

## GLOBALIZATION: FROM HISTORY TO HERSTORY\*

By Rosalinda Pineda Ofreneo\*\*

As the country commemorates the centennial of the Philippine Revolution and the founding of the first Philippine Republic, it is also under the throes of globalization which is erasing national boundaries and eroding the powers of the nation-state. Given this context, Filipinas today are confronted with two big challenges:

- > first, to make women visible in Philippine history, surfacing their long buried contributions to the making of a nation; and
- > second, to grapple with the megatrend called globalization which is fast transforming their lives, often without their knowledge and consent.

For much of history has been written by the victors, in our case, by the colonial powers, and later by the colonial-minded historiographers. *It was only in the last three decades or so when nationalist historians came to the fore to produce history books from the point of view of the Filipino people. Such books were a clear advance but they suffered from gender-blindness: there were hardly any women in them.* In the late eighties and the nineties, this flaw began to be addressed by women historians and others in women's studies who retrieved what women had done in the past and thus made them more visible. *This is the thread that is now being picked up by many women during the centennial celebrations, in the hope that a colorful tapestry bearing our collective "herstory" can finally be woven.*

Also in the eighties and nineties, the country was caught in the wave of globalization through the structural adjustment programs imposed by the World Bank and the IMF, the new level of liberalization inaugurated by the GATT-WTO regime, the overarching goal of "global competitiveness" advanced by the Ramos administration, and its wholehearted hosting and support for the APEC processes. A flood of materials on globalization, both positive and negative, has descended upon the country, again hardly mentioning women. But as it became clearer that most

women stand to lose in the game called globalization, another "herstory" began to emerge. *This paper seeks to capture this narrative, which includes women's perspectives, experiences, and initiatives as regards the new and often bewildering trends now enveloping their lives.*

### Understanding Globalization

Globalization is a complex process which has many facets, among which the more important for the Philippines are: economic integration, political marginalization on the part of the South, cultural homogenization, environmental degradation, and international migration.

**Economic Integration.** Globalization is often understood primarily as the closer integration of the world economy due to the increasing internationalization of production and consumption. It is a product of the "revolution in microelectronics, computer science, telecommunications, and biotechnology" which has facilitated the linking of various phases of the production and marketing process increasingly dispersed throughout the globe (ILO,1996:2). Capital, technology, and goods flow fast and freely across national borders.

The most important trends (Medalla et al,1997) in this connection are the following:

- 1) "very rapid rise in world trade during the last two decades," with exports as ratio of world output increasing from 10-20%;
- 2) increasing importance of services, e.g., information and communication, finance and insurance, tourism, transportation, etc., in world trade, compared to the two other categories of internationally traded products: manufactures, and primary commodities (minerals and agricultural products);
- 3) "rapid globalization of stock and financial markets," as evidenced by the dramatic increase (from US\$7.5 billion in 1989 to US\$35.8 billion in 1993) in portfolio investments to developing countries (Igaya,1997) -- In the Philippine Stock Exchange, foreigners account for more than one in seven transactions; and,
- 4) "Increasing borderlessness of both production and consumption.."

\*Paper prepared for the Roundtable Discussion on "Globalization: From History to Herstory," sponsored by the National Centennial Commission-Women Sector (NCC-WS) through the Women and Development Program, College of Social Work and Community Development (CSWCD), University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City, September 30, 1997.

\*\*Dr. Ofreneo is an Associate Professor and former Coordinator of the Women and Development Program, CSWCD, University of the Philippines.

The key players under globalization are still the transnational corporations, which still control the lion's share of world trade. Such corporations are "usually large, concentrated in resources, and even integrated." But small firms can also be considered global firms when they are part of a network where "production processes and their components are spread out globally and any one of the firms along the chain does the product completion" (Alburo, in Paderanga, 1997:10). Thus, "Different parts of a product are produced in different countries and are then assembled in still another country. Suppliers come from one set of countries while financing is generated from still another set of countries" (Briones, 1997:2).

This, however, does not mean that global firms no longer have any national characteristics. They do. The strongest among them "act more cohesively, in close cooperation with their respective governments, to assault or defend markets" (Bello, 1997:5). This is competition at its most intense.

For example, it has become quite clear that the US and the business interests it represents stand to gain the most from globalization, which is why the US is trying to dominate both the GATT-WTO and APEC. While imposing unilateral measures to protect its own market, the US is seeking to prevent other countries from acting in the same way by invoking the principle of free trade. This is expectedly generating reactions from Japan, the European states, and countries of the South.

On another plane, many Northern governments, despite the neo-liberal ideology of reducing the role of the state in economic matters, still heavily subsidize their agricultural products. These then become very cheap and when dumped into the markets of developing countries, local products cannot compete. *This puts domestic agricultural production in crisis, endangering food security.*

**Political Marginalization of the South.** It is in the South where globalization as a political process really reduces the role of the nation state in deciding the direction of development. Parallel to this is the "qualitative strengthening of the institutions of global

economic governance." The main mechanism for this has been the debt trap, whereby highly indebted countries are compelled to undergo structural adjustment programs in exchange for more loans. In the words of one expert:

Via structural adjustment programs, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund became, in effect, the most influential economic actors in close to 100 Southern and Eastern European countries, imposing on all one universal model of economic reform designed to radically expand the role of the market and radically reduce the economic role of the state. And, in the middle of this decade, the World Trade Organization (WTO) was created to implement a massively expanded set of rule for world trade agreed upon at the historic GATT Uruguay Round (Bello, 1997).

Power is increasingly concentrated at the apex of the world trade and financial system without public accountability. "Capitalist triumphalism" was ushered in by the collapse of the socialist states in Eastern Europe, which formerly served as allies of the South in dealing with the new expansionism of the former colonial powers. The end of the Cold War in the early nineties "removed a large cause of investment uncertainty throughout the world" and "the make-over of former socialist into capitalist economies opened large locational and marketing opportunities for global firms" (de Dios, 1997). Nevertheless, weapons of mass destruction, instead of being eliminated, still continue to be tested, produced, and deployed. Militarization threatens to worsen as competing countries find even more reason to arm themselves to defend their existing and expanding economic interests.

**Cultural homogenization.** Cultural influences from the North "are transmitted through the media -- whose impact has been intensified by the spread of television, through the advertising of consumer products associated with affluent lifestyles, through education



patterned on Northern models and through tourism" (South Commission, 1990:6-7). Values and tastes are being shaped by a continuous bombardment of messages through ever more pervasive and sophisticated channels, including cable TV and the Internet. The process of cultural homogenization is ongoing, with the North serving as standard for the South to emulate. This has certainly affected consumer behavior as seen in the large demand for products with world-class brand names, or at least their imitations.

Over-consumption in the North, with its huge trail of waste, is fast becoming the lifestyle of the elite of the South, who can afford to live it up because they are somehow benefiting from their links to the global economy. The elite are also the main proponents of the neo-liberal ideology of globalization, for obvious reasons. In this sense, there is a "North in the South."

**International migration.** But there is also a "South in the North," represented by the waves of migrants in search of better earning opportunities. With the relative ease in transportation and communication, the number of international migrants has approached staggering levels in contemporary times, reaching at least 125 million at the latest count (World Bank, 1995:65). The migratory flows, however, are not simply from the underdeveloped South and East to the industrialized North and West. A large number of migrants are also moving from South to South, underscoring economic differentiation which has seen some Southern states evolve into "tiger economies," (e.g., South Korea, Taiwan, and Singapore), as emerging Newly Industrializing Countries (Malaysia), and as aspiring NICs (e.g., Philippines, Thailand, Indonesia), leaving others behind. The current Asian currency turmoil, however, is fast undoing the "economic miracles" of the region, which could have significant implications to current migratory flows into these countries.

