

Globalization and Gender

By Dinesh Sharma

Summary

Globalization is not just a politico-economic process but is impacting society, communities and families in myriad ways. Globalization processes are shaping new masculinities and gender relationships in different settings across the world. The regional, national and local manifestations of globalization are influencing gender orders as well as forms and intensities gender injustice. New employment opportunities have opened up in garment manufacturing and service outsourcing sectors in South Asia, in-country and international migration is taking place, consumerism is rising and the internet has brought in perverse impacts of globalization such as access to

pornography. In several parts of the world, integration of local markets with global ones is causing price volatility and is directly impacting the poor. Inequities are rising due to skewed priorities of foreign direct investment and displacement of the poor from fields and livelihoods. All these trends are changing intrahousehold gender distribution of labour and resources, context of domestic violence and so on. Masculine identities are being re-calibrated in times of socio-economic change, including the shifts in women's economic roles. These trends have been analyzed based on findings of field studies in a range of settings - from women textile workers in Bangladesh to business executives in Estonia and Maasais in Africa.

The last decade of the twentieth century is marked by unleashing of the forces of economic liberalization and globalization all over the world. The process of globalization has included changes in economic policies in different countries and those mandated by regional and multilateral trade agreements and treaties under the aegis of the World Trade Organization and the World Bank. The grand idea behind globalization is creating a globally integrated economy where decisions regarding production and consumption have transnational dimension. Globalization entails free movement of goods and products, barrierfree trade in products and services, movement of talented people as well as labour in global markets, integration of financial markets and free flow of capital, and above all, increased consumption of products and services. The process is also marked by mobility of technology, ideas, communication tools and networks across nations. The spread of internet connectivity, mobile telephony and other information and communication technologies (ICTs) are all byproducts of globalization. At the national or country level, it has meant greater role for private corporations in all sphere s of economic activity, privatization of state-owned enterprises and services as well as diminishing role of the state in social sector activities such as education, health and public welfare.

The policies of liberalization, privatization and globalization (often referred as LPG) have had profound impact on the lives of people globally and across socio-economic strata. These impacts are positive for some while adverse for others. Countries participating in the LPG processes, have seen economic growth, rise in GDP and household incomes, growth in services and manufacturing sectors, creation of new kinds of jobs higher consumer aspirations and

consumption, changes in living standards. At the same time, they have also witnessed rising inequities, widening and deepening of gulf between the rich and the poor, rise in unemployment among the unskilled, threat to traditional livelihoods, growing frustration among the poor and uncertainties that come with behavior of global markets in commodities and services. Most important is the impact of LPG on poverty.

Globalization has also had several unintended impacts on the environment, human rights, labour markets and gender relations. It has affected the society, communities, and gender equations within households. It is often argued that more job opportunities got created as a result of national economies getting integrated with global economy, national governments lowering tariff barriers and welcoming foreign direct investment in a range of sectors. This is indeed true in the case of several countries and sectors, the textile industry of Bangladesh and the business process outsourcing (BPO) industry in India both of which employ a huge women workforce being prime examples. At the same time, women engaged in traditional work such as crafts, agriculture and small businesses have been placed at a disadvantageous position and their livelihoods stand threatened. All this, both positive and negative fallout of LPG are occurring on top of existing gender inequalities and gender discrimination existing in many societies. Growing feminization of workforce in export sectors is not sufficient or useful in addressing gender injustice at work or home. Globalization sets the context in which we see various manifestation of patriarchy and masculinities play out. Therefore, it is necessary to analyze how globalization processes are shaping new masculinities and gender

relationships in communities, work places and homes.

Globalization and gender injustice

Corporate globalization defined consolidation of global power of corporations through systematic deregulation of markets and dismantling of tariff and trade barriers - has not only had a profound impact on economies of countries but has also produced, reshaped and reproduced different kinds of masculinities at different ends of the economic spectrum. Nivedita Menon (Jawaharlal Nehru University, India) elaborated this in the Indian context in her presentation.¹ Corporate globalization in India, according to her, has had two kinds of effects – large scale dispossession and access to new worlds of desire and consumption.

Dispossession is affecting the rural poor and marginalized communities such as tribesmen and women, who are being uprooted from the lands they occupied for centuries and are being robbed their livelihoods. Even though many such poor may not have been land owners on their own, they have had a deep connection with land working on the margins of landed communities. Such people are being displaced to make way for new projects, mines, factories, roads and highways and being rehabilitated in alien settings. They may receive cash compensation but the more fundamental question whether cash adequately is compensates for land or access to land. Moreover, sudden access to large amounts of cash is something that requires a particular training in market behavior to take its full advantage - something which the poor lack. Despite having cash in their hands, people may fail to use it to their advantage due to limited interaction or familiarity with the market.

The second side effect of corporate globalization - access to new worlds of desire and consumption - is also linked to the issue of displacement. New urban spaces and forms of consumption - shopping malls, amusement parks, hotels - are being built by dispossessing communities living there previously or changing land use pattern from agriculture to built areas or by destroying ecologically crucial areas. Ironically, these very places of consumption are leading to rapid escalation of stark inequality both between rural and urban spaces as well as within urban spaces in India. The new spaces of conspicuous consumption are highly visible but are inaccessible to hundreds of thousands of dispossessed migrants who throng cities. The consuming classes are blind towards the poor and the violence they themselves routinely practice on those who work for them can only exacerbate the situation, because many of these people live in slums and they work in middle class households as domestic helps.

The processes of corporate globalization affect women of all classes. Gender injustice has to be analyzed not in an older way of thinking about the ways in which globalization excludes women but in terms of how globalization produces new nodes of production of masculinities and femininities, some of which are empowering and some are not. For instance, the availability of mobile phone to women in traditional societies in villages is becoming a tool of empowerment with patriarchal systems demanding a ban on use of phones by girls and women. Yet, the very same phone is also being used as a tool of violence as in circulation of videos of rape and acts of sexual violence or easy access to pornographic images and films. In cities, globalization has presented new opportunities to women. But the growing assertiveness of young women not only alienates – not just upper class women but lower middle class and working class as well who occupy public space with confidence, travel late at night for employment or fun and enjoy the freedom that the city's anonymity gives them.

