

*\*\*\* This is a draft programme for the conference. Times and order of events are subject to change \*\**

**Gender, Neoliberalism, and Financial Crisis Conference**  
**University of York, Ron Cooke Hub**  
**27 September 2013**

**Draft Conference Programme**

All panels and keynotes will take place in the Lakehouse Room on the 1<sup>st</sup> floor of the Ron Cooke Hub, Heslington East Campus. For parallel sessions the room will be partitioned into Lakehouse A and B. Lunch and breaks will take place in the Atrium.

- 9:00-9:30                      Registration and welcome (Tea and coffee)
- 9:30-11:00                    Keynote: Diane Elson and Ruth Pearson  
Title to be confirmed
- 11:00-12:30                 Parallel Sessions  
Panel 1: Feminist Activism and Resistance  
Panelists: Beatriz Ranea Trivino, Lisa Rodan, Megan O’Branski, Matthew Evans  
  
Panel 2: Gender Policy and Institutions  
Panelists: Dave Webber, Sara Wallin, Sara Reis, Maja Dragosavac
- 12:30-1:30                    Lunch (Atrium)
- 1:30-3:00                    Parallel Sessions  
Panel 3: Representation, Identity, and Marginality  
Panelists: Gemma Ahearne, Rosallia Domingo, Ken Searle  
  
Panel 4: Financial Crisis and the Third Sector  
Panelists: Bridget Lockyer, Tanita Maxwell, Ann Marie Joyce
- 3:00-3:15                    Break (Tea and coffee)
- 3:15-4:45                    Parallel Sessions  
Panel 5: Cultural Interpretations of Crisis  
Panelists: Annabel Quaynor, Judith Schulz  
  
Panel 6: Care and Social Reproduction  
Panelists: Haley Swenson, Cigdem Gedekli, Eleni Bourantani, Agus Pratiwi
- 5:00-6:00                    Keynote: Sylvia Walby  
“Gender and the crisis: Theorizing gendered neoliberalism”
- 6:00                              Closing remarks
- 7:00-9:00                    Conference dinner, Red Chilli  
(The restaurant is about 5 minutes from the rail station for those catching trains afterwards)

## **Panel 1: Feminist Activism and Resistance**

**Matthew Evans, York**

*Race, class and gender: Reflections on land and housing rights activism in neoliberal South Africa*

Drawing upon fieldwork carried out researching social movements, nongovernmental organisations and trade unions involved in land and housing rights activism in the Western Cape, this paper reflects upon the interaction between race, class and gender in post-apartheid South Africa. Since the end of formal apartheid in 1994 the government of South Africa has been met with strong criticism from social movements and other actors due to the allegedly neoliberal direction of its policies. The country remains divided by profound social and economic inequalities. This paper posits that in order to understand the gendered aspects of these divisions, and attempts by activists to resist and overcome them, it is necessary to apply an analytical lens taking account of the interaction of gender with race and class. Reflecting upon the commonalities and differences present in the broad land and housing rights network in the Western Cape, the paper highlights the need for scholars to take account of local conditions and cautions against overgeneralisation of Northern experiences of crisis and Western approaches to feminism.

**Lisa Rodan, Goldsmiths**

*Creating gendered space of resistance in austerity Britain: how female migrant workers negotiate agency*

In times of recession, it is non-nationals who attract negative attention from right wing factions as a media “folk devil” (Cohen 1972). Nevertheless the essential role that migrant labour plays in the economies of the developed world is widely recognised (Vickers 2012), recession or no. This paper seeks to address how female migrant workers organise to attempt to establish agency in the face of increasing nationalism brought on by the global economic crisis. By means of interviews and participant observation of mainly Filipina and Latin American female migrant workers, I will examine how grassroots organisations and diaspora networks bridge the gap between the neoliberal state and individual migrant women through a specifically feminist lens. What does the space provided by these organisations and networks mean in terms of daily life and political agency to resist damaging structural adjustment policies? What are their aims and what have been their successes and failures? In a globalised world based on neoliberal economic structures, how far do these communities fulfil notions of a post-nation state, post-development global working class united by international solidarity networks and what are the effects on collective and individual identities, economic wellbeing and political agency? To what extent does feminist consciousness arise from these spaces? Lastly, how does organising interact with wider changes in society to affect the symbolism attached to the role of the female migrant worker in wider UK culture?