A disturbing dimension of increasing international migration is the globalization of the sex trade. "Trafficking in women and girls, primarily for purposes of prostitution, is today a phenomenon of global magnitude that violates the human rights of millions of women and girls

all over the world." (Coalition Against Trafficking in Women, 1996:5). It involves an intricate web which stretches across borders and continents. Marketing of women as commodities has become more sophisticated, invading even the Internet which is extremely difficult to regulate.

**Environmental Degradation.** The globalization of environmental disasters is best illustrated by the forest fires in Sumatra and Kalimantan, reportedly due in part to the carelessness of business interests seeking to clear the ground for their investment purposes. The smog caused by the fires choked much of Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore. It also reached Thailand and the Philippines, worsening the already worrisome air pollution in these two countries. Aside from the increasing toll in terms of lives lost and ailments incurred, what is alarming is the warning of experts that it would take at least a hundred years to repair the damage caused by the fires.

Global warming or the "greenhouse effect" of too much carbon dioxide in the atmosphere has been an increasing cause for international concern. This results from the burning of fossil fuels and the alarming rate of deforestation, which leaves less and less trees to absorb the gas. The progressive loss of forests has resulted in disastrous floods, erosion and siltation. Silt deposits in turn suffocate coral reefs, the habitat and food source of fish.

Worldwide deforestation has also been accompanied by the disappearance of many species of plants and animals that could have been used to improve crop varieties, to make medicines and industrial chemicals. Another danger comes from the depletion of the ozone layer as a result of the release of chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) into the air. Desertification in the millions of hectares per year is another alarming trend. Air pollutants kill plants and lakes, and cause acid rain. Increased use of chemical fertilizers ruins and acidifies the soil, decreases its productivity, and makes it more prone to erosion. Gaseous and solid wastes from industries have become a serious threat. Still another source of danger is nuclear waste, which up to now has not been safely disposed and is more often than not dumped into Southern territory.

As concern for environmental degradation has become globalized, pandemics like AIDS as well as international drug trafficking have likewise caused international alarm (South Commission, 1990:6-7).

### Perspectives on Globalization

There are those who say that globalization is generally a positive thing, facilitating the unfettered movement of goods, services, and people across the globe. Over the long run, "the full operation of the free market would result in availability of the best goods at the lowest prices." (Briones, 1997:8). This is **the neo-liberal view**, to which the government implicitly subscribes through its goal of "global competitiveness," which if achieved is envisioned to provide increased incomes, more employment, and a better life.

The more critical voices view globalization from **the perspective of North-South relations**. For a lot of countries located in the South which experienced colonization, globalization is seen to worsen inequalities between nations. In the words of the South Commission:

*A network of relationships has been built up among private entities -- banks, investment houses, transnational companies -- in the leading developed countries. This has served to strengthen the influence of decisions made by private bodies on world economic activity, and to that extent to limit the effectiveness of governmental policy decisions. For the South, the result is even further marginalization and greater powerlessness (South Commission, 1990:5).*

For example, the past quarter of a century witnessed a 50 percent decline in the terms of trade for developing countries. "The least developed countries, with 10% of the world's people, have only .3% of world trade - half their share of two decades ago" (Fukuda-Parr, 1997:5). Most foreign direct investments have gone to North America, Europe and Japan, and the eight coastal provinces of China.

The **1997 Human Development Report** elaborates on this further and points out that globalization benefits the already rich and further marginalizes poor countries and peoples. Due to unequal access to trade, finance and other resources, developing countries are losing \$500 billion annually. They will account for only one-fourth to one-third of the gains expected under GATT. The poorest 20 percent of the world's people are becoming more impoverished as their share of world income (2.3 percent in 1960) has gone down to 1.1 percent.

Poverty and environmental degradation in the South are directly related to profligacy and over-consumption in the North. According to one source, "each north-westermer consumes an average of about 15 times more resources than a typical inhabitant of a poor country in the Third World. (It is estimated that an average US citizen consumes around 300 times the energy used by the average African.)" (Schaten and Schaten, 1987:95). Another source claims that "The industrial nations, with roughly 20 percent of the world's population, account for some two-thirds of the world's use of important metals and three-fourths of its energy use" (Korten, 1991).

Nationalist historian Renato Constantino expounds on the North-South discourse and claims that "Globalization is nothing more than an attempt by the North to re-colonize the South" (Constantino, 1997). Because of this, nationalism has to be strengthened to protect the national interest, to preserve the national patrimony, and defend the people's livelihood. Plainly put, nationalism is love of country. It is the source of national identity rooted in a common history, a shared past. It is a sense of community distinct from all others. "If it disappears under the onslaught of globalization, it would have to be invented because it is crucial to our survival as a people" (Briones, 1997:22).

The **nationalist view** has many variants. One view sees globalization as high-tech imperialism which should be resisted by the people at all costs. Another view recognizes the reality that the Philippines has already been globalized, and what is needed is to make the best out of a bad situation by maximizing the opportunities and minimizing the threats. KATAPAT, for example, talks about "a



competitive nation guided by economic nationalism," which aims at "optimizing the gains from global interdependence and protecting the vulnerable sectors from the marginalizing effects of global capital" (KATAPAT,1997).

There are also those who view globalization from **the emerging perspective of a dynamic civil society** interacting with, if not, opposing the state. This view has captured the imagination of many groups of people. Social movements, old and new, are inventing and reinventing themselves, and are building global bridges in the name of peace, ecology, feminism, and other causes through international fora as well as the internet and other elements of the information highway. An international civil society is being built by some 28,900 international NGOs (as of 1993) which are shaping public opinion and acting autonomously or in competition with states (Lallana,1997).

Its importance is underscored by Fukuda-Parr (1997) in the following words:

*In the globalizing world of the 21st century, the civil society takes on an increasingly powerful role in development and in influencing policies. Globalization has meant a retreat in the role of the state, as market forces determine the course of growth. This rearrangement of roles, between the market, the state and people, gives more space for the civil society to organize itself to effectively voice the interests of the people and of the common good. It also gives more responsibility to the civil society to take up the interests of the people whose voices would otherwise be overwhelmed and drowned by the powers of business interests and of the politically powerful.*

The strength of civil society has been very much apparent in the series of parallel fora conducted by NGOs in response to the official conferences on the environment, on social development, on human rights, on population, and lately, on women. The Beijing conference and forum attracted a record of at least 50,000 participants and there, women's rights in the context of globalization were also highlighted.

**Women's views on globalization** proceed from various levels. One level surfaces the roles of women both as key players and unknowing or unwilling victims in the global economy. Another takes a more theoretical tack, critiquing globalization from the vantage point of feminist economics and within the feminist discourse against patriarchy.

**The fact that women are key economic players under globalization has been underscored by recent data. Even the ILO talks about "the worldwide feminisation of the labour force and employment."** The figures for women have been increasing in the last two decades and today, some 45 percent of them worldwide "have or are seeking a job" (David,1996:7). In contrast, employment rates for men have been declining.

These trends are explained by changing patterns of work. There is an increase in export-oriented manufacturing exemplified by enterprises located in economic zones which employ 80 percent women on the average. Service industries such as data processing, telecommunications, tourism, finance and insurance, which also employ more women, are on the rise. Women in the informal sector who are connected to export production through subcontracting are increasing. Women also have more opportunities to work abroad as migrants (Hale,1996:7).

