

Feminism

Ideas, movement, research

sociopedia.isa

Valentine M Moghadam Northeastern University, USA

Melissa Buehler Miami-Dade College, USA

abstract This article examines the evolution of feminism as a set of ideas, a social movement and the impetus for interdisciplinary research. It draws attention to the influence of feminist scholarship across the disciplines, in the arena of public policy and legal reform, and in the establishment of gender and women's studies programs and departments at universities worldwide. Feminism's local roots and global reach, and the relations of theory to practice, are also highlighted.

keywords feminism ♦ feminist movement ♦ feminist theory ♦ transnational feminism ♦ women's movement

Feminism is a set of ideas, claims and objectives regarding the legal status of women, their relations with men and their social positions. It is a critique of women's subordinate status in the private sphere of the family and the public sphere of work, the polity and cultural institutions. Feminism calls for an end to all forms of discrimination against women, equal access in all institutions, full citizenship rights and a recognition of the value of women's contributions. As such, feminism has been accompanied by a distinct social movement – the feminist movement – that has included nationally based and transnational strategies for women's participation and rights. Beginning in the 1970s, feminism inspired a new field of study, conceptual framework and academic program known as Women's Studies, Gender Studies or Feminist Studies. Such academic programs have expanded globally while feminist concepts such as *patriarchy*, *gender* and *the sexual division of labor* continue to inform social analysis. Feminism's imprint also may be found in policy institutes and in the 'gender units' of government agencies and international organizations.

Whether as ideology or as movement, feminism has been extensively researched inside and outside academia. Studies have identified two major international waves of feminism. In the first wave, which spanned the first few decades of the early 20th century, women sought participation and rights, with a focus on the

right to vote. This wave also coincided with anti-colonial, independence and nationalist struggles in Asia and the Middle East, in which women were involved and from which they expected greater rights. In this respect, an important contribution is the classic study by Kumari Jayawardena (1985), which helped to conceptualize feminism(s) as indigenous and typical of non-western societies rather than mere offshoots of western feminism(s). In the second wave, spanning roughly the 1970s through the 1990s, the feminist movement broadened its goals to challenge cultural norms and relations between men and women, calling for women's autonomy, full citizenship and access to all social institutions. Women's rights groups were found on every continent and these groups converged to help shape the documents produced by the United Nations' four conferences on women, in 1975 (Mexico City), 1980 (Copenhagen), 1985 (Nairobi) and 1995 (Beijing).

In both waves, liberal and socialist ideas permeated the feminist movements, although liberal ideas arguably became hegemonic. Scholars have identified diverse political and ideological trends in second-wave feminism, including liberal, socialist, radical, cultural and Marxist (Donovan, 2006; Lycklama À Nijholt et al., 1998; Nicholson, 1997). In Africa, Asia and Latin America, women's rights groups and feminist publications were largely inspired by Marxian and socialist

Sociopedia.isa

© 2013 The Author(s)

© 2013 ISA (Editorial Arrangement of *Sociopedia.isa*)

Valentine M Moghadam and Melissa Buehler, 2013, 'Feminism: Ideas, movement, research', *Sociopedia.isa*, DOI: 10.1177/205684601362

critiques, combining an anti-imperialist stance and interest in socioeconomic issues with aspirations for women's participation and rights. Scholars including Marie Angélique Savané of Senegal, Marjorie Mbilinyi of Tanzania, Mayatri Krishnaraj of India, Elizabeth Jelin of Argentina, Fatima Mernissi of Morocco and Nawal El-Saadawi of Egypt decried both patriarchy and neocolonialism. Many such feminist scholars were associated with the field of women-in-development (later to be called gender-and-development), which examined the way that the development process marginalized, exploited and/or integrated women (Kandiyoti, 1985; Sen and Grown, 1987; Wellesley Editorial Committee, 1977). The WID/GAD trend in international feminist thought has been extensively studied (see especially Razavi and Miller, 1995) and has been a prominent line of inquiry within the International Sociological Association's Research Committee on Women in Society (RC-32), which was established in 1973.

Debates have ensued over whether a third wave emerged in the Anglo-American world in the 1990s or – as some scholars have argued – whether the feminist movement there was simply shifting. Instead of focusing on public displays of unity through demonstrations or other political actions (as during the heyday of the second wave), emphasis was placed on expanding feminist writing as well as challenging and expanding common definitions of gender, sexuality and difference by embracing a more multicultural view. Some Anglo-American scholars have identified the different discourses and priorities of 'Generation X', including a rejection of militancy, an implicit 'power feminism' and more overt sexuality. At the same time, with a general backlash by the media of the women's movement, younger feminists have engaged in a kind of 'stealth feminism', continuing the work of the women's movement and embracing feminist issues, albeit in an unobtrusive manner (Baumgardner and Richards, 2000; Rosen, 2000; Walker, 1992, 1995).

