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HEADLINE: 400 years of filipino american history

BYLINE: Gajilan, Arlyn Tobias

BODY:

400 years of filipino american history.

BY ARLYN TOBIAS GAJILAN

When the news that the Filipino American population had swelled to 2.2 million within the last few years, it was only the latest chapter in the 400 year history of Filipinos in the United States.

The first recorded arrival of Filipinos on North American shores took place even before there was a country called the United States of America.

On October 18, 1587, a Spanish galleon, carrying with gold bound for Spain, landed near what is now San Luis Obispo, California. Eight Filipinos accompanied Spanish sailors on that voyage, but they would not be the last. For the next 250 years, the lucrative galleon trade would transport both gold and Filipinos across the Pacific Ocean.

Endowed with a natural harbor, Manila became the premier trading center of Asia. Using Filipino labor, the Spaniards built large masted galleons in Cebu and Cavite, where strong hardwood and other raw materials were readily available.

Once loaded with gold, silk and other "exotic riches from the Orient," the galleons would embark on a roundtrip voyage that took nearly a year to complete. Most ships left Manila for the western coast of Mexico where land caravans took shipments overland to the eastern port of Vera Cruz to load ships sailing for Spain.

On those ships, Filipino seamen would often outnumber Spanish sailors five to one. But unlike their Spanish shipmates, many would desert upon arriving in Mexico rather than return to the Philippines.

Enticed by stories of a Filipino settlement in Louisiana, these former sailors would make their way to a remote bayou settlement 100 miles from New Orleans. According to a March 31, 1883 article in Harper's Weekly, some 400 Filipinos had created an outpost known as St. Maolo.

"Out of the shuddering reeds... rise the fantastic houses of the Malay fishermen, posed upon slender supports above the marsh, like cranes or bitterns watching for scaly prey," wrote Harper's.

In trying to describe the Filipino men of St. Maolo, Harper's wrote: "Most of them are cinnamon-colored men... like that bronze into which a small proportion of gold is worked by the molder. Their features are irregular without being actually repulsive... In Manila there are several varieties of the Malay race, and these Louisiana settlers represent more than one type."

Despite Harper's exotic description, there was little time for the men of St. Maolo to enjoy the scenery. Most operated fishing and shrimping boats to earn a modest living. Despite their remote location, residents were able to remain in close contact with relatives in Manila through an informal network of seamen traveling from American ports to Asia.

Just six years after the Harper's article was published, Commodore George Dewey, in 1889, negotiated the purchase of the Philippines from Spain for \$20 million. The deal helped end the Spanish-American War, but marked the beginning of a new fight: The Philippine American War.

Filipinos had long been struggling to end 300 years of oppressive Spanish rule and many fiercely resented that a new colonizer was going to simply replace the old one. But, that fight for independence ended in 1902. As the Philippine-American War ended, hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children had been killed. Those that remained alive were named wards of America -- U.S. nationals.

In the years that followed, the U.S. established a school system to educate future leaders for the new American protectorate. The U.S. began offering scholarships to wealthy mestizo Filipinos to study at American universities. Known as pensionados these Pinoys were supposed to return home once their studies were completed. While the majority of pensionados returned to the Philippines, those that stayed quickly realized that an education did not ensure equality in American society.

Considered nationals, Filipino Americans were unable to vote, own property or hold government jobs. Men who were educated as engineers, lawyers, and doctors were usually unable to practice their professions in the U.S. As a result, pensionados joined the growing ranks of Filipino laborers who labeled their downwardly mobile brethren: fountain pen boys.

For those who were not offered government scholarships, the easiest way to leave the Philippines was to sign up with the many recruiters in Manila who hired able bodied men to work in the Hawaiian sugar cane fields alongside Japanese and Portuguese laborers. The typical contract for a cane worker lasted three years with transportation and housing provided. Some recruitment offers also included free transportation for families while also furnishing basic health care.

Back in the U.S. mainland Filipinos were also tilling and harvesting the farm fields of California, Washington, Idaho and New York. Large communities of Filipino men and women drifted from farm to farm as they followed the harvest.

This transient lifestyle made many hungry for news from home. Filipino

American community newspapers began to spring up throughout California. While most opened and closed after a few issues, some managed to publish consistently. Those that survived gained a loyal readership and their publishers returned the favor by moving from farm to farm with each harvest.

By 1930, Filipinos had become America's newest workforce and among its most underpaid and undervalued. Filipino stoop laborers -- so called because of the of the endless bending and stooping required to harvest vegetables -- earned \$50 a month for working 12 hours a day 6 days a week. A

Working conditions were notorious in the fish canneries of Alaska where the payment system lent itself to abuse. Cannery owners provided a set budget for recruiters to hire workers to process fish and other seafood, most owners did not care exactly how that money was spent. Seeking to line their own pockets, recruiters hired workers at extremely low wages and simply pocket the remaining money.

A prerequisite to being hired for cannery work was the purchase of an expensive, but poorly made-to-order suit. This agreement, part of the "Yellow Dog Contract," was well-known to Fil-Am workers. Signing the contract meant that you agreed not to join a union, the cost of the suit would be deducted from your already low wages which would not be paid in full until the end of the canning season.

Motivated by the union movement that changed American workplaces during the 1920s, cannery workers began to organize despite the "Yellow Dog Contract." Among those early unions was the Cannery Workers and Farm Laborers Union, largely organized by pensionados who mobilized other workers, both Filipino and non-Filipino. But, by the 1930s union organizing would take a backseat to the fight to survive the Great Depression.

Like the rest of the population, Filipino Americans were hit hard by the Great Depression that, at its peak, saw almost 50 percent of the American population unemployed. A

During the economic boom years of the 1920s, there was little competition for the menial jobs many Filipinos held. Those who were lucky enough to be working, shared what little they had with their friends and Filipino neighbors.

Fil-Am fraternal organizations sprung up all over the western states. The running joke at the time was that when two Filipinos met, three organizations were immediately created; yours, mine and ours.

But while the hard economic times of the 1930s banded the community together, the depression heightened tensions between Filipinos and white Americans. Economic anxiety quickly turned into rabid racism.

Throughout the West, stores, restaurants, movie theaters, public restrooms and even public swimming pools featured signs that read: No Filipinos Allowed.

After the Japanese government bombed Pearl Harbor in December 1941, anti-Filipino sentiment was displaced by a racist and xenophobic attitude towards Japanese Americans.

As the U.S. entered World War II, Filipinos, like other Americans rallied

behind the war effort. But their status as U.S. nationals prevented them from serving in any of the American armed forces. That was changed after President Roosevelt approved a bill that allowed Filipino Americans to become U.S. citizens and serve in the military.

In 1943 the first all-Filipino battalion of the U.S. army began training in San Luis Obispo, California, where more than 350 years earlier the first Filipinos to arrive in North America landed.

As more Fil-Ams enlisted, that first battalion became large enough to become a regiment, most served in battle to regain the Philippines from Japan.

While Fil-Ams served in every branch of the military, none became commissioned officers. Lt. Reuben Sungco graduated from the Naval Academy at Annapolis, but was denied a commission. The Navy had a reputation for using enlisted Filipinos only as waiters and cooks. Determined to fight, he joined the Army and was killed in battle in the Philippines during 1944.

On the homefront, educated Filipino Americans began to fill government positions vacated by those who had left to fight the war abroad. Filipinos could suddenly be found in offices, factories and other blue collar jobs.

The patriotism and valor displayed by Fil-Am soldiers, helped change the racist attitudes other Americans held before the war. As the war ended, Fil-Am veterans returned as partners in the future of America. Racism still existed, but laws preventing the integration of Filipinos were struck down a few years after the war ended. Armed with the benefits of U.S. citizenship, Filipino Americans had the law on their side even if racism was against them.

Like other veterans, many Fil-Am soldiers took advantage of the war bride provision which allowed spouses to emigrate to the U.S. with little hassle. With new families and the economic boom of the post-war years, Filipinos became firmly entrenched in American society.

In the 1950s, no one wanted to be different. Like other people of color, racial difference was clearly visible. What Filipinos couldn't hide in appearance, they hid in mannerisms. The aggressive trend toward assimilation may have taken a toll on the second generation of Filipino immigrants, many of whom refused to learn Tagalog or identify with a foreign culture.

But the societal and political movements of the 1960s and 70s changed how many ethnic Americans perceived their cultural heritage. Today student movements are again ensuring that Filipino American identity and culture are preserved.

The first eight Filipino soldiers that arrived here in 1587 could not have imagined that 2.2 million of their countrymen would follow them.

Filipino Americans are now the fastest growing segment of the Asian American population. They can now be found in every state in America and in every profession: hotel workers, chefs, office workers, business leaders, doctors, lawyers, and even government leaders.

Each day, new arrivals add to the 400 year-old Filipino American story.

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HEADLINE: US Federation of Phil-Am Chambers formed

BYLINE: Andrei, Mercedes Tira

BODY:

US Federation of Phil-Am Chambers formed.

By MERCEDES TIRA ANDREI

WASHINGTON--From Washington State to Washington D.C., from as far as Honolulu to nearby Philadelphia, they came for a capital weekend to build one organization that will move them closer to the cutting edge of commerce.

They wanted to be empowered to catch up with their birth country's economic miracle and to contribute cash and clout to their adopted homeland's economic might.

Speaking in various dialects, bringing their own giveaways of brochures and tabloids and exchanging business cards of various makes and designs, 250 delegates representing at least 40 Filipino-American Chambers of Commerce formally federated here during a two-day conference held at the downtown JW Marriott on May 17-18. The conference theme dwelt on the "Emerging Filipino-American Business."

They represented the business sector of the 2.2 million Filipino-American community--next to the Hispanics, the second largest immigrant group in the United States, and the fastest growing Asian American group, as well. The Fil-Am business sector has long hungered for national clout and respect.

But despite its numbers and other assets, it has not birthed a Filipino face in American haute politics, the way the Japanese, Chinese and Korean Americans have done. Although highly trained professionals, Filipino American businesses have been mostly mom-and-pop ventures.

Yet, even with its weak presence in the American economic and political mainstream, Filipino-Americans, according to the U.S. Census Bureau, generate over \$12.7 billion each year, a contribution from more than 511,000 households earning an average of \$25,000 per year after taxes. It is a community in search of markets, a community that is in itself an ever expanding market for goods and services.

