

STRATEGIC INSTANTIATIONS OF GENDERING: GLOBAL CITIES AND SURVIVAL CIRCUITS

by Saskia Sassen

*Ralph Lewis Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago,
and Centennial Visiting Professor, London School of Economics*

Today's dominant account about economic globalization in media and policy circles, as well as in much economic analysis, emphasizes hypermobility, global communications, the neutralization of place and distance. Key concepts in that account -- global information economy, instant communication, electronic markets-- all suggest that place no longer matters and that the only type of worker that matters is the highly educated professional. This account privileges the capability for global transmission over the material infrastructure that makes transmission possible; information outputs over the workers producing those outputs, from specialists to secretaries; and the new transnational corporate culture over the multiple work cultures, including immigrant cultures, within which many of the "other" jobs of the global information economy take place. In brief, the dominant narrative concerns itself with the upper circuits of global capital, not the lower ones, and particularly with the hypermobility of capital rather than with what is place-bound.

In this type of account, the global migration of maids, nannies, nurses, sex workers and contract brides has little to do with globalization. These are just women deciding to take a go at it. Their migrations and the jobs they do once they get there supposedly, then, tell us little about economic globalization. Further, many of these types of migrations existed long before the current phase of economic globalization.

This chapter seeks to understand whether there are significant links between particular features of globalization and of the current migration and trafficking of women for jobs that used to be part of the first world woman's domestic role (Ehrenreich and Hochschild, this volume). It will examine whether the conditions and dynamics brought on by globalization are altering or re-inscribing these often old histories of migration and exploitation, as well as generating new ones. There are two distinct issues here: one is whether globalization has enabled older processes which used to be national or regional to become global, and the other is whether it has produced new conditions and dynamics. What follows is, inevitably, a partial account and must be read as a conceptual architecture rather than a full description. It might serve to situate the rich detail presented in many of the chapters in a broader analytic landscape.

I. GLOBAL CITIES AND SURVIVAL CIRCUITS

Analytically we can anchor the current global migration of women for largely female-typed activities in two specific sets of dynamic configurations. One of these is the global city and the other a set of survival circuits emerging as a response to growing

immiseration of governments and whole economies in the global south. I elaborate briefly on each of these before entering the more in depth discussions in the rest of the chapter.¹

Global cities concentrate some of the key functions and resources for the management and coordination of global economic processes. The growth of these activities has in turn produced a sharp growth in the demand for highly paid professionals. Both the firms and the lifestyles of their professionals generate a demand for low-paid service workers. In this way global cities are also sites for the incorporation of large numbers of lowly paid women and immigrants into strategic economic sectors. This incorporation happens directly through the demand for mostly lowly paid clerical and blue-collar service workers, such as janitors and repair workers. And it happens indirectly through the consumption practices of high-income professionals, which in turn generates a demand for maids and nannies as well as low-wage workers in expensive restaurants and shops. Low-wage workers get incorporated into the leading sectors, but they do so under conditions that render them invisible, therewith undermining what had historically functioned as a source of workers' empowerment --being employed in growth sectors.

As for the second site, over the last decade we have seen a proliferation of new or renewed survival circuits built on the backs of women --as trafficked workers for low-wage jobs and the sex industry and as migrant workers sending remittances back home. A key aspect here is that through their work and remittances, women enhance the government revenue of deeply indebted countries and offer new profit making possibilities to "entrepreneurs" who have seen other opportunities vanish as a consequence of global firms and markets entering their countries or to long time criminals who can now operate their illegal trade globally. These survival circuits are often complex, involving multiple locations and sets of actors constituting increasingly global chains of traders and "workers."

Both in the global city and in these survival circuits women emerge as crucial actors for new and expanding types of economies. It is through these supposedly rather value-less economic actors that key components of these new economies have been built. Globalization plays a specific role here in a double sense, contributing to the formation of links between sending and receiving countries, and, secondly, enabling local and regional practices to become global in scale. On the one hand, the particular dynamics that come together in the global city produce a strong demand for these types of workers, while the dynamics that mobilize women into these survival circuits produce an expanding supply of workers who can be pushed, or are sold into those types of jobs. On the other hand, the technical infrastructure and transnationalism that underly some of the key globalized

¹ For a more detailed account of each of these configurations please see, respectively, "Towards a feminist analytics of globalization" in Sassen (1998), and "Women's Burden: The Feminization of Survival." Journal of International Affairs (2000).

industries are also making it possible for other types of actors to deploy their activities at global scales, whether money laundering or trafficking.²

To understand how globalization actually relates to the globalized extraction of services that used to be part of the first world woman's domestic role, requires that we look at globalization in ways that are different from the mainstream view.

II. TOWARDS AN ALTERNATIVE NARRATIVE ABOUT GLOBALIZATION

Massive trends towards the spatial dispersal of economic activities and the neutralization of place represent only half of what is happening. The other half, is the territorial centralization of top-level management, control operations and the most advanced specialized services. National and global markets as well as globally integrated operations require central places where the most complex tasks required by the global economy get done. Further, information industries require a vast physical infrastructure containing strategic nodes with hyperconcentration of facilities. Finally, even the most advanced information industries have a work process involving many different types of workplaces and workers.

Once this production process is brought into the analysis, we see that secretaries are part of it, and so are the cleaners of the buildings where the professionals do their work and the buildings where they live. An economic configuration very different from that suggested by the concept information economy emerges. We recover the material conditions, production sites, and place-boundedness that are also part of globalization and the information economy.

There is a tendency in the mainstream account to take the existence of a global economic system as a given, a function of the power of transnational corporations and global communications. But the capabilities for global operation, coordination and control contained in the new information technologies and in the power of transnational corporations need to be produced. By focusing on the production of these capabilities we add a neglected dimension to the familiar issue of the power of large corporations and the new technologies. The emphasis shifts to the practices that constitute what we call economic globalization and global control: the work of producing and reproducing the organization and management of a global production system and a global marketplace for finance.

² In my larger research project I also focus on a range of what we could call liberating activities and practices that are enabled by globalization, e.g. specific aspects of the human rights and environmental movements as well as particular activities of the anti-globalization network. One way of thinking about this is to posit that globalization also enables the production of countergeographies of globalization, some exploitative and others emancipatory.

A focus on practices draws the categories of place and work process into the analysis of economic globalization. These are two categories easily overlooked in accounts centered on the hypermobility of capital and the power of transnationals. Developing categories such as place and work process does not negate the importance of hypermobility and power. Rather, it brings to the fore the fact that many of the resources necessary for global economic activities are not hypermobile and are, indeed, deeply embedded in place, notably places such as global cities and export processing zones. Global processes are structured by local constraints, including the composition of the workforce, work cultures, and political cultures and processes within nation states.³

Recapturing the geography of places involved in globalization allows us to recapture people, workers, communities, and more specifically, the many different work cultures, besides the corporate culture, involved in the work of globalization. The global city can be seen as one strategic research site for the study of these processes and of the many forms through which global processes become localized in specific arrangements, whether it is the new very high-income gentrified urban neighborhoods of the transnational professional class or the work lives of the foreign nannies and maids in those same neighborhoods.

III. WOMEN IN THE GLOBAL CITY

Economic globalization needs to be understood also in its multiple localizations, many of which do not generally get coded as having anything to do with the global economy. The global city is one of the key places for many of these localizations.

One of the localizations of the dynamics of globalization is the process of economic restructuring in global cities which has generated a large growth in the demand for low-wage workers and jobs that offer few advancement possibilities. This, amidst an explosion in the wealth and power concentrated in these cities -- that is to say, in conditions where there is also a visible expansion in high-income jobs and high-priced urban space. "Women and immigrants" emerge as the labor supply that facilitates the

³ Further, by emphasizing the fact that global processes are at least partly embedded in national territories, such a focus introduces new variables in current conceptions about economic globalization and the shrinking regulatory role of the state. That is to say, the space economy for major new transnational economic processes diverges in significant ways from the duality global/national presupposed in much analysis of the global economy. The duality national versus global suggests two mutually exclusive spaces -- where one begins the other ends. National states play a role in the implementation of global economic systems, a role that can assume different forms depending on development levels, political culture and mode of articulation with global processes (See Sassen 1996). Re-introducing the state in analyses of globalization creates a conceptual opening for an examination of how this transformed state, specifically the growing power of certain agencies, articulate the gender question. One instance of this reconfigured state is the political ascendance of ministries of finance and the decline of departments dealing with the social fund, from housing to health and welfare.

imposition of low-wages and few benefits even when there is high-demand and these are jobs in high-growth sectors. Access to "women and immigrants" breaks the historic nexus that would have led to empowering workers under these conditions, and, further, it legitimates this break culturally. The demographic transition evident in such cities, where a majority of resident workers are today women, often women of color, both native and immigrant.