In the new century, contemporary research has identified 'global feminism' or 'transnational feminism' as a distinct wave, set of ideas and strategies. The conceptualization emerged with the observation of feminism's global reach, achieved in part through the United Nations Decade for Women (1976–85), the four world conferences on women and the adoption by governments of conventions and norms such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (1979, in force since 1981), and the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995), which is a call for women's human rights and empowerment. Across the globe, women's groups have campaigned for full

ratification of these and related conventions, or have defended their local struggles by referring to the 'global women's rights agenda'. Transnational activism has become a salient strategy for the attainment of women's rights and the extension of solidarity across borders, facilitated by globalization processes such as the internet, which allows for 'cyberactivism' and rapid communication across long distances in addition to face-to-face deliberations. It is carried out largely by an array of 'transnational feminist networks' (Moghadam, 2005), many of which contributed to WID/GAD scholarship and policy formulations on women and economic policy, women's human rights, and violence against women. 'Global feminism', therefore, is the set of ideas inscribed in the international standards and norms to which women's groups around the world subscribe; and transnational feminist networks constitute a new form of international feminist solidarity and activism (Antrobus, 2004; Ferree and Tripp, 2005; Moghadam, 2005; Stienstra, 2000).

Despite – or perhaps because of – its global reach, feminism has become contested and the target of criticism and worse. Some academics, notably those situated within postcolonial or postmodernist studies, associate feminism – or some versions of it – with liberal western thought and regard it as consequently limited in its applicability or culturally and politically alien outside the West (see Abu-Lughod, 1998; Mohanty, 2003; Sinha, 2000). Some have critiqued what they regard as 'imperial feminism', a handmaiden of either the US foreign policy agenda or of neoliberal globalization (Eisenstein, 2006), while others distinguish imperial feminism from the global feminism identified with transnational feminist networks (Moghadam, 2013). Fundamentalists view feminism as a dangerous alien ideology that threatens the family, traditions and religious values (Kandiyoti, 1991; Moghadam, 1994a, 1994b; Ruthven, 2004). And politicians in some countries have regarded feminism and women's rights activists as culturally inappropriate, disruptive of the social order, or even as a threat to national security. For example, women's rights leaders were targeted for assassination in Algeria in the 1990s and in Afghanistan and Iraq in the first decade of the new century. In 2006–2012, feminists in Iran faced travel bans, confiscation of computers, arrests and prosecution. In a manner similar to what suffragists experienced in the US and England during feminism's first wave in the early 20th century, contemporary feminist activists in some countries have been reviled, harassed, arrested or targeted for physical abuse by states and non-state actors alike.

As a result, some feminist scholars, as well as scholar-activists, have sought to demarcate feminism

from political ideologies and agendas, especially in the decades since the second wave. In the Iranian context, the late historian Parvin Paidar (2000) wrote of a 'pragmatic feminism' that was both non-ideological and independent. Comparing women's movements in Bombay and Calcutta, Indian-American sociologist Raka Ray found that the autonomous women's movements in Bombay were more effective in raising and protesting women's rights issues than were the women's groups associated with political parties in Calcutta (Ray, 1999). Others, such as Hester Eisenstein, have called for the return of a more deliberate, political and socialist feminism. Also pertinent is the 'Islamic feminism' of Amina Wadud (1999), Asma Barlas (2002) and practitioners such as Malaysia's Sisters in Islam, who seek to recuperate a more egalitarian and emancipatory version of Islam as an alternative to the patriarchal laws and norms dominant in many Muslim-majority countries.

Structuralist explanations for the rise of feminism may help to counter accusations of cultural imperialism or alienation and confirm Jayawardena's thesis of indigenous feminism(s). For example, scholars have explained the spread of feminist movements cross-culturally in terms of women's distinctive experiences or as the inevitable expression of the claims of an oppressed social group – similar to the emergence of movements struggling against class, racial or ethnic oppression. In a version of Marxian class analysis, feminist scholars Sandra Harding (1991) and Nancy Hartsock (1998) developed a 'standpoint theory' of women's distinctive views, critiques and aspirations. Sociologists in particular recognize the emergence of feminism as the articulation of grievances and aspirations by urban women with educational attainment and employment experience, as would be predicted by modernization or stratification theories (Blumberg, 1984, 1989; Chafetz, 1984; Ferree and Hess, 1995). The worldwide adoption of laws and policies in favor of women has been explained in terms of the institutional isomorphism characteristic of 'world society' (Paxton and Hughes, 2007; Ramirez et al., 1997).

Standpoint theory or 'situated knowledge' focuses on knowledge as being situated within the perspective or experiences of women and addresses the interconnections among race, class and gender, as well as ethnicity, history and culture. The lived experiences of women and common experiences such as childbirth and childcare, domestic violence and political subordination provide functionality for the theoretical framework that stems from the viewpoint of the marginalized. In feminist theorizing, questions are raised about hegemonic conceptualizations of power, as well as gendered social institutions that

perpetuate stereotypes, domination and inequality. Social structures intersect to shape social positions, and political scientist Ann Tickner (2001: 14) has argued that a first step to fighting oppression is through fostering a 'women's way of knowing'. Common experiences notwithstanding, differences across class, race, national origin and culture have been underscored (Abu-Lughod, 1998; Caraway, 1991; Collins, 2000; Sinha, 2000), and conceptualized within a framework known as 'intersectionality'. Prominent in Anglo-American feminist scholarship, intersectionality places a premium on acknowledging diverse perspectives, identities and experiences, examining their relations to interlocking systems of oppression, and challenging those systems through situated knowledge production and collective action, as discussed by African-American sociologist Patricia Hill Collins (2000) and others. Other feminist sociologists, however, argue that gender is a social structure or institution or system in its own right (an 'independent variable', if you will). Sylvia Walby (2009) argues that gender does not necessarily map on to, or align with, class or race; rather, it has its own logic and causal power.