At the other end of the economic spectrum is the threatened masculinity of traditional, patriarchal elite and the new consuming middle classes. The upper caste youth from urban villages with traditional cultures and cash from lands they have sold their lands for industrial projects drive around cities, feeling entitled to 'phantasmagoric' images of consumption they see on television and internet. "The frustration of their desires often draws them into right wing mobilizations such as the violent attacks on women in pubs, on couples kissing in public, on, of course, transgender communities, attacks on inter-caste and inter-religious love affairs. Traditional anxieties about protecting the purity of caste and religious identity come together with modern right-wing anxieties about numbers in a modern polity," according to Menon.² This means the processes that produce violent masculinities are internally differentiated. In order to address masculinity and violence in a meaningful way, the society will have to address a wide range of issues from corporate globalization that is uniust, inequitable and ecologically unsustainable to ways in which caste and other identities inflict maleness.

In Bangladesh, the case of garment workers illustrates the positioning of women workers in a globalized industrial sector. Bangladesh has 4 million garment workers, 80 percent of whom are women. Unlike other Islamic nations in the region where the image of men is stereotyped as violent or having outlook of a mullah,

Bangladesh is better known for innovations like micro-credit, micro-finance and entrepreneurship as well as women factory workers who have been freed from the shackles of religious patriarchy and poverty by the market. Dina Siddiqi (BRAC University, Bangladesh) feels that individual women, individual factory workers have certainly gained a measure of autonomy, confidence and financial empowerment that they would not have otherwise.³

Women workers are no longer seen as passive victims of capitalist exploitation but have been re-imagined as willing capitalist subjects. From this perspective, the ideal garment worker is a consumer citizen exercising her right to freedom, which means her right consumption practices, among other things. Some interesting shifts in male attitudes are also becoming visible. For instance, studies by Planned Parenthood the International Federation and the Family Planning Association of Bangladesh report that 31% of men surveyed were willing to cook and wash clothes for their children. A majority are also in favour of access to abortion. Yet the level of violence against women, both public and private, is incredibly high. This is a paradox because Bangladesh has some of the best social indicators in South Asia and women are very active and visible in the wage labor force. Within factories too, as reported in studies, dynamics between the primarily male middle managers and female garment workers often recreates the same patriarchal structure found in many family settings and within the larger society.4

A dominant discourse about women garment workers describes them as responsible and disciplined workers, thereby causing implicit marginalization of male labor portraying them lazy, irresponsible and violent. Media coverage tends to reproduce this notion. This needs greater attention in the context of deeply entangled nature of gendered injustices, particularly in the casting out of people to the margins of the new economy, which is an extremely unequal but hyper visible economy. Thousands of women in urban centres walk to work and back home every day. Many of these garment workers are subjected to hostility from working class men on the streets. Even as they are celebrated as the saviors and heroes of the nation, they visibly embody a certain male failure, argues Siddiqi. The presence of so many women on street signifies not just the inability of male family members to be successful breadwinners, but also the marginalization of working class males, lack of prospect of their getting the same kind of jobs and their being cut off from the promise of neo-liberal modernity. "One way to understand incredible sexual harassment of garment workers in particular is a kind of way for men to try and reclaim public spaces that used to be all male spaces. You've seen this total reworking of social and sexual gendered urban spaces," says Siddigi.⁵ Garment workers are harassed by unemployed youth, policemen and rickshaw "We really have to expand our drivers. understanding of gender justice. We can't talk about women only."

Gender violence is set in a different context among marginalized communities in the developed West. Quentin Walcott, who works with CONNECT initiative in New York for prevention of domestic violence, pointed out that looking at domestic violence or gender-based violence in relation to other forms of violence is important in the American context. CONNECT started working in places like Central Brooklyn, Central Queens and South Bronx

which reported higher incidents of domestic violence. These areas also happened to be places where there was the most police brutality in the city. "When we looked at all those layers in Brooklyn, it made sense that we kind of should look at the intersection between race and gender violence," Walcott explained. ⁶

In post-9/11 months, faith organizations were under surveillance and people in such areas feared state intervention. In such a situation, if domestic violence was happening in that part of town, it was unlikely that it would be reported because of fear of deportation, relationships with the community and police. CONNECT had to design its programmes keeping in mind these sensibilities, so that women and children were safe and men were held accountable in these communities without the presence of criminal justice or legal systems. The challenge was to reinforce the idea that men and boys should be engaged in the process of protecting communities from state violence but also to change the attitude and belief systems towards women and girls that lead to severe types of domestic violence and intimate partner violence.

In Mexico, the forces of globalization are causing a type of economic polarization, with a bulk of people on one side and 1% people who hold most of the power and the money, and trans-national corporations, on the other. Sociological and globalization perspective forces us to think about the general condition that makes possible or limits the process of change for gender equality, says Benno de Keijzer (Universidad Veracruzana, Mexico). While men are very connected to processes globalization, they need to start getting connected with gender equity messages. One must recognize that globalization actually began

with the process of colonization and did not begin with the internet and explosion of media. Colonization is a deeply rooted practice and it still a way of dominating through the economy, exploitation of people and resources, international policies and policing. All this influences issues of gender justice and redefining of masculinities.

Class disadvantages and masculinities

One of the major impacts of globalization is on food supplies in all the countries as local agriculture markets get integrated with international markets and commodities are traded seamlessly. This means price volatility in one part of the world can affect prices in the other. The study has great significance for gender discourse in the context of globalization as food price volatility directly influences gender roles in poor communities, says Alexandra Wanjiku Kelbert (Institute of Development Studies, Sussex, UK).⁸

"Life in a time of food price volatility" is a fouryear (2012-15) research project to monitor the impacts of, and responses to, volatile food prices in 23 poor communities in ten developing countries. The objective is to help people cope with high and fluctuating prices of food commodities in the short term and influence the food security and social protection policies in the long term. The project is generating evidence about how high and unpredictable food prices affect overall well-being and development in poor or vulnerable communities. Specifically, it examines how food price fluctuations affect essential day-to-day work of keeping families fed and cared for; how well the support systems (state and non-state) on which people routinely rely help people cope with sharp changes in the cost of living. It will also examine what is happening with paid work, unpaid work of care or looking after families, how relationships are being affected, and resources with which people cope. Through participatory exercises, participants are asked to demonstrate how and what food they could buy with a specific amount of money and compare this with what they bought with the same money a year before.

Interviews revealed things that normally go unnoticed. For instance, in Ethiopia the food price crisis has affected people's ability to contribute to social or religious events, like holidays or celebrations, or even their ability to invite friends and neighbours around for coffee. Several respondents explain they have tended to withdraw from the community due to shame from being unable to contribute their share. In terms of unpaid caretaking, the gender-based division of labor that is prevalent across in many countries means that women handle domestic tasks and care for children and the elderly, while men's role is to provide for the family. But with food price volatility, now women also have to take on work outside the home in order to secure supplementary income for their families, especially to feed their children. In Bolivia, sex for food is replacing sex for clothes. In Indonesia, where typically women used to go to the market, some men are now forced to as their wives join the labour force. On the contrary, in countries like Bangladesh where men used to go to the market, women are sent more to bargain because there is something "unmasculine" about bargaining. Women also reported rise in domestic violence and escapism (drugs, alcohol etc) among men who are under pressure of being the breadwinner and are forced to shoulder additional responsibilities.