**Beatriz Ranea Triviño, Complutense University of Madrid**

*Feminist activism within alternative social movements in Spain*

In this paper I would like to talk about the Spanish context and how the movement known as 15M started. I will focus on feminism within this social movement. Spain is one of the Mediterranean countries where the European Union, International Monetary Fund and World Bank are implementing serious neoliberal politics. This politics have deeper impact on working class and specially on women. Women are suffering the worst consequences of austerity. Moreover, in Spain, austerity has come by the hand of a catholic conservative party. This means that women's rights are constantly called into question. For that reason, new feminist groups have been founded within alternative social movements. I would like to talk about strategies, actions, civil disobedience, resistance, alliances with old feminist groups and chances of feminism within this context.

**Megan O’Branski, Newcastle**

*Violent Identity, the Deployment of Abjection, and the Weaponization of the Female Body in Armagh Gaol*

In 1980, Irish republican prisoners in Armagh Gaol began a protest that mirrored ongoing resistance in the H-Blocks at Long Kesh. Known as the No Wash or Dirty Protest, the actions of the prisoners were met with reactions of intense horror and disgust. Yet as horrifying as the men's protest in the Maze appeared, the women's protest seemed to illicit a strong reaction in the public. Previous investigations into the women's No Wash Protest have shown that this intensified response was a reaction to the presence of menstrual blood in the protest, which I will argue specifically weaponized the sexualized body of the female prisoner, making the protest more emotively powerful.

This paper will explore the use of the body as a weapon of resistance, but in particular, the weaponization of the abject body. This is part of a wider project that argues for the importance of the body as a site of intersection and materialization in the violent expression of large group identities. In particular, the female body is implicated as a consistent site of discriminatory practices, making its use as a weapon of resistance of considerable interest. I will argue that there is a high degree of intersection between performances of the ethnic body and the gendered body, and that this protest demonstrates an instance of the deployment of the sexualized body of the female other as a weapon intended to elicit an intense emotive response.

## **Panel 2: Gender Policy and Institutions**

**David Webber, Warwick**

*Home and Away: Gendering the Policies of the Coalition Government for Britain and the Global South*

In May 2010, the Coalition government, formed out of a power-sharing agreement between the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats, announced plans to reduce Britain's economic deficit through an extensive programme of austerity and spending cuts. Although this would signal a decisive end to the largesse of the previous New Labour government, the Coalition nevertheless pledged to meet Britain's "moral responsibility to help the poorest people in the world", honour its aid commitments and support actions to achieve the Millennium Development Goals. This paper explores not simply the character of these seemingly conflicting imperatives but crucially, the type of impact that both these programmes have had upon women living both in Britain and in the global South. It argues that despite claiming to support women and greater levels of gender equality, by framing its policy commitments in strictly neoliberal terms, the Coalition has merely reinforced the differentiated patterns of gendered inequality experienced by women both in Britain and abroad. At home, the Coalition's strategy has made rising numbers of women increasingly vulnerable to the systemic fault-lines of Britain's own crisis-ridden economy. Abroad, although the Coalition's own international development strategy has been predicated upon the empowerment of women and young girls living in the global South, its prior commitment to the underlying structures and processes of global capitalism as a vehicle to secure this 'empowerment' has merely served to entrench the pre-existing gendered inequalities that these women and young girls often face.

**Sara Wallin, Sheffield**

*Gendering the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development: Crisis and Expansion*

This paper aims to explore how the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) has responded to the global financial crisis. It does so by focusing on two main dimensions of the EBRD's operations and analysis since 2008, namely: the development of strategies on gender and the geographical expansion to Turkey and the SEMED region. Informed by feminist political economy and feminist studies of globalisation and global governance, the first part of the paper traces the relationship between the strategies on gender that the Bank has developed since 2008/9 and the Bank's wider macroeconomic analysis and crisis response. By conducting this analysis, the paper argues that Bank's explicit approach to gender has been shaped *within* the confines of the Bank's central operational logic; the mandate to promote 'transition' to market economies; initially shaped as an off the peg application of the privatisation and liberalisation doctrines of the Washington Consensus (Griffin, 2009). However, in the second part, the paper analyses how the expansion has still meant that gender has been integrated into the Bank's crisis response. Using insights from recent fieldwork in Turkey in which the EBRD's fit within the national institutional and political context, some early implications of how the EBRD's rhetoric and policies may contribute to reshaping and perpetuating unequal patterns of production and social reproduction along the lines of gender, class and urban-rural divides are discussed.