Feminist movement/women's movement

Research has distinguished types of women's movements and has identified *feminist movement* as a subset of *women's movement* (Beckwith, 2007). Historically, women have taken part in, or even led, a variety of protest movements and campaigns, including those around hunger and poverty, welfare reforms, human rights and the environment (see in particular Basu, 1995; Lycklama À Niejholt et al., 1998; West and Blumberg, 1990). In Argentina, the Mothers and Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo led a human rights campaign that helped bring down the dictatorship. In Palestine, women have been active in the national struggle and anti-occupation campaigns across three decades. In India, women's groups have fought against certain oppressive development projects or marched against communal violence. And yet those campaigns and other women-led movements are not necessarily feminist. A feminist movement or campaign espouses and advances feminist values and goals, which are defined as challenging gender hierarchies and aspiring to women's equality and autonomy. At times, however, the feminist label may be culturally unpopular or politically risky, with activists refraining from self-identifying as feminists. Some scholars identify movements, organizations, or campaigns that are implicitly, if not explicitly feminist; the women's

rights activists within them may be identified as de facto feminists (Misciano, 1997). *Feminist action*, therefore, is an appropriate term to define 'that in which the participants explicitly place value on challenging gender hierarchy and changing women's social status, whether they adopt or reject the feminist label' (Sperling et al., 2001: 1157).

This would apply, then, to most women's movements and campaigns across the globe, whether they address body politics or political participation or economic empowerment. Campaigns to end violence against women and to establish women's reproductive and sexual rights, equal rights in the family, equal property rights and political parity may be found in diverse cultural contexts: Latin America and the Caribbean, the Middle East and North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, Asia-Pacific, Europe and North America (Basu, 1995; Jaquette, 2009; Moghadam, 2006). Regional or country-specific priorities also may be found. Women participants of the Latin American democracy movements of the 1980s went on to form feminist movements and organizations calling for reproductive autonomy and participation in political decision-making. In Africa, organizations such as AAWORD and CODESRIA have disseminated feminist studies of development and globalization and made a case for women's economic and political empowerment. In Europe, work-family balance and the alleviation of women's dual roles has been one preoccupation. In the Middle East, a priority issue has been the reform of family laws and the adoption of equal nationality rights for women. The World March of Women, an initiative of feminists in Quebec, confronts poverty and violence caused by patriarchal capitalism.

Following from structuralist and standpoint theories, therefore, one may conclude that most women's movements are in fact feminist, and that women's movements inevitably call for fundamental change in the legal position and social position of women in the home, the workplace and the polity. In line with world polity theories, cross-national isomorphism may be observed, inasmuch as women's movements and campaigns across the globe evince a similar vocabulary and set of strategies, including a critique of patriarchal laws and discriminatory practices, and a combination of research, lobbying and advocacy for gender equality. The Beijing Platform for Action itself – which is invoked by many women's rights activists across the world – may be regarded as an implicitly feminist document, if not the manifesto of global feminism, because of its clarion call for women's autonomy, economic and political empowerment, human rights and capacity to effect social change. It was in part the product of alliances between feminists within bureaucratic and

international organizations and those active in women's civil society groups and feminist networks; and its adoption resulted from coalitions between women's rights activists, feminist-scholars, and officials within state bureaucracies and women's policy agencies.

Such gains are measurable and available in international data sets sponsored by the UN or multilateral organizations – including the UNDP's *Human Development Report*, the World Bank's *Gender Stats* and the InterParliamentary Union's database on gendered participation in national parliaments – along with the World Economic Forum's *Global Gender Gap Report*. Other data sets have been established in academic settings, such as the WomanStats Project Database (<http://womanstats.org/>) based at the Brigham Young University in Utah, USA, and the Cingranelli-Richards (CIRI) Human Rights database located at the State University of New York, Binghamton, USA (www.humanrightsdata.org).

However, the data – as well as qualitative studies and reports issued by transnational feminist networks and women's rights groups – also reveal stagnation and setbacks in many contexts. In the 1980s, the debt crisis and austerity measures that engulfed much of the developing world led to onerous burdens on women's productive lives and household responsibilities; in most countries, women are the majority of the poor; domestic and other forms of violence continue to plague women; conflicts and wars persist, with highly injurious effects on women as well as men and children; and women remain a minority in political leadership. Both the gains in women's status and the continuing challenges are the impetus for feminist action across the globe as well as for teaching and research on women.