ANOTHER EXPLANATION HAS TO DO WITH CHANGING CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT AS GLOBALIZATION DEMANDS MORE "FLEXIBLE" LABOUR WHICH COMPANIES "CAN USE MORE FREELY TO SUIT THEIR CHANGING NEEDS," PRINCIPALLY THE NEED TO BE MORE MOBILE AND TO MAINTAIN PROFIT MARGINS IN AN INCREASINGLY COMPETITIVE ENVIRONMENT. WOMEN ARE MORE "FLEXIBLE" IN THE FOLLOWING SENSE: "THEY ARE RECRUITED WHEN NEEDED AND MORE EASILY DISMISSED WHEN THE TIME COMES TO MOVE ON. THEY HAVE ALWAYS BEEN VULNERABLE TO TEMPORARY, PART-TIME WORK WITHOUT PROPER AGREEMENTS OR TRADE UNION RIGHTS. THEY ARE PAID LESS, PARTICULARLY IF THEY ARE YOUNG AND INEXPERIENCED" (HALE,1996:8). AS A RESULT, THEY SUFFER FROM "INCREASED INSECURITY, INTENSITY OF WORK, HEALTH AND SAFETY RISKS, DISREGARD FOR FAMILY RESPONSIBILITIES, AND PROBLEMS OF ORGANIZING." (Ibid.,9).

In this sense, there is more work for women, but they suffer in the process. This kind of discourse already surfaced in the Philippines in the late eighties and early nineties when the women of the *Freedom from Debt Coalition* published primers exposing the effects of the debt crisis and of the accompanying structural adjustment programs on women workers, peasant and rural women, migrant women, indigenous women, women public sector employees, and women as consumers and household managers. They also showed how the debt, environmental degradation, women's condition, and violence against women are interconnected (Freedom from Debt Coalition, 1989 and 1994).

The primer **Filipino Women and Debt in the '90s** already contained a critique stemming from a wide mass of data showing that in many countries of the South, "poor women have become poorer, more women are poor, and women are now poorer in relation to men" (UN,1989). Proceeding from an eco-feminist framework, it said that "the international economic system defined and run from the North by male-dominated institutions harms not only women but also the environment, indigenous peoples, and less developed countries."

This system is conceptualized and structured to benefit the strong, and exploit the weak and vulnerable. It therefore propagates a model of mal-development which is profoundly patriarchal because it is based on the "exploitation and exclusion of women," "the exploitation and degradation of nature, and on the exploitation and erosion of other cultures." It is "bereft of the feminine, the conservation, the ecological principle." It "neglects nature's work in renewing herself, and women's work in producing sustenance in the form of basic, vital needs" because "it sees all work that does not produce profits and capital as non- or unproductive work" (Shiva,1989:81-83).

The same primer also ventured into feminist economics when it exposed "male bias in economic models which see only goods to be traded and not the people who produce them." How human resources are allocated, reproduced and maintained do not appear in the

macro-economic frameworks. "They ignore the unpaid domestic work necessary to produce and maintain human resources, and the operation of the household, that institution which is the source of supply of labor" (Illo:1992,9).

The household is not a homogeneous unit. Women and men have different entitlements to goods and services as well as to rest. When women have to work for pay to ensure family survival, or take on community management roles because the state can no longer provide the needed social services, *their multiple burdens remain invisible*. Their time is considered more flexible and can be stretched to cover all the additional work they need to do (Illo,1992:13-15).

An elaboration of the feminist critique of globalization was presented during the 1995 Roundtable Discussion on Feminist Theorizing in the paper entitled "Bringing the Global Home: The Promise of Ecofeminism." There was talk about an alternative model of development based on equity, environmental sustainability, gender responsiveness, people's participation and empowerment, protection of Filipino producers, entrepreneurs, industries and markets, and respect for the rights of indigenous peoples and cultural communities. An important point in this model is the promotion of "balanced industrialization which principally meets the basic needs of our people while participating in the global economy on equitable terms."

Lately, there has been an attempt to show the links between patriarchy and globalization, not only at the macro but also at the micro level, focusing on the personal and subjective experiences of women in the realm of the psycho-social. This emerging mode of feminist analysis and advocacy had to do with Filipino women's overseas labor migration, their resistance to structural subordination, and "the meanings and means" they "construct for themselves while abroad and upon return to the country as they search for personal well-being and self-worth" (Francisco, Pagaduan, and Anonuevo, 1997).



## The Philippine Experience: A Synthesizing Narrative

*A merging of the nationalist and feminist view of globalization as befits this centennial celebration by women leads to the following synthesizing narrative of the past three decades.*

The Philippine economy has been progressively globalized since the lifting of exchange controls in the mid-1960s, and the shift towards export orientation laid down under martial law in the 1970s. In exchange for new loans which are extended partly to cover old debts, multilateral institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, and various consultative groups of creditor banks and countries (mainly the Group of Seven), have been able to influence governments like that of the Philippines to implement policies favorable to them.

**SAPs.** Implemented in the country since the 1980s, the structural adjustment programs (SAPs) have deepened and broadened globalization through trade and investment liberalization, cutbacks on government spending and subsidies, deregulation or removal of government interventions and price controls, privatization, and efforts to increase foreign exchange earnings, in particular through the expansion of exports. These are accompanied by unpopular "stabilization" measures such as new taxes, higher public utility rates, wage freeze, and credit squeeze. The underlying principle of all these policies is for debtors to spend less and earn more (in foreign exchange) so that it can pay what it owes.

Structural adjustment programs (SAPs) have favored transnational creditors, in particular, and transnational business, in general in a number of ways. Deregulation and import liberalization leave domestic markets wide open for penetration and inundation by foreign products at the expense of locally-produced ones. Privatization drives government out of the scene, leaving the field to global concerns which are in the best position to take over even the most lucrative public corporations. Devaluation and wage freeze make domestic labor even cheaper than before, and render transnational exports more competitive in the global market.

Sections of the local elite also benefited from the debt, particularly the negotiators and their staff, lobbyists, high-level fixers, favored private corporations, and corrupt public officials (Pineda-Ofreneo, 1991:9).

SAP component policies such as trade liberalization, cutbacks on government spending and government subsidies, removal of government interventions and price controls, privatization, among others, continue to be imposed today.

*Among the worst losers in relation to SAP are the women. They suffer most from the cutback in social services – education, health, family planning and child care, resulting from the fact that a big slice of the national budget (averaging 52.8 percent in the period 1986-91) is actually spent on debt service. If they are teachers, nurses and other public sector employees, they are forced to make do with the meager salaries that the government can afford to give them. If they belong to government corporations about to be abolished or privatized as a result of SAP, many of them are likely to get laid off.*

As consumers who are also in charge of family survival, women bear the burden of increased electricity and power rates as well as higher taxes on basic goods and services because the government needs more money to service its debts and to comply with the conditions of its creditors for more loans.

As workers inside the home, their working day gets longer and their double burden becomes heavier as they try to earn more and save what they can to fulfill the family's survival needs. Often, they save on what they eat and go hungry or become malnourished just so the rest of the family can have their fill.

As peasant women, they have to do more unpaid work on the farms so that their families can save on labor expenses in the face of the skyrocketing prices of farm inputs connected to devaluation and inflation. As local agricultural products are forced out of competition by the flood of foreign goods on the market, resulting from SAP-related import liberalization, women involved in the production of such products face financial ruin.

As cheap labor in export-oriented industries meant to earn more dollars for the country, women are oftentimes subjected to super-exploitation and deplorable working conditions. Many women workers who are unorganized, unheard and/or invisible (because they work in their homes, in the streets or in the so-called informal sector) have to make do with stagnant wages while prices escalate.