Both provision and care can become more difficult if cash and time are squeezed as people

have to work harder and spend more to maintain their standards of living. But as care economy is invisible to policymakers, costs of coping remain hidden and will only emerge over the longer term. Seeing how different people cope in different parts of the world highlights very clearly how central (mainly women's) unpaid care work is to keeping people fed and cared for during times of shock or economic volatility. What do poor men have to gain from patriarchy as we have known it? Can the impoverishment of everyday patriarchy provide the spur for cross-gender coalitions for more emancipatory social justice? These are some of the research questions seeking answers.

The forces of globalization have also affected indigenous people and pastoral communities such as the Maasai in Kenya. Like elsewhere in the world, Maasai are losing their land for construction of wildlife parks, tourism facilities and other such projects, uprooting them from their lands and culture. Studies on gender and development among the Maasai people in Kenya have been more about women, while few systematically and explicitly discusses masculinities. As a result, men's historical experiences with 'development' have remained rather invisible. Thomas Njuguna Kibutu (Kenyatta University, Nairobi), who studied impact of development on Maasai masculine identities in Kenya since the British colonial rule, feels that developmental endeavours have had consequences for pastoral subsistence strategies of Maasai people and also for their gender relations and masculinities.9 The colonisation of the Maasai was rationalised on the rhetoric of development, as a 'civilizing mission' where the colonial state saw itself as 'trustee' of the Maasai people's interests. This entailed 'othering' their way of life and by so doing justifying their subjugation. The notion of guided development led to the deployment of forces which have subsequently led to radical changes in the nomadic pastoral ways of life of Maasai. They had a strong system of cultural values.

The system of polygamy among Maasai was based on the ability to provide. One could not have married without the ability to provide for his wives and children. The ability to provide was reflected in one's ability to accumulate more cattle. Both men and accumulated more power in groups. For example in polygamous families, they had greater control not only over their children but also over young boys and younger men in the family. It was characterized by a very strict division of labour among men and women. Men and boys would mainly take care of livestock. They would play the role of protector. Women did most of the nurturing, taking care of family, cooking, fetching water and so on. The consumption of alcohol was restricted to locally brewed drinks and men had permission to drink once they reached certain age. Modernization brought commercially available bottled beer which anyone with money could buy and drink. Development meant their contact with forces of modernization such as western education, Christianity and other cultural influences. All this is having far reaching consequences not only for pastoral subsistence strategies of Maasai but also for gender relations and masculinities in particular. 'Development' resulted in greater socio-economic stratification and to more distinct hierarchies masculinities. Due to the forces of neoliberalism, Maasai peole have suffered both loss of livelihood and prestige. They got more cash in hand from sale of their pastoral lands for wildlife parks and other development projects, but waste much of it due to little knowledge of

the market, often resulting in alcoholism and violence in families.

Like in garment workers, in-country and international migration - a result of changing labor markets due to globalization - is also acting as a driver for changing conception of masculinity and gender norms among the urban poor in Bangladesh, as revealed in an ongoing study as part of the World Bank's South Asia Gender Equality Initiative (SAGE). The objective of this research is to examine ways in which migration and women's employment opportunities create scope for redefining conceptions of masculinity (and femininity) and allow certain gender norms to be renegotiated. Piotr Pawlak, Institute of Human Rights and Peace Studies, Mahidol University (Bangkok, Thailand) and Maheen Sultan and Bayazid Hasan (Centre for Gender and Social Transformation, BRAC Institute of Governance and Development in Dhaka, Bangladesh) have conducted this study. 10 Migration in Bangladesh plays a significant role the nation's economy. According to data of Bureau of Employment, Manpower and Training, almost 13 per cent of all household in Bangladesh report some kind of immigration, either internal or international with over 80 per cent of migrants being from the rural area and majority of them being men. In fact 97 per cent of all migrants are men. The overall trend shows that all men migrate internationally while more women migrate internally. Among the women who migrate, 40 percent do so to other countries. The reasons migration are mainly poverty and indebtedness. In some cases, migration occurs due to existing 'urban' family network, encouragement from wife, husband persuasion to move etc.

Interviews done as part of the study in two slums and one peri-urban region showed conception of masculinity among men. Men are seen as 'head of the family, breadwinner and provider'. They are not to be criticized, even if they happen to be a gambler or have abandoned the family. Boys also had a role in earning for the family. In poor families, sons had to supplement the father's income by dropping out of school and working in the fields or as a labor. Marriage is seen as a key event after which a person assumes responsibility of wife and children. Having children in marriage is also a way of proving one's manhood. Men are seen as belonging to the public sphere - working and socializing - while women should spend time in the home. On the other hand, women supposed to be 'responsible are industrious', not addicted to drugs or gambling. The importance of men would be dominant and recognized as such, even if the wife was more educated or earned more.

With migration, however, traditional roles are changing. There is increased acknowledgement of the number of household related activities and chores in a family. Though men still believe that household activities are not men's natural role but they "have to do" them for practical reasons. Men are beginning to take care of children willingly especially if the wife is absent or abroad. However, responsibilities are assumed by men only partially and often with help (and financial incentive) of mother-in-law and other female relatives. Many husbands of working women share household work, if wife is home-based worker, is working abroad for migration or has full-time employment outside home. If husband and wife are operating a business or shop, husbands do not do any household work. Men are also taking on more traditionally female-dominated household

responsibilities (washing clothes, carrying a child), while women have entered mendominated sphere (income-earning, saving and asset building). There seems to be growing acceptance of these from immediate family and neighbors as part of urban life of a migrant.

Economic pressures are making the model of a double income family more prevalent and acceptable among the urban poor. Paid work is also a defining aspect of masculinity which is now becoming equally important to women's identities, even as supplementary or secondary providers for their families. Urban context and migration contribute to greater sharing of household responsibilities than in the earlier generations. Families, couples and individuals are able to undertake activities, roles and behaviors that they could not have done in their rural settings. There is greater public visibility of women and acceptance economic contribution to family income as a driving factor change. Greater valuing of their contribution, their role in the family, results in some level of willingness among men to take on additional family roles and responsibilities. "Changing of conceptions of gender roles and norms is complex and a very long-term process and while practices may change faster to allow women and men to adjust to their immediate circumstances, norms are much more resilient to change," notes Piotr Pawlak.

