends (AFSC 2009). I address more of the institutional Quaker elements of the AFSC in Chapter 4.

<sup>31</sup> Both QUNO and Quaker House are still in existence in both New York City and Geneva, Switzerland. The AFSC only administers the New York City entities (see <http://www.quno.org> for more information).

There was, however, one additional aspect of the AFSC's organizational infrastructure and ideological positioning that lent itself well to the Nationwide Women's Program, namely, its committee structure. As previously mentioned, the many decentralized AFSC offices were governed by an all-Quaker board of directors, which operated by way of consensus decision making. Board members weighed not only their own various perspectives in an inclusive, balanced manner but increasingly sought to include the perspectives of those whom they served. To do this, they relied on a panoply of committees—indeed, the organization would be more aptly named in the plural: the American Friends Service Committees, rather than in the singular. These committees function as advisory bodies comprised of volunteers from outside the organization (non-staff) who reside in the local spaces where AFSC programs or services are rendered and/or have experience or expertise in the issues addressed by a particular service project.

Though the committees do not officially employ the Quaker practice of consensus decision making, they are intended to be diverse bodies that seriously weigh an array of perspectives under consideration and share those experientially-informed perspectives with the overall Board and AFSC staff working in their locales. The committees broaden the AFSC's knowledge base, as they link the organization to a worldwide circuit of community organizers, activists engaged in related causes, laborers and union activists, and scholars with a variety of expertise. They also allow for AFSC's work to be informed by the very communities they intend to serve. The Nationwide Women's Program functioned by way of one of these committees, the importance of which is addressed in the following section.

This account of AFSC's history is necessarily incomplete, yet, even if I were able to chronicle all of the different programs, projects, and initiatives in which it has engaged over the last ninety-five years of its existence, many within the organization would likely suggest that I have still come up short. The AFSC archives document repeated attempts by board members, staff, and committee members to try to capture the essence of the organization, reflecting a sense that it is somehow greater than the sum of its parts (or the sum of its programs). Here I turn to the words of Louis Schneider, the AFSC Executive Secretary in 1979, as he was making one such attempt to characterize the quintessence of the AFSC. In speaking to the first gathering of the Nationwide Women's Program Committee—a room full of people who were predominantly non-staff, as the committee structure required, and mostly non-Quaker—he captured the meaning of AFSC's assortment of program activity and issue concerns as an “unrelenting search for truth” (as quoted in NWP 1979a).

He meant truth in its intellectual, philosophical and spiritual dimensions but also in terms of the “truth in human relations” (Ibid.). He went on to describe this as a *continuing* search, based implicitly on the Quaker “worshipful preoccupation” that there exists “that of God” in every person and which is made explicit in the actions that comprise the organization's work. He continued:

I would put the ethical principles which support and undergird the actions of the American Friends Service Committee this way: we aspire to the fullest development of each personality through their cooperative participation in the development of a worldwide community of persons. I think this in large measure explains the dynamic and the thrust and the spirit within the American Friends Service Committee. (Ibid.)

Though Schneider's characterization represents only one among many ongoing efforts by staff, board members, and committee members to capture an elusive AFSC identity over the years, it expresses well the overall context from which the Nationwide Women's Program arose and in which it conducted its work.

It was, in short, an international Quaker institution that was not interested in the conventional Christian missionary work of cultivating converts; it was instead interested in listening to the voices of the oppressed and leveraging its growing resources to partner with a variety of people, groups, and communities to address those in need, however imperfectly that might have been done. The disposition of continued searching<sup>32</sup>, combined with the recognition of the human and divine dignity within each person, poised the organization to be ever changing as different truths of experience presented themselves. It also had strong commitments to non-violence, whether that violence came in the form of armed combat or structural inequality. This was the foundation into which the Nationwide Women's Program was born.

### *The Nationwide Women's Program*

Interestingly, the staff engaged in the organization's external service and social change programs did not necessarily consider the AFSC immune to the systems of racial inequality and social hierarchies of power that they aimed to dismantle outside of the organization. Many of the white women and people of color who worked at AFSC

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<sup>32</sup> Quakers are a diverse group along any number of measures, one of which is the notion of authority. While most Protestant or Pastoral Friends hold the Bible to be the final authority, many other Quakers believe in direct revelation, which means that the Spirit speaks directly to human beings and lends itself to a continuing revelation of truth by the Spirit to any human being (thus making the Bible one source among an ongoing existence of sources of truth) (Hamm 2003). The kind of continued seeking of truth to which Schneider refers in his speech to the NWP Committee is underwritten by this common (if not universal) Quaker belief. I address Quaker notions of authority and the peace testimony in more detail in Chapter 4.

recognized and experienced sexist and racist practices within it and thus turned their social change efforts toward the internal workings of the organization as well. Indeed, in the 1970's (and up to that point) most leadership positions and higher remuneration were doled out to white men; most support positions and lower remuneration at AFSC were reserved for white women and men and women of color. Additionally, few of the AFSC programs at the time of the NWP's formation addressed women's unique needs and were later shown to privilege male experiences and perspectives in a (supposedly) gender neutral way (NWP 1974).

The Nationwide Women's Program began to coalesce in this context. Its neophyte version came in the early 1970's in the form of an internal mobilization of AFSC women staff, committee members, clerks, and wives of male staff who wanted to challenge the sexist practices they encountered within AFSC as well as the larger society. The first quasi-formal coalescence of an AFSC women's program (in this era) happened in 1970 at the organization's "Conference of 80" at Hudson Guild Farm in Vermont.<sup>33</sup> This large staff meeting was convened to consider the health of the corporate body of AFSC and the new directions the organization might take in light of the socio-political movements of the previous decade, such as the civil right movement, the peace movement, the New Left, and the movement for a New Society (AFSC 1970). Neither the women's movement nor women's concerns were part of the original agenda for the meeting, yet a small group of women staff pushed for a "secretarial/clerical" session and

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<sup>33</sup> I say "in this era" (meaning the 1970's) because in Frost's (1992) history of the AFSC, he mentions the formation of "a committee on Women's Work" in 1924 (43). I have gone so far as determining that there is material about this committee in the AFSC archives, but I have yet to explore its content.

aired grievances about sex discrimination at AFSC. The AFSC Board later tasked a “Women’s Working Group” to research this discrimination and report more detail on it.

Three years later, at a gathering of seventy AFSC women in Colorado Springs, CO in 1973, the participants expressed anger at the institution for not taking the women’s movement seriously, and for: “the lack of respect shown towards women (especially clerical staff), failure to consider women for promotion, and exclusion of women from decision-making” (Women’s Gathering 1973). They also expressed love for AFSC and considered its ideals of “love, dignity, nonviolence, and non-competitiveness” to be compatible with the women’s movement, and thus capable and worthy of change. To the organization’s credit, and likely because of its openness to continuing revelations of truth—truth in human relations, truth in experience, and in an array of perspectives—it made way for this internal mobilization. This was not always done in an uncontested manner, but it was done nonetheless.

This loose compilation of AFSC women then worked to create various programs or projects at AFSC that focused on women’s issues in several different AFSC divisions and regional offices. They also prompted the hiring of two staff women in the (then) National Community Relations Division at the Philadelphia office to facilitate communication among staff women throughout AFSC, to work within the women’s movement in Philadelphia, and to inform the AFSC Board of women’s issues on which the organization might take a national stand.

Their ad-hoc organizing became more formal and institutionalized in 1974, when the AFSC Board of Directors, in response to the request made by AFSC women who participated in the “AFSC Women’s Gathering” in Colorado, approved the “nationwide”

status of their work. The Nationwide Women's Program—as the previous, more nebulous women's program was then renamed—was organizationally moved out of the Community Relations Division and constituted as its own independent program that reported directly to the Executive Secretary's Office. It was “nationwide” in that it would now be funded by each of the National and Divisional offices in the organization rather than a single division within it.<sup>34</sup> This move marked a significant, if still hesitant and fraught, shift in AFSC's acceptance of and openness to the (internal and external) women's movement, as they referred to it.

In early 1975, the AFSC hired a full-time staff person, Saralee Hamilton, as the program coordinator for Nationwide Women's Program. Rather than being a staid, stereotypical (or mythical) “do-gooder” Quaker woman, Hamilton was a non-Quaker, fiery socialist feminist with a keen intellect, a sharp tongue, and a deep passion for drawing attention to and ameliorating the ways in which racist and sexist global capitalism operated. She came to the NWP from the Philadelphia Indochina Peace Campaign and the New American Movement, a democratic socialist organization committed to making “profound alterations in social and economic arrangements” necessary to achieve racial and gender equality in the U.S. and throughout the world (NAM 1980). These experiences and associations likely informed Hamilton's attention to issues of class, global capitalism, militarism, socialist feminism, and international feminisms, which featured largely in the ideological framing of the Nationwide Women's

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<sup>34</sup> The “nationwide” moniker therefore denoted a fiduciary structure rather than a geographic limitation to their work.

Program work. She remained the director of the program and its only full-time staff person until her death in 2006.

From 1975 to 1979, the Nationwide Women's Program's decision making process was internally organized through a guiding body called the Nationwide Women's Support Group (rather than a typical AFSC committee structure of at-large members).<sup>35</sup> It was comprised of women staff, clerks, and wives of staff who were selected through an open selection process in each of the organization's regional and divisional offices, along with an AFSC Board member. Within the AFSC, the Support Group worked to change the organization's hiring practices, so that more women would be hired into leadership positions. They also served as an informal "human resources" office, mitigating grievances based on gender discrimination. Finally, they mobilized to create a day-care center at the Friends Center, the building in which the AFSC was housed in Philadelphia.

Support Group members also implemented, oversaw, and facilitated communication among a variety of programs and projects with women constituencies in their local area offices. A sample of these include: the formation of a Women's Center and a consciousness-raising seminar series for working class women in Manchester, New Hampshire; a research study of corporate involvement in the childcare business in New England; investigation into how General Electric treats its women employees and consumers, also in New England; development of a program to serve women in prison in Cambridge, MA and Ann Arbor, MI; mobilization of college women in Chicago around

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<sup>35</sup> The Support Group had actually been in existence since the AFSC Women's Gathering in Colorado in 1973, two years before the women's program was formally established as a "nationwide" program in the institution. They had already been active in creating and implementing service programs and projects throughout AFSC's national and international infrastructure, though in a rather ad hoc manner. They had also begun the *AFSC Women's Newsletter*, aimed primarily at AFSC staff up to this point in 1979.

the impact of militarization on women; and the creation of a women's mental health resource and research alliance in Northern California, to name only a few (NWP 1978d).

In 1979, however, the AFSC Board required the Nationwide Women's Program to rely on a more typical board committee for guidance rather than the internally focused and constituted Nationwide Women's Support Group. That year marked the beginning of the official formation of the Nationwide Women's Program Committee, a board committee comprised of primarily at-large members who were activists and/or scholars doing feminist analyses and work on women's issues in their professional and activist lives. The criteria for selecting committee members were that they possess a broad knowledge of issues concerning women and experience in addressing these issues programmatically (NWP 1978-1979).

Members included feminist scholars, activists, laborers and professionals who were already active in the women's movement (or women's movements) outside of AFSC in some capacity. For the few AFSC staff members on the committee, their participation in existing women's programs within the organization was considered sufficient experience in dealing with women's issues. While the AFSC's Nationwide Women's Program might appear to be an obscure entity, it was active enough (and networked enough) in specific areas of women's movements that it attracted prominent feminist scholars and activists into its orbit, such as Charlotte Bunch, Barbara Ehrenreich, Cynthia Enloe, Patricia Fernández-Kelly, Holly Sklar, and Pamela Sparr over the course of several decades.

Together with the small staff of the Nationwide Women's Program, the NWP Committee worked to meet the overarching goal of the program and its objectives,

proposed during the 1978 review process. The proposal stated that: “The overriding goal of the AFSC Nationwide Women’s Program is to strengthen the capacity of the AFSC to recognize and to act through its programs to eliminate sexism, a root cause of violence” (1978 NWPd). A list of objectives followed: 1.) to assist in the infusion of feminist perspectives in the programs of the AFSC, 2.) to enable the AFSC to bring its insights and experiences to the women’s movement in areas of common concern, recognizing that the AFSC involves in its work an unusual range of perspectives in the U.S. and in many countries around the world, and 3.) to assist in the implementation of Affirmative Action in AFSC as it addresses women’s concerns (Ibid.). The goal(s) and objectives were revised over the years, but their main thrust remained for the Nationwide Women’s Program to build feminist perspectives into existing AFSC programs and to build a “two-way bridge” between AFSC and women’s movements in the U.S. and abroad (NWP 1983).

Before closing this section on the history of the Nationwide Women’s Program, it is important to mention a similar and connected mobilization of staff that had occurred within AFSC around the same time. People of color working within the organization proposed the formation of the Third World Coalition to address issues of racial inequality and paternalism which they experienced within AFSC.<sup>36</sup> By 1971, the AFSC Board approved the Third World Coalition as a “nationwide” program, as it would three years

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<sup>36</sup> The term “Third World” is problematic, especially insofar as it has been used within dominant power discourses to further subjugate, homogenize, or “other” people of the so-called underdeveloped world, the developing world, or the global south, etc. (each of these terms is problematic for their own set of common and disparate reasons). Yet members of the Third World Coalition selected the term “third world” for themselves as self-defining, marginalized, non-aligned, people of color, regardless of geography. This is the definition of “third world” people that is most commonly used among those in the Nationwide Women’s Program during the time under investigation here (1970’s and 1980’s).

later for the women's program. Describing itself as "a unique network of people of color working toward a global movement of liberation and self-determination," the Third World Coalition worked to connect people of color within AFSC to each other as well as to different communities of color within the U.S. and transnationally (TWC 1971). Similar to the Nationwide Women's Program, the Third World Coalition worked to influence all of AFSC's programmatic work so that it was attentive to the voices, needs, and concerns of marginalized people, in this case communities of color regardless of geography.

Toward this end, the Third World Coalition formed a Third World Women's Caucus that worked with the Nationwide Women's Program to plan its programmatic initiatives. This helped to keep the AFSC's version of a women's movement attentive to issues of race in its own work. It did this also by including a diversity of voices on its committee. For example, in 1979, Joyce Miller, who was the first NWP Committee Chair and a member of the Third World Women's Caucus, asked fellow committee members for suggestions for additional third world women who might join them on the committee. While slightly over one fourth of their membership was third world, she noted, "there are still some particular perspectives that are lacking in order to provide the strongest possible resource for the wide range of work anticipated" (NWP 1979a). Furthermore, the reason that global corporations (or global capitalism) became a central focus to the NWP's work was because staff and committee members were consciously seeking a way "to maximize the ability to link the struggle against racism and sexism by joining both issues and working in a multi-racial group" (Ibid.).

The history of AFSC's international perspective and geographic placement, its attention to economic issues and working class struggles, and its consideration of gender and race concerns (both inside and outside of the organization) were significant for the Nationwide Women's Program's foray into the movements resisting economic globalization, particularly in their early decades. The NWP was hardly an insular group of white, middle-class Quaker women quietly serving others and the status quo, as so many of my conversation partners seem to assume when I initially tell them about my research project. The women of the NWP were instead a diverse collection of Quaker and non-Quaker activists interested in listening to and amplifying the voices of women, including themselves, who had been marginalized or otherwise oppressed for a variety of reasons. They coalesced as a group just as globalization, as I define it, was beginning to take shape, and so it began to shape their work as well, particularly in identifying forms of capitalist domination and resistance around the world.

The second half of this chapter is dedicated to the dense set of communication channels within which the NWP operated to deepen its understanding of the global economy, to expose the deleterious impacts of this economy on women consumers and laborers around the world, and to spread the news of mobilizations against it. So often, among proponents of globalization and its adversaries, the tale of globalization resistance begins at the "Battle of Seattle" in 1999, when antiglobalization activists shut down the Ministerial Conference of the World Trade Organization. Yet, as we will see below, Seattle should be considered more of a culmination rather than a point of origin for such resistance activity.

### **Situating the Nationwide Women's Program: A Network of Networks**

While I contend that the Nationwide Women's Program was pioneering in its globalization resistance efforts, it is important to point out that it was not alone in its awareness of a growing—and problematic—global capitalist system in the 1970's. One particularly telling illustration of this pre-existing awareness is the New International Economic Order (NIEO), a proposal put forth by Third World political leaders in 1973 as a plan to redress the de facto economic colonization of developing nations by industrialized ones. It was, in short, a critique of and alternative to the world economic arrangements that had been set in place by the U.N.'s Monetary and Financial Conference at Bretton Woods in 1942. The NIEO came with specific recommendations for reducing poverty and seeking greater equality and mutuality among nations, who, its proponents claimed, were entitled to choose whatever economic system best served their specific needs.<sup>37</sup>

In defense of the NIEO, the president of Tanzania in 1977, Julius K. Nyerere (1977), wrote in a manner representative of his Third World colleagues that:

The poor nations of the world remain poor because they are poor and because they operate as if they were equals in a world dominated by the rich. The demand for a new international economic order is a way of saying that the poor nations must be enabled to develop themselves according to their own interests and to benefit from the efforts that they make. (17)

Although it was not perfect, the NIEO was in many ways a radical challenge to the global economic status quo. It was also *not* a marginal or little-known proposal.

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<sup>37</sup> This proposal did not suddenly appear as if out of a vacuum in 1973, either. It was instead the product of several decades of summits held by the political leaders of “non-aligned” countries from Asia, Africa, and increasingly Latin America that began in Bandung, Indonesia in 1955. The NIEO was a formal culmination of their critiques of a world capitalist system designed to benefit industrialized countries at the expense of their own economies, communities, cultures, and people (Hoskins 1982).

It garnered an enormous amount of attention by way of publications, seminars, and adoption by the United Nations as the “Declaration of the Establishment of a New International Economic Order” (U.N. 1974). In his 1982 text, entitled *The New International Economic Order: A Bibliographic Handbook*, Hoskins provides readers with no less than 585 bibliographic references on the NIEO that had accumulated since its introduction less than a decade prior. Therefore, rather than the Nationwide Women’s Program introducing a critique of global capitalism in the 1970’s as a novel concept, it was instead contributing to a well-established and pervasive discursive context of such critique at the time.

Two points can be drawn from this illustration. The first is that this greater sense of awareness of global capitalism’s excesses existed more than four decades ago at a high level of political decision-making, with concrete alternatives and specific initiatives undertaken to address its inadequacies. The second point is that these concepts and efforts seem to have disappeared without a trace. Few contemporary conversations about globalization make reference to the New International Economic Order or any of the activities that accompanied and supported it, despite the fact that it had, at one point, been on a very prominent stage of political engagement.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, the U.N.’s related

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<sup>38</sup> In fact, Jagdish Bhagwati—one of Joseph Stiglitz’s conversation partners in what he describes as the lively public debate about globalization over the last half decade (i.e. 2001-2006)—held a workshop at MIT in May 1976 to discuss the NIEO. In his edited volume that came of the gathering, *The New International Economic Order: The North-South Debate* (1977), Bhagwati explains that the objective of the workshop was “to bring together the most distinguished international and development economists from the developed countries to examine the specifics of several specific proposals, some novel and others already in the mill, which could form the concrete content of a reformed world economy” (x). Yet, in Bhagwati’s more contemporary text, *In Defense of Globalization* (2004), there is no index entry for the NIEO nor any mention of it in the body of the text. Similarly, there is no index entry or textual reference of the NIEO in Stiglitz’s *Making Globalization Work* (2006). What happened to it?

work of scrutinizing the growing impact of transnational corporations on third world people and economies has gone the same way as the NIEO; it has virtually disappeared from public consciousness, despite the fact that its Centre on Transnational Corporations (UNCTC) produced an enormous amount of data on this growing linchpin of the global economy.

The Nationwide Women's Program and its similarly interested partners have disappeared from the public record of globalization resistance movements along with these more prominent players. I maintain, however, that the NWP was no small participant in these activities, particularly in the mid- to late-1970's and throughout the 1980's. They did, after all, hold several meetings at the Church Center at the U.N. and were a presence at the U.N.-sponsored conferences and NGO fora during the Decade for Women (1975-1985). Their work also went well beyond formal engagement with the U.N. to formulate a vast and dense integration of parties from around the world who were actively critiquing and combatting global capitalism in a variety of ways.

My goal moving forward, then, is to bring to the surface the history of this more nebulous and complex labor that the Nationwide Women's Program did in connecting a variety of already-active laborers, scholars, and activists the world over. To do this excavation, I borrow a conceptual framework from two prominent social movement scholars. In their influential text, *Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*, Keck and Sikkink (1998) bring to the fore an entity that had largely been ignored by political analysts at the time of the book's publication: non-state actors who interact in influential ways with state and para-state entities. They argue that

these non-state actors' interactions are structured in terms of networks of communication and that they increasingly influence international politics, be they networks of economic actors and firms, scientists and other professional experts, or activists "distinguished largely by the centrality of principled ideas or values in motivating their formation" (1).

Keck and Sikkink's work focuses on the last of these entities, which they refer to as transnational advocacy networks, comprised of "actors working internationally on an issue, who are bound together by shared values, a common discourse, and dense exchanges of information and services" (2). They argue that the actors in these networks are able to mobilize information, ideas, and values strategically in order to pressure and persuade more powerful organizations and governments at an international level. Their influence, however, goes beyond changing public policy to advocating for changes in the ideological and principled foundations of international institutions and interactions. That is, these networked actors are interested in changing the ways in which people think, what they value, and how they behave. They are, in short, invested in changing publics as well as politics and should therefore be considered legitimate and influential political entities in this more comprehensive regard.

The Nationwide Women's Program was indeed a critical node within the transnational advocacy networks that were already challenging economic globalization in the 1970's and 1980's. What is interesting about using Keck and Sikkink's work to help frame this perspective, however, is that even these authors omit this activity from their research. While they highlight specific international campaigns addressing human rights, environmental justice, and violence against women during the 1970's and 1980's, they somehow miss the already-pervasive (feminist and non-feminist) campaigns addressing

economic globalization over the same span of time—whether at the level of state, para-state, or non-state actors. Indeed, their omission is indicative of a more pervasive oversight of this mobilizing activity from this time period; much of the political science and social movement literature, into which Keck and Sikkink write in the late 1990's, does not begin to analyze globalization resistance movements until they supposedly “showed up” in the twenty-first century, particularly after the so-called “Battle of Seattle” in 1999.

Yet the protests in Seattle came decades after a great deal of conscientious efforts to alter, resist, reform, and/or remake the burgeoning global capitalist system, rather than at the start of such efforts. I suggest that the Nationwide Women's Program, because of its leverage within the American Friends Service Committee and its composition of well-connected committee members, was poised to play a role not only in the early exchanges of information among actors mobilizing against global capitalism, but to produce a shared set of values and common discourses among those whom they were connecting. Different from the NIEO, the U.N., and the Third World heads of state, the NWP focused on the unique ways in which global capitalism impacted women, particularly how transnational corporations exploited women as consumers and laborers in both industrialized and industrializing countries. It also gave such women a platform for voicing their relevant experiences, which was harder to come by in these male-dominated institutions.

In addition to the linkages that the American Friends Service Committee provided and those that the NWP Committee members brought with them, the Nationwide Women's Program also produced its own networks of communication, advocacy, and

resistance—particularly ones focusing on global capitalism. It did this in many ways, but the three that are the most relevant in terms of their work against globalization were as follows: the 1978 conference it hosted in Des Moines, Iowa, called “Women and Global Corporations: Work, Roles, Resistance;” the organization that formed out of this event, called the Women’s Network on Global Corporations; and the *AFSC Women’s Newsletter* insert, also called *Women and Global Corporations: Work · Roles · Resistance*, which the NWP published from 1978 to 1988.

Below I turn briefly to a description of these three networking nodes in order to provide further background on the kinds of transnational advocacy networks that the Nationwide Women’s Program produced and engaged. It is in these following instances that the “principled” aspects of their work become evident (and which I further elaborate upon in Chapter 3).

### ***The 1978 “Women and Global Corporations” Conference***

In October of 1978, the Nationwide Women’s Program sponsored a landmark conference in Des Moines, Iowa, entitled “Women and Global Corporations: Work, Roles, Resistance.” The primary goals of the conference were to bring together a diverse group of women to discuss how multinational corporations had impacted them in similar and different ways, to share information and ideas about these impacts, and to develop common efforts in response to the identified problems of the then-globalizing economy. These goals were met insofar as the conference brought together women from thirty different U.S. states, Puerto Rico, and countries, such as South Africa, the Philippines, and Mexico, with a range of race and class backgrounds and diverse encounters with global capitalism. Based on NWP records, there were “20 Black, 20 Hispanic, 3 Asian,

and 7 Native American” women in attendance; the remaining seventy-two people were white women (and five men, whose racial demographic is unaddressed) (NWP 1978c). Some were scholars; some were laborers; others were activists—some of them were a combination of two or three of these things at once.

The Nationwide Women’s Program Task Force, which planned the conference, had used its various resources to identify three industries as the most complicit in the global capitalist exploitation of women: agribusiness, garment/textile, and electronics.<sup>39</sup> The conference thus focused on multinational corporations from these industries, providing opportunities for participants to hear directly from laborers organizing within them, outside activists resisting them, and scholars researching them (again, the lines demarcating these were often blurred). For three days, the 122 participants attended workshops, lectures, an informal speak out, strategizing caucuses, and seminars on a range of topics examining “the role of global corporations in shaping, maintaining and benefiting from an economic system which perpetuates poverty, hunger, dependency, and injustice,” as the organizers put it (Ibid.).

Part of the dense information-sharing that took place at the conference came in the form of what was referred to as “testimony.” The Saturday session opened with direct testimony from women working in the specified industries. For example, Peggy

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<sup>39</sup> Since the NWP Committee would not be in existence for another three years after the 1976 decision to plan for the conference, the Nationwide Women’s Program selected representatives from its Support Group to form this Task Force. It soon expanded to include other women from inside and outside of the AFSC. Their role was to do the necessary research to plan and implement the 1978 “Women and Global Corporations” conference. A conference brochure states that the agribusiness, textile/garment, and electronics industries were targeted because “they have a high concentration of women workers, and because the direct experience of AFSC programs can be drawn upon in these three areas” (NWP 1978a). This evinces the kind of networking support that the NWP was able to leverage by virtue of being an AFSC program.

Zebrowski, a woman worker and labor organizer from an electronics factory in Santa

Clara Valley, CA shared this story:

We work daily with solvents, acids, a whole host of chemicals (some of which are carcinogenic, some which cause lung, liver, and kidney disease, skin rashes and burns)... what we're told about these chemicals is virtually nothing. The first day that I worked at the plant, we have our orientation, right? And we sit down in a room with a guy who says, "Now, ladies, at work you're gonna be working with a lot of chemicals, but don't worry, they're just like the chemicals you use in your home, bleach, vinegar, and detergent. You know all these chemicals, so don't let them frighten you." (Ibid.)

Other speakers revealed different hardships: low wages, bad lighting, fiber dust, fire hazards, excessive heat, sterilization, difficulty organizing laborers, and sexism within labor organizations.

An "open-mic" session, in which any participant was welcome to share her (or his) take on such egregious actions of multinational corporations, followed the structured testimonials. Marcy Rein (1978), a conference participant and journalist, who later wrote a review of the conference in the feminist news journal, *Off Our Backs* (which was later re-printed in the first edition of the *Women and Global Corporations* insert), claimed that this session "was one of the most valuable hours we spent, both for the information conveyed and the inspiration of listening to a room full of smart, spirited, politically aware women" (2). From there, the participants broke up into three "study groups" to engage in deeper analyses of the three industries under investigation during the course of the weekend gathering.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> There are copious notes about this conference in the AFSC archives, much of which rest in unarchived boxes collected by the last NWP administrator, Maria Papalardo, in 2006 and 2007. There is enough information for there to be a small book about this conference alone.

An example of the transnational advocacy networking in which the NWP engaged as a result of planning and implementing this conference can be seen in the case of textile workers in South Korea. Lee So Sun was a South Korean labor rights activist whose son had burned himself to death in a public appeal for better working conditions in the transnational corporations that had set up shop in the country's export processing zones. Lee So Sun herself had been imprisoned for her organizing activities among textile workers, and she wrote to the NWP Director, Saralee Hamilton, to state that she was unable to attend the conference due to her imprisonment. She also made the following appeal:

Ms. Hamilton, I would like to ask a favor of you, something that is a matter of deep concern to me. I shall not leave the workers as long as I live. But, I am filled with regret that there is no school for workers at the Chongye branch of the National United Trade Union so that workers have no sense of direction in their lives. It is absolutely necessary for us to have a classroom for workers where we can learn of our rights and become more aware of our situation. If the workers are to defy police interference we must have our own building which the workers can use freely, and not rent. Ms. Hamilton, I appeal to you for help in the construction of a classroom for workers where we can study. (NWP 1978e)

In response to Lee So Sun's letter, the NWP put together a fact sheet regarding her circumstances, those of the textile workers in South Korea and their resistance activities, and the role of the U.S. textile industry and the U.S. government in this situation. This information was distributed among the conference participants in Des Moines, along with "action alerts" (letter-writing campaigns) to help ameliorate the exploitation of the textile workers and to free Lee So Sun. This kind of activity foreshadowed the advocacy role that the NWP newsletter insert on women and global corporations would later play.

Other letters arrived at the NWP office at this time as well, from: the Agricultural Marketing Project in Nashville, TN; a lecturer at Livingston College in Piscataway, NJ;

the National Assembly of Women in London, England; and the Instituto Latinoamericano de Estudios Transnacionales in Mexico, each requesting information about the conference. The demand for this information, coupled with the NWP's efforts "to see that the networking that was begun at the conference [could] continue," prompted the NWP to form and oversee the Women and Multinational Corporations Project (NWP 1979a).<sup>41</sup> This group of volunteer scholars, laborers, and activists worked with the NWP staff to produce a number of documents/publications for circulation among fellow scholars, laborers, and activists in need of more information about the growing global economy.

By the winter of 1979, the NWP and its Women and Multinational Corporations Project had compiled a fairly dense study packet of resource material that they could distribute in response to requests for information. The packet included an annotated bibliography on dubious practices within the global agribusiness, garment/textile, and electronics industries and a general overview of the global economy and its impact on women workers and consumers. The packet also included detailed descriptions of the goals of the 1978 "Women and Global Corporations" conference, brief summaries of the workshops offered at the conference, and the names and short biographies of the task force members, conference speakers, and workshop leaders.

The NWP intended the packet to be "a broadly based introductory collection that would be appropriate for a wide range of women's groups, church groups, study groups,

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<sup>41</sup> The Women and Multinational Corporations Project was initially comprised of volunteers who had attended the 1978 conference, but once the Nationwide Women's Program Committee formulated in 1979, it was comprised of committee members (it also changed its name to the Women and Multinational Corporations Working Group).

union groups and classes” to learn about the growing global economy (NWP 1978c). In addition to this packet, the NWP also offered two other AFSC publications that were direct products of the Des Moines conference: a 98-page “Directory of Resources and Conference Participants” and “Proceedings of the Conference—Women and Global Corporations: Work Roles and Resistance.”<sup>42</sup> It was the production of these items that most occupied the NWP’s Women and Global Corporations Project/Working Group during the years that immediately followed the conference. These efforts reflect not only the very intentional networking role of the NWP in the face of a new capitalist regime, but a growing density of participants in this principled work as well.

### *Women’s Network on Global Corporations*

Insofar as the 1978 “Women and Global Corporations” conference was intended to further promote communication about and resistance toward to the global economy, it was successful. Less than a year later, a small group of participants, who had since worked to maintain the connections that had been forged at the conference, gathered in Washington, D.C. to write a proposal for a National Project on Women and Global Corporations. In the proposal, they reported that the 1978 conference had prompted the following actions:

- On the Mexico-Texas border, the Centro de Orientacion de la Mujer Obrera held a one-day meeting of 200 women working in U.S.-owned electronics and textile plants, to share what they had learned at the conference;

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<sup>42</sup> The latter publication is listed as “forthcoming” in the AFSC Women’s Newsletter Summer 1980, though I do not recall coming across the actual document at any point in the archives. The Directory can be found in the 1978 AFSC Archives, General Administration, NWP: Confs & Sems, Conf – Wmn & Global Corporations folder. In addition, in 1981, the NWP had compiled and distributed a Speaker’s Bureau Directory on Global Corporations, which appears to be a truncated and updated version of the directory mentioned above.

- In California, two women from Earthwork/Center for Rural Studies used experiences gained at the conference in bringing together farmers, cannery workers, farmworkers, Native Americans, and food production cooperatives to discuss problems, such as displacement and mechanization, caused by the expansion of giant agribusiness companies;
- In Washington, D.C. a conference participant began a weekly radio program focusing on the impact of multinationals on women's lives in the U.S. and abroad. (National Project 1979)

The trouble was that these grassroots efforts, along with countless others, were again happening in isolation from one another.

