Engendering Security and Development Discourse: Feminist Scholarship on Gender and Globalization in the Philippines

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ABSTRACT

In recent years, many feminist writers in the Philippines have analysed the nexus between gender, globalization, development and security issues. In this paper I draw parallels between Philippine and Western feminist insights on gender and globalization. I provide an analysis of Philippine feminist writings on development and security issues, and especially their critique of the processes of globalisation.

RÉSUMÉ

Au cours des dernières années plusieurs écrivaines féministes philipppines ont fait le lien entre les hommes et les femmes, la mondialisation, et les questions de développement et de sécurité. Dans cet article je fais le parallèle entre les vues qu'ont les féministes des Philippines et de l'Occident sur les hommes et les femmes, et la mondialisation. Je fais l'analyse des écrits féministes philippines sur les questions de développppement et de sécurité, en particulier leur critique des processus de mondialisation.

INTRODUCTION

"The world now has the know-how, the infrastructure, the material abundance and the intellectual capacity to make the earth a green and pleasant place where all can live in dignity. Why, when we are at last able to create a kind of paradise, create a hell?" - George (1996, 14)

The above quote from Susan George, author of the landmark book, *How the Other Half Dies, the Real Reasons for World Hunger*, captures the core of the anti-globalization critique developed by organised women in Asia. Like other critics of globalist forces, these women have been challenging the dominant discourse on the desirability of the neo-liberal agenda. Their critique is based on their understanding of the connection between economic crises, structural adjustment and poverty, on the one hand, and globalization, security and development, on the other. The separation of security and development studies has been reinforced by the association of the former with state-military's interests and the focus of the latter on people-centred development concerns.

In this paper I examine how Philippine feminist advocates and scholars understand the gendering of, and nexus between, globalization, development and security. This body of literature has been largely written by Filipino women's studies professors and feminist activists who often work collaboratively in the academe, mainstream NGO community, and in feminist organisations.[1]

The Philippines is considered to have a vibrant civil society, and is a big supplier of consultants and development workers to other countries and international NGOs. Feminist advocates in the Philippines are mostly academics in university or college-based women's studies units, former student activists, community organisers, development NGO workers in women's organisations, and research institutes. Some are bureaucrats based in the government women's machinery (for example, the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women - NCRFW), and in line departments (for example, Agrarian Reform, Social Welfare and Development). While this paper could not provide a lengthy discussion of the history and ideological tendencies of women's studies and its connection with the women's movement in the Philippines, there are a number of studies on these topics to help put the paper's arguments in proper context (Angeles 1988 & 1989; Guerrero, Patron

and Leyesa 1996; Santos-Maranan 1987).

The analysis of feminist writings on gender and (anti)globalization in the Philippines provides an interesting case study in capturing the responses of feminist public intellectuals to globalization and development discourses. This paper hopes to contribute to debates in these feminist circles by pointing out some theoretical and methodological issues in Philippine feminist writings that have important implications for current thinking about globalization and gender studies and for future research agenda. Despite some differences and multiple positions offered by Filipino feminist scholars on specific issues, there is some common ground in the analytical and methodological approaches they use in their research. Such analysis is relevant to a wider audience concerned with both the uncritical acceptance of the inevitability of harsh realities induced by globalization, particularly its impacts on the poor, and the potential for creating a counter-hegemony that makes global development interventions work in the interest of the public good. Comparative research on the impact of globalization on women and women's collective responses to globalization and global security issues would also benefit from specific country case studies. The data presented in this study is based on Filipino and foreign scholars writing on the Philippines from the early 1980s up to early 2001. The survey has also benefited from annotated bibliographies and reviews, (Pineda-Ofreneo et al. 1996; Francisco 1990), national women's studies and development journals,[2] publications of women NGOs (for example *Women in Action* of ISIS Women's International, *Piglas Diwa* of the Centre for Women's Resource) and umbrella organisations (for example, GABRIELA and Freedom from Debt Coalition). I have also made use of the visual material developed by oppositional feminist publications.[3]

THE GENDER DIMENSION OF GLOBALIZATION, SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSES

Feminist scholars in the Philippines and elsewhere who have introduced gender as a category of analysis in international relations (IR) and international political economy (IPE) point to the need to examine our *gendered construction* of world security and development trends (Beckman and D'Amico 1994; Enloe 1990 & 1995; Eviota 1991; Illo and Pineda 1999; Kwiatkowski 1998; Peterson and Runyan 1993; Pettman 1996; Santiago 1993). They argue that our ways of formulating foreign policy and thinking about global development, security and peace are influenced by gender relations, identities, and ideologies. Security discussions are often based on an androcentric and undifferentiated norm implicit in the analyses of "high politics" - state preservation, regime legitimacy, political violence, political stability, policing, intelligence, surveillance, militarism - a masculinised discourse that is often seen as universal. The concept of national security, as traditionally defined in IR, has excluded women and reinforced gender hierarchies. Defined as weak beings to be protected by men and the state, women have little power over the conditions of their protection and thus have an ambiguous relationship to questions of national security. While realists within IR have constructed security discourses based on masculine values and behaviour, feminists view security in multilevel and multidimensional terms. They recognise women's contributions to society and affirm life-giving qualities, based on the elimination of all forms of violence, including those produced by gender domination, racial oppression, and economic, ecological, or political subjugation (Bandarage 1997; Eviota 1991; Francisco 1990; Francisco and Vitan 1999; Illo and Pineda-Ofreneo 1999; Tickner 1992).