In Brazil, SUAPE is an economic zone where a large number of migrants make up temporary workforce engaged in constructing a petrochemical plant and a refinery. Large scale economic investment has structurally altered lives of people in this region, generating a large amount of direct and indirect employment. This investment comes in the backdrop of historical problems of income inequality

(tourism and poverty), precarious working conditions (including historical relationship of slave labor) and pronounced gender inequalities, especially in relation to gender based violence. Till very recently the region's economy was centered on production of sugarcane. Young, black men constitute a majority of the workforce in this region.

The intervention for migrant workers in this economic zone was designed to address the issue of violence and to promote gender equity. The idea was to raise awareness, inform and involve men who work in construction companies. The five themes covered were health and self-care; use and abuse of alcohol and other drugs; parenting and care; prevention of violence and sexual diversity. Peer education training, daily conversations, workshops and public events spread messages relating to adoption of harm reduction strategies with alcohol, drugs and sexually regards to transmitted diseases; sexual diversity; importance of fatherhood and women's reproductive rights; and violence against women and child sexual exploitation.¹¹

Shifting intra-household gender roles

The impact of globalization is being felt on children in poor communities. Young Lives is a unique international study of childhood poverty, which is following the changing lives of 12,000 children from infancy to young adulthood for 15 years in 4 countries (Ethiopia, India, Peru, Vietnam). The objective is to improve understanding of the causes and consequences of childhood poverty and help in development and implementation of policies and practice to reduce childhood poverty. In India, 3000 children in Telangana and Andhra Pradesh are being tracked. They are spread over 98 urban and rural communities.

One of the aspects being studied is corporal punishment, which is intentionally inflicted physical punishment by a person in authority for disciplinary purposes. Research studies have paid little attention to how children experience school, from their viewpoints, and the extent to which corporal punishment is used. Even less attention has been paid to parents' views about their children's experiences at school. Young Lives survey directed questions about being beaten by teachers, while the qualitative research adopted methods such as interviews, group discussions and creative activities to capture children's experience of violence at home, work and school.

Corporal punishment has far reaching significance for gender violence when children grow up, explains Renu Singh (Country Director, Young Lives, India). 12 If children discontinue school because of their experience or fear of corporal punishment, and if children learn that violence is the solution to behaviour that is out of line, then formal schooling may inadvertently be reinforcing both cycles of poverty and the use of violence. Schools are uniquely placed to break the patterns of violence by giving children, their parents and communities the knowledge and skills to communicate, negotiate and resolve conflicts in more constructive ways. For children in Andhra Pradesh, norms relating to femininity mean that girls are required to be docile and submissive and not to be 'caught' being 'naughty'. Constructions of 'masculinity 'interpreted that boys are supposed to be more able to accept physical punishment and to withstand pain. There are links about the use of punishment at home, and this may legitimate its use in schools and vice versa.

Although corporal punishment is one of the most obvious and widely reported forms of

school violence, which sometimes results in serious injury, truancy or drop-out, it has not usually been framed in gendered terms. However, studies have shown it is strongly linked to performances of aggressive masculinity and its persistence and widespread abuse implicitly endorses physical violence in school relations, which play out differently among female and male students and teachers. In the nexus of gender and age/authority relations, corporal punishment of female students has been rationalized by some girls as socializing them to become obedient mothers and wives, while the harsh beating of male students by male teachers is interpreted as the dominant male asserting authority over the younger male, and a toughening up process as rite of passage into male adulthood.

Child nutrition is another issue that needs to be examined in the context of globalization. Stunting, a result of chronic malnutrition, is a major child nutrition and health problem in Bangladesh though it is on a decline like the rest of the world. Still about 37 per cent of children under the age of five are stunted which means about six million children are stunted. In Bangladesh, child marriages result in early pregnancy. The average age of child marriage is 16 and girls get pregnant within the first year of marriage. Most nutrition and food security interventions target women with nutrition education, breast feeding education and so on.

Women normally tend to go to their husbands when it comes to seeking advice on nutrition and husbands are also the ones who influence nutrition decisions of the women or nutrition of the child. This means educating women alone might not be sufficient. Food distribution within households is such that men and boys tend to get the most nutritious food - not necessarily

more - such as meat and fish. Women do not have decision making power and have limited mobility and ability to purchase nutritious food. In line with these ground realities, Helen Keller Institute Bangladesh started adopting gender transformative approaches and child nutrition interventions to engage men and boys. The engagement with men was preceded with interventions for women only because if a woman is suffering violence, unequal food distribution and lack of access to food she won't be able to say that in front of her husband, explained Ramona Ridolfi, Gender Manager, Helen Keller International, Bangladesh. 13 It was safer for them to articulate these issues within their peer group and then we got them together in a mediator group and say what have you learnt in the past month, what are the changes that we couldn't bring within your household. In one such intervention, Nobo Jibon (New Life) both men and women were introduced to started interactive behavior change tools to improve their nutrition knowledge and practices. Another pilot called BEAM tested a specific integrated nutrition and gender intervention package that challenged discriminating gender norms within the entire household which lead to malnutrition.

Women and men exist in a multidimensional system of gender relations which influence women's ability to apply their learning, to purchase nutritious foods. HKI interventions recognize that malnutrition cannot be addressed without challenging unequal gender relations and opening up communication and dialogue about taboo subjects. Participatory methodologies are being adopted that enable even those who are not literate to participate, in their own peer groups first and then together. Since one family won't change behavior if their neighbours and the village are

not doing the same, it is vital to involve male and female participants of different age groups within that village. The HKI approach sought to increase the participation of husbands in assisting wives, so that they would have more time for breastfeeding and child care. In the second year of the project a much greater proportion of husbands assisted their wives in activities like cooking, poultry work, cleaning, water collection etc. The proportion of women who had a voice in family decisions around child health care and visiting family or relatives also increased dramatically during the second year of the project.