In order for the movement—the burgeoning transnational feminist movement against global capitalism—to be successful, the sharing of information, strategies, and meaning-making that took place at the conference needed to continue and reach those who were still engaged in (now/again) otherwise (seemingly) disparate struggles. As one NWP Committee member put it, there was a need to “institutionalize the excitement from the conference” (NWP 1979a). There was, however, no organization to assume such a centralized role. While the NWP was poised to take on this responsibility, especially since it was already hard at work with its Women and Multinational Corporations Project to get the word out about the conceptual and strategic components of the conference and to continue forging connections among similarly interested parties, it was ultimately unable to be the organization that the movement needed at this time.

Although being administratively housed within the American Friends Service Committee proved beneficial to the NWP for a variety of reasons already mentioned above, it also posed a hindrance to the autonomy of their work. As noted earlier, much of the NWP's work was supposed to be focused on the internal workings of the institution, to “infuse a feminist perspective” into existing AFSC programs and projects, rather than

to create its own programs. By the second meeting of the Nationwide Women's Program Committee in November of 1979, several of the committee members already voiced frustration over this prescribed (and proscribed) role and the difficulties it produced. For example, Carol Jensen commented that "what the NWPC [Nationwide Women's Program Committee] is funded to do may not be what we, as individuals, would want to do; there is a need to get down to the nitty-gritty of AFSC programs which requires that we find out what AFSC committees and structures we must engage" (NWP 1979b). Yolanda Bako "expressed frustration" about the difficulty of raising important issues within the "structural mazes and compartments" of the AFSC. And Barbara Ehrenreich "expressed alarm" that the work processes at AFSC might "already be structured in ways which force thinking along internal AFSC bureaucratic lines (which were not designed with feminist issues in mind) at the expense of substantive issues and programs" (Ibid.). Thus, the organization that provided the NWP with the resources it needed to play a vital, international role in the burgeoning antiglobalization movement was the same one that hampered its ability to more fully do so, particularly at this time.

There was therefore a need to create an independent organization, one that could concentrate its efforts on the critical work of linking women who were "organizing to combat the negative impact of multinational corporations on their lives" (National Project 1979). This is precisely what the small group of women who gathered in Washington, D.C. in June of 1979 aimed to do when they drafted the proposal for a National Project on Women and Global Corporations. They envisioned this organization as filling a dire need for breaking down the isolation of local, grassroots groups; reducing duplication of

efforts; and providing access to information, data, and skills that small, local groups typically lacked due to limited resources.

There is a gap in the documentation about this group in the AFSC archives, likely because it was technically not an AFSC effort (though the connections to it blur this distinction). Beyond a proposal that I found in a box of unarchived NWP materials, I found no other documentation about it. There is, however, strong evidence that the National Project on Women and Global Corporations became instead the Women's Network on Global Corporations. The Summer 1980 issue of the *AFSC Women's Newsletter* announces the formation of this latter organization, which it characterizes as “an independent project currently based in San Francisco,” which grew out of the “Women and Global Corporations” conference (WGC 1980, 9).<sup>43</sup> The stated goals of the organization were similar to the formerly proposed National Project on Women and Multinational Corporations, if slightly more fine-tuned; they were to: a.) break down isolation by placing groups in touch with one another, b.) create a network and information clearinghouse, and c.) assess common needs (Ibid.). They too focused on the three industries of agribusiness, electronics, and garment/textiles, aiming to strengthen individual efforts to combat the negative impacts from the corporations in these industries on women's lives.

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<sup>43</sup> Other archival evidence supports the argument that the proposed National Project on Women and Global Corporations became instead the Women's Network on Global Corporations. Several documents show that they both shared the same address in San Francisco, that they had the same NWP advisory board members, and that they both had a 1979 planning meeting in Washington, D.C. with overlapping members. I assume that they made the name change so that it would better reflect the international efforts which it already had underway (i.e. there was likely a decision to shed the “national project” title because their existing efforts and planned work went beyond national borders).

By the time that the *AFSC Women's Newsletter* announced the formation of the Women's Network on Global Corporations in the summer of 1980, its members had already been quite active. For example, two network members had served as panelists at a conference in February of 1980 in Juarez, Mexico, entitled "Women and the Transnationalization of Capital," where they spoke with over 100 women working in U.S.-owned electronics factories, distributing health and safety information to them. In March of that same year, they had made "connections with unionists from around the world" at the International Conference of Oil and Petrochemical Workers (Ibid). The next month found the Women's Network on Global Corporations helping to organize and obtain funding for a "National Working Women's Conference" in El Mirage, Arizona, the primary organizers of which were women farmworkers who had attended the 1978 "Women and Global Corporations" conference.

The Women's Network on Global Corporation had also participated in the planning meetings convened by the International Coalition for Development Action, which aimed to place "women and transnationals" on the agenda of the U.N. Special Session on the Third Development Decade (to be held in August 25-September 5, 1980). Finally, the Network worked ongoingly with other active organizations in the U.S. and a variety of other countries to compile data, conduct research, publish information, and produce films on how global economic issues impacted women in the U.S. and overseas.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> For example, they participated in a study of women electronics workers in Santa Clara Valley, California; compiled data of multinational corporation activity in Latin America; helped produce a publication for striking textile workers in El Paso, TX; provided technical assistance to the women farmworker's project in El Mirage, Arizona; and made contact with labor and women's organizations in the

Their work in these various sites was a continuation of efforts begun at the Des Moines conference, though now it was taken to the fields, the shop floors, other spawned conferences, and among an even greater number of women (and men) around the world. However, by the end of 1980, it had become apparent that the Women's Network on Global Corporations had insufficient resources, both in terms of finances and time, to continue its broad scope of work. Indeed, when the small group of women had gathered in June of 1979 in Washington, D.C. to propose a National Project on Women and Global Corporations, they included in the proposal a total budget of \$47,250 for the upcoming year (National Project 1979). Yet they had only raised \$2,100 by the time of their gathering in June and only \$6,000 by the end of 1979 (*WGC* 1980). As a result, all of the above activist labor was done on a volunteer basis; as they reported in 1980: "no wages were paid. All labor was donated, as well as time spent on fund-raising trips, conferences" (*Ibid.*). By the end of 1980, the group decided to narrow its focus to agribusiness in the U.S. southwest and Mexico only (if it remained in existence at all).

In response to the Network's devolution, Barbara Ehrenreich, a Nationwide Women's Program Committee member at the time, wrote an appeal to the NWP Committee to take on the much needed role that the Women's Network on Global Corporations had been playing. She wrote:

The need persists, then, for a comprehensive project addressed to the issues of women and MNCs [multinational corporations]. It should be geographically comprehensive, because the subject is by its nature, global, and it should combine both support work and US-directed educational work...I would argue that the

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U.S. and Mexico, Brazil, Colombia, Panama, Trinidad, England, Italy, Libya, Mexico and Switzerland, as well as AFSC international field programs in Asia, Africa, and Latin America (*Ibid.*).

NWP should take more assertive initiative in the development of such a project. (Ehrenreich)<sup>45</sup>

Judging from the archives, the Nationwide Women's Program took that initiative seriously, even if it did not—indeed could not—specialize in the subject matter as exclusively as Ehrenreich had suggested. It was, after all, still hemmed in by the AFSC's mandate to “infuse” the organization with a feminist perspective, and thus concentrate most of its work on existing AFSC programs and projects.

Even still, for the next two decades (at least), the NWP's Women and Global Corporations Project/Working Group engaged in organizing, participating in, and attending conferences; producing various publications; disseminating information; and advocating for public and corporate policy changes, all with a keen focus on the global economy and its negative impacts on women in the U.S. and the other countries where capital was relocating. In their work, they drew on the existing networks of communication provided by the AFSC and the NWP Committee members, the connections forged at the “Women and Global Corporations” conference, and now the linkages that the Women's Network on Global Corporations had provisioned before its devolution.

### ***Newsletter Special Section: Women and Global Corporations***

One of the key publications that the NWP produced over the next decade was the serial “special section,” entitled *Women and Global Corporations: Work · Roles · Resistance*, in each of the *AFSC Women's Newsletters* from 1978 to 1988. I offer this as

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<sup>45</sup> Ehrenreich also suggested that the NWP should/could implement a women and MNCs project at the expense of more internal organizational issues: “...presumably less time could be devoted to ‘infusing a feminist perspective’.” It seems apparent that such a drastic shift in priorities did not happen within the NWP.

a third, critical site through which the NWP produced and participated in a dense and influential grid of transnational activists, sharing information, advocating for change, and, ultimately, crafting the idea of a burgeoning global movement against global capitalism (more on this last point in Chapter 3).

It is difficult for me to write about the *Women and Global Corporations* insert without expressing my deep affinity for it. As I write, its eighteen issues are splayed out across my dining room table (a.k.a. my desk) in a fan of globalization resistances spanning from 1978 to 1988. In a word, I find them to be altogether beautiful. They are colorful and inviting, with either their font or their pages a different blue, red, green, orange, or brown. They are also punctuated with a smattering of images, mostly sketches of women but with some photographs as well and a medley of political cartoons throughout.<sup>46</sup> Functioning as a sort of newsletter within a newsletter, the inserts are nestled within the center of the overall publication, opening in a magazine-like fashion and ranging in length from eight to twelve pages. Without condescension, I would say that they are charmingly “1980’s” in their overall look, reflective of the publishing technology available at that time (with a discernible change in its professional presentation over the course of the decade).

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<sup>46</sup> While the newsletter took a mostly serious look at the ways in which the global economy was harming women and how women were fighting back, it also maintained a sense of humor, which makes it all the more endearing to me. The political cartoons and captions satirize (and thus pose as vulnerable) global economic restructuring—e.g., a photograph of a white woman on an assembly line is accompanied by the caption: “after you’ve caused inflation and unemployment...it’s hard to think of what to cook for dinner.” (Spring – Summer 1981, 18). Another cartoon depicts women workers in a cloud of chemical fumes rising from industrial cans marked with a skull and cross-bones; a man in a suit, presumably a manager, is facing them with a sign that reads: “Safety tip: Don’t trip over the chemical containers.” The caption below quips: “Of course the company is interested in health and safety!” (Fall 1985, A-5).

Yet this “dated” look misleads, and this is one of the reasons why I enjoy them to the extent that I do. Given the fact that contemporary public discourses on globalization elide a rich history of analysis and resistance that came before the twenty-first century (or the final year of the twentieth), these inserts visually appear as if they could have nothing to say about globalization. In fact, when I have taken my work to a coffee shop and engaged with people there who have had one of the two responses that I spoke of at the outset of this chapter, I have savored the look of surprise that registers on their faces once I hand them a newsletter (this has often been prompted by them noticing the newsletter’s “vintage” look in the first place). The newsletters are indeed riddled with smart, sophisticated, and provocative news of a global economic system and a variety of resistance mobilizations around the world that *seem* pioneering but were well underway by the time of the newsletter’s creation. In the context of the contemporary erasure of this vibrant past, the newsletter inserts prove to be surprisingly revealing.

The newsletters’ networking role is evident in at least two ways. First, their very format is reflective of the connections that the organization had already made in its attempt to learn more about the global economy. In one issue, Saralee Hamilton informs readers that this newsletter “*Women and Global Corporations: Work, Roles, Resistance*, is conceived as a vehicle for open communication among those concerned with the range of issues outlined here. Exchange of publications is especially welcomed” (WCG, Hamilton 1988).<sup>47</sup> As a result of this exchange, the issues include a combination of

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<sup>47</sup> Interestingly, in the Winter 1981 issue, there is an announcement about Cynthia Enloe’s 4-page illustrated exposé on the international division of labor at Levi Strauss. The announcement advises readers to send stamps or “hard-to-get” newsletters rather than money when ordering. This kind of exchange appears to have been common among readers, as Kamel and I encountered scores of other organizations’

original articles and reprints of articles from other groups' newsletters; announcements about new publications (e.g., books, pamphlets, reports, handbooks, etc.) from a wide range of national and international organizations; information about the formation of new organizations and/or networks doing similar work; and details about upcoming conferences, meetings, marches, boycotts, litigations, etc. that they or these other groups would be conducting.

The second feature of the inserts that denotes the NWP's networking role is the placement of a mailing address (or several addresses) at the end of *nearly every entry*, regardless of whether it was an original article, a reprint, or an announcement of some sort. In this regard, the newsletter essentially functioned as a movement rolodex. In some cases an article or announcement makes an appeal for "more information" or support from others doing similar organizing work, those confronting the same or similar hardships, or people conducting research on a particular industry, corporation, or even toxic chemicals to which workers or consumers were being exposed. The addresses at the end of these entries facilitated the direct sharing of that information between readers and the group or organization in question. Other entries provided the mailing addresses of relevant political or corporate leaders to whom readers could write in an effort to sway their positions in a particular situation of exploitation.

I now turn to one example as an illustration of this networking activity. While it is not clear who authored most of the newsletters' content, the first article in the 1982 issue (Volume 3, no. 1 and 2) is clearly accompanied by the author's name: Saralee

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newsletters when we were researching the NWP's history for the AFSC Board in 2007. Unfortunately, many of them did not get catalogued in AFSC's archives.

Hamilton, the Nationwide Women's Program Director. Her article, "Korean Women Fight Union-Busting Tactics," covers a developing story in Korea concerning a multinational electronics corporation by the name of Control Data Corporation. The company, headquartered in Minneapolis, MN, set up shop in Korea in 1958, with women comprising nearly 90% of its labor force there, and, Hamilton notes, is "known for using tactics of lay-offs and rehiring at reduced compensation to cut costs." She juxtaposes this information against data from the company's annual report, where Control Data boasts "a year of continued progress in many respects...combined revenues of \$4.2 billion (up 10%) and net earnings of \$171 million, up 13%" (A-1).

The developing story in the Control Data case is that six Korean women, each of them organized labor leaders, had been fired during attempted labor negotiations. Hamilton writes: "In the midst of contract negotiations in mid-March, managers served notice of dismissal on the women in their homes, threatening them and their families if they did not acquiesce and take severance pay." The women were apparently representing fellow workers, who had gone on strike to protest salary discrimination and a hazardous worksite. The strike had ended with a 19.5% wage increase, "but the struggle for reinstatement of the fired leaders goes on." Hamilton continues: "Control Data workers have appealed for international support and publicity for their case and are conducting a work slow-down and occupation of some parts of the plant by off-duty workers." Data Control's response was reportedly to freeze-out the workers "by turning up the air conditioning to unbearable levels" (A-2).

The article closes by asking readers to send letters in support of the workers to Control Data's board, demanding that the company reinstate the workers. The addresses

for the Data Control office in Korea and Minneapolis are both listed, along with those of the Ministry of Labor Affairs in Korea, the North American Coalition for Human Rights in Korea, and the AFL-CIO. Former U.S. Vice-President, Walter Mondale, and the former CEO of Westinghouse Air Brake are mentioned as two significant board members and “additional possibilities for linking up struggles and finding ways to increase attention to the situation” (Ibid.). Hamilton’s last comment connects the Korean union mobilization to a similar one in the U.S.: “Pittsburgh United Electrical Workers have engaged with Westinghouse Air Brake in a struggle over plant closings during the past year—an issue closely related to the behavior of multinationals and working conditions in overseas plants.”<sup>48</sup> Here, she not only prompts readers to act on behalf of the striking Korean workers but does the work of making their story relevant, particularly to other workers and to a U.S. audience. Herein lies the ideational labor of this networking activity.

This begs the question, then, as to who was the audience for this newsletter. Who was the NWP linking up; with whom did it share all of this information? There is very little information in the archives about the circulation of these newsletters, regarding who they were for and how many of them were distributed. I came across only two references to this kind of information. The first mention is on one of the inserts itself: on the first page of the Fall 1980 issue, there is a small note at the top of the page that reports that 6,000 copies of the previous issue had been distributed, “including those used as

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<sup>48</sup> This article is followed by an italicized note that lists the sources for the article: AFSC Asia Programs; Church Committee on Human Rights; Control Data Korea Labor Union; Control Data Annual Report; Multinational Monitor 5/82, N. American Coalition for Human Rights in Korea.

resources for workshops conducted at the Copenhagen women's conferences and the U.N. Special Session on International Economic Issues" (WGC 1980).

The second reference to the newsletter's circulation data comes from the Minutes of the October 1985 Nationwide Women's Program Committee meeting, in which Hamilton reports to the NWP Committee that

about 8,000 newsletters are printed. Of this 400 or more are made available to all AFSC staff, panels and committee members. From 500-600 go overseas to about 40 countries and over 2,000 go to AFSC regional offices for distribution. Another 2,500 are mailed to organizations and individuals in the United States. (NWP 1985)<sup>49</sup>

Thus, while the newsletter was printed in English and had a largely U.S. audience, it was also intended for an audience beyond the U.S., insofar as that was possible with the language barrier (i.e. for those who did not read English).

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I present the information in this chapter to point out that, while the Nationwide Women's Program relied upon the extant networks of the AFSC and the feminist channels that the Nationwide Women's Program Committee members brought with them to the AFSC in 1979, the NWP also produced its own international linkages of dense and principled information sharing and advocacy. Together, these connections proved significant in the NWP's ongoing antiglobalization work and in shaping how they and

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<sup>49</sup> The kind of financial support that the NWP had from AFSC is evident in this report. Hamilton goes on to state that subscriptions only pay for \$900 of the total cost of \$20,000 for four issues (when printing 8,000 of them). The NWP budget was never what the NWP and NWP Committee wanted it to be to support the work they were interested in doing, but it was likely more than what they would have had, had they not been at AFSC—the failure of the Women's Network on Global Corporations is evidence of this.

their networks of non-state actors understood their specific place within the overarching frame of the growing global economy. What is novel about transnational advocacy networks, Keck and Sikkink argue, “is the ability of nontraditional international actors to mobilize information strategically to help create new issues and categories and to persuade, pressure, and gain leverage over much more powerful organizations and governments” (2). This is precisely what the Nationwide Women’s Program understood itself to be doing alongside and in collaboration with a chorus of similarly engaged actors throughout 1970’s and 1980’s in the face of multinational corporate greed. The irony is that in producing this very helpful and relevant analytical frame of transnational advocacy networks, these scholars (and their peers in the social movement theory world and elsewhere) have overlooked this very vibrant and vital activity.

Yet, at the time, the NWP was not entirely overlooked. This is apparent in the letter from Michael McCoy, Program Officer for the U.N. Non-governmental Liaison Service (NGLS), that arrived at the NWP office in 1984. McCoy (1984) wrote that “[w]hether the issue is runaway shops, sterilization abuse, drug dumping, labor questions in free trade zones, occupational safety and health, or the feminization of poverty,” the NWP staff and newsletter had been providing the NGLS and non-governmental organizations with “the necessary information” (1). Situated within the very influential and resourced American Friends Service Committee, this comment reflects the NWP’s version of an unrelenting search for truth.

### CHAPTER 3

#### RESURRECTING MOVEMENT: A GENEALOGY OF FEMINIST ANTIGLOBALIZATION MOBILIZATIONS

Gender is ignored as a category of analysis and a basis for organizing in most of the antiglobalization movements, and antiglobalization (and anticapitalist critique) does not appear to be central to feminist organizing projects, especially in the First World/North.

--Chandra Mohanty, *Feminist Scholar*, 2003

The world is becoming one global system, in which people, particularly women, especially from poor and third world communities, are being exploited as workers and as consumers for the benefit of giant corporations which answer only to themselves.... The Conference will emphasize: organizing efforts that women are involved in, strategy sharing, building coalitions, visions for the future.

--Nationwide Women's Program, 1978<sup>50</sup>

As I previously noted, I was introduced to the archival holdings of the Nationwide Women's Program at the American Friends Service Committee in the summer of 2007. At the time, I was struck by the absence of the NWP's analytical and activist work from the contemporary texts about globalization that I was simultaneously reading at Temple University in "The Globalization Debate" course. Yet this would prove to be only one of many similar omissions that I would encounter over the next several years. It is fair to say that I have been deeply entrenched in various globalization and antiglobalization literatures for the past five years, and, with nearly every book or article that I have read, I have found myself scribbling the following sentiment in the margins of their pages: "but

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<sup>50</sup> This passage comes from a brochure for the 1978 "Women and Global Corporations" conference, which was put together by the Nationwide Women's Program. There is no identifiable single author for this brochure, so I have attributed this quote to the overall NWP organization.

what about the NWP and their networks? Why are they always missing?” Next to Mohanty’s (2003) statement about antiglobalization movements recounted in the epigraph above, I wrote in the margin of her book, *Feminism without Borders*: “but anticapitalist critique was central to the NWP in 1976! (27 years ago!), and the NWP was located in the First World/North.”

The erasure of the globalization resistance efforts of the NWP and its interlocutors is perhaps understandable (if not excusable) with those texts interested in selling the merits of capitalist globalization. Their absence from even the contemporary, “mainstream” antiglobalization discourses is perhaps also sensible, insofar as feminist conversations often take place on the margins of what is considered the mainstream (or perhaps in this case on the margins of the margins of the mainstream). But the omission of this activity from feminist accounts of U.S. feminisms, transnational feminist practices, and/or antiglobalization movements is particularly striking and troubling. For as much as I support the underlying message of Mohanty’s text—which is to encourage contemporary first-world feminists to pay more attention to the increasingly urgent problems of global capitalism in the early years of the twenty-first century—she enacts an erasure of what could otherwise serve as an important resource for feminists to do careful antiglobalization analysis and activism.

For example, in the following passage, written in 2003, Mohanty makes a case for the *value* of the NWP’s work even as she elides its existence from her historical narrative:

The antiglobalization movements of the last five years have proven that one does not have to be a multinational corporation, controller of financial capital, or transnational governing institution to cross national borders. These movements

form an important site for examining the construction of transborder democratic citizenship. (248)

She goes on to claim that, despite the fact that women were present as leaders and participants in the precursors to the antiglobalization movement (e.g., labor movements, consumer movements, anti-sweatshop movements), a feminist antiglobalization agenda “only emerges in the post-Beijing ‘women’s rights as human rights’ movement and some peace and environmental justice movements” (249). The “post-Beijing” reference in this statement denotes the period after the U.N.’s Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing, China in 1995.

Here Mohanty performs the same kind of revisionist labor of which I accused Joseph Stiglitz in Chapter 1, excluding several decades’ worth of lively conversations about and resistance against globalization among feminist scholars, activists, and laborers the world over, which the Nationwide Women’s Program helped to facilitate.<sup>51</sup> Yet, at the same time, Mohanty is pointing out the significance of knowing about and exploring such transnational linkages, especially insofar as they fuel the imagination for further cross-border mobilizations and pose possibilities for new ways of relating to one another in a globalized world. If such feminist anticapitalist activities existed several decades prior to Mohanty’s recognition, the logic of her argument leads to the conclusion that it too would be useful to uncover and explore these earlier iterations as well.

That is the goal of this chapter, to uncover earlier transnational feminist antiglobalization mobilizations, which are represented in the American Friends Service

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<sup>51</sup> Recall from the Introduction that I made mention of Stiglitz’s (2005) “Acknowledgements” section in which he thanks his fellow elite male conversation partners for the public debate about globalization, which he notes “has been especially lively in the last half decade” (XXII). He and Mohanty both make visible and legitimate only a very recent history of globalization and antiglobalization discourses.

Committee's archival holdings of the Nationwide Women's Program. More specifically, I move beyond the claim in the previous chapter, that the Nationwide Women's Program was engaged in a network of transnational advocacy networks, to the dual claims that the Nationwide Women's Program was situated squarely in the midst of a plethora of social movement activities around the world resisting globalization in the 1970's and 1980's, and that the NWP and its committee played a role in brokering the idea of social movement cohesion among these many related but otherwise isolated feminist activities. I make these claims in the context of such vital labors having been omitted from contemporary feminist accounts of antiglobalization movement(s), yet I argue that these earlier efforts offer critical memories, inspiration, and resources for ongoing struggles.

I begin this work by arguing that it matters what we name the activities of the NWP and their activist cohorts. While Keck and Sikkink's notion of transnational advocacy networks is useful and applicable to the case of the Nationwide Women's Program in several regards, it does not capture well enough the social movement activity—the *active* resistances—of the people and organizations within the NWP's orbit or the intentional role that the NWP undertook in order to formulate the notion that a cohesive movement was underway. In short, the analytical frame of advocacy networks still resembles the hegemonic and discursively colonizing social movement theory into which Keck and Sikkink aimed to intervene. While a focus on the NWP's textual representation of a transnational antiglobalization movement does not eliminate the problems of valorizing a Western hegemonic perspective, it does offer a glimpse into an array of multi-faceted, multi-vocal, transnational mobilizations against global capitalism from a period of time that is purported to be lacking them.

The remainder of the chapter is then dedicated to excavating a genealogy of this movement. It features the NWP as an influential social movement broker, crafting (at the very least) the *idea* of a cohesive social movement against global corporations and the capitalist economic system underwriting them. I close by moving the focus beyond the NWP, even as I continue to use its texts. Specifically, I turn to the *Women and Global Corporations* insert in the NWP's newsletter as a way of foregrounding the many people and groups from around the world who were already (and ongoingly) researching, litigating, boycotting, organizing, walking out, striking, marching, etc. in contestation with global corporate rule from 1978 to 1988, the duration of the newsletter insert.

It is possible to read across the networks of restive power on the pages of these documents and to see that global capital is not an inevitable force, that it has fissures, weaknesses, and a legacy of vulnerabilities—and that there have long been active movements against it. This fuller globalization resistance narrative should be garnered as fertile ground for contemporary movements today, especially insofar as these prior efforts paid attention to the raced, classed, gendered, and localized expressions of a global economic system. In *Feminism without Borders*, Mohanty asks her intended audience (i.e. feminists she would engage in continued anticapitalist efforts) “what it would mean to be attentive to the micropolitics of everyday life as well as to the larger processes that recolonize the culture and identities of people across the globe” (229). I suggest that we have a historical model from which to draw in order to answer this question. The Nationwide Women's Program and the antiglobalization movement(s) that it helped to shape and was shaped by in the 1970's and 1980's is not without its flaws, but it is

nevertheless an important place from which to reconsider capitalism, movements resisting it, and the narratives we tell ourselves about them.

### **What's in a Name: Network or Social Movement?**

Reflecting on the two years since she helped plan and implement the NWP's 1978 "Women and Global Corporations" conference, feminist author and activist Holly Sklar (1980) wrote: "I think it is important that we revitalize and sustain a feminist challenge to corporate power which has continued since the conference through the efforts of the Women's Network on Global Corporations and the Nationwide Women's Program" (7). Posing the questions of "how to mobilize, how to fight back and how to forge a strong, sustained, progressive movement" against "corporate capitalism," she insisted that:

Now is the time for activist conference "alumnae" and new folks engaged in these struggles to devise some ways to come together (regionally, nationally, internationally) to pool our resources, ideas, hopes; to share our analyses of the present situation, interconnect our current actions more fully—and begin again to forge common strategies of resistance. (Ibid)

Sklar later served as an NWP Committee member for several years, so her words here reflect the kind of social movement sentiment that was part of the NWP worldview. In fact, this passage comes from the front page of the NWP's Fall 1980 issue of *Women and Global Corporations*.

The pages of the NWP's newsletter insert from 1978 to 1988 are riddled with examples of such mobilizations and "current actions" against corporate capitalism that took place before and after Sklar's rallying cry. This was, after all, the point of the insert: to pool together these various efforts and link them with one another both practically and ideologically for the sake of inspiring and facilitating further action against the new

global corporate regime. Headlines like “Korean Women Fight Union-Busting Tactics,” “Nestle’s Boycott Continues,” “HAI [Health Action International] Fights Drug Abuses” and “Antigua Women’s Movement Forms Consumer Cooperative” from a single issue (Vol. 3 1982) reveal such contemporaneous resistances. Other headlines, such as “Campesinas Meet,” “Tourism International Workshop,” and “Testimony: Women in Maquiladoras” (from the Fall 1980 issue) denote the kind of face-to-face, grassroots movement activity that activist and social movement scholar Tom Mertes (2002) claims the telecommunications metaphor of a network can never fully capture.

In fact, although the information-sharing and norm-producing activity in which the NWP and their interlocutors engaged is captured well by the concept of transnational advocacy networks, this conceptual frame does not go far enough to characterize accurately the range of activity that was taking place in response to the globalization of capital in the 1970’s and 1980’s (and even prior). Keck and Sikkink (1998) argue that “[a]t the core of network activity is the production, exchange, and strategic use of information,” and, the authors continue, “[w]hen they succeed, advocacy networks are among the most important sources of new ideas, norms, and identities in the international system” (x). These are crucial roles in the shifting paradigms of global economic and political power, and such networks should rightly be considered political entities worthy of attention. Yet they should not be considered to the exclusion of the more quintessential social movement activities that also accompany this network productivity, indeed that some networks have existed in the interest of linking up, amplifying, and supporting.

I am not interested in splitting hairs here. I have no particular stake in maintaining the admittedly problematic and elusive term “social movement,” except insofar as the term “network” does not fully convey the kind of activity that the NWP archive reveals—the actual kinetic, face-to-face, on-the-ground, bodily *movement* in which many actors were engaged at the time and in direct confrontation with corporate and political decision-makers. It is this feminist antiglobalization activity—situated within the global north and south and with some noteworthy transnational coordination—that has been erased from the contemporary public records of globalization and its resistances. I am hesitant to use the transnational advocacy network metaphor alone for fear that it too might continue the erasure of these once-vital and vibrant actions. Before turning to that work, however, it is helpful to briefly shift the spotlight onto social movement theory in order to clarify my position, to posit this as more than the mere luxury of a semantic debate. As with any defining, there are political stakes involved; it matters what we name the work of the NWP and their activist cohorts.

Until relatively recently, paradigmatic social movement theory has focused upon the coordinated activities of people and groups with national agendas and/or interests in shifting the socio-political realities of a particular nation-state. In fact, several influential social movement scholars make the argument that the political form identified as a social movement was a distinctly modern phenomenon that arose in conjunction with the rise of modern capitalist modes of production, the parliamentarization of governance within the nation-state, and the proletarianization of a growing population within industrializing

urban centers (Tilly 2004, Buechler 1999, Tarrow 1998).<sup>52</sup> Yet the global integration of economies and polities that the Nationwide Women's Program and their many peers were observing (and experiencing) in the 1970's and 1980's also began to influence social movement scholarship paradigmatically by the late 1990's, prompting a shift in the scholarly geo-political purview of political influence.

For example, Keck and Sikkink wrote in 1998 that “[m]any other scholars now recognize that ‘the state does not monopolize the public sphere,’ and are seeking, as we are, ways to describe the sphere of international interactions under a variety of names: transnational relations, international civil society, and global civil society” (32).<sup>53</sup> While an expanded view of the public sphere did not prompt Keck and Sikkink to uncover the transnational advocacy networks of the antiglobalization movements at the time, it did allow them to problematize the direction of social movement theory as it was contemplating (what were then seen as) novel transnational linkages among individuals, groups, state actors, and international bodies.<sup>54</sup>

Indeed, the global integration of markets and political decision-making that characterized the 1990's—and *popularized* the term globalization—produced a dominant twofold analytical frame in social movement theory at the time. First, such integration was thought to produce a diffusion of Western political norms that would result (or

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<sup>52</sup> For excellent genealogies of social movement theory see Edelman (2001), and Lucero (2000), Mueller (1992).

<sup>53</sup> The quoted line in this passage is from Peterson (1992).

<sup>54</sup> As noted in Chapter 2, Keck and Sikkink focus on human rights, environmental, and women's rights campaigns between 1968 and 1993 in order to illustrate their concept of transnational advocacy networks. Despite the fact that the NWP and their interlocutors (including the U.N.) were challenging the oppressive practices of multinational corporations during this same time period, and, despite the fact that the authors even mention economic globalization as an occasion to look at transnational activist networks, they somehow still overlook the antiglobalization networks and movements at the time.

already was resulting) in a global civil society (Boli and Thomas 1999); secondly, the (supposed) Western political form known as the social movement was thought to be diffusing globally, producing (the concept of) transnational social movements (Tarrow 1998).

The Western hegemony of this framework, however, did not align with the agency and innovation that Keck and Sikkink observed in their study of human rights, environmental, and women's rights campaigns from 1968 to 1993. They contended that:

the advocacy network concept cannot be subsumed under notions of transnational social movements or global civil society. In particular, theorists who suggest that a global civil society will inevitably emerge from economic globalization or from revolutions in communication and transportation technologies ignore the issues of agency and political opportunity that we find central for understanding the evolution of new international institutions and relationships. (33)

Hence, they offer the concept of transnational advocacy networks as a way of highlighting the non-concretized, multi-directional, and still-contested realms of transnational organizing (Ibid.).

While I align myself with Keck and Sikkink in wanting to move away from the (neo)colonizing concept of a global civil society and the inadequacies of understanding transnational social movements as mere diffusions of Western political claim-making, I argue for something more. The idea of transnational advocacy networks, though extremely helpful in capturing a dimension of social organizing across national borders, also leaves unattended the more kinetic realities of local social movement activity, whether directed at particular nation-states or beyond. Indeed, the authors write that they

call them advocacy networks because advocates plead the causes of others or defend a cause or proposition...they are organized to promote causes, principled ideas, and norms, and they often involve individuals advocating policy changes that cannot be easily linked to a rationalist understanding of their "interests." (8-9)

They go on to argue that transnational advocacy networks typically involve a small number of activists and rarely include mass mobilizations, “although,” they note, “the people whose cause they espouse may engage in mass protest” (18).