As migrant women earning foreign exchange to sustain their families, they are often subjected to grave indignities, physical and sexual abuse, violation of contracts, harsh working conditions, forced prostitution, even rape and murder. Indeed, the former president of the Freedom from Debt Coalition said it all when she concluded that "in a very literal sense, women are paying the external debt not only with their earnings but primarily with their bodies and their lives" (Briones, 1991). Yet, the exodus goes on. The trend is towards more and more Filipino women working abroad. Most of them are domestic helpers and entertainers concentrated in the Middle East, Hongkong, Japan, Singapore, and Western Europe. A growing number have also become "mail order brides" to escape from poverty and help their families from afar.

Even as professional women, they are forced to take on two or three more "sidelines" in addition to their main occupation, help relatives and friends in financial distress, juggle home, family, career and sometimes voluntary work in cause-oriented organizations - all in a dizzying, stress-ridden pace.

As in many parts of the developing world, poor women in the Philippines bear a disproportionate share of the debt burden because of their multiple roles in production, reproduction, and community management. They have had to cope by working more, risking more, and suffering more.

**GATT-WTO.** The general opening up of the economy reached a new and more comprehensive level with the establishment of the World Trade Organization (WTO), which replaced the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). The GATT-WTO documents, which comprise 424 pages with 21 volumes of attachments, will institute changes that will simply be a continuation of the SAPs introduced in the 1980s.

In March 1995, a national conference on globalization and Filipino women workers was convened by the Sentro ng Manggagawang Pilipino and the Democratic Socialist Women of the Philippines at the School of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of the

Philippines. There, the keynote paper (Pineda-Ofreneo and Ofreneo, 1995) made the following projections:

GATT will mean more import liberalization, allowing the entry of agricultural products such as rice, corn, vegetables, livestock, and poultry to the detriment of local producers. It will mean more export orientation, which will result in more land devoted to export crops such as asparagus, cutflowers, etc., and less land will be left to the production of basic food needs of the people. This will endanger the country's food security. It will also make agrarian reform even more difficult to realize, as land will be increasingly converted to commercial uses. Land rights for peasant women will remain largely a pipe dream.

There will be winners and losers in the scramble to compete and survive in a globalized economy. Among the losers will be the biggest employers of women - the garments and textile industries. Among the winners will be the electronics industry, which is also a woman-dominated industry in terms of work force.

There will be easier entry not only of foreign investors but also of foreign workers. With the liberalization of trade-related services (banking, insurance, advertising, mass media, tourism, data processing and accountancy), foreign professionals and consultants will compete directly with Filipinos for jobs in these service industries.

GATT guarantees intellectual property rights for patent and copyright holders, 90 percent of whom are in the North. Advanced knowledge and technology will be monopolized by them. They will be able to control seeds and other life forms, new reproductive technology (embryo transfers, in-vitro fertilization, etc.), computer hardware and software. The Philippines, like other countries of the South, will be even more consigned to labor-intensive and low-technology industries, such as assembly work, computer encoding, etc.



Already, foreign patenting of local herbal medicines and even of the genes of our indigenous communities, have become urgent issues. Indigenous women have spoken out against this in no uncertain terms. In the words of Vicky Tauli-Corpuz, "The intellectual property rights regime privatizing knowledge and patents of life forms, commercializes and commodifies human and animal genetic resources, is despicable and immoral. It is antithetical to the indigenous values of collectivity, sharing, nurturing and stewardship" (Tauli-Corpuz, 1995: 36).

**APEC.** The recent APEC conference in Manila in October 1996 affirms the tenets of economic liberalization. Its results will accelerate the process of differentiation between winners and losers in the more intense competition unleashed by globalization.

In the run-up to the conference, many NGOs held their own fora, elaborating on the nationalist, civil society, and feminist discourses discussed in the earlier section on perspectives on globalization. There were as many women's positions as there were convenor groups, ranging from Bayan and Sanlakas to the Manila People's Forum. All of these were highly critical of APEC.

Side by side with this, UNIFEM, CIDA, and the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women convened the Senior Women Leaders' Network to discuss how women can engage in the APEC processes. The Philippine Policy Research Papers on "Gender Analysis of Selected Philippine Concerns Under APEC" (Ilo et al, 1996) critiques APEC's "schizophrenic agenda" of espousing competition (through trade and investment liberalization) and cooperation (through harmonization of policies and economic and technical assistance). It shows how this contrasts sharply with the Beijing Platform for Action's economic agenda, which "unabashedly addresses poverty and its roots, promotes gender equality and women's empowerment, and stresses support to a development process that is environmentally sustainable, people-centered, and socially just." The Platform thus talks about "changing economic structures, or perhaps more pragmatically, of moderating structural adjustment, tempering the rush to market liberalization, and quenching the desire for profit with the concern for social justice."

Ilo says market-oriented development and economic liberalization *per se* cannot guarantee gender equality and women's empowerment. These processes have a gender-differentiated impact, and "affect different women differently." Thus, "For APEC to benefit various groups, including women in poverty, the State will have to step in and implement the commitments it made in Beijing."

### **The Impact of Globalization: What the Data Say So Far**

During and after the APEC conference, the government was very proud of the way the economy made a turnaround and registered record improvements in terms of the conventional indicators. The President, in his State of the Nation Address last July, talked about higher GNP, employment, and investments, in effect saying that the globalized economy is working and is in fact performing quite well.

Soon after, the bubble burst. The peso suffered a steep decline\* and the stock market registered record lows due to attacks from external speculators, shaky economic fundamentals, and political uncertainties. As a result, government is scaling down its growth targets.\*\*

Deregulating the capital account opened the doors to speculative money which can easily be withdrawn at the slightest indication of risk. Portfolio investment inflows skyrocketed from \$242 million in 1991 to \$8.006 billion in 1996. (Esguerra, 1997). The ratio of such investments to total foreign direct investments was as high as 4:1 in mid-1996 (Ibon, January 1997).

---

\*By the end of 1997, the peso had lost more than 50 percent of its value, plunging to P40 to \$1. It is still falling.

\*\* Official estimates project a 5 percent growth in GDP and a 5.5 percent growth in GNP for 1997. Estimates for 1998 are a low 4 percent for GDP growth, and a 4.5 percent GNP growth.

With devaluation, inflation is inevitable because the cost of necessary imports, such as oil, industrial raw materials and machinery, will rise. With the deregulation of the oil industry, which has actually resulted in the formation of a cartel composed of Shell, Caltex, and Petron, oil prices have continually risen without benefit of public hearing.\*\*\* Devaluation has also caused the peso value of the external debt (estimated at \$44.809 billion in June 1997) to rise proportionately. \*\*\*\*

As of 1996, some 445 state-owned assets had already been privatized (Del Rosario, 1997). This is occurring in three waves:

- disposal of "white elephants" or non-performing assets (NPAs), i.e., selling back to former owners of those crony enterprises taken over by the state;
- disposition of revenue-generating enterprises like Petron, Manila Hotel, Fort Bonifacio, as well as private sector participation in infrastructure development thru the expanded BOT Law as in power and water; and
- upgrading of public services and other public utilities, including specialty hospitals, colleges and universities, housing, postal services and pension funds. (Corral, 1997).

The Metropolitan Waterworks and Sewerage System (MWSS) was just recently turned over to two concessionaires: the Manila Water Company (formed by Ayala with the British firm Northeast Water and the US firm Bechtel Overseas Corporation), and a joint venture between the Lopez's Benpres and the French firm Lyonnaise des Eaux. Next in line is NAPOCOR as well as a number of well-known government hospitals and health facilities.

With privatization and the primacy of the profit motive, there is no assurance of steady prices and supply of public utilities and services. Government employees are also at risk. In the MWSS case, out of 5,400, only 100 to 200 will be retained and they will even be on probation (Del Rosario, 1997).