Feminist Studies/Women's Studies/ Gender Studies

Women's Studies as a field of inquiry, teaching and scholarly pursuit has grown exponentially over the last three decades. Beginning in the 1970s with the introduction of Women's Studies courses to the American university system, the number has grown to over 2000 colleges and universities offering such courses. Across the globe, the number of institutions offering Women's Studies majors and minors at the masters and doctorate level continues to grow; in Africa, the oldest department of graduate studies in women and gender is found at Makerere University in Uganda. The field has increasingly transformed itself from a peripheral area of interest to a specialized field of study (Christ, 1997). While questions emerge over whether Women's Studies should be

classified as an interdisciplinary field of inquiry or a discipline in its own right, feminist issues remain an important component of scholarly research, as well as areas of study and teaching (Baker, 2003). Worldwide, a large number of journals specializing in feminist scholarship may be found, along with book series on women's issues that are offered by many publishing houses. In turn, feminist theorizing and research have influenced a number of disciplines, including sociology, history and literary studies (Bose and Kim, 2009). Such influence can be seen in the number of feminist-oriented articles that appear in diverse scholarly journals, in the incorporation of feminist questions and concepts such as gender and issues of representation in 'mainstream' research, and in the number of graduate students who focus on feminist or gender-related research topics.

A perusal of scholarly literature addressing the scope, purpose and impact of Women's Studies in academia reveals several predominant themes comprising three overlapping strands. One strand interrogates and distinguishes among 'Women's Studies', 'Feminist Studies' and 'Gender Studies'. A second strand addresses the interdisciplinary nature of feminist studies. Here, issues pertaining to the clarity and cohesiveness of conceptual frameworks and methodologies are central. A third strand focuses on the dangers of the institutionalizing of feminist research and the resulting stagnation, which some refer to as the institutionalization of feminism. We consider each in turn.

Although the terms 'Women's Studies', 'Gender Studies' and 'Feminist Studies' appear to be synonymous and often are used interchangeably, academic programs choose to label themselves deliberately. 'Women's Studies' denotes a focus on the study of women – their issues, concerns and contributions – as well as on the gendered social institutions and patriarchal practices that affect women. To designate an academic program as 'Feminist Studies' suggests an emphasis on feminist theories – including psychoanalytic, materialist, Foucauldian, postcolonial – as well as on the study of gendered structures. In Anglo-American contexts, 'Gender Studies' widens the scope to include issues of transgendered and intersexual identities, as well as the study of masculinities. 'Women's and Gender Studies' may connote a compromise as well as an indication of the scope of teaching and research. At some universities in the global South, a graduate degree in 'Gender Studies' might imply more of an emphasis on issues of development and globalization than on diverse sexualities such as might be studied at a US or Australian university.

Scholars advocate the use of interdisciplinary

methods in feminist research and teaching (Crowley, 1999; Dolling and Hark, 2000; Howard, 1999). The strength of feminist research is its reliance on methodological pluralism to explore alternative explanations for various issues. While it can be argued that this is an inherent weakness, scholars explore the theoretical and methodological proximity of feminist research to other disciplines such as sociology, political science, anthropology, literature and history. The growing scholarship on feminism within major disciplines has, no doubt, created a large set of concepts and ideas. This has caused some concern about the absence of consistent and cohesive terminology, theories and methodologies in feminist research (Abu-Lughod, 1998; Caraway, 1991; Collins, 2000; Hammons and Subramaniam, 2003; Harding, 1991; Kolodny, 1988; Sinha, 2000; Thorne, 2000). Whether scholars view this issue as positive (in that scholars have more freedom in terms of research) or negative (in that the discipline lacks a core) is dependent on one's viewpoint. Overall, the burgeoning of feminist research and scholarship, which adopts a variety of methods and methodology, has led some scholars to question whether feminist research should be 'on, by, and especially for' women (Caraway, 1991; Collins, 2000; Stacey, 1988), while others have produced rigorous frameworks that seek to advance gender research and feminist scholarship within a discipline, such as political science (see esp. Goertz and Mazur, 2008).

Finally, the increasing institutionalization of Women's/Feminist/Gender Studies is said to have led to de-politicization and stagnation. Institutionalization has prompted scholars, especially in the United States, to question whether the field has divorced itself from its original and central purpose – consciousness-raising and sociocultural transformation – as a result of the over-specialization of scholarly research (Hammons and Subramaniam, 2003; Laslett and Brenner, 2000; Stacey, 2000; Thorne, 2000) or abstruse theorizing, especially in the humanities. On the other hand, 'feminist praxis' remains in evidence, certainly at the transnational level but also within local communities. Synergies among feminist scholars, activists, and the staff of women's policy centers have been harnessed to create connections through collaborative research and forums, and through targeted campaigns in defense of women's human rights. One example pertains to scholarly research, student activism and policy initiatives around violence against women. Another example is the global feminist support for the women's rights activists of Iran's One Million Signatures Campaign, who experienced harassment and arrests after 2007. By including marginalized perspectives through the use of standpoint theory or situated

knowledge, and by connecting research, advocacy and activism, feminist praxis challenges social inequalities and the concentration of power.