**Maja Dragosavac, CIPS Sarajevo**

*Gender Mainstreaming: the Macedonian case*

This paper analyses the tensions in promoting gender justice in contemporary Macedonian society. As Macedonia is striving for negotiations towards the EU membership, it is complying its legal framework with the Community's acquis. On a trace of that obligation, a decade ago the country has adopted National Action Plan for Gender Equality proclaiming gender mainstreaming as one of the main tools for achieving it. However, although Macedonia is transitional economy and multiethnic society with strong patriarchic order, the Plan seems to completely neglect both the consequences of structural changes on women, as well as the intersectionality of women's discrimination based on social, ethnic and rural-urban cleavages. In

contemporary Macedonia the activity rate of women on labor market reaches 44%, while employment rate hardly passes 30. Since 2009 elections, there is none single female mayor, while 39% of Albanian women do not have the information about political quotas. Only 2% of rural women are land owners, which is one of the main prerequisite for conducting agrarian activities, while, in order to survive on neoliberal market, clothing manufacturing as Macedonia's biggest industry sector is forced to keep labor expenses low, affecting women the most. The paper thus argues that national policies based on the EU gender policies are constrained with such neoliberal framework that in spite of progressive laws, women in Macedonia are unable to achieve economic, social and political equality with men as patriarchal relations in the private and public spheres continue to prevail and hinder their progress towards it.

**Sara Reis, Kings College London**

*EU Gender Policy: Bound to an economic logic?*

Gender equality is often regarded as the most developed social policy at the EU level. Albeit with stronger legislative tools in what concerns employment rights and equal opportunities, gender equality in the European Union ranges from equality in the workplace to reconciliation of work and family life, childcare, and violence against women. In a polity whose *raison d'être* is mainly economic integration, with limited competence to define and harmonise social standards, the evolution of a social policy area such as gender equality should be considered somewhat exceptional. The Commission's efforts in pushing for common-standard legislation to be approved at the European level, as well as the European Court of Justice's notorious active role in broadening the meaning of gender equality through several litigation cases are very well documented in the literature. The second-wave of feminists and the activism of interest groups such as EWL should also be taken into account.

### **Panel 3 : Representation, Identity, and Marginality**

**Ken Searle, Birmingham**

*Beyond 'gay' and 'straight': neoliberal sexuality, masculinity, and identity*

Much of the mainstream commercial discourse surrounding masculine identity reflects an aspirational form of discourse, increasingly being based round neo-liberal binaries of “success” and “failure”, as opposed to sexual ones of “gay” and “straight”. To support this argument, this paper examines the impact a consumerist approach has had on bestselling British magazines aimed at gay men over the past twenty years. Here, the desire for a successful identity in the context of a corporate society is demonstrated through an analysis of aspirational, consumerist discourse and images prevalent across the magazines. While arguing binaries surrounding sexual and gendered identity have blurred in masculine identity, this paper also argues neo-liberal binaries are becoming increasingly prevalent. It demonstrates that, while the magazines remain directed at an explicitly gay audience, it bases itself on successful aspirations. Therefore, existing sexual binaries remain prevalent through signifiers of economic success to be aspired to.

This paper argues sexual identity is, in spite of a financial crisis, adopting neo-liberal signifiers and maintaining existing ones. It argues aspirational points in a successful identity remain consistent across all genders and sexualities, in different forms based on their audience. Therefore, gendered and sexual binaries are in turn eroded, with market-driven identities based round “success” and “failure” becoming increasingly significant. Through observing much of the neo-liberal and consumerist discourse within the UK as a whole over the past twenty years or so – surrounding discursive paradigms of ‘Boom’ and ‘Bust’ –the unique empirical framework of aspirational identity in gay lifestyle magazines provides a pertinent contribution to theories on how heteronormativity is maintained

**Gemma Ahearne, Liverpool John Moores University**

*'Ladies Day': a visual study of raciality and neoliberal marginality in Britain*

This paper is a study of the relationships between raciality and neoliberal marginality explored through an investigation of the construction of white deviance in contemporary Britain. The paper will study the ways in which white women are constructed as ‘guardians’ of the race, proprietors of the norms of whiteness, and as literal producers of a post-industrial underclass that does not simply seem to blur classed and gendered boundaries, but which also fundamentally blurs racial boundaries. In doing so this study will examine how racialized boundaries are visualised, reproduced, and regulated, through the visualisation and corporeal inscription of the deviant white working class woman.