The bloom of the Internet and cyberspace business, however, has released the

Filipino-American merchant potential: more and more Fil-Am entrepreneurs are coming out in the 90s, rolling up their sleeves to build corporations engaged in electronics, computers, information technologies, forwarding and parcel shipping services, retail banking and currency exchange, real estate development, medical, legal and publishing services.

It was the first meeting ever of the Filipino business chambers on a national scale. The California Coalition of Filipino American Chambers of Commerce headed by info-tech businessman Edgardo Orpina of San Ramon has provided the model for the federated structure.

The Philippine American Chamber of Commerce of Metro Washington, D.C. headed by financial and accounting CEO Klaus Buntua of Falls Church, Virginia hosted the conference and volunteered a secretariat.

The federation is "a vehicle for Filipino-American men and women to begin a process of economic empowerment," noted keynote speaker Ma. Luisa Mabilangan-Haley, a director of the United States Eximbank. Mrs. Haley is the most visible Filipino-American in the Clinton administration. Her role is deemed crucial in galvanizing small and medium scale businesses, the business realm that continues to host Filipino-American entrepreneurship.

To the large Philippine trade and investment contingent that took part in the historic meeting, the conference was a dream come true. It was in 1993 that the Ramos administration began tuning up the informal dialogues between Manila, the Philippine Embassy here and the various Fil-Am chambers that floated the idea of coming together as one business voice, one network of chambers of commerce.

Acting Trade and Industry Secretary Cesar B. Bautista dubbed the meeting "a very unusual conference"--unusual because Filipinos overseas, especially those now living in the United States, have constituted some of the most difficult groups to convince in investing in the Philippines.

His description of the Philippines' economic transformation provided the Fil-Am business audience with a model to follow in their pursuit for economic empowerment.

Leadership, reform in attitudes and policies, a durable foundation of strategy and determination to succeed are some of the hallmarks of Philippine economic growth, he said, stopping short of asking the Fil-Ams to adopt the same culture of reform.

Filipino-American entrepreneur Manuel Aldana, president and CEO of Sequel Concepts, the New Jersey-based info-technology business that leads Fil-Am companies in this market, encouraged the chambers to go into cyberspace enterprises.

Go to the Internet, the current hotbed of commercial activity, he said. The Internet is "no longer a big mystery," he said but "a communication medium one can use in order to compete."

Sequel Concepts is considered the largest provider of Internet services in the Philippines today. Aldana himself was honored by the U.S. government last year as the "U.S. Minority Business Person of the Year" of New Jersey. He said a

key to his company's international success is its corporate ability "to learn to adjust to the political and cultural environment of (any) country."

Fil-American Paula Bagasao, an official of the U.S. Agency for International Aid appointed by President Clinton, urged the participants to use their conference time to develop personal contacts: "one to one personal contacts," having the best 20 contacts could do lots of wonders to one's business.

Ambassador Raul Ch. Rabe opened and closed the conference with a significant measure of pride. The federation is one of his "babies"--as the Ramos government's chief envoy of Philippine economic diplomacy in the United States. Last spring, he asked the California Fil-Am Federation, then meeting in San Diego, to make this dream come alive.

The maiden conference, he said, shows the "unprecedented unity of purpose" of Filipino Americans. "I see an aggressive mercantilist outlook poised to grasp the opportunities of your bicultural heritage," he said in his message. "While much attention is paid to the Forbes 500, the United States leadership knows that the sustainability of its industrial base rests not on these giant companies but on the small and medium-sized enterprises upon which they depend for component inputs, research and development, marketing," he said.

"The opportunities for growth and a stronger presence in the global business community are boundless for Philippine American businesses working together with their Philippine counterpart," said George Suter, president of the 76-year-old New York-based Philippine American Chamber of Commerce, the chamber of the Fortune 500 corporations doing business in and with the Philippines." The establishment of the federation, with its networking potential, will provide a vehicle for the realization of these opportunities."

Delegates to the conference elected the founding officers of their national body called the "U.S. Federation of Philippine American Chambers of Commerce."

The new set of officers are: Yolanda Ortega Stern of San Francisco, president; Celia P. Donahue of Washington, DC, executive vice president. Fred Navarro (Chicago), VP for membership; Ed Orpina (Trivalley, CA), VP for information systems; Romy Pangilinan (San Gabriel Valley, CA), VP for government affairs; Ludovico Villanueva (Georgia), VP for programs; Sid Protacio (San Francisco), VP for public relations; Manolo Apanag (Georgia), VP for finance; Paul Cunnion (New York), VP for business development; Dennis Villanueva (Florida), VP for trade and investment; Faith McCarthy (San Diego, CA), VP for tourism; Tess Martin (Los Angeles), VP for the federation's national conference; Malou Mariano (San Francisco), secretary; Zenaida Campos (Contra Costa, CA), treasurer.

Ambassador Rabe inducted the officers during a dinner-dance that capped the event and featured President Ramos saluting the federation via satellite.

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HEADLINE: Fil-Am luminaries profiled in new book by Crisostomo

BODY:

Fil-Am luminaries profiled in new book by Crisostomo.

For hundreds of years, people from foreign lands have headed to North America to find out for themselves if the stories of unlimited opportunities were true. Among those seeking a better life were thousands of Filipinos.

Today, there are more than 2 million Filipinos in the United States, making up this country's second largest Asian American group. Additionally, over 200,000 immigrants have made their home in Canada.

Yet with numbers like these, the "movers and shakers" from the Filipino community are not often recognized and their contributions to this country are often overlooked.

Now, a new book brings to life their significant achievements and vital roles in American and Canadian societies. Filipino Achievers in the USA and Canada: Profiles in Excellence by Isabelo T. Crisostomo (Copyright 1996, Bookhaus Publishers, \$65 hardcover coffee-table book) is just off the press!

The book traces the journeys made by Filipinos to America from 1763 to the present. These included the so-called "Manilamen" who jumped ship off Spanish galleons and settled in the bayous of Louisiana in the late 1700s and the "pensionados" (scholars) in the early 1900s, together with mostly non-skilled workers and non-sponsored students until the early 1930s. Then came the 1945 immigration that consisted of World War II veterans. After the enactment of the 1965 Immigration Act, according to Crisostomo. We have seen an influx of educated professionals, including doctors, nurses, lawyers, engineers, and entrepreneurs. Here they are

Here are a few of the Filipino achievers you will meet in the book: Ben Cayetano, Governor of Hawaii; Maria Luisa Mabilangan Haley, a director of the U.S. Export-Import Bank and the highest ranking Filipino American official in the Clinton Administration; Rey D. Pagtakhan, a member of the Canadian Parliament; Lea Salonga, Tony Award winner for her performance as Kim in Broadway's Miss Saigon; Loida Nicolas Lewis, head of a \$1.8-B business empire; Josie Cruz Natori, international fashion empress; Dr. Enrique M. Ostrea, Jr., famed inventor researcher; Lilia Calderon, global money manager; Drs. Jose and Estella Evangelista, Michigan Hall of Famers; Jose Romero, international impressionistic acrylic artist; Mark V. Pangilinan, Guam tycoon-publisher;



Emelio Uy, Filipino 'Godfather' in Guam; Dr. Ernesto Mercado Espaldo, doctor with a heart of gold; Tita Dioso Gillespie, Newsweek general editor; Gene Canque Liddell, first US Filipino woman mayor; Irene Natividad, famed political activist; David M. Valderrama, political trail-blazer in the US; Angelita Albano Castro Kelly, Filipino NASA operations manager; Ronnie Alejandro, author-artist; and Larry Asera, noted engineer and public servant.

For more information and a free dustjacket, you may call the publisher, Bookhaus Publishers, at (toll free) 1-800-807-6908.

The book is available direct from the publisher or from the following bookstores: 1. Philippine Expressions/Filipiniana Bookshop, 10717 Wilshire Blvd. #702, Los Angeles, CA 90024, (310) 470-8959. 2. Midnight Special, 1318 Third St., Santa Monica, CA 90401 (310) 393-2923. 3. Cellar Book Shop, 18090 Wyoming, Detroit, MT 48221, (313) 861-1776.

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FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS TO WOMEN OF THE PHILIPPINES
MANILA, THE PHILIPPINES
NOVEMBER 24, 1996

Greetings to the women of the Philippines. And greetings to the women of Asia. Listening to the musicians play and the choruses sing, and hearing the incomparable voice of Lea Solonga [Sull-ong-guh], I feel very welcome here.

I want to thank Mrs. Ramos for her warm hospitality. All of us owe a debt of gratitude to Mrs. Ramos for her leadership on behalf of social, health, environmental and cultural causes. I am also pleased that other First Ladies who have accompanied their husbands to Manila for the APEC Summit are with us this morning and will be sharing their insights and ideas during this discussion.

And, as a former Girl Scout, I am delighted to know that several thousand Girl Scouts are in the audience. They and the other young people here represent our brightest hope for the future.

✓ It is a privilege for me to be in Manila today. This is my second visit to this wonderful country and I'm discovering that I feel ~~very~~ at home here. Perhaps it's because of the long and strong ties between our nations. Perhaps it's because Filipinos have contributed so much to the United States and to American culture.

I see every day at the White House the values of hard work, love of family, and respect for human dignity that are hallmarks of the Philippine people. Among the President's most dedicated personal assistants are Philippine-Americans -- Lito Bautista, Fred Sanchez and Bayani [Bye-on-ee] Nelvis -- whose service brings distinction and pride to America and to your country.

You may not know that the President's personal physician, Dr. Connie Mariano, was born in the Philippines and still has

family here. Her father, like many in his generation, joined the United States Navy, moved his wife and children to the United States and became an American citizen. Connie is the first woman and the first Philippine-American ever to serve full-time as an American President's doctor. She is with me today. And I know that my husband joins me in saying that we are blessed to have a person -- and a woman -- of such talent, commitment, integrity, and professionalism in this important job.