Another localization which is rarely associated with globalization, is the growing informalization of an expanding range of activities. Informalization re-introduces the community and the household as an important economic space in global cities. I see informalization in this setting as the low-cost (and often feminized) equivalent of deregulation at the top of the system. As with deregulation (e.g. as in financial deregulation), informalization introduces flexibility, reduces the "burdens" of regulation, and lowers costs, in this case especially of labor. Informalization in the cities of the global north --whether New York, London, Paris, Berlin-- can be seen as a downgrading of a variety of activities for which there is an effective and often growing demand located inside these cities. Immigrants and women are important actors in the new informal economies of these cities. They absorb the costs of informalizing these activities.

Another important localization of the dynamics of globalization is that of the new professional women stratum. Elsewhere I have examined the impact of the growth of top level professional women in high income gentrification in these cities--both residential and commercial-- as well as in the re-urbanization of middle class family life. (See The Global City chapter 9). The vast expansion in the demand for high level professionals has brought with it a sharp increase in the employment of women in corporate professional jobs.⁴ The complex and strategic character of these jobs requires long work hours and intense engagement with their jobs and work lives. This places heavy demands on their time. Urban residence is far more desirable than the suburbs especially for single professionals or two-professional career households. As a result we see an expansion of high-income residential areas in global cities and we see a re-urbanization of family life insofar as these professionals want it all, including dogs and children even if they may not have the time for either. Given demanding and time absorbing jobs, the usual modes of handling household tasks and lifestyle are inadequate. This is a type of household that I describe as the "professional household without a 'wife'" regardless of the fact that it may have a couple of man and woman or man and man or woman and woman. A growing share of household tasks are relocated to the market: they are bought directly as goods and services or indirectly through hired labor. As a consequence we are seeing the return of the so-called "serving classes" in all the global cities around the world, made up largely of immigrant and migrant women (Sassen 2001: chapter 9).

⁴ Indeed women represent a specific type of resource in many of these settings since they are seen--whether rightly or not-- as better cultural brokers, a significant issue for firms with global operations. Further, women are also seen as crucial in the interface with consumers in the financial services industry in that they are seen as inspiring more trust and thereby making it easier for individual investors to put their money in what are often known to be highly speculative endeavors. (Fisher 2000)

We see here a dynamic akin to a double movement: A shift to the labor market of functions that used to be part of household work, but also a shift of what used to be labor market functions in standardized workplaces to the household and, in the case of informalization, to the immigrant community.⁵ This reconfiguration of economic spaces associated with globalization in global cities has had differential impacts on women and men, on male-typed and female-typed work cultures, on male and female centered forms of power and empowerment.

These transformations contain possibilities, even if limited, for women's autonomy and empowerment. For instance, we might ask whether the growth of informalization in advanced urban economies reconfigures some types of economic relations between men and women? With informalization, the neighborhood and the household re-emerge as sites for economic activity. This condition has its own dynamic possibilities for women. Economic downgrading through informalization, creates "opportunities" for low-income women and therewith reconfigures some of the work and household hierarchies that women find themselves in. This becomes particularly clear in the case of immigrant women who come from countries with rather traditional male-centered cultures.

There is a large literature showing that immigrant women's regular wage work and improved access to other public realms has an impact on their gender relations. Women gain greater personal autonomy and independence while men lose ground. Women gain more control over budgeting and other domestic decisions, and greater leverage in requesting help from men in domestic chores. Also, their access to public services and other public resources gives them a chance to become incorporated in the mainstream society--they are often the ones in the household who mediate in this process. It is likely that some women benefit more than others from these circumstances; we need more research to establish the impact of class, education, and income on these gendered outcomes. Besides the relatively greater empowerment of women in the household associated with waged employment, there is a second important outcome: their greater participation in the public sphere and their possible emergence as public actors.

There are two arenas where immigrant women are active: institutions for public and private assistance, and the immigrant/ethnic community. The incorporation of women in the migration process strengthens the settlement likelihood and contributes to greater immigrant participation in their communities and vis a vis the state. Immigrant women come to assume more active public and social roles which further reinforces their status in the household and the settlement process (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1995; Mahler 1996). Women are more active in community building and community activism and they are positioned differently from men regarding the broader economy and the state. They are the ones that are likely to have to handle the legal vulnerability of their families in the process of seeking public and social services for their families. This greater participation by women suggests the possibility that they may emerge as more forceful and visible actors and make their role in the labor market more visible as well.

⁵ I have developed this at length in Sassen 1995.

Here is, to some extent, a joining of two different dynamics in the condition of immigrant women in global cities described above. On the one hand they are constituted as an invisible and disempowered class of workers in the service of the strategic sectors constituting the global economy. This invisibility keeps them from emerging as whatever would be the contemporary equivalent of the strong proletariat of earlier forms of economic organization, when workers' positions in leading sectors had the effect of empowering them. On the other hand, the access to wages and salaries --even if low--, the growing feminization of the job supply, and the growing feminization of business opportunities brought about with informalization, does alter the gender hierarchies in which they find themselves.

III.1. New employment regimes in cities.

Cities are a nexus where many of the new organizational tendencies of economies and societies come together in specific localized configurations. They are also the sites for a disproportionate concentration of all immigrants in the global north. This produces a puzzle since much analysis of post-industrial society and advanced economies generally posits a massive growth in the need for highly educated workers and little need for the types of jobs that a majority of immigrants, and perhaps especially immigrant women have tended to hold over the last two or three decades. This suggests sharply reduced demand for workers with low educational levels generally and for immigrants in particular. Yet detailed empirical studies of major cities in highly developed countries show ongoing demand for immigrant workers and a significant supply of old and new jobs requiring little education and paying low wages. The new employment regimes that have emerged in cities have reconfigured the job supply and employment relations in ways that do not fit the thesis of a rapid fall in the demand for low-wage workers.

Three processes of economic and spatial organization help explain the ongoing and indeed growing demand for immigrant workers, especially immigrant women. One is the expansion and consolidation of advanced services and corporate headquarters as the urban economic core, especially in global cities. While the corporate headquarters and services complex may not account for the majority of jobs in these cities, it establishes a new regime of economic activity and the associated spatial and social transformations evident in major cities. I return to this in more detail in the next section.

A second process is the downgrading of the manufacturing sector, a notion I use to describe a mode of political and technical reorganization whereby some manufacturing sectors become incorporated into the "postindustrial" economy. It is to be distinguished from the obsolescence of many manufacturing activities to the urban economy. Downgrading is a form of adaptation to a situation where a growing number of manufacturing firms need to compete with cheap imports and the profit-making

capacities of manufacturing overall are modest compared with those of leading sectors such as telecommunications or finance and other corporate services.⁶

The third process is the informalization of a growing array of economic activities. It includes certain components of the downgraded manufacturing sector, notably sweatshops in a growing range of manufacturing. Informalization also represents a mode of reorganizing the production and distribution of goods and services when firms have an effective local demand for their goods and services but cannot compete with cheap imports or cannot compete for space and other business needs with the new high-profit firms engendered by the advanced corporate service economy. Escaping the regulatory apparatus of the formal economy enhances the economic opportunities of such firms. It does so by reducing costs and by avoiding regulatory constraints, e.g. locating a commercial or manufacturing operation in an area zoned exclusively for residential use or in a building in violation of fire and health standards.

In brief, the changes in the job supply evident in major cities are a function both of new sectors and of the reorganization of work in both new and old sectors.

III.2. The other workers in the advanced corporate economy

In the day-to-day work of the leading sectors in global cities, a large share of the jobs involved are lowly paid and manual, many held by immigrant women. Even the most advanced professionals will require clerical, cleaning, repair workers for their state-of-the-art offices, and they will require truckers to bring the software but also the toilet paper. Although these types of workers and jobs are never represented as part of the global economy they are in fact part of the infrastructure of jobs involved in running and implementing the global economic system, including such an advanced form of it as is international finance.