A growing body of literature has explored the roles of media and political discourse in constructing moral panics about white working classes and a white post-industrial sub-proletariat in Britain, particularly with reference to the construction of folk devils such as ‘chavs’ (cf. Jones 2011) and binge-drinking women (cf. Skeggs 2005). Among the tropes common to constructions of the deviant white working class women are notions of excess, inadequacy, and decline. For example, the extant literature notes the ways in which representations of white working class women emphasise their visual excess, drawing upon tropes of gaucheness and the grotesque to caricature them as lacking taste, as well as drawing attention to the spectacularisation of working class women’s excess through tropes about binge drinking and promiscuity. Notions of inadequacy also figure heavily in constructions of the ‘chav’ woman, from notions of inadequate taste and morality to claims of inadequate parenting said to be bound up with the reproduction of an atavistic white class. This paper will use the visual to explore theory using the example of the Grand National ‘Ladies Day’.

**Rosallia Domingo, De La Salle University, Philippines**

*Feminist Pedagogy of Difference: Promoting Gender Equality In and Through Education in the Philippines*

The Philippines ranked 8 out of 135 countries in the 2012 World Economic Forum Global Gender Gap Report, with a score of 0.776 where 0 represents inequality and 1 represents equality. “The Philippines stays the highest-ranking country from Asia in the Index. It ranks first on both education and health and is also among the top 20 on economic participation and political empowerment,” the WEF said. Landing on the top 10 in the following indicators: legislators, senior officials and managers, literacy rate, enrolment in secondary education and years with female head of state, prove that the Philippines has made progress in promoting gender equality. United Nations Development Programme UNDP Philippines acknowledges that these gains, however, do not necessarily translate into positive measurable changes in the roles and status of women. Obstacles to substantive gender equality in the Philippines still persist.

As processes of learning inflect our understanding of the role of relations in shaping individuals, a pedagogy, which seeks to empower those who have been excluded from traditional power structures, can help provide measurable changes in the roles and status of women in a society that aims for a substantive equality. Seeing the limitations of providing equal access to education, or otherwise known as the human rights framework, in achieving measurable changes in the roles and status of women in society, this paper attempts to illustrate how a feminist pedagogy centered on difference and embodiment can aid in the state’s aims of achieving substantive equality.

#### **Panel 4: Financial Crisis and the Third Sector**

**Tanita Maxwell, University of Aberdeen**

*Bearing the Brunt: Feminist Organisations and the Financial Crisis*

Services and organisations which address such issues as domestic abuse, rape and sexual assault have been described as 'under threat in this climate of cuts' (Scottish Women's Budget Group 2010: 2). Inadequate resources have the potential to undermine feminist organisations' ability to respond to social, political and economic problems and support service users (Moghadam 2011, Walby 2009, Riordan 2010, Fawcett Society 2009, Dütting 2009). Womankind Worldwide (2009) argue that the state of an economy has wide ranging impacts on relations between men and women, prospects and opportunities.

This paper will analyse the ways in which feminist organisations have been affected by the recent economic downturn in Scotland. Drawing upon several interviews with service providers, I will examine their discourses to discover whether they feel they are bearing the brunt of the financial crisis or otherwise. I will outline the benefits of collaboration and cooperation as opposed to competition between feminist organisations, when trying to keep violence against women and gender equality on the political agenda. Important concerns such as short term funding streams, increasing demand on services and a distinct lack of time available to develop fundraising and advertising activities will also be discussed.

**Bridget Lockyer, York**

*Women and Austerity in the UK Voluntary Sector*

Since the worldwide financial crisis in 2008 and the election of a Conservative-led coalition in 2010, the UK's welfare system is in the process of reorganisation and cut backs. Women make up two-thirds of the workforce in the public and voluntary sectors, and have been disproportionately affected by job losses and continued underemployment. Focussing on the voluntary sector, which is intrinsically linked to and part-funded by the public sector, this paper will focus on the experiences of women who work in small to medium voluntary organisations. The voluntary sector is also experiencing fundamental changes, unsure of its role and sustainability in an increasingly marketised welfare environment. This paper will discuss the impact of austerity measures on women's careers in the sector, as flexibility and movement; factors which once characterised a voluntary sector career are restricted. It will also consider how the push to make voluntary sector organisations more 'business-like' could have a lasting and detrimental effect on a sector which is often praised for its equality. Overall, this paper aims to open up a debate about the impact of austerity and welfare cuts on a complex sector and in particular, the women who work within it.