There is in their intervention a still-hegemonic purview that spotlights the influential nodes of well-connected activists acting on behalf of others and overlooks the people and groups whose causes are being espoused; that is, the ones actually doing the mass or direct mobilizing. There are at least three critical realities that were present in the case of the Nationwide Women’s Program and its peer network that are not adequately captured by Keck and Sikkink’s influential notion of transnational advocacy networks: first, the NWP (in some ways a quintessential transnational advocacy network node) was *also* interested in forging a “strong, sustained, progressive movement” against a racist and unjust economic system (Sklar 1980). Secondly, NWP staff and committee members wanted such a movement in the interests of others who were being exploited as laborers and consumers but *also* on behalf of their own interests as women laborers and consumers, differently yet similarly harmed by global capitalism. Thirdly, in the interests of creating a mutually beneficial antiglobalization movement, the NWP made visible and shared the stories, strategies, needs, and successes of a variety of local acts of resistance.

The NWP found these local mobilizations worthy of recognition at the time; I see them worthy of recognition today and not merely as diffusions of Western forms of political engagement but as innovative, informative political actions in their own right. As I explore below, the spread of multinational corporations unwittingly produced many a social movement organization around the world (including in the U.S.), marshaling

their own indigenous resources as well as garnering transnational resource-sharing. The Nationwide Women's Program offered an ideological framework that initially saw multinational corporations as the primary political and cultural threat, yet in listening and giving a platform to a variety of local activists, the issues of tourism, prostitution, trafficking, International Monetary Fund and World Bank policies, and military and political support of multinational corporations all featured in the early feminist antiglobalization movements that are represented on the pages of the NWP's *Women and Global Corporations*.

Using the Nationwide Women's Program documents to make the case for early feminist transnational antiglobalization movement(s), of course, does not move us fully beyond the hegemony of Western influence, since the NWP was headquartered at a Quaker institution in the U.S. and it communicated primarily through English-language texts.<sup>55</sup> However, there are ways in which the NWP's antiracist and socialist feminism, its recognition of difference, and its efforts to include a plethora of marginalized voices destabilizes this hegemony. Its work helps us to see movement that has otherwise been forgotten and yet can still inspire and inform contemporary efforts for more just economic realities in the lives of many people, communities, and nations today.

I conjure feminist historian Joan Scott once again to answer the question of "what's in a name?" The production of knowledge among social movement theorists is political, informing a "social consensus" about what is legitimate, civil, and visible political action. Insofar as there are blindspots and discursively colonizing elements to

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<sup>55</sup> Interestingly, some of the participants at the 1978 "Women and Global Corporations" conference presented in Spanish, using the provided translators to translate their words into English. Some of the NWP publications were also duplicated in Spanish.

scholarly (and nonscholarly<sup>56</sup>) frameworks of both social movements and networks, I suggest that attention to them both and the agencies of on-the-ground actors in marginalized spaces better approximates the history of feminist responses to global corporations.

### **Brokering (the Idea of) a Feminist Antiglobalization Movement**

In her report to the first gathering of the Nationwide Women's Program Committee in 1979, Mary Roodkowsky stated that, in planning for the previous year's "Women and Global Corporations" conference, there had been "a conscious effort to make the gathering a catalyst for changes, new initiatives and programmatic results" (NWP 1979a). Linda Backiel, a conference participant and inaugural NWP Committee member, also reported that she was in the process of trying to "institutionalize the excitement from the conference," noting that there was "a sense of power that participants felt when they identified common problems and recognized complementary experiences in very diverse efforts" (Ibid.). The post-conference plan for the NWP's newly formed Women and Global Corporations Project was to continue connecting and mobilizing women from around the world against what the NWP deemed "the dominant force in today's world economic and political systems," namely, global corporations (NWP 1978b).

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<sup>56</sup> This kind of legitimizing—or delegitimizing—goes beyond scholarship as well. Influential globalization pundit, Thomas Friedman (2005), belittled the mass protests against free trade and the World Trade Organization in Seattle, WA in 1999 by stating that it needed to "grow up." He continued: "You don't help the world's poor by dressing up in a turtle outfit and throwing a stone through a McDonald's window. You help them by getting them the tools and institutions to help themselves" (477). The "turtle outfits" in this case were donned by street theater activists drawing attention to the WTO agreements that harm endangered species. I also feel that the "social consensus" that marks the beginning of the antiglobalization movement at the "Battle of Seattle" in 1999 should also be problematized for its Western hegemony.

This kind of consciousness about the role of the conference in connecting social actors and the intent to produce further action against an identifiable adversary is an example of the social movement labor that the women of the NWP understood their work to be. Here I move beyond the NWP's networking role to their role as social movement broker, which began at the 1978 "Women and Global Corporations" conference in Des Moines and continued throughout the next decade (at least). To do this, I apply the cultural studies approach to the study of social movements offered by Sonia Alvarez, Evelina Dagnino, and Arturo Escobar (1998) in their text, *Culture of Politics/Politics of Culture*. In this approach, culture is not a static sphere unto itself that operates separately from the supposedly distinct spheres of economics, politics, and religion, for example; it is instead the taken-for-granted meanings and norms that are operative within and between each of these realms, connecting them to one another.

Social movements, they argue, are cultural entities that both represent and produce social worldviews, discourses, and practices, and, as such, they engage in cultural politics—the process whereby the cultural meanings accepted and embodied by a social group come into conflict with those of another group (7). This model challenges traditional notions of what is considered legitimate political space (e.g., governments, political parties, public policies, etc.), by suggesting that that which constitutes the political is that which involves struggles over power—the power to name and define, construct and deconstruct boundaries, assign meaning, and/or claim identities in any realm of collective living. In this scenario, social movements culturally produce alternative cultural/political spaces that challenge a disparate array of "authorities" (i.e. not just governments) in the midst of many social-cultural-political authoritarianisms

(13). These might include, for example, institutionalized racism, heteronormativity, gender norms, etc.

In the case of the Nationwide Women's Program and its fellow activists, the cultural politics they produced occasionally took issue with the traditional political spheres of governments, policies, and laws, but it more often took the form of contesting the growing cultural authoritarianism(s) of global corporations. But what conceptual forms did the NWP's cultural politics take? I turn to the 1978 "Women and Global Corporations" conference to initially answer this question, offering it as the site where the NWP's ideological social movement labor began to consolidate. In short, I argue that the NWP's cultural politics augured the following four primary presuppositions: 1.) that they and their interlocutors' overarching adversary was a capitalist system that functioned by way of globalizing racist, classist and sexist corporations, 2.) that all women were targeted and harmed by these entities but in ways that differed depending on particular women's social location, 3.) that change was possible through the threading together and further promotion of women's localized resistance efforts, and 4.) that transnational networks could and should be formed to support a movement against global corporations, allowing locally situated women to voice their own experiences and seek appropriate acts of solidarity and support. A closer look at the construction of these ideas produced at the conference offers a different genealogy of feminist, transnational antiglobalization movements than is commonly constructed today.

1.) To begin, it is important to point out that the Nationwide Women's Program focused on global corporations because it saw them as a critical linchpin within an oppressive world economic system that "perpetuates poverty, hunger, dependency, and

injustice” (NWP 1978b). While I posit this as the first presupposition within the group’s cultural politics, it is rather a place at which they arrived only after being informed by those directly experiencing it (including themselves). As I noted in the previous chapter, the Nationwide Women’s Program selected global corporations as a priority concern because of how this focus allowed the group to maximize its efforts in the struggles against racism and sexism with which they were already involved (NWP 1979a). It was the perspectives of this intentionally multi-racial and transnational context that informed this ultimate focus on global corporations.

The overarching adversary was therefore global capitalism, but, rather than work at that level of abstraction, the group identified corporations as a specific site for interrogation within the larger economic scheme. The choice was not arbitrary. Although there were other aspects of a growing global capitalist system that came to the fore at the conference, such as government and military complicity, the conference conveners identified corporations because of the enormous power they were achieving in international political economies at that time, at both macro and micro political levels.

Countless paraphernalia for the conference (e.g., proposals, brochures, letters of invitation, summaries of the conference workshops, etc.) pitched the following sentiment:

Global corporations are the dominant force in today’s world economic and political systems. Many individual corporations control more resources than most single countries. This enables them to shape to their own interests the most basic decisions affecting economic survival, political power, and cultural identity of vast numbers of people throughout the world. (NWP 1978b)

As this statement suggests, the women of the NWP were well aware that these corporations held a sway that went beyond economic impacts to cultural ones (or that the economic was also the cultural) and that macropolitical forces were intricately tied up

with the micropolitical realities of people's lives. It was an ideological framework, then, that was informed by the material realities of people's lives.

Conference planners and participants therefore made repeated reference to the notion that women in various parts of the world are cultural workers, passing on values and lifeways that were now being threatened by the values promoted by western corporations. "The key to corporate success," the conference brochure proclaimed, "is a secure and expanding world market, a 'global supermarket,' where people share the same tastes, values and aspirations" (Ibid.). Whether or not this was actually true was somewhat beside the point; the conference conveners (and increasingly the participants) were interested in launching their own counter-cultural politics to that which they saw offered by (or threatened by) the burgeoning phenomenon of global corporations.

2.) Women would play an important role within this counter politics. Indeed, the NWP recognized that women were already playing a critical role within the global economy now taking shape. The brochure for the conference rhetorically asked readers: "WHY GLOBAL CORPORATIONS? WHY WOMEN?" The answer they provided was that "[t]he world is becoming one global system, in which people, particularly women, especially from poor and third world communities, are being exploited as workers and consumers for the benefit of giant corporations which answer only to themselves" (Ibid.). The ideological framing of the conference therefore posited *all* women as harmed by global corporations, though not all in the same manner. This would then form the second presupposition that the NWP produced at the conference: that women were an exploited group but that their exploitations differed depending on their social location.

They recognized different women's relationships to global capitalism (and its corporations), depending on race, class, national origin, citizenship status, and geopolitical location. Rein (1978) poignantly recast the conference's complex message about similarity and difference in this way:

It had become clear that our various oppressions are different levels of the same hill. Some of us experience superficial levels of problems which, intensified, are deadly. For a quick example, the same bank which won't give one woman credit will condemn another's neighborhood by redlining and maybe kill a third by loaning money to South Africa to equip apartheid's storm troopers. (2)

Furthermore, while the conference focused primarily on issues of labor within these multinational corporations—indeed, the NWP task force planning the conference deliberately chose to focus on the corporations within three specific industries (agribusiness, garment/textile, and electronics) because of the high concentration of women workers within them—the collective identity formation at the conference came by connecting women through consumption patterns as well. Rein continued:

We're exploited not only as workers but also as consumers. Women are the main target of corporate marketing campaigns. In our capacity as mothers and homemakers we are sold everything from infant formula and Ritz crackers to fancy appliances. All over the world we're sold an ideal of beauty, to be bought with (often dangerous) perfumes, cosmetics, powders, sprays—at the expense of our respect for our natural selves or at the sacrifice of some necessity. Our bodies become the pawn in someone else's game as we are denied abortions or sterilized without our knowledge or consent. (2)

From this perspective, the diverse set of women at the conference was able to formulate a common struggle and mutually beneficial reasons for deconstructing the various manifestations of dominant corporate power, regardless of a particular woman's relationship to it. Their experiences were not cast as the same but as cognates of one another and cause for collaboration.

Specific sites and stories of mistreatment that may have otherwise seemed disparate and isolated—e.g., Puerto Rican women being forced into sterilization, Malaysian women squinting into microscopes for long hours, North Carolina women breathing in cotton dust, and women anywhere buying cosmetics or pharmaceuticals or Coca-Cola—were instead threaded together in the conceptual framework of a global, profit-based economic system that was fueled by multinational corporations that functioned on racism, classism, and sexism in their employment and advertising practices the world over.

3.) This dominant paradigm of global capitalism and its specific mechanizations of race- and gender-based exploitation, however, was not the last word at the conference. Indeed, resistance was. That is, while the conference was designed to piece together the seemingly disparate threads of global capitalist domination, it did so for the explicit purpose of mobilizing against it in coordinated, mutually supported yet multi-pronged approaches—those that would be informed by a diverse set of perspectives and direct experiences. This was the predominant meaning-making aspect of the gathering, and what I suggest is the third presupposition of the NWP’s cultural politics. The foundational impetus for the gathering was the firm belief that change was possible, that various resistances—those already underway and those that could be promoted by their coming together and further networking—could alter the very system of global capitalism itself and its institutions, namely the corporations, laws, media and governments that supported it.

The “skills sharing and training workshops” at the conference reveal this bias, as they included sessions on consumer and community organizing, effective uses of news

media, legal and legislative actions, workplace organizing, public hearings, boycotts and letter-writing campaigns, and nonviolent direct action plans (NWP 1978b). The workings of the global economy were cast as a “women’s issue,” and women were expected to do something about it. In the cases where women were already doing something about it, the significance of their isolated actions was now brought to light as they were symbolically threaded together with other, similarly coordinated acts of resistance. A movement was afoot, and the conference made it visible; in fact, the conference went a long way in making a movement imaginable. A frequently stated comment in the participants’ evaluations of the conference was this: “When we come together we realize that our usual work is really part of a much larger effort” (NWP 1979a).

4.) The movement was only possible, however, if there could be ongoing connection among those launching the multi-pronged resistances that were brought to light at the conference. This forms the fourth presupposition: that continued transnational networking was necessary to carry the movement. The conference was explicitly designed with this outcome in mind: “We want to devise appropriate means of communication and mutual support among the groups, individuals and constituencies represented at the conference” (NWP 1978b). The final hours of the conference were dedicated to devising concrete ways in which the linkages that had begun to form at the conference could continue once it was done. Suggestions for such communication included a newsletter, a casebook of firsthand experiences, people’s tribunals on corporate impacts, investigative hearings on the conference issues, a speakers bureau, and follow-up conferences in regional areas (1978c). The previous chapter explored the

kinds of networking that resulted from the conference; the point here is to show that the NWP and their growing realm of interlocutors were conscious of this need to network—or to stay connected—in order to build a *movement*.

As previously noted, the Women's Network on Global Corporations became the initial "institutionalized" form of this intent to mobilize. As a product of the conference, its goal was to establish solid lines of communication among participants so that the feeling of power produced among them at the conference could be turned "into a social and economic reality, so that groups really can be concretely reinforcing each others' work" (NWP 1979a). Yet the kind of resources needed to sustain the transnational linkages that would comprise this movement were ultimately not to be found within this grassroots group. Instead, the Nationwide Women's Program would take on this networking, information clearinghouse, and movement-making role primarily through its *Women and Global Corporations* newsletter insert, which I turn to next.

In closing, I will concede the following point: 122 participants at a single conference does not a movement make. The point here is instead to show that the social movement labor of crafting shared identities and meanings in order to foment the *idea* of a movement was begun at this conference. Active resistances to global capitalism were already well underway in many parts of the world at the time of the conference, particularly in those places from which and to which capital was absconding at the time. The conference served as an initial cultural/political space to begin drawing these separate actions together into a common narrative of coordinated resistance. The NWP continued this cultural politics over the next decade, remaining attentive to both macropolitical and micropolitical concerns and the voices of a vast array of those

impacted by the growing global capitalist culture. Though they likely did not have the following to produce and sustain a single, mass antiglobalization movement, their cultural politics percolated in the fields and shops and conferences of activists in many locations around the world. The NWP was also in dialectical relationship with these actors, such that their many concerns and strategies and success continued to expand the purview of the NWP's idea of the movement.

### **Early Feminist Antiglobalization Movement(s): A Textual Analysis**

As mentioned at the outset of this chapter, I posit the argument that the Nationwide Women's Program and their interlocutors were engaged in antiglobalization social movement activity. Before turning to the NWP newsletters to foreground the mobilizations of other groups, I would like first to return to the concept of erasure. Mohanty is, after all, only one feminist scholar and the only one I referenced above to claim the occlusion of pre-1990's transnational feminist anticapitalist movements. Her oversight would perhaps not be so problematic but for two reasons.

First, Mohanty is widely read among feminist scholars. In fact, in the particular chapter in question, "Under Western Eyes' Revisited: Feminist Solidarity through Anticapitalist Struggle," Mohanty was re-examining an essay that she had written in 1986 ("Under Western Eyes") that had launched her into the spotlight within an international feminist community at the time (221). Many of those who engaged her essay in 1986 were likely interested in this reengagement of it seventeen years later. In neither text, however, does Mohanty acknowledge that there had been feminist anticapitalist work grounded in the global North (or First World) that was attentive to the heterogeneity of

third world women, their differing needs, and their own agencies in the 1970's or 1980's. This likely influenced the feminist historiography of these movements, making them more opaque to interested contemporary feminist scholars.

A second problem with Mohanty's oversight is that she is indeed not alone among feminists in having (and perhaps producing) this historical amnesia. While there are many instances in which influential feminist scholars overlook the early decades of transnational feminist anticapitalist analysis and activism (e.g., Amoore 2005, Nagar et al. 2002, Bergeron 2001, Freeman 2001), one very interesting oversight comes in Steinstra's (2000) "Dancing resistance from Rio to Beijing: Transnational women's organizing and United Nations conferences 1992-6." In this chapter of a widely cited anthology on gender and global restructuring (at least among feminist studies of economic globalization), Steinstra looks at women's transnational organizing as it was supposedly initiated by U.N. global conferences between 1992 and 1996.

She points out that, when women from the North took the initial leadership in transnational organizing,

they were more often interested in changing attitudes, increasing employment and wages, and focusing on women's health. The global economy remained invisible in their analyses of the problems for women, reflecting in large part, the privileged position of many of those active during this period (212-213).

What is particularly noteworthy about her argument is that Steinstra references an *AFSC's Women's Newsletter* from 1980 in order to make it. Pointing out the frustrated efforts by women of the South at the early U.N. conferences to include the global political economy as something intricately connected to women's lives, Steinstra writes: "Little was done to address these concerns, and few women in the North made these

linkages. One group of women in the North sought to explore the impacts on women of global corporations especially in the area of electronics and textiles” (213).

The group to which Steinstra refers is the Women’s Network on Global Corporations, the group that formed out of the NWP’s “Women and Global Corporations” conference and was announced in the NWP’s Summer 1980 insert (and later devolved, leaving the NWP to carry on its vital work). But the mere mention of this group is where Steinstra stops short, making it seem as if this exception somehow proves the rule. This is, however, decidedly not the case. There was a whole decade of *AFSC Women’s Newsletters* to which Steinstra could have turned for information on feminists in the North connecting with similarly interested activists from around the world who were quite seriously concerned by the global political economy and its differing impacts on differently situated women in the 1970’s and 1980’s. Or, more specifically, she could have turned to the *Women and Global Corporations* insert that accompanied the *AFSC Women’s Newsletter* from 1978 to 1988.

In reading the pages of this insert, a different history surfaces than that offered by Steinstra (and Mohanty and a host of other feminist and non-feminist globalization scholars), demarcating the inception of transnational feminist anticapitalist discourses two decades prior (at least). In fact, in the same *AFSC Women’s Newsletter* issue that Steinstra references, there is an article on the back page of the insert about the upcoming July 1980 U.N. Decade for Women World Conference, anticipating the issues, tensions, and possibilities that were in store for perspective participants. An editor’s note follows this article, stating that “women and transnational corporations is [sic] not on the official

agenda for Copenhagen,” but that the “AFSC and NWP are working through various international channels to include these crucial perspectives” (*WGC Summer 1980*).

The presumable success of the AFSC and NWP efforts to get multinationals on the agenda—or, at the very least, their interest in someone’s success—is made apparent in the reprinting of the NGO Forum statement in the next issue of the newsletter (reprinted below).<sup>57</sup> The statement is explicitly about the global economy and “giant multinational corporations” and their impact on third world women laborers—and it sounds quite similar to the presuppositions of the NWP’s Des Moines conference. Five years later, for the 1985 U.N. Women’s Conference in Nairobi, the *Women and Global Corporations* insert reports that the NWP was influential in putting together two workshops for the forum of nongovernmental organizations: “Trade and Debt are Women’s Issues” and “Women in the Global Factory: Networks and Organizing” (*WGC 1985*).<sup>58</sup>

Sounding very much like Mohanty (but eighteen years prior), NWP Director Saralee Hamilton wrote in the article about these workshops that in order “to bring a truly

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<sup>57</sup> Whereas, giant multinational corporations, during the past decade, have increased their enormous wealth through the use of “cheap” labor in the developing world, where they have recruited young, unskilled females for low-paid work in the garment industry and in electronics manufacturing and Whereas, these global corporations have frequently relocated from one tax-free free trade zone to another, including Mexico and the Caribbean, the Pacific, Asia and Africa; We THE NGO (Non-Governmental Organization) 1980 Forum of the UN Decade for Women request that the United Nations and its specialized agencies add to the World Plan of Action an examination of the trend of exploitation made possible by multinational corporations in the developing world, as well as the severe decline of employment in developing countries due to the relocation of industries moving from the developed world to the developing world—and where the burden in both worlds falls on women; Whereas, we also urge women of the world to unite in coordinated worldwide resistance to this form of economic neo-colonialism. 25 July 1980. (as quoted in *WGC Fall 1980*)

<sup>58</sup> The Fall 1985 *WGC* reports that the NWP “joined forces with Isis International, a feminist resource center with offices in Rome and Santiago; GABRIELA, a coalition of women’s groups in the Philippines; and the International Coalition for Development Action, based in Brussels” in order to present the workshops (A-1). This kind of north-south collaboration is emblematic of the *Women and Global Corporations* pages.

global perspective to bear on strategies for building a feminist future, it is vital to address the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of global corporations” (Ibid., A-4). Speaking of the need for and growth of an “explicitly anti-racist feminist movement” and bringing women together across borders, she notes that the workshop on global corporations would discuss the initiatives and strategies that women workers themselves have developed that meet their differing needs (Ibid).

The above examples problematize contemporary feminist narratives that mark the beginning of Western feminisms’ interest in the international political economy in the 1990’s. Yet to skip from 1980 to 1985 (or from U.N. forum to U.N. forum), as the above example do, in order to chronicle an otherwise overlooked transnational feminist anticapitalism is to miss a lot; it omits a very dense exchange of similar kinds of interests, efforts, resistances and knowledge production that took place before, between, and after the U.N. fora in the 1980’s. This is what is conveyed in the NWP newsletters; indeed, we can read a vibrant social movement in their pages.

While the NWP’s 1978 conference on women and global corporations was a single site of social movement meaning-making, the newsletters reveal a decade worth of similarly interested but also different kinds of mobilizations around the world. In fact, the publication functioned as a continuation of the conference, with the NWP playing the same role of bringing together under a common rubric otherwise isolated and seemingly disparate issues, activities, organizations, and simultaneous networkings. But the newsletter goes beyond a focus on the NWP to feature scores of similarly concerned people and organizations engaging in their own cultural politics. I turn now to these

newsletters in order to reveal an already kinetic, on-the-ground field of feminist antiglobalization activity around the world in the 1970's and 1980's.

### *Writing a Movement*

It is difficult for me to write about *Women and Global Corporations* inserts without feeling as if I am falling terribly short of conveying their utter richness. Something is lost in writing two-dimensionally about a text that masterfully captured movement, communicated movement, and prompted more of it. Indeed, in a first attempt to summarize the contents of a single, twelve-page issue in order to give my readers a glimpse of the newsletter's complexity, I wrote a twenty-four page summary and still felt that I had not done the issue justice—and this was only one of eighteen issues. This was the case because the inserts were not simply a place for NWP staff or committee members to write their own stories or perspectives of global capitalism, which might have been easier to summarize. They were, instead, a site for bringing together a cacophony of voices and perspectives from around the world, announcing activity, engendering solidarity, and encouraging further action. Through its pages, the NWP laid bare the threads of a movement already underway and simultaneously reinforced it as a movement.

The cultural politics enacted by the inserts also extended beyond that engendered at the 1978 Des Moines conference. The overall presumptions remained the same: that global corporations were a particularly pernicious element of the global political economy, that women were uniquely and harshly exploited by corporations, that women were agents of their own resistance, and that continued transnational networking would lead to a stronger resistance movement. Yet the editors of *Women and Global*

*Corporations* added more voices and perspectives to this framework, highlighting more comprehensively how women's bodies and communities were directly harmed—  
informed and expanded by its dialectical relationship with readers and fellow networkers from around the world. The following description of the insert that accompanied each issue from Winter 1981 onward attests to this broadening perspective since the conference:

This special section, *Women and Global Corporations*, appears as a regular feature of the *AFSC Women's Newsletter*. It includes reports of AFSC efforts and covers the expanding international network of individuals and groups involved in research, education, support and direct organizing related to global industries where women are concentrated as workers or targets of consumer culture: electronics, agri-business, textiles and the garment trades, tourism, media, and pharmaceuticals. We welcome your participation through subscription (see subscription blank on p. A-12) or by joining in the work of the network.

The insert's articles, announcements, letters, etc. also reveal that the NWP's purview went beyond the boundaries of global corporations, critiquing governments and inter-government policies and programs (e.g., IMF development programs), militarism, debt, and the trafficking in women, due to the input from its audience.

The editors also called for more targeted and sustained responses from readers, or, just as often, provided the platform for other activists to call directly for them.<sup>59</sup> For example, when a boycott was called by another similarly-interested organization, the NWP editors listed the specific names of the companies and brand names for readers to avoid, calling it an "unshopping list" and/or re-printed an article by an organization more

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<sup>59</sup> For the first seven issues, the members of the NWP's Women and Global Corporations Working Group/Project edited the newsletter insert along with Saralee Hamilton, the NWP Director. Thereafter, Rachael Kamel served as the managing editor and Hamilton as the editor. Yet, as noted previously, many issues contained reprints of articles from other group's newsletters, or reprints of letters that were sent to the NWP office, or announcements about the formation or events of other relevant groups.

directly engaged in the boycott; when corporate leaders were considered negligent, the editors listed addresses for readers to contact the CEO's and other top managers directly and/or provided the space for organizers to make their own appeal. They re-printed letters from activists in other countries asking for support and again provided addresses for direct contact. They encouraged the exchange of newsletters among readers. And this writing-of-a-movement went on for a decade.

The newsletter's complexity led to my second attempt to convey its richness to readers, which resulted in the twenty-nine-page Appendix at the end of this manuscript. I began a second time by thinking that I could provide a short table within the body of this section to show examples of the kinds of organizations with which the NWP was in touch, the concerns they covered, and the strategies and successes they deployed and achieved. The problem was: how to choose samples and how to do that without excluding something important that would convey the landscape of the NWP and their interlocutors' movement labor. There was, in the end, too much information to fit into the body of this text.

The Appendix provides a table of all eighteen *Women and Global Corporations* issues from 1978 to 1988 in chronological order, listing the over-150 organizations that are featured on its pages over the course of these ten years. The table provides the organization's geographic location, the title of the newsletter submission, the author (if provided), and a brief note about how it was connected to global corporations or global capitalist interests. In all, the mapping of the global economy—and resistance to it—can be seen in the places of resistance covered on the newsletters' pages: a variety of organizations within many cities across the U.S., Mexico, Canada, Netherlands,

Philippines, Switzerland, and South Africa, and at least one organization from at least one city in Japan, El Salvador, Brazil, Dominican Republic, Malaysia, Australia, Antigua, Sri Lanka, Germany, Chile, Senegal, Nicaragua, India, Thailand. There is also evidence of the NWP's regular contact with women's groups in Hong Kong. While these sites do not reflect the whole of the antiglobalization commotion that was likely present at this time, it gives us some impression of the vastness of a movement that is now almost entirely overlooked.

It is important to note that not all of the NWP's peer organizations would have defined themselves as part of an antiglobalization movement at the time. While *Women and Global Corporations* covered some groups and resources that looked primarily at global corporations, such as the magazine, *Multinational Monitor*<sup>60</sup>, whose every issue examined the role of multinationals in the global economy, or the U.N. Centre on Transnational Corporations<sup>61</sup>, whose role it was to gather data and report on global corporate activities, most of the organizations featured on the pages of the inserts focused on global corporations by way of a specific area of concern, such as labor exploitation,

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<sup>60</sup> The Summer 1980 issue of *Women and Global Corporations* announces the recent creation of this monthly magazine that "examines the role of multinationals in the global economy, with an emphasis on corporate power in the developing world" (12). The *Multinational Monitor* now exists online, with digital archives dating back to its 1978 inaugural issue (<http://multinationalmonitor.org/>). In a January 1982 article, entitled "What's Wrong with Mutlinationals Anyway?" there is an interview with Saralee Hamilton, the NWP Director, along with several other contemporaneous antiglobalization researchers, authors, and activists (*Multinational Monitor*).

<sup>61</sup> The U.N. Centre on Transnational Corporations (UNCTC), previously mentioned in Chapters 1 and 2, is noted in the Spring-Summer 1984 WGC issue as having recently issued a report on the international pharmaceuticals industry and in the 1985 (vol. 5, Nos. 1 and 2) WGC issue as launching a project to study "the effects of multinational corporations on women, especially women in developing countries" (A-8). This latter announcement provides the UNCTC address for readers to share data/information with the Center.

health and reproductive concerns, environmental hazards, human rights, militarism, international debt, or sexual exploitation.

Mohanty (2003) refers to some of these separate causes as pre-cursors to what became the antiglobalization movement in the 1990's and 2000's—the women's health movement, environmental movements, or the campaigns against violence against women (i.e. women's rights as human rights).<sup>62</sup> But the Nationwide Women's Program saw these seemingly disparate issues as related earlier on to a common struggle against the rise of corporate power and a burgeoning global capitalism. In every submission in *Women and Global Corporations*, regardless of the point of entry (e.g., health, debt, prostitution, government deregulation), the focus was explicitly connected to multinational corporations or the global economic paradigm in some way—this was their “writing” of a movement.

### ***Reading a Movement***

From the NWP's textual production of a movement on the pages of the *Women and Global Corporations (WGC)* inserts, it is possible to read evidence of an actual, on-the-ground transnational, feminist antiglobalization movement from 1978 to 1988 (at least). Here I shift the spotlight from the NWP to the social movement labor of scores of organizations (again, listed in the Appendix) that is represented in the NWP's primary publication on this subject. I focus specifically on some of the strategies and successes deployed by these many groups, located around the world, that make their way into at least one issue of *WGC*. It is in the strategies and successes in particular that the value of

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<sup>62</sup> Keck and Sikkink (1998), who also look at transnational activism, overlook this previous work, categorizing the Nestle boycott, for example, as part of transnational environmental organizing (131).

this history is made evident, as they demystify global capitalism and reveal its many fissures and vulnerabilities. While the boycotts, letter-writing campaigns, cultural exchanges, labor organizing, organizing beyond unions, state interventions, revolutions, and discursive politics are listed separately below, it is important to bear in mind that they often overlapped and/or defy singular classifications. It is upon these strategies that contemporary anticapitalists can draw, not only for specific strategies to employ, but to fortify the notion that global capitalism is not inevitable or impervious to resistance.<sup>63</sup>

### ***Boycotts***

The Nestle boycott is probably the most well-known of feminist-oriented boycotts of the 1980's. In short, the Nestle Company was criticized for its aggressive and misleading marketing of breast milk substitutes to poor and/or ill-informed women (predominantly in the Third World) at the expense of these women's health and that of their babies'. The *WGC* inserts helped to spread word of the boycott, publishing several articles about its developments and lists of products and brand names to avoid, along with articles by organizers (from other organizations) of the boycott. But the pages of the insert reveal an array of other, lesser-known boycotts as well, such as those for the following companies: J.P. Stevens, a textile company accused of poor working conditions and anti-union activities in the rural southeast U.S.; Campbell's Soup, a food processing company blamed for forcing low prices on farmers, which in turn meant low wages for farmworkers in the U.S.; Farah Pants, a textile/garment manufacturer in El Paso, TX, also

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<sup>63</sup> A note about citation: the work below comes strictly from the *Women and Global Corporations* inserts. As mentioned previously, not all of the submissions are accompanied by an author's name. When the author's name is present, I cite the author's name parenthetically. Otherwise, I list *WGC* (*Women and Global Corporations*) as the author with the particular year of that issue's publication.

charged with unfair wages and unsafe working conditions; and, finally, multinational banks that were known to lend money to the South African Apartheid government.

Not only were boycotts part of activists' social movement repertoires, they were successful. WGC followed these boycotts, promoted them, and reported on each of their accomplishments over the years. Nestle eventually complied with the World Health Organization's labeling requirement (WGC Spring – Summer 1981), while J.P. Stevens acknowledged fault and settled with union workers for better pay and working conditions (WGC Fall 1980). In an unprecedented meeting of farmworkers, farmers, and food processors, meanwhile Campbell's negotiated a contract for fairer pricing (WGC Winter 1986 -1987). Women workers at Farah also met with success in the form of better pay and working conditions after the nationwide boycott (WGC Summer 1980). And, as is commonly known, apartheid in South African fell at least in part by the coordinated efforts of many internationally organized boycotts.