---

\*\*\*\* There had been a 51 percent increase in the peso value of the foreign debt by end of 1997.

\*\*\*The recent Supreme Court decision nullifying the oil deregulation law has put arbitrary oil price increases on hold, but these will soon rise with the continuing fall of the peso and therefore the higher cost of imported crude oil.

The trade deficit is widening. The gap between imports and exports stood at US\$ 12 billion at the end of 1996 and is expected to widen even further in the next two years. Imports, including luxury goods and other non-essentials, are rising, while exports are faltering, or at best, remain unpredictable given the intensifying global competition.

OCW remittances (estimated at about \$6- \$7 billion) have kept the country afloat. The 7.1 percent increase in GNP in 1996 was largely due to this factor because the rise in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was not really that much.

In fact, manufacturing has been slowing down by 2.6 percent annually, and stands below what it was in the early 1980s. The garments industry, which used to be the country's largest exporter and employer, declined by 29 percent.

Despite the growth in GNP in 1993-94, unemployment and underemployment rates remained pegged at 9.3-9.5 percent, and 21.4-21.7 percent, respectively, compared to 9.8 percent and 20.5 percent in 1992 (Ofreneo, 1995:12). This means that jobs did not grow commensurately, perhaps, because investments were being channeled to speculative activities and enclave undertakings. In 1996, unemployment went down to 8.6 percent, and underemployment slightly went up to 21 percent. The slight decrease in unemployment is likely to be negated by the effects of the current economic turmoil, including massive layoffs in many industries.

What do the data say so far about the expected impact of increasing globalization on Filipino women?

### **Higher labor force participation rate and employment rate through time, but still lower compared to men**

The number of women joining the labor force doubled from 4.8 million in 1973 to 10.1 million in 1994. It is true that the labor force participation rate of women increased from 33 percent in 1973 to 47 percent in 1994 (NCRFW/ADB, 1995:23) and to virtually 50 percent in 1996 (BLES, 1997: Table 2).



This shows how economic trends have pushed them to work, or at least, to look for work, given both the opportunities as well as the threats which come with globalization. But men's LFPR in 1996 was 83.5 percent which is still very much higher than that of women, many of whom are still classified as housewives, "not working and not looking for work."

Employment rates for women exhibited fluctuations (from 81.7 percent to 90.8 percent) from 1987-96. In general, employment rates for men, ranging from 88.1 percent to 93.5) were higher than those of women for the same period. (In 1996, female employment rate was 90.3 percent compared to 92.1 percent for men). But the employment rate for urban women in 1994 (89.1 percent) was higher than that for men (87.9 percent) suggesting that "the available and emerging job opportunities in the cities may be more favorable to women." Female unemployment rate in 1994 was 9.4 percent (ADB/NCRFW, 1995:25). This went up slightly to 10.7 percent in 1995, and then down to 9.7 percent in 1996. Men's unemployment rate was 7.9 percent, increasing to 8.9 percent in 1995, and then going back to 7.9 percent in 1996. Underemployment rates remain high for women at 16.9 percent in 1995 and 17.7 percent in 1996 but men's underemployment are higher at 21.8 and 23 percent respectively (BLES, 1997: Table 2).

*These statistics show that there are more visibly active women in the economy now than before.* Formal employment opportunities are clearly increasing in the economic zones, and in the electronics industry, in particular. Women who have no chance in the formal sector take on odd jobs in the expanding informal sector.

In January 1997, there were 48 economic zones in the Philippines, embracing both the regular, state-owned and state-operated export processing zones managed by the PEZA and 44 privately owned and developed special zones. Direct employment in the zones totaled 152,250. The latest sex-disaggregated data show that women comprised 70 to 73 percent of the work force in the zones (Aganon et al, 1997:6). They are preferred because of their patience with

meticulous work, and for their manual dexterity. Working conditions, however, leave much to be desired. Women workers interviewed reported suffering from low wages, no security of tenure, neglect of their health and safety, and lack of participation in decision-making processes. The state of unionism in the zones leaves much to be desired. There are still no unions in Mactan and in Baguio after 18 years of zone operation. Among the obstacles to organizing are "the pre-emptive and coercive tactics of employers and management personnel, some of which stem from their desire to be globally competitive." (Aganon et al, 1997: Executive Summary).

As for the electronics industry, employment figures have been rising since 1985 (38,000). In 1996, 160,000 were employed by the industry and a 12-15 percent yearly increase is expected. In the same year, electronics exports (which includes semiconductors) totaled \$10.6 billion, accounting for 52 percent of total exports. (Philippine Daily Inquirer, July 7, 1997). However, the industry is very much import-dependent so value added is estimated at as low as nine percent. (Ibon, October 1996). Electronics firms, many of which are transnational corporations or their subcontractors, are found within and outside the economic zones. They employ mostly women for the monotonous work of semiconductor assembly. Due to the intensely competitive global environment, workers are vulnerable to lay-offs and contractualization. They are also exposed to health hazards: toxic chemicals, fumes, and automated devices. Electronics firms are also known to be resource-intensive and highly polluting. Already, communities around a prominent firm in Baguio are complaining about the ruin of their water supply.

### **More women employers, micro-entrepreneurs, and informal-sector workers**

Overall, there is a trend towards an increase in the proportion of women employers compared to men. In 1976, only 10 percent women were employers; this proportion had doubled in 1990. The men employers proportionally decreased to 80 percent. (NSO, 1992: 93). In the export sector, according to data from the Philippine Trade Training Center (PTTC), women's presence as entrepreneurs and managers is increasingly felt particularly in houseware, basketware, toys and giftware, processed food, home and Christmas decor, and garments. (NCRFW, 1995:233 ).

This underscores Illo's observation that globalization affects different women differently. Those who already have access to resources can take advantage of the new opportunities offered by international trade. An acknowledged woman agriculturist and business leader, Nelia Gonzalez, talks about women who are "efficient economic managers" and "successful [in] business undertakings" leading and paving the way to globalization through agricultural industrialization (Gonzalez, 1997:8).

But the concentration of women as entrepreneurs and as workers is at the micro-enterprise level. Asset size at this level is up to P150,000, employment usually ranges from one to five, mostly family members, and technology is simple, not formally learned, labor-intensive, hand-operated, often home-made, and relying on indigenous or local resources. Micro-enterprises are unlicensed, unregulated, and untaxed but these conditions also make them vulnerable to police and other forms of harassment. Urban poor women engaged in hawking and other commercial activities, for example, are often victims of authorities who displace them not only from their sites of livelihood but also from their habitat.

Women derive additional income and much-needed employment for family members from micro-enterprises. They are able to combine reproductive and productive work because of flexible time and involvement. Through these enterprises, they provide essential goods and services to low-income groups as well as to other industries. *Their problems, however, include: multiple burdens, and therefore, overwork; lack of capital and victimization by users; lack of management skills; limited supply of raw materials and other needs due to inability to purchase in bulk; no formal recognition and support, which leaves them open to harassment; competition for and limited access to profitable markets.* Micro-enterprises can also be exploited by larger firms which can just order from them at low prices or subcontract certain stages of the production process to them to save on labor costs or to weaken the bargaining leverage of regular and/or unionized workers. (MCSI, 1988; Stearns, 1988).

Micro-enterprises, therefore, are of different categories. There are the relatively "free-standing forms" which are not dependent on other entities for capital or for markets. Then there are those who are at the bottom of the subcontracting ladder, supplying larger firms with raw materials, components, or finished products at very low cost and often at the expense of unprotected labor: women homeworkers, child labor, indigenous craftspersons, etc. A special category of micro-enterprise is the cooperative one,

which is community-based, and anchored on solidarity, mutual assistance, and social service rather than merely profit-oriented.