There is a strong parallel between feminist critiques of development and globalization, which many understand to be the logical extension of global capitalist development. Feminists have long contributed to uncovering the "male bias" in the development process, suggesting that its impacts are not gender-neutral. This bias "operates in favour of men as a gender, and against women as a gender" which does not imply that all men are biased against women, nor that all men benefit from this bias (Elson 1991, 3). The gendered impacts of development trends are supported by the unconscious perceptions and habits of men and women - by denial of women's interests in favour of men and children, by oversight and by making faulty assumptions about women's economic contributions. For example, the assumption that

women's unpaid reproductive labour is elastic and will continue during resource shortfalls, regardless of the way resources are allocated, is reflected in public policy and everyday attitudes (Banzon-Bautista and Dungo 1987; Illo 1995 & 1999; Illo and Pineda-Ofreneo 1999). This "male bias" simultaneously preserves women's subordination and serves as a barrier to development goals, as it distorts resource allocation by denying women access to productive inputs (for example credit, employment), thus lowering women's productivity and reducing total growth of output (Elson 1991, 6-7 & 1992, 47-49; Floro 1995). It has been demonstrated that women in the Philippines and other countries bear the greatest costs of development policies, including those from trade liberalisation and structural adjustment programmes (Afshar and Dennis 1992; Aslanbegui, Pressman and Summerfield 1994; Bakker 1994; Beneria and Feldman 1992; Floro 1995; Floro and Schaefer 1998; Francisco and Vitan 1999; Illo 1999; Illo and Pineda-Ofreneo 1999; Pineda-Ofreneo 1998; Santos-Maranan 1995; Sparr 1994). Realising this has led femininsts to challenge the development implications of gender hierarchy, our production of knowledge about development, and women's representation in development discourse (Harcourt 1994; Kabeer 1994; Kwiatkowski 1998; Marchand and Parpart 1995; St. Hilaire 1993).

More recently, feminist researchers in the Philippines and elsewhere have argued that mainstream studies on globalization, development and security tend to be blind to gender differential impacts (Illo and Pineda-Ofreneo 1999; Marchand and Runyan 2000; Parrenas 2001). Bergeron suggests two positions regarding subjectivity and resistance in the literature on the political economy of globalization: the "global imperative approach" which proposes global resistance movements to counter the logic of capitalism, and the "national management approach" which is based on the idea that global capital still provides some power to nation-states, including the power to resist globalization (2001). Anti-globalization critics in the Philippines, who often take the first approach, argue that increased global economic integration in the name of "development" is only an extension of the hegemony of capitalism, which produces greater insecurity in local communities and women's lives (Illo and Pineda-Ofreneo 1999; Pineda-Ofreneo

1998; Santos-Maranan 1995; Taguiwalo 1998). Thus, feminist advocates often introduce the qualifier "human" to reframe and broaden market-oriented development and military-oriented security discussions. In re-framing the discourse by using "human security" and "human development," feminists insist that "women are not half-human," a continuation of earlier international discourses on women's human rights.

Security is now broadly defined not just in terms of military concerns and state or regime preservation, but also in terms of human, economic, and environmental sustainability. Human development captures the ultimate goal of development, which is to expand people's capabilities, increase their ability to lead long and healthy lives, develop talents and interests, and live in dignity and with self-respect (Griffin and Khan 1992, 1). "Development" still remains a highly contested concept, as there are Filipino and Western scholars who either associate "development" with negative elements or recast debates within "sustainable development" frameworks. Writing on the Philippines, for example, Kwiatkowski sees nothing but evil, greed and malice in the content and intent of international development (1998, 19), while Lindio-McGovern imagines the possibility of redefining and reclaiming "development" as the "political empowerment" of women through the Freirian process of "conscientisation" (1998, 21-22).

Human security and development goals, however, are elusive because of the dominance of neo-liberalism and its mirror image, globalization. Feminists often critique Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade-World Trade Organisation (GATT-WTO) as the "two main instruments of globalization" (Shiva 1996) that have devastating impacts on women's livelihood and food security. Parallel to the insights on gender and the globalization of food systems in North America (Brandt 1999), they argue that food security at the national, global, household and community levels could not be adequately examined without looking at women's roles in agricultural production and food marketing systems (Chavez-Malaluan 1999; Shiva 1996) and patriarchal attitudes that discriminate against women during times of food scarcity (Thomas 1987, 93 & 104). Trade liberalisation and

export-oriented industrialisation policies are believed to be "incompatible" with food security (George 1996), increasing the "calibre of destruction" (Shiva 1996) of women's livelihoods, and causing a "breakdown in relations" (Mies 1996) between food security, trade and women's (re)productive roles (Chavez-Malaluan 1999; Illo 1999).

Feminist advocates also connect development goals and women's physical security or personal safety, especially in conflict areas. Philippine women's studies on reproductive rights (Estrada-Claudio 1999; Fabros, Paguntalan, Arches and Guia-Padilla 1998), and armed conflict and peace-building (Angeles 2001c; Sajor 1998; Santiago 1993) have connected women's rights, militarization, (in)security, and development issues. Sen (1998) argues that development interventions must seriously consider domestic and other forms of violence against women, which impede women's active participation in community development programmes and projects. Security experts in the field of international relations would wince at this expansion of the meaning of security, which does not deal exclusively with national state interests and military power. This treatment of women in state-imposed security measures perpetuates women's subordination, best seen in interventions linking women's fertility, food security and population growth. Security experts who see "overpopulation" as the main problem view fertility control as the key to world food security. They view women in poor countries as objects (or "targets" - a common military term) of population control programs, who could be sterilised, inserted with intrauterine devices, or injected with experimental vaccines. On the contrary, feminists do not see population growth as the fundamental issue, but rather as an exacerbating factor in the deepening contradictions between militarism, capitalism, reproductive rights, and food security (Bandarage 1997; Estrada-Claudio 1999; Fabros, Paguntalan, Arches and Guia-Padilla 1998).