### *Letter-writing Campaigns*

Letter-writing campaigns often accompanied boycotts, though sometimes they functioned on their own as well. For the J.P. Stevens boycott, readers were encouraged to send letters to the CEOs of Woolworth's and Macy's to implore them to stop carrying J.P. Stevens merchandise, at least until the workers' demands were met.<sup>64</sup> One example of a particularly successful (non-boycott) transnational letter-writing campaign came in the case of Booth Fisheries and the Sara Lee Corporation. In 1985, workers from the shrimp processing plant, *Empaque y Congelacion*, in Matamoros, Mexico returned from a mandatory two-week vacation to find that the company had closed its doors. The

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<sup>64</sup> A copy of a letter sent to the Woolworth's CEO from the NWP office is in the AFSC archives (1980).

workers, also known as *maquiladoras* (who were 85% women), organized to demand severance pay and that the Mexican government begin collecting a “security deposit” from foreign investors to insure against such disappearances.

The NWP’s Women and Global Corporations Project did research to find that *Empaque y Congelacion* belonged to the U.S.-based Booth Fisheries company, a subsidiary of the multinational Sara Lee Corporation, headquartered in Chicago, IL. They spread word of this connection throughout their networks, prompting letters to the Sara Lee Foundation, the corporation’s philanthropy in Chicago, questioning why it “did not ‘take care of its just obligations’ to the *Empaque* workers ‘before it deals in philanthropy’” (WGC, Kamel 1988). In 1988, the WGC newsletter reported that “[f]aced with the threat of further public embarrassment, Booth management agreed to pay the *Empaque* women the full amount they were owed” (Ibid.). This is clearly transnational organizing on behalf of laborers and activists in the global south and north.

***Exchanges: Investigatory Trips, Speaking Tours***

Another strategy employed by the groups interested in sharing information about global corporate abuses at this time was cross-border exchanges that often took the form of investigatory trips or speaking tours. In 1982, WGC reported that the NWP’s Women and Global Corporations Project asked Sister Christina Tse, organizer for the Center for the Progress of Peoples in Hong Kong, what solidarity actions women from the home countries of multinational corporations could undertake. Her reply (reprinted in the newsletter) included the following suggestion:

Assist/support investigatory trips on specific issues involving MNC’s in Asia. This could be local or joint investigation, e.g., a U.S. group can send a

representative to team up with a local Malaysian to investigate the issues involving a certain U.S. company in Kuala Lumpur or Penang. (*WGC* 1982, A-9)

The success of these trips is difficult to gauge, but they did happen and they likely raised the consciousness of those involved, particularly in their complexity of issues addressed. The point is that they happened—in the 1970's and 1980's, people in the north were engaging with and learning from those in the South about their mutual interests in challenging corporate rule.

In 1986, fifty international delegates went to the Philippines for “exposure experiences” that made them privy to “the lives and struggles of Filipina women—in fishing villages and factories, peasant communities and urban slums” (*WGC*, Cadwallader, 1986). They also learned of the role of the U.S. military in facilitating the economic and sexual exploitation present in the country. Another exchange worth noting is of that of the National Gathering of Women of the Urban Poor People's Movement that (at least twice) brought women laborers and grassroots organizers from the U.S. and Mexico together (*WGC*, Burns 1985).

The NWP's transnational networks also employed the exchange strategy of the speaking tour. These allowed a wider audience of people from the global north to hear testimony from those who directly experienced or witnessed the harms of U.S. foreign economic and military policies. Sister Soledad Perpignan, founder of the Third World Movement Against the Exploitation of Women (TW-MAE-W), undertook such a speaking tour in 1986, talking with a variety of women's, peace, and religious groups about how a lack of economic alternatives led many Filipina women to work in prostitution, serving the U.S. military bases at Clark Air Force Base and Subic Bay. Her

talk highlighted not just the need to address the supply-side of poor women's limited options but the demand-side of U.S. men's purchasing of these services (WGC, Perpignan 1986). This highlights the growing perspective of the movement, as well as the agency of third world activists calling the complicity of first world people into question.<sup>65</sup>

### ***Labor Organizing***

One of the most typical forms of antiglobalization resistance reported on the pages of the WGC inserts is that of labor organizing. This took the customary forms of becoming a legally recognized labor union but also included work stoppages or slow-downs, walk-outs, strikes, sit-ins, and even a hunger strike by *maquiladoras* in Ciudad Juarez, Mexico (WGC 1984). There are several things that are notable about the NWP's focus on labor organization. First, despite the fact that union work is typically portrayed as the purview of men, the NWP focused almost exclusively on women laborers. This was the case because more and more multinational corporations were hiring women as they sought to reduce labor costs both in the U.S. and when they moved overseas.

This focus meant that the union activity represented in the newsletter also included some unconventional activities, such as the "knit-in," or symbolic knitting, that *costureras* (seamstresses) of the September 19<sup>th</sup> Garment Workers Union staged in Mexico City's Central Plaza in order to draw attention to their causes (WGC, Kamel 1988). For many women laborers, organizing also included attention to the problems of

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<sup>65</sup> In reading over a draft of this chapter, John Raines commented that he had been on an investigatory trip to Philippines in the 1987, hosted by the National Council of Churches. He had also been involved in boycott activities against banks connected to apartheid South Africa in the 1960's. The fact that his participation in these activities was outside of the NWP's orbit suggests that there was even more social movement activity going on than appears on the WGC insert. Perhaps this is only the tip of the proverbial iceberg.

sexual harassment on the job, forced sterilization, and lack of adequate child-care, which were not (and still are not) typical of men's labor organizing concerns.

A second notable thing about the NWP's focus on women laborers is that they were not alone. The Appendix shows that there was a flurry of organizations in the global north and south that were collecting and publishing data about women in the global textile/garment and electronics industries in particular. In many of these cases, labor organizing meant doing so in the effort to connect with other groups within and beyond their countries to learn about remuneration, hours of work, the toxicity of the chemicals with which laborers were working, and other exploitative working conditions. This points to a final notable aspect of the labor organizing featured on the newsletter pages: its increasing cross-border linkages, information sharing, and acts of solidarity.

One feminist group in the global north, besides the NWP, that was engaged in transborder efforts to address the global economy was the Feminist Socialist Project of the Transnational Institute based in Amsterdam. This organization worked to connect women laborers from around the world in the electronics and garment industries since the late 1970's (WGC, Chapkis 1980).<sup>66</sup> The Transnational Institute went on to hold several consultations and later published *Of Common Cloth: Women in the Global Textile Industry* with the U.S.'s Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C. (Chapkis and

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<sup>66</sup> This issue of *WGC* has a copy of a letter from the Transnational Institute's Wendy Chapkis, asking the NWP and newsletter readers to participate in the upcoming consultation on women and microprocessor production. This group's attention to first and third world concerns is evident when, after noting that 90% of chip makers are women, Chapkis states: "The health hazards in the industry are clear and documented. While women in the Third World have no legal protection against dangerous working conditions, women in Europe and the U.S. are often too afraid to push for enforcement of the formal protections—fearing relocation of the plants to South East Asia. There is an obvious need for workers and researchers in this industry to formulate an international strategy" (15).

Enloe 1983). Another compelling example of north-south transnational labor organizing comes in *WGC*'s announcement of a successful "sister union" strategy between a union in the U.S. and one in El Salvador. In September 1987, the California Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) declared itself a sister union to the Salvadoran Textile Workers Union, which was then in its third week of a strike against Circas Corp., a Salvadoran jeans company (*WGC* Spring 1987). Reported to be the first direct tie between U.S. and Salvadoran unions, the strategy is credited with prompting a settlement "giving the [Salvadoran] women almost every demand they asked for" (A-5).<sup>67</sup>

Successes in the case of labor organization, however, were more mixed than in the boycotts and letter-writing campaigns. Often the NWP reported on the long struggles of merely being recognized as a legal union, which usually also entailed the loss of jobs, threats of harm, and even imprisonment for leaders in many cases (as in the case of Korean labor organizer, Lee So Sun, mentioned in the previous chapter). Corporations also had more mobility, so union activity could be (and was) quelled by the threat or actuality of leaving. Nonetheless, labor unions formed, applied pressure, litigated, and won increased pay and better working conditions in nearly every union featured in *WGC* over the course of its decade in print. This was the case, for example, for farm and textile workers in the U.S. (e.g., *WGC* Winter 1986 – 1987 and *WGC* Fall 1980), garment

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<sup>67</sup> The article also notes that the strategy prompted a front page story in the *Los Angeles Times* (Weinstein 1986) as well as "demonstrations by unionists in support of the strikers" (A-5). Furthermore, it indicates even further such organizing: "Representatives from ACTWU and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union also met with Levi Strauss, which buys jeans from Circas, to urge a settlement" (*WGC* Spring 1987 A-6). The Salvadoran labor organizer interviewed for the *WGC* article, Francisco Acosta, states: "We are working now to build connections between communications workers in both countries, as well as public employees and hospital workers" (Ibid.).

workers in Mexico (*WGC*, Kamel 1988), and electronics workers in South Korea (*WGC*, Hamilton 1982).<sup>68</sup>

### *Organizing Beyond Unions*

While labor unions and their activities occupy much of the space on the *WGC* inserts, non-labor organizing is also present in abundance. Newsletter submissions covered poor people's movements, comprised of people in communities who were not necessarily employed by foreign corporations but displaced by them. The people from a fishing community in Mindanao, Philippines are an example. Faced with displacement from the multinational corporations seeking to take the land where they had long established themselves as squatters, 375 families formed a human blockade when the bulldozers came, staving off development for a time. At the time of the *WGC* article's writing about this situation, the Mindanao families had set up a neighborhood guard patrol to prevent the "zoning" practices in which "government troops surround a house and kill the occupants" (*WGC*, Cadwallader 1986).

Countless other non-labor groups formed around the world at this time to address some aspect of the growing global economy. Many, though not all, of the groups that were featured in *WGC* were women's groups, and many of them seemed to form voluntarily, based on an identified need or a desire to act in solidarity and out of a quest for justice in the face of an unjust system. They formed to teach literacy and knowledge of

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<sup>68</sup> Interestingly, within U.S. and European social movement literatures, there is a common understanding that the traditional unionizing form of social movement behavior was on the wane in the 1970's and 1980's (see Buechler 1999 for how this perception led to the European social movement theory paradigm of "new social movements"). Yet the pages of *WGC* show vibrant union activity in the U.S. and Mexico, South Korea, the Philippines, Hong Kong. I wonder if the fact that it was women who were organizing is the reason such activity is overlooked.

labor laws; to form consumer, healthcare, or childcare cooperatives; to conduct and share research on corporate labor practices; and to share data, news of gatherings, and social movement strategies for change.

### ***Welfare State Intervention***

While the impotency of nation-states is a common claim within contemporary conversations about globalization, in the 1980's they still sometimes played a role in the cultural politics of antiglobalization social movement actors. To be sure, states very often—perhaps most often—played (and continue to ply) a more oppressive role and typically facilitated the implementation of unjust global economic policies and practices rather than fighting them. But on occasion national governments worked on behalf of those seeking to challenge global capitalist rule, often through litigation. As noted above, governments (often painstakingly and insufficiently) legally recognized unions. But, beyond unions, they sometimes came to the defense of consumers and supported workers in other ways in the face of economic restructuring.

In the late 1970's, for example, the Jamaican government funded a women's performance troupe, comprised of former street cleaners from the poorest among the working class (WGC 1982). The women wrote their own scripts, often depicting the hardships of women's lives in poverty. In 1981, they put together a piece on the "plight of domestic workers, focusing on migrant women" and performed it in Canada at the request of Canada's Domestic Worker's Association—denoting, again, cross border alliances between north and south in the early years of globalization's consolidation (Ibid., A-4). This alliance foreshadowed the later attention that scholars would pay to

domestic labor in the context of global economic migrations (e.g., Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003).

In 1981 the U.S. Supreme Court decided that “victims of dangerous drugs can sue and recover money from many defendants (drug companies) without having to prove which brand was taken” (*WGC* 1981).<sup>69</sup> In 1987, a group of Chinese immigrant women in Boston won job-training compensation from the State of Massachusetts after being laid-off from closing garment factories (*WGC* Fall 1987). While the state interventions on behalf of workers and citizens was likely rarer than interventions on behalf of global corporations (and likely remains so), the few instances of the former point to the possibility that states can work differently. It also points to the importance of staving off deregulatory and privatizing trends that pervade U.S. political economy (and neoliberal capitalist ideology more broadly).

### ***Revolutions***

When state interventions on behalf of antiglobalization actors proved an unlikely or impossible route, there were more comprehensive revolutions celebrated on the pages of *WGC*. Deborah Fink, a NWP Committee member, wrote of the positive results of the 1979 revolution in Nicaragua for rural women (*WGC* Winter 1986 - 1987).<sup>70</sup> The previously private-owned farm that Fink visited as a guest of the Nicaraguan Union of Farmers and Ranchers (an exchange program) was transformed into a state-operated

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<sup>69</sup> The *WGC* article about this decision does not mention the supreme court case specifically, but information in the article points toward *Sindell v. Abbott Laboratories* 26 Cal. 3d 588 (1980).

<sup>70</sup> Fink visited Nicaragua with twelve other U.S. women, taking part in a “study tour” that focused on women in Nicaraguan agriculture in the summer of 1986 (this could also have been listed under the above “Exchange” section). She also made several contributions to *Women and Global Corporations* on the struggles of mid-Western U.S. farm women in the face of growing power of agribusinesses, making connections among agricultural workers in the global north and south. She is the author of *Open Country Iowa: Rural Women, Traditions, and Change* (1986).

enterprise in which women and men were paid the same wages. They had created a childcare facility and health clinic on the premises as well. While the revolution promised radical equality and commitment to a mixed economy, of which Fink and the NWP were in favor, she acknowledged that there was still a great deal of work to be done toward that end.

Another celebrated revolution in *WGC* was the collapse of Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines in 1986. Since the 1985 U.N. non-governmental forum in Nairobi, Kenya, the NWP had been in regular contact with GABRIELA, a coalition of seventy Filipina women's groups fighting economic and sexual exploitation of women in the Philippines. GABRIELA's work drew attention to the connections between U.S. and Filipino militarism and the export processing zones where multinational corporations benefitted from the exploitation of women workers and the displacement of poor communities. After the collapse of the Marcos regime, GABRIELA and representatives from thirty other Filipino women's groups and fifty international delegates (including NWP Committee members and AFSC staff) gathered for the Women's International Solidarity Affair in Manila in 1986. Together they shared information about the possibilities for change in the near future while simultaneously acknowledging the challenges ahead. This latter component underscored ongoing U.S. imperialism through multinational corporations, the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and U.S. military bases (*WGC* Spring 1985).

Despite the challenges that come with revolutionary movements, the NWP's reporting on these revolutions pointed towards the vulnerabilities of even dictatorial regimes that buttressed (and continue to buttress) the global capitalist paradigm in many

places throughout the world. (They also foreground the “Arab Spring” revolutions in the Middle East over the last several years).

### *Cultural/Discursive Politics*

The final strategy that I offer here is one I have already mentioned with regard to the NWP’s 1978 “Women and Global Corporations” in Des Moines. It is the strategy of cultural politics. The *WGC* inserts show that this culture-producing labor also went beyond the NWP. Preferring the term “discursive politics,” Mary Fainsod Katzenstein (1998) describes this kind of work as “the politics of meaning making” that involves language and cognition. Practitioners of discursive politics, she writes:

speak, write and publish, talk, hold workshops, compose and record songs, draw, make cards, print t-shirts, direct plays, and produce newsletters; they write memoranda, letters, pamphlets, news releases and books. The feminist men and women who do this intensely political work are engaged in the construction of a knowledge community...(107).

This was the work of so many of the organizations and people within the NWP’s activist network, and it comprises a great deal of the information shared on the pages of the *WGC*. The knowledges produced in these various ways and sites comprised the cultural politics of the overall movement (or movement of movements) that came into conflict with the cultural politics of global corporations and the governments, militaries, laws, and policies that supported them in these early decades of globalization.

The success of such mobilizations are difficult to measure, as they are more about how people think and act than about specific wages that can be measured or policies that can be identified. But, insofar as a more visible and active antiglobalization movement came to the fore and “exploded” onto the scene in 1999 at the “Battle of Seattle,” it is

now possible to see this earlier activity as the preliminary, ideational social movement labor that made Seattle possible.

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This genealogy of feminist antiglobalization movement in the 1970's and 1980's challenges many of the taken-for-granted narratives about globalization and its resistances among contemporary scholars, not the least of whom are feminists. This is not to say that the NWP and its social movement cohorts were without error, but that they offer a different narrative of globalization, globalization resistance, and transnational feminist mobilizing than is commonly told. They also offer a model for some of the successful methods of building networks of mutual support and resistance.

In the next chapter, I look more closely at some of the limitations of this social movement activity, and especially at the movement-brokering role that the NWP played. But here it is valuable to point out that the NPW and its interlocutors did a commendable job at departing from the colonizing message of "global sisterhood" that was so popular at the time and which Mohanty and other feminists have since critiqued as (supposedly) predominant white, middle class feminism of the "second wave" women's movement.<sup>71</sup> What the women of the NWP and their fellow activists saw as a universal experience among them in the 1970's and 1980's was a burgeoning global capitalism, a vital mechanism of which was multinational corporations. Yet they highlighted a situated and ascribed sense of identity as women that allowed them to evoke both commonalities and differences. Women generally were understood to be exploited by global corporations in

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<sup>71</sup> In this regard, I join other contemporary feminists (e.g., Davis 2007; Jacobson 1998) in revisioning our feminist past, acknowledging that it was actually quite diverse in some iterations before is suddenly or supposedly "found difference" in the late twentieth century.

different ways, depending on how they were socially situated in relationship to them: as farmworkers, cannery workers, electronics solderers, sewing machine operators, retail clerks, mothers, consumers, black women, white women, Mexican women, immigrant women, etc.

Importantly, the conceptual basis of this movement, from the NWP's perspective, did *not* reinforce an us/them divide between supposedly empowered first world people, on the one hand, and poor, disempowered Third World people, on the other, at least not in the typical geo-political sense. Their analyses and connections moved seamlessly from country to country, illuminating the problems for women laborers in the U.S. no less than in more impoverished countries. The conference conveners' use of the term "third world," for example, designated a diverse set of self-named yet still-marginalized people of color, regardless of what country they lived in, rather than the more common homogenizing use of the term "Third World," that often (supposedly) designated the populations of entire countries. Additionally, people from the United States were cast in the common "exploited and yet empowered" manner as women workers and consumers from any other demographic or country. That is, the conference did not posit globalization as happening to "those poor people over there in Third World countries;" examples of exploited workers and consumers at the conference were as often (if not more often) taken from U.S. contexts as they were from other places where capital was relocating at the time. This attention to impoverished and otherwise marginalized communities in the U.S. as well as those in other countries would remain a critical part of the Nationwide Women's Program work in the coming decade, and it is a crucial piece that can be added to contemporary public conversations about globalization today.

Yet, importantly, the NWP and its collaborators also understood women as subjects, capable of understanding and resisting their own exploitations and, all the more so, in their coming together as a movement of women fighting a single enemy, even if that fight took on different localized forms. It was not merely networking and advocating on behalf of others; it was connecting extant, on-the-ground mobilizations for the sake of more such movement and for the sake of those directly harmed by the domination of global corporations in a globalizing economy (including themselves).

## CHAPTER 4

### SACRED AND SECULAR ERUPTIONS?: SOURCING THE EMERGENCE OF GLOBALIZATION RESISTANCE

In order to have a more thorough and nuanced understanding of religion and other cultural elements under the conditions of globalization, we must first re-examine our concept of religion.

--Meredith B. McGuire, Sociologist of Religion, 2007

If religion were an isolated trait, a thing apart, a something mysteriously superadded to life without correlating with the processes of it, then perhaps we might think of it as “coming” without any mediations and describable steps, but real religion is not something detached from the rest of life and therefore it should grow and develop as all life does.

--Rufus Jones, Founder of the AFSC, 1927

In 2007, after my colleague, Rachael Kamel, and I sorted through the archives of the American Friends Service Committee in order to produce a history of the organization’s Nationwide Women’s Program, I emerged with two primary preoccupations. The first took the form of a fascination: I was utterly in awe of what seemed to be the NWP’s prescient knowledge about global capitalism; its complex attention to the raced, gendered, and classed exploitations (at home and abroad) of multinational corporations and other capitalist institutions; and the cacophony of voices/resistances that the NWP heard, made visible, were informed by, and helped to connect. I wondered many a time: “How did they know?” The second preoccupation took shape as a disappointment: I was somewhat deflated by the “fact” that religion was missing from the NWP’s work. I had been interested in researching the role of religion in

social movements resisting economic globalization and was saddened when the NWP proved an insufficient case study for such a project. The women of the NWP never made explicit mention of God, transcendence, worship, religious belief, ritual, prayer, or morality in the documents I engaged in the summer of 2007.

And yet here we are with a dissertation about the Nationwide Women's Program in a department of religion in 2012. Did fascination trump disappointment so that I stubbornly forced the Nationwide Women's Program to fit into a religious mold? At times in the last few years this has felt like the case, but that was because I was pushing (and being pushed) against my own deeply held, preconceived notions of what constitutes religion. I did, after all, proclaim at an early stage of this journey that this project would be so much easier if the Nationwide Women's Program had been comprised of a bunch of radical nuns rather than a bunch of secular feminists. Nuns in my mind were identifiably "religious;" feminists battling globalization were not.

It is more accurate, however, to say that I came to see how my own view of religion was not unique but reflective of larger trends within the discipline(s) of the study of religion as well as Western hegemonic views of religion more broadly. I found critiques of these hegemonic perspectives to be both convincing and useful in looking differently at the Nationwide Women's Program and my preoccupations about it. In one such critique, sociologist of religion Meredith B. McGuire (2007) reminds readers that the study of religion, despite its recognition of extensive diversity within and among religious groups, still treats religion as if it were "timeless and impervious to the effects of human agency and societal change" (58). Yet scholarly notions of religion, she contends, are based upon conceptual boundaries drawn by the powerful "winners" of

historical social contests that typically fail to recognize the beliefs and practices of marginalized people as real religions or expressions of religiosity (Ibid.).

McGuire joins other scholars (e.g., Masuzawa 2005, Orsi 2005, Castelli and Rodman 2001, King 1999, Chidester 1996, Smith 1982) in making the cogent argument that the very notions of religion and religiosity are themselves socially constructed concepts that prescribe and produce boundaries even as they purport to objectively describe them. Part of the historical winners' conceptual framing of religion has been to treat the sacred as something completely separate from the profane, with sacred time and space understood in tacit or overt Protestant Christian terms. Belief in God(s) or some form of sacred transcendence, formal places of worship, sacred texts, attendance at religious services, knowledge of creed and systems of morality, and identifiable institutions of organized religion all continue to inform popular and scholarly conceptions of religion in Western cultures.<sup>72</sup> These categories of Reformed Christianity *as* religion, with identifiable and distinct religious and secular realms, informed my own understanding of religion when I entered and emerged from the AFSC archives in 2007.

Yet McGuire encourages a “bracketing” of these dominant definitional assumptions in order “to examine people’s actual religions and religiosity, in a given time and place, on their own terms” as much as that is humanly possible (60). I re-entered the AFSC archives in 2009 with such a “bracketing” approach (as much as was humanly possible), prompting a wider and deeper looking—wider in terms of focusing on texts beyond those on global corporations alone; deeper in terms of reading those texts on

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<sup>72</sup> These categories are regnant in contemporary sociological debates over secularization, which I ultimately side-step in favor of engaging the notion that the secular and the religious are constructed, co-produced, and interpolate one another (see Asad 2003 and Jakobsen and Pellegrini 2008 for examples of this latter conceptualization of secularism). I attend to these concepts in more detail in Chapter 5.

global corporations more closely. I read documents that chronicled the internal rumblings and formation of the neophyte AFSC women's program before it became the official Nationwide Women's Program in 1974, the *AFSC Women's Newsletters* (beginning in 1972) that preceded the 1978 inclusion of the *Women and Global Corporations* insert, AFSC documents that reflected its supportive and yet tense relationship with the NWP (and vice versa), and secondary texts that painted a fuller picture of the socio-economic and political contexts within which the NWP operated as well as the Quaker underpinnings of its host institution, the AFSC.

This second-look allowed me to see how my two prior responses to the NWP archives were ill informed and yet spoke to one another in interesting ways that would shed light on how the NWP came to know what it knew about globalization in its formative years. In other words, these additional texts began to answer questions I had about how the NWP came to be the social movement broker that it was, and, at the same time, they brought to light a religiosity I had not previously considered.

This chapter therefore offers a more complex look at my early preoccupations, where I rethink the "prescience" of the NWP, revision "religion" where it previously had not been apparent, and uncover a blurring of the sacred and the secular that interrupts both the ways in which religion is conventionally understood in Western epistemes as well as how secularity is understood in Western institutions. It asks the question, "how did they know," not just in terms of how it was that the NWP was able to know (i.e. what philosophical and institutional epistemes informed its way of seeing the world) but also what forms its knowing took or how it got exercised. The answers point to Quaker,

socialist, and feminist ways of knowing and being, or an interpolation of religiosity and secularity that troubles taken-for-granted (Western) demarcations of these two categories.

The multiple Quaker, socialist, and feminist influences that came to the fore in this second engagement with the archives, however, proves duplicitous. There are, on the one hand, fruitful elements from this work to be offered to globalization resistance movements today, in their honoring of a multiplicity of voices, methods of consensus of decision-making (or a seeking out of difference and marginalized perspectives), and a connecting of various issues that otherwise seemed disparate and unrelated to one another (what I saw as so direly needed in the Occupy Wall Street movements). On the other hand, there are hazards to the AFSC and NWP's religio-secular blending, to the still-regnant Western Christian norms of Quakerism and socialist feminisms, to their Christian-like progress narratives, their universalizing aims, their mirror images of global integration or a globalism from below that sometimes reproduced what they aimed to defeat. In short, they held within them the seeds of their own erasure. In retrospect, they offer warnings about the persistence of these hazards, despite concerted efforts to avoid them.

This latter point about the NWP's contributing to its own demise becomes visible only after exploring the institutional mechanisms through which the AFSC and NWP operated. The AFSC's interpretation of the Religious Society of Friends as a non-proselytizing religion of action helped it gain purchase among (seemingly) secular Western institutions, an influence that the NWP was also able to leverage. This chapter

closes, then, by looking at the interpolation of christianity<sup>73</sup> and secularity that comes into resolution in some of the nation-states with which the AFSC interacted, the Nobel Foundation, and the U.N. This work sets up the possibility of seeing how the NWP's epistemologies and methodologies (and theologies) played a role in their later erasure, and how globalization too functions as a naturalized, universalizing narrative about the inevitable progression of humanity that supersedes what came before.

### **Quakers, Socialists, Feminists, Oh My!: How Did the NWP Know?**

In order to have “a more thorough and nuanced understanding of religion and other cultural elements under the conditions of globalization,” McGuire (2007) argues, we must re-examine what we mean by the concept of religion. Her own re-examination comes by way of turning to the “other country” of medieval Christian practices, not as a replacement for what we (as scholars) already know, but as a way of understanding how different expressions of religion have been excluded from what is otherwise properly understood to be religious today (74).<sup>74</sup> These different expressions include but are not limited to: indistinguishable demarcations of sacred and secular power (and places); embodied practices and emotional engagement with everyday ritual; and the maintenance of ongoing, personal relationships with different manifestations of divine power that McGuire finds in the heterogeneous religious practices of medieval Christianity.

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<sup>73</sup> I use a lower-case version of the term christianity here to shift thinking about it from a proper noun to a common noun—a sort of at-large christian-ness that exists in pervasive subtleties in many parts of Western cultures that are purported to be secular (at least by Western-minded people).

<sup>74</sup> McGuire borrows this “other country” notion from the English novelist, L.P. Hartley, who quipped that: “The past is another country. They do things differently there” (as cited in McGuire 2007, 60).

What she finds in the medieval past is akin to the kind of religion that Quaker theologian, Rufus Jones, described in the more recent past of the early twentieth century. In his *Faith and Practice of the Quakers*, Jones (1927) characterized religion as “not something detached from the rest of life” but integrally part of it (43). This is not to say that Quaker faith and practices are the same as medieval expressions of Christianity (or even necessarily very similar) but that an examination of Quaker beliefs and ways of being in the world can also shed light on contemporary definitional boundaries of religion and secularity.<sup>75</sup> More specifically, an examination of the American Friends Service Committee can shed light on how religion might be defined differently, particularly in its enactments of Quaker commitments to peace and social justice. Here I explore the “other country” of the American Friends Service Committee as a unique place, rich with the interpolation of religion and life, religion as life, the sacred as the secular and vice versa. They do things differently there than what is typically considered “properly” religious, which is why, at first, I was unable to recognize it.

The AFSC’s way of doing religion is the reason that the Nationwide Women’s Program found an institutional home there and, from this base, played a key role in brokering a movement of movements resisting globalization. The AFSC’s reliance upon Quaker notions of authority, the Quaker peace testimony, and the organization’s legitimacy as a quietly Christian yet non-proselytizing entity—widely understood to be doing good in the world—made way for the Nationwide Women’s Program to form and

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<sup>75</sup> While there is a great deal of diversity among Quakers, therefore making Jones’ perspective not necessarily universally Quaker or reflective of all Quaker thinking, my use of his perspective here is intentional. Jones was one of the founders of the American Friends Service Committee and served as the first Clerk (the Quaker term for “Chair”) of the AFSC Board. His Quaker theology was thus very influential in the organization (if not primary).

engage a plethora of feminist and other marginalized perspectives on the harms done by global capitalism.

### *Quaker Values in Action*<sup>76</sup>

The first step in developing the argument of Quaker influence over the NWP's epistemology is to establish that the American Friends Service Committee is even a Quaker organization. Though their numbers are few (only about 100,000), Quakers in the United States comprise a remarkably diverse group. Efforts to capture a common identity among the various kinds of Quaker congregations can prove fruitless, even among Quakers, except for the fact that they identify as Quakers (or Friends) and that they claim some sort of connection to the religious movement initiated by George Fox in England in the 1640's. Friends differ, for example, on issues of whether to have called pastors or not, whether to have programmed worship services or not, whether to be socio-politically engaged in the world or not, and whether the Quaker religion is even Christian. Furthermore, while they may share common testimonies of simplicity, peace, or equality, they disagree on how these testimonies are understood and enacted. It should come as no surprise, then, that Quakers also differ on their thoughts about the American Friends Service Committee, its work, its structure, and whether it should even be considered a Quaker organization.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> This phrase, "Quaker Values in Action," is actually a motto that the American Friends Service Committee uses to capture the essence of its work (AFSC 2012). I borrow this phrasing here, but it is important to point out that what I offer below as a way of giving substance to this phrase is my own analysis and is likely different from how the AFSC might explain it.

<sup>77</sup> For an excellent treatment of Quaker diversity in the U.S. see Hamm's (2003) *The Quakers in America*. Hamm goes beyond capturing congregational differences among Hicksite, Gurneyite, and Conservative Friends, and the Yearly Meetings representing them, to differences within (and some similarities across) these separate groups with regard to a wide range of Quaker beliefs and practices.

As noted in Chapter 2, the AFSC was founded in 1917, during World War I, to assist conscientious war objectors bypass military conscription by offering them opportunities for humanitarian service in war-torn areas in Europe. By the 1960's, however, most of the AFSC staff was non-Quaker and the majority of its donations also came from non-Quaker sources (Hamm 2003). Additionally, not all Friends or Quaker congregations endorse the work of the AFSC or see it as representative of Quaker belief and practice; some even see it as contradictory to their own beliefs and those of the Religious Society of Friends (Ibid.). Despite this contestation, however, there are ways in which the organization can still objectively be considered Quaker.

For example, the legally recognized entity of the American Friends Service Committee, the AFSC Corporation, is comprised of 120-180 members of the Religious Society of Friends, who are nominated by each of the Yearly Meetings in the United States (AFSC 2009).<sup>78</sup> Its legal purpose is to: “engage in religious, charitable, social, philanthropic, and relief work in the United States and other countries on behalf of the Yearly Meetings and other bodies of the Religious Society of Friends in the United States of America” (Ibid.). While there is disagreement among individual Quakers and Quaker congregations about how well the AFSC's positions, practices, and programs represent Quaker beliefs, there is still a discernible Quaker influence in the governing body of the

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<sup>78</sup> “Meetings” have several meanings among Quakers: they can mean a gathering for business or worship or the institutional entity that might otherwise be identified as a church. Historically Quakers preferred the term meeting to church, since the church was considered the universal, at-large body of all believers, and the meeting was merely a fleeting gathering of some of those believers in a particular space (Hamm 2003). The monthly meeting is the basic Quaker unit, and its members gather monthly to handle the business of the congregation (which typically gathers weekly for a meeting for worship). The Yearly Meeting, in this case, is a regional association of Quakers who gather annually; it is comprised of smaller gatherings of monthly and quarterly meetings.

organization, especially since the Corporation nominates thirty to thirty-three of its Quaker members to comprise the entire AFSC Board of Directors.