The next level where women entrepreneurs are most likely congregated is the cottage industry, which has an asset size ranging from more than P150,000 to P1.5 million and employment size of 5-10 workers. The ranks of women entrepreneurs thin out progressively at the higher levels: small enterprises, with an asset size ranging from more than P1.5 million to P15 million and with workers numbering from 11 to 99; and medium enterprises, from more than P15 to P60 million asset size and 100-199 workers.

A comparative phenomenon can also be observed in cooperatives, where women's participation, leadership and control are strong only at the smallest units and tend to weaken at the bigger ones.

As workers, women comprise most of those in the micro-cottage and small industries (NCRFW, 1995:238), but on a per-industry basis, they are concentrated (irrespective of enterprise size) mainly in garments, electronics, gifts, toys, and houseware where jobs require manual dexterity and patience with monotonous and repetitive work.

**With GATT-WTO, APEC and the attendant trade liberalization, increased and intense competition will most likely characterize both the domestic and the world markets. Women-led enterprises, especially at the micro- and small-scale levels, will be more vulnerable to fluctuations in demand and to widespread availability of cheaper foreign goods and services.** According to the Development Bank of the Philippines, the "sunrise industries," in terms of dollar-earning possibilities, are food processing, fashion (the high end of garments), jewelry, creatively designed furniture, and fun (tourism). But the garments industry, which is the biggest employer of women irrespective of enterprise size, is already experiencing a downturn. The impact of the possible liberalization of retail trade could also lead to the displacement of many women retailers and producers with the entry of foreign mega-retailers and the foreign products they will surely market locally.

Due to lack of remunerative employment in the formal sector as a consequence of both gender discrimination and broader economic trends, most women look for jobs or create these themselves elsewhere.



The 1989 share of manufacturing in employment declined from 32 percent in 1981 to 26 percent in 1995, with a corresponding rise in the wholesale and retail trade sector from 15 percent to almost 22 percent, and a steady level for services at 40 percent. There has also been a decline in the share of formal wage and salary jobs and a shift to own-account work (Joshi,1995:3). *These developments have been widely attributed to the impact of structural adjustment and trade liberalization programs on the Philippine economy and working people, with women and other vulnerable sections of the population taking more of the brunt.*

As of the latest count, there are five million women in the informal sector, who comprise 55.9 percent of all those employed. Of this, 2.96 million or 33 per cent are own-account or self-employed operating *sari-sari* or small variety stores and other micro-enterprises; 2.05 million or 22.9 percent are unpaid family workers who are not covered by any protective labor legislation because of the absence of employer-employee relations (NCRFW, 1995:163-164). Unpaid female workers are mostly in agriculture, in wholesale/retail trade, and in community, social and personal services. (Brillantes,1994:13). Subsumed or most likely missing in this reckoning are certain categories of women conceded to be in the informal sector: home-based workers, domestic helpers, vendors, prostitutes, laundry women, beauticians, etc. Not to be forgotten are the working children 5-17 years of age, 34.5 percent of whom are girls (Del Rosario, 1997).

Women workers in the informal sector suffer from:

- lack of social protection due to the absence of clear employer-employee relations -- no medical, maternity, and other benefits; no retirement pension;
- irregular and unstable employment dependent on fluctuations in labor demand;
- exposure to occupational and

environmental health hazards, since their working and living conditions can hardly be monitored;

- vulnerability to super-exploitation and abuse, such as below-minimum wages, non-payment of work done by runaway orderers, etc.
- low awareness of their rights as workers and as women; and
- low levels of organization.

Such problems are dramatized in the plight of home-workers, who at the latest count numbered 6.437 million, 60.3 percent located in the rural areas and 39.7 percent in urban areas (NSO,1993:21). These problems have a strong gender dimension (69.4 percent of home-workers are women), in that their earnings are just considered supplementary to those of the male breadwinner and therefore do not really have to be substantial. *Because they are women, they can be consigned to repetitive, monotonous, and detailed work requiring manual dexterity. They cannot enter formal-sector employment because they have small children and a household to take care of. Their husbands seldom help in both reproductive and productive work, and society does not provide child-care centers which can free them to work as long as they need to.* Male-dominated trade unions do not bother to organize them because they are scattered in separate households, and the costs are not commensurate to the gains. And up to recently, when ILO started to give them the attention they deserve, they had suffered from government's benign neglect.

*The above-mentioned gender issues affect not only home-workers but also other types of workers as well as entrepreneurs. Cultural expectations that women take care of home and family first before embarking on other types of work force them to take on multiple roles by virtue of economic necessity, without adequate support from the men in their own households as well as from society in general. When they work to earn, they are gender-tracked into jobs which are compatible to or akin to what they do at home, and these jobs are usually undervalued and unprotected. Even as entrepreneurs, when they co-founded businesses with their husbands, they usually occupied subordinate positions, e.g., vice-president, assistant general manager, treasurer, etc.*

*There is gender-role stereotyping in business: men run it, while women play supporting roles. As regards financial resources, women may be the fund custodian, but men have ultimate control. However, when women founded and managed their own businesses themselves, they tended to be more self-reliant and independent when making decisions.*

### **More vulnerability and less social protection for women workers because of "flexibilization"**

This movement towards labor flexibility takes many forms but invariably, the various flexibility measures can be classified as follows (Edgren, 1990):

- reducing the core of permanent workers, increasing the proportion of temporary and casual employees;
- increasing the use of women, apprentices and migrants;
- subcontracting the production of components previously manufactured within the factory;
- subcontracting services like transport, packaging, maintenance, security, etc., which are carried out on factory premises;
- increasing the number of shifts per day or the use of overtime;
- replacing pay systems based on working time and length of service by systems based on piece rates and bonuses;
- introducing internal training systems which facilitate redeployment of workers within the factory or enterprise; and
- reducing influences from external trade union organization by either eliminating unions or establishing a controllable union.

The latest data on the employment of specific groups of workers (1991-95) show an upward trend in the number *contractual workers* (those hired for a specific project or undertaking, the completion of which has been determined at the time of engagement) from 161,000 to 319,000; *casual workers* (those engaged to fill up vacancies or new positions

created by the absence of prospective employees or qualified applicants for the job, and only for a fixed period), from 95,000 to 119,000; *part-time-workers* (those who work at jobs which provide less than the working time normal to the establishment), from 34,000 to 48,000 (BLES,1996:382-385).

Needless to say, these data could very well be understated because only establishments employing ten or more workers were covered. "Excluded are service workers, hired through service contractors, i.e., security guards, janitors, messengers, and homeworkers" (BLES,1996:381).

### **Less ability of trade unions and other workers' organizations to protect women workers' rights, especially considering the low female participation as members/leaders**

Although unions claim to have 3.697 million members in 1995, those with collective bargaining agreements (CBAs) numbered only 204,000. Including those not registered or in the process of registering, workers with CBAs would total about half a million, which represent roughly 20 percent of the organizable private sector workers, only 4.2 percent of the 9.6 million wage and salaried workers, and only 1.8 percent of the total employed.

Unions not only have a rather narrow base from which to operate. They are also at a disadvantage, given the large numbers of unemployed and underemployed, estimated at 8.6 percent and 21 percent respectively in 1996. Compounding the problem is the long history of trade union disunity in the country, punctuated now and then by short-lived efforts towards trade union unity.