Gendered insecurity is a function of global trends related to increased economic restructuring (ARENA 1995b; Floro 1995; Illo and Pineda-Ofreneo 1999), industrialisation and changing conditions of women's employment (Angeles 2001a; Chant and McIlwaine 1995). Echoing parallel insights from other countries

(Bakker 1994 & 1996; Beneria and Feldman 1992; Elson 1991; Sparr 1994), Filipino feminist writers argue that the costs of economic restructuring have not been distributed equally between the sexes and classes, as societies become more market-oriented (Floro and Shaefer 1998; Illo and Pineda-Ofreneo 1999; Illo 1999; Lim 2000a & 2000b; Santos-Maranan 1995, Taguiwalo 1998). Women from the poorer social classes have been found to make the greatest sacrifices, the "shock-absorbers" in times of crisis. Philippine economic restructuring has increased women's poverty and unemployment rates, widened male-female wage differentials, decreased formal sector employment opportunities for women, and increased women's integration into the informal sector and overseas migration as responses to crisis-related restructuring. The global migration of Filipino women as domestic workers, entertainers, and brides have increased insecurity in women's lives (Beltran and Javate-De Dios 1992; Beltran and Rodriguez 1996; Chant and McIlwaine 1995; Cruz and Paganoni 1989; Eviota 1991; Holt 1996; Osteria 1994; Parrenas 2001; Samonte and Carlota 1995).

More recently, several writers have analysed the differential effects of globalization-induced crises on gender in light of the 1997 financial crisis (Illo and Pineda-Ofreneo 1999; Knowles et al. 1999). Balisacan (1999a & 1999b) and Lim (2000a & 2000b) have given quantitative validation to these assertions as well as providing anecdotal evidences in recent analyses. Long before the onset of the 1997 Asian economic crisis, Filipino feminists had been examining "development" impacts on women (Eviota 1991), particularly the debt crisis (FDC 1994; Santos and Lee 1988). Since the 1970s, the Philippines has accumulated huge foreign debts to finance its massive infrastructure and economic expansion program. The initial opening for feminist analysis of crisis and global restructuring came in the early 1980s when the Philippines became a laboratory of SAPs, supervised by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank (IMF-WB). SAPs typically involve policies on trade and investment liberalisation, currency devaluation to increase export competitiveness, deregulation or removal of government subsidies and support prices for goods and services, privatisation of public corporations, and fiscal reforms to increase tax revenues. The

Philippines debt burden became unmanageable in the face of falling world commodity prices, industrial stagnation, heavy corruption, and opposition to the Marcos regime, prior to the recession of 1983-1985, which was worse than the 1997 economic crisis. Hence, Filipino feminists generally view recurring crises as symptomatic of fundamental political and economic problems that SAPs purport to address. They agree with economic analyses (Bello et al. 1982; Lim and Nozawa 1991) that SAPs rarely address these fundamental problems, and may even worsen them, because they often ignore the market imperfections and distortions in developing countries where political rent-seeking is strong.

Filipino feminist activists are aware of the gendering of globalization discourse on the "race to the bottom." In workshops, rallies, political manifestoes, and other writings, they articulate the connection between the sales pitch of the Philippine government to foreign investors attracted to cheap labour, and to foreign tourists, most male, attracted to cheap beer and sex (Pagaduan 1993; Santos 1992; Santos-Maranan 1995). In their translocal imagery, there is a connection between making the country "alluring" to foreign capital where "business, pleasures and privileges unfold" according to brochures of the Philippine Economic Zone Authority (see Figure 1) and making its women "alluring" to international tourism. Here, the "race to the bottom," i.e., chase for cheaper wages, low production costs, low environmental standards, etc., takes on another meaning, i.e., the race to women's and children's bottoms by pedophiles and sex tourism consumers. The International Labour Organisation report (1998) claims that the Philippines has half a million prostitutes, the highest in Southeast Asia. This number is more than twice the 1997 total direct employment in the four government-owned export processing zones (114,835 employees) and in the nineteen private industrial zones (183,828 jobs) in the country (PEZA 1998). This perspective parallels what Gibson-Graham (1996) called the "rape script" representation of globalization, where "capitalist penetration" is likened to "a rape that cannot be avoided or contested" (Bergeron 2001, 997).

The effects of globalization-induced crisis on women and girl children are best captured in the title of the book, *Carrying the Burden of the World*,

edited by Illo and Pineda-Ofreneo (1999). This imagery is echoed on the cover of the "Women and Globalization" special issue of *Women in Action* published by the Manila-based ISIS Women's International (see Figure 2) where young girls balance familiar emblems and factories, along with logos of familiar name brands of multinational corporations. Popular educational materials produced by the Freedom from Debt Coalition (FDC) represent the burdens imposed by SAPs on the Filipino family and the nation in strongly nationalist overtones. In Figure 3, we see the Filipino woman-as-nation wearing the Philippine flag and declaring with resolve her desire to take action by transforming herself into *Darna*, the Filipino equivalent of Wonder Woman. She would save the nation and family from the clutches of the hybrid crocodile-pig monsters, the IMF-WB and their domestic collaborators, represented by the money-grabbing pig wearing the *Barong Tagalog*, the national dress for men. On the back of the same brochure, the enemies International Monetary Fund and the World Bank as "crocodile-monsters" imposing SAPs, are crushed and securely tied to a tree by a jubilant group of women-saviours (see Figure 4).