High level corporate services, from accounting to decision making expertise, are not usually analyzed in terms of their work process. Such services are usually seen as a type of output, i.e. high-level technical knowledge. Thus insufficient attention has gone to the actual array of jobs, from high-paying to low-paying, involved in the production of

⁶The key issue here is a type of manufacturing that needs an urban location because it is geared to urban markets and functions as part of fairly developed and intense networks of contractors and subcontractors. We have called this type of manufacturing "urban manufacturing" to distinguish it from sectors that respond to very different constraints and advantages. Among its components are crucially design linked manufacturing typically done on contract: jewellery, woodwork and metalwork for architecture and real estate firms, fashion furniture and lamps, and so on. Many components of urban manufacturing are not downgraded, or at least, not yet. One major policy implication for city governments is to support this type of manufacturing and cease to subsidize the kind who will sooner or later leave the city anyhow (Harvard University 1996). Women, especially immigrant women are typically a key labor force in urban manufacturing.

these services. A focus on the work process brings to the fore the labor question. Information outputs need to be produced, and the buildings which hold the workers need to be built and cleaned. The rapid growth of the financial industry and of highly specialized services generates not only high level technical and administrative jobs but also low wage unskilled jobs. In my research on New York and other cities I have found that between 30% and 50% of the workers in the leading sectors are actually low-wage workers (2001: Chapters 8 and 9).

Further, the similarly state-of-the-art lifestyles of the professionals in these sectors has created a whole new demand for a range of household workers, particularly maids and nannies. The presence of a highly dynamic sector with a polarized income distribution has its own impact on the creation of low-wage jobs through the sphere of consumption (or, more generally, social reproduction). The rapid growth of industries with strong concentration of high and low income jobs has assumed distinct forms in the consumption structure which in turn has a feedback effect on the organization of work and the types of jobs being created. The expansion of the high-income work force in conjunction with the emergence of new lifestyles have led to a process of high-income gentrification that rests, in the last analysis, on the availability of a vast supply of low-wage workers.⁷ High-price restaurants, luxury housing, luxury hotels, gourmet shops, boutiques, French hand laundries, and special cleaning services, are all more labor-intensive than their lower price equivalents. This has reintroduced--to an extent not seen in a very long time-- the whole notion of the "serving classes" in contemporary high-income households. The immigrant woman serving the white middle class professional woman has replaced the traditional image of the black female servant serving the white master. All these trends give these cities an increasingly sharp tendency towards social polarization.

Some of these issues are well illustrated in the emergent research literature on domestic service (see various chapters in this book; Hochschild 2000; Pharenas 2000; Ribas 2000; Cox 1997.) and in the rapid growth of international organizations catering to various household tasks. For instance, the study by Cox (1997) captures some of these trends. She found that the growth in domestic service is partly a result of the polarisation of wealth in Britain: "Servants are thought of as part of the Victorian past but the fact is that in the 1990s the richest 10 percent can now afford to buy leisure time by employing

⁷As for the consumption needs of the growing low-income population in large cities, these are also increasingly met through labor intensive rather than standardized and unionized forms of producing goods and services: manufacturing and retail establishments which are small, rely on family labor, and often fall below minimum safety and health standards. Cheap, locally produced sweatshop garments and bedding, for example, can compete with low-cost Asian imports. A growing range of products and services, from low-cost furniture made in basements to "gypsy cabs" and family daycare, are available to meet the demand for the growing low-income population. There are numerous instances of how the increased inequality in earnings reshapes the consumption structure and how this in turn has feedback effects on the organization of work, both in the formal and in the informal economy.

the poorest 10 percent to do their domestic chores.” Government data show that in through the 1980s and in the 1990s the earnings difference between the highest 20% of earners and the lowest 20% kept increasing (Sassen 2001: Chapter 8). This increased inequality was sharpest in London. It is interesting to see that against this background, Cox finds that the boom in domestic service began in the late 1980s, slowed down in the recession, and grew again in the mid-1990s; and, further, that wage rates for 1997 in a location outside London (Coventry) were as low as 2.50 pounds an hour, but in Hampstead (a high-income location in Northwest London), between 5 and 6.50 pounds an hour.⁸

Immigrant women were a strong presence in this job market. In the Hampstead survey the largest single group were Colombians, but there also were Polish, Filipina, Portuguese, Russian, Irish and British. Cox study also provides evidence supporting what we might call the local labor market effect (cf. Sassen 1995): for instance in the case of the Colombians, a whole street in Hampstead ended up having servants all of whom came from Colombia through insider recruitment and recommendation. And the evidence supports the city effect in immigrant employment: “In general the servants are women whose English is not good enough to get a job outside the domestic sector. Outside London, where there are fewer available immigrants, the women [in domestic work] are more likely to be poor English women” (Cox 1997). The employment of native women also suggests that it is the economy at large that is producing these low wage jobs rather than immigrants per se.⁹

We are beginning to see the formation of global labor markets at the top and at the bottom of the economic system. At the bottom much of the staffing occurs through the efforts of individuals, largely immigrants, though we see an expanding network of organizations getting involved (as well as illegal traffickers as I discuss in the second half of this chapter). For instance, Kelly Services, a Fortune 500 services company in global staffing, which operates offices in 25 countries, now has added a home care division which provides a full range of help. It is particularly geared to people who need assistance with daily living activities but also for those who lack the time to take care of the needs of household members who in the past would have been taken care of by the “mother/wife” figure in the household.¹⁰ More directly pertinent to the professional

⁸Rates in Hampstead partly reflect the fact that, apart from council estates (public housing), it is a high price housing area and domestics have to commute, so that wages had to reflect this. Some employers additionally paid their servants commuting fares.

⁹See above in section II.1 the discussion about the post-industrial thesis. These findings support the notion that economic restructuring in advanced economies produces these jobs rather than poor immigrants from the global south desperate for work.

¹⁰Homecare services include assistance with bathing and dressing, food preparation, walking and getting in and out of bed, medication reminders, transportation, housekeeping, conversation and companionship. While less directly related to the needs of high-income professional households, it is the case that many of these tasks used to be in the care of the typical housewife of the global north.

households under discussion here, are a growing range of global staffing organizations whose advertised services cover various aspects of daycare, including dropping off and picking up, as well as in- house tasks, from child minding to cleaning and cooking.¹¹ One international agency for nannies and au pairs (EF Au Pair Corporate Program) advertises directly to corporations urging them to make the service part of their employment offers to potential employees to help them address household and childcare needs. Increasingly the emergent pattern is that the transnational professional class can access these services in the expanding network of global cities among which they are likely to circulate. (See Sassen 2001: chapter 7).

At the top of the system several major Fortune 500 global staffing companies provide firms with experts and talent for high level professional and technical jobs. In 2001, the largest of these was the Swiss multinational Adecco, with offices in 58 countries; in 2000 it provided firms worldwide with 3 million workers. Manpower, with offices in 59 different countries, provided two million workers. Kelly Services, mentioned above, provided 750,000 employees in 2000.

It is interesting that it is at the top and at the bottom of the occupational distribution that internationalization is happening; mid-level occupations, even though also increasingly handled through temporary employment agencies, have not internationalized their supply. The types of occupations involved both at the top and at the bottom are, in very different yet parallel ways, sensitive. Firms need reliable and hopefully somewhat talented professionals, and they need them specialized but standardized so they can use them globally. And professionals want the same in the workers they employ in their homes. The move of staffing organizations into the provision of domestic services signals both the emergence of a global labor market and efforts to standardize the service delivered by maids and nannies and homecare nurses.

The top end of the corporate economy --the highly-paid professionals and the corporate towers that project engineering expertise, precision, "techné"-- is far easier to recognize as necessary for an advanced economic system than are truckers and other industrial service workers, or maids and nannies, even though all of them are a necessary ingredient. Firms, sectors, and workers, that may appear as though they have little connection to an urban economy dominated by finance and specialized services, can in fact be an integral part of that economy. They do so, however, under conditions of sharp social, earnings, and, often, sex and racial/ethnic segmentation. They become part of an increasingly dynamic and multifaceted lower circuit of global capital that partly parallels the upper circuit of professionals and leading corporate service firms --the lawyers, accountants, and telecommunications experts that service global capital.