I want to thank the National Council of Women of the Philippines and its president, Nona Ricafort, and the Congressional Spouses Foundation and its president, Gina de ~~Von~~ecia [Vuh-nee-see-uh], for inviting me to be part of this gathering. I join in congratulating the Council on its fiftieth anniversary and for leading efforts here and across Asia to further women's progress and to continue the work of the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing.

+ Friday?

See?

Let me also express my appreciation of -- and admiration for -- several women whom I have had the privilege of knowing and working with in the past: Senator Leticia Ramos-Shahani, who headed your country's delegation to Beijing -- one of the largest delegations at the conference -- and, as chair of the Group of 77 countries, helped forged consensus among delegates of many different points of view; Irene Santiago, who so ably chaired the NGO Forum at Huairou during the Beijing conference; and Dr. Patricia Licuanan [Lick-WAH-nun] who headed the committee that produced the Platform for Action in Beijing and now chairs the United Nations' Commission on the Status of Women. All of these women are leading voices on behalf of women around the world. And all of them are daughters of the Philippines.

This year, of course, marks the tenth anniversary of the People Power Revolution. The people of the Philippines didn't just make history ten years ago, they furthered the cause of political freedom, democracy and human rights for millions around the world. Their success would not have been possible without the courage and commitment of Corazon Aquino and other women too numerous to mention.

It seems that everywhere we turn, women are at the forefront of change and progress. Next week, I will join Mrs. Frei of Chile and other First Ladies from throughout the Western Hemisphere for

a conference in Bolivia, where we will address the challenges still confronting women and families in our region.

Wherever women meet -- whether here or in South America or on any other continent -- we come together at a time of great hope and promise. A little over a year ago, representatives from 189 countries met in Beijing to draw attention to the issues that matter most in the lives of women and their families. It was an historic gathering -- a celebration of the contributions women make in every aspect of life and in the development of their societies.

It was also a call to action. A loud, clear, and unequivocal call to nations around the world to recognize that their progress and prosperity depend on the progress and prosperity of women. That the strength of their political systems depends on the inclusion and participation of women. That the vibrancy of their economies depends on the contributions of women. That the richness of their civic life depends on the experiences and wisdom of women.

It was a call to nations around the world to recognize that democracy, free market economies and civil society will not thrive and survive if girls and women are denied access to the tools of opportunity: health care, education, credit and jobs, legal protections and the chance to participate fully in the political life of their countries.

And finally, it was a call to all countries to honor a simple moral principle: that women's rights are human rights -- and human rights are women's rights.

Today we take comfort in knowing that many countries have responded to that call:

Tanzania, India and Argentina have taken steps to increase the number of women at high levels of government. Recent elections in Bangladesh, Japan, Mongolia, and Australia illustrate the increasing number of women running for and winning political office.

And in my own country, where we have just completed our presidential elections, it was women who shaped the issues and

drove the political debate throughout the campaign.

We see our call to action resonating in the legal realm as well. In Panama, the family code has been reformed, giving women more say in alimony, child support and child custody cases. In Namibia, women are now afforded equal rights with men in marriage. Women in Fiji now can work past six in the evening. Women in Nepal are challenging the country's strict inheritance laws. Thailand has passed a new anti-prostitution law. And Denmark has launched initiatives to ensure equality for women in the workplace. ^{pay}

In the areas of health, education and family life, so vital to women's advancement, we see encouraging signs of progress. The government of Chile has committed itself to tackling AIDS and adolescent pregnancies and to expanding educational opportunities for girls. Egypt has banned the practice of genital mutilation in government health facilities. In South Africa, efforts are underway to ensure free health care for pregnant women and children under six. And today, thanks to a new government program, more families in South Korea are able to take advantage of child care facilities.

From Central America to Central ^{Asia} ~~Africa (and beyond)~~ women are pushing governments to lift the veil of secrecy that for too long has concealed the tragic crime of domestic violence. Here in the Philippines, you have done pioneering work in helping the government set up centers to assist women and children victimized by domestic conflict. Your government also is working to raise awareness among police officers and judges about this problem.

And I am ^{pleased} ~~proud~~ to report that in the United States we, too, are actively working to end violence against women. My husband's Administration has established a well-funded Office on Violence Against Women in the Justice Department that is strengthening prevention and enforcement efforts in all fifty states.

Women are also seeking and gaining more opportunities for economic self-reliance in countries East, West, North and South. Even as the APEC leaders gather here, efforts are underway through non-governmental organizations and networks among senior women leaders throughout the Asia Pacific region to ensure that women are full participants in the economic progress that the

APEC arrangements represent.

On my last trip to Manila I took great pleasure in meeting with Philippine NGOs, including some dedicated to women's issues. Thanks to the extensive network of NGOs that has flourished here in the past ten years, we have witnessed new progress in the areas of women's health and safe motherhood, female literacy, sexual violence, and microcredit.

I have seen for myself the pioneering work being done to improve conditions for women in the Philippines. I had the chance when I was here before to tour the Fabella hospital, where innovative, low-cost techniques are used to help new mothers bond with their infants. When it comes to giving women and children the right start in life, the hospital is a model for the world.

and breastfeeding
I also applaud President Ramos for addressing the difficult and sensitive issue of family planning. Despite the challenge this issue poses, your nation is contributing to the well-being of Philippine mothers, fathers and families.

Your president and your government also deserve praise for their urgent campaign to end the illegal recruitment of Filipinas for overseas jobs in which the rights of women and girls are routinely violated in other countries. Women deserve to be respected and compensated for the work they do -- wherever they do it.

Each achievement in each country I have mentioned would be significant in and of itself. But together they represent a remarkable and unprecedented effort to create more balance within our global society and in people's individual lives.

A few days ago, I had the chance to speak in Sydney, Australia about the role of women in the 21st century. I said that building and sustaining democracy has always required a balance of power: a balance of public political power, private economic power, and the power of civil society, ~~the~~ formal and informal networks that bring people together to make decisions for themselves and for the common good. ✓

Every generation faces the task of achieving that balance of power so that democratic values continue to flourish. But whether

we succeed is particularly important for women who, despite the enormous strides we have made, still find their voices silenced and their potential stymied in too many parts of the world. In country after country -- from the most advanced democracies to those newly emerging, from the most dynamic free market economies to those reeling from the pace of global change -- women are ✓ still striving to attain and define their rightful place in government, the economy and civil society and claim their share of personal, political, economic, and civic power.

They are seeking balance in their lives and in their societies.

That is what the Beijing conference was about. That is what our work today is about. And that is what our mission will remain as we move forward into a new century.

~~There is no balance of power in our world as long as~~
Because there is no balance of power ^{re} in our world as long as poverty wears a woman's face.

^{girls and} There is no balance of power [?] [in our world] as long as the health of women is compromised and their hopes for education shortchanged.

There is no balance of power [in our world] as long as women are banned from the bank lending office, barred from the ballot box and blocked from taking their rightful place in government.

There is no balance of power [in our world] as long as women are denied equal pay for equal work and an equal chance to climb the ladders of opportunity.

There is no balance of power [in our world] as long as the rights of women and girls continue to be violated:

As long as women are exploited, abused and endangered when they search for legitimate work to support their families.

As long as girls are sold to brothels and enslaved in child labor.

As long as women and girls are subjected to physical violence in the name of cultural tradition.

As long as rape is accepted as a fact of life instead of the crime that it is.

Most of us in this audience are old enough to have made ^{many of} the decisions defining the contours of our lives. But for the young women here today, ~~many~~ ^{most} of those decisions remain on the horizon. Decisions about family and work and ~~which avenues will lead to~~ personal fulfillment.

Young women are relying on us to leave them a world that encourages their dreams, nurtures their talents, and respects their choices.

So let us go forward from this day to do what we have been called to do -- just as women have risen to challenges and triumphed over adversity for generations before us.

This is our opportunity. This is our responsibility. This is our challenge.

Thank you very much. And may God bless you, your country, and the work you do every day.

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SUCSESSES SINCE THE BEIJING CONFERENCE:

Political Participation: The political doors are beginning to open up for women. Since the Beijing conference, governments have been responding to the call to increase the level of women's political participation. Governments in Tanzania, India and Argentina have passed or are considering laws which establish quotas for the number of women represented at the higher level of governments. Recent elections in countries such as Bangladesh, Japan and Mongolia illustrate the increasing number of women running for and winning political office. Also, women voter projects are more and more common, some funded by AID. In the recent Bangladesh election, some 76% of registered women turned out to vote, the highest turnout ever, higher than the percentage of eligible men voters.

✓
election

Women are also using the courts more to achieve equality. In Nepal, an AID supported project trained women lawyers on how to challenge the country's inheritance laws. As a result, the Supreme Court ruled these laws unconstitutional since the constitution calls for equality, and directed the legislature to change them. Women in Panama returned from Beijing and got the family code reformed, something they had been working on for ten years. This affects alimony, child support, and child custody. Women in India are working through new networks for gender just laws.

*

Economic Participation: The APEC Women Senior Leader's Network is a far-reaching effort to bring NGOs into the APEC process and, among other things, address the effects of trade liberalization on women and their families. This is new and American NGOs have not yet been involved in the effort, but it is a bold idea, breaking into the trade specific APEC process. Women are seeking and gaining more opportunities for economic self-reliance. In Sri Lanka, AID supports a program to train rural women in income-generating projects. The Sri Lankan woman who runs the project reports that as these women bring their new skills into their home and teach their husbands, they get greater respect and recognition for their contribution to the family and village.

no 1/2
get
done

Domestic Violence: There has been an increasing awareness at governmental levels that domestic violence is a serious threat to women. In an effort to remedy this, many governments, including the Philippines, Colombia, Ecuador and Panama, have passed new domestic violence laws which often criminalize spousal abuse for the first time. Many governments have also increased their involvement in the creation and implementation of practical solutions to problems of domestic violence. Uganda, Nepal, the Philippines, Brazil and Costa Rica have created and implemented programs which increase the sensitivity of police to issues of domestic violence. NGOs have also been extremely active in pushing governments to protect women from domestic violence.

*

Part 9 challenge at end???