Filipino feminists want to reclaim the definition of development that sees globalization as working against the goal of "sustainable human development" (Hammond 2001, 102-103). As global market indicators signal the start of economic recession in the first half of 2001, analysts view the billions of the world's poor to represent "globalization's real market opportunity" (Christensen, Craig, Hart 2001, 92). Herein lies the core of feminist critique against globalization, which sees the poor, particularly poor women, as potential consumers who need to be integrated into global markets. It is ironic that whereas before, globalization was seen as the *saviour of the world's poor*, but with the impending disruption in the capital accumulation process, the poor are now deemed as the *saviour of globalization*. This discourse on how the poor could save globalization is not only an affront to the poor and their uneasy relationship with globalization; it also fails to address why the poor *should* save globalization and how the poor can *transform* globalization to serve their interests.

PHILIPPINE FEMINIST SCHOLARSHIP
ON GENDER AND GLOBALIZATION

This section identifies some key analytical and methodological elements of Filipino feminist writings on gender and globalization. This exercise is important largely because Philippine women's studies scholars have also been writing about their feminist research methodologies and experiences (Guerrero 1997 & 1999; Francisco and Vitan 1999). These valuable contributions contain original reflections on feminist research methods in the Philippines: e.g., life history, discourse analysis and ethnography. However, these writings are silent on the methodological frameworks used by feminists writing on globalization and structural adjustment, even though these are being written by the same group of women's studies faculty who are familiar with the work of their colleagues. In other words, while there are well-developed critiques of globalization and feminist research methods in the Philippines, there are only sketchy reflections on feminist methodologies on gender and globalization research (Pineda-Ofreneo 1998).

It is interesting to note that Filipino feminists rarely make reference to mainstream writings on globalization, except for a few written by economists at the University of the Philippines, notably the works of Joseph Lim and Emmanuel de Dios. They rarely cite, much less tackle, the mainstream works of economists and colleagues at the University of the Philippines such as Raul Fabella, Cristina David, Florian Alburo, Ponciano Intal, Solita Monsod, Gonzalo Jurado, and Manuel Montes. For example, a landmark anthology on globalization edited by Paderanga (1996) was not mentioned in the Illo and Pineda-Ofreneo collection (1999) even though they were published at the same University Centre. This not because Filipino academic scholars lack the intellectual curiosity or follow the Catholic advice "not to tell the left hand what the right hand is doing." This is because Filipino feminist scholars are addressing themselves to a particular audience, and view their work to be relevant to, and inspired by, grassroots women's initiatives. They are also less influenced by economic assumptions of methodological individualism and optimising individual behaviour, including those using gender analysis in economics (Chavez-Malaluan 1999; Durano and San Jose

1999; Illo 1999). Philippine neo-classical economics tradition also has the "methodological unity" not found in other social science disciplines and sees itself as eclectic and malleable enough to absorb new ideas based on the discipline's paradigm (Banzon-Bautista 1998). However, there has been limited evidence that mainstream Philippine economic studies have been incorporating feminist economic perspectives, save for the recent works by Lim (1998) on the impacts of the 1997 economic crises on gender and employment. Thus, there is limited debate between mainstream Filipino economists and feminist social scientists. This dynamic contributes to the "two solitudes" between feminists writing on the economy, and economists only vaguely familiar with feminist work.

How do Filipino feminist scholars and activists analyse globalization and crisis-induced structural adjustment? There are at least four types of overlapping analytical frameworks used by Filipino feminists. First is their common use of the "differential impact" model. The differential impact of globalization on women, men, and children shows how structural adjustment programmes and recurring crises exacerbate the poverty situation, women's economic burdens and gender inequity (ARENA 1995b; Illo and Pineda-Ofreneo 1999; Lim 2000a & 2000b). Hart drew attention to the pitfalls of the "impact model" in the study of globalization and its disabling discourse on dualism: i.e., the "local" versus "global," "time" versus "space," etc. (1999). In the Philippine context, such dualism seems necessary because of the political imperative to connect local activism and global solidarity with other countries, and to identify nationalist interests as opposed to global corporate interests. Hence, postmodernism has not captivated many Filipino feminists who largely cling to the modernist ideals of justice, equality and human rights, and prefer the construction of a unitary and coherent group of oppressed women and poor classes who take strategic political action.

Second is the use of the "sectoral approach" or sector-based research and advocacy for women in different sectors or job categories: for example, industrial manufacturing workers, peasants, overseas migrant workers, health workers, indigenous women, teachers and other government service workers (Illo and Pineda-Ofreneo 1999; Francisco and Vitan 1999). This approach links

academic scholarship to popular social movements that utilise sector-based organising and policy advocacy. This approach could pose constraints to the deepening of current understanding of cross-sectoral themes and issues emerging in the light of globalization. The emphasis on gender concerns within sector-based research and advocacy NGOs also gets diluted, as their existing gender desks or women's programmes tend to lack influence over the content of overall programmes and organisational direction (Francisco 1999, 21). There is also unevenness in sector-based feminist research. For example, while the feminisation of overseas migrant labour and industrial export industries have been well-studied, the gendered manifestations of globalization in the service industries (for example, fast-food employment, teaching, computer-related occupations) and agricultural sector (for example, farmland conversion, trade liberalization, and GATT policies) are relatively understudied.

Third is the emphasis on women's "culture of ingenuity" - their strategies of "coping, adjusting, adapting" and of informal "social safety nets" organised around the privatisation and precariousness of daily survival. Gender-blind poverty studies in the Philippines in the 1970s have been remedied by women's studies scholars who have documented poor women's survival and coping strategies. There is debate, of course, on how the results of these studies could be used for either conservative or progressive ends, especially considering that many of the studies are "donor-driven," or initiated and shaped by the "flavour of the month" agenda of international funding agencies (Francisco 1999).