Globalization has resulted in Western corporations operating large projects in developing and poor countries, mainly in extraction industries which employ a large number of local people. These corporations are often seen as exploiters of natural resources and negatively taking advantage of local communities. They are also portrayed as indulging in violation of human rights and destruction of the environment. While everyone is a user of the products of such operations (oil, metals, consumer goods), their more direct economic impact is often overshadowed by impact on local demographics, social structures, the environment and culture. Globalization has transformed the composition of workforces, and the implications for women's health, feels Suhail Abualsameed- White Ribbon Campaign, Canada.14

More women are joining the workforce. Feminization of workforce has gone hand in hand with increased casualization, and continuing unequal burdens for unpaid work in the household, with serious implications for women's health. Narrowing of national policy

space has resulted in reducing funds for health and education with negative impacts on girls' and women's access. Keeping all this in mind, the United Nations in 2011 came up with guiding principles for global corporations. These guidelines emphasize states' existing obligations to respect, protect and fulfill human rights and fundamental freedoms. Business enterprises have a role as specialized organs of society performing specialized functions, required to comply with all applicable laws and to respect human rights. In addition, there is the need to match rights and obligations for appropriate and effective remedies when breached. In order to meet their responsibility to respect human rights, business enterprises should have in place policies and processes appropriate to their size and circumstances.

White Ribbon Campaign works in locations multinational where corporations operating. In one such rural location in Zambia, it was found that almost everybody was talking about increase in domestic violence and relationship between male and female partners strained over money. being mismanagement was identified as a primary factor towards the increase of gender-based violence in mining communities. Most mining workers have little education and life experience to equip them to manage incomes that are considerably higher than most people in their community. Young workers who get financial incentives tend to spend extra income on alcohol and sex workers, while wives keep asking for more money for food, education and clothes. This showed how structures of the business are impacting life in the community and individual households. White Ribbon Campaign intervened with a financial literacy training programme incorporating in it strong gender perspective. It started with the employees of a local mining company and will be expanded to local communities. Therefore it is critical to identify trigger for gender injustice and gender-related violence in workers' communities in different settings and design appropriate interventions to address them.

An interesting intervention in Western India is seeking involvement of men in the affairs of women such as their reproduction health and nurturing children. Samajhdar Jodidar (understanding partner) is a community-based intervention with men in rural Maharashtra in India that is aimed at reducing gender disparities at the family and community level. The project is being run jointly by the Centre for Health and Social Justice and the UNFPA since 2010 in three districts of the state. The intervention is based on results achieved from earlier work done in Uttar Pradesh where 'role model-activists' were found to be a crucial inspiration for gender-related changes among men. Such interventions can lead to substantive improvements in women's status without compromising men's 'masculinities'. overall objective is to reduce domestic violence, involve men in reproductive health of women, and enhance participation of women in decision making processes in the family as well as the community. In addition, the idea is to increase awareness of the youth about gender equality and to increase participation of men in health services provided under the National Rural Health Mission. Five local voluntary agencies are now working in close to 100 villages in three districts.

The mentors selected are all feminists or those working on gender issues for a long time. The role of a mentor is to be friend, philosopher and guide for the project, and to develop capacity building tools for animators and youth involved

in the project. Different training sessions are organized for different groups such as animators and panchayat members. Every year a convention of animators from all the villages is held where they share their experiences and discuss strategies. Motivational sessions are held with health workers like ASHA, anganwadi workers and ANMs. "My decision to take up the mentorship is much important in my life. I was a resident of the area where this project is going on. I was beaten up like an animal and thrown out of the house by five people and they wanted to murder me. I remained underground for 14 years. Since I had developed an understanding about the mentality of men while working in the field for 20-25 years, I wanted to go to my area and talk to men and build a new relationship," narrates Daiwashala Giri (Savitri Bai Phule Mahila Mandal, India).¹⁵ She was teaching in a school and because she expressed her liking for a man, she was removed. After that her family also disowned her.

The 'gender equality' initiatives of the Samajhdar Jodidar project have led to considerable changes in men's behaviour and roles in some of the villages in Sangola. Men in these villages narrate how the trainings and workshops have increased their understanding of the nuances of gendered relations, and how it has shaped changes in their behaviour and roles, with respect to both women and children. As a result of the project, perceptible change has been seen in the villages, such as improvement in health seeking behaviour particularly reproductive services and contraceptives, increase in enrolment and attendance of girls in schools, removal of barriers to entry of women into certain temples, drop in violence against women, enhanced participation of men in household work such as looking after children, increased participation of women in *gram sabhas*, drop in sex selection, prevention of child marriages and change in diets of women.

Recalibrating Masculinities and Socio-Economic Change

Field research and interventions from different parts of the world are exploring how masculine identities are being re-calibrated in times of socio-economic change, influencing shifts in women's economic roles. Masculinities are getting redefined in relation to trade unionization of women workers while intrahousehold gender distribution of labour and resources is also changing in some cases.

Though a large number of women participate in agricultural activity, social norms institutional structures constrain their productivity as well as their control over the income they generate. Usually only men are considered 'farmers' and interventions are often not designed to reach poor women smallholders. Women have limited access to appropriate technologies, and limited or no control over means of production. They depend on spouses for purchase of seeds and inputs, for access to land. Besides working on the farm, women are expected to prioritize domestic duties and subsistence production. Their mobility is restricted and they get little support in forging commercial relationships or market negotiations. Men, as head of households, make all decisions and women have little control over the use of income or reinvestment of earnings.

CARE has developed an intervention called Pathways to address all these issues. It is designed to tackle underlying causes of poverty and exclusion in agriculture through increased productivity and empowerment of women. Five common and closely-linked change levers have been indentified to achieve the goal of more resilient and secure livelihoods. These change levers are capacity development (knowledge, skills and relationships), access (productive resources, assets and markets), productivity (improved yields and incomes), household influence (role in decision making and income generation) and enabling environment (more positive social norms, policies and institutions). Pathways is present in 4 countries in Africa and 2 in South Asia, targeting to reach 50000 women. The programme also engages men and community leaders.

A key focus in pathways is relationship building between men and women, between couples and also community level service providers, building negotiation skills between women and their market actors. The topics covered in this programme are work load sharing, communication skills, listening skills between men and women, decision making, and dialogue around discrimination against women in the agricultural sector.

A major area of change is division of labour, with men beginning to participate in wood collection, working with women on farms weeding and handling heavy labour. There are some changes around agricultural decisions women are making decisions about crops and they are involved in production decisions. Women are making some expenditure-related decisions as well. They are using participatory tools in decision making, production and other decisions in which both men and women are involved. There is a big shift in men's perception about women's group. They are seeing economic benefits and are accepting women's groups. Men are also participating in household

work like cooking and washing clothes when wife is sick. However, there is little participation of men in tasks like taking care of children, sweeping, cooking and washing when wife is well, attending to antenatal care and making bed for wife. One of the most frequently cited changes was a difference in communication between men and women, attributed to gender dialogues. Men valued improvements in the quality of the relationship and intimacy.