Theoretical contributions and future directions

For over three decades, feminist scholars have produced a prodigious body of multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary studies on an array of topics. The scholarship, as noted, has influenced teaching and research not only in Women's Studies programs and departments but also in a number of disciplines within the social sciences and the humanities. In the humanities, reference should be made to the influential writings of Judith Butler on sexual identity (Butler, 1990). Also pertinent is the French philosophical and psychoanalytical feminism associated with the writings of Hélène Cixous, Luce Irigaray and Julia Kristeva (see Moi, 1986; Sellers, 1994; Whitford, 1991). The ecofeminist analyses and critiques of development and globalization produced by Vandana Shiva and Maria Mies (e.g. Mies and Shiva, 1993) have influenced not only social scientists but a generation of postcolonial and postmodernist feminist scholars.

The theorization of gender as a source of power (Scott, 1999) or a deeply ingrained social institution (Lorber, 1997; Walby, 2009) has led to the examination of the operations of gender in historical processes as well as in political and economic projects. One set of literature has examined the gender dynamics of modernity, state-building, nationalism, revolution and fundamentalism (Kandiyoti, 1991; Moghadam, 1994a, 2003; Yuval-Davis, 1997). Feminist scholars have examined the role of women and of gender ideologies in colonialism, whether in terms of 'the white women's burden' and the colonizers' dubious discourse of women's rights, or in terms of concepts and representations of racialized femininity and masculinity in the metropole and in the periphery (Ahmed, 1993; Jayawardena, 1995; McClintock, 1995; Stoler, 2002). In addition to uncovering the gendered discourses and policies associated with political and economic projects, feminist scholars have criticized the projects' perpetuation of women's oppression, exploitation, or exclusion. As research has shown, concepts of the 'Ideal Woman' and the 'Ideal Society' have accompanied political, cultural and economic processes, sometimes with injurious effects (Papanek, 1994; see also Bouatta and Cherifati-Merbatine, 1994; Moghadam, 1994b). What sociologist Cynthia Epstein (1988) termed 'deceptive distinctions' – scholarship across disciplines premised on, and reinforcing, notions of

immutable sex differences – continue to shape practices and gender policies in various parts of the world.

The influence of feminist scholarship is obvious within specific disciplines. For example, feminist scholarship has approached the study of international relations in distinctive ways, emphasizing patriarchal states and diverse forms of masculinity observed in world politics, including conflict and war (Enloe, 1990, 2007; Peterson, 1992; Pettman, 1996; Tickner, 1992, 2001; Marchand and Runyan, 2000). Feminist political economy has elucidated the gender biases of development projects, notably the structural adjustment policies of the 1980s and the global trade regime that began to take shape in the 1990s (Bakker, 1995; Elson, 1991; Peterson, 2003; Sen and Grown, 1987; Sparr, 1994; WIDE, 2007). Research on women's movements by feminist scholars across the globe has enhanced understanding not only of the dynamics of women's movements but also of the operations of gender in social movements more broadly. In Anglo-American and Scandinavian sociology, feminism's imprint is evident in curricular materials as well as in studies of social policies, employment, the welfare state, the family and social movements.

A recent volume (Bose and Kim, 2009) provides an in-depth comparative picture of the current state of feminist and women's studies research in Africa, Asia, Latin America/Caribbean and Europe. As Bose and Kim stress in their introductory essays to each region, feminist and gender research has been shaped by economics, politics and culture, and by trends that are simultaneously local, regional and global. In addition to addressing the evolution of feminist scholarship or Women's Studies units in various countries, the contributors address a wide range of topics, including work, childcare and family issues, religion, violence, sexuality, masculinities, law and gender policies. The volume also provides scholars with extensive bibliographies and a listing of websites for women's and gender research centers in 85 countries.

Annotated further reading

Collins PH (2000) *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*, 2nd edn. New York: Routledge.

Exploring the interconnections between Black women's activism and oppression and developing the concept of the 'matrix of domination', Collins argues that Black women face compounding and interlocking forces of discrimination, which emanate from race, class *and* gender. Long-term change can be