Fourth is the examination of women's anti-capitalist politics and non-capitalist economic practices in light of global trends: i.e., their active response within institutional frameworks, in the form of co-operatives, credit associations, political organisations, etc., that operate outside of the state and formal economy. This line of inquiry has been used in several works on women's alternative political actions (Kwiatkowski 1998; Lindio-McGovern 1998; Pagaduan n.d.; Quesada and Lau 1996; Rosa 1994).

Much of the feminist writing that offers critiques of development and globalization carries strong nationalist overtones. In a globalizing world where issues of "nationalist interest" are being replaced by reference to issues of "human rights" and "good governance," Filipino feminists are confronted with the question of how best to sharpen their challenge to globalization trends without invoking the fictive identity of the "nation" and the equally contentious "national interests." Likewise, Filipino scholars and advocates are increasingly challenged by postmodernist analyses that do not share the meta-narratives of nationalist and revolutionary discourse. Can Filipino feminists still frame their questions and thinking about globalization in critical terms without falling into the trap of appealing to nationalist sentiments, or using a nationalist perspective that tends to erase gender, ethnicity, and other non-class elements of social change? Is it possible to imagine a future where globalization could also work in the interest of poor women and other disempowered groups?

ANALYTICAL GAPS IN FEMINIST RESEARCH ON GENDER AND GLOBALIZATION

There are five analytical gaps that feminist scholars could address in their academic scholarship, and search for meaningful development policy interventions. Filling these gaps may constitute a tentative feminist research agenda on gender and globalization relevant to the Philippines and other countries.

First is the tendency in Philippine scholarship to conflate neo-liberalism and globalization, and the problem of attribution when linking poverty, crisis, SAPs and globalization. In many feminist writings, there tends to be a conflation between *neo-liberalism as an economic ideology and agenda* (budget cutbacks, privatisation, trade liberalisation, etc.) and *globalization as a process*, which has cultural, political, social, not just economic dimensions, and has both negative and positive consequences. Some analysts have pointed out that globalization has a Janus-face: "one is smiling and promising; the other looks less attractive, if not threatening" (Bonvin 1997, 39). Filipino scholars seem to see more of the "dark side" of globalization, as they often argue that there is no reason to expect that globalization and the neo-liberal ideology driving its process could be expected to produce social equality or better

conditions for marginalised women and the poor. This argument is supported by macro and micro economic trends that demonstrate increased income inequality in Asian and Latin American countries experiencing increased global economic integration. There is however rare reference to the conditions under which globalization, particularly access to technology, could be utilised by disempowered groups to demand change (George 1999; Hammond 2001). There are also few analyses of how middle-class and working women themselves are recreating and contributing to the acceleration of globalization within their spheres of influence (Stivens and Sen 1998). As argued by Amalric and Harcourt (1997, 3): "The issue is not whether globalization is good or bad... The questions to be asked are: What can we do about this? How can we become engaged, and in the process, find new allies?"

Second is the failure among some Filipino advocates to distinguish between *structural adjustment as a process* accompanying global economic restructuring, and *structural adjustment as a package of policies and programmes* meant to address the demands of restructuring. Such conflation could lead to a problem of attribution in feminist literature in linking gender inequalities and crisis. In relating SAPs to poverty and the economic crisis, it is crucial to look at the *timing of SAPs*. This suggests that the character and intentions of specific policies within SAPs may be viewed in two ways. First, as *fiscal austerity measures* that are adopted in response to specific crisis situations; and second, as *structural reforms* that do not necessarily respond to a crisis situation, but are nevertheless intended to reallocate resources, reassert the supremacy of markets, and re-engineer bureaucracies, which may involve social policy reforms. The implication of this distinction is that feminist scholars need to be more careful in suggesting that all elements of SAPs are bad, without first clarifying the distribution of costs and benefits of specific elements of the SAP package and process.

Third, while there are already a number of studies that deal with experiences of the perils and prospects of gender mainstreaming in Philippine government and development bureaucracies (Honculada 2000; Torres and Del Rosario 1994), there is still little analytical work on the understanding of the contradictory location of state

feminists (*femocrats*), and the comparative varieties of state feminism (*femocracies*) and non-state feminisms in the Philippines and Southeast Asia. It is worthwhile to study how femocrats and femocracies contribute to the understanding of gender issues, how they view gender in the first place, how they relate to other feminist advocates operating outside of official state agencies and mechanisms, and how they contribute to social capital or cohesion, i.e., the networks of trust and cooperation, the "glue," that holds together women's organizations, their communities and their governments in this era of globalization (Angeles 1999). This is especially critical in light of the growing anxiety among women's rights advocates around the issue of how the new preoccupation around "gender and gender equality" has diluted or side-stepped the original and necessary focus on women's participation and empowerment (Baden and Goetz 1997).