At the household level, the head remains authoritative but women are now brought into the conversation. Women's opinion matters mainly when their financial contribution is needed. Some shifts have been seen in agriculture production decisions and household spending decisions. It was observed that when projects target only women or mention 'women' in the title, men turn away. They fear women getting "too empowered" and wanting to reverse power inequalities. In situations where women are contributing more to household expenses, men seem to be retracting their own contributions, placing further financial burdens on women, according to Emily Hillenbrand (Gender and Technical advisor, CARE USA).16

The importance of the role models cannot be underestimated when it comes to men sharing household work. We took a group of men to another village where they could see for themselves that there are men who help women with everyday chores. This had a positive influence on attitude of men. We also come around a number of obstacles in men's engagement in the work that we are focusing on. Men doing household works were referred to in derogatory terms by other men in the community, which is a deterrent to men who were adopting these practices. There is a very

negative perception around women are becoming too empowered, power structures, power equality. So these are some of the risks.

Neha Kagal (School of Oriental and African Studies, SOAS, London) has examined how working women's affiliation to a labour organization impacted gender relationships within their homes and circumstances under which men are likely to respond positively to these changes.¹⁷ Her research was done with women members of Kagad Kach Patra Kashtakari Panchayat (The Trade Union of Waste pickers) in Pune (Maharashtra, India). In the beginning most husbands viewed the union with suspicion, with a large number of wives reporting that their husbands followed them to union meetings just to check if they really were going for meetings and nowhere else. They were upset that their wives had become 'madams' (i.e. smart) since, for some, the union symbolized beginning of the 'rule of women'. Other men objected to their wives being out late for meetings, not returning in time to cook dinner and not taking adequate care of the children. Because of double burden of household work and paid work outside the home, women were often busy and couldn't immediately satisfy the needs of men, which led to abuse and violence. Women reported that they were beaten when they came home late, dressed up for work or spoke to other men while at work.

Significant changes were visible in intrahousehold gender relations once the women became of the union and started participating in its activities. However, these changes were not seen uniformly. A handful of women reported that their husbands began taking care of the children and cooking when they went for meetings. The levels of domestic violence reduced tremendously and husbands started verbalizing how 'smart' they thought their wives had become. They began having sex only with their consent and even began apologizing after episodes of violence. Active women displayed greater strength and confidence in challenging alcoholism, unemployment, philandering of husbands. Since they began realizing the value of their earnings especially in running the house and bringing up the children, they began demanding a change in unequal gender relations. For instance, some women said they had completely abdicated their roles as wife and daughter-in-law.

It also emerged that women who reported most 'impact' in terms of how and why the union had changed their lives were those who were more 'active' in the union. Length of membership of the union did not seem an important factor but what mattered most was quality and degree of involvement. Women who were in touch with the union on a monthly basis, attended meetings regularly were more aware of the reason why the union existed. Such active members expected that the union should stand up for them, speak on their behalf and support them. They viewed it as a chance to better their lives and also wanted to use it as a platform to ensure that their children had a better future. In contrast, inactive women viewed the union more like an organization that would 'give' them things - money, admission to school for their children, access to work, hospital fees, college admissions etc. These women were not regular at meetings and hardly engaged with the union except in times of material need. They were also clear that union meetings should be a space to discuss only work issues, and that personal/domestic issues should not be brought up in union meetings. This means

just membership to the union was not enough to build a critical consciousness.

"My research showed that active women members benefited significantly from material, cognitive and relational resources that the union offered. Inactive women, if at all, mentioned a few material resources, but didn't seem to benefit from cognitive and relational resources. In this sense, inactive women were similar to non-unionized women. Their work continued to be viewed by them as an extension of their role as mother and wife. They didn't report a sense of pride in their work and earnings which was very apparent with active women," notes Kagal. 18 While both active and inactive women viewed domestic violence as 'normal', active union members began standing up against violence once they recognized the harm it was causing them personally. On the other hand 'inactive' women stood up to domestic violence only when it began affecting their children, which was usually many years later or over a protracted period of time.

Men mended their ways when their role as head of the family was directly challenged by their wife. The benefits that women accrued for their families in the public sphere because of membership to the union clearly seemed to be one reason why men gradually made peace and eventually encouraged women's participation in the union. Men reported feeling a sense of pride in their wives involvement with the union. The fact that their wives were engaging in public speaking, being part of 'meetings' with influential people all contributed to this sense of pride. The increased income from their wives earnings was used mostly to pay for children school and other day to day expenses. In some ways this compensated for men's inability to be fathers that they wanted to be, and thus helped them fulfill their notions of fatherhood, in turn leading to them softening their stance against their wives involvement in the union. Bargaining power was either voluntarily let go off in home in exchange for pride, being a good father/provision, being 'known', benefits in the public sphere or was negotiated based on men's reduced fall back positions.

In Estonia, located in North-east Europe, gender equality is promoted by feminists groups but encounters a lot of resistance by the society. The country has been ranked 62nd in the Gender Equality Index of the World Economic Forum. There is gender and ethnic disparity in labour market in Estionia with pay gap of 30 percent, which is the highest in the European Union. The country's economic and political elite is composed largely of Estonian men. The research, conducted by Kadri Aavik (Institute of Social Studies, Estonia Tallinn University, Estoni), explored the lack of efforts by men to initiate and be incorporated in gender equality initiatives and discursive resistance towards the idea of gender equality in the context of work. 19 It showed how particular intersectionally privileged group of men framed gender and gender equality. The study invoklved interviewes with 15 ethnic Estonian male managers working in the public and private sector. Earlier research has shown that the ideal of hegemonic masculinity in the context of Estonia is a hybrid of transnational bussiness masculinity and nationalism, in light of the fact that Russians constitute around 25 percent of Estonian population.

Male workers framed gender and gender equality in the context of work in three ways. First was based on differentiating "men's work" with "women's work" - a distinction constructed on the basis of perceived biological

differences. Lack of women in technical sectors was justified with complex and technical nature of the work and was seen as unsuitable to women. Even if women's virtual absence is noticed and the need is expressed for more women to enter particular male-dominated areas of work or top management, this need is justified with different ways of management that women will bring with them, stemming from their essential differences from men and referring to their innate characteristics, such as empathy, gentleness and caring. Paternalistic discourses are used to portray women as different due to biological factors and they are depicted as potentially vulnerable, unsuitable for some jobs for their own sake.

