

the effect of restructuring depends on the level of industrialization, employment, development of safety nets and the nature of the gendered division of labour. Martha MacDonald's case study of fishery in Atlantic Canada shows that restructuring has worsened conditions for the workforce, increased feminization of the plant workforce and lead to the emergence of new household and community relationships. Nilufer Cagatay on the Turkish economy, says women of all categories suffered from higher unemployment rates, but a process of feminization took place in the urban areas, in home-working clothes production. Antonietta Barron's case study, shows how the internationalization of agricultural production, especially in fruits and vegetable enabled rural Mexican women to become wage earners. But women's access to wages higher than the national minimum was contrabanced by the deterioration of their living and working conditions, imposed by the economic and social reform, which prevented them from carrying out reproductive labour.

Articles in Part I deal theoretically with the developments documented in Part II. The authors recognize that global restructuring is occurring in a gendered terrain and that macro-economic policy needs to be engendered. They make the case that linking a gender-relation analysis to the economic policy framework may help curtail differential material outcomes for women and men. They discuss the inclusion of non-market relations into the economic discourse and propose elements of gender-aware economics in the wave of restructuring. Focusing on mechanisms that exclude or diminish benefits due to gender asymmetries, Isabella Bakker, for instance, develops three levels of argument: to recognize the influence of markets in standard economies as institutions imbued with structural power relations and having an asymmetrical gender dimension;- to consider the interdependence of market and non-market activity at aggregate

levels of macro-economics; to distinguish the differential impact and feedback on a gendered basis under Structural Adjustment policies which involve micro and macro-initiatives.

The neoclassical paradigm is used, by Diane Elson, to examine how social institutions and monetary relationships become gender barriers. She says "if [the meso institution and macro-policy instruments] operate in ways that are detrimental to women, then this is fundamentally due to the characteristic of individuals at the micro-level, and in particular to prejudice against women". For her, the appropriate response is equal-opportunities legislation, education to combat prejudice and 'safety nets' for women denied gainful employment—not a restructuring of meso institutions and a rethinking of macro-policy reforms.

The inclusion of non-market relations into the economic discourse, promoted by Bakker, Elson and others in the book, demands a strong state to channel resources to women. The assumption is that correct policies can be made and effectively implemented by the technocrats if state institutions are devised in such a way as to defend the interests of women as revealed through gender-relation analysis.

Two of the articles in Part I, however, go further. Working with a critical paradigm they engage the need to engender economic not just economic policy and to go beyond simply curbing the worst gender effects of this system. Janine Brodie says that gendered dimensions of restructuring extend far beyond the economic. Marjory Williams points to the need to define two key concepts: productivity and efficiency. These articles bring an important dimension to this collection.

For feminist proposals for state policy to mitigate the worst effects of destructive and unjust capitalist and patriarchal economic arrangements which do not challenge these structures at the deepest level, are doomed to failure. They overlook the fact that

as long as neo-classical economic theory prevails, its devaluation of nature and women's and community reproductive work will mean that this activity cannot be adequately recognized or supported in policy. They also fail to take the power relations between countries into account. Third World states (the military, the police, the security forces, the courts, the corporate elite) are limited only to initiatives which are consistent with the interests of international elites. No Third World government, for instance, has been able to resist the imposition of Structural Adjustment Programs. These programmes forcibly restructure local economies to produce for export rather than local needs in order to earn the foreign currency to pay of the nation's external debt. They are being imposed on the population of South and North, through the IMF and the World Bank, by the Group of 7 (G7) governments of the powerful and wealthy industrial nations to the benefit of transnational capital. If we fail to challenge the neoclassical market theory that justifies this global restructuring our proposals for gender sensitive policy may simply result in more efficient exploitation of women.

## PALESTINIAN WOMEN: IDENTITY AND EXPERIENCE

Ebba Augustin, Ed. London: Zed Books, 1993.

*by Aida Farrag Graff*

Fifteen out of sixteen essays in this book are by Palestinian women, and are divided into two parts: "Women in Palestinian Society and Politics," and "Women in the Intifada." They all ring with the passion of those engaged in a fight for survival—as when we read the appeal of sixty year old Umm Mohammed whose two sons are slated for deportation; or the accounts of women who have been imprisoned by the Israeli forces; or of

women's survival tactics during curfews which isolated their community for fifty-three days.