The Philippine women's movement provides an interesting case study of social cohesion and social capital formation, on the one hand, and on the other, the breakdown of trust, friendships, cooperation, and coalitions within and among women's groups, as a consequence of the institutionalisation and professionalisation of feminist activism, and competition for international development funding. Well-grounded historical and sociological studies of the Philippine women's movement in the post-Marcos transition since 1986, when much international development assistance went to women NGOs, has yet to be undertaken to continue previous research on the topic (Santos-Maranan 1987; Angeles 1989). Such studies could assist Filipino feminist scholars, advocates and development activists in addressing the gaps between the realities of ordinary Filipino women, the existing political organisations and cultures that are still very much based on traditional patronage and kinship, and current feminist thinking about development alternatives. Following the argument of Fox-Genovese (1996) on how middle-class feminist elites have lost touch with the realities of working-class women, Filipino feminists are already beginning to question their own positionality and employ greater reflexivity in their research, consulting, and advocacy work.[4]

Fourth, and related to the above, is the significance of going beyond the "rape script" by

recognising the lack of unity and uniformity of global capitalism (Bergeron 2001). Feminist studies could examine cross-cultural comparisons of globalization dynamics, or what Hart (1999) calls the "multiple trajectories" of globalization in Asia. It is important to contextualise insights within the fluid and overlapping gender identities of both masculinities and femininities, and within the historical and cultural narrative of Asian societies. This is especially important when analysing cultures and localities (for example, Ladakh in northern India, northern uplands in the Philippines, and central highlands in Vietnam), where there is no history of consolidated patriarchy, where women and men publicly place greater emphasis on sex-role complementarity than on formal gender equality, on devotion to family and religion, and the ideal of domestic peace and harmony, even as some of their members argue for the expansion of sound choices for both men and women. Thus, there is a need for Filipino feminist scholars to contribute to the understanding of how men and masculinities figure in gender and development, rather than simply conflating them with women's issues (Angeles 2001b).

Fifth, while Filipino scholars have already been contributing to the study of development policies and their impacts, there is still piecemeal research on the intersections between institutions, policy, poverty and patriarchy, and between gender, citizenship, participation and governance issues in the analysis of structural adjustment and globalization, as they are played out at the local and institutional levels. The governance aspect of poverty, gender, and poverty alleviation is relatively understudied, even within the emerging feminist literature on women's relationship to international development bureaucracies (Staudt 1997; Goetz 1997) and on gender issues in participatory development (Guijt and Shah 1998; Nelson and Wright 1995). Governance issues are often associated with governments, while the governance of and by NGOs is rarely studied. There are still no comprehensive feminist analyses of regional institutions such as ASEAN, the ASEAN Free Trade Agreement (AFTA), and the Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC). Issues on gendered governance need to be analysed not only within the context of governments and formal institutions, but also within non-government

organisations and informal community institutions. As there are people, communities and groups who stand to lose, as well as gain, from the globalization game, feminist scholars could contribute to identifying the key players who ultimately share the distribution of its costs and benefits and the necessary support or interventions for those groups of women and men who have to bear much of its costs.

CONCLUSIONS

Feminist scholars have played a critical role in using gender lenses in policy analysis and shaping policy alternatives. They also have a critical role in providing a Geertzian "thick description," also called "critical ethnographies" by Hart (1999), of the private and public discourses on negotiating, bargaining, and gendering of the conditions under which "global village" people live. For example, in documenting and understanding the discourses and agencies of people and communities affected by SAPs, it is important to see SAPs both as a "social contract" (artificial and non-consensual as it seems) and as a "social construct."

The obvious parallels here between gender and SAPs and their underlying neo-liberal or economic fundamentalist philosophy is the fact that they are both socially constructed and therefore not fixed or immutable. Here it is instructive to look back to the historical origins of neo-liberalism that shaped contemporary views on globalization and development (Cohen 1997). In her paper read at the Conference on Economic Sovereignty in a Globalizing World, Susan George (1999) reminded her audience of how anyone in the 1940s and 1950s who had seriously proposed neo-liberalism "would have been laughed off the stage or sent off to the insane asylum." Neo-liberals and the power of their ideology grew from a tiny band of University of Chicago philosophers and economists who understood Gramsci's concept of "cultural hegemony - (i)f you can occupy people's heads, their hearts and hands will follow" (1999).

Several recent incidents show how the power of ideas backed by good organisation and strong public opinion could make a difference and make neo-liberals shiver. These include the defeat of the proposed Multilateral Agreement on Investments (MAI) at the Organisation for

Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD); the decision of Monsanto, the mammoth agri-business giant, to stop, or at least shelve temporarily, the marketing of its "terminator seed" varieties that make seeds sterile after planting; the series of demonstrations at the conferences of international organisations that advocate free trade and liberalisation - such as the World Trade Organisation in Seattle and Copenhagen, the Asian Development Bank Conference in Chiangmai, the Organisation of American States in Quebec, the parallel NGO rallies at the World Economic Forum of the corporate and government elites in Davos, Switzerland, and the Davos counterpart NGO-led World Social Summit in Porto Alegre, Brazil. As George (1999) stated her plea to feminists and development advocates in a Bangkok conference:

> ...please remember that neo-liberalism may be insatiable but it is not invulnerable. Look at it this way. We have the numbers on our side, because there are far more losers than winners in the neo-liberal game. We have the ideas, whereas theirs are coming into question because of repeated crisis. What we lack

so far is the organisation and the unity, which in this age of technology we can overcome. The threat is clearly transnational so the response must also be transnational. Solidarity no longer means aid, or not just aid, but finding the hidden synergies in each other's struggles so that our numerical force and the power of our ideas become overwhelming.

The Gramscian appeal for the "pessimism of the intellect" to give way to the "optimism of the will" suggests that a "counter-culture" to the cultural hegemony of neo-liberalism is possible. Such a possibility could become a reality when people are well-organised, immune to the dazzling opportunities for self-aggrandisement available in the global era, and prepared to live by the principles of social equity and justice. Feminist scholars could find more effective ways of communicating their ideas not only to the larger public, but also to their academic colleagues when they are neither gender-blind, nor blinded by gender, nor blind to cutting-edge information in their respective fields of study.

ENDNOTES

2. Among those surveyed are articles in *Review of Women's Studies* published by the Centre for Women's Studies at the University of the Philippines, *Lila Women's Studies Journal* published by the Institute for Women's Studies at St. Scholastica's College, and *CSWCD Development Journal* published by the College of Social Work and Community Development at the University of the Philippines.