Second, men emphasized differences at individual level as a way of avoiding addressing structural inequalities in the labour market such as pay gap. Gender pay gap was not fully accepted, disbelief was expressed and it was presented as a debatable issue. Some attributed pay gap to reasons like men and women working in different sectors and different positions within the organization. Gender differences in pay were reduced to personal differences and ambitions of genderless individuals selling their human capital in the labour market. Quotas were opposed 'unfair mechanism'. as an Misunderstanding objective behind quotas constituted another way of avoiding confrontation with structural inequalities. Reasons for lack of women in boardrooms are seen in women themselves. This is consistent with prevalent neoliberal ideology in Estonia and in Eastern Europe. Opposition of quotas might be legacy of the Soviet era. Third dominant position was men declaring gender equality as unimportant and distancing themselves from the issue.

The three ways of framing gender and gender equality seems fundamentally incompatible with feminist efforts to build gender equality (individual achievement VS structural conditions). Through these ways of framing gender and gender equality, masculinity is constructed, displaying complicity with the ideal of hegemonic masculinity in Estonia. This also explains reluctance of men to get involved in gender equality initiatives. Though legal framework is in place, awareness among employers and general population regarding employers' legal obligation to prevent unequal treatment in workplaces is needed. Privileged groups must see themselves as gendered and ethnicized and show concern for gender inequality. Initiatives must come from men themselves, along with positive role models and men who speak up. What is needed is "collective recognition" of complicity social benefitting from structures institutions that produce and uphold invisible intersectional privilege for some groups. Only with all this, one can hope to change attitude of Estonian men towards gender equality at workplace.

Globalization, gender justice and social movements

Social movements, trying to resist or oppose negative effects of globalization, are also faced with the challenge of engaging men and including issues of gender justice in them. The context of social movements in different parts of the world is different but they face some common challenges when it comes to engaging men.

Bharat Patankar (Shramik Mukti Dal, India) recounts the experience of Strimukti, women's liberation organization which was started in tribal areas of Maharashtra state but has spread

to other parts in th4e past decades.²⁰ While men were working in textile mills in Mumbai and fighting for their rights through strikes and other forms of struggle, women in villages started a movement for equitable water distribution, drought eradication and questions relating to implementation of the employment guarantee scheme. Their slogan was "Stri Shakti, hirvi dharti, manav mukti" (women's power, green earth and human liberation).

An important part of this struggle in Maharashtra was the parityakta movement. It was about rights and struggle of women deserted by their husbands and also rejected by their maternal houses. Such women would fall prey to sexual harassment by people in the house and others in the villages. This movement needed engagement of men – at least brothers and fathers of deserted women. The first issue was to establish their right to send their children to schools as single parents. With much difficulty, these women made the local administration accept to the point that they can call themselves as a parent and sign or put their thumb impression while admitting their children into the school. A bigger struggle - still going on in courts and in the society - is getting the rightful share in maternal house property and agriculture for deserted women. This is necessary if they were to have their own economically independent households. Some men are supporting this movement of women through their participation in different ways. Women are also promoting inter-caste marriages, and rising against takeover of their lands for mining and other industrialization projects resulting from neo-liberalization and globalization policies being pursued by the government.

While women have been able to organize themselves and lead social movements in democratic societies like India, it is difficult to do so in countries with repressive regimes and rigid mindsets.

In the Arab region, for instance, the only socially accepted context for sex is marriage, which has to be approved by the family, endorsed by religious functionaries and registered by the state. However, globalization is playing a role in shifting sexual attitudes and behaviors, particularly due to access to the Internet and pornography, according to Shereen El Feki, journalist and writer.²¹ Access to pornography is shaping attitudes of men and women towards sexual practice in the Arab world like anywhere else in the world. One visible change is attitude of men towards Female genital mutilation (FGM) practiced in many countries in the region. Historically FGM has been an affair in which men of the household are not involved at all. This is changing now, as revealed in a study on intersection of sexuality and FGM in Egypt. Though many reasons are given to justify female circumcision the predominant belief is to control a girl's sexuality. However, men who were interviewed didn't know whether their wives had been circumcised or not because they had little sexuality education in schools. Now this is changing due to exposure to pornography. Men have an opinion about FGM and think that it should be done because they feel that Western women - as seen in pornographic films - are not circumcised and therefore they are having sex with 2-3 men at a time. These men argue that this would happen if we don't circumcise our girls. There is an unexpected and perverse consequence of globalization.

The forces of globalization are influencing sexual culture in the Arab region in other ways too. The spread of Wahaabi Islam from Saudi Arabia is one such factor. This school of Islam has different interpretations of central Islamic texts and places very strict restrictions on sexuality, on women's bodies and also constrains ideas of masculinity. This type of Islamic influence is external to many countries but is now shaping religious, political and sexual lives in the Arab world. In Islamic culture, men are expected to bear almost full cost of marriage. Given the fact that marriage ceremony in many of the communities has become an exercise in conspicuous consumption, men are finding difficult to cope with this pressure due to unemployment. The combined impact of globalized economy, excessive consumer expectation at different levels of society and joblessness of young men is shooting up of the age of marriage.

In patriarchal societies in the Arab region, double standard is the norm when it comes to sex before marriage. Men have sex before marriage, but women are expected to be virgin on their wedding night, which is defined as turning up with their hymen intact. This is an expectation across social and educational classes. Fallout of this is a booming business in hymen repair in capitals across the Arab region.

Women's rights movements and groups in the Arab region have not engaged directly with questions of sexuality. They have dealt with issues related to reproduction and family planning (not abortion), but have tended to steer clear on questions of sexual rights and sexual freedom. This was because of the fact that many of them were started by the government directly or indirectly. They were often spearheaded by so-called first ladies of

the Arab region and were disconnected from the grassroots. Therefore, they stayed away from sexuality, which is a very challenging issue to address in the current climate. However, the situation has changed after the Arab Spring. It is still not easy in most countries in the region to operate as an NGO because of general clamp down on civil society. Despite this, there are groups coming up to tackle aspects of sexuality. They are advocating sexuality education in schools, while some are raising voices against sexual violence and sexual harassment. It is here that one can see men participating along with women. The greatest presence of men in terms of discussing sexual rights in Arab region has to do with the LGBT population. With the exception of one or two Gulf states, now there are NGOs in most Arab countries trying to provide emotional and psychosocial help as well as legal assistance to people with alternative sexual orientation or alternative gender identities. Some of them, like the one those in Tunisia, are successful and are trying to connect with broader social movements in fields such as freedom of expression and women's rights.