-2-

NGOs: One of the most significant achievements of the Beijing conference has been the mobilization of women's organizations worldwide. Beijing has helped to legitimize women's issues, making it easier for groups to raise their concerns. In the year since the Beijing conference, women's NGOs around the world continue to press governments for change, provide new and creative services and programs for women and share their experiences with other NGOs and women in other countries. NGOs met fellow advocates and activists from their own country in Beijing and came home to work together, often for the first time. NGOs are using the commitments countries made at Beijing to hold their countries accountable. They are using the Beijing Platform for Action, to which their country joined consensus, to lobby their government. NGOs report greater solidarity post Beijing because they struggled to get there and continue to struggle with implementation.

→ challenge to global networking

ONGOING OBSTACLES:

Economic empowerment: The feminization of poverty continues. Women disproportionately suffer from poverty, are restricted to low-paying, traditional jobs, and are overrepresented in the informal sector. Women still face serious barriers to access to credit, access to property ownership, and access to equal opportunities for employment. The future status of women will depend on the elimination of all barriers to women's economic employment and the alleviation of poverty. As countries develop and move forward, women must be at the table. This is an especially important point to make in light of the APEC meeting.

Discrimination of Women in Traditional/Customary/Religious Law and Practice:

Although most countries guarantee women equal rights under their constitution or formal laws, parallel systems of traditional, customary or religious law often conflict with these formal guarantees. In many instances, customary law and practice coopts the fundamental human rights of women and girls. Religion is still used to justify discrimination against women (Afghanistan for example). Organized religion often sees women's empowerment as a threat and characterizes it as anti-family. For example, the Minister for Women in Chile, who happens to be a Catholic mother of six, says that the Catholic Church is her greatest obstacle to moving the Beijing agenda forward, and not just in the area of family planning. She keeps an open dialogue with the Cardinal and Vatican rep in Chile but meets continued resistance.

Women are working very hard within the framework of their organized religions to combine their spiritual and political lives. In India (and the US) women are forming ecumenical networks, working across religious lines, to strengthen their efforts. Post Beijing, Muslim women have formed and strengthened international networks to share strategies. They maintain that restrictions placed on women in Islamic societies are not based on religion. The problem is not Islam, they say, its men. Governments often contribute to the problem by failing to enforce laws which protect women from discrimination. Political will and the desire to move beyond rhetoric to action is needed.

Gender-Based Violence in Times of Conflict: During conflict, women are at high risk for gender-specific abuses such as rape. The sexual violence women suffered in recent conflicts in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Haiti and Rwanda illustrate the horrors that befall women in wartime. More attention is needed on the effects of conflict on non-combatants. More effort is needed to protect women from being used as tools of war.

family planning - Ramos - lead.

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS FOR "THE U.N. WOMEN'S CONFERENCE ONE YEAR LATER"
WASHINGTON, DC
SEPTEMBER 28, 1996

Thank you, Judy. Thank you, distinguished members of our panel -- and our audience here in Washington and around the country -- for sharing your time and insights and for taking part in today's discussion. Most of all, I want to thank the thousands of women and men across America who are turning the promise of Beijing into progress in their own communities. Your actions speak louder than any of our words.

One year ago, I had the privilege of joining the U.S. delegation to the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. It was an historic gathering -- a celebration of the contributions women make in every aspect of life.

It was also, as we just heard [in the video], a call to action. A call to action on behalf of women and girls around the world who are being denied the opportunity to live up to their God-given potential -- being denied education, health care, jobs and credit, the chance to enjoy basic legal and human rights and to participate fully in the political life of their countries.

I remember, as I spoke in Beijing, looking out at the delegates and seeing women of all colors and races, dressed in everything from Western-style business suits to saris to jilbabs to boubas [boo-bahs]. Women from 189 countries, so different on the surface, yet united in a single urgent message: "Women's rights are human rights -- and human rights are women's rights."

Recently I did a radio show on Voice of America and a call came in from Iran. The caller asked very earnestly what I had meant when I said in Beijing that "women's rights are human rights -- and human rights are women's rights." I was somewhat taken aback, and the only thing I could think to say was: "Just close your eyes and imagine all the rights that men have always had. Now imagine women having all those same rights."

Today, we see that the message of Beijing -- the message that women's rights are human rights -- is being heard around the world. In classrooms. In factories. In offices. In seats of power.

The platform for action that 189 nations agreed to at the women's conference didn't just generate excitement and momentum, it generated results.

Women in Namibia now are afforded equal rights with men in

marriage. Women in Fiji now can work past six in the evening. Women in Nepal may soon be allowed to own property. Women in Guatemala now can take advantage of scholarships to study political science at the national university. Women in India and Cameroon may now be better represented in government because of efforts to increase the number of women elected to office in those countries.

As we consider these achievements, I realize there is a tendency to assume that the Beijing conference had little relevance for American women because we enjoy advantages in wealth, health, education, and political and legal rights compared to women elsewhere in the world.

Yet if, like me, you have had the chance to travel around our country talking to people about their lives, you know that American women share many of the same aspirations and concerns as women in other countries.

And you also know that there is more we can do here at home on behalf of women and girls.

There is more we can do to protect women from violence at home and on our streets.

There is more we can do to ensure that women receive equal wages for equal work.

There is more we can do to provide retirement security for women who spend many of their waking hours on assembly lines, behind cash registers, and working at computers.

There is more we can do to help women fulfill the responsibilities of family and work.

There is more we can do to promote the health of women throughout their lifetimes.

There is more we can do to make credit and other opportunities for economic self-sufficiency available to women.

And we are doing more, thanks in part to the conference in Beijing and the blueprint for action it gave us. Whether we are working on domestic violence, reproductive rights, job security, pay equity, workplace discrimination or any other issue affecting women and girls, our actions are founded on the knowledge that women's rights and human rights are one and the same thing.

Here in America, we are committed to making progress on behalf of women and girls. As soon as the Beijing conference ended, the President established the President's InterAgency Council on Women, which brings together representatives from each

federal agency to develop policies that support the advancement of women and girls in the United States.

Let me give you a few examples of what this council and our government -- working with non-government groups -- have accomplished in a very short time.

The United States now has an office at the Justice Department devoted to ending violence against women through tougher laws, better enforcement, and prevention. A nationwide 24-hour domestic violence hotline that went into effect earlier this year provides immediate crisis intervention for those in need. In just six months, the hotline has received more than 44,000 calls.

The Department of the Treasury, under Secretary Bob Rubin, has established a Presidential Awards Program to honor individuals and institutions who are making significant efforts to promote microenterprise in communities across our country. For those of you who have not heard of microenterprise, it's a fancy word for modest loans -- given to women who might not have access to credit -- to start small businesses and help support themselves and their families.

In the field of health, Secretary Shalala and her department continue to make women's health a top priority, encouraging public-private partnerships to improve breast cancer research and establishing a National Women's Health Information Center.

The Department of Education has taken new steps to promote equity for girls and women in federal programs and the Department of Housing and Urban Development has launched a Homeownership Initiative for Women.

The Environmental Protection Agency will now assess the special impact of environmental health risks on women.

We see in these examples that the United States is not simply paying lip service to the Beijing platform, but acting on it.

I am also pleased that many other exciting initiatives are underway at the state and local level and among grass-roots organizations in communities across our country.

In Woodbridge, New Jersey volunteers are working with the Mayor's office to develop a domestic violence help-line. In Maryland, women in the state legislature are using the Beijing platform to guide their legislative agenda. And mayors from Cleveland to Oakland are showing their support for the Beijing agenda by working to expand opportunities for girls and women.

Grass-roots efforts are also essential to our progress and today we see energy and excitement rippling out from Beijing into our communities: From Louisville, Kentucky, where students at a local high school put on a day-long conference in which boys explored negative images of women in the media to San Antonio, Texas, where young men and women college students held a march to protest domestic violence.

These activities are taking place because the agenda presented in Beijing resonated so deeply with men and women across our country and around the world.

Before I close, let me make one final point.

Because we are talking about issues that matter most in the lives of women and girls does not mean that we are ignoring issues of concern to men and boys.

If, as a nation and as a global family, we truly care about strong families, strong communities, and strong societies, we have to recognize that economic, political and social progress depends on women and girls having access to the opportunities they deserve.

As I said in Beijing: When women flourish, families flourish. When families flourish, communities flourish. When communities flourish, nations flourish. And every one of us -- men and women, boys and girls -- stands to gain.

I am convinced that Beijing was an historic step forward to achieving equal rights for women and girls here at home and around the world. And I am optimistic that we will make even more progress because so many Americans -- particularly so many young women and men -- are determined to mobilize their friends, neighbors and co-workers to move us beyond Beijing.

Women have always been at the forefront of social, political and economic change in our country. We have all benefited from the courage and leadership of women like Susan B. Anthony, Sojourner Truth, Jane Addams, Ida B. Wells, Eleanor Roosevelt and many others who led the struggles for women's suffrage, child labor laws, public education, civil rights and more. Now it is our turn to lead the way -- for our daughters and sons, for our granddaughters and grandsons, and for generations to follow.

This week, we got a glimpse of how far we have come. A few days ago, astronaut Shannon Lucid touched back down to Earth after a record-breaking stay of six months in space -- the longest stay in space of any woman or any American in history. [I remember as a teenager writing to NASA to inquire about my prospects as an astronaut and receiving a letter back saying that I could forget about it since women were not admitted into the

space program.]

What we are all working for today -- and what we will continue to work for tomorrow -- is to reach the point when we don't need any more international women's conferences. When we don't need any more InterAgency Councils. When a woman setting a record in space will not be an unusual occurrence.

What we are all working for is to reach a point when each person who graces this earth will be able to pursue the full opportunities he or she deserves.

Thank you for your dedication and commitment. May God bless you, your work and those who benefit from it.

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draft #1

HRC

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS TO THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE PHILIPPINES
MANILA, THE PHILIPPINES
NOVEMBER 24, 1996

→ Greetings to the women of the Philippines. And greetings to the women of Asia. *(Remove 1)* *from Larkin*

It is a privilege for me to be in Manila today. This is my second visit to this wonderful country and I'm discovering that I feel very at home here. Perhaps it's because of the long and strong ties between our nations. Perhaps it's because Filipinos have contributed so much to the United States and to American culture.

I see every day at the White House the values of hard work, love of family, and respect for human dignity that are hallmarks of the Philippine people. Among the President's most loyal personal assistants are Philippine-Americans -- Lito Bautista, Fred Sanchez and _____ -- whose service brings distinction and pride to America and to your country.