IV. PRODUCING A GLOBAL SUPPLY OF THE NEW CARETAKERS: THE FEMINIZATION OF SURVIVAL

¹¹Very prominent in this market are the International Nanny and Au Pair Agency, headquartered in Britain, Nannies Incorporated, based in London and Paris, and the international Au Pair Association (IAPA) based in Canada.

The immigrant women described in the first half of this chapter enter the migration process in many different ways. For some it is family reunion, others come on their own. Many features of these migration processes have little to do with globalization. Here I am concerned with one specific set of processes which I see as deeply linked to certain features of economic globalization today. These are migrations largely organized by third parties, typically governments or illegal traffickers. These women wind up in work situations that involve a far broader range of worlds than the ones described above, though they also include those jobs. What they share, analytically so to speak, with the women described above, is that they also are taking over tasks we have associated with the domain of the housewife.

The last decade has seen a growing presence of women in a variety of cross-border circuits. These circuits are enormously diverse but share one feature: they are profit- or revenue-making circuits developed on the backs of the truly disadvantaged. They include the illegal trafficking in people for the sex industry and for various types of formal and informal labor markets. And they include cross-border migrations, both documented and not, which have become an important source of hard currency for governments in home countries. The formation and strengthening of these circuits is in good part a consequence of broader structural conditions. Among the key actors emerging out of these broader conditions to give shape to these particular circuits are the women themselves in search of work, but also, and increasingly so, illegal traffickers and contractors as well as governments of home countries.

I conceptualize these circuits as countergeographies of globalization. They are deeply imbricated with some of the major dynamics constitutive of globalization: the formation of global markets, the intensifying of transnational and trans-local networks, the development of communication technologies which easily escape conventional surveillance practices. The strengthening and, in some of these cases, the formation of new global circuits is embedded or made possible by the existence of a global economic system and its associated development of various institutional supports for cross-border money flows and markets.¹² These counter-geographies are dynamic and changing in their locational features: to some extent they are part of the shadow economy, but it is also clear that they use some of the institutional infrastructure of the regular economy.

Crucial to the formation of a global supply of caretakers in demand in global cities is the fact of systemic links between the growth of these alternative circuits for survival, for profit-making, and for hard-currency earning, on the one hand, and major conditions in developing countries that are associated with economic globalization, on the other. Among these conditions are a growth in unemployment, the closure of a large number of typically small and medium-sized enterprises oriented to national rather than export markets, and large, often increasing government debt. While these economies are frequently grouped under the label developing, they are in some cases struggling or stagnant and even shrinking. (For the sake of brevity I will use developing as shorthand

¹² I have argued this for the case of international labor migrations (e.g. Sassen 1998: chapters 2, 3 and 4; 1999a). See also e.g. Castro 1999; Bonilla et al. 1999.

for this variety of situations.) Many of these developments have produced additional responsibilities for women towards their households as men have lost earnings opportunities and governments have cut back on social services that supported women and their family responsibilities.¹³

One way of articulating this in substantive terms is to posit that a) the shrinking opportunities for male employment in many of these countries, b) the shrinking opportunities for more traditional forms of profit-making in these same countries as they increasingly accept foreign firms in a widening range of economic sectors and are pressured to develop export industries, and c) the fall in revenues for the governments in many of these countries, partly linked to these conditions and to the burden of debt servicing, have d) all contributed to raise the importance of alternative ways of making a living, making a profit, and securing government revenue.¹⁴

The variety of global circuits that are incorporating growing numbers of women have strengthened at a time when major dynamics linked to economic globalization have had significant impacts on developing economies, including the so-called middle-income countries of the global south. These countries have had to implement a bundle of new policies and accommodate new conditions associated with globalization: Structural Adjustment Programs, the opening up of these economies to foreign firms, the elimination of multiple state subsidies, and, it would seem almost inevitably, financial crises and the prevailing types of programmatic solutions put forth by the IMF. It is now clear that in most of the countries involved, whether Mexico or South Korea, Ghana or Thailand, these conditions have created enormous costs for certain sectors of the economy and of the population, and have not fundamentally reduced government debt.

All of these conditions have emerged as factors in the lives of a growing number of women from developing or struggling economies, even when the articulations are often not self-evident or visible --a fact that has marked much of the difficulty of

¹³ There is, also, an older literature on women and the debt, focused on the implementation of a first generation of Structural Adjustment Programs in several developing countries linked to the growing debt of governments in the 1980s; this literature has documented the disproportionate burden these Programs put on women. It is a large literature in many different languages; it also includes a vast number of limited-circulation items produced by various activist and support organizations. For overviews see, e.g. Ward (1991); Ward and Pyle 1995; Bose and Acosta-Belen (1995; Beneria and Feldman 1992; Bradshaw et al. 1993; Tinker 1990; Moser 1989. And now there is a new literature on a second generation of such Programs, one more directly linked to the implementation of the global economy in the 1990s, some of which is cited later on in this article.

¹⁴ Among the components under a) and b) are the closure of a large number of firms in often fairly traditional sectors oriented to the local or national market, and the promotion of export-oriented cash crops which have increasingly replaced survival agriculture and food production for local or national markets

understanding the role of women in development generally. These are, in many ways, old conditions. What is different today is their rapid internationalization and considerable institutionalization.

One effort analytically here --paralleling the analysis on the significance of "women and immigrants" in the global city-- is to uncover the systemic connections between, on the one hand, what are considered as poor, low-earning and in that regard low value-added individuals, often represented as a burden rather than a resource, and on the other hand, what are emerging as significant sources for profit-making, especially in the shadow economy, and for government revenue enhancement. Prostitution and labor migration are growing in importance as ways of making a living; illegal trafficking in women and children for the sex industry and in laborers are growing in importance as ways of making a profit; and the remittances sent by emigrants, as well as the organized export of workers are increasingly important sources of revenues for some of these governments. Women are by far the majority group in prostitution and in trafficking for the sex industry, and they are becoming a majority group in migration for labor. The employment and/or use of foreign-born women covers an increasingly broad range of economic sectors, some illegal and illicit, e.g. prostitution, and some in highly regulated industries, e.g. nursing.

These circuits can be thought of as indicating the, albeit partial, feminization of survival, because it is increasingly on the backs of women that these forms of making a living, making a profit and securing government revenue are realized. Thus in using the notion of feminization of survival I am not only referring to the fact that households and indeed whole communities are increasingly dependent on women for their survival. I want to emphasize the fact that also governments are dependent on women's earnings in these various circuits, and so are types of enterprises whose ways of profit-making exist at the margins of the "licit" economy. Finally, in using the term circuits, I want to underline the fact that there is a degree of institutionalization in these dynamics --they are not simply aggregates of individual actions.

IV.1. Government debt: Shifting resources from women to foreign banks.

Debt and debt servicing problems have become a systemic feature of the developing world since the 1980s. They are, in my reading, also a systemic feature inducing the formation of the new countergeographies of globalization. The impact on women and on the feminization of survival is mediated through the particular features of this debt rather than the fact of debt per se.

There is considerable research showing the detrimental effects of such debt on government programs for women and children, notably education and health care -- clearly investments necessary to ensure a better future. Further, the increased unemployment typically associated with the austerity and adjustment programs implemented by international agencies to address government debt have also been found

to have adverse effects on women.¹⁵ Unemployment, both of women themselves but also more generally of the men in their households, has added to the pressure on women to find ways to ensure household survival. Subsistence food production, informal work, emigration, prostitution, have all grown as survival options for women.¹⁶

Heavy government debt and high unemployment have brought with them the need to search for survival alternatives; and a shrinking of regular economic opportunities has brought with it a widened use of illegal profit-making by enterprises and organizations. In this regard, heavy debt burdens play an important role in the formation of countergeographies of survival, of profit-making and of government revenue enhancement. Economic globalization has to some extent added to the rapid increase in certain components of this debt and it has provided an institutional infrastructure for cross-border flows and global markets. We can see economic globalization as facilitating the operation of these countergeographies at a global scale.¹⁷

Generally, most countries which became deeply indebted in the 1980s have not been able to solve this problem. And in the 1990s we have seen a whole new set of countries become deeply indebted. Over these two decades many innovations were launched, most importantly by the IMF and the World Bank through their Structural Adjustment Programs and Structural Adjustment Loans, respectively. The latter were tied to economic policy reform rather than the funding of a particular project. The purpose of such programs is to make states more "competitive," which typically means sharp cuts in various social programs.