Aside from the legal aspects of its Quaker organization, the AFSC can feasibly be considered a Quaker organization because it claims such an identity for itself. In trying to capture the uniqueness of Quaker decision-making at the American Friends Service Committee, for example, Dan Seeger wrote in 1976 that:

The dynamic in the AFSC is clearly different [from other similar organizations]. While we may formulate official AFSC statements on one or another issue, Friends' traditional aversion to dogmatism disinclines us from reducing AFSC's animating values to any comprehensive formula. We wish to be open to the Spirit. (AFSC 1977)<sup>79</sup>

This openness to the Spirit informs not only AFSC governing practices but underwrites much of the content of the organization's work in the world, as it aims to enact Quaker commitments to peace and social justice in all that it undertakes.

Today the organization continues to describe itself as Quaker, or, more specifically, as “a Quaker organization that includes people of various faiths who are committed to social justice, peace, and humanitarian service” (AFSC 2012c). Its work is based on the principles of the Religious Society of Friends that recognize the worth of every person and the power of love to overcome violence and injustice (Ibid.). I therefore move forward with the understanding that the AFSC is a Quaker organization, bearing in mind that Quakers (or the Society of Friends) are not a monolithic entity and that some Quaker congregations and individuals do not accept this classification.

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<sup>79</sup> In 1976, Dan Seeger (the then-director of AFSC's NY Metropolitan regional office) presented his thoughts on AFSC decision-making processes to the organization's General Consultative Group from a paper he wrote, called “The Quaker Consensus Process in a Nationwide Organization.” The paper was revisited at a special meeting by the AFSC Board of Directors in April 1977 in response to concerns that the organization had strayed from Quaker methods of decision-making. Seeger's perspective served as a model to which the organization might return.

It is therefore more accurate to say that what follows is the AFSC's (still-contested and/or always-evolving) understanding of Quaker values and how they inform right action in an unjust world. While there are other (AFSC) Quaker values to focus upon than authority and the peace testimony, these two are the ones that I see as the most influential in the formation of the Nationwide Women's Program and the ways in which it carried out its work.

### *Quaker Notions of Authority*

Quakers on the whole are not a dogmatic bunch. This does not mean, however, that they do not have theological and congregational understandings of authority. While many Quakers hold the Bible to be a sacred and revealed text, many hold the simultaneous belief that divine revelation did not cease with the written Word but is instead continuous. That is, for many Quakers, the truth found in the Bible is accompanied by the equally valid truth that is revealed by the Spirit to human beings on an ongoing basis. This understanding of revelation is consistent with the Quaker theological understanding that there is "that of God," in each person, and that revelation is therefore possible through the divine presence within each and every human being. In writing about George Fox, the founder of the Religious Society of Friends, Rufus Jones (1927) remarked that:

He [Fox] met the Calvinist theory of a congenital seed of sin in the new-born child by the counter claim that there *is a seed of God in every soul*. This "seed" or "light", which he proclaimed, was thought of as a *capacity of response* to divine intimations and openings, a basis of inward communication and correspondence between God and man and a moral searchlight revealing to man the absolute distinction between right and wrong, making the path of righteousness and truth unmistakable. (28; emphasis in original)

This “seed of God in every soul” is a recurring theme in the AFSC’s deliberations over right action in the world, usually recast as “that of God” in each person.

In practice, Fox’s moral searchlight has often proven more complex than an “absolute distinction between right and wrong,” particularly for the American Friends Service Committee. Yet it is the theological basis for both the content and methodological approach of the organization’s work. It is what Seeger (AFSC 1977) tried to articulate when he spoke of the “openness to evolution, to seeking, to the continuing perfectibility of insight, and to broad participation in the nurturing of the animating vision” in the AFSC’s decision-making process in 1976 (11). It is the underlying belief that informs the organization’s statement of values today, with its words: “We cherish the belief that there is that of God in each person, leading us to respect the worth and dignity of all” (AFSC 2012).

This theological sense of authority plays itself out in practice in the form of consensus decision-making at many Quaker meetings (or congregations) and with the Board of Directors at the AFSC. Since Spirit can reveal itself through any person, making decisions about how to live with one another, how to seek peace, and/or how to work for social justice is thought to be best achieved through a process of discernment that includes more and more perspectives and a seeking of common ground among them. Quaker consensus is different from the more common method of decision-making in Western democratic societies, since it does not entail voting or a “majority rules” outcome. Instead of winners and losers, the process calls for participants to engage intentionally and sincerely with difference, to decenter their own ways of knowing and

being in the world in order to appreciate the human dignity and divinity of another person and his or her different ways of knowing and being.

In order to come to a decision, the clerk (or leader) of a Quaker meeting will “get a sense” of the gathering by trying to discern unity or agreement among those present (Hamm 2003). A lack of unity demands that participants continue in the concerted efforts of sharing their perspectives, listening to those of others, being open to shifting their own perspectives, and eventually finding common ground. While the words negotiation or compromise might seem to characterize this process, many Quakers—including those at the AFSC—would describe it as something more spiritual or divinely inspired. “If it works well,” Seeger (AFSC 1977) wrote in his appeal to the AFSC General Consultative Group in 1976:

it is a special religious experience for the individuals participating in it and for the group as a whole. Indeed, it is an aspect of worship. It is a process which requires a unique discipline and creativity on the part of those practicing it; it is certainly not merely a system through which each person gets his or her own way about everything. (11)

Ideally, then, Quaker consensus is a process by which minority voices are not over-ridden by majority opinion but instead given respectful and equal consideration as a matter of religious practice.

For an organization such as the AFSC, committed to peace and social justice, consensus decision-making has meant being informed, challenged, transformed, and (at least partially) constituted by marginalized voices, particularly those experiencing oppression in one form or another. Historically, the organization has been in a position to hear and be changed by the experiences and epistemologies of different groups of oppressed people in ways that more democratically-minded organizations might

otherwise miss. In fact, so committed to the Spiritual principle of inclusion has the organization been that it has even recognized the humanity of those who seem most fundamentally opposed to its own ideals. This is best exemplified in John Hunter's (AFSC 1977) memo, "Traditional Friends' Consensus Process," that he wrote for AFSC Board members and executive staff in 1976:

Our religious heritage seems to be very clear in the emphasis of a very fundamental point...-that our attitudes, as Friends, toward all other human beings, must be based on the firm knowledge that there is 'that of God in everyone.' In particular, this includes those who we might label as racists, dictators, MCP's, murderers, and any others who might seem to march under the banners of repression, violence, and/or exploitation. (5)

He reminded his audience that true consensus depended upon keeping communication open and ongoing without the use of polarizing labels and positions.

All of this is to point out the ways in which the "other country" of the AFSC can call into question what is rightly considered religious. While AFSC Board members may have been deliberating upon right action in the face of something as (seemingly) mundane as "runaway shops" that moved the manufacture of textiles to Third World countries, for example, the process of this deliberation was considered to be sacred. The content too was sacred, since it is thought to be informed by the Spirit residing within the people harmed by runaway shops in one way or another.

While consensus decision-making is used by the AFSC Corporation and the AFSC Board of Directors, it is not the general mode of making decisions by most bodies within the organization. That is, most program staff, regional offices, and committees do not use Quaker consensus *proper* in their everyday operations. Yet I suggest that a consensus sentiment or epistemology underscores all AFSC work, particularly since the

Board does not make decisions in isolation of the organization's various parts but in regular communication with them. In all of the AFSC's peace and social justice efforts, there has been a consistent, if not always perfect, effort to draw upon the experiences, insight, and input of people directly impacted by a particular area of concern. This effort has resulted in the organization's formation of its many committees, its various programs, and its decentralized structure (each referred to in more detail in Chapter 2). In fact, I argue that it was the broader Quaker notions of authority, which include both continuous revelation and a consensus process, that fostered the formation of the Nationwide Women's Program, the work it undertook, and the ways in which it carried out that work.

Two specific examples reflect these Quaker influences of the NWP's formation. In 1970 there was no AFSC women's program. There was, however, a "Women's Working Party" that produced a report, called the "Working Party Paper on Women, Secretaries, and Clerks," which drew attention to gender discrimination within the AFSC. In contextualizing the report for the AFSC Board in 1971, Anne Beidler (of the Women's Working Party) pointed out that the participants at the Conference of 80, where the grievances were first aired, were "brought up short with awareness of this [discrimination], and saddened to realize that AFSC working conditions and employment policies sometimes reflect more of the social mores of our time than a proclamation of the Kingdom of God" (AFSC 1971). Such gendered inequality was thus seen as an indication that AFSC was "not living [its] Quaker beliefs" (Ibid.). The Minutes from this Board meeting note that each of the report's recommendations was considered separately, with some at-length discussion that led to the ultimate approval of them all.

The second example comes from the AFSC Women's Gathering that took place in Colorado Springs in 1973. While the prior example reflects a Quaker commitment to a "continuing perfectibility of insight," its effect should not be overstated. By 1973 women staff, committee members and wives of staff still felt the injustices of gender discrimination within AFSC and hoped to direct AFSC programmatic work (more) toward the amelioration of such discrimination both inside and outside of the organization. This Women's Gathering informed the official proposal for a "Nation-Wide Women's Program" in the organization, which drew specifically upon the Quaker notions of authority to do so. The proposal stated that "[t]here are aspects of Quaker practice in general and of AFSC in particular which make it very appropriate for the Service Committee to share in the struggle against sexism" (NWP 1974). It continued:

"There is that of God in everyone." (We prefer this older phrasing to the current form of everyman.) Historically, this expression of Quaker religious belief has included women. Women share as seekers of the light. Women are moved by concerns and share the responsibility for working out those concerns. Women who live true to their conscience have standing in Quaker communities, no less than men. (Ibid.; emphasis in original)

Again, the ease with which this inclusion came should not be overstated, but within that same year, the AFSC Board approved the formation of the Nationwide Women's Program.

Beyond formation, though, the actual work of the NWP was in many ways grounded by these premises of Quaker authority as well, including its work of resisting globalization. Firstly, the NWP conference task force that planned the 1978 "Women and Global Corporations" conference in Des Moines based its identification of multinational industries on AFSC programmatic work already underway in the areas of

textile/garment, food/agribusiness, and electronics (NWP 1978b). Indeed, by the early 1970's, the AFSC was engaged in conversations about the New International Economic Order with the U.N. and several of its regions were already researching the exploitative practices of multinational corporations in these industries (NWP 1979b). That is to say that, in listening to people's experiences of injustice, the AFSC had already added global economic dynamics to their discernment of truth and the NWP was able to draw upon that extant work.

At the NWP's 1978 "Women and Global Corporations" conference, Margaret Bacon, an NWP Support Group member (and Quaker), opened the weekend's events by introducing the audience to the AFSC, since most participants were external to it. It was created, she said:

as an expression of Quaker belief—which is a belief against war and for justice, and in what Quakers call 'that of God in every person,' a belief in the sacredness of human life and of each person, and a belief that the truth is born and nourished when people gather together. (NWP 1978c)<sup>80</sup>

The conference was therefore framed (at least in part) with this perspective, reflecting a Quaker commitment to including a multiplicity of voices in its attempt to bring together laborers, activists, and scholars from around the world to share information and ideas and to develop common efforts (NWP 1978b).

Perhaps the most representative showing of Quaker consensus in the NWP's work, however, comes in the content and format of the *AFSC Women's Newsletter* insert, *Women and Global Corporations*, where, interestingly, there is no explicit mention of

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<sup>80</sup> Interestingly, in Bacon's next sentence she invokes China's Chairman Mao by naming him and paraphrasing his inspirational words: "if the creative force of the people is released, it can move mountains" (NWP 1978c). This furthers the point I make below that there was resonance in the AFSC's Quaker disposition and socialism at the time of the NWP's consolidation.

God or Quaker values. The content of the submissions give voice to the marginalized, call injustice into question, and give particular attention to poor and working-class women's struggles in the face of a powerful global capitalist regime (i.e. the minority in the face of the majority). The very format (or layout) of the newsletters looks like an enactment of consensus-building, where a variety of voices get equal-footing to speak their concerns. Other than the insert description that accompanied each issue, the different entries are simply there on the pages, juxtaposed by one another but not "interpreted" *per se*.

For example, in a single issue (*WGC* Volume 3, Numbers 1 & 2, 1982) there are the following submissions: "Korean Women Fight Union-Busting Tactics," "Toxics Committee Links US, Third World Abuses," "Women of Color Publish Newsletter on Family Violence," "Jamaican Women Form People's Theatre Company," "Antigua Women's Movement Forms Consumer Cooperative," "Feminists Critique Development," and "Third World Organizers Request Assistance, Data." There is, however, no article that makes explicit the connections among them. This is not to say that there was no editorializing. Indeed, most of the submissions make explicit mention of global corporations or the overall oppressive global economy in some way. This was, after all, the social movement labor that the NWP understood itself to be doing: making connections among a disparate array of issues and otherwise isolated actions opposing global capitalism's many harmful iterations. But the newsletter format gives the impression that readers are then to infer the specific connections and perhaps even join the NWP in an ongoing collection of voices, perspectives, and experiences to reach a fuller truth.

While there are some groups and developing stories that the newsletters follow over their decade of existence, there is also a continual adding of groups and concerns, reflecting the Quaker search for truth in its ongoing-ness or continued revelation. It is this particular influence that augmented and further supported the NWP's transnational and multi-faceted purview. While there may be a more overt (if still subtle) religiosity present in the AFSC's governance methods, there is an even more tacit, yet still present, undercurrent of Quaker authority in the otherwise secular attentions of the NWP.

### ***Quaker Peace Testimony***

The Philadelphia Yearly Meeting's *Faith and Practice: A Book of Christian Discipline* (1997) defines a testimony as "a guiding principle of conduct that bears witness to the presence of God in the world and in our lives" (as quoted in Hamm 2003). The testimony with which Quakers are most commonly associated is likely the Peace Testimony. Quakers are generally known to be pacifists, to oppose war and other forms of violence in human interaction. While most Quakers are committed to a peace testimony in one form or another, the diversity among Quakers means that it is interpreted and practiced in a variety of ways. This is no less the case for the American Friends Service Committee, where a consistent commitment to peace has been a foundational element of the organization, though the organization's interpretation of how peace is achieved has changed over the years. These changes have come as a result of thoughtful discernment over its meaning, with an increased number of perspectives on it.

Of course, the very existence of the AFSC owes itself to Quaker pacifism, or opposition to war, since it was created to provide (mostly Quaker) conscientious war objectors with alternatives to military service during World War I. In this regard, it was

intended to be a temporary organization, allowing young men (and some women) to serve as witnesses for peace during wartime by plowing fields, restocking farms, rebuilding houses, repatriating refugees, feeding children, running a maternity hospital, or providing peace education (Frost 1992). Before the war ended, however, some Quakers in the U.S. and England were already contemplating different ways of testifying for peace and, to that end, held a conference in London in 1920 to consider “the causes of war and the roles Quaker meetings and organizations might play in diminishing economic injustice, imperialism, militarism, and racism” (41).

Four years later, at a meeting in Philadelphia, AFSC Board members, prominent Friends, and relief workers (totaling roughly 100 people) determined that the AFSC was “the best vehicle American Friends possessed to unify Quakers, end racism, provide relief, offer an opportunity for Christian service, and witness for peace” and should therefore continue to exist despite the cessation of war (43). At this 1924 meeting to decide the fate of the AFSC, “speakers emphasized the relevance of Quaker pacifism in opposing the war-producing tendencies of racism, capitalism, class differentiation, and arms races” (48). It was with this expanded understanding of the peace testimony in mind that Rufus Jones (1927) later aimed to make a distinction between pacifism and peace-making in his *Faith and Practice of the Quakers*:

It is a mistake to call Quakers “non-resisters” or “pacifists”. They are neither. They do not face any giant evil with a passive attitude. They seek always to organize and to level against it the most effective forces there are.... They seek to do away with war by first doing away with the causes and occasions for it; that is, by removing the fundamental grounds from which war springs, by eliminating the roots and seeds of it in the social order, and by forming an atmosphere and climate that make war unthinkable. This means, of course, that peace-making is “big business.” (103)

This understanding of peace-making became the “big business” of the American Friends Service Committee over the next several decades, even as its identification of the causes of war changed over time as did its recognition that violence can be exercised in ways other than outright war.

There are several ways in which the AFSC’s witness for peace has impacted the Nationwide Women’s Program. As with the Quaker notions of authority, the peace testimony underwrote the very formation of the NWP as well as the method and content of its work. To begin, the women at the 1973 Women’s Gathering called upon an expanded notion of peace to legitimate its purpose in the eyes of the organization. Its “General Statement” claimed the following:

We reaffirm our belief that a continual questioning of aggressiveness, competitiveness, hierarchy, and violence, and the distribution of power is essential in our work toward a humane society. We feel that such questioning integrally relates to the struggles of all movements for nonviolent change, affecting women and all other people oppressed by the violent structures of society. (Women’s Gathering 1973)

Since the AFSC had largely understood racism and economic exploitation to be root causes of war and instances of violence in and of themselves, the women at the Gathering appealed to the AFSC Board by likening their concerns to these other movements (as well as expressing their own theological and epistemological perspectives).

While the AFSC Board created the Nationwide Women’s Program the following year (at the request of the Women’s Gathering), this was not a seamless and unproblematic trajectory. By 1978 the Nationwide Women’s Program was under review by the organization and needed to defend its legitimacy once again. At a special meeting of the Nationwide Women’s Program Support Group in May 1978, the participants

contemplated the following question: “Why should the AFSC, a Quaker organization, make a long-range commitment to work to eradicate sexism?” (NWP 1978a). Their answer came in the lexicon of an ever-evolving peace testimony:

AFSC understandings of the root causes of violence continually grow and deepen as our experience expands. Friends and AFSC played significant roles in the civil rights movement and as we came to understand increasingly the violent effects of racism. More recently there has evolved in AFSC an increased understanding that sexism is one of the root causes of violence and an awareness that, like other root causes (e.g., distinctions of treatment based on race, economic status, nationality, religion), it exists pervasively, is woven through the fabric of world society, effects people everywhere, and is always a force which denies and undermines key aspects of human dignity and potential and thus helps to create a climate of world violence. (Ibid.; emphasis in original)

Later that year, the AFSC Board approved the continuation of the Nationwide Women’s Program, and plans were soon underway to adopt a typical at-large committee in order to inform the Board of women’s issues that would be of national concern to the organization (NWP 1978d). The Nationwide Women’s Program Committee thus formed in 1979.<sup>81</sup>

In addition to the very existence of the NWP being justified in terms of peace, the method of its work took on the form of peace-making as well. That is, its perspective went beyond legitimating words to enactments of inclusion and non-competition. By 1978, the women comprising the NWP Support Group were already intentionally selected from different race and class backgrounds and, thus constituted, recognized the need to pay attention to race and class as integral to the experiences of being (different) women. They were not interested in competing with other simultaneous social justice movements,

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<sup>81</sup> Again, it is important to emphasize that the NWP’s place within the AFSC was not unproblematic. At the 1978 Board meeting, during which the report of the NWP review was presented, three Board members abstained from the final decision to approve continuation of the NWP (AFSC 1978). This came after much discussion. This is part of the Quaker consensus process at the AFSC: whereupon consensus cannot be reached, those in disagreement can choose to “stand aside” from the final decision, so as not to be an impediment to the decision-making process. Three Board members “stood aside” so as to indicate disagreement yet not stall a decision.

since such competition, in their perspective, underwrote violence and was counter to the ways in which these movements were related to one another. In fact, as noted in Chapter 2, the reason that the Nationwide Women's Program chose multinational corporations and the global economy as an area of focus was because of the ways in which it allowed for coincident attention to race, class, and gender (NWP 1979a).

This expanded peace epistemology and methodology thus informed the content of the NWP's work as well. While the NWP engaged in a great deal of issues that went beyond the global economy (work that also attended to a multiplicity of women's experiences and identities)<sup>82</sup>, their labor in the area of multinational corporations allows us to see how a Quaker peace testimony could be connected to the otherwise seemingly secular thing called globalization. In the Preface to a text put out by the NWP, entitled *The Global Factory: Analysis and Action for a New Economic Era* (Kamel 1990), NWP Director, Saralee Hamilton, and long-time NWP supporter and AFSC staff member, Barbara Moffett, capture this connection well:

Through its work in the United States and abroad, the AFSC has come to recognize that one of the most pervasive forms of violence in the world today is the violence of economic exploitation. We see the lives and futures of families, communities, and whole countries blighted when an unbridled search for profits overrides considerations of the social good.

This understanding, combined with the recognition that gender discrimination in its various forms was also an expression of violence to be countered, poised the NWP (at least as a contributing factor) to define globalization from a diversity of women's standpoints and from a tacitly Quaker way of seeing and being in the world.

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<sup>82</sup> As noted in Chapter 2, Rachael Kamel's (2007) "Nationwide Women's Program American Friends Service Committee 1975-2006" is an excellent account of the diversity of work that the NWP undertook in its several years of existence. Fighting globalization and global corporations comprises only a portion of that work.

Thus informed, the NWP posited global corporations as a dominant force in a shifting, globalizing world order, capable of shaping, in harmful ways, the economic, political, social, and cultural lives of people throughout the world. This force, the NWP's 1978 conference brochure noted, "clearly has an impact on women—as workers, consumers, community and family members—and on the communities in which we live" (NWP 1978b). For these reasons, their work on global corporations over the next decade (and more) put them in a position to see different iterations of globalization on the ground, a growing number of institutions that facilitated top-down globalization (such as the IMF and World Bank), and different forms of resistance that took shape in response. Importantly, and relevant to the AFSC's more traditional interpretation of the peace testimony, the NWP increasingly paid attention to multinational corporations in the defense industries as well as the ways in which the U.S. military and the militaries of Third World nations facilitated the spread of global capitalism. Finally, the kinds of resistances to which they gave a platform were non-violent.

In short, this analysis of "Quaker values in action" addresses the two preoccupations that I had after my first engagement with the AFSC archives in 2007, putting them together in a manner I had not anticipated. How did the NWP know what it knew about globalization in the 1970's and 1980's? The answer up to this point comes by way of religion! Or, more specifically, it comes by way of looking at the AFSC's Quaker understandings of authority and its interpretations of the peace testimony. Each of these influenced the formation of the NWP and the method and content of its work to some degree. To see this, I needed to "bracket" my initial concept of religion (which reflected Western hegemonic scholarly and popular understandings of religion) so that

more subtle or even “secularized” expressions of religion could surface.<sup>83</sup> However, it is important to recognize that these explicit Quaker influences were not the only ones to influence the NWP’s worldview. There were a variety of feminisms that also informed how the NWP “knew what it knew.”

### *A Medley of Feminisms*

It would be wrong to suggest that the AFSC’s interpretation of Quaker authority and the peace testimony are the only reasons that the NWP was able to broker a network of movements resisting globalization in the 1970’s and 1980’s. While this did provide some of the context and content of the NWP’s work, the different kinds of feminisms in the NWP also played a vital role. There were indeed many different feminist perspectives in the NWP, in its initial Support Group, and in the NWP Committee over the years, ranging from Quaker to socialist, to Jewish, to lesbian, to anti-racist and anti-capitalist, to peace movement feminism, to a combination of these that defies categorization. In many ways, the recognition of human dignity in each person, consensus decision-making, and non-violence were already part of the feminist worldviews that were drawn to the AFSC because of this already-present compatibility.

For example, in terms of consensus decision-making the NWP Support Group members who were charged with justifying the existence of a women’s program at AFSC in 1978 agreed that “the working commitment of Friends to use the consensus process in decision-making is shared by most feminist groups but does not appear consistently in other movements or religious groups; this is probably not coincidental but indicative of

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<sup>83</sup> I recognize that at this point I have mostly only “added” an albeit complex yet still Western Christian religion to this perspective. It is arguable that I have not troubled-enough my own assumptions but instead fulfilled them. I complicate this perspective in the closing section below.

an overlap in perspectives and commitments” (1978a). Earlier on, in thinking about witnessing for peace, the AFSC Women’s Gathering, proclaimed that “[t]he nonviolent values of the Society of Friends and the women’s movement seem inextricably related” (Women’s Gathering, 1973). In other words, Quakers and the AFSC did not have a monopoly on these values or ways of knowing and being in the world; many non-Quaker feminists shared them as well.

Here I will focus upon only two strands of feminism that I see as most prominently influencing the NWP’s work on the global economy: Quaker feminism and socialist feminism (though, in many instances, this is an arbitrary distinction between them and also between them and the other kinds of feminisms present in the NWP).

### *Quaker Feminism*

The role of Quaker women in the “first wave” of women’s movements in the U.S. is relatively well known, but their role within second wave women’s movements is less well known, even among Quakers (and the AFSC). For example, it is more commonly known that several of the prominent women in the women’s rights movements of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were Quaker, such as Angelina Grimke, Sarah Grimke, Abby Kelly Foster, Lucretia Mott, and Alice Paul. At least four of the women who planned the Seneca Falls Convention of 1848 were Quaker women (Bacon 1986). Yet contemporary convention does not hold that Quaker women played a significant role in the purported second wave women’s movements that arose in the last few decades of the twentieth century. At least there are few (if any) accounts of such involvement. But Quaker feminism shined at AFSC, particularly in the early days of the AFSC Women’s

Program (what eventually became the NWP in 1974), and it remained a strong presence at least until the 1979 formation of the at-large NWP Committee.

While references to Quaker values of peace and equality are present in the AFSC women's appeals for equality made at the 1970 "Conference of 80" and the 1973 "Women's Gathering"—two events that moved the organization closer to forming the official NWP—there was also an on-going effort among these women to articulate a Quaker feminism for themselves (or at least for those among them who were Quaker). In fact, many Quaker women at AFSC struggled with their identities as both Quakers and feminists, and their struggles appeared on the pages of the *AFSC Women's Newsletter*. "Struggle," however, is perhaps too strong a word; in typical Quaker consensus style, the newsletters portray an ongoing search for truth for Quaker women in this regard, with submissions that offer one woman's take on Quaker feminism after another's.

Importantly, the newsletters in the early years (1973-1978) do not focus solely on Quaker feminism. There are also reports on the various women's programs in different AFSC regions, submissions from AFSC international programs, news stories about issues pertaining to women and economics, politics, culture, work and the "women's movement" (in its many iterations in the U.S. and overseas). Yet amidst these subjects there remains an ongoing discursive effort to understand/formulate a Quaker feminism for interested readers. The most obvious influence of this discursive labor on—or at least its resonance with—the Nationwide Women's Program comes in 1976. During this year, the four issues of the *AFSC Women's Newsletter* were published in conjunction with the *Friendly Woman*, a newsletter explicitly for Quaker women. The two newsletters were stapled together (with each issue alternating which one was first) and distributed together.

Although they differ in terms of audience, and the *AFSC Newsletter* makes less explicit mention of the word Quaker (or God or Christ) and is more focused on international issues than the *Friendly Woman*, there are ways in which the two are indistinguishable from one another. For example, some of the article titles from the *AFSC Women's Newsletter* from that year are: "Feminist Inner Light," "ERA is a Peace Issue," "Arms and the Woman," "Support Native American Sisters," "Conference on Racism and Sexism," and "Feminism, Violence and Nonviolence." Some of the article titles from the *Friendly Woman* of that same year are: "The Feminist Challenge," "On Spiritual Anarcho-Feminism," "Feminism & Nonviolent Revolution," "Feminism, Nonviolence & the Peace Movement," "Irish Women's Peace Movement," and "Quaker Project on Non-Violence Trains Lesbians in NY" (NWP 1976b). Clearly peace and nonviolence are overlapping values between the two texts, as are social justice issues more broadly.

Non-Quaker feminists who shared these interests, therefore, found a resonant home with the Nationwide Women's Program at AFSC (and vice versa). In fact, the NWP was mandated to function in such a dialectical manner, whereby it would infuse the overall AFSC organization with a feminist perspective while at the same time it would "enable AFSC to bring its insights and experiences to the women's movements in areas of common concern" (NWP 1978d). This included the organization's locally-informed national and international peace and social justice work.

There are two final points to mention about Quaker feminism within AFSC that are relevant to the NWP's formation and epistemology. The first is a spirit of inclusion that prompted the 1973 AFSC "Women's Gathering" to demand from the AFSC Board

that non-Quakers be added to the staff without discrimination. The Statement of the

Women's Gathering proclaims:

We criticize the policy of giving clear preference in hiring to those with Quaker background. While we sanction decisions based upon a person's ethical, spiritual, and philosophical orientation, we feel it is discriminatory to hire a Quaker over an equally well-qualified non-Quaker merely because of formal religious association. (Women's Gathering 1973)

This made way for increased non-Quaker voices within the NWP. Secondly, and relatedly, the Quaker feminism that was formulating at the AFSC did not focus solely upon overt theological premises. That is, for example, it sometimes manifested itself in the (supposedly) secular language of socialism or other not-overtly-Quaker analytical frameworks. Writing in the *Friendly Woman* in 1976 (one of the joint issues with the *AFSC Women's Newsletter*), Quaker Ann Morrissett Davidson wrote about her dislike of liberal feminism, stating that the kind of feminism she was interested in as a Quaker feminist “is not just a movement for women to have an equal share in the economic and political power which men now control” (11). What she wanted instead was a “kind of feminism which seeks to change the way that power is distributed among all people—a socialist feminism, if you like,” or, what she later refers to as “socialist-feminist-pacifist-humanism” (Ibid.).

Again, Davidson did not speak for all Quaker women or even all Quaker feminists, but her reflections point to the presence of and openings for the ways in which the NWP saw the world, particularly as it undertook the supposedly secular work of challenging global capitalism.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> I would be remiss if I did not point out that there were several (many?) Jewish feminists who worked with the NWP as staff or committee members. It is likely that Jewish feminists' commitments to peace and social justice also largely informed the NWP's worldview—or how it “knew what it knew.” For example,

### *Socialist Feminism*

In 1975, the AFSC hired Saralee Hamilton to coordinate the then newly-official Nationwide Women's Program.<sup>85</sup> Hamilton was not a Quaker. She was a socialist feminist who had been on staff at the Philadelphia Indochina Peace Campaign and a traveling organizer for the New American Movement (NAM) just prior to beginning her tenure at the AFSC (AFSC 1975). Hamilton's association with these two organizations bespeaks her compatibility with the AFSC (and the NWP) and vice versa, particularly at the time of her hiring. The Philadelphia Indochina Peace Campaign was a traveling anti-war show with a campaign to immediately end the war in Vietnam; NAM was a socialist and feminist political organization interested in radical political and economic changes in society (aligned with the New Left movement in the U.S.). The AFSC and the NWP were both interested in peace initiatives in the 1970's (and obviously before then), and there was a great deal of leftist politics at the AFSC at this time as well.<sup>86</sup>

For example, when the secretarial/clerical group at the AFSC's 1970 "Conference of 80" presented their grievances about gender discrimination in the organization, the Conference participants suggested that women's issues be added to the list of concerns

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Leah Margulies was a significant player in the international Nestle Boycott of the 1970's; she was also a Jewish feminist on the NWP Committee and helped to plan the NWP's 1978 "Women and Global Corporations" conference (personal communication, 2010). Rachael Kamel, who edited the NWP's *Women and Global Corporations* insert for many years, was/is a Jewish feminist as well. Yet, importantly, Jewish feminism(s) do not get the same kind of explicit textual representation in the NWP archives as Quaker feminisms. I explore this elision a little further in the next chapter.

<sup>85</sup> Hamilton was initially hired in 1975 as a Program Coordinator. After the 1978 internal review of the NWP, she became the Director (this too was not without contestation in the overall organization, as with much institutional oversight of the NWP at the AFSC).

<sup>86</sup> For a very interesting and provocative argument about the AFSC's alignment with violent left movements during and after the Vietnam War, see Lewy (1988). The AFSC community had strong responses to Lewy's book, which were later published in Fager (1989).

being considered by the “new society caucus,” a group of staff that was urging AFSC to participate in more direct, non-violent action for radical social change. The Movement for a New Society was an external network of leftist peace activists (i.e. existing outside of the AFSC), started in 1971 by Quakers who were dissatisfied with the overall Quaker response to the Vietnam War and interested in bringing about radical, non-violent, direction action to the peace movement. At least two of the people who were part of the new society caucus at AFSC were founders of the external Movement for a New Society—George Lakey and Bill Moyer—and were interested in how AFSC might play a role in this radical revisioning of the cessation of war and the causes of war.

With this in mind, the AFSC’s new society caucus produced the following preamble about the Conference of 80 for the AFSC Board (notably omitting specific attention to gender):

The conference was captured by a common vision of the need for radical change in a society which not only victimizes the poor, the black, the prisoner, the G.I., but also miseducates and dehumanizes the middle class, causing even those who benefit materially from its affluence to suffer from alienation, despair, and a sense of powerlessness.... A deeper commitment to non-violent direct action, a willingness to take more risks in its pursuit, and a desire to free up relationships with the AFSC family in order to release fresh energy, were common elements in the vision of a new society laid upon us all at Hudson Guild Farm. (AFSC 1970)

Thus, despite the fact that women’s concerns were not explicitly part of this radical plan—or, more likely, because of this absence—there was a radical left current within and beyond the AFSC that made way for the socialist feminism that percolated within the Nationwide Women’s Program.