You may not know that the President's personal physician, Dr. Connie Mariano, was born in Manila [ck] and still has family here. Her father, like many in his generation, joined the United States Navy, moved his wife and daughter [children?] to the United States and became an American citizen. Connie is the first woman and the first Philippine-American ever to serve as an American President's doctor. She is with me today. And I know that my husband joins me in saying that we are blessed to have a person -- and a woman -- of such talent, dedication, integrity, and professionalism in this important job.

I want to thank the National Council of Women of the Philippines and its president, Nona Ricafort, for inviting me to be part of this gathering. I join all of you in congratulating the Council on its fiftieth anniversary and for leading efforts here and across Asia to further women's progress and to continue the work of the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing.

I also want to express my appreciation of -- and admiration for -- several women who are here and whom I have had the privilege of knowing and working with in the past: Senator

Leticia Ramos-Shahani, who headed your country's delegation to Beijing and, as chair of the Group of 77 Caucus, helped bring together women of many different points of view to forge consensus among them; Irene Santiago, who so ably chaired the NGO Forum at Huairou during the Beijing conference; and Dr. Patricia Licuanan, who headed the committee that produced the Platform for Action in Beijing and now chairs the United Nations' Commission on the Status of Women. All of these women are leading voices on behalf of women around the world. And all of them are daughters of the Philippines.

Glancing around this hall right now, I also see some of Asia's leaders of tomorrow: Several thousand Girl Scouts, and many other young women, are with us this morning, and they represent our best hopes for a brighter future. I thank each and every one of them for being here.

→
move
P. 6

This year, of course, marks the tenth anniversary of the People Power Revolution. The people of the Philippines didn't just make history ten years ago, they furthered the cause of political freedom and human rights for millions around the world. Their success would not have been possible without the courage and commitment of Corazon Aquino and other women too numerous to mention.

★ It seems that everywhere we turn, women -- especially Philippine women -- are at the forefront of change and progress. Earlier this morning I had the pleasure of meeting with Mrs. Ramos, who _____.

← I am also delighted that several other First Ladies who have accompanied their husbands to Manila for the APEC conference are with us this morning and will be sharing their ideas and insights during this discussion. Next week I will join Mrs. Frei of Chile and many of our counterparts throughout the Western Hemisphere for a conference in Bolivia, where we will address the challenges still confronting women and families in our region.

→ Wherever we meet -- whether here or in South America or on any other continent -- we come together at a time of great hope and promise for women. A little over a year ago, representatives from 189 countries met in Beijing to draw attention to the issues that matter most in the lives of women and their families. It was an historic gathering -- a celebration of the contributions women make in every aspect of life and in the development of their societies.

It was also a call to action. A loud, clear, and unequivocal

call to nations around the world to recognize that their progress and prosperity depend on the progress and prosperity of women. That the strength of their political systems depends on the inclusion and participation of women. That the vibrancy of their economies depends on the contributions of women. That the richness of their civic life depends on the experiences and wisdom of women.

It was a call to nations around the world to recognize that democracy, free market economies and civil society will not thrive and survive if girls and women are denied access to the tools of opportunity: health care, education, credit and jobs, legal protections and the chance to participate fully in the political life of their countries.

And finally, it was a call to all countries to honor a simple moral principle: that women's rights are human rights -- and human rights are women's rights.

Today we take comfort in knowing that many countries have responded to that call:

Tanzania, India and Argentina have passed or are considering laws to increase the number of women at high levels of government. Recent elections in Bangladesh, Japan and Mongolia *Australia?* illustrate the increasing number of women running for and winning political office. For the first time ever, more women voted in Bangladesh in [date] than men.

And in my own country, where we have just completed our presidential elections, it was women who shaped the issues and drove the political debate throughout the campaign.

We see our call to action resonating in the legal realm as well. In Panama, the family code has been reformed, giving women more say in alimony, child support and child custody cases. In Namibia, women are now afforded equal rights with men in marriage. Women in Fiji now can work past six in the evening. Women in Nepal are challenging the country's strict inheritance laws.

Guatemala And around the world women are helping to lift the veil of secrecy that for too long has concealed the tragic crime of domestic violence. Here in the Philippines you have done pioneering work in helping the government set up centers to assist women and children victimized by domestic conflict. Your government has taken the initiative to establish a women's desk in police stations to deal more effectively with this problem.

Your efforts are echoed around the globe. Colombia, Ecuador and Panama have passed new domestic violence laws that, for the first time, make spousal abuse a crime. Uganda, Brazil, and Costa Rica have instituted programs that, like yours, increase the sensitivity of police to domestic violence.

And I am proud to report that in the United States we are equally committed to ending violence against women. My husband's Administration has established an Office on Violence Against Women in the Justice Department which last spring launched a national hotline for victims of abuse. Already it has received more than 50,000 [ck] calls.

Women are also seeking and gaining more opportunities for economic self-reliance in countries East, West, North and South. Even as the APEC leaders gather here, efforts are underway through the Women's Senior APEC Leaders Network and other forums to ensure that women are full participants in the economic progress that the APEC arrangements represent.

And thanks to all of you, to the Philippine leaders I mentioned earlier, and to the extensive network of non-governmental organizations that have blossomed here in the past ten years, we have witnessed new efforts on behalf of women's health and safe motherhood, voluntary family planning and ~~reproductive rights~~, female literacy and ending sexual violence.

I have seen for myself some of the pioneering work being done to improve conditions for women in the Philippines. On my last trip I had the chance to visit the Fabella hospital in Manila, where innovative, low-cost techniques are used to help new mothers bond with their infants. When it comes to giving women and children the right start in life, the hospital is a model for the world.

I also applaud President Ramos and the government for their urgent campaign to end the illegal recruitment of Filipinas for overseas jobs in which the rights of women and girls are routinely violated in other countries. Women deserve to be respected and compensated for the work they do -- wherever they do it.

*I also want to app. the U.S. to help in No difficult
more 7-10-91 plan. I know how difficult this is*

Each achievement in each country I have mentioned would be remarkable in and of itself. But together they represent an extraordinary and unprecedented effort to create more balance within our global society and in people's individual lives.

A few days ago, I had the chance to speak in Sydney, Australia about the role of women in the 21st century. I said that building and sustaining democracy has always required a balance of power: a balance of public political power, private economic power, and the power of civil society, the formal and informal networks that bring people together to make decisions for themselves and for the common good.

Every generation faces the task of achieving that balance of power so that democratic values continue to flourish. But whether we succeed is particularly important for women who, despite the enormous strides we have made, still find their voices silenced and their [potential stymied] in too many parts of the world. In country after country -- from the most advanced democracies to those newly emerging, from the most dynamic free market economies to those reeling from the pace of global change -- women are still striving to attain and define their rightful place in government, the economy and civil society and claim their share of personal, political, economic, and civic power.

They are seeking balance in their lives and in their societies.

That is what the Beijing conference was about. That is what our work today is about. And that is what our mission will remain as we move forward into a new century.

Because there is no balance of power in our world as long as poverty wears a woman's face.

There is no balance of power as long as the health of women is compromised and their hopes for education shortchanged.

There is no balance of power as long as women are banned from the bank lending office, barred from the ballot box and blocked from taking their rightful place in government.

There is no balance of power as long as women are denied equal pay for equal work and an equal chance to climb the ladders of opportunity.

There is no balance of power as long as the rights of women and girls continue to be violated:

As long as women are exploited, abused and endangered when they search for legitimate work to support their families.

As long as girls are sold to brothels and subjugated in

factories.

As long as women and girls are subjected to physical violence in the name of cultural tradition.

As long as rape is accepted as an ~~inevitable~~ fact of life instead of the crime that it is.

As long as religion is ^{mis}used ^{anyone} to legitimize discrimination, condone oppression, and limit the potential of some of God's children because of their gender.

Let me say that many of us, including myself, find the source of our inspiration for social justice and political action in our spiritual lives and religious faiths. And we will not let anyone tell us that our commitment to God and our commitment to justice for women are incompatible.

Let us go forward from this day to do what we have been called to do -- just as women have risen to challenges and triumphed over adversity for generations before us.

This is our opportunity. This is our responsibility.

This is our Challenge.

~~And don't mess with it, Jack! (Oops. Just kidding)~~



MANILA NOTES (2)

[UN Conf.]

Beijing

more coop'n between women from N. + S.

Emphasis on econ empowerment

Key directions from conferences

↑ part-time + atypical employment (two ~~types~~ ^{tiered} workforce)

Women ↓ w/ restructuring + jobs → overseas

Income gap ↑

Natl security > military security

Manila

Be sensitive to tensions re: open mkt.

✓ Manifesto

Recognize Noo participation in Philippines

Social + econ depl't to prevent protest +
other probs -

Exploitation of women workers /
in search of jobs in other countries

Thailand

Pop'n control - focus for women

Depo Provera

Contraceptive /

work hours to station to get their jobs

TRIP MTB 11/7/96

Sydney

Australia 16 hrs ahead

Thailand 12 ahead

Manila 13 ahead.

Chaing Rai

Thai Women of Tomorrow

- give girls opportunities other than prostitution
- Japanese govt. contributes
- families regard birth of a girl as a joy bc when she becomes 15 can be sold to a brothel
- light skinned girls regarded as prettier bc lighter skinned
- all poor families across the country engage in it

American Vietnam vets → R + R in Thailand →
mushroom in sex for foreigners ~~also~~ in Thailand

Feminist movement is still nascent

Bill just passed to outlaw child prostitution
AIDS

Men recruited by going to brothels

Our CDC has an office here

↪

MANILA NOTES

Exploitation of Filipinas overseas

(women should be valued for their work wherever they do it)

Child Labor - Int'l Lab. Org'n report
slavery; child bondage; prostit

Urban
social worker
in Philippine
(61 ways)

"Poverty is a woman sends her children out to beg & traffic rather than [go] to school because otherwise there will be nothing to eat. The mother knows she is repeating the cycle that trapped her, but there is no way out that she can see."

Alt-W10/
book p.8

Biological status differs from gender status

Bio = whether born male or female

Gender = what a particular culture teaches

you about what it means to be masculine
& feminine

UN Conferences

Pop'n - Cairo: Not just family planning, but also
women's empowerment, edu, credit, &
reproductive health.