All of these countries have remained deeply indebted, with about 50 of them now considered as Highly Indebted Poor Countries. In addition, a growing number of middle income countries, notably Argentina, are also caught in this debt trap. The actual structure of these debts, their servicing and how they fit into debtor countries economies, suggest that it is not likely that most of these countries will, under current conditions be able to pay this debt in full. SAPs seem to have made this even more likely by demanding economic reforms that have added to unemployment and the bankruptcy of many smaller, national market oriented firms.

¹⁵ See e.g. Chossudovsky 1997; Standing 1999; Rahman 1999; Elson 1995. For an excellent overview of the literature on the impact of the debt on women see Ward 1999.

¹⁶ On these various issues see, e.g. Alarcon-Gonzalez and McKinley 1999; Buchmann 1996; Safa 1995; Jones 1999; Cagaty and Ozler 1995; Jones 1999; and several of the references cited in the preceding footnotes.

¹⁷ This has been an important element in my research on globalization: the notion that once there is an institutional infrastructure for globalization, processes which have basically operated at the national level can scale up to the global level even when this is not necessary for their operation. This would contrast with processes that are by their very features global, such as the network of financial centers underlying the formation of a global capital market.

It has been widely recognized that the South has already paid its debt several times over. According to some estimates, from 1982 to 1998 indebted countries paid four times their original debts, and at the same time their debt stocks went up by four times.¹⁸ Yet these countries have been paying a significant share of their total revenues to service their debt. Thirty-three of the 41 Highly Indebted Countries paid 3\$ in debt service payments to the North for every 1\$ in development assistance. Many of these countries pay over 50% of their government revenues toward debt service or 20 to 25% of their export earnings. Debt service ratios to GNP in many of the HIPC countries exceed sustainable limits; many are far more extreme than what were considered unmanageable levels in the Latin American debt crisis of the 1980s. Debt to GNP ratios are especially high in Africa, where they stood at 123%, compared with 42% in Latin America and 28% in Asia.¹⁹ It is these features of the current situation which suggest that most of these countries will not get out of their indebtedness through such current strategies as SAPs. Indeed it would seem that the latter have in many cases had the effect of raising the debt dependence of countries. Further, together with various other dynamics, SAPs have contributed to an increase in unemployment and in poverty.

IV.2 Alternative survival circuits.

It is in this context that alternative circuits of survival emerge and can be seen as articulated with those conditions. This is a context marked by what I interpret as a systemic condition characterized by high unemployment, poverty, bankruptcies of large numbers of firms, and shrinking resources in the state to meet social needs. Here I want to focus on some of the data on the trafficking of women for sex industries and for work; the growing weight of this trafficking as a profit making option; and the growing weight of emigrants' remittances in the account balance of many of the sending states.

A. Trafficking in women.

Trafficking involves the forced recruitment and/or transportation of people within and across states for work or services through a variety of forms all involving coercion. Trafficking is a violation of several distinct types of rights: human, civil, political. Trafficking in people appears to be mainly related to the sex market, to labor markets, to illegal migration. Much legislative work has been done to address trafficking:

¹⁸ Toussaint (1999:1). According to Susan George, the South has paid back the equivalent of six Marshall Plans to the North (Bandarage 1997).

¹⁹ (Cheru 1999). The IMF asks HIPCs to pay 20 to 25% of their export earnings toward debt service. In contrast, in 1953 the Allies cancelled 80% of Germany's war debt and only insisted on 3 to 5% of export earnings debt service. These more general terms have also been evident in recent history when Central Europe emerged from under Communism.

international treaties and charters, UN resolutions, and various bodies and commissions.²⁰ NGOs are also playing an increasingly important role.²¹

Trafficking in women for the sex industry is highly profitable for those running the trade. The United Nations estimates that 4 million people were trafficked in 1998, producing a profit of US\$7 billion for criminal groups.²² These funds include remittances from prostitutes' earnings and payments to organizers and facilitators in these countries. In Japan, profits in the sex industry are about 4.2 trillion yen per year over the last few years. In Poland, police estimate that for each Polish woman delivered, the trafficker receives about US\$700. In Australia, the Federal Police estimate that the cash flow from 200 prostitutes is up to \$900,000 a week. Ukrainian and Russian women, highly prized in the sex market, earn the criminal gangs involved about \$500 to \$1000 per woman delivered. These women can be expected to service on average 15 clients a day, and each can be expected to make about \$US 215,000 per month for the gang.²³

It is estimated that in recent years several million women and girls are trafficked within and out of Asia and the former Soviet Union, two major trafficking areas. Increases in trafficking in both these areas can be linked to women being pushed into poverty or sold to brokers due to the poverty of their households or parents. High unemployment in the former Soviet republics has been one factor promoting growth of criminal gangs as well as growth of trafficking in women. Unemployment rates among women in Armenia, Russia, Bulgaria and Croatia reached 70% and in Ukraine 80% with

²⁰ See e.g. Chuang 1998. Trafficking has become sufficiently recognized as an issue that it was also addressed in the G8 meeting in Birmingham in May 1998 (IOM 1998). The heads of the 8 major industrialized countries stressed the importance of cooperation against international organized crime and trafficking in persons. The US President issued a set of directives to his administration in order to strengthen and increase efforts against trafficking in women and girls. This in turn generated the legislation initiative by senator Paul Wellstone; bill S.600 was introduced in the senate in 1999. (For a good critical analysis see Dayan 1999).

²¹ The Coalition Against Trafficking in Women has centers and representatives in Australia, Bangladesh, Europe, Latin America, North America, Africa and Asia Pacific. The Women's Rights Advocacy Program has established the Initiative Against Trafficking in Persons to combat the global trade in persons. Other organizations are referred to throughout this article.

²² See generally Foundation Against Trafficking in Women (STV) and the Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women (GAATW). For regularly updated sources of information on trafficking, see <http://www.hrlawgroup.org/site/programs/traffic.html>. See generally Altink 1999; Kempadoo and Doezema 1998; Shannon 1995; Lin and Marjan 1997; Lim 1998.

²³ For more detailed information on these various aspects see the STV-GAATW reports; IOM 1996.

the implementation of market policies. There is some research indicating that economic need is the bottom line for entry into prostitution.²⁴

Trafficking in migrants is also a profitable business. According to a UN report, criminal organizations in the 1990s generated an estimated 3.5 billion US\$ per year in profits from trafficking migrants generally (not just women). The entry of organized crime is a recent development in the case of migrant trafficking; in the past it was mostly petty criminals who engaged in this type of trafficking. There are also reports that organized crime groups are creating intercontinental strategic alliances through networks of co-ethnics throughout several countries; this facilitates transport, local contact and distribution, provision of false documents, etc. The Global Survival Network reported on these practices after a two-year investigation using the establishment of a dummy company to enter the illegal trade.²⁵ Such networks also facilitate the organized circulation of trafficked women among third countries --not only from sending to receiving countries. Traffickers may move women from Burma, Laos, Vietnam and China to Thailand, while Thai women may have been moved to Japan and the US.²⁶

Some of the features of immigration policy and enforcement may well contribute to make women who are victims of trafficking even more vulnerable and to give them little recourse to the law. If they are undocumented, which they are likely to be, they will not be treated as victims of abuse but as violators of the law insofar as they have violated entry, residence and work laws. The attempt to address undocumented immigration and trafficking through greater border controls over entry, raises the likelihood that women will use traffickers to cross the border, and some of these may turn out to belong to criminal organizations linked to the sex industry.

²⁴ There is also a growing trade in children for the sex industry --this has long been the case in Thailand but now is also present in several other Asian countries, in Eastern Europe, and Latin America (Cabela 1999).