**Ann Marie Joyce, Limerick**

*The neoliberal governance of gender, sexuality, and immigration: Catholic NGOs and anti-trafficking campaigning in Ireland*

The Irish Catholic Church has played a key role in the governance and regulation of women throughout the twentieth century, and research undertaken to date covers topics such as such as abortion politics (Smyth 2005), the containment of 'fallen' women in Magdalene Laundries (Smith 2007), and the politics of the heterosexual family (Conrad 2004). The 'Celtic Tiger' economic boom with its accompanying large-scale immigration considerably altered Ireland's social landscape, whilst a backlash against the Catholic Church amid an array of sexual and physical abuse scandals have led to an apparent decline in the social and political power of the Church (Smith 2007; Inglis 1998). Recent research (Gray 2013) has found that whilst there is deep disenchantment with the Catholic Church within Irish society today, the turn to religious NGOs as agents in the governance of migrants has created new spaces of authority for the Church. Reflecting a tendency for moral panics to emerge in times of economic or political uncertainty (Rubin 1984), anti-trafficking and anti-prostitution discourses have increased in recent years in Ireland. In 2011, several Catholic NGOs working in the area of migrant rights launched an anti-trafficking campaign called 'Turn off



the Red Light'. This paper will discuss how the campaign's sudden success offers an opportune moment to explore how the complex politics of gender and sexuality in Ireland are embedded in neoliberal modes of governance which operate through processes of persuasion (Rose, O'Malley and Valverde 2006) in ways which ensure the continuing regulation of gender and sexuality.

## **Panel 5: Cultural Interpretations of Crisis**

**Annabel Quaynor, London School of Economics**

*'A voice of a generation'? – What Lena Dunham can tell us about the pressure neoliberal societies put on young women. Modernity, subjectivity, and post-feminist sensibility'*

With the US-American TV show *Girls* Lena Dunham, writer, director and producer of the series, as well as actress of the main character, tries to bring “realistic females on screen” (in Goldberg, 2012). Her show explores a part of the population that has not yet been seen on television before. She tells the story that is specific to the experience of the early-twenties demographic- a generation that grows up in the shadow of the economic crisis. *Girls* is about the lives of four college graduates living in New York City who next to working out their troubles with men, are also trying to figure out what they want to achieve in life professionally. Through a thematic analysis, this study identified what, according to *Girls*, the pressures are that young women in neoliberal societies experience. It also examined how the TV show reflects on these pressures and exercises embedded criticism on the neoliberal idea of the individual. The social relevance of this text was also highlighted: Through in-depth qualitative interviews with viewers from the UK and Germany, it also explored how the *Girls* audience’s experience corresponds to those of the main characters and how they cope with these struggles.

**Judith Schulz, Mannheim Business School**

*Dear Money: What can cultural interpretations tell us about financial crisis, masculinity, and risk?*

Since the collapse of the investment bank Lehmann Brothers in September 2008 and the subsequent financial crisis a number of novels dealing with the economy and especially the financial system have been published. Among them is *Dear Money* (2011) by Martha McPhee. The novel tells the story of the protagonist India Palmer, a respected author in financial despair, who undergoes the transformation to becoming a successful Wall Street trader. Set in 2004, the novel points out that some of the factors leading to the financial crisis can be found in the corporate culture on Wall Street as the actors in the financial system are characterized by demonstrations of strong masculinity, such as overconfidence, excessive risk-taking and a lack of responsibility.

To achieve a holistic understanding of the financial crisis including its gender dimension, it is thus necessary to take a look at the contemporary cultural production in general and, more specifically, literature. In line with the New Economic Criticism, an approach which has been dealing with the mutual exchange processes between literature and economics since its inception in 1994, authors like McPhee offer a view on the complex interplay of economic and cultural aspects and use the possibilities of literature to create alternate designs of reality. By entering the debate on the financial crisis, novelists and cultural scientists show new ways to understand the crisis in its complexity which exceeds a purely economic perspective.

## **Panel 6: Care and Social Reproduction**

**Eleni Anna Bourantani, Southampton**

*What happened to feminism? From New Labour to Coalition: Discursive shifts in childcare policy and the ideological monologue of capitalism*

Childcare is an issue of gender equality and a vital part of the economy that sustains capitalism by perpetuating gender and other inequalities. Though childcare was among the concerns of early second-wave feminists (Gardiner 1997), it rarely appears as a feminist demand in recent and current discursive contexts of UK childcare policy.