Copenhagen

explosive technological progress & econ growth has
watched by 7 social, spiritual, environmental,
cultural, & econ realities.

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— PLEASE DELIVER —

TO Lissa Muscatine
FROM Sabrina Corlette
FAX # _____
PHONE # _____
OF PAGES (including cover) 11

COMMENTS * Three Lexis/Nexis articles on Filipino-Americans.
-hope they're helpful!

62ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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Filipino Express, The

May 12, 1996

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HEADLINE: 400 years of filipino american history

BYLINE: Gajilan, Arlyn Tobias

BODY:

400 years of filipino american history.

BY ARLYN TOBIAS GAJILAN

When the news that the Filipino American population had swelled to 2.2 million within the last few years, it was only the latest chapter in the 400 year history of Filipinos in the United States.

The first recorded arrival of Filipinos on North American shores took place even before there was a country called the United States of America.

On October 18, 1587, a Spanish galleon, carrying with gold bound for Spain, landed near what is now San Luis Obispo, California. Eight Filipinos accompanied Spanish sailors on that voyage, but they would not be the last. For the next 250 years, the lucrative galleon trade would transport both gold and Filipinos across the Pacific Ocean.

Endowed with a natural harbor, Manila became the premier trading center of Asia. Using Filipino labor, the Spaniards built large masted galleons in Cebu and Cavite, where strong hardwood and other raw materials were readily available.

Once loaded with gold, silk and other "exotic riches from the Orient," the galleons would embark on a roundtrip voyage that took nearly a year to complete. Most ships left Manila for the western coast of Mexico where land caravans took shipments overland to the eastern port of Vera Cruz to load ships sailing for Spain.

On those ships, Filipino seamen would often outnumber Spanish sailors five to one. But unlike their Spanish shipmates, many would desert upon arriving in Mexico rather than return to the Philippines.

Enticed by stories of a Filipino settlement in Louisiana, these former sailors would make their way to a remote bayou settlement 100 miles from New Orleans. According to a March 31, 1883 article in Harper's Weekly, some 400 Filipinos had created an outpost known as St. Maolo.

The Ethnic NewsWatch, May 12, 1996

"Out of the shuddering reeds... rise the fantastic houses of the Malay fishermen, posed upon slender supports above the marsh, like cranes or bitterns watching for scaly prey," wrote Harper's.

In trying to describe the Filipino men of St. Maolo, Harper's wrote: "Most of them are cinnamon-colored men... like that bronze into which a small proportion of gold is worked by the molder. Their features are irregular without being actually repulsive... In Manila there are several varieties of the Malay race, and these Louisiana settlers represent more than one type."

Despite Harper's exotic description, there was little time for the men of St. Maolo to enjoy the scenery. Most operated fishing and shrimping boats to earn a modest living. Despite their remote location, residents were able to remain in close contact with relatives in Manila through an informal network of seamen traveling from American ports to Asia.

Just six years after the Harper's article was published, Commodore George Dewey, in 1889, negotiated the purchase of the Philippines from Spain for \$20 million. The deal helped end the Spanish-American War, but marked the beginning of a new fight: The Philippine American War.

Filipinos had long been struggling to end 300 years of oppressive Spanish rule and many fiercely resented that a new colonizer was going to simply replace the old one. But, that fight for independence ended in 1902. As the Philippine-American War ended, hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children had been killed. Those that remained alive were named wards of America -- U.S. nationals.

In the years that followed, the U.S. established a school system to educate future leaders for the new American protectorate. The U.S. began offering scholarships to wealthy mestizo Filipinos to study at American universities. Known as pensionados these Pinoys were supposed to return home once their studies were completed. While the majority of pensionados returned to the Philippines, those that stayed quickly realized that an education did not ensure equality in American society.

Considered nationals, Filipino Americans were unable to vote, own property or hold government jobs. Men who were educated as engineers, lawyers, and doctors were usually unable to practice their professions in the U.S. As a result, pensionados joined the growing ranks of Filipino laborers who labeled their downwardly mobile brethren: fountain pen boys.

For those who were not offered government scholarships, the easiest way to leave the Philippines was to sign up with the many recruiters in Manila who hired able bodied men to work in the Hawaiian sugar cane fields alongside Japanese and Portuguese laborers. The typical contract for a cane worker lasted three years with transportation and housing provided. Some recruitment offers also included free transportation for families while also furnishing basic health care.

Back in the U.S. mainland Filipinos were also tilling and harvesting the farm fields of California, Washington, Idaho and New York. Large communities of Filipino men and women drifted from farm to farm as they followed the harvest.

This transient lifestyle made many hungry for news from home. Filipino

The Ethnic NewsWatch, May 12, 1996

American community newspapers began to spring up throughout California. While most opened and closed after a few issues, some managed to publish consistently. Those that survived gained a loyal readership and their publishers returned the favor by moving from farm to farm with each harvest.

By 1930, Filipinos had become America's newest workforce and among its most underpaid and undervalued. Filipino stoop laborers -- so called because of the of the endless bending and stooping required to harvest vegetables -- earned \$50 a month for working 12 hours a day 6 days a week. ✱

Working conditions were notorious in the fish canneries of Alaska where the payment system lent itself to abuse. Cannery owners provided a set budget for recruiters to hire workers to process fish and other seafood, most owners did not care exactly how that money was spent. Seeking to line their own pockets, recruiters hired workers at extremely low wages and simply pocket the remaining money.

A prerequisite to being hired for cannery work was the purchase of an expensive, but poorly made-to-order suit. This agreement, part of the "Yellow Dog Contract," was well-known to Fil-Am workers. Signing the contract meant that you agreed not to join a union, the cost of the suit would be deducted from your already low wages which would not be paid in full until the end of the canning season.

Motivated by the union movement that changed American workplaces during the 1920s, cannery workers began to organize despite the "Yellow Dog Contract." Among those early unions was the Cannery Workers and Farm Laborers Union, largely organized by pensionados who mobilized other workers, both Filipino and non-Filipino. But, by the 1930s union organizing would take a backseat to the fight to survive the Great Depression.

Like the rest of the population, Filipino Americans were hit hard by the Great Depression that, at its peak, saw almost 50 percent of the American population unemployed. ✱

During the economic boom years of the 1920s, there was little competition for the menial jobs many Filipinos held. Those who were lucky enough to be working, shared what little they had with their friends and Filipino neighbors.

Fil-Am fraternal organizations sprung up all over the western states. The running joke at the time was that when two Filipinos met, three organizations were immediately created; yours, mine and ours.

But while the hard economic times of the 1930s banded the community together, the depression heightened tensions between Filipinos and white Americans. Economic anxiety quickly turned into rabid racism.

Throughout the West, stores, restaurants, movie theaters, public restrooms and even public swimming pools featured signs that read: No Filipinos Allowed.

After the Japanese government bombed Pearl Harbor in December 1941, anti-Filipino sentiment was displaced by a racist and xenophobic attitude towards Japanese Americans.

As the U.S. entered World War II, Filipinos, like other Americans rallied

The Ethnic NewsWatch, May 12, 1996

behind the war effort. But their status as U.S. nationals prevented them from serving in any of the American armed forces. That was changed after President Roosevelt approved a bill that allowed Filipino Americans to become U.S. citizens and serve in the military.

In 1943 the first all-Filipino battalion of the U.S. army began training in San Luis Obispo, California, where more than 350 years earlier the first Filipinos to arrive in North America landed.

As more Fil-Ams enlisted, that first battalion became large enough to become a regiment, most served in battle to regain the Philippines from Japan.

While Fil-Ams served in every branch of the military, none became commissioned officers. Lt. Reuben Sungco graduated from the Naval Academy at Annapolis, but was denied a commission. The Navy had a reputation for using enlisted Filipinos only as waiters and cooks. Determined to fight, he joined the Army and was killed in battle in the Philippines during 1944.

On the homefront, educated Filipino Americans began to fill government positions vacated by those who had left to fight the war abroad. Filipinos could suddenly be found in offices, factories and other blue collar jobs.

The patriotism and valor displayed by Fil-Am soldiers, helped change the racist attitudes other Americans held before the war. As the war ended, Fil-Am veterans returned as partners in the future of America. Racism still existed, but laws preventing the integration of Filipinos were struck down a few years after the war ended. Armed with the benefits of U.S. citizenship, Filipino Americans had the law on their side even if racism was against them.

Like other veterans, many Fil-Am soldiers took advantage of the war bride provision which allowed spouses to emigrate to the U.S. with little hassle. With new families and the economic boom of the post-war years, Filipinos became firmly entrenched in American society.

In the 1950s, no one wanted to be different. Like other people of color, racial difference was clearly visible. What Filipinos couldn't hide in appearance, they hid in mannerisms. The aggressive trend toward assimilation may have taken a toll on the second generation of Filipino immigrants, many of whom refused to learn Tagalog or identify with a foreign culture.

But the societal and political movements of the 1960s and 70s changed how many ethnic Americans perceived their cultural heritage. Today student movements are again ensuring that Filipino American identity and culture are preserved.

The first eight Filipino soldiers that arrived here in 1587 could not have imagined that 2.2 million of their countrymen would follow them.

Filipino Americans are now the fastest growing segment of the Asian American population. They can now be found in every state in America and in every profession: hotel workers, chefs, office workers, business leaders, doctors, lawyers, and even government leaders.

Each day, new arrivals add to the 400 year-old Filipino American story.



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Filipino Reporter

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HEADLINE: US Federation of Phil-Am Chambers formed

BYLINE: Andrei, Mercedes Tira

BODY:

US Federation of Phil-Am Chambers formed.

By MERCEDES TIRA ANDREI

WASHINGTON--From Washington State to Washington D.C., from as far as Honolulu to nearby Philadelphia, they came for a capital weekend to build one organization that will move them closer to the cutting edge of commerce.

They wanted to be empowered to catch up with their birth country's economic miracle and to contribute cash and clout to their adopted homeland's economic might.