²⁵ See Survival Network (1997)

²⁶ There are various reports on the particular cross-border movements in trafficking. Malay brokers sell Malay women into prostitution in Australia. East European women from Albania and Kosovo have been trafficked by gangs into prostitution in London (Hamzic and Sheehan 1999). European teens from Paris and other cities have been sold to Arab and African customers (Shannon 1999). In the U.S. the police broke up an international Asian ring that imported women from China, Thailand, Korea, Malaysia and Vietnam (Booth 1999). The women were charged between US\$30,000 and 40,000 in contracts to be paid through their work in the sex trade or needle trade. The women in the sex trade were shuttled around several states in the US to bring continuing variety to the clients.

Further, in many countries prostitution is forbidden for foreign women, which further enhances the role of criminal gangs in prostitution. It also diminishes one of the survival options of foreign women who may have limited access to jobs generally. Prostitution is tolerated for foreign women in many countries while regular labor market jobs are less so--this is the case for instance in the Netherlands and in Switzerland. According to IOM data, the number of migrant women prostitutes in many EU countries is far higher than that for nationals: 75% in Germany, 80% in the case of Milan in Italy, etc.

While some women know that they are being trafficked for prostitution, for many the conditions of their recruitment and the extent of abuse and bondage only become evident after they arrive in the receiving country. The conditions of confinement are often extreme, akin to slavery, and so are the conditions of abuse, including rape and other forms of sexual violence, and physical punishments. They are severely underpaid, and wages are often withheld. They are prevented from using protection methods to prevent against AIDS, and typically have no right to medical treatment. If they seek police help they may be taken into detention because they are in violation of immigration laws; if they have been provided with false documents there are criminal charges.²⁷

As tourism has grown sharply over the last decade and become a major development strategy for cities, regions and whole countries, the entertainment sector has seen a parallel growth and recognition as a key development strategy (Judd and Fainstein 1999). In many places, the sex trade is part of the entertainment industry and has grown alongside the latter. At some point it becomes clear that the sex trade itself can become a development strategy in areas with high unemployment and poverty and governments desperate for revenue and foreign exchange reserves. When local manufacturing and agriculture can no longer function as sources of employment, of profits and of government revenue, what was once a marginal source of earnings, profits and revenues, now becomes a far more important one. The increased importance of these sectors in development generates growing tie-ins. For instance, when the IMF and the World Bank see tourism as a solution to some of the growth challenges in many poor countries and provide loans for its development or expansion, they may well be contributing to develop a broader institutional setting for the expansion of the entertainment industry and indirectly of the sex trade. This tie-in with development strategies signals that trafficking in women may well see a sharp expansion.

The entry of organized crime in the sex trades, the formation of cross-border ethnic networks, and the growing transnationalization in so many aspects of tourism, suggests that we are likely to see a further development of a global sex industry. This could mean greater attempts to enter into more and more "markets" and a general expansion of the industry. It is a worrisome possibility especially in the context of

²⁷ A fact-sheet by the Coalition to Abolish Slavery and Trafficking reports that one survey of Asian sex workers found that rape often preceded their being sold into prostitution and that about one third had been falsely led to becoming sold into prostitution.

growing numbers of women with few if any employment options. And such growing numbers are to be expected given high unemployment and poverty, the shrinking of a world of work opportunities that were embedded in the more traditional sectors of these economies, and the growing debt burden of governments rendering them incapable of providing social services and support to the poor.

Women in the sex industry become --in certain kinds of economies-- a crucial link supporting the expansion of the entertainment industry and thereby of tourism as a development strategy which in turn becomes a source of government revenue. These ties are structural, not a function of conspiracies. Their weight in an economy will be raised by the absence or limitations of other sources for securing a livelihood, profits and revenues for respectively workers, enterprises and governments.

b) Remittances.

Women, and migrants generally, enter the macrosocietal level of development strategies through yet another channel: the sending of remittances which in many countries represent a major source of foreign exchange reserves for the government. While the flows of remittances may be minor compared to the massive daily capital flows in various financial markets, they are often very significant for developing or struggling economies.

In 1998 global remittances sent by immigrants to their home countries reached over US\$ 70 billion. To understand the significance of this figure, it should be related to the GDP and foreign currency reserves in the specific countries involved, rather than compared to the global flow of capital. For instance, in the Philippines, a key sender of migrants generally and of women for the entertainment industry in several countries, remittances were the third largest source of foreign exchange over the last several years. In Bangladesh, another country with significant numbers of its workers in the Middle East, Japan, and several European countries, remittances represent about a third of foreign exchange.

Exporting workers and remittances are means for governments of coping with unemployment and foreign debt. There are two ways in which governments have secured benefits through these strategies. One of these is highly formalized and the other is simply a by-product of the migration process itself. Among the strongest examples of a formal labor export program are South Korea and the Philippines. In the 1970s, South Korea developed extensive programs to promote the export of workers as an integral part of its growing overseas construction industry, initially to the Middle Eastern OPEC countries and then worldwide. As South Korea entered its own economic boom, exporting workers became a less necessary and attractive option. In contrast, the Philippine government did, if anything, expand and diversify the concept of exporting its citizens as a way of dealing with unemployment and securing needed foreign exchange reserves through their remittances. It is to this case that I turn now as it illuminates a whole series of issues at the heart of this article.

The Filipino government has played an important role in the emigration of Filipino women to the US, the Middle East and Japan, through the Philippines Overseas Employment Administration (POEA). Established in 1982, it organized and oversaw the export of nurses and maids to high demand areas in the world. High foreign debt and high unemployment combined to make this an attractive policy. Filipino overseas workers send home almost US\$ 1 billion on average a year in the last few years. On the other side, the various labor importing countries welcomed this policy for their own specific reasons. OPEC countries of the Middle East saw the demand for domestic workers grow sharply after the 1973 oil boom. Confronted with a sharp shortage of nurses, a profession that demanded years of training yet garnered rather low wages and little prestige or recognition, the US passed the Immigration Nursing Relief Act of 1989 which allowed for the import of nurses.²⁸ And Japan passed legislation which permitted the entry of "entertainment workers" into its booming economy in the 1980s, marked by rising expendable incomes and strong labor shortages.²⁹

The Philippines government also passed regulations that permitted mail-order bride agencies to recruit young Filipinas to marry foreign men as a matter of contractual agreement. The rapid increase in this trade was centrally due to the organized effort by the government. Among the major clients were the U.S. and Japan. Japan's agricultural communities were a key destination for these brides, given enormous shortages of people and especially young women in the Japanese countryside when the economy was booming and demand for labor in the large metropolitan areas was extremely high. Municipal governments made it a policy to accept Filipino brides.

The largest number of Filipinas going through these channels work overseas as maids, particularly in other Asian countries (Yeoh et al. 1999; Chin 1997; Heyzer 1994). The second largest group and the fastest growing, is entertainers, largely to Japan (Sassen 2001: chapter 9). The rapid increase in the numbers of migrants going as entertainers is largely due to the over five hundred "entertainment brokers" in the Philippines operating outside the state umbrella --even though the government may still benefit from the remittances of these workers. These brokers work to provide women for the sex industry in Japan, where it is basically supported or controlled by organized gangs rather than going through the government controlled program for the entry of entertainers. These

²⁸ About 80% of the nurses brought in under the new act were from the Philippines.

²⁹ Japan passed a new immigration law --strictly speaking an amendment of an older law) which radically redrew the conditions for entry of foreign workers. It allowed a series of professionals linked to the new service dominated economy -- specialists in western style finance, accounting, law, etc.-- but made the entry of what it termed "simple labor" illegal. The latter provision generated a rapid increase in undocumented entries for workers for low-wage jobs. This prohibition underlines the fact that the new law did make special provisions for the entry of "entertainers." (Sassen 1998: chapter 6).

women are recruited for singing and entertaining, but frequently, perhaps mostly they are forced into prostitution as well.³⁰

There is growing evidence of significant violence among mail-order brides in several countries, regardless of nationality of origin. In the U.S. the INS has recently reported that domestic violence towards mail-order wives has become acute (INS 1999). Again, the law operates against these women seeking recourse, as they are liable to be detained if they do so before two years of marriage. In Japan, the foreign mail-order wives is not granted full equal legal status and there is considerable evidence showing that many are subject to abuse not only by the husband but by the extended family as well (Takahashi 1996). The Philippine government approved most mail-order bride organizations until 1989. But under the government of Corazon Aquino, the stories of abuse by foreign husbands led to the banning of the mail-order bride business. It is almost impossible to eliminate these organizations and they continue to operate in violation of the law.