While coping with the trauma of occupation, Palestinian women must also cope with the socio/economic upheaval of their community. The resilience they show in negotiating the demands of a rigidly patriarchal society is amazing. As eighteen year old Iman Jardallah says: "things are changing, but there are people who try to turn the wheel back." The more militant feminist among them are aware that though they have and are participating in the nationalist struggle, this in no way guarantees them a role within the newly formed Palestinian Authority. In fact as Ebba Augustin's essay demonstrates, it took the United Leadership of the Uprising more than a year to criticize the vicious fundamentalist veil campaign in Gaza. It seems that like all government in the region, the Palestinian Authority will not go out of its way to improve the status of women if this means added conflict with the fundamentalists. Furthermore, the Palestinian Authority has not shown any keen desire to implement a democratic rule. If it acquiesces to the women's demands for equity, it will have to do the same for other groups.

But Palestinian women are aware of what happened to their Algerian sisters after the end of their nationalist struggle, and they are not about to accept the same fate. Their struggles to organize within women's groups and within trade unions are an attempt to preempt such a fate. But only time will tell whether Palestinian women will achieve some of their goals through their own far-sightedness, or because of the ultimate weakness of the Palestinian Authority, or even because the latter would wish to project a progressive facade to its Western donors. Time will also tell whether they will not actually find themselves caught between the devil and the deep blue sea as they manoeuvre their way between an unsympathetic patriarchal Authority, and the repressive Hamas groups.

The collection gives the reader a

vivid insight into a very difficult moment in Palestinian history—difficult inasmuch as it risks turning into a moment of lost opportunities what had been the hope that kept all these women going.

In recognition of the heroic fight of Palestinian women, I would like to have seen on the jacket of the book a collage of photographs of different faces, and not just the face of Hanan Ashrawi who figures very briefly through two short essays in this collection.

## THE BOOK AND THE VEIL

Yeshim Ternar. Montreal, Quebec: Vehicule Press, 1994.

*by Agnès Callamard*

With the veil increasingly becoming the object of intense struggles in France, Quebec, Algeria, to name but a few, a symbol appropriated by the media, states, religious movements, and women to signify either cultural/islamic resistance against Western imperialism or cultural/islamic oppression of the women, and finally the site of the West/East divide and conflict, Yeshim Ternar's work *The Book and the Veil* is, indeed, an important and timely one. However, one should not expect Ternar to provide the reader with a definite or even a single analysis or understanding of the veil or the book, for her work deliberately throws a veil of fiction over reality, and it never completely unveils the faces, meanings, objectives behind the veil or the book. But it is because of its ambiguous representations, conversations, subtle analysis of the orientalist discourse and of feminism, that Yeshim Ternar's book is, indeed, an important one. One can only regret that her ethnographic fiction remains at the level of the "self" and of the construction and representation of the self through the veil and the book, and fails to unveil the other actors of this (mis)representation, including

the state, religious establishments, nationalist movements and ideologies, both in the West and in the East, and the deadly struggles that have centred around these actors' control over the veil and the book that is over the body and knowledge.

*The Book and The Veil* is constructed upon the encounter that occurred almost a century ago between two Turkish sisters Zeyneb and Melek Hanoums who fled Turkey and the harem for fear of persecution from the sultan; the English feminist journalist Grace Ellison who saw as her duties to explain the East to her country-people and enlighten Eastern women about self-emancipation; and Pierre Loti, a French Turkophile homosexual writer. To their voices, Ternar is adding her own, the one of "a post-modern anthropologist", "a novelist-ethnographer born in the East but residing and writing in the West," creating something that sounds like a dialogue (although it is never clear whether all voices really listen to each other) across space, time, and cultures, in the (spurious) search for self-understanding and self-identification. For both the veil and the book are, here, used as "facilitators" to undertake a research of the self.

In Ternar's, the veil is, of course, the East, the yashmak that Turkish women wore in the presence of men; it is oppression, sequestration, annihilation, a "barrier between the sexes;" but the veil is also the West: it is the blank, expressionless face of European women. The veil in the East is also a symbol of beauty, femininity, gender identity, for which the feminist Grace falls: "For all her interest in emancipation, Grace seems to enjoy being hidden and made anonymous by a yashmak... Grace remarks on how attractive a yashmak makes a woman;" and the veil is ultimately belongingness, for which the heroines of *The Book and The Veil*, along with the author, are striving: "Grace, you wore the veil in Turkey, whereas I never did. You travelled incognito with your Turkish sisters, whereas I always stuck out. You felt like they were your sisters in more ways than