3. My paper is limited because I have not captured local-level responses to globalization from grassroots organisations and unorganised women in the Philippines and Filipino immigrants overseas. I also did not carry out more systematic interviews with feminist public intellectuals themselves who might qualify some of their published views on the topic.

4. Here, of course, I am aware of my own position as a Filipino academic and feminist advocate teaching gender and development courses in a North American university to a predominantly white student population, who has now the luxury of time and resources to critique my colleagues' works. This awareness of my positionality also presents challenges in negotiating identities and terms of collaboration with colleagues based in Canada, the Philippines, and other Asian countries. But that is another story.
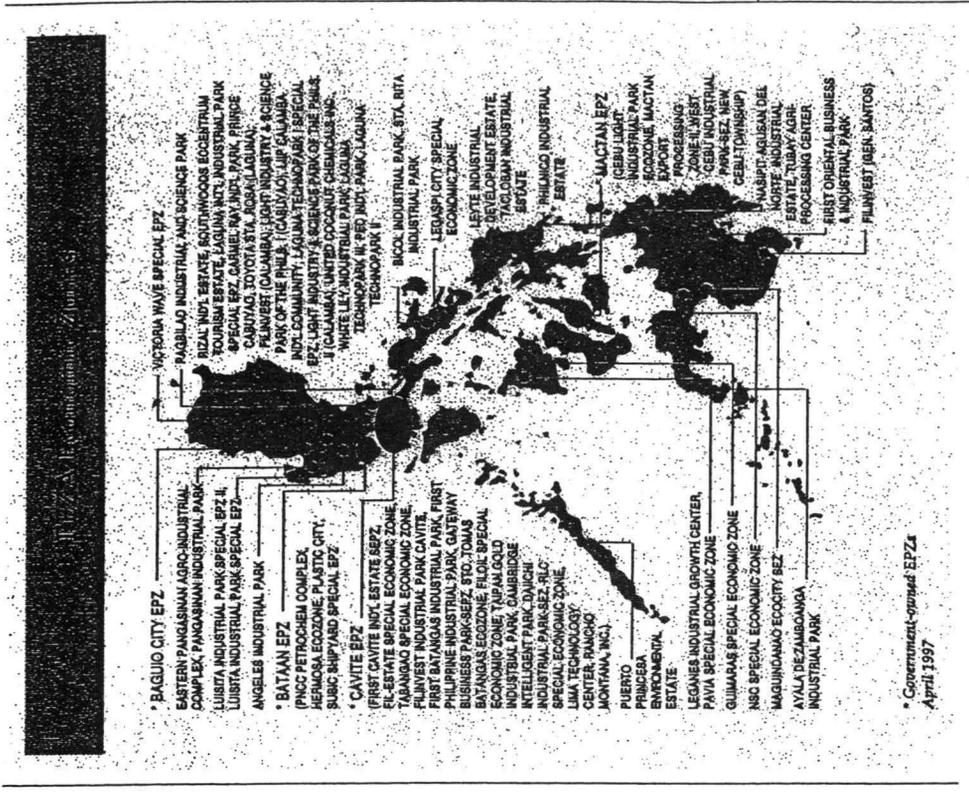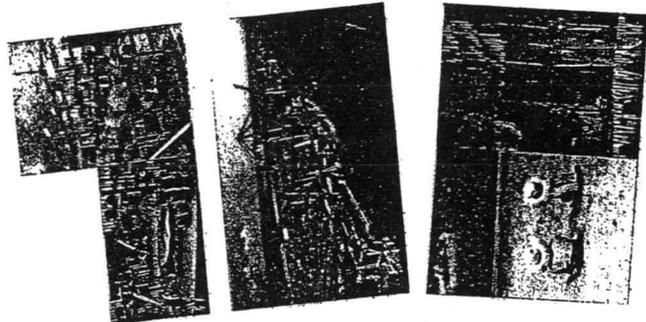
Figure 1. The Philippines, particularly the CALABARZON (Cavite, Laguna, Batangas, Rizal, Quezon region), is marketed by the Philippine Economic Zone Authority as an ideal destination for investors, where "business, pleasures and privileges unfold" (left). The country is now host to four government owned EPZs and several private industrial zones which provide attractive incentives to investors, property and infrastructure developers alike (right). *Source: Philippine Economic Zone Authority and CALABARZON Coordinating Council, Board of Investments, Department of Trade and Industry. Manila, Philippines.*

WOMEN
in Action

No. 3, 1997

Global Subjects: How Did We Get Here?

Paying the Price: Are the Security Nets
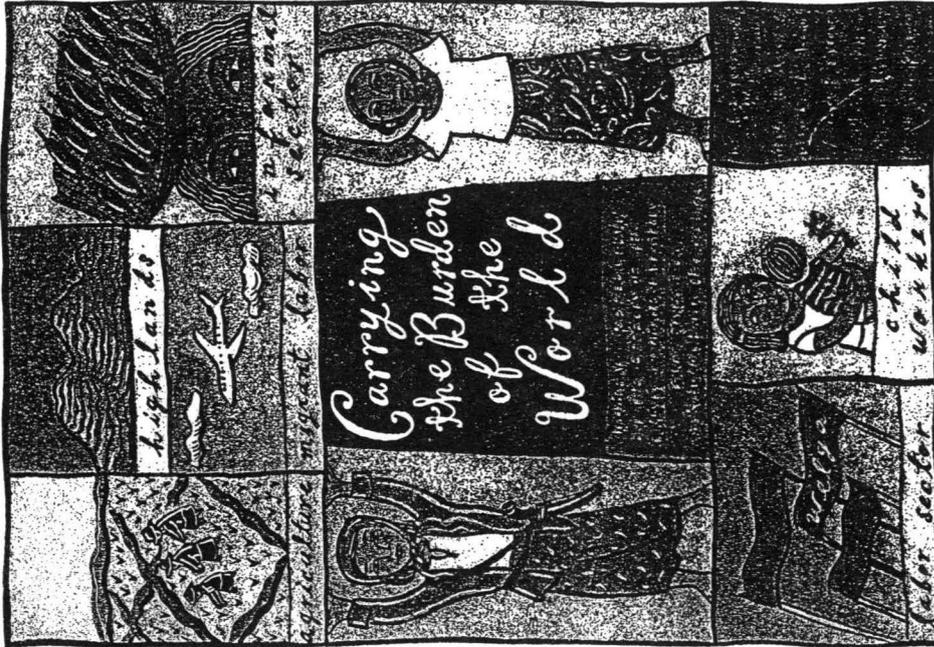Really There?