Speaking in various dialects, bringing their own giveaways of brochures and tabloids and exchanging business cards of various makes and designs, 250 delegates representing at least 40 Filipino-American Chambers of Commerce formally federated here during a two-day conference held at the downtown JW Marriott on May 17-18. The conference theme dwelt on the "Emerging Filipino-American Business."

They represented the business sector of the 2.2 million Filipino-American community--next to the Hispanics, the second largest immigrant group in the United States, and the fastest growing Asian American group, as well. The Fil-Am business sector has long hungered for national clout and respect.

But despite its numbers and other assets, it has not birthed a Filipino face in American haute politics, the way the Japanese, Chinese and Korean Americans have done. Although highly trained professionals, Filipino American businesses have been mostly mom-and-pop ventures.

Yet, even with its weak presence in the American economic and political mainstream, Filipino-Americans, according to the U.S. Census Bureau, generate over \$12.7 billion each year, a contribution from more than 511,000 households earning an average of \$25,000 per year after taxes. It is a community in search of markets, a community that is in itself an ever expanding market for goods and services.

The bloom of the Internet and cyberspace business, however, has released the

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Filipino-American merchant potential: more and more Fil-Am entrepreneurs are coming out in the 90s, rolling up their sleeves to build corporations engaged in electronics, computers, information technologies, forwarding and parcel shipping services, retail banking and currency exchange, real estate development, medical, legal and publishing services.

It was the first meeting ever of the Filipino business chambers on a national scale. The California Coalition of Filipino American Chambers of Commerce headed by info-tech businessman Edgardo Orpina of San Ramon has provided the model for the federated structure.

The Philippine American Chamber of Commerce of Metro Washington, D.C. headed by financial and accounting CEO Klaus Buntua of Falls Church, Virginia hosted the conference and volunteered a secretariat.

The federation is "a vehicle for Filipino-American men and women to begin a process of economic empowerment," noted keynote speaker Ma. Luisa Mabilangan-Haley, a director of the United States Eximbank. Mrs. Haley is the most visible Filipino-American in the Clinton administration. Her role is deemed crucial in galvanizing small and medium scale businesses, the business realm that continues to host Filipino-American entrepreneurship.

To the large Philippine trade and investment contingent that took part in the historic meeting, the conference was a dream come true. It was in 1993 that the Ramos administration began tuning up the informal dialogues between Manila, the Philippine Embassy here and the various Fil-Am chambers that floated the idea of coming together as one business voice, one network of chambers of commerce.

Acting Trade and Industry Secretary Cesar B. Bautista dubbed the meeting "a very unusual conference"--unusual because Filipinos overseas, especially those now living in the United States, have constituted some of the most difficult groups to convince in investing in the Philippines.

His description of the Philippines' economic transformation provided the Fil-Am business audience with a model to follow in their pursuit for economic empowerment.

Leadership, reform in attitudes and policies, a durable foundation of strategy and determination to succeed are some of the hallmarks of Philippine economic growth, he said, stopping short of asking the Fil-Ams to adopt the same culture of reform.

Filipino-American entrepreneur Manuel Aldana, president and CEO of Sequel Concepts, the New Jersey-based info-technology business that leads Fil-Am companies in this market, encouraged the chambers to go into cyberspace enterprises.

Go to the Internet, the current hotbed of commercial activity, he said. The Internet is "no longer a big mystery," he said but "a communication medium one can use in order to compete."

Sequel Concepts is considered the largest provider of Internet services in the Philippines today. Aldana himself was honored by the U.S. government last year as the "U.S. Minority Business Person of the Year" of New Jersey. He said a

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key to his company's international success is its corporate ability "to learn to adjust to the political and cultural environment of (any) country."

Fil-American Paula Bagasao, an official of the U.S. Agency for International Aid appointed by President Clinton, urged the participants to use their conference time to develop personal contacts: "one to one personal contacts," having the best 20 contacts could do lots of wonders to one's business.

Ambassador Raul Ch. Rabe opened and closed the conference with a significant measure of pride. The federation is one of his "babies"--as the Ramos government's chief envoy of Philippine economic diplomacy in the United States. Last spring, he asked the California Fil-Am Federation, then meeting in San Diego, to make this dream come alive.

The maiden conference, he said, shows the "unprecedented unity of purpose" of Filipino Americans. "I see an aggressive mercantilist outlook poised to grasp the opportunities of your bicultural heritage," he said in his message. "While much attention is paid to the Forbes 500, the United States leadership knows that the sustainability of its industrial base rests not on these giant companies but on the small and medium-sized enterprises upon which they depend for component inputs, research and development, marketing," he said.

"The opportunities for growth and a stronger presence in the global business community are boundless for Philippine American businesses working together with their Philippine counterpart," said George Suter, president of the 76-year-old New York-based Philippine American Chamber of Commerce, the chamber of the Fortune 500 corporations doing business in and with the Philippines." The establishment of the federation, with its networking potential, will provide a vehicle for the realization of these opportunities."

Delegates to the conference elected the founding officers of their national body called the "U.S. Federation of Philippine American Chambers of Commerce."

The new set of officers are: Yolanda Ortega Stern of San Francisco, president; Celia P. Donahue of Washington, DC, executive vice president. Fred Navarro (Chicago), VP for membership; Ed Orpina (Trivalley, CA), VP for information systems; Romy Pangilinan (San Gabriel Valley, CA), VP for government affairs; Ludovico Villanueva (Georgia), VP for programs; Sid Protacio (San Francisco), VP for public relations; Manolo Apanag (Georgia), VP for finance; Paul Cunnion (New York), VP for business development; Dennis Villanueva (Florida), VP for trade and investment; Faith McCarthy (San Diego, CA), VP for tourism; Tess Martin (Los Angeles), VP for the federation's national conference; Malou Mariano (San Francisco), secretary; Zenaida Campos (Contra Costa, CA), treasurer.

Ambassador Rabe inducted the officers during a dinner-dance that capped the event and featured President Ramos saluting the federation via satellite.

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LENGTH: 547 words

HEADLINE: Fil-Am luminaries profiled in new book by Crisostomo

BODY:

Fil-Am luminaries profiled in new book by Crisostomo.

For hundreds of years, people from foreign lands have headed to North America to find out for themselves if the stories of unlimited opportunities were true. Among those seeking a better life were thousands of Filipinos.

Today, there are more than 2 million Filipinos in the United States, making up this country's second largest Asian American group. Additionally, over 200,000 immigrants have made their home in Canada.

Yet with numbers like these, the "movers and shakers" from the Filipino community are not often recognized and their contributions to this country are often overlooked.

Now, a new book brings to life their significant achievements and vital roles in American and Canadian societies. Filipino Achievers in the USA and Canada: Profiles in Excellence by Isabelo T. Crisostomo (Copyright 1996, Bookhaus Publishers, \$65 hardcover coffee-table book) is just off the press!

The book traces the journeys made by Filipinos to America from 1763 to the present. These included the so-called "Manilamen" who jumped ship off Spanish galleons and settled in the bayous of Louisiana in the late 1700s and the "pensionados" (scholars) in the early 1900s, together with mostly non-skilled workers and non-sponsored students until the early 1930s. Then came the 1945 immigration that consisted of World War II veterans. After the enactment of the 1965 Immigration Act, according to Crisostomo. We have seen an influx of educated professionals, including doctors, nurses, lawyers, engineers, and entrepreneurs. Here they are

Here are a few of the Filipino achievers you will meet in the book: Ben Cayetano, Governor of Hawaii; Maria Luisa Mabilangan Haley, a director of the U.S. Export-Import Bank and the highest ranking Filipino American official in the Clinton Administration; Rey D. Pagtakhan, a member of the Canadian Parliament; Lea Salonga, Tony Award winner for her performance as Kim in Broadway's Miss Saigon; Loida Nicolas Lewis, head of a \$1.8-B business empire; Josie Cruz Natori, international fashion empress; Dr. Enrique M. Ostrea, Jr., famed inventor researcher; Lilia Calderon, global money manager; Drs. Jose and Estella Evangelista, Michigan Hall of Famers; Jose Romero, international impressionistic acrylic artist; Mark V. Pangilinan, Guam tycoon-publisher;

7
★

The Ethnic NewsWatch, February 28, 1996

Emelio Uy, Filipino 'Godfather' in Guam; Dr. Ernesto Mercado Espaldo, doctor with a heart of gold; Tita Dioso Gillespie, Newsweek general editor; Gene Canque Liddell, first US Filipino woman mayor; Irene Natividad, famed political activist; David M. Valderrama, political trail-blazer in the US; Angelita Albano Castro Kelly, Filipino NASA operations manager; Ronnie Alejandro, author-artist; and Larry Asera, noted engineer and public servant.

For more information and a free dustjacket, you may call the publisher, Bookhaus Publishers, at (toll free) 1-800-807-6908.

The book is available direct from the publisher or from the following bookstores: 1. Philippine Expressions/Filipiniana Bookshop, 10717 Wilshire Blvd. #702, Los Angeles, CA 90024, (310) 470-8959. 2. Midnight Special, 1318 Third St., Santa Monica, CA 90401 (310) 393-2923. 3. Cellar Book Shop, 18090 Wyoming, Detroit, MI 48221, (313) 861-1776.

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SENIOR COORDINATOR FOR INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S ISSUES

INTERNATIONAL FOLLOW-UP TO THE UNITED NATIONS FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN as of November 1996

AFRICA

Burkina Faso

- The government, in conjunction with UNDP, launched a fund to make loans available to women in villages.

Botswana

- The government has begun a review process of its national legislation to revise/eliminate laws which discriminate on the basis of sex. Marriage and property laws will be most affected by any revisions.

Cameroon

- The Mothers for Mayor Campaign succeeded in doubling the number of women mayors from 400 to 800 after the conference.

Egypt

- The government banned the practice of female circumcision in government health facilities and by all health care workers affiliated with the health ministry.

Mali

- Adopted a comprehensive four-year plan which will devote \$22 million to the betterment of women in the areas of education, health, legal rights, the economy, the environment and institutional support structures.

Uganda

- The police have established a special gender issues desk and have trained the first of 60 officers in investigative techniques and preventative measures for cases of rape.

Zambia

- NGOs are working to get women involved in the political process. For example, one women's group lined up 300 women to run for political office. This same organization has petitioned the Organization for African Unity to include women in peace negotiations. Peace is the central theme of the women's political platform.