Indeed, many women who identified as socialist feminists did so because there was something lacking for them in existing socialist and feminist movements alone (or

because they were excluded in one way or another). Like Quaker feminism, socialist feminism was not a pre-determined entity with a clear definition, yet those who sought the use of the label attempted to give it substance. Toward this end, a group of socialist feminist unions and collectives held a conference in Yellow Springs, OH in 1975, entitled the National Socialist/Feminist Conference. Barbara Ehrenreich (1975) gave a speech at this conference identifying the unique ways in which socialist feminism was different from the sum of its parts, or more than the patched-together (popular) ideologies of either socialism or feminism. The following year, the Nationwide Women's Program re-printed the speech and distributed it to interested parties, selling it for ten cents a copy or fifteen for a dollar and advertising its sale in the June-July 1976 issue of the *AFSC Women's Newsletter/Friendly Woman*. Ehrenreich later attended the NWP's 1978 "Women and Global Corporations" conference, became a NWP Committee member in 1979, and remained connected to the AFSC as a committee member or advisory member for many years to come.<sup>87</sup>

As noted, socialist feminism was not the only kind of feminism at the NWP, but I am inclined to think that Hamilton and Ehrenreich's (and others') espousal of it framed some (if not much) of the NWP's view of global capitalism and global corporations. In Ehrenreich's "What is Socialist Feminism?" speech, she argued that socialist feminism "can develop the kind of politics that addresses the political/economic/cultural *totality* of monopoly capitalist society" (3, italics in reprint). This was only the case, however, if its proponents were to understand feminism and socialism in particular ways that brought

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<sup>87</sup> The NWP's reprint of Ehrenreich's speech notes that she was also a part of NAM (New American Movement), which was the feminist socialist organization for which Saralee Hamilton had been a traveling organizer before coming to the NWP in 1975.

their overlap into resolution. Feminism, for Ehrenreich, was not properly understood in terms of (the more popular-at-the-time) radical feminism that saw male force and patriarchy as universal and obdurate realities. Rather, she claimed that women's oppressions take "different forms in different settings, and the *differences* are of vital importance;" differences meant that change was possible (2, italics in reprint). Additionally, patriarchy, for Ehrenreich, was an anachronistic analytical frame, since it ignored the vital ways in which capitalism restructured social, economic, political, and cultural life since the rise of industrialization. "There is," she proclaimed, "no way to understand sexism as it acts in our lives without putting it in the historical context of capitalism" (3).

Socialism in its popular "mechanistic" way of thinking at the time was also inadequate for Ehrenreich. Rather than seeing class consciousness among wage laborers alone, she argued that class was instead "composed of *people*, and as having a *social* existence quite apart from the capitalist-dominated realm of production" (Ibid., italics in reprint). This meant that the unwaged reproductive and cultural labor of housewives, for example, and the non-productive activities of consumption were properly part of a socialist framework that critiqued more fully the comprehensiveness of capitalist class domination. She continued:

When we think of class in this way, then we see that in fact women who seemed most peripheral, the housewives, are at the very heart of their class—raising children, holding together families, maintaining the social and cultural networks of the community (Ibid.)

Housewives, in her assessment, included those women who may have also already been working as waged laborers outside of their homes. Both waged and unwaged labor was

class-work in Ehrenreich's assessment. Finally, she pointed out that racial oppression was also a conspicuous component of capitalist domination that needed serious attention (4).

Ehrenreich's speech reads like the NWP's rhetoric for their 1978 "Women and Global Corporations" conference and much of the NWP's work on global capitalism thereafter. For example, the conference brochure claimed that global corporations were the "dominant force" in the world's political, economic, and *cultural* systems. "In many cultures," it stated, "women are responsible for passing on cultural and social values, which are often being displaced by values being promoted by western corporations" (NWP 1978b). It also captured the interpolation of gender, race, production, and consumption under capitalist domination by noting that "[c]orporations profit from sexism and racism in both their employment and their advertising practices" (Ibid.). At the conference itself, Saralee Hamilton addressed similar dissonances among relevant movements as Ehrenreich by stating:

Often the thing we look at as the "organized women's movement" has not sufficiently had international concerns on its agenda, or working women's concerns on its agenda, and very often the leadership of labor organizations or groups that are working around a particular liberation struggle have not yet succeeded at fully integrating the survival needs as well as other women's issues in the way they work and the kinds of issues they raise. (NWP 1978c)

The conference was aimed at traversing these gaps.

It seems evident that, as much as any Quaker influence at AFSC, there was also this socialist feminist perspective apprising the NWP's work, its ways of knowing and inquiring, and its methods of gathering more insight from a multitude of people from around the world. I suggest that it was a worldview that more sharply focused and more

radically informed an already-extant commitment to social change within the program. I am inclined to think that it was this element of their work that led to the notion that a movement—a worldwide movement—was what was needed in response to the dominant forces of global capitalism. Perhaps it was even this radical left spirit of revolution that caused the most tension between the NWP and the AFSC. Revolution was not so much the prevailing Quaker disposition at AFSC—though there were accents of revolutionary thinking in the organization at the time (mentioned above), there was also contestation over it.<sup>88</sup> Yet the NWP charged ahead within its networks to build the idea of a cohesive movement for a non-violent society, one that was free of the systemic (and direct) violence imposed by global corporations and the capitalist system undergirding them.

How did the NWP know what it knew, then? The answer lies in these Quaker and feminist perspectives, in the integration of otherwise seemingly religious and secular worldviews. Yet how the NWP was able to operationalize that knowing is also important to consider. Indeed, the independent Women’s Network on Global Corporations (the group that formed out of the 1978 “Women and Global Corporations” conference) failed in less than a year’s time, while the Nationwide Women’s Program lasted for several decades and operated in some fairly influential circles. How was this possible? I answer this question below only after having heretofore explored the religio-secular blurring that occurs in this “other country” of the American Friends Service Committee and, by extension, the Nationwide Women’s Program. Indeed, this analysis of AFSC/NWP

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<sup>88</sup> For example, in 1977 there was an AFSC Board meeting to discuss the uneasiness of some members over: “the advocacy role which is being assumed by the AFSC (rather than the role of dispassionate observer); the tendency toward taking political stances; the perceived reluctance of those with differing views to voice these views during Board meetings” (among other issues) (AFSC 1977). It was at this special AFSC Board meeting that Dan Seeger’s and John Hunter’s 1976 reflections on Quaker consensus decision-making were re-visited.

religiosity allows us to see “religion” where it otherwise seemed absent. Where else might this interpolation of religion and secularity be tacitly present?

### **The Supplement: Rethinking the Secularity of Western Institutions**

It is possible to argue that, up to this point, my hypothetical “bracketing” of Western, Christian-informed understandings of religion has only made visible a Western Christianity, namely the Religious Society of Friends. In other words, despite the fact that the expression of Quaker religiosity at the AFSC and the NWP was (and remains) a murky religio-secular thing that challenges conventional Western definitions of religion, I have still merely added an (albeit unconventional) Western Christianity to this story. In thinking about globalization, then, it seems that I have only *supplemented* its understanding with the notion that, despite globalization’s secularity, it was/is worthy of the attention of peace and justice seeking Quakers and feminists. Globalization is uniquely defined from these perspectives and therefore shown to be part of an overlooked history of specific origins, forms, and resistances, but it remains mostly in-tact as a secular entity.

Rather than simply “add religion and stir,” however, I want to use the Christian-secular complexity of the AFSC/NWP to reveal a false secularity in the current understandings of globalization and the quiet Christian norms by which it operates. I borrow the concept of the dual nature of the supplement from feminist historian, Joan Scott (1993), who points out that the supplement “is something added, extra, superfluous, above and beyond what is already fully present; it is also a replacement for what is absent, missing, lacking, thus required for completion or wholeness” (241). In this latter

sense, the supplement is destabilizing; instead of simply adding religion or Quaker-feminist understandings of globalization to narratives about globalization, they can occasion a more radical re-thinking of globalization altogether.

I do this work with fuller attention in the next chapter. What I offer here is one final account of how the NWP “knew what it knew” about globalization when it did. In this case, the “how” signifies the institutional means through which the NWP was able to do its work, and why that was the case. I argue that the NWP was able to leverage the institutional inroads that the AFSC had made in the world precisely because of the organization’s interpolation of Christianity and secularity—a recognizable religion-at-large—that was also present within its partner institutions and movements. This lays the groundwork for the lens through which I will view the (Reformed Christian) progress narratives of globalization and the erasure of these earlier resistance movements in the next chapter.

***Quakers in the World: Christianity At-Large in (Supposedly) Secular Spaces***

The final point that I would like to make about how the Nationwide Women’s Program was able to know what it knew about globalization in the 1970’s and 1980’s has to do with Quaker legitimacy in the world. In the Forward to his text, *Some Form of Peace: True Stories of the American Friends Service Committee*, Marvin R. Weisbord (1968) attempts to convey to his readers the influential reach of the American Friends Service Committee at the time of his writing. In 1968 he instructed his readers to: “Pick up almost any issue of *The New York Times*, open it anywhere, let your finger drop, and you are likely pointing to a story which, if investigated far enough, will reveal some

contact with AFSC” (x). He goes on to list what he notes as a partial list of the organization’s work:

The Committee helps migratory farm workers, runs halfway houses for prisoners in California and a community center in East Harlem. For years it has worked on school desegregation, merit employment, and open housing not just in the South, but in the North, the East, and the West. In half a dozen world capitals it sponsors information seminars where diplomats and journalists from many countries come to know each other. It is the only group I know that has paid a man to travel back and forth between East and West Germany talking to officials on each side who, trapped in the Cold War, couldn’t and wouldn’t talk to one another. (xi)

This passage reveals not only the AFSC’s diverse and committed work in the world but also a world open to the AFSC.

What I find most interesting in this reciprocity is how the religio-secular disposition of the AFSC was compatible with otherwise—or supposedly—secular institutions in Western societies. I say “supposedly” because I suspect that there is a mutual recognition of christianity and secularity between the AFSC and, for example, a nation-state, the Nobel Foundation, or the U.N. that betrays these latter institutions’ subtle christian norms. It has occurred to me more than once over the last several years that, if my case study had been a group of feminists in a Muslim organization trying to do good in the world (rather than a Quaker one), it is unlikely that I would have found the same kinds of institutional inroads in Western institutional settings. What does this say about the fact that a Quaker organization was able to make these inroads?

I suggest that it means that the AFSC was both christian-enough and secular-enough to be compatible-enough with these institutions that are assumed to be secular but

are instead still-christian in surprising ways.<sup>89</sup> This is perhaps earliest seen in the work the AFSC did during and shortly after World War I. In honor of the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of the AFSC, Quaker historian, J. William Frost (1992), wrote a history of the these early years, entitled “‘Our Deeds Carry Our Message’: The Early History of the American Friends Service Committee.” This title captures his overall assessment that the AFSC was able to render relief and humanitarian service in conflict areas during World War I and shortly thereafter because it quietly enacted its Christian witness through service rather than through the overt conversion of souls. The AFSC was able to partake in child-feeding programs in Vienna, Austria, Germany, and Russia in the post-war period, he argues, because it had established a reputation for being a “non-political, non-proselytizing efficient relief organization” in France during the war (34). In this regard, the AFSC was secular-enough to meet the demands of secular nation-states that prohibited such proselytization.<sup>90</sup>

Yet the AFSC simultaneously offered a recognizably christian service that suited those in political power who facilitated the AFSC’s presence in conflict-ridden areas. The example of the child-feeding program in post-war Germany exemplifies this. Frost points out that “[b]oth the German government and [U.S. President] Hoover insisted that the AFSC engage in no proselytizing” (36). “But,” Frost continued:

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<sup>89</sup> In addition to being christian- and secular-enough, it is possible to argue that the AFSC was also white-enough, middle-class-enough, Western-enough, and/or male-enough, particularly in the first several decades of its existence, to make these Western institutional connections. As I will argue in Chapter 5, I do not see these as separate from one another but intricately interconnected.

<sup>90</sup> Frost (1992) points out that in France during World War I, it was illegal for the Quaker conscientious war objectors (from AFSC and the British Friends Service Council) to try to convert anyone; they were even discouraged from talking with non-Quakers about the peace testimony. After the war, AFSC staff were explicitly prohibited from proselytizing in Germany and Russia as well, where they carried out more humanitarian work (Ibid.).

Friends were free to discuss their religion with anyone who requested information and there were no explicit limits placed on discussion of the peace testimony. Hoover thought the Germans needed spiritual reform and hoped that a dose of Quaker pacifism might curb their militarism.<sup>91</sup>

Thus, so long as the Quakers were not being too Christian, they were welcome to enact their christian good deeds and perhaps even christianize whomever they encountered. It was repeated situations such as this that led Frost to conclude that the success of the AFSC's work over its first seventy-five years had been because of the organization's "*silent* witnessing for Christ and *pubic* emphasis on good deeds" (40, emphasis mine). Or, in the terms I have cast here, because of its secular-enough and christian-enough disposition.

Another example of the AFSC's religio-secular compatibility with a Western institution comes in its receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1947. Since the AFSC accepted the award with the Friends Service Council on behalf of all Quakers, the Chairman of the Nobel Committee (and, interestingly, also the Director of the Bank of Norway), Gunnar Jahn referred to Quakers more generally in his presentation speech. After chronicling Quaker peace efforts over several prior centuries, Jahn explained that providing more detail on these efforts would still fail to capture the true value of their work, since "[i]t is not the extent of their work or its practical form" that is most important to consider; "[i]t is rather the spirit which animates their work" (as quoted in AFSC 2012b). To make his point Jahn quoted an anonymous young Quaker at length:

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<sup>91</sup> Frost's reference for this latter claim about Hoover is a letter from Charles Rhoads to Wilbur Thomas (both AFSC staff) on May 16, 1919. I was able to locate this letter (actually a cable) in the AFSC archives along with direct correspondences from Hoover, who happened to have been born a Friend (as noted in these documents). There are also notes from a meeting in Paris on April 26, 1919, whereupon AFSC staff tried to convince Hoover that "the key of love will solve the whole world's problems" (AFSC 1919). Hoover later approved the AFSC for this child-feeding program in Germany, stating that it would be "entirely beyond criticism or misunderstanding in such an effort" (Ibid.).

"We weren't sent out to make converts," said a young Quaker, "we've come out for a definite purpose, to build up in a spirit of love what has been destroyed in a spirit of hatred. We're not missionaries. We can't tell if even one person will be converted to Quakerism. Things like that don't happen in a hurry. When our work is finished it doesn't mean that our influence dies with it. We have not come out to show the world how wonderful we are. No, the thing that seems most important is the fact that while the world is waging a war in the name of Christ, we can bind up the wounds of war in the name of Christ. Religion means very little until it is translated into positive action." (Ibid., par. 16).

From this Jahn deduced that the real value of Quaker peace efforts had been in Quakers having “demonstrated the strength which is founded on the faith in the victory of spirit over force” (Ibid., par 20). The AFSC was thus recognized with the Nobel Peace Prize as a Quaker entity having exercised this spiritual strength in the world.

While Jahn may not have capitalized the term “spirit” in his speech, as Quakers in the AFSC typically did (and still do), his words sound strikingly similar to their way of speaking about sacred presence in the world. Here again it is apparent that a supposedly secular institution, in this case the Nobel Foundation, had found compatibility with the christianity at-large in the AFSC’s work. I point to these examples, not to suggest that the AFSC was doing the bidding of nation-states or any other institution *per se*—indeed, it is likely that the AFSC has more often seen itself in opposition to the militarism and oppressive power of nation-states and other Western entities. Instead, I argue that the AFSC’s religio-secular approach, which has enabled the organization’s work throughout the world, reveals the vestigial christianity within these otherwise secular (and even secularizing) institutions.

In the spirit of McGuire’s suggestion that we must re-examine our definition of religion in order to have a more nuanced understanding of it under the conditions of globalization, I suggest that the AFSC’s resonance with Western institutions can tell us

something about globalization and the disappearance of the early movements resisting it. Indeed, it was this religio-secularity that influenced the NWP's work on globalization in the first place. Two brief examples should suffice in making this point (particularly because I expand further upon them in the next chapter). First, the NWP facilitated its own similar kinds of institutional connections that were (likely) underwritten by the AFSC's (quasi-christian/quasi-secular) reputation. The letter from the U.N.'s Program Officer of the Non-Governmental Liaison Service, Michael McCoy to Saralee Hamilton in 1982 reveals this kind of relationship. The letter acknowledges the U.N.'s recent recognition that many of the issues of concern brought to light by the New International Economic Order "are all women's issues" (McCoy 1982). Noting that the power asymmetries that exist among nations are also reflected in the lack of political and economic power held by women in many countries, McCoy explained to Hamilton that the U.N. would be holding public education fora to raise awareness of these issues in preparation for the End-Decade Women's Conference in Nairobi in 1985. McCoy ends his letter with the following (assumed) appeal:

We have submitted a proposal to appropriate UN agencies to fund educational workshops throughout North America in preparation for the 1985 conference. NWP, as well as the AFSC regional network, will certainly be considered an integral part of this organizing effort, and we look forward to the collaboration. (NWP 1982)

The NWP, and the AFSC more generally, were likely considered suitable (i.e. non-proselytizing yet morally-recognizable) partners in this endeavor.

Secondly, the AFSC's non-proselytizing position was secular-enough to attract many secular feminists who were already doing activist and scholarly work on globalization (or multinational corporations). The NWP Director, Saralee Hamilton, and

long-time NWP Committee member, Barbara Ehrenreich, as already addressed, were socialist feminists who found their interests to be augmented by the AFSC's institutional connections and their alignment with many leftist movements (at least for some of the NWP's tenure). There was also a likely resonance with some of the AFSC's christian norms and the Quaker ways of seeing the world in the formative years of the NWP.

What these examples show is that a re-thinking of religion in the case of the AFSC and NWP can occasion a re-thinking of religion and secularity in other places. This sets the groundwork for the next chapter, in which I explore the religio-secularity of the "other country" of socialist feminism, on the one hand, and neoliberal globalization, on the other. With this lens, I try to answer the question of what happened to the history of these early globalization resistances and the narratives that marked globalization's inception to a particular time in history, namely, at the rise of the global corporation.

In the next chapter, I also use the work that I have done here to explore the christian elements of globalization "progress" that disappear its own histories, and how Quaker, feminist, and socialist dispositions at the NWP might have, in a similar way, contributed to its own elision from the records of antiglobalization movements today. The NWP had, after all, a vision that mirrored perhaps too much the top-down universal narrative of the global economy. In seeing these universalisms, it is possible to see the progress narratives of the global economy, the universal aims of "development" (not unlike civilizing in the colonial era). With this even-further looking, we might have what McGuire calls for in a more thorough and nuanced understanding of religion and other cultural elements under the conditions of globalization.

## CHAPTER 5

### ERASURES: THE DISAPPEARANCE OF “EARLY” GLOBALIZATION RESISTANCE MOVEMENTS OR THE SUPPERSESSIONARY TRIUMPH OF NEOLIBERALISM

In place of the dark and cruel superstitions of old time, with the crushing weight of a strong cult of priests, we have a free and growing church, branching steadily wider as more minds differ, and coming nearer always to that final merging of religion in life which shall leave them indistinguishable.

--Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Social Reformer, 1910

There has been much talk about the 80's being a crucial decade and I believe it is. If we don't take back our destiny now we may never have another chance.

--Holly Sklar, NWP Committee Member, 1980

By reconstructing the path we have traveled, I hope to shed light on the challenges we face today—in a time of massive economic crisis, social uncertainty, and political realignment.

--Nancy Fraser, Socialist Feminist, 2009

The preceding chapters have established that, in the 1970's and 1980's, there was a dense network of transnational organizing against global capitalism, in which the Nationwide Women's Program played an instrumental role. From the NWP's perspective, the network activities of information sharing, linking interested parties, strategizing with other activists, and producing shared meanings were done in the service of threading together the myriad mobilizations that were already underway in many locations around the world. In short, I have argued that enough identifiable

antiglobalization social movement activity was happening four decades ago to warrant our attention, to call into question contemporary, taken-for-granted accounts that instead mark globalization resistances more recently—most typically, at least in Western popular and scholarly accounts, at the “Battle of Seattle” in 1999.

While the previous chapter explored some of the sources of the Nationwide Women’s Program’s unique epistemology and methodology that poised it to identify, connect with, and showcase a plethora of challenges to globalization, there remains a burning question: what happened to it all? What happened to the NWP, and what happened to all of the antiglobalization activity that it witnessed and further promoted? I do not mean these questions in the sense of the life cycle of social movements, as in the winding down of periods of intense activity or the quelling of a movement by a counter-movement. These are worthy points of entry in order to entertain these questions, but I am more concerned with what I see as the erasure of this prior movement/activity. It is one thing for social movements to change form, slow down, or end; it is quite another to be omitted from historical memory.<sup>92</sup>

Recall from Chapter 1 that I became familiar with the NWP’s antiglobalization analyses and activities during the same time that I was engaging early twenty-first century texts addressing the same topic of globalization. There was no mention in these latter texts of the record of activity I encountered in the AFSC archives. Instead, the contemporary texts rhetorically marked the start of globalization—or “real” globalization,

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<sup>92</sup> Or, at least in this case, I mean the “social consensus” of historical memory, as Joan Scott (1993) might call it. Those who were part of these prior movements likely remember them and preserve them within their own “counter memories” (Kamel 2012), but they remain marginalized accounts of widely-accepted historical truth.

as it supposedly got going at the pace and scope we experience today—at the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989; antiglobalization was discursively marked at 1999, when antiglobalization protesters shut down the World Trade Organization meeting being held there.<sup>93</sup> There seemed to be an active invisibilization of anything that came before.

Even if the authors were unaware of what came before, their work functioned as both a reflection and further generation of a revisionist narrative, based on (male) gender and (middle) class biases and the triumph of capitalism. The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, for example, symbolized how capitalism has superseded the failing systems of state-run communism; the protests in Seattle in 1999 reflected a contingent of middle class activists that the influential authors writing about globalization could recognize (perhaps feel threatened by and/or sympathetic with). Finally, the women laborers and activists resisting globalization for the last four decades were beyond their purview.

This is not the first movement to be discursively expunged, or perhaps it is more accurate to say that this one's elision is part of a larger forgetting of radical movements within the U.S. In her "Notes Toward a Politics of Location," Adreinne Rich (1984) referred—already in 1984—to a "blanketing snow" that "had begun to drift over the radical history of the United States" (221). She continued:

And, though parts of the North American feminist movement actually sprang from the Black movements of the sixties and the student left, feminists suffered not only from the burying and distortion of women's experience, but from the overall burying and distortion of the great movements for social change. (221-222)

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<sup>93</sup> John Agnew's (2005) *Hegemony: The New Shape of Power* marks the start of globalization (or the spread of multinational corporations) to the same time period as the NWP, yet there is no mention whatsoever of contemporaneous movements resisting it in his text.

What I aim to do in this chapter is begin to consider one particular mechanism by which some of this erasure might have taken place.<sup>94</sup>

With regard to the antiglobalization movement(s) of the 1970's and 1980's, there are a number of different things to point to as causes for its disappearance. There are, of course, the pervasive and powerful neoliberal policies and practices of deregulation, privatization, and austerity that became, despite resistance, even more wide-spread during the 1980's especially and thereafter, limiting counter movements for change in a variety of ways (Harvey 2007; Fernández-Kelly 2007). The increased geographic mobility of capital, institutionally supported by the later consolidation of the World Trade Organization, also undermined labor organizing movements (Clawson and Clawson 1999). Each of these elements was on the NWP's radar and that of their similarly-interested cohorts, but their scope and dominance was likely beyond the NWP's imagining. It was in the face of these very things that their efforts waned.

Beyond policies and practices, there is also what Foucault (2008) calls neoliberal governmentality, a ubiquitous economic rationality that moves market and government spheres to govern individual bodies through disciplining discourses that produce the free, entrepreneurial individual: the neoliberal subject within (also see Brown 2005 and Lemke 2001). This is a formidable ideological formation of globalization that activists in the 1970's and 1980's likely did not anticipate, one that could have papered-over and/or re-visioned prior efforts. In the context of neoliberal governmentality, there also occurred a

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<sup>94</sup> I am grateful to Rachael Kamel, who, after reading a draft of an earlier chapter pointed out that the NWP was situated within larger Left movements, which also have been hidden. She recommended that I return to Rich's "Notes Toward a Politics of Location" to better historically situate the case of the NWP and their interlocutors.

professionalization of NGO's (non-governmental organizations) that challenged not only the NWP but many of the NGO's in its network (Guenther 2011; Hulme and Edwards 1997). The American Friends Service committee went the way of this professionalization, adding further tension between it and the NWP and contributing to the NWP's inert presence in the organization by the time I was introduced to it in 2007.<sup>95</sup> Finally, there is also the more specific story of the NWP's leadership. Saralee Hamilton was a spitfire of a leader at the NWP and beyond, and she was persistent in her efforts to foment an anti-racist, transnational anti-capitalist movement. Her illness and her death in 2006 likely also played a role in the quelling—and perhaps even forgetting—of this activity.

Each of these possible causes is worthy of exploring further in considering the great caper of the missing “early” antiglobalization movements. In choosing a related but different direction, I do not mean to de-emphasize any of these or other influential forces. The research I have presented up to this point calls for more investigation into each of these possibilities. Yet what I would like to begin to think about here, or what the work in the previous chapter points to as a critical area for further study, is the possibility that the Nationwide Women's Program deployed subtle yet powerful christian-informed progress narratives that were part and parcel of their own disappearance *because* they were resonant with the same progress narratives by which globalization functioned and

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<sup>95</sup> Recall from Chapter 4 Dan Seeger's 1976 assessment of AFSC's uniqueness: “We wish to be open to the Spirit” (AFSC 1977). By the 1990's, a different tone existed in the organization, exemplified in a January 1995 attempt to clarify decision-making procedures. It begins with this claim: “Ultimate power in the AFSC is the power of the purse. If we do not do a good job, contributions will gradually disappear” (AFSC 1995). Additionally, between 2007 and 2009/2010 (the two periods of my presence in the AFSC archives) the AFSC's office space went from looking like a haphazard, passionate, decentralized (grassroots) thing to looking like an insurance agency's office, replete with cubicles and corporate-looking office furniture.

continues to function. There are in these narratives critical erasures that must be addressed, ones that continue to universalize otherwise particularized yet hegemonic norms of race, class, gender, sexuality, ability, nationality, citizenship, religion, etc., despite persistent efforts to disrupt them.

Indeed, when I was unable to see “religion” in the NWP’s documents during my first encounter with them in 2007, it was not only because I did not recognize the tacit interpolation of Christianity and secularity through which the AFSC’s and NWP’s Quakerism took form. It was because there had also been an erasure of the much-more-present, much-more-overt Quaker references to God, Christ, religiosity, and/or witnessing for peace in the NWP’s world prior to the 1978 documents I initially read. Overt Quaker Christianity was missing from the later texts that I initially engaged, but it was pervasive in the earlier ones I discovered during my 2009-2010 return to the archives. Upon returning, and widening (and deepening) my scope upon the NWP, this earlier Quaker presence came to the fore. It was almost as if there were two NWP’s: the one prior to the 1978 “Women and Global Corporations” conference in Des Moines and the one afterward. Actually, the difference seemed to be introduced more finely after the 1979 formation of the first (externally comprised) Nationwide Women’s Program Committee. This reflects the NWP’s own enactment of an erasure of its more overtly religious past, or its own secular “progression.”

I suggest that the argument presented in the previous chapter sets the stage for seeing “religion” where it otherwise seems absent from secular settings, in this case within secular-seeming feminist movements and secular-seeming globalization. Here I do not bring to the surface a Western Christianity (i.e. unmarked Quaker belief and

practice) within the NWP's work, but the unmarked christian progress narratives that underscored the NWP's movement away from overt Christianity to the universalized liberation struggles of the socialist and otherwise radical or Left-leaning feminists within the NWP's staff, committee, and wider circle of activists. This kind of looking can shed light on the similar kinds of (christian) progress narratives by which globalization is promoted in popular and scholarly circles, and therefore how the former got dissolved into the latter.

### **Unmarked Christianity in the Nationwide Women's Program: A Third Glance**

In her essay, "Feminism, Capitalism, and The Cunning of History," Nancy Fraser confronts a common critique of second wave feminism: that it was successful in transforming culture yet failed in transforming institutions. While she sees some credence in this critique, she argues that it does not go far enough to reveal the troubling ways in which the wide diffusion of feminist cultural norms has unwittingly buttressed the social transformation of neoliberal capitalism. Essentially, she claims that second wave feminism, broadly speaking, meritoriously tested several aspects of state-run capitalism (or welfare state capitalism) at a time when that capitalism was reorganizing itself into the "post-Fordist, 'disorganized,' transnational" capitalism of today (98). In a "cunning of history," she argues, feminists' effective mix of economic, political, and cultural challenges to the economism, androcentrism, étatism, and Westphalianism of state-run capitalism were disaggregated and resignified in order to *legitimate* these very same aspects of neoliberalism.

Fraser makes a cogent argument, with convincing examples of how neoliberalism has co-opted second wave feminism, and I applaud her introspection. It is important to look within a movement or ideology to find its vulnerabilities, contradictions, and/or imperialisms, particularly when such a movement or ideology aims to do good in the world or to seek justice. Yet critical to Fraser's argument is that second wave feminism was hoodwinked, or that it was distracted by an outmoded form of capitalism (i.e. state-run) when another was taking hold (i.e. neoliberal). Her argument cannot hold with the second wave feminisms present in the NWP and its networks. They were, in fact—in the 1970's and 1980's (or the midst of second wave feminism)—confronting the inception of this capitalist reorganization; post-Fordist, “disorganized,” transnational capitalism was the very focus of their movement.<sup>96</sup>

So how might we engage in the same laudatory introspection as Fraser, yet account for the acuity of the NWP's challenge, along with scores of other interested, on-the-ground actors, to global capitalism? I suggest that we turn to the work of two scholars who might assist us with an exploration into the christian progress narratives of the Nationwide Women's Program and the socialist feminisms found therein. The first scholar is Tracey Fessenden (2007), who, in *Culture and Redemption: Religion, the Secular, and American Literature*, looks at the progress narratives of U.S. secular feminism through its valorization of late nineteenth and early twentieth century writer

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<sup>96</sup> I suppose I should not overstate the awareness among NWP staff, committee members, and partners. While I am somewhat enchanted by them, Rachael Kamel (2012) assures me that they had no idea of the immensity of what they were up against or its malignant outcomes. She claims, for example, that she and her cohorts did not see NAFTA on the horizon or the WTO. Still, I think there is enough evidence in the *Women and Global Corporations* inserts to suggest that they were well aware of what was in front of them, and that was not state-run capitalism. Indeed, there were far too many campaigns waged against transnational corporations themselves for these folks to have thought that the state was the sole reigning power toward which to direct their activities.

and social reformer, Charlotte Perkins Gilman. The second scholar, Jane Flax (1992), proclaims in “The End of Innocence,” that Marxism (among other epistemological frames), has functioned problematically for socialist feminists as a projected, transcendent, and universal truth whose partiality has since been revealed, thus making it an unviable paradigm for feminists to promote.<sup>97</sup>

In many ways, the religion of reason of which Charlotte Perkins Gilman wrote in the early twentieth century sounds very similar to the religion-as-life that Rufus Jones wrote about (around the same time), which found expression at the AFSC and in the formation and work of the NWP. Yet there was an even fuller evolution of this religion as life in the NWP’s trajectory away from overt Christian/Quaker references to unmarked progressive, socialist-informed movement for liberation that formed some of the rhetoric at the NWP. Fessenden shows how Gilman’s racist and elitist ideologies make their way in through the back door of her protestant-secular feminism, which contemporary feminists wrongly celebrate today. I suggest that there are perhaps unwitting exclusions and cultural imperialisms that make their way through the back door of the NWP’s progressive social movement efforts vis-à-vis global capitalism.