Srilatha Batliwala (Association for Women's Rights in Development) points to an important trend - globalization of fundamentalism or rather patriarchal fundamentalism.²² It may masquerade as religious fundamentalism or cultural fundamentalism, but underneath is actually patriarchal fundamentalism and the resultant rise of homophobia and the backlash against women's rights. Globalization is a way of legitimizing certain forms of masculinity and the resultant violence against women. Transnational criminal networks, arms trade and globalization of war and conflict are all hidden impacts of globalization. In addition, another disturbing trend is the rising role of private sector actors, especially corporate

entities, in shaping development priorities and programs.

The 'backdoor' influence of the private sector in setting development directions priorities is also huge. The shrinking of democratic space, criminalization of dissent, electronic surveillance and electronic means of controlling citizen action all have very clear gender impacts. Globalization has also boosted the global pleasure economy or well-being economy, which has a huge gender dimension. It is completely invisible because it operates largely through illegal trafficking. The scale of migration of workers being witnessed today is something not seen before and the majority of that labor are women.

In mixed gender social movements, commitment to gender justice is not visible. There is little exploration of connections between issues they are addressing and globalization. Some movements focused on economic justice or extractive industries have more global perspective because of the nature of their core issues. "There are some less common movements that have made great strides. We have found through our research that movements that have the strongest and deeply embedded gender justice perspective are those that have an intersectional approach," feels Batliwala. Just by having a large number of women participate, a movement can't be gender sensitive. Some also feel that conscious actions on women's rights or gender justice are not necessary because a movement is about inclusion. Social movements have a great deal of work to do, not only for the sake of gender justice, but for deepening their own democratic and transformatory potential.

Jose Roberto, youth activist from UNFPA in Guatemala feels that social movements were

not working together. "If we really want to change this world, we have to see this difficult challenge with a very responsible lens, because we are not considering the other social movements," Roberto says. Today groups or movements focused on one area, be in rights of the poor or sexual minorities, are all working in silos. Young people in Latin America are trying to change social conditions which at present are not so good because of homophobia, conservative attitude and existing gender norms. Many young people are revealing their sexual identities and are fighting for their rights.

Those participating in social movements also need to learn how to balance movement building with spending time with themselves, families and friends, according to Rukia Cornelius (Sonke Gender Justice, Africa).²⁴ Activism and contribution to a better world takes many forms - not just the formal or the work activism. It is also important to train volunteers and community mobilizers on trauma support, particularly for those who experience trauma personally and working in the context of violence. Building and sustaining a gender just movement is a challenge, in the backdrop of global financial crisis and the austerity measures. Social organizations must promote shared care work, ensure full participation of men and women and recognize the maternal and reproductive health needs of women. Insist on engaged parenting and lead by example.

Conclusion

Economic globalization and liberalized national policies for foreign investment and trade have thrown new challenges to movements and organizations engaged in gender justice and gender equality. While they have been able to learn from the experience of each other, the

challenge is to craft new strategies to engage men and boys that fit in local contexts and realities. The forces of globalization are opening up new work opportunities in some countries, leading to greater migration of men and women in others, dispossessing indigenous communities from their lands and livelihoods, and exposing millions to new tools of information technology. All this is happening on top of existing patriarchal framework, and in some societies, in repressive political systems. Carefully designed, long-term interventions and awareness programmes can help reshape ideas and practices in communities so that they become gender sensitive. All such efforts will have to creatively and effectively involve men and boys.

- 1. Nivedita Menon, "Title of presentation here", Presentation at Second Men Global Symposium, November 12, 2014
- 2. ibid
- 3. Dina Siddiqi, "Title of presentation here", Presentation at Second Men Global Symposium, November 12, 2014
- 4. Sanchita Saxena, Made in Bangladesh, Cambodia, and Sri Lanka: The Labor Behind the Global Garments and Textiles Industries, Cambria Press, 2014
- 5. Dina Siddigi
- 6. Quentin Walcott, "Title of presentation here", Presentation at Second Men Global Symposium, November 12, 2014
- 7. Benno de Keijzer, "Title of presentation here", Presentation at Second Men Global Symposium, November 12, 2014
- 8. Alexandra Wanjiku Kelbert, "Gender Roles and Global Crises: Findings from Life in a Time of Food Price Volatility," Presentation at Second Men Global Symposium, November 12, 2014
- 9. Thomas Njuguna Kibutu, "Development Gender and the Crisis of Masculinity Among the Maasai People of Kenya," Presentation at Second Men Global Symposium, November 12, 2014
- 10. Piotr Pawlak, "Title of presentation here", Presentation at Second Men Global Symposium, November 12, 2014
- 11. Benedito Medrado, "Men, gender, health and migrant labor: research strategies and political action in Brazil," Presentation at Second Men Global Symposium, November 12, 2014
- 12. Renu Singh, "Changing Lens: Shades of Grey- Evidence of Gender Violence from Young Lives, India," Presentation at Second Men Global Symposium, November 13, 2014
- 13. Ramona Ridolfi, "HKI's Gender and Behavior Change Approach in Nutrition Programming," Presentation at Second Men Global Symposium, November 13, 2014
- 14. Suhail Abualsameed, "It's Our Business: Helping Global Businesses Help End Gender-Based Violence," Presentation at Second Men Global Symposium, November 13, 2014
- 15. Daiwshala Giri, "Samjhdar jodidar prakalp: participation of men in gender equality," Presentation at Second Men Global Symposium, November 13, 2014
- 16. Emily Hillenbrand, "Engaging men for gender-equitable agriculture systems: Lessons from CARE's Pathways to Empowerment Program," Presentation at Second Men Global Symposium, November 11, 2014
- 17. Neha Kagal, "Not Just a Worker: The Impact of Collectivization of Informal Economy Workers on Intra-household Gender Relations," Presentation at Second Men Global Symposium, November 11, 2014
- 19. Kadri Aavik, "'Gender equality is a bluff': intersectionally privileged men's discursive resistance towards gender equality in estonia," Presentation at Second Men Global Symposium, November 11, 2014
- 20. Bharat Patankar, "Title of presentation here", Presentation at Second Men Global Symposium, November 12, 2014
- 21. Shereen El Feki, "Title of presentation here", Presentation at Second Men Global Symposium, November 12, 2014
- 22. Srilatha Batliwala, "Title of presentation here", Presentation at Second Men Global Symposium, November 12, 2014
- 23. Jose Roberto, "Title of presentation here", Presentation at Second Men Global Symposium, November 12, 2014
- 24. Rukia Cornelius, "Title of presentation here", Presentation at Second Men Global Symposium, November 12, 2014

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Basement of Young Women's Hostel No.2, Avenue 21, G Block, Saket, New Delhi- 110017. India. Telephone: +91-11-26535203, +91-11-26511425 Fax: +91-11-26536041