- achieved through individual and group consciousness-raising, as well as the transformation of social, political and economic institutions. Placing Black women at the center of epistemological change, Collins shows how subordinate groups may be agents of alternative knowledge and empowerment.
- Ferree MM, Tripp AM (eds) (2005) *Global Feminism: Transnational Women's Activism, Organizing, and Human Rights*. New York: New York University Press.
- Globalization has not only contributed to the development of infrastructures that facilitate economic, social and political exchanges, it also has provided for the institutionalization of global relationships, networks and organizations. Contributors to this volume offer case studies of global feminism at both macro and micro levels.
- Hartsock NCM (1998) *The Feminist Standpoint Revisited and Other Essays*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- The book is organized around two theoretical themes: theory is central to political and social action; theory must recognize and respond to problems found in the conceptualization, operationalization and employment of political action within the larger context of social change. Hartsock seeks to better understand the relationship between power and epistemology through the lens of Marxist feminist theory. Marxism provides a comprehensive critique of the knowledge–power relationship, which is a necessary component to feminist theory development that can successfully address contemporary political and social concerns.
- Jaquette J (ed.) (2009) *Feminist Agendas and Democracy in Latin America*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Contributors to this volume are scholar-activists who show how Latin American women's movements have responded to the dramatic political, economic and social changes of the last two decades. Three themes are explored: women in the political process and their involvement in democratization; the use of legal strategies to advance women's rights; and the international impact and transnational activism of Latin American feminists.
- Mies M, Shiva V (1993) *Ecofeminism*. London: Zed Books.
- In a unique critique of development and its environmental effects on women, children and nature, Mies and Shiva seek to dismantle the patriarchal, westernized and privileged discipline of science through the infusion of culturally- and ecologically-sensitive ways of knowing. Feminist understandings of development, subsistence, globalization and biotechnology offer alternative models for understanding the interconnections between people and the environment, human subjugation and environmental degradation.
- Moghadam VM (2005) *Globalizing Women: Transnational Feminist Networks*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Moghadam analyzes globalization in its economic, political and cultural-ideological dimensions, elucidating the relationship between 'globalization-from-above' and 'globalization-from-below'. She examines how globalization processes have generated mobilized responses from women, and focuses attention on the formation of 'transnational feminist networks', which bring together women from three or more countries around common critiques and goals. Six TFNs are examined in depth; three focus on feminist economics and a critique of neoliberalism, and three concentrate on women's human rights, especially in Muslim-majority countries.
- Salime Z (2011) *Between Feminism and Islam: Human Rights and Sharia in Morocco*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Morocco's family law reform of 2003–4 was a watershed event that changed women's legal status from subordinate to near-egalitarian in rights and responsibilities. Starting with the 1980s, Zakia Salime reveals the evolution of the Moroccan women's movement and its relationship to domestic and global politics, and uncovers interaction between the rival secular and Islamist women's groups across three 'movement moments', including the One Million Signatures petition drive of the early 1990s.
- Sen G, Grown C (1987) *Women, Crises, and Development Alternatives*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Addressing issues of economic policy, crisis and poverty from the perspective of poor women and women in developing countries, this book was among the earliest to critique structural adjustments and to describe forms of feminist organizing. The book became a clarion call for women's empowerment and economic justice through women's collective action across the globe.
- Walby S (2009) *Globalization and Inequalities: Complexity and Contested Modernities*. London: Sage.
- In reclaiming systems analysis, Walby integrates multiple sites of inequality – class, gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality – into a framework that presents four main institutional domains (economy, polity, civil society and violence) and counterposes two contemporary forms of modernity: neoliberalism and social democracy. In an alternative to feminist intersectionality, she argues that gender does not necessarily map on to, or align with, class; rather, it has its own logic and causal power.
- Yuval-Davis N (1997) *Gender and Nation*. London: Sage.
- Yuval-Davis points out that nationalisms are always gendered, although not always and everywhere in the same way. Following a theoretical literature review, chapters focus on the biological and cultural reproduction of the nation (in which women figure prominently), and issues of citizenship, military and wars, and ethnicity. She applies a gender analysis to each topic, while taking into account the different social positions of women in terms of class, race, ethnicity, and culture.