In proposing this possibility, I do not want to oversimplify the complexity of the NWP’s disposition, to posit that they always deployed obvious, linear supersessionary moves in their work. It is more accurate to say that their perspectives reveal a messy,

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<sup>97</sup> I see this work as part of the larger conversation among scholars, like those in the *Secularisms* (Jakobsen and Pellegrini 2008) volume, who, rather than enter directly into the social science discourses about secularization and its attachment to modernity, circumvent these conversations by addressing the following: the *normative* elements of Enlightenment secularism, the ways in which this secularism was inflected by Reformed Christianity, and how it has been exported and indigenized in different places to produce different kinds of secularisms informed by different kinds of religious forms in those places. This framework draws heavily on Weber’s (1958) analysis in, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, which should be included in any further study on this matter.

circuitous linearity—one that is mostly worthy of praise but could still stand to be checked or called into accountability. An example from the NWP’s newsletter will help to make this case. As noted in the previous chapter, the *Friendly Woman* and the *AFSC Women’s Newsletter* were published together for a year (1976). The splitting of these two newsletters, with the overt Quaker presence that stayed with the former and was mostly glutted from the latter, is a supersessionary move worth contemplating. Yet the example I mean to focus on actually invokes Charlotte Perkins Gilman. In the November-December 1976 issue of the *Friendly Woman/AFSC Women’s Newsletter*, there is a revised illustration of da Vinci’s Last Supper. Instead of the apostles at the table, there are (from left to right): Rosa Parks, Emmeline Pankhurst, Harriet Tubman, Gertrude Stein, Kathe Kollwitz, Sojourner Truth, “Everywoman” (in the center), Virginia Woolf, Emma Goldman, Susan B. Anthony, Angela Davis, Mother Jones, and Charlotte Perkins Gilman.

Aside from the obvious temporal non-linearity (i.e. women from different centuries and decades gathered together at this table), there is also the gathering-together of women from different races, classes, and religious affiliations. Furthermore, there are the added complexities found in the accompanying caption. It notes first, that this Last Supper is actually “one of many suppers—we don’t go for this one-ultimate-solution stuff,” and second, that this illustration by Lorie Leininger first appeared on the cover of *The Feminist Seder*, a Jewish feminist publication edited by Sherry Flashman and Peggy Sablove. At first glance, then, this seems to be a wonderfully, non-linear, messy cacophony of voices, a counter-progress narrative of sorts. Yet I suggest that therein lies the tricky subtlety of christianity functioning as a religion-at-large. Upon closer

inspection of this illustration, the “Everywoman” (an already-universalizing move) at the table looks a lot like da Vinci’s portrayal of Jesus Christ; she is, like his Jesus, at the center, with long hair and out-stretched arms with the others gathered around her. Who is this “Everywoman;” who defines her and by what criteria? Furthermore, are the diverse women in this group supposed to see themselves in her and/or to be saved by her?

Additionally, there is also no mention of how Charlotte Perkins Gilman might feel about dining together with women who were of a race that she deemed savage, that her rational “religion in life” was supposed to progress her beyond. Does the “Everywoman” at the center of the table aim to usher in a similar “religion in life” or unmarked christianity that unwittingly reproduces exclusions and oppressions even as it aims to undermine them? Finally, this illustration follows an article in the *Friendly Woman*, entitled “On Sexism and Feminism,” wherein the author, Cynthia Adcock, writes in search of “a universal love that transcends the battle of the sexes” and in the “belief that a thoroughly radical feminism must be grounded in love that transcends gender” (3). There are christian-informed, universalizing thrusts to this language as well.

The question remains as to what elements of this unmarked christianity permeated the Nationwide Women’s Program as it moved away from the *Friendly Woman*, from the internally comprised NWP Support Group, and toward the externally comprised NWP Committee and the transnational feminisms it engaged more and more as time went on. I propose that in this “progression” we might find some explanation for the persistent exclusions that took place at the NWP (in the same way that the AFSC was persistently enacting sexism and paternalized racism despite its better efforts) and perhaps its erasure

into the larger universalizing narratives of globalization. Alas, the NWP was not innocent.

This perspective sheds light on the complaint at the 1978 “Women and Global Corporations” conference that, although the Third World Women’s Caucus was a “significant presence throughout, raising issues that would have been overlooked,” there was apparently a “scarcity of Third World Women on the task force” that planned the meeting and a “failure to consider racism systematically” at the conference itself (Rein 1978). Despite the fact that Native American women were present at the conference, post-conference evaluations revealed that their concerns were not adequately addressed (Ibid.). In fact, the *Women and Global Corporations* inserts over the next decade did draw some attention to Native American women’s issues here and there, but the overwhelming focus of the publication was on labor-intensive manufacturing in the U.S. and abroad, not the resource extraction practices and land-rights issues of Native peoples (which had, in fact, a much longer history).

As noted previously, there were also several Jewish women that were part of the NWP staff or committee, yet this was, for the most part, a muted identity in the context of challenging global corporations. Even if their Jewish identities, like other NWP women’s Quaker identities, drew them to this area of concern in the first place, it was not “worked out” on the pages of the NWP’s primary publication as Quaker feminism had been. In “Feminisms and Secularisms,” Kathleen Sands (2008) paraphrases Jewish feminist Letty Pogrebin by writing that “most Jewish feminists [in second-wave feminism] did not connect their Judaism to their feminist activism, assuming or perhaps wanting to believe that the secularism of feminism was in fact neutral and inclusive” (317). Yet Sands

suggests that this secular promise of inclusivity was likely not met—“if modern Western secularism constitutes a descendent of Christian universalism,” she argues, “it may carry an inherent anti-Semitism that Jews have learned to navigate, just as they have navigated their way within Christian hegemony” (318).<sup>98</sup> I submit that this is something worth exploring within the Nationwide Women’s Program, to get a sense of its hegemonic, universalizing work, despite its best efforts to the contrary and to get a sense of how it might have functioned in its own erasure.

Finally, there is the unavoidable reality that the NWP was housed within a Western Christian organization in the United States, with the financial means to communicate (primarily in English) to an international audience, with occasional partnership with powerful Western institutions. From this position, the NWP aimed to stitch together a transnational feminist movement against global capitalism in the interests of women’s liberation. The NWP’s newsletter (within which *Women and Global Corporations* resided) was, after all, entitled *Listen Real Loud: News of Women’s Liberation Worldwide* (from Spring 1985 onward). Yet the NWP had editorial control of representing what that liberation looked like. As I have already argued in the previous chapter, that editorial power took the form of Quaker and feminist consensus models, drawing together a cacophony of voices and concerns. Yet are there traces of unmarked christian progress narratives within this broadly-informed social movement-making labor that enacted its own elisions, exclusions, and/or hegemonies? Sklar’s (1980) call for “a

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<sup>98</sup> This kind of dynamic, of learning to navigate Christian hegemony, could explain how Leinenger’s no-so-Last Supper, with a Christ-like “Everywoman,” could make it on the cover of *The Feminist Seder*.

strong, sustained, progressive movement” on the front page of the Fall 1980 issue of *Women and Global Corporations* suggests that further study of this possibility is needed.

It is in this article that Sklar warned readers of the 1980’s being “a crucial decade,” but to whom was she referring when she wrote that “if we don’t take our destiny back now we may never have another chance”—and what “destiny” did she have in mind? (7). Overall, the movement that the NWP envisioned was one that recognized differences among women but rarely brought to light the oppressions between and among them (or, in other words, it erased the histories of racism and imperialism between women of different races, classes, nationalities even as it worked to unite such women).

Is it worth mentioning my discomfort in proposing this investigation into the NWP’s complicity in its own erasure (and that of the overall movement it tried to create)? I feel a sense of betrayal in making this recommendation. I am not sure if this bespeaks more my own enthrallment with the women of the NWP or a useful affinity for the valuable work they did across race, class, citizenship status, and geography. The NWP’s efforts, and the agencies and mobilizations of other people and groups from the U.S. and around the world that it brought together, are not to be belittled or even undermined through critique. After all, they augmented and furthered complex alliances across difference at a time when it has been purported to not have happened (part of the larger erasure of radical pasts beyond the NWP). Yet to place them on a pedestal without flaw would be to do them a disservice. In the spirit of the NWP’s own commitment to consensus, it is worth engaging this position of different inquiry, this “third glance.” To do so will also shed light on some of the ways in which globalization functions as a

dominant “progressive” and universalizing force, which the women of the NWP would have appreciated.

### **The Supersession of Neoliberalism and Narratives of Erasure**

One possible reason for the erasure of the Nationwide Women’s Program and its fellow activists from contemporary accounts of globalization is that they mirrored too closely the thing they were challenging; that is, they were battling a universalizing top-down globalization with a sometimes universalizing globalism from below. Said differently, sociologist of religion William A. Stahl (2007) writes that the ineffectiveness of liberal Christianity’s resistance to globalization “results, in part at least, because liberal Christianity is itself a modern movement and therefore has few means with which to resist globalization” (350). Of course, there was more than a liberal Christianity at work in the NWP; there were also the tacit christian norms of the AFSC’s religio-secular values and those of Quaker feminists and socialist feminists (among other radical feminists) that found compatibility with one another and with influential Western institutions. This occasions the opportunity to seek out the religio-secularity (or christian-secularity) within the progress narratives of globalization as well.

The notion of progress is taken for granted in many contemporary accounts of globalization, particularly among those who promote it in popular texts but also among scholars who purport to study it more dispassionately. The term “progress” itself is commonly invoked in these texts, but it is also used inter-changeably with similar terms, such as advancement (as in technological advancement), development, growth, post-industrial, and/or emerging markets, each representing human evolution along some

linear trajectory of time and civilization (or modernization). Together they function as an influential metanarrative that portrays globalization as a natural and inevitable force, even if some policies and practices could be differently shaped, reformed, etc. I propose that this metanarrative of globalization (or neoliberalism) reflects the ways in which Reformed Christianity influenced Enlightenment notions of secular progress, which remains a persistent paradigm in Western ways of seeing and behaving in the world today. That is, what seems like a purely secular realm of global capitalism, is instead a normative entity that is deeply informed by an unmarked, secularized christian way of seeing time, work, property, productivity, or progress.

Consider this one example. In his highly influential *The World Is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-First Century*, Thomas Friedman (2009) begins his opening chapter of a text in awe of globalization with the following epigraph:

Your Highness, as Catholic Christians, and princes who love and promote the holy Christian faith, and are enemies of the doctrine of Mahomet, and of all idolatry and heresy, determined to send me, Christopher Columbus, to the above-mentioned countries of India, to see the said princes, people, and territories, and to learn their disposition and the proper method of converting them to our holy father; and furthermore directed that I should not proceed by land to the East, as is customary, but by a Westerly route, in which the direction we have hitherto no certain evidence that anyone has gone. (Christopher Columbus, as quoted in Friedman 2009)

Rather than critique the Christian-imperialist nature of these words, Friedman uses them to liken his own twenty-first century journey to that of Christopher Columbus more than five centuries prior. Friedman writes of his own “Columbus-like journey of exploration” to the Silicon Valley region of Bangalore, India in 2005 as such:

Columbus was searching for hardware—precious metals, silk, and spices—the sources of wealth in his day. I was searching for software, brainpower, complex

algorithms, knowledge workers, call centers, transmission protocols, breakthroughs in optical engineering—the sources of wealth in our day. (4)

He also compares their routes and their outcomes: Columbus went west; Friedman traveled East, Columbus concluded that the world was round; Friedman concluded that it was “flat” (5). In this rendering, Friedman performs a sort of fast-forward progress narrative, erasing Christian imperialism (and moving deftly through Protestant/Enlightenment influences without their mention) even as he invokes it in his account of the supposedly secular aspects of globalization. He does not mention (beyond the epigraph) Columbus’ intent to convert Indians to Christianity or his anti-Muslim sentiments; Friedman highlights only the market-oriented aspects of that early “journey of exploration” (4). Friedman’s own journey is also supposedly only about secular market interests, yet threaded throughout *The World is Flat* is a post-9/11 preoccupation with “Islamists,” “Muslim terrorists,” and/or “al-Qaeda” (with index entries for each of these). The idea of progress, which he repackages in the language of movement from Globalization 2.0 to Globalization 3.0, is also riddled throughout his work.

I have selected to focus on Friedman for a reason: his wide-reaching audience. During the summer of 2007, when I alternated between “The Globalization Debate” course at Temple University and the AFSC archives, I had one additional experience that emphasized even further the distance between these two spaces, despite their topical proximity. In late June of 2007, I received in the mail the alumni magazine, *Bucknell World*, from my undergraduate alma mater, Bucknell University. On the back cover was

a submission by one of my fellow classmates, Chad P. Bown, who was then a professor of economics at Brandeis University.<sup>99</sup>

Bown's piece was about his experience of developing and co-teaching a course on globalization with, as he put it, "a man known to many as Mr. Globalization, Thomas L. Friedman." Bown explained: "I quickly discovered that in this new age of Globalization 3.0, as [Friedman] refers to it, Thomas Friedman is a globalization celebrity" (40). In preparing for one of the class meetings from which Friedman would be absent, Bown describes his internet search for streaming videos of Friedman in this way:

My YouTube search did locate Tom Friedman video clips...a video of Tom from Tim Russert's NBC program, *Meet the Press*. A second clip showed Tom with Katie Couric from her inaugural *CBS News* broadcast...a clip of Tom Friedman on the *Daily Show with John Stewart* and then a video in which Tom is parodied in a *Saturday Night Live* skit...To a set of college students in today's flat world, YouTube clips of Tom Friedman via John Stewart + SNL = globalization celebrity indeed (40).

Given Bown's assessment, Friedman was likely maintained as the expert, the legitimate authority on the subject of globalization, during this joint teaching venture at Brandeis. It is highly unlikely that the course covered the activities or analyses of the transnational antiglobalization networks of the 1970's and 1980's, let alone their insistence that the world was not flat (or made more equal via globalization).

This, finally, calls into question the modifier "early" regarding these prior resistance movements. Upon what criteria, or against what measures, might the globalization analysis and/or critique of the 1970's and 1980's be considered early? The argument offered here suggests that the NWP's antiglobalization work only seemed early

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<sup>99</sup> Bown joined the World Bank in 2009 as a Senior Economist in the Trade and International Integration Development Research Group (World Bank 2012).

in the shadow of contemporary accounts of globalization that elide such work and pretend as if globalization is something new, seemingly always new in its (re)articulations in an ahistorical, advancing now. Certainly, with my own initial introduction to globalization discourses (which included Friedman's *The World is Flat*), I saw contemporary conversations about globalization as the discovery of it. Therefore, the NWP documents in the AFSC archives seemed, at first, to be beacons of some impressive, prescient knowledge. I was intrigued, even mystified. Yet, upon further inspection, it became apparent that its work was not early at all; it was chronologically commensurate with the shifting economy from a state-organized world capitalism to a corporate-organized global paradigm.

It seems possible that with its "progressive" thrust forward through linear time, with its universalizing norms of secularity and a host of social hierarchies, the christianity at-large within globalization has been able to dissolve the same universalizing, progress narratives of its opponents, taking what was useful and forgetting the rest. In *Defense of Global Capitalism*, Johan Norberg (2003) enacts a disconcerting co-optation of this feminist universalizing, arguing that globalization helps women around the world progress beyond oppression. Noting the positive, global spread of Western communication/media technology, he writes:

Indian women who can see on television that women are not necessarily housewives begin to contemplate careers in law or medicine. Some Chinese women who had previously been isolated have been inspired to press demands for greater autonomy and to make decisions of their own by the website *gaogenxie.com*. The site's name, which means "high-heeled shoes," is a symbol of freedom contrasting with the tradition of bound feet. (272)

Here, Norberg, a Senior Fellow at the influential Cato Institute (with a motto of “Individual Liberty, Free Markets and Peace”), assumes what liberation and progress look like for women, even if different in different situations. It is a “liberation” informed by prevailing mock-feminist Western norms and values.

I suggest that religion scholars interested in understanding religion in the context of globalization would do well to consider the unmarked christian hegemonies within globalization discourse, bracketing Western-Christian-informed definitions of religion in order see other, more troubling secular formations.<sup>100</sup> I believe that investigations of this sort might, at the very least, problematize the anti-Islamic thrust to globalization’s promotion and its theory; it may also challenge the taken-for-granted yet unsustainable emphasis on growth economies.

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In closing, I join Fraser (2009) in wanting to consider these erasures—and feminists’ complicity in them—in the context of “massive economic crisis, social uncertainty, and political realignment” (98). Fraser was writing with hope at the start of Barak Obama’s (first) presidency. I write at this moment after having watched the first U.S. presidential debate between Barak Obama and Mitt Romney and the vice presidential debate between Joe Biden and Paul Ryan, where middle class concerns have been repeatedly

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<sup>100</sup> I mean this inquiry in a manner different from Loy (1999) and Hopkins (2001), who make compelling arguments about how globalization functions *as* a religion. While I find their approaches interesting, they still operate with the Western Christian understandings of religion, with a God, a creed, a morality as the model of measurement, without recognizing those as Christian assumptions or seeing the secularized protestant secularisms within the supposed “religion” of the market.

(unabashedly) invoked. I see this focus on the middle class as the unfortunate success of the Occupy Wall Street movements: though the encampments are gone, the various occupations brought to light how the middle classes in the U.S. are now the targets of oppressive neoliberal policies. Yet, as the NWP archival material shows, there have been many people—poor and working class people along with some middle class allies in the U.S. and around the world—who have been the “beneficiaries” of global economic restructuring for decades, and they too have been raising their voices, fighting back. Yet the trajectory of the discourse today has left these struggles out. The middle class is now the focus; the domestic U.S. economy the supposed cause of hardship and the antidote.

While the Nationwide Women’s Program serves as a case study to shed light on a long legacy of the hazards of globalization and the movements resisting them, it can also serve as a warning. The Occupiers’ language of the 99% has been too homogenizing, too universalizing. We see from the NWP that, despite concerted and repeated efforts to address difference, the persistence of universalizing norms is difficult to avoid. This is the case, at least in part, because of the allure of the progress narratives of Protestant/Reformed Christianity that pervade Western thinking, our linear ways of seeing the world, our understanding of advancement, of moving forward, of superseding that which came before. The concept of forward-moving progress informs the global capitalist obsession with growth, development, advancement, and sometimes they also (unwittingly and unfortunately) inform the modern movements resisting them.

Is there a way to avoid this, particularly for those seeking to challenge the excesses of global capitalism today? Perhaps an answer, for now, is to be mindful of them, to persist in countering them, to be vigilant. To a point, the Nationwide Women’s

Program provided a model of this kind of vigilance, without the important step of looking at their own universalizing thrusts, their own complicity in the oppressions of “women” as differently situated women. A further look into the mechanisms of these progress narratives at the NWP and within globalization indeed provides more insight as to how to avoid them.

**Appendix**—Inventory of *Women and Global Corporations* content from 1978 - 1988

<b>Organizations Featured</b>	<b>Location of organization</b>	<b>Type of contribution</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Concern/Issue</b>
<b>Winter 1978-79</b>				
NWP	Philadelphia, PA	Article Reprint: “Women and Global Corporations” Conference	Marcy Rein (conference participant)	Information sharing and movement building against global corporations; <i>Off Our Backs</i> reprint
AFSC—Hawaii	Hawaii office	Article: “Hawaii Conference on Women and Multinationals”	No author	Agribusiness: Castle and Cook; women as laborers and consumers
<b>Summer 1980</b>				
Women’s Network on Global Corporations	San Francisco, CA	Article: “Women’s Network on Global Corporations Forms”	No author	Networking and information clearing house for fighting global corporations
Boston Women’s Health Book Collective	Somerville, MA	Article: “Depo Provera, Upjohn and Third World Health”	No author	Stop “dumping” of illegal drugs in third world counties
<i>Mother Jones</i>	San Francisco	Announcement: “The Corporate Crime of the Century”	No author	Announcing Mother Jones article on “dumping” of lethal products
Women’s Network on Global Corporations	San Francisco, CA	Article: “Role of Women in Transnational Corporate Expansion”	Jeb Mays, WNGC	Summary of the conference “Women and the Transnationalization of Capital” in Juarez, Mexico
<i>Multinational Monitor</i>	Washington, D.C.	Announcement: “Multinational Monitor”	No author	Announcing the monthly mag. that examines multinational corps.
NWP	Philadelphia, PA	Announcement: “Women & Global Corporations: Work Roles Resistance”	No author	Announcing the publications from the conference
INFACT (Infant Formula Action Coalition)	Minneapolis, MN	Article: “Continue Nestles Boycott”	No author	Success with WHO and Nestle; continue boycott: list of foods and brand names to avoid
ISIS; International Feminist Network	Geneva; Rome,	Announcement: “ISIS”	No author	Resource and documentation center; communication channel

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<b>Summer 1980 Cont'd</b>				
U.N. Office for Public Information	No address	Reprint of a U.N. statement: In most countries situation of women, worsened	Reprint of a U.N. statement	The situation of women has worsened in 1 <sup>st</sup> ½ of U.N. Decade for women
Feminist Socialist project of the Transnational Institute	Amsterdam, Netherlands	Reprint of a Letter: “International Gathering to Aid Electronics Workers”	Wendy Chapkis, Transnational Institute	Consultation on women and microprocessor production (with Transnationals Information Exchange and Women’s Labour and Health Hazards Project
National Women’s Committee to Support J.P. Stevens Workers	No address (workers striking in N.C. and S.C.)	Article: “Boycott J.P. Stevens Textile Products”	No author	Boycott J.P. Steven products to support striking workers—race and sex discrimination, unsafe, low wages, no unionizing. Macy’s/Woolworth’s targeted
REFORMA	El Paso, TX	Announcement: “Women at Farah—An Unfinished Story”	No author	Announcing the publication (in English and Spanish) of the Farah Pants boycott and unionizing textile workers
U.N. Special Session Action Notes	No address	Article Reprint: “U.N. Decade for Women: World Conference Copenhagen: 14-30 July, 1980	Tara Suree	Predicting the kind of interactions/politics for the upcoming conference; Editor’s Note: Women in Dev. and Women & Transnational NOT on agenda. NWP working to change this
Service Center, Board of Global Ministries	Cincinnati, OH	Announcement: “Human Rights of Women”	No author	12 articles U.N. Declarations, sterilization, Apartheid and women, Xians & ERA, Housing, Torture, Job stress, prisons, abuse, brown lung

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<b>Fall 1980</b>				
NWP & Women's Network on Global Corps	Phila, PA and San Francisco, CA	Article: "Women Challenge Corporate System"	Holly Sklar, (NWPC member)	Previous work of NWP and WNGC on analyzing and mobilizing; explanation of global economy; call to action
Asia Programs, AFSC International	Korea	Article Reprint: "South Korea: A Drug Company's Heaven" (from <i>Korea Report</i> )	No author	Drug "dumping" by pharmaceutical companies; multinational pharma companies
ISIS	Rome, Italy	Announcement: "Feminist Guide Women and Development"	No author	Announcing two ISIS publications: Women and Development a feminist critique; Anita Anand feminist critique of "women and development" (NWPC member)
Institute for Food & Development Policy; Multinational Monitor; National Women's Health Network	San Fran; D.C.; D.C.	Announcement: "New Depo-Provera Resources"	No author	Announcing three resources for information on Depo-provera
California State Legislature; Mexican Friends Service Committee	CA; Mexico	Article: "Testimony: Women in Maquiladoras"	Luisa Maria Rivera (NWPC member)	Excerpts from the testimony of maquiladoras at the special hearings on plant closings and runaway shops (held in San Diego)
United Methodist Board of Church and Society	No address	Article/Announcement: "Electronics Runaway Case Study"	No author	Electronics corporations: unemployment, instability, poverty, women workers. Funding a study (join the international movement"

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<b>Fall 1980 Cont'd</b>				
NGO Forum U.N. Conference	Copenhagen, Denmark	Reprint of a U.N. statement: "Copenhagen: U.N. Women's Conference"	U.N. NGO Forum	Multinational corporations during the last decade... "women of the world to unite in coordinated worldwide resistance to this form of economic neo-colonialism"
Centro Adelante Campesina (NWP & WNGC)	El Mirage, AZ	Article: "Campesinas Meet"	Anita Anand (NWPC member); Saralee Hamilton	Personal testimony from <i>campesinas</i> in El Mirage, AZ farmworkers struggles (inspired by the NWP "Women and Global Corps" conference)
Ecumenical Committee on Tourism Concerns	Pasay City, Philippines	Article: "Tourism International Workshop"	No author	International Workshop on Tourism (sponsored by Christian Conference of Asia): tourism from a 3 <sup>rd</sup> world persp. Corporations; World Bank
Asian Women's Association	Tokyo, Japan	Reprint of a letter: "Asian Women's Liberation"	Yayori Matsui	Sharing newsletter (English bulletin): <i>Asian Women's Liberation</i> ; want to exchange newsletter
NACLA	New York, NY	Announcement: "Latin American Women"	No author	Announcing the issue of "Latin American Women—One Myth, Many Realities;" Patricia Fernandez Kelly submission
Women in the Workforce; AFSC	High Point, NC	Announcement: "Women Workers' Rights"	No author	Announcing the publications of this group: women in workforce; rights/laws
Pacific Studies Center: Global Electronics Information Project	Mountain View, CA	Article/Announcement: "Global Electronics Information Project"	No author	This project: 1. Networking, 2. Pamphlet on the industry, 3. Policy alternatives (send info)

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<b>Fall 1980 Cont'd</b>				
Amalgamated Clothing & Textile Workers Union, AFL-CIO	Roanoke Rapids, N.C.	Reprint of a letter: "Western Union Mailgram"	ACTWU	J.P. Stevens settlement: covering wages, hours, working conditions, fringe benefits, grievance. Boycott over. SUCCESS
A "broad coalition of religious, women, labor, minority, campus and community groups"	U.S.	Article: "Victory at J.P. Stevens"	ACTWU	Success of the boycott, corporate campaign, over but more vigilance needed...
Independent Documentary Group	San Fran, CA	Announcement: "Dark Circle"	No author	Announcing a documentary film on women and nuclear industry; need more funding
International Women's Tribune Center	New York, NY	Announcement: "Developing Strategies for the Future: Feminist Perspectives"	No author	Report on the International Feminist Workshop; edited by Charlotte Bunch (NWPC member and Shirley Castle)
Interreligious Task Force on U.S. Food Policy	Washington, D.C.	Announcement: "Multinational Corporations & Global Development"	No author	Announcing the 8-page special issue of Hunger, the group's publication; examines the power of MNC's
<b>Winter 1981</b>				
Committee in Solidarity with the People in El Salvador	Chicago, Il; Washington, D.C.; Austin, Tx	Article: "El Salvador: Resistance and Repression"	Premilla Hobbs; Saralee Hamilton	Civil war in El Salvador, role of U.S. economic and military policies, MNC's, resistance of the people; Several resources (publications & groups) listed at end
AFSC Latin American Program	Philadelphia, PA	Announcement/Call to action: "Four Women's Lives;" "Urgent Action Needed"	No author	Announcing slide show with four Chilean women political prisoners' testimony; Readers write to Gen.

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				Haig and Rep. Barnes: U.S. human rights violations in Chile
<b>Winter 1981 Cont'd</b>				
Center for the Progress of Peoples	Kowloon, Hong Kong	Article: "Center for Progress of People"	Marilee Karl, ISIS/Rome	The Center's (Sr. Christina Tse): study of women electronics workers in Hong Kong; links up workers in MNC's; Newsletter
Foreign Policy Association	New York, NY	Announcement: "Neglect of Women Mars Development"	No author	Announcing Elise Boulding's text, "Women: the Fifth World," from FPA Headline series
INFACT	Minneapolis, MN	Article/Call to action: "Brave New Code; Global Corporations and Infant Formula"	Anita Anand (NWPC member)	Nestle Boycott; role of multinational corporations in this scenario; Resources and information on what to do, products to avoid
Church Center at the U.N.	New York, N.Y.	Announcement: "Global Negotiations Action Notes"	No author	Announcing the availability of the action notes from the North/South debate on the NIEO (bi-weekly 4-page newsletter: <i>Global Negotiations Action Notes</i> )
Impact of Transnational Interactions Project, Culture Learning Institute, East-West Center	Honolulu, Hawaii	Announcement: "East-West Electronics"	No author	Announcing the working paper of the East-West Center: women in multinational corporate expansion
California Newsreel	San Francisco, CA	Announcement: "Films: Women under Apartheid"	No author	Announcing the film "Crossroads" about women in shantytowns in S. Africa. AFSC offices offering

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<b>Winter 1981 Cont'd</b>				
NWP; WNGC	Philadelphia, PA; San Francisco, CA	Reprint of an article (excerpts): “‘Life on the Global Assembly Line’ Exposes ‘Ms.-Treatment’ of Women Workers”	Barbara Ehrenreich; Annette Fuentes (NWPC)	Reprint of the Ms. Magazine article about women and the global assembly line. Looks at specific stories; highlights resistance (mentioned NWP)
CHANGE, International Development Center	London, England	Announcement: “Change Magazine Launches Reports”	No author	Announcing the issues of CHANGE magazine: critique of development and women in Singapore and Thailand (poverty/prostitution)
Radical Religion	Berkeley, CA	Announcement: “Radical Religion”	No author	Announcing the publications of Radical Religion: economic injustice, activist Christianity, poverty, international flow of capital
AFSC Seattle; Movement for the Promotion of Women	Seattle, WA; Joao, Brazil	Article: “Seattle AFSC Aids Women in Brazil”	No author	Seattle AFSC office holding film benefit to raise money for prostitutes in Joao’s MPW; migration, lack of jobs, low wages, MNC’s
Science for the People	Cambridge, MA	Announcement: “Science for the People Magazine”	No author	Announcing a relevant article for Women and Global Corps. Project: agricultural research, technology, bottle babies...
Science for the People	Cambridge, MA	Announcement: “‘Machines, Migrants, and Monopolies: An Agricultural Crisis’”	No author	Announcing a 40-minute slide show on the Farm Labor Organizing Committee
WILPF (Women’s Institute for Peace and Freedom)	Philadelphia, PA	Announcement: “Women Unite for Peace & Freedom”	No author	Announcement of student institute gathering, workshops; booklet on women and the U.S. federal budget

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<b>Winter 1981 Cont'd</b>				
Southeast Asian Resource Center	Berkeley, CA	Article: “Strategic Industry: Southeast Asia Tourism”	Rachael Grossman, Southeast Asia Resource Center	Tourism and the role of women in Asia (hotel workers, prostitutes, hostesses)—growing women’s groups in Asia speaking out, researching, resisting
National Women’s Studies Association	College Park, MD	Announcement: “Women Respond to Racism”	No author	Announcing the NWSA’s upcoming conference topic, “Women Respond to Racism” (also international feminist networking)
Women in the Workforce; AFSC (Brown Lung Assoc., American Public Health Assoc.)	High Point, N.C.	Article: “The Brown Lung Case: Costing Out Human Life”	Jane Motz, AFSC; Damu Smith	Byssinosis (Brown lung)—caused by exposure to cotton dust; Supreme Court hearing on Brown Lung; joining the amicus brief
Southern Exposure	Durham, N.C.	Announcement: “Southern Exposure: Working Women”	No author	Announcing <i>Southern Exposure</i> ’s need for information for collection of studies, interviews, stats, stories, analysis for economic issues for women in the U.S. south
Denver YMCA; Center for Teaching International Relations; U.N. Non Governmental Liaison Service; AFSC; Arizona Farm Workers	Denver, CO	Article: “Global Interdependence Conference”	No author	The Mountain West and Global Interdependence Conference, the 5 <sup>th</sup> in a series of North Am. regional conferences about the U.N. “Global Negotiations” on the NIEO. (two participants from NWP’s “Women and Global Corporations” conference are workshop organizers)

**Appendix** —Inventory of *Women and Global Corporations* content from 1978 - 1988

<b>Organizations Featured</b>	<b>Location of organization</b>	<b>Type of contribution</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Concern/Issue</b>
<b>Winter 1981 Cont'd</b>				
ISIS; Boston Women's Health Book Collective	Carouge, Switzerland; Somerville, MA	Announcement: "International Health Guide"	No Author	Announcing the publication of The International Women's Health Guide, with info on food, children, aging, drugs & drug companies...
National Women's Committee to Support J.P. Stevens Workers; National Interreligious Committee for Justice at J.P. Stevens	No address	Article: "JP Stevens Support Expands"	June Cohen	Meeting to discuss J.P. Stevens workers since success; further organize uniuionized shops; continue committees to be info clearinghouse on Nestle/Stauffer's, Campbell Soup, Laurel Mississippi chicken boycotts; watch the cotton dust suit
Clark University/Cynthia Enloe	Worcester, MA	Announcement: "Sex and Levi's"	No author	Enloe's 4-page illustrated exposé on the international sexual division of labor in Levi Strauss
<b>Spring – Summer 1981</b>				
Health Action International	Penang, Malaysia	Article: "Health Action International Targets Pharmaceuticals"	No author	HAI is a unified network of 100 orgs. in 50 countries, resist the multinational drug companies; U.N. Centre on Transnational Corporations
INFACT	Minneapolis, MN	Article: "World Health Assembly Condemns Infant Formula Abuse"	No author	SUCCESS of the Nestle Boycott: WHO adopts international marketing code; Senate Foreign Relations committee denies a conformation...
Campaign to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa; Institute for	Washington, D.C.	Article/Call to Action: "African Women Under Apartheid: The Role of U.S. Corporations"	Carole Collins, Campaign to	The role of U.S. MNC's in S. Africa's Apartheid: agriculture, domestic service, textiles, banks,