ASIA

Brunei

- The government has pledged to create a National Commission to Advance the Progress of Women whose aims will be to: increase participation of women in economic activities; empower both women and men to work together as equal partners in the country's development; remove discrimination against women; and advise of the need for new legislation or amendment of existing laws on women.

China

- The government has created a five-year plan (1996-2001) to help women escape rural poverty. This plan emphasizes a two-pronged approach of teaching rural women marketable skills so they can become self-reliant and wiping out illiteracy.

India

- A constitutional amendment is currently being considered by the Indian parliament which, if passed, would require that one-third of all members of parliament be women. The bill is not likely to be opposed since almost all the political parties support this in their manifestos in recent elections.

Japan

- NGOs and private groups, with help from the Japanese government, established a "comfort fund" (for women from mainly Korea and the Philippines who were sexually enslaved during World War II) designed to: eradicate violence against women; provide medical and welfare assistance to victims; and establish lump sum payments to individual victims.
- Japanese women's participation in politics has picked up since the Beijing conference. Ten percent of the candidate's in this fall's national elections were women. This

- Imposes more stringent penalties for those who engage in trafficking of women.

The Legislature is considering:

- Reclassifying rape as a crime against a person, instead of a crime against chastity. The Senate has passed this legislation and it is currently awaiting House approval.
- A bill to punish offenders of domestic violence.
- The police and the Bureau of Women's Welfare are developing gender sensitivity training for police officers and judges handling cases of domestic violence.

EUROPE:

Bosnia-Herzegovina

- Follow-up by the United States: On July 11, 1996, at the G-7 Summit in Lyon, President Clinton pledged \$5 million to aid Muslim women who survived the capture of the town of Serbrenica by Bosnian Serbs in rebuilding their country, opening businesses and getting back on their feet economically.
- Follow-up by other countries: During the attack on Serbrenica, in the war, most of the survivors fled to Tuzla. On July 11, 1996, women who lost male relatives gathered there for a rally commemorating the fall of the town. The event was sponsored by women from other countries, including the American Ambassador to Austria, Swanee Hunt, Queen Noor of Jordan, and Emma Bonino, the European Union humanitarian aid commissioner. A representative of the organizers said they had raised over \$3 million to finance rehabilitation programs for the survivors.

Denmark

- The government has launched initiatives on equal pay and equal status for men and women.

Poland

- The Legislature is considering liberalizing its abortion policy. The new bill allows legal abortions to be performed until the 12th week of pregnancy in difficult personal and economic circumstances.

LATIN AMERICA:

Argentina

- Congress passed a law establishing that women must constitute 30 percent of a political party's candidates' list.
- Argentina's law on reproductive health, rejected for four consecutive years, has now succeeded in receiving partial sanction from Congress. Women's groups have still to

Ecuador

- The National Congress passed the "Law Against Violence Toward Women and the Family". This law protects women in cases of domestic violence and criminalizes spousal abuse for the first time. The law also created family courts and reformed the Penal Code to include legislation giving the courts the power to separate an abusive spouse from the home. This is the first time Ecuador has passed such a law.

El Salvador

- The government has created the Salvadoran Institute for the Development of Women. Its board of directors is headed by the First Lady and composed of six state ministers, the state attorney, the human rights defense attorney, and two representatives of NGOs. Its objectives are to promote development of women through equal opportunity programs and projects, new legislation, and the reform of legislation and norms that discriminate against women.

Guatemala

- A national university has established scholarships for indigenous women to study political science to help them become involved in the political process; and
- The university has also established courses in human rights focusing on the effects of the Guatemalan civil war with a particular focus on the human rights of women.

Mexico

- The Mexican government has developed a mechanism to monitor the government's implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action in the areas of health, education, work, social development and family.

Panama

- The Federal Government set up a Women's Council including non-governmental (school, church, women's groups and other NGOs) and governmental agencies to implement Beijing. This council develops legislation aimed at improving the status of women in Panama. The European Union has provided \$7 million to the council.
- The Legislative Assembly has reformed the Family Code which regulates such matters as alimony, child support, and child custody.
- Law 27 on Intra-Family Violence, the first of its kind in Panama, was passed by the Legislative Assembly. The law categorizes and criminalizes types of domestic violence.
- Laws were also passed concerning victim counseling and training of women in non-traditional areas.

U.N. Sharply Increases Estimate Of Youngsters at Work Full Time

GENEVA, Nov. 11 (AP) — From the brothels of Asia to the carpet factories of Pakistan, nearly twice as many children are working full time in developing countries as previously thought, the International Labor Organization says in a new report.

The latest calculations from the United Nations labor agency show that 250 million 5- to 14-year-olds are employed, half of them full time. That estimate is up sharply from earlier ones of 73 million full-time child workers.

The new figures come after in-depth surveys and interviews in numerous countries. Previous estimates were based almost solely on official statistics.

The report, to be released on Tuesday, found that nearly 153 million children are working in Asia, 80 million in Africa and 17.5 million in Latin America. It called for a new international accord banning the harshest forms of child labor: slavery, prostitution and work in hazardous industries.

Only 49 United Nations members ratified a 1976 child labor conven-

tion; some nations said its limits on paid work were too broad.

Michel Hansenne, the director general of the group, said child labor only perpetuates a cycle of illiteracy and poverty.

"There are some forms which are intolerable by any standard," he added. "These deserve to be identified, exposed and eradicated without further delay."

Slavery or child bondage is still practiced in South Asia, Southeast Asia and West Africa, the report said. Children are either sold outright or rural families are paid in advance by "contractors" who take children away to work in carpet weaving, glass manufacturing or prostitution.

Child trafficking for the sex industry is increasing despite better international awareness of the problem, the report said.

In Asia, there are about 1 million child prostitutes and the number is rising, with Africa's numbers also increasing in Burkina Faso, the Ivory Coast, Ghana, Kenya, Zambia and Zimbabwe, the report said.

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women's agenda for action
from un conferences to u.s. priorities

Alt-WID, Washington, DC

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What is Alt-WID?

Alt-WID (Alternative Women In Development) is an independent, interfaith, Washington, DC-based working group of women researchers and activists who do education and advocacy work toward a just social order based on gender equality, economic and racial justice, environmental sustainability, and sustainable livelihoods for all peoples and communities.

Our approach includes

- Developing a feminist analysis which utilizes a gender, race and class approach to understand problems in the U.S.;
- Exploring the relationships between global macroeconomic (or large scale) policies and conditions in local communities;
- Promoting this analytical perspective and alternative policies arising from it in a variety of settings, including: women's groups, grassroots groups, Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs), religious institutions, government agencies, international institutions such as the United Nations and its agencies, and international financial institutions such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF);
- Creating a community of colleagues by networking locally, nationally and internationally with women and women's groups who advocate a similar analysis of these issues;
- Producing popular education materials shared with individuals, local and grassroots communities, interfaith communities and institutions.

While this project is a cooperative Alt-WID effort, the opinions and analyses presented are those of each individual contributor and do not necessarily represent the views of other Alt-WID members or of the organizations with which the contributors are affiliated.

introduction

Pamela Sparr

Why we developed this book

The United Nations convened a series of seven international conferences from 1990-1996 on critical issues such as children, human rights, the environment, social concerns, employment, poverty, women, and development. Most of these conferences received little media attention in the U.S. Often members of the U.S. Congress attacked them as financial and political boondoggles with little relevance to the U.S., other than the impact on the U.S. budget of sending a delegation. This is unfortunate. Behind the photo opportunities, high-level governmental posturing, and reams of documents written in dry, obscure UN language, the conferences produced outcomes which bear upon our everyday lives. The conferences have been effective vehicles for advancing political organizing among citizen groups around the world and a progressive research and public policy agenda. Many were historical landmarks for moving forward a global consensus and commitments on critical issues.

If the international documents coming out of these conferences are to be more than words on paper, however, citizens in every country must work hard to hold their governments accountable to the promises made. This is as true for the wealthiest nations as the poorest. Many governmental delegations from the most affluent countries, including the United States, found it comfortable and preferable to focus attention on the needs of poorer nations and not admit to problems at home. Yet, the promises made in conference documents can offer hope and concrete paths to dramatically improve conditions in our own nation. The tragedy is that too few people know about the governments' agreements. We hope to begin to rectify that situation by providing you with this book.

UN conference documents can be important tools for exerting political leverage in many arenas of struggle in the United States. While individual members of Congress and presidential administrations come and go, international commitments, once signed, are there forever. They provide a standard by which we can hold our government accountable, regardless of who is in power. Similarly, they can be lifted up to bolster community organizing or to inform curriculum and research agendas in our schools and universities.

Whether out of ignorance and/or national chauvinism, many community activists, policy advocates, politicians and academics have not seen the documents' potential for advancing their U.S.-oriented work. Yet, the international consensus embodied in these documents in many cases is ahead of public opinion and policy in the U.S. today. Women, racial/ethnic minorities, people living in poverty, and environmentalists especially can benefit from the analysis and commitments contained in the documents as they struggle to fight the ideological backlashes, political backsliding, and general lack of fresh thinking about how to tackle tough problems in the U.S.

How we have organized the material

We have chosen three of the most recent UN conferences to synthesize and assess: The International Conference on Population and Development (Cairo, 1994); the World Summit for Social Development (Copenhagen, 1995); and the Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing, 1995). These three conferences address critical issues of interest to U.S. women — our primary audience.

We have culled the main documents from these conferences for the most important and far-reaching analyses and commitments in a few critical areas where Alt-WID members have

expertise: health, violence, economics, immigration and environment. We have limited our analysis to domestic implications. We chose this approach to achieve a specific political objective: to speak to those activists, academics and policy advocates in the U.S. who tend to focus their work within the U.S., or who have difficulty making global connections. We realize that the domestic and international dichotomy is a false one. The "domestic issues" we examine in this booklet have roots and consequences outside our geographic boundaries.

To provide a consistent analysis, we have used the same framework for each topic area:

- The INTRODUCTION in each chapter defines the issue as it currently exists in the U.S.
- SECTION 1 summarizes how this issue is dealt with in the "Programme of Action" for the Cairo and Copenhagen conferences and in