First, New Labour's introduction of childcare policy in the UK avoided a feminist label and did nothing to change capitalism's inequalities expressed in childcare; in fact it perpetuated and deepened them (Simon-Kumar 2011). Through critical discourse analysis of Tony Blair's (2004) speech on childcare, it is revealed that parents and the topic of childcare are constructed according to free market's needs, appropriating neoliberal concepts, and with the absence of a significant gender problematic. Second, it is deemed that Coalition's austerity makes New Labour policy appear better than it actually is, thus contributing to the sanctification of Third Way-style approaches. The discursive results of austerity remain to be seen, but both discursive shifts are evaluated as undesirable for feminist interests since they represent a post-class, post-politics hegemony that conceals deeper structures of inequality especially among women.

The need to re-insert feminism into childcare is crucial (Marchbank 2000) but a childcare policy that tries to make itself compatible with capitalism cannot be compatible with feminism. We need to rethink what kind of feminism we want.

**Haley Swenson, Ohio State University**

*Social Reproduction and the Crisis: Familiarization and the Problem of the Generational Paradigm*

Feminist social reproduction scholars have argued that welfare retrenchment under neoliberalism has deepened dependence on families, especially women, for unpaid and unsupported domestic and care labor, creating a social reproductive crisis throughout the world. An analysis of approximately one dozen interviews with participants who experienced downward mobility in the last five years in the United States shows that this crisis has been even more pronounced during the financial crisis, as job scarcity complements austerity. However, this research shows that the crisis places the onus for reproductive labor on families, only insofar as families are defined as always-already unstable, unfixed networks. In the context of neoliberal crisis, the dominant parent-child relation of care is frequently displaced by multi-directional, uni-generational, and even reverse-generational arrangements, as well as immense gender-role flexibility, and the inclusion of non-biological family members in negotiations of reproductive labor.

The relationships of dependence and care participants utilize and discuss in this study highlight the problems of measuring social reproductive change through biological generations, an implication present in much of the social reproduction literature, due to the oft-recognized conceptual equation of various forms of reproduction in feminist political economy. This research explores the disconnect between generational and social reproduction in the financial crisis and raises questions about the kind of political, economic, and social relations

that are (re)produced when persistence takes a non-generational form.

**Cigdem Gedikli, University of East Anglia**

*The role of social norms and culture on the labour force participation of women in Turkey*

Eliminating the factors that hinder women's participation in the labour market continues to be one of the vital instrument to enhance women's empowerment, particularly in developing countries. Accordingly, this paper investigates the role of traditional or conservative social norms and culture on labour market

participation status of women in Turkey. It is shown that, although it is decreasing in prevalence over time, traditional marriages are still in effect, a considerable amount of women continue to internalize traditional gender roles and have accepting attitudes towards domestic violence. In order to analyse the employment outcomes of this situation, four indices, capturing the incidence of traditional marriages, awareness and use of contraception, women's tolerance towards domestic violence and their attitudes towards gender equality, are developed and included in the multinomial logit model. The results provide evidence that social norms and culture matter for a woman's employment regardless of the level of education she has, or whether she lives in rural or urban areas of the country, or in a region with a relatively high level of economic development, although the size and form of the effect differ across the factors. While conservative or traditional social norms and culture reduce the probability of a highly educated, urban woman being a wage worker significantly and increases her chance of not working, they are also associated with an increased probability of a poorly educated, rural woman being in informal work in the form of being an unpaid family worker.

**Agus Pratiwi, Padjadjaran University, Indonesia**

*The inequity of Gender Mainstreaming policy under denationalized governance*

Indonesia has experienced two phases of financial crisis: the 1997 crisis and the 2008 crisis. The scope of the impact on both phases is the same: labour-intensive sector, in which most of its workers are women. In the 1997 crisis, the collapse of major labour-intensive industries has encouraged the government to informalize those industries through home-based industry. The government assumes that it is a way to maintain the interest of (foreign) investors because of its low-cost of production. This approach has been reinforced in 2008 through a regulation on the strategy in overcoming the impact of global financial crisis. Supported by private actors, funding agencies, NGOs, and MNEs, the government packages the mobilization of women in home-based industry with gender mainstreaming programme called economic empowerment of women. Based on the study in Surakarta and in Bandung, this programme has exacerbated gender relations in household domain because women are re-enforced as persons with double burden. Finally, the indicator of gender equality through gender mainstreaming, women's participation in public domain, tends to be a jargon of the government. This paper reveals how the gender mainstreaming policy, which is precisely loaded with gender inequity, is the embodiment of the interests of private actors, regional and international organizations (such as the AEC project and the World Bank), funding agencies, NGOs, and MNEs within the denationalized governance. This paper also offers some options to reform the prevailing strategy by bridging the gap of resistance against the denationalized governance and the advocacy for gender equality.