Chronicle of Colonization

Figure 2. Cover of the book, *Carrying the Burden of the World*, edited by Illo and Pineda-Ofreneo (left). *Cover Design: Joanne de Leon and Ariel Manuel.* Cover of the "Women and Globalization" special issue of *Women in Action* published by the Manila-based ISIS Women's International (right). Courtesy of University of the Phillipines Centre for Integrative and Development Studies and Irene Chia, ISIS-Manila

Figure 3. Nationalist iconography in popular education brochures that are critical of Structural Adjustment Programmes. The Filipino woman-as-nation in a dress with the Philippine flag motif wants to transform herself into *Darna*, the Filipino equivalent of Wonder Woman, who would save the nation and family from the hybrid crocodile-pig monsters, the IMF-WB and their domestic collaborators, represented by the money-grabbing pig wearing the *Barong Tagalog*, the national dress for men. Courtesy of Freedom from Debt Coalition, Quezon City.
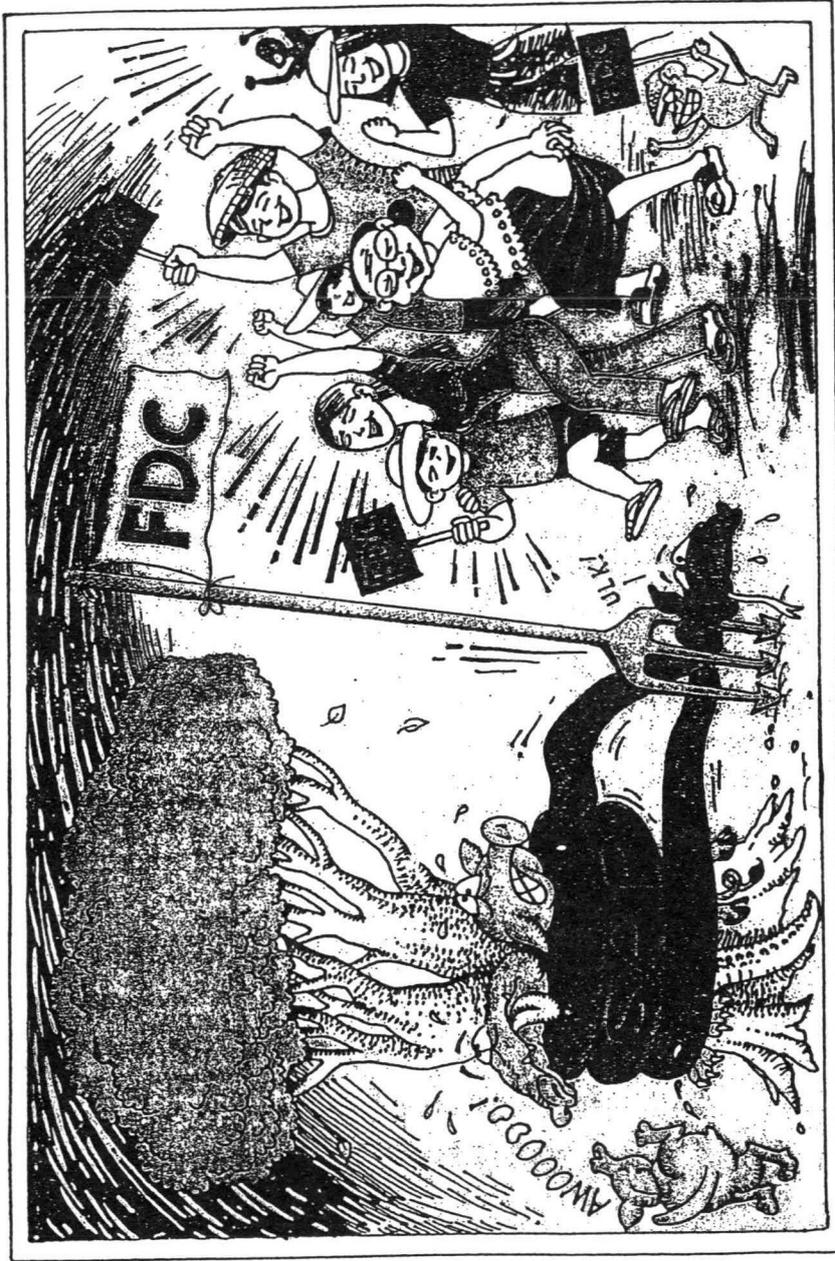
Figure 4. The back of the same brochure in Figure 3 shows the enemies Structural Adjustment Programmes as crocodile-pig monsters crushed and securely tied to a tree by a jubilant group of women-saviours. Courtesy of Freedom from Debt Coalition, Quezon City.

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