References

- Abu-Lughod L (1998) Contentious theoretical issues: Third world feminisms and identity politics. *Women's Studies Quarterly* 26(3–4): 25–9.
- Ahmed L (1993) *Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a Modern Debate*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Antrobus P (2004) *The Global Women's Movement: Origins, Issues and Strategies*. London: Zed Books.
- Bakker I (ed.) (1995) *The Strategic Silence: Gender and Economic Policy*. London: Zed Books.
- Barlas A (2002) *'Believing Women' in Islam*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Basu A (ed.) (1995) *The Challenge of Local Feminisms: Women's Movements in Global Perspective*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Baumgardner J, Richards A (2000) *Manifesta: Young Women, Feminism, and the Future*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux.
- Beckwith K (2007) Mapping strategic engagements: Women's movements and the state. *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 9(3): 312–38.
- Blumberg RL (1984) A general theory of gender stratification. *Sociological Theory* 2: 23–101.
- Blumberg RL (1989) Toward a feminist theory of development. In: Wallace R (ed.) *Feminism and Sociological Theory*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 161–98.
- Bose C, Kim M (eds) (2009) *Global Gender Research: Transnational Perspectives*. London: Routledge.
- Bouatta C, Cherifati-Merabtine D (1994) Social representations of women in an Islamic discourse: Algeria. In: Moghadam VM (ed.) *Identity Politics and Women: Cultural Reassertions and Feminisms in International Perspective*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Buker E (2003) Is women's studies a disciplinary or interdisciplinary field of inquiry? *NWSA Journal* 15 (Spring): 73–93.
- Butler J (1990) *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Caraway N (1991) *Segregated Sisterhood: Racism and the Politics of American Feminism*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press.
- Chafetz JS (1984) *Sex and Advantage: A Comparative Macro-Structural Theory of Sex Stratification*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Christ CT (1997) Anniversary lecture: The American university and women's studies. *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature* 16 (Spring): 13–25.
- Collins PH (2000) *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*, 2nd edn. New York: Routledge.
- Crowley H (1999) Women's studies: Between a rock and a hard place or just another cell in the beehive? *Feminist Review* 61 (Spring): 131–50.
- Dolling I, Hark S (2000) She who speaks shadow speaks truth: Transdisciplinarity in women's and gender studies. *Signs* 25(4): 1195–8.
- Donovan J (2006) *Feminist Theory: The Intellectual Traditions*, 3rd edn. New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group, Inc.
- Eisenstein H (2006) Is feminism the handmaiden of imperialism? *Women's Studies Quarterly* 34(1–2).
- Elson D (ed.) (1991) *Male Bias in the Development Process*. London: Macmillan.
- Enloe C (1990) *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Enloe C (2007) *Globalization and Militarism: Feminists Make the Link*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Epstein CF (1988) *Deceptive Distinctions: Sex, Gender, and the Social Order*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Ferree MM, Hess BB (1995) *Controversy and Coalition: The Women's Movement across Three Decades of Change*. New York: Twayne Publishers.
- Ferree MM, Tripp AM (eds) (2005) *Global Feminism: Transnational Women's Activism, Organizing, and Human Rights*. New York: New York University Press.
- Goertz G, Mazur AG (eds) (2008) *Politics, Gender and Concepts: Theory and Methodology*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hammons E, Subramaniam B (2003) A conversation on feminist science studies. *Signs* 28(3): 923–44.
- Harding S (1991) *Whose Science? Whose Knowledge? Thinking from Women's Lives*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Hartsock NCM (1998) *The Feminist Standpoint Revisited and Other Essays*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Howard JA (1999) Border crossing between women's studies and sociology. *Contemporary Sociology* 28 (September): 525–8.
- Jaquette J (ed.) (2009) *Feminist Agendas and Democracy in Latin America*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Jayawardena K (1985) *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World*. London: Zed Books.
- Jayawardena K (1995) *The White Woman's Other Burden*. London: Routledge.
- Kandiyoti D (1985) *Women in Rural Production Systems: Problems and Policies*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Kandiyoti D (ed.) (1991) *Women, State and Islam*. London: Macmillan.
- Kolodny A (1988) Dancing between left and right: Feminism and the academic minefield in the 1980s. *Feminist Studies* 14 (Autumn): 453–66.
- Laslett B, Brenner J (2000) Twenty-first century academic feminism in the United States: Utopian visions and practical actions. *Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 25(4): 1231–6.
- Lorber J (1997) *Paradoxes of Gender*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Lycklama À Niejholt G, Vargas V, and Wieringa S (eds) (1998) *Women's Movements and Public Policy in Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean*. New York: Garland Publishing.

- McClintock A (1995) *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. New York: Routledge.
- Marchand M, Runyan AS (eds) (2000) *Gender and Global Restructuring: Sightings, Sites, and Resistances*. London: Routledge.
- Mies M, Shiva V (1993) *Ecofeminism*. London: Zed Books.
- Misciagno PS (1997) *Rethinking Feminist Identification: The Case for De Facto Feminism*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Moghadam VM (ed.) (1994a) *Identity Politics and Women: Cultural Reassertions and Feminisms in International Perspective*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Moghadam VM (ed.) (1994b) *Gender and National Identity: Women and Politics in Muslim Societies*. London: Zed Books.
- Moghadam VM (2003) *Modernizing Women: Gender and Social Change in the Middle East*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Moghadam VM (2005) *Globalizing Women: Transnational Feminist Networks*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Moghadam VM (ed.) (2006) *From Patriarchy to Empowerment? Women's Movements, Participation, and Rights in the Middle East, North Africa, and South Asia*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
- Moghadam VM (2013) *Globalization and Social Movements: Islamism, Feminism, and the Global Justice Movement*, 2nd edn. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Mohanty C (2003) *Feminism without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Moi T (1986) *The Kristeva Reader*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Nicholson L (ed.) (1997) *The Second Wave: A Reader in Feminist Theory*. New York: Routledge.
- Paidar P (2000) Gender and democracy, the encounter between feminism and reformism in contemporary Iran. United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, Democracy, Governance and Human Rights Programme Paper No. 6 (October), Geneva.
- Papanek H (1994) The ideal woman and the ideal society: Control and autonomy in the construction of identity. in Moghadam VM (ed.), *Identity Politics and Women: Cultural Reassertions and Feminisms in International Perspective*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 42–76.
- Paxton P, Hughes M (2007) *Women, Politics, and Power*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.
- Peterson VS (ed.) (1992) *Gendered States: Feminist (Re)Visions of International Relations Theory*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Peterson VS (2003) *A Critical Rewriting of Global Political Economy: Integrating Productive, Reproductive, and Virtual Economies*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Pettman JJ (1996) *Worlding Women: A Feminist International Politics*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Ramirez F, Soysal Y, and Shanahan S (1997) The changing logic of political citizenship: Cross-national acquisition of women's suffrage rights, 1890 to 1990. *American Sociological Review* 62(October): 735–45.
- Ray R (1999) *Fields of Protests: Women's Movements in India*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Razavi S, Miller C (1995) From WID to GAD: Conceptual shifts in the women and development discourse. UNRISD Occasional Papers, No. 1, Geneva.
- Rosen R (2000) *The World Split Open: How the Modern Women's Movement Changed America*. New York: Viking.
- Ruthven M (2004) *Fundamentalism: The Search for Meaning*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Scott JW (1999) Gender: A useful category of historical analysis. In: Scott JW (ed.) *Gender and the Politics of History*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Sellers S (ed.) (1994) *The Hélène Cixous Reader*. London: Routledge.
- Sen G, Grown C (1987) *Women, Crises, and Development Alternatives*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Sinha M (2000) How history matters: Complicating the categories of 'western' and 'non-western' feminisms. In: Social Justice Group at the Center for Advanced Feminist Studies (ed.) *Is Academic Feminism Dead? Theory in Practice*. New York: New York University Press.
- Sparr P (ed.) (1994) *Mortgaging Women's Lives: Feminist Critiques of Structural Adjustment*. London: Zed Books.
- Sperling V, Ferree MM, and Risman B (2001) Constructing global feminism: Transnational advocacy networks and russian women's activism. *Signs* 26(4): 1155–86.
- Stacey J (1988) Can there be a feminist ethnography? *Women's Studies International Forum* 11(1): 21.
- Stacey J (2000) Is academic feminism an oxymoron? *Signs* 25(4): 1189–94.
- Stienstra D (2000) Dancing resistance from Rio to Beijing: Transnational women's organizations and United Nations conferences, 1992–96. In Runyan AS, Marchand M (eds) *Gender and Global Restructuring: Sightings, Sites and Resistances*. London: Routledge.
- Stoler AL (2002) *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Thorne B (2000) A telling time for women's studies. *Signs* 25 (Summer): 1183–7.
- Tickner JA (1992) *Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Tickner JA (2001) *Gendering World Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Wadud A (1999) *Qur'an and Woman: Rereading the*

- Sacred Text from a Woman's Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Walby S (2009) *Globalization and Inequalities: Complexity and Contested Modernities*. London: Sage.
- Walker R (1992) Becoming the third wave. *Ms*. January/February: 39–41.
- Walker R (1995) *To Be Real: Telling the Truth and Changing the Face of Feminism*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Wellesley Editorial Committee (1977) *Women and National Development: The Complexities of Change*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- West G, Blumberg R (eds) (1990) *Women and Social Protest*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Whitford M (1991) *Luce Irigaray: Philosophy in the Feminine*. London: Routledge.
- WIDE (2007) *New Aid, Expanding Trade: What do Women Have to Say?* Report of the WIDE Annual Conference, Madrid, 14–16 June. Brussels: Women in Development Europe.
- Yuval-Davis N (1997) *Gender and Nation*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Valentine M Moghadam is Professor of Sociology and Director of the International Affairs Program at Northeastern University, Boston, which she joined in January 2012. Previously she has been a professor of sociology and director of women's studies at Purdue University and Illinois State University; a section chief at UNESCO in Paris, where she led policy-oriented research on gender equality and development in the Social and Human Sciences Sector; and a senior researcher at the United Nations University's WIDER Institute in Helsinki, Finland, where she coordinated the research program on women and development. [email: v.moghadam@neu.edu]

Melissa Buehler completed her PhD in Political Science from Purdue University in August 2010, with a Graduate Certificate in Women's Studies. Her research focused on HIV/AIDS resource distribution, patterns, and practices of international organizations in Sub-Saharan Africa. Since then she has been teaching at Miami-Dade College, in Florida. [email: mbuehler@mdc.edu]

résumé L'article examine l'évolution du féminisme considéré comme un ensemble d'idées, un mouvement social et un appel à la recherche interdisciplinaire. Il souligne l'importance des contributions de chercheuses féministes dans différentes disciplines, depuis le champ des politiques publiques et des réformes juridiques jusqu'à l'établissement de cursus d'études et de départements de 'women studies' dans des universités à travers le monde. L'article aborde également l'ancrage local et la portée globale du féminisme ainsi que les relations de la théorie à la pratique.

mots-clés féminisme ♦ féminisme transnational ♦ mouvement des femmes ♦ mouvement féministe ♦ théorie féministe

resumen Este artículo examina la evolución del feminismo como un conjunto de ideas, un movimiento social, y el ímpetu por la investigación interdisciplinaria. Llama la atención a la influencia de la erudición feminista por las diferentes disciplinas, en la arena de la política pública y la reforma legal, y en el establecimiento de los programas y departamentos de estudios del género y de la mujer donde las universidades por todo el mundo. Las raíces locales del feminismo y su alcance global, y las relaciones de la teoría a la práctica también son destacadas.

palabras clave feminismo ♦ feminismo transnacional ♦ movimiento de la mujer ♦ movimiento feminista ♦ teoría feminista