As regards women's participation in the trade union movement, their number is strong at the membership level. The latest data show that they constitute 42.9 percent of union membership (NCRFW/ADB,1995:30). However, it is another story at the leadership level. *In 1992, only six percent of 5,883 union presidents were women.* Of the 143 federations registered



in 1991, only seven or 4.8 percent were female-headed (Angsioco, 1994). In 1993, only 2.07 percent of 314 unions surveyed by the Bureau of Labor and Employment Statistics had women presidents (NCRFW/ADB,1995:30).

*Why are women not more assertive in the trade unions? The following reasons were cited: the multiple burden of women workers, their belief that unionism is a man's domain, their low self-esteem, and union methods and practices which turn off women (Angsioco,1994).*

**Displacement in certain sectors and industries (agriculture and garments principally) due to inability to compete with cheap food imports and cheaper exports from neighboring countries (e.g. China, Vietnam)**

Displacement in agriculture of women farmers is mainly due to unchecked land and crop conversions which according to the Manila People's Forum has resulted in the narrowing of the food production base by almost 30 percent. Staple crops are out, high value crops (e.g., asparagus, cutflowers, seaweeds, mangoes, etc.) are in. Thus, women producers in rice and corn areas are at risk, especially with the increasing importation of such staples in direct competition with local farm produce. Also at risk because of cheaper imports are those in sugar, garlic, onion, pork, and poultry production (Ilo et al, 1996). The long-range implication of this is on the country's food security, as it becomes more and more dependent on imports to feed its people, while allowing its food production base to narrow and wither due to lack of support.

The garments industry used to be the top exporter in the first half of the nineties. It is also the biggest employer of women. But in the age of globalization, the industry is experiencing a downturn, as evidenced by the decline in garments exports (\$2.42 billion in 1996), a far second to electronics which registered a hefty \$8.19 billion. Labor costs are now no longer globally competitive, considering that the Filipino worker gets three or four times the wages of a Chinese or Vietnamese worker. The industry is

also import-dependent, and value added is estimated at 28 percent only (Ibon, May 1997). It is dominated by transnational corporations based in the US, Europe, Japan, Taiwan, etc. and its export market is controlled by foreign buyers who merely order from foreign producers or Filipino subcontractors here.

Here is a concrete account of what is happening to the industry as a result of globalization:

*Fewer orders have led to closures of enterprises, cutdowns, lay-offs, of masses of women, transfers and new arrangements in production. According to the Director General of the Employers' Confederation of the Philippines (ECOP), a total of 33 garments and textile companies closed down permanently in 1996, resulting in a loss of 23,000 workers. About 5 big garments enterprises downsized their workforce, resulting in the loss of 11,446 jobs. A total of 34,846 workers were laid off in 1996, most of them women (Del Rosario, 1997).*

In Bulacan, home-workers engaged in machine embroidery report that they no longer have jobs due to the advent of computer-controlled embroidery.. Another aspect of globalization -- the use of high technology - has led to workers' redundancy.

**Continuing migration, despite declining opportunities to work abroad (due to increasing global joblessness --one-third of the world's entire labor force, recession in the North, increasing racism in high-wage countries with large unemployment, and competing supply from Eastern Europe, and other low-wage areas)**

The Philippines is now considered "the world's largest labor exporter" (The Economist, 1996:7). There are six million Filipino migrants all over the world, categorized as "documented contract workers" (2.45 million), "emigrants" (1.76 million), an "the undocumented" (1.79 million) [Filipino Women Migrants -- A Statistical Factbook,1996:1]. The last category highlights the vulnerability of a large group of migrants,

because to be "undocumented" in a foreign land is to be without rights, to be open to persecution and abuse. Yet, they leave just the same, for reasons connected with the impact of globalization on the Philippines, Asia, and elsewhere in the world.

Another trend is the increasing feminization of migration, and the deployment of Filipino women migrants in vulnerable occupations mainly within the service sector as domestic helpers and entertainers. In 1993, 54.9 percent of deployed overseas contract workers (OCWs) were women. The percentage of females climbed up to 60 percent in 1994 (*Filipino Women—Issues and Trends, 1995:31*). More than half the women in recent years (1992-1993) were young (20-29 years old) unmarried, and college-educated [Filipino Women Migrants, 1996:3-5]. What this means is that the globalizing trend in the world labor market is built on many givens, *including the gender division of labor*, as indicated by the niches occupied by specific categories of migrating people.

***Why is it that despite these problems, the exodus continues?***

The push factors are well-known. Because of the job shortage and meager incomes in the Philippines, many workers are obliged to go abroad and endure long and lonely separations from their families just to be able to support them. It is estimated that ten million Filipinos are dependent on overseas workers, at a ratio of five dependents to one worker. A dollar-hungry government, saddled with a huge foreign debt (\$44.8 billion at the latest reckoning) and a host of other economic problems, encourages the exodus of workers. With each worker sending home an average of 200 dollars a month, the millions abroad remit about \$5-7 billion a year, which covers much of the annual debt service.

The major pull factor is, of course, the much higher pay in other countries. Entertainers in Japan can earn \$1500 - 2000 a month (de Dios, n.d.), which is about 12-15 times the prevailing rates in the Philippines. Thus, even if it is well known that the **Japayukis** endure prostitution, racial discrimination, sexual molestation, rape and battering, virtual imprisonment, white slavery, and even unexplained death, they go just the same.

In the case of domestic work in Europe, where Filipina migrants congregate, the pay range could be anywhere from US\$200 to US\$1500, with the average being in between \$500-750 (de Guzman, Hachang and Ledesma, 1995). These are still attractive amounts, considering that the minimum monthly wage in the Philippines is roughly \$140. To most migrants, they seem to be worth the hardships and indignities suffered while working in Europe.

The migration of Filipino women to high-wage countries will remain a trend, given the complex interaction of the push and pull factors mentioned earlier. *It will stop only when the Philippine economy has recovered from its chronic crises and has been sufficiently reorganized to serve the needs of its people first, specifically the need for remunerative employment, which can only be fulfilled by solid institutional reforms (e.g. comprehensive land reform, efficient and dynamic civil service, etc.) and balanced, real and accelerated agro-industrial development.*

**More prostitution and trafficking in women (related to rural poverty and unemployment, as well as migration of vulnerable and unprotected women workers)**

As to prostitution, it is already an established fact that Manila is now one of the 'flesh capitals' of Asia. The total number of prostitutes in the country, most of them poor, low-educated, displaced from farming or from disaster-stricken areas, desperate for remunerative employment, and with a history of sexual abuse, could be anything from 300,000 to half a million (Pineda-Ofreneo, 1991; Pineda-Ofreneo and Ofreneo, 1993).

There are an estimated 300,000 women in prostitution, and 75,000 prostituted children. Because there is push to export entertainers and domestic helpers, Filipino women who work as such become vulnerable to trafficking. Cases have been reported in Japan, Australia, Malaysia, Belgium and elsewhere. (Coalition Against Trafficking in Women, 1996).

But the narrative is far from complete. There is more to herstory than meets the eye. There are huge data gaps on the impact of globalization on other sectors



of women, e.g., urban poor, fisherfolk, women in various sub-sectors of agriculture and agribusiness, women in privatized government entities, indigenous women, etc. Evidence needs to be generated to prove that globalization results in more work burden for them in their productive, reproductive, and community management roles as they try to earn more, save more, and cope with decreasing basic services.