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Policy Studies			Oppose Bank Loans to S.A.	“border industries” in Bantustan boundaries... Boycott banks
<b>Spring – Summer 1981</b>	<b>Cont’d</b>			
AFSC, Community Relations Division	Philadelphia, PA	Article: “Court Rules on Cotton Dust: Workers Health Takes Priority”	Jane Motz, AFSC	SUCCESS: U.S. Supreme Court rules that OSHA can set standards for exposure to cotton dust
Global Electronics Information Newsletter; Center for the Progress of Peoples	Kowloon, Hong Kong	Announcement: “Asian Electronics Workers Expose Conditions and Management Control Methods”	No author	Newsletter announcement of Sr. Christina Te’s “The Invisible Control: Management Control of Workers in a U.S. Electronics Company.” Compares 2 semi-conductor factories in Hong Kong and Korea
Third World Movement Against the Exploitation of Women (TW-MAE-W)	Manila, Philippines	Article: “Mobilization Against Sex Tourism in Asia”	No author	Sex tourism as a supposed “easy source of foreign exchange”; groups come together to protest Japanese Prime Minister’s visit to Philippines (b/c of Japanese sex tourists)
ISIS; International Women’s Tribune Cntr; Media Report to Women; United Nations Radio; Women’s Feature Srvc.	Switzerland; N.Y.; D.C.; Paris	Reprint of ISIS info (excerpts): “Feminist Approaches Challenge Mass Media”	ISIS	Women’s representation in and access to media, media impact on women’s economic positions; strategies and alternative media sources
Women’s Association of El Salvador	No address	Article: “Salvadoran Women Describe Daily Life and Struggle”	Shawn Towey	Women’s struggles in El Salvador; multinational corporations’ violent responses to peaceful protest (factories in El Salvador), trade union movement; Many resources

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<b>Spring – Summer 1981</b>				
<b>Cont'd</b>				
Women’s International Resource Exchange Service (WIRE)	New York, NY	Announcement: “Nicaraguan Women in Revolution”	No author	Announcing WIRE’s packet of articles, interviews, poetry by and about women in pre- and post-revolutionary Nicaragua
Investigative Resource Center: Data Center	Oakland, CA	Announcement: “Data Center: Custom Research for Activists”	No author	Announcing that Data Center has a Corporate Profile Project (on transnational corporations: ownership, finances, subsidiaries, geographic locations...)
National Women’s Health Network	Washington, D.C.	Article: “Two Lawsuits on Drug Companies and Women’s Health” (one article is a reprint)	No author	National Women’s Health Network files lawsuit against A.H. Robins Co. over Dalkon shield (U.S. companies dumping harmful products); SUCCESS U.S. Supreme Court rules victims can sue over dangerous drugs
Resources for Feminist Research	Guelph, Canada	Call for Info: “Canadian Feminist Researchers”	No author	Canadian feminist researchers soliciting info on rural women in developing countries: exploitation of rural women, agriculture and rural industries
Pacific Concerns Resource Center	Honolulu, Hawaii	Announcement: “Pacific Concerns Newsletter Targets Multinationals”	No author	PCRC reports on activities of multinationals’ impact on Pacific peoples; “Aboriginal land claim meets corporate racism”

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<b>Spring – Summer 1981</b>				
<b>Cont'd</b>				
Women of All Red Nations; NWP	No address; Philadelphia, PA	Article/Call to Action: “Tribes Face Health Hazards; Request Research Assistance”	No author	New wave of corporate activity on native lands; Multinationals: Exxon, Kennecott Copper, Anaconda, Mobil Oil; request for information on corporate mining activity
Karen Silkwood Pubic Education Fund	Washington, D.C.	Article: “Karen Silkwood Estate Pursues Second Trial”	No author	Litigation on union organizers as a protected class but not protected under the Civil Rights Act
International Foundation for Development Alternatives	Nyon, Switzerland	Announcement/Call to action: “Journal on Development Features Women’s Issues”	No author	Journal available by IFDA on the role of transnational corporations and the NIEO; Readers: send info
Women’s Employment Rights Campaign and the Transnational Co-operative	Sydney, Australia	Announcement: “ <u>Women and Work</u> ”	No author	Announces the Women and Work issue of the 22 Australian unions and activists, looking at national and international labor movement/economic trends
<b>Volume 3</b>				
<b>Numbers 1 &amp; 2 1982</b>				
AFSC Asia Programs; Church Committee on Human Rights in Asia; Control Data Korea Labor Union	U.S.; Korea	Article/Call to action: “Korean Women Fight Union-Busting Tactics”	Saralee Hamilton, NWP Director	Korean women strike and win (SUCCESS), union leaders threatened; Readers: write to apply pressure. MNC’s electronics in Korea (Control Data)
Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility	New York, NY	Announcement: “Nestle’s Boycott Continues”	No author	Church groups reaffirmed the need for the boycott; packet available
Health Action International	Penang, Malaysia	Announcement: “HAI Fights Drug Abuses”:	No author	Newsletter, critique of the voluntary code, networking, “anti-ad” leaflets on drugs to reveal/share hazards

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<b>Volume 3</b>	<b>Numbers 1 &amp; 2</b>	<b>1982 Cont'd</b>		
Coordinating Committee on Toxics and Drugs	New York, NY	Announcement: “Toxics Committee Links U.S., Third World Abuses	No author	International trade in toxic substances: drugs, pesticides, industrial chemicals, consumer products, toxic wastes
Social Audit	London, England	Announcement: “Resources on Drugs”	No author	Announcement of a case study of SUCCESSful efforts to force drug companies to label: Drug Diplomacy: Decoding the Conduct of Multinational Pharmaceutical Cos.
Asia Monitor Resource Center	Kowloon, Hong Kong	Announcement: “Chemical Hazards in Asia”	No author	Announcing the AMRC’s project on chemical hazards low wage rates, high cost of living, lack of labor and consumer regulations, high powered ad campaigns, multinational corps.
Sistren	Kingston, Jamaica	Reprint of an article: “Jamaican Women Form People’s Theatre Company”	Caribbean Contact	Jamaican women’s theatre group—employing low-wage workers to act out economic restructuring; e.g. domestic workers (went to Canada)
Antigua Caribbean Liberation Mvmt; Antigua Womens Mvmt	Antigua	Reprint of an article: “Antigua Women’s Movement Forms Consumer Cooperative”	Harold Lovell, “Outlet”	A buying/selling co-op to combat the high prices of an export economy, and the high prices of multinationals
Western International Conference on Economic Dislocation	Los Angeles, CA	Reprint of summary report: “Community or Chaos: Conference on Economic Dislocation”	Rev. Dick Gillett	Conference: internationalization of capital; U.S. and Mexican labor/leaders, gov. reps.; plant closings/plant open; Bill of Rights of Working Women in U.S. and Mexico; Call to action

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<b>Volume 3</b>	<b>Numbers 1 &amp; 2</b>	<b>1982 Cont'd</b>		
Bohemian Grove Action Network	Occidental, CA	Article: “Bohemian Grove: Summer Camp for the Old Boys Network”	Holly Sklar, NWPC member	Interrogating the hidden, informal dynamics of corporate and government masculinist power at Bohemian Grove
Center for the Progress of Peoples	Kowloon, Hong Kong	Reprint of a letter: “Third World Organizers Request Assistance, Data	Sr. Christina Tse	Activities that could be undertaken by women in the “home” countries of multinationals: supply info, mobilize actions, raise questions, lobby govts., investigatory trips
Hot-Line Asia Pacific	Sri Lanka	Reprint of an article (excerpts): “Navy R&R Threatens Sri Lanka”	No author	U.S. Navy and U.S.-owned oil company’s play a role in the prostitution in Sri Lanka; IMF & World Bank
AFSC	Philadelphia, PA	Article: “AFSC Protests U.S. Retreat on Affirmative Action”	Jane Motz, AFSC	U.S. retreat on Affirmative Action challenged b/c of its racist and sexist implications
AFSC, Chicago	Chicago, IL	Article: “Feminists Against Militarism: A Survival Gathering”	Christie Balka, AFSC	200 women for a conference: third world solidarity, violence against women, organizing against multinational orgs.
Christian Conference of Asia—Urban/Rural Mission	Kowloon, Hong Kong	Announcement: “Asian People’s Struggles”	No author	Announcing several publications on first-hand testimony of women workers in Thailand, Malaysia, Philippines, Sri Lanka; TNC’s in Asia

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<b>Volume 4</b>	<b>Number 1</b>	<b>1983</b>		
Pacific Studies Center	Silicon Valley, CA	Article: “Atari Laysoff Idle 1700; Ms. Pac-Man Flees US”	No author (work from Lenny Siegal and Kathleen Sullivan)	Multinational company Atari to move plant to Hong Kong and Taiwan; 1700 jobs in U.S. lost (fleeing to avoid unionization)
NWP	Philadelphia, PA	Article: “First US Women’s Peace Camp to Open July 4 in Seneca, NY”	No author	Protest deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles; Women and Global Corporations Project to present workshops (connecting military to MNCs)
MUJER-TEC	Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic	Article: “Dominican Women Seek Wider Role in Communications”	No author	Indigenous action and advocacy group, tech training and access to media
North American Coalition for Human Rights in Korea	Washington, D.C.	Article: “Control Data Shutdown Sparks Shareholders’ Campaign”	Saralee Hamilton, NWP Director	Data Control Korea shuts down (in response to organizing labor); shareholding religious groups in U.S. resolution
Centro Obrero	El Paso, TX	Article: “El Paso’s <i>Centro Obrero</i> Supports Working Women”	Patricia Marin (NWP), Cecilia Rodriguez, Centro	Industrialization process in El Paso, jeans capital, byssinosis, bladder cancer, asthma, skin and eye irritation, MNCs; information exchnng
ISIS	Geneva, Switzerland	Announcement: “ISIS Resource Guide”	No author	Women in Development: A Resource Guide for Organizing and Action; women and MNCs
Transnational Institute	Amsterdam, Netherlands	Article: “Women from 14 Countries Probe Textile Multinationals”	Wendy Chapkis	2 ½ day roundtable discussion on women and international textile industry; research, data, networking

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<b>Volume 4</b>	<b>Number 1</b>	<b>1983 Cont'd</b>		
United Methodist Communications	Nashville, TN	Announcement: "Hidden Costs of Transnationals"	No author	Announces the filmstrip/cassette for Gathering Wealth Like Eggs: The Hidden Costs of Transnationals
Voice of Women	Colombo, Sri Lanka	Announcement: "Resources"	No author	Announcing the special issue of the newsletter on Women in Free Trade Zones
International Feminist Network Against the Traffic in Women; International Women's Tribune Center	New York, NY	Article: "Int'l Feminist Network Fights Traffic in Women"	No author	Research/action projects on tourism and the power of multinational corporations forced prostitution; feminist global cooperation
<b>Volume 5</b>	<b>Numbers 1 &amp; 2</b>	<b>1984</b>		
Rank-and-file maquiladoras	Reynosa, Mexico	Article: "Rank-and-File Slate Wins Maquila Election"	No author	MNCs, <i>maquilas</i> , unionization, strike, hunger strike; some SUCCESS
Farm Labor Organizing Committee	No address	Article: "FLOC Boycott of Campbell's Growing Fast"	Sarah Thureson	Farmworkers unionization struggle, Campbell's and farmers; March from Toledo to Camden; "Un-shopping list"
Quaker International Affairs Programs; International Organization of Consumers Unions	No addresses	Article: "Meeting Aims to Halt Drug Industry Abuses"	No author	International movement to halt dumping of dangerous drugs, Declaration of Rational Health Policies
INFACT	Minneapolis, MN	Article: "Nestle Boycott Victorious"	No author	Seven-year boycott suspended; "tremendously effective"

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<b>Volume 5</b>	<b>Numbers 1 &amp; 2</b>	<b>1984 Cont'd</b>		
Institute for Policy Studies	Washington, D.C.	Article: "The Automated Office: A New Global Assembly Line"	Anne Posthuma, IPS	The "runaway" office, clerical work being shipped overseas, getting more automated, increasingly surveilled
"coalition of progressive and conservative groups" (e.g. Methodist Church; Conservative Caucus)	U.S.	Article: "Groups Obtain Closest IMF Vote Ever"	No author	Aim to defeat U.S. contribution to IMF; critique of export-oriented, debt-financed development
The Grapevine	Ames, IA	Announcement: "Through the Grapevine"	No author	Quarterly newsletter that provides info on boycotts
National Action/Research on the Military-Industrial Complex; AFSC	Philadelphia, PA	Announcement: "Taking Charge: The Struggle for Economic Justice"	No author	Explores organizing efforts by poor people in the Philippines, Chile, Kenya, Nicaragua, Appalachia, and Philadelphia
Transnational Institute; Institute for Policy Studies	Amsterdam, the Netherlands; Washington, D.C.	Announcement: book	No author	<i>Of Common Cloth: Women in the Global Textile Industry</i> : essential for all of us who dream of and struggle towards a vision of international feminism
U.N. Centre on Transnational Corporations	New York, NY	Announcement: "UN Studies Impact of TNCs on Women"	No author	U.N. Centre on Transnational Corporations launched study on multinational effect on women
<b>Volume 6</b>	<b>Number 1</b>	<b>Winter 1985</b>		
Comite de Apoyo a los Trabajadores	Glassboro, NJ	Article: "Women play vital role in NJ farmworkers group"	Maria Ines Lacey	Legal assistance and social services to Puerto Rican farmworkers; migration, organizing

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<b>Volume 6</b>	<b>Number 1</b>	<b>Winter 1985 Cont'd</b>		
UN NGO Planning Committee for Forum '85	Nairobi, Kenya	Article: "AFCS to send delegation to Nairobi Forum"	No author	On the issue of women and global corporations, AFSC will be seeking to...expose the human cost of corporate power and the exploitation of women by TNCs
International Economic Conversion Conference	Boston, MA	Article: "Economic conversion: An emerging U.S. issue"	No author	One in five jobs in US dependent on military, transfer of economic resources to social needs
Farm Labor Organizing Committee	No address	Article: "Farmworkers take their case to Campbell Shareholders"	No author	Boycott of Campbell, farmworkers living conditions, low wages; Mexican and Mexican-American workers; organizing kit
Maquiladora shrimp workers in Mexico	Matamoros, Mexico	Article: "Workers protest surprise shutdown of maquila plant"	No author	<i>Maquila</i> workers protest the surprise shut down; demand severance pay; pressure Mexican gov. to require MNCs to deposit funds
International Women's Tribune Center	New York, NY	Announcement: "Female Sexual Slavery"	No author	Announcing the <i>International Feminism: Networking Against Female Sexual Slavery</i> documents the conference
War on Want	London, England	Announcement: "Women Working Worldwide"	No author	Announcing the 24-page booklet: <i>Women Working Worldwide: The International Division of Labor in the Electronics, Clothing, and Textile Industries</i> "

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<b>Volume 6</b>	<b>Number 1</b>	<b>Winter 1985 Cont'd</b>		
International Labor Reports	San Francisco, CA; Manchester, England	Announcement: "International Labor Connections"	No author	Announcing a bimonthly that connects workers across national boundaries, women's organizing a major concern
Consumers Association of Penang	Penang, Malaysia	Announcement: "Malaysian Women"	No author	Book is a collection of ten papers on ...women in the factory...new forms of oppression women suffer at the hands of corporations
Committee for Asian Women	Kowloon, Hong Kong	Announcement: "Asian Women Workers"	No author	The Asian Women Workers Newsletter, features: 3 women's strikes, Filipina labor leader, textile workers in Thailand, electronics workers in Malaysia, women workers in Indonesia
Development Research Institute	Hogeschoollaan Netherlands	Announcement: "Textiles: A Case Study"	No author	<i>Women's Labor in the Indian Textile Industry</i>
ISIS	Santiago, Chile	Announcement: "New Isis office opens in Latin America"	No author	Internat'l feminist clearinghouse and resource center opens in Latin Am
<b>Volume 6</b>	<b>Number 2</b>	<b>Spring 1985</b>		
North American Farm Alliance (NAFA)	Ames, IA (coalition: U.S. and Canadian groups)	Article: "Farm women hold their ground despite crisis"	Carol Hodne, NAFA	U.S. policies support agribusiness at the expense of small and medium size farms; corporate farms; women farmers fighting back; Farm crisis
Center for Women Resources; GABRIELA	Philippines	Article: "Filipinas mobilize against Marcos, TNCs"	Rachael Kamel, NWP staff	Broad-based movement; economic and sexual exploitation 60 transnationals; Export Processing Zones

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<b>Volume 6</b>	<b>Number 2</b>	<b>Spring 1985 Cont'd</b>		
Forum of Maquiladora Workers	Ciudad Juarez, Mexico	Article: "Maquila workers meet to compare issues, strategies"	No author	Sharing: work stoppages, strikes, worker and community meetings, hunger strikes, demonstrations, solidarity, reinstatements, protests
NWP's Women and Global Corporations Project	Philadelphia, PA	Article/Request for Info: "Query: Urban Enterprise Zones"	No author	Known zones in S. Africa and Britain; Do they exist in U.S.? Share info.
SEDEPAC	Colonia Juarez, Mexico	Article: "Maquiladora activists launch health project"	No author	Booklets on the health hazards of electronics factories in Mexico, law, health system; worker-driven
AFSC	Stanwood, WA	Article: "AFSC holds first Asian/Pacific consultation"	No author	Economic exploitation of Asian/Pacific women domestic and international; multinational superprofit system
Low Pay Unit	London, England	Announcement: "High-tech Homework"	No author	U. Huws' <i>The New Homeworkers</i> ; women: underpaid, isolated
Investigative Resource Center	Oakland, CA	Announcement: "Third World Resources"	No author	Third World resource directory: hunger and agribusiness, militarism, transnational corporations
Inter Pares	Ottawa, Canada	Announcement: "Health or Profit?"	No author	Study packet on pharmaceutical industry, fact sheet of industry role in Canada, drug dumping
<b>Volume 6</b>	<b>Number 3</b>	<b>Summer 1985</b>		
Women's Dance Health Project (network of native women)	Ithaca, NY	Article: "Mohawk women resist industrial pollution"	Katsi Cook, WDHP; Lin Nelson, NWHN	Mohawk women fight corporate toxic waste; Reynolds Alcoa aluminum plants--animal/ human health threat; community health proj.

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<b>Volume 6</b>	<b>Number 3</b>	<b>Summer 1985 Cont'd</b>		
CONAMUP (Women of the Urban People's Movement)	Monterrey, Mexico	Article: "Mexican, U.S. women plan second exchange"	Elaine Burns, CONAMUP	Mexican and U.S. women (working class women and women of color); similar situations; exploitation; etc.
Maquiladora workers	Matamoros, Mexico	Article: "Mexican women sue government union"	No author	Suing for defrauding of sale of a building (company absconded); also insist Mexican gov. require transnationals to make a "security deposit"
NWP	Philadelphia, PA	Article: "Nairobi plans focus on women and the global economy"	Saralee Hamilton	Getting "trade and debt" and "women in the global factory: networks and organizing" on the agenda for the 1985 U.N. conference
Institute for Policy Studies	Washington, D.C.	Announcement: "The Corporate Challenge"	No author	Meeting the Corporate Challenge, a handbook on campaigns against global corporations w/ evaluations of goals, strategies, strengths/weaknesses, corporate responses
International Labor Rights Working Group (coalition of 20 groups)	Washington, D.C.	Article: "Congress ties trade to workers' rights"	No author	Trade ties to General System of Preferences; internationally recognized workers' rights; begin reports on Taiwan, Philippines, South Korea, Chile, Peru
<b>Volume 6</b>	<b>Number 4</b>	<b>Fall 1985</b>		
Hamilton Workers Occupational Health and Safety Centre	Ontario, Canada	Article: "Toxic fight unites labor, women's groups"	Lin Nelson, Nat'l Wmn's Health Network	Worker-run health clinic: lawsuit, compensation, holding corporations accountable for unsafe working conditions

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<b>Volume 6</b>	<b>Number 4</b>	<b>Fall 1985 Cont'd</b>		
U.N. NGO Conference: NWP, ISIS, GABRIELA, International Coalition for Development Action	Nairobi, Kenya; Philadelphia, PA; Rome/Santiago; Brussels	Article: "Nairobi action plan targets multinationals"	Saralee Hamilton	Workshops on multinationals at U.N. conference: War/multinationals kill; global corporations increasingly to dominate the world: safe worksites, political democracy, health, debt, trade...
Coalition for Labor Union Women	Washington, D.C.	Article: "CLUW promotes concerns of working women"	No author	Collective Bargaining Clearinghouse; Monitoring Project; electronic homeworking
Quaker U.N. Office	New York, NY	Article: "UN apartheid hearings spotlight TNCs"	No author	Role of transnational corporations in supporting Apartheid; hearings—U.C. Commission on Transnationals
FINRRAGE (Feminist International Network of Resistance to Reproductive and Genetic Engineering)	London, England	Article: "Test-tube babies: Newest tool for social control"	No author	Technocrats who call for unprecedented control of women's bodies; traffic in women for repro; ; sterilization
Women's Global Network on Reproductive Rights	Amsterdam, Netherlands	Announcement: "Briefly Noted"	No author	Reproductive technology, Depo-provera, sterilization; networks among 80 countries
Educational TV & Film Center	Washington, D.C.	Article/Review: "Film: Global Assembly Line"	No author	Review of Lorraine Gray's documentary film: U.S., Mexico, Philippines
Asian Women's Research and Action Network	Quezon City, Philippines	Announcement: "Briefly Noted"	No author	14-country alternative report: poverty, repression, objectification; gains in own struggles

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<b>Volume 7</b>	<b>Numbers 1 &amp; 2</b>	<b>Winter/Spring 1986</b>		
National Women’s Health Network	Syracuse, NY	Article: “Feminists turn to workplace, environmental health”	Lin Nelson, NWHN	Women’s loves shaped by political and economic systems; poisoned workplace, “clean” electronics
Arizona Farmworkers Union; AFSC	No Address	Article: “Arizona case critical to farmworkers rights”	No author	Labor organizing, leaders fired; undocumented immigrants’ right to organize, women; Litigation/appeal
Maquiladora workers	Mexico City, Mexico	Article: “1000 garment workers die in Mexico City quake”	No author (several contributors)	Transnational garment industry; miserable conditions responsible for toll; saved equipment before bodies
IRENE (Industrial Restructuring Education Network—Europe)	Tilburg, Netherlands	Article: “Women and the informal sector”	No author	Informalization of work for women in developed and developing countries; network; organize?
Women Workers Support Community	El Paso, TX	Article: “El Paso textile Workers plan skills center”	Rachael Kamel, NWP staff	Skills center for textile workers; CMT Industries garment factory; workers walked off job
Women for Racial and Economic Equality	New York, NY	Article: “Beatrice is no lady”	No author	Beatrice a multimillion dollar manufacturer in S. Africa; anti-Apartheid boycott (brand names)
Participatory Research Group	Ontario, Canada	Announcement: “Three new resources on women and microtechnology”	No author	Automation for work in U.S.; global assembly line; interviews,
Integrated Circuit	Brookline, MA	Announcement: “Integrated Circuit”	No author	National coalition of women organizing around microelectronics industry
Household Workers Rights	San Francisco, CA	Announcement: “Fight back against toxics”	No author	Chart on non-toxic cleaning

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<b>Volume 7</b>	<b>Number 3</b>	<b>Summer 1986</b>		
Gabriela (coalition of 70 Filipino women's groups)	Philippines	Article: "Filipino women's movement flourishes after Marcos"	Ruth Cadwallader, AFSC	Women gather in Philippines; exploitation, military prostitution, Bataan Export Processing Zone, World Bank,
9-to-5	No address (U.S.)	Article: "9-to-5 works for raises, rights, respect"	Diana Roose, NWPC/9-to-5	Rights, raises, respect for women office workers; unions, runaway jobs
Association of African Women for Research and Development	No address	Article: "African women speak out on debt, food crisis"	Rosemary Jommo, AAWORD	Exploitative monetary policies, food crisis, export-oriented, military dominated, external domination,
Quaker U.N. Office	New York, N.Y.	Article: "Women in development jargon flawed"	Najia Abu El-Haj	Debt; export-oriented policies, women, improving rural infrastrctr.
September 19 <sup>th</sup> Garment Workers Union	Mexico City, Mexico	Article: "Mexican garment workers organize for long haul"	No author	<i>Costureras</i> move to unionize after earthquake (name came from date of earthquake); need to get a vote
La Mujer Obrera	El Paso, TX	Article: "Garment industry idles 13,000 in El Paso"	Rachael Kamel, NWP staff	CMT Industries lays off those who sought union organization; filed petition w/ Texas Employment Commission
Third World Movement Against the Exploitation of Women (TW-MAE-W)	Manila, Philippines	Announcement: "Military Prostitution Targeted"	No author	Campaign against military prostitution: link up issues: sexual, economic, military oppression
Alliance of the Poor	Mindanao, Philippines	Article: "Mindanao: 'We left our land, even though we wept'"	Ruth Cadwallader, AFSC	Squatters cleared off land for Japanese multinational corporations; "zoning" operations, gov/military; become literate, small cottage products

**Appendix** —Inventory of *Women and Global Corporations* content from 1978 - 1988

<b>Organizations Featured</b>	<b>Location of organization</b>	<b>Type of contribution</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Concern/Issue</b>
<b>Volume 7</b>	<b>Number 3</b>	<b>Summer 1986 Cont'd</b>		
Institute for Policy Studies	Washington, D.C.	Announcement: "From Debt to Development"	No author	Introduction to interrelated aspects of international debt; IMF, U.S. power
North-South Institute	Ottawa, Canada	Announcement: "Briefly Noted"	No author	Canadian perspective on transnationals: textiles and electronics; trade union efforts across borders
African Women for Research and Development	Dakar, Senegal	Announcement: "Briefly Noted"	No author	New quarterly from AAWORD; news of other third world women's networks
<b>Volume 7</b>	<b>Number 4</b>	<b>Winter 1986-1987</b>		
September 19 <sup>th</sup> Garment Workers Union	Mexico City, Mexico	Article: "Mexico's costureras mobilize international support"	Rachael Kamel, NWP staff	International support: U.S., Canadian, Mexican unions; some compensation for lost jobs from earthquake; Sit-ins: withdraw challenge to union
Women's Support Group	Hailesboro, NY	Article: "Women's support crucial in zinc strike"	Virginia Cummings	Men strikers at St. Joe's zinc mine; women support, crucial to strike
Nicaraguan Union of Farmers and Ranchers	Nicaragua	Article: "U.S. war holds back Nicaragua's rural women"	Deborah Fink, AFSC Board	Revolution, state-owned enterprises; U.S. militarism/economic interests
TW-MAE-W	Manila, Philippines	Article/Call to action: "Third World campaign targets military prostitution"	Saralee Hamilton	Third world feminist see this as economic, political, and cultural oppression; Share with org. any info
Farm Labor Organizing Committee; Arizona Farmworkers Union	Ohio, Michigan, Arizona	Article: "Farmworkers win in Midwest, Arizona"	No author	Two SUCCESSES: against Campbell's and undocumented workers have right to unionize

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<b>Volume 7</b>	<b>Number 4</b>	<b>Winter 1986-1987 Cont'd</b>		
AMNLAE (Nicaraguan Women's Association)	Mangua, Nicaragua	Announcement: "A wealth of hard-to-find statistics"	No author	Women in Nicaragua: a revolution w/in a revolution; urban, poor, rural
Full Employment Action Council	Washington, D.C.	Announcement: "Rural Jobs: Going, Going, Gone"	No author	Report on under- and unemployment on rural women in U.S.
<b>Volume 8</b>	<b>Number 1</b>	<b>Spring 1987</b>		
Asian Immigrant Women Advocates; International Ladies Garment Workers Union	San Francisco, CA; No address	Article: "Homework: 'A return to the industrial dark ages'"	Rachael Kamel, NWP staff	Garment industry "homework" to be unionize; campaign against in U.S.
Saheli Women's Resource Center; Stree Shakti Sangatana	New Delhi; Hyderabad, India	Article: "Women in India stop contraceptive shot"	B.J. Kowalski	West German pharmaceutical company, dangerous contraceptive
American Argi-Women; Women Involved in Farm Economics	No address (Midwest U.S.)	Article: "Farm women divided on solutions to crisis"	Deborah Fink, AFSC Board; NWPC	American Farm Women in Historical Perspective conference; black women, Native Am, farm women political movements; challenge capitalist farming practices
Prairiefire Rural Action	Des Moines, IO	Article: "Harvesting our potential"	Denise O'Brien, PRA	Rural women's conference; organizing skills, activism, coalitions, anti-militarism
Black Housewives League	South Africa	Article: "Tour spotlights women anti-apartheid leaders"	No author	Speakers tour in U.S., Depo provera, raising funds, liberating whole person
South African Domestic and Service Workers Union	South Africa	Reprint of an article: "South African domestics unionize"	"Africa News"	Rights of domestic workers; 60,000 members; wage and benefit agreements

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<b>Volume 8</b>	<b>Number 1</b>	<b>Spring 1987 Cont'd</b>		
Women's Program, International Council for Adult Education	Toronto, Canada	Article: "Women challenge microchip industry"	Marilee Karl, ISIS	Building regional and global activist networks, 10-day consultation; U.S., Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand, Mexico, Caribbean—women of same companies in diff. countries connect
ACTWU; Salvadoran Textile Workers Union	U.S.; El Salvador	Article: "'Sister union' strategy successful in strike"	No author	Month-long strike by Salvadoran garment workers settled after adoption by sister union in U.S. SUCCESS
Nurses Environmental Health Watch	New York, NY	Article: "Nurses take action on environmental health issues"	Lin Nelson, NWHN	Organization of nurses speaking out about environmental (corporate) health hazards
<i>Multinational Monitor</i>	Washington, D.C.	Article: "Native Americans given Depo Provera"	B.J. Kowalski	Upjohn pharmaceutical company; U.S. Indian Health Service giving drug to mentally handicapped NA
GATT-Fly	Toronto, Canada	Announcement: "Briefly Noted"	No author	Debt Bondage or Self-Reliance—a popular perspective on global debt
Third World Women's Publishers	London, England	Announcement: "Third World Women's News"	No author	Bimonthly periodical forum for reporting on experiences of women from third world
<b>Volume 8</b>	<b>Number 2</b>	<b>Fall 1987</b>		
Immigrant Project of International Ladies Garment Workers Union	No address	Article: "Immigration 'reform': Heaviest burden on women"	Annette Fuentes, NWPC	Critique of Immigration Control and Reform Act 1986; impact and resistance

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<b>Volume 8</b>	<b>Number 2</b>	<b>Fall 1987 Cont'd</b>		
Project on Women and Environment; Womanearth Feminist Peace Institute; WorldWIDE	Amsterdam, Netherlands; Stanford, CA; Washington, D.C.	Article: "Women lead new global ecological movement"	Lin Nelson, NWHN	Threat of ecological catastrophes is linked with unchecked spread of global corporations
CONAMUP (National Council of the Urban Popular Movement)	Mexico City, Mexico	Article: "Mexico: 'Women are backbone of urban movement'"	Rachael Kamel, NWP staff	U.S. visitors to CONAMUP planned community; feminist and grassroots activists
Continental Front of Community Organizations (FCOC)	International coalition of Caribbean and Latin American popular organizers	Article: "No housing, no peace: October 6"	No author	Caravan of activists from FCOC plan trip to U.S. to protest at the U.N. Coalition of activist groups to assist/host, exchange
September 19 <sup>th</sup> Garment Workers Union	Mexico City, Mexico	Article/Call to action: "Mexican garment union seeks letters of support"	No author	Letters to be sent to Mexican government to allow formation of union
Garment Workers Support Committee	Boston, MA	Article: "Boston garment workers win job training"	B.J. Kowalski, freelance (NY)	Chinese immigrant workers win training in compensation for lost jobs; SUCCESS
Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil	Book Review: "A New Development Era"	No author	Third world economists/activists: development alternative. Key contribution: feminisms (U.S. as example of cut-back)

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<b>Volume 9</b>	<b>Number 1</b>	<b>1988</b>		
Maquiladoras	Matamoros, Mexico	Article: “Maquila women receive settlement after three years”	Rachael Kamel, NWP staff	SUCCESS; AFSC research, local activists write Sara Lee Corp; settlement-Booth paid workers
Philippine Educational Theatre Association	Philippines	Article: “Building a Philippine cultural movement”	Kathy Selvaggio	Acting troupe travel to U.S.; focus on land appropriation/labor exploitation—MNCs
September 19 <sup>th</sup> Garment Workers Union	Mexico City, Mexico	Article: “Sept. 19 garment workers fight government, owners”	Rachael Kamel, NWP staff	Sept. 19 <sup>th</sup> union seeking establishment as enduring: sit-ins, leaflet action (public sewing/knitting); literacy, labor law
BUKO (coalition of development action groups)	Achtermannstr, Germany	Article: “W. German debt crisis campaign launched”	No author	International debt crisis, multinational banks, runaway shops; third world presence
Institute for Consumer Policy Research	Washington, D.C.	Announcement: “Alternatives to Pesticides in Developing Countries”	No author	Collection of case studies of successful projects; into to global economic and political issues regarding pesticides/chemical industry
Thai Development Support Committee	Bangkok, Thailand	Announcement: “Briefly Noted”	No author	Thai Development newsletter: prostitution, women workers, organizing efforts

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