Philippines, while perhaps the one with the most developed program, is not the only country to have explored these strategies. Thailand started a campaign in 1998 after the 1997-8 financial crisis to promote migration for work and recruitment by firms overseas of Thai workers. The government sought to export workers to the Middle East, the US, Great Britain, Germany, Australia and Greece. Sri Lanka's government has tried to export another 200,000 workers in addition to the one million it already has overseas; Sri Lankan women remitted US\$880million in 1998, mostly from their earnings as maids in the Middle East and Far East (Anon 1999). Bangladesh organized extensive labor export programs to the Opec countries of the Middle East already in the 1970s. This has continued and along with the individual migrations to these and other countries, notably the US and Great Britain, is a significant source of foreign exchange. Its workers remitted \$US 1.4 billion in each of the last few years (David 1999).

CONCLUSION.

The global migration and trafficking of women is anchored in particular features of the current globalization of economies in both the north and the south. To understand how globalization actually relates to the globalized extraction of services that used to be part of the first world woman's domestic role, requires that we look at globalization in ways that are different from the mainstream view. Rather than confining the description of globalization to the hypermobility of capital and to the ascendance of information economies, we need to recover the fact that specific types of places and work processes are also part of economic globalization. This chapter focused on two such concrete conditions. One is the globalizing of often older survival and profit-making activities that contribute today to producing a global supply of low-wage women workers. The other,

³⁰ These women are recruited and brought in both through formal legal channels and illegally. Either way they have little power to resist. Even as they are paid below minimum wage, they produce significant profits for the brokers and employers involved. There has been an enormous increase in so-called entertainment businesses in Japan.

the growing demand for migrant nannies, maids, nurses and sex-workers in the global north, amounting to a sharp reorganization of labor demand. These dynamics are particularly visible in global cities, also strategic sites for global corporate capital.

The growing immiseration of governments and whole economies in the global south has promoted and enabled the proliferation of survival and profit-making activities that involve the migration and trafficking of women. To some extent these are older processes which used to be national or regional that can today operate at global scales. The same infrastructure which facilitates cross-border flows of capital, information and trade is also making possible a whole range of cross-border flows not intended by the framers and designers of the current globalization of economies. Growing numbers of traffickers and smugglers are making money off the backs of women and many governments are increasingly dependent on their remittances. A key aspect here is that through their work and remittances, women enhance the government revenue of deeply indebted countries and offer new profit making possibilities to "entrepreneurs" who have seen other opportunities vanish as a consequence of global firms and markets entering their countries or to long time criminals who can now operate their illegal trade globally. These survival circuits are often complex, involving multiple locations and sets of actors constituting increasingly global chains of traders and "workers."

But globalization has also produced new conditions and dynamics. Strategic among these both for global corporate capital and some of the new labor demand dynamics that involve women from the global south are global cities. These are places that concentrate some of the key functions and resources for the management and coordination of global economic processes. The growth of these activities has in turn produced a sharp growth in the demand for highly paid professionals. Both the firms and the lifestyles of their professionals generate a demand for low-paid service workers. In this way global cities are also sites for the incorporation of large numbers of lowly paid women and immigrants into strategic economic sectors. This incorporation happens directly through the demand for mostly lowly paid clerical and blue-collar service workers, such as janitors and repair workers. And it happens indirectly through the consumption practices of high-income professionals, which in turn generates a demand for maids and nannies as well as low-wage workers in expensive restaurants and shops. Low-wage workers get incorporated into the leading sectors, but they do so under conditions that render them invisible, therewith undermining what had historically functioned as a source of workers' empowerment --being employed in growth sectors.

Both in the global city and in these survival circuits women emerge as crucial actors for new and expanding types of economies. It is through these supposedly rather value-less economic actors that key components of these new economies have been built. Globalization plays a specific role here in a double sense, contributing to the formation of links between sending and receiving countries, and, secondly, enabling local and regional practices to become global in scale. On the one hand, the particular dynamics that come together in the global city produce a strong demand for these types of workers, while the dynamics that mobilize women into these survival circuits produce an expanding supply of workers who can be pushed, or are sold into those types of jobs. On the other hand, the

technical infrastructure and transnationalism that underly some of the key globalized industries are also making it possible for other types of actors to deploy their activities at global scales, whether money laundering or trafficking.

REFERENCES CITED

Alarcon-Gonzalez, Diana and Terry McKinley. 1999. "The adverse effects of structural adjustment on working women in Mexico." Latin American Perspectives 26(3): 103-117.

Altink, Sietske. 1995. Stolen Lives: Trading Women into Sex and Slavery. New York: Harrington Park Press and London: Scarlet Press.

Ambrogi, Thomas. 1999. "Jubilee 2000 and the campaign for debt cancellation." National Catholic Reporter (July).

Bandarage, Asoka. 1997. Women, Population, and Crisis. London: Zed.

Bello, Walden. 1998. A Siamese Tragedy: Development and Disintegration in Modern Thailand. London: Zed.

Beneria, Lourdes and Shelley Feldman (eds). 1992. Unequal Burden: Economic Crises, Persistent Poverty, and Women's Work. Boulder, Co.: Westview.

Bishop, Ryan and Lillian Robinson. 1998. Night Market: Sexual Cultures and the Thai Economic Miracle.

Bonacich, Edna, Lucie Cheng, Norma Chinchilla, Nora Hamilton, and Paul Ong (eds.). 1994. Global Production: The Apparel Industry in the Pacific Rim. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Bonilla, Frank, Melendez, Edwin, Morales, Rebecca, and Torres, Maria de los Angeles (ed). Borderless Borders. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998.

Booth, William. 1999. "Thirteen charged in gang importing prostitutes." Washington Post August 21.

Bose, Christine E. and Edna Acosta-Belen (eds). 1995. Women in the Latin American Development Process. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Boserup, E. 1970. Woman's Role in Economic Development. New York: St.Martin's Press.

Bradshaw, York, Rita Noonan, Laura Gash, and Claudia Buchmann. 1993. "Borrowing against the future: Children and third world indebtedness." Social Forces 71 (3): 629-656.

"Brides from the Phillippines?" WWW.geocities.co.jp/Milkyway-Kaigan/5501/ph7.html

Buchmann, Claudia. 1996. "The debt crisis, structural adjustment and women's education." International Journal of Comparative Studies. 37 (1-2): 5-30.

Cagatay, Nilufer and Sule Ozler. 1995. "Feminization of the labor force: The effects of long-term development and structural adjustment." World Development 23(11): 1883-1894.

Castles, Stephen and Mark J. Miller. 1998. The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World. (Second Edition). New York: Macmillan.

Castro, Max (ed). 2000. *Free Markets, Open Societies, Closed Borders?* Berkeley, Ca: University of California Press.

Chang, Grace. 1998. "Undocumented Latinas: The new 'employable mothers.'" Pp. 311-319 in M.Andersen and Patricia Hill Collins (eds) Race, Class, and Gender (Third Edition). Wadsworth.

Chang, Grace and Mimi Abramovitz. 2000. Disposable Domestic: Immigrant Women Workers in the Global Economy. Boston: South End Press.

Chant, Sylvia (ed.)1992. Gender and Migration in Developing Countries. London and New York: Belhaven Press.

Chossudovsky, Michel. 1997. The Globalisation of Poverty. London: Zed/TWN.

Chin, Christine. 1997. "Walls of silence and late 20th century representations of foreign female domestic workers: The case of Filipina and Indonesian houseservants in Malaysia." International Migration Review, 31(1): 353-385.

Chuang, Janie. 1998. "Redirecting the Debate over Trafficking in Women: Definitions, Paradigms, and Contexts." Harvard Human Rights Journal, 10 (Winter)

Coalition to Abolish Slavery and Trafficking. (Annual). Factsheet. WWW.traffickedwomen.org/fact.html

Coalition Against Trafficking in Women. (Annual). Reports.

Copjec, Joan, and Sorkin, Michael (ed). *Giving Ground*. London: Verso, 1999.

David, Natacha. 1999. "Migrants made the scapegoats of the crisis." ICFTU Online. International Confederation of Free Trade Unions: www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/50/012.html

Dayan, "Policy Initiatives in the U.S. against the Illegal Trafficking of Women for the Sex Industry." (Department of Sociology, University of Chicago). On File with Author.