**What is important is that the process of herstory-telling has begun, and other women just have to come forward to continue the tale.**

## REFERENCES

- Aganon, Marie E., Rosalinda Pineda Ofreneo, Rosario S. del Rosario, Ma. Socorro Paulin Ballesteros and Rene E. Ofreneo (1997): *Strategies to Empower Women Workers in the Philippine Economic Zones*.
- Alburo, Florian (1997): *Effects of Globalization on Growth and Equity in the Philippines - An Overview*, paper issued during the Third Human Development Forum, Shangrila EDSA Plaza, April 4.
- Bello, Walden. *Reflections on the Effects of Globalization on Equity in the Third World*, talk delivered at the Third Human Development Forum, Shangrila EDSA Plaza, April 4.
- Brillantes, Romulo C. (1994): *Analysis of Employment Trends of Women and Young Workers*, issued December by the Research Division, Bureau of Women and Young Workers, Department of Labor and Employment.
- Briones, Leonor M., Rosalinda Pineda Ofreneo and Karen Tanada (1989): *Women Want Freedom from Debt - A Primer, Freedom from Debt Coalition and Oxfam*.
- Briones, Leonor Magtulis (1997): *Globalization, Nationalism, and the University of the Philippines: Challenge and Response - An Overview*, overview paper delivered at the 1997 U.P. Faculty Conference on 18-21 May 1997 at the Crown Peak Gardens Hotel, Subic.
- Bureau of Labor and Employment Statistics (1997): *Current Labor Statistics*, January.
- Bureau of Labor and Employment Statistics (1996): *Philippine Industry Yearbook of Labor Statistics 1996*.
- Constantino, Renato (1997): "Globalization and Intellectual Tradition," *Diliman Review*, 45, 1.
- Constantino, Renato (1997): *The Invisible Enemy - Globalization & Maldevelopment*, Foundation for Nationalist Studies, Quezon City.
- Coalition Against Trafficking in Women (1996): *Trafficking in Women and Prostitution in the Asia Pacific*.
- Corral, Violeta Q. Perez-Corral (1996): *MWSS: Anatomy of a Privatization Deal*. ANGOC.
- David, Natacha (1996): *Worlds Apart Women and the Global Economy*. ICFTU, March.
- De Dios, Emmanuel S. (1997): "U.P. Alumni: Between Nationalism and Globalization," in *U.P. CIDS Chronicle* April-June.
- Del Rosario, Rosario S. (1997): "Women and Children in the Global Economy," *The Economist* (1996): "The lost daughters," 7.
- Edgren, Gus (1990): "Employment adjustment and the unions: Case studies of enterprises in Asia" in *International Labour Review*, 129, 5.
- Esguerra, Jude (1997): "Devaluation - An Accident Waiting to Happen," in *Political Brief*, a monthly digest of the Institute for Popular Democracy, 5, 4, August.
- FFW National Women Conference Proceedings 3-7 March 1994, Imus, Cavite. PSI-FFW Women's Desk.
- FFW Symposium on Flexibilization and Women Workers 26-27 March 1994, Manila - Summary Proceedings. Federation of Free Workers, Philippine Social Institute.
- Francisco, Josefa S., Maureen C. Pagaduan, and Carol Medel-Anonuevo (1997): "Patriarchy and Globalization: Feminist Analysis and Advocacy on Filipino Women's Overseas Labor Migration."
- Freedom from Debt Coalition Women's Committee (1994): *Philippine Women and Debt in the '90s*.
- Fukuda-Parr, Sakiko (1997): "Sustainable Human Development in a Globalizing World - The Scope for Managing the Process in the Interests of People," talk delivered at the Third Human Development Forum, Shangrila EDSA Plaza, April 4.
- Gonzalez, Nelia T. (1997): "Globalization and the Role of the Filipino Women." Paper prepared for the National Gender Trainers, July 29 1997, University Center for Women's Studies, U.P. Diliman.
- Hale, Angela (1995): "World Trade is a Women's Issue." *Women Working Worldwide Briefing Paper*. Manchester.
- Ibon Facts and Figures (1997): "Repercussions of 'Growth'." 20, 1 & 2, January. "Stripping the Garments Industry." May. (1996): "Loose Connections in the Electronics Industry." 31 October.
- Ilo, Jeanne Frances I. (1992): "A Preliminary Inquiry into the Micro-Level Gender Effects of Macroeconomic Adjustment Policies." Working Paper No. 92-16, Philippine Institute for Development Studies, September.
- Ilo, Jeanne Frances I. (1996): "Staking Women's Claims in APEC: Linking APEC and the Beijing Platform for Action," in *Gender Analysis of Selected Philippine Concerns Under APEC Policy Research Papers*. Manila: National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women.
- Ilo, Jeanne Frances I., Antonio P. Contreras, Carol Figueroa-Giron and Ma. Lourdes Biba (1996): "Gender Analysis of Philippine Agricultural Concerns Under Apec," in *Gender Analysis of Selected Philippine Concerns Under APEC Policy Research Papers*.
- Joshi, Gopal (1996): *The Urban Informal Sector: Lessons Learned and the Way Forward*, discussion prepared for the conference on Gearing Up for the Challenges and Opportunities in the Urban Informal Sector, 19-20 September, Manila, sponsored by ILO/SEAPAT.
- Korten, David (1991): "International Assistance. A Problem Posed as a Solution," in *Development*, 3/4.
- Medalla, Felipe M. et al (1997): "Globalization, Nationalism, Technological Change and the Philippine Economy: Challenges to the University," prepared for the 1997 U.P. Faculty Conference 18-21 May.
- Lallana, Emmanuel C. (1997): "The International Context of Philippine Development," in *Diliman Review*, 45, 1.
- Manila Community Services, Inc. (1998): *A Self-Employment Program for Women in Micro-Business - A Manual on the MCSI Experience*.
- National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women (1992): *Statistics on the Filipino Women*.
- National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women (NCRFW) and the Asian Development Bank (ADB) (1995): *Philippine Women - Issues and Trends*, Manila.
- NCRFW/ADB (1996): *Philippine Women Migrants - A Statistical Factbook*.
- National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women (1995): *Philippine Plan for Gender-Responsive Development 1995-2025*. Manila.
- Ofreneo, Rene E. and Rosalinda Pineda Ofreneo (1993): *The Sex Sector: Prostitution and Development in the Philippines*. Research report done as part of a Southeast Asian project sponsored by ASEAN-CIDA and Mahidol University. August.
- Paderanga, Cayetano W. Jr., ed. (1997): *The Philippines in the Emerging World Environment - Globalization at a Glance*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Center for Integrative and Development Studies and the U.P. Press, 1996.
- Philippine Daily Inquirer (1997): "Electronic exports seen hitting \$14B," July 7.
- Pineda-Ofreneo, Rosalinda (1991): *The Philippines - Debt and Poverty*. Oxfam UK and Freedom from Debt Coalition.
- Pineda-Ofreneo, Rosalinda and Rene E. Ofreneo (1995): "Globalization and Filipino Women Workers," in *Philippine Labor Review*, XIX, 1, January-June.
- Pineda-Ofreneo, Rosalinda, Jeanne Frances I. Ilo, Ma. Fina Cataumber Yonzon and Alice M. Opeña (1996): *Gender Analysis of Philippine MCSME Concerns Under APEC*, paper prepared for the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women, October.
- Pineda-Ofreneo, Rosalinda (1997): "Globalization and the Feminization of Migration," in *CSWCD Development Journal* II, 1, January-June.
- Schaten, Jacobo and Gilda Schaten (1987): *World Debt: Who is to Pay?* London: Zed Books.
- Shiva, Vandana (1989): "Development, Ecology, and Women," in Judith Plant, ed., *Healing the Wounds - The Promise of Ecofeminism*. New Society Publishers, Philadelphia.
- South Commission (1990): *The Challenge to the South*. Oxford University Press.
- Stearns, Katherine E. (1988): "Assisting Informal Sector Microenterprises," in *Economic Impact*, 63, 2.
- World Bank (1995): *Workers in an Integrating World*. Oxford University Press.