Deere, C.D. 1976."Rural women's subsistence production in the capitalist periphery." Review of Radical Political Economy 8 (1): 9-17.

Elson, Diane. 1995. Male Bias in Development.(Second Edition). Manchester.

Enloe, Cynthia. 1988. Bananas, Beaches, and Bases. California: University of California Press.

Eisenstein, Zillah. 1996. "Stop Stomping on the Rest of Us: Retrieving Publicness from the Privatization of the Globe."

Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies. Special Symposium on Feminism and Globalization: The Impact of The Global Economy on Women and Feminist Theory. Vol. 4, 1.. (Fall)

Farrior, Stephanie. 1997. "The International Law on Trafficking in Women and Children for Prostitution: Making it Live up to its Potential." Harvard Human Rights Journal, 10 (Winter)

Global Survival Network. 1997. "Crime and Servitude: An Expose of the Traffic in Women for Prostitution from the Newly Independent States." WWW.globalsurvival.net/femaletrade.html (November)

Hamilton, Nora and Norma Stoltz Chinchilla. 2001. Seeking Community in a Global City: Guatemalans and Salvadorans in Los Angeles. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Heyzer, Noeleen. 1994. The Trade in Domestic Workers. London: Zed.

Hondagneu-Sotelo, Pierrette. 1994. Gendered Transitions. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies. Special Symposium on Feminism and Globalization: The Impact of The Global Economy on Women and Feminist Theory. Vol. 4, 1.. (Fall).

IOM (International Migration Office). (Annual Quarterly). Trafficking in Migrants. (Quarterly Bulletin). Geneva: IOM.

Jones, Erika. 1999. "The gendered toll of global debt crisis." Sojourner 25(3):20-38.

Judd, Dennis and Susan Fainstein. 1999. The Tourist City. New Haven, Ct: Yale University Press.

- Ismi, Asad. 1998. "Plunder with a human face." Z Magazine (February).
- Jones, Erika. 1999. "The gendered toll of global debt crisis." Sojourner 25(3):20-38.
- Kabria, Nazli. 1993. Family Tightrope. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Kempadoo, Kamala and Jo Doezema. 1998. Global Sex Workers: Rights, Resistance, and Redefinition. London: Routledge.
- Knop, Karen. "Re/Statements: Feminism and State Sovereignty in International Law." Transnational Law and Contemporary Problems, vol 3, Fall 1993: 293-344.
- Lin, Lap-Chew and Wijers Marjan. 1997. Trafficking in women, forced labour and slavery-like practices in marriage, domestic labour and prostitution. Utrecht: Foundation Against Trafficking in Women (STV), and Bangkok: Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women (GAATW).
- Lim, Lin. 1998. The Sex Sector: The Economic and Social Bases of Prostitution in Southeast Asia. Geneva: International Labor Office.
- Mahler, Sarah. 1995. American Dreaming: Immigrant Life on the Margins. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Malkki, Liisa H. 1995. "Refugees and Exile: From "Refugee Studies" to the National Order of Things." Annual Review of Anthropology 24: 495-523.
- Mehra, Rekha. 1997. "Women, empowerment and economic development." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. (November): 136-149.
- Meng, Eddy. 1994. "Mail Order Brides: Gilded Prostitution and the Legal Responses." University of Michigan Journal of Law Reform. (Fall): .
- Morokvasic, Mirjana. 1984. Special Issue on Women Immigrants, International Migration Review. 18, nr. 4.
- Moser, Carolyn. 1989. "The impact of recession and structural adjustment policies at the micro-level: low income women and their households in Guayaquil, Ecuador." Invisible Adjustment Vol. 2. (UNICEF)
- Munger, Frank (ed). 2002. Laboring Under the Line. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Olds, Kris, Dicken, Peter, Kelly, Philip F., Kong, Lilly, Yeung, Henry Wai-Chung (ed). Globalization and the Asian Pacific: Contested Territories. London: Routledge, 1999.

Ong, Aihwa. 1996. "Globalization and Women's Rights: The Asian Debate on Citizenship and Communitarianism." Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies. Special Symposium on Feminism and Globalization: The Impact of The Global Economy on Women and Feminist Theory. Vol. 4, 1.. (Fall).

OXFAM. 1999. "International submission to the HIPC debt review." (April). WWW.caa.org/au/oxfam/advocacy/debt/hipcreview.html

Parrenas, Rhacel Salazar (ed). 2001. Servants of Globalization: Women, Migration and Domestic Workers. Stanford, Ca: Stanford University Press.

Pessar, Patricia. 1995. "On the Homefront and in the Workplace: Integrating Immigrant Women into Feminist Discourse." Anthropological Quarterly 68 , nr. 1, pp. 37-47.

Peterson, V. Spike (ed). 1992. Gendered States: Feminist (Re)Visions of International Relations Theory.

Philippines Information Service. 1999. "Filipina Brides." WWW.pis.or.jp/data/tothug.htm

Rahman, Aminur. 1999. "Micro-credit initiatives for equitable and sustainable development: Who Pays?" World Development 27(1):67-82.

Safa, Helen I. 1995. The Myth of the Male Breadwinner: Women and Industrialization in the Caribbean. Boulder, Westview Press.

Sassen, Saskia. 2001. The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo. (2nd Ed.). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

----- 2000 "Women's Burden: Countergeographies of Globalization and the Feminization of survival." Journal of International Affairs (Spring) 53, no.2: 503-524.

-----1999.Guests and Aliens: Europe and its Migrations. New York: New Press.

----- 1998. Globalization and its Discontents: Essays on the Mobility of People and Money. New York: New Press.

Shannon, Susan. 1999. "The Global Sex Trade: Humans as the Ultimate Commodity." Crime and Justice International. (May): 5-25.

Smith, Joan and Immanuel Wallerstein.(eds). 1992. Creating and Transforming Households. The constraints of the world-economy. Cambridge and Paris: Cambridge University Press and Maison des Sciences de l'Homme.

Standing, Guy. 1999. "Global feminization through flexible labor: A theme revisited." World Development 27(3): 583-602.

Tinker, Irene (ed) 1990. Persistent Inequalities: Women and World Development. New York: Oxford University Press.

Toussaint, Eric. 1999. "Poor countries pay more under debt reduction scheme?" (July). WWW.twinside.org.sg/souths/twn/title/1921-cn.htm.

Tyner, James. 1999. "The global context of gendered labor emigration from the Phillipines to the United States." American Behavioral Scientist. 42(40): 671-694.

Ward, Kathryn. 1991. Women Workers and Global Restructuring. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

-----1999. "Women and the debt." Paper presented at the Colloquium on Globalization and the Debt, Emory University (Atlanta).

_____ and Jean Pyle. 1995. "Gender, Industrialization and Development." Pp. 37-64 in Christine E. Bose and Edna Acosta-Belen (eds) Women in the Latin American Development Process: From Structural Subordination to Empowerment. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Wonders, Nancy A. and Raymond Michalowski. 2001. "Bodies, Borders, and Sex Tourism in a Globalized World: A Tale of Two Cities--Amsterdam and Havana." Social Problems 48, 4: 545-571.

Yeoh, Brenda, Shirlena Huang, and Joaquin Gonzalez III. 1999. "Migrant female domestic workers: debating the economic, social and political impacts in Singapore." International Migration Review 33(1): 114-136.

WIDE. Multiple Issues. Bulletin. Network Women in Development Europe.

BIO:

Saskia Sassen is the Ralph Lewis Professor of Sociology at the University of Chicago, and Centennial Visiting Professor at the London School of Economics. Her new book is Denationalization : Territory, Authority and Rights in a Global Digital Age (Princeton University Press 2005). She has just completed for UNESCO a five-year project on sustainable human settlement for which she set up a network of researchers and activists in over 50 countries. Recent books are Guests and Aliens: Europe and its Migrations (New Press 1999) and the edited Global Networks, Linked Cities (New York and London: Routledge 2002). The Global City is out in a new fully updated edition in 2001. Her books are translated into fifteen languages. She serves on several editorial boards and is an advisor to several international bodies. She is a Member of the National Academy of Sciences Panel on Cities, a Member of the Council on Foreign Relations, and Chair of the new Information Technology and International Cooperation Committee of the Social Science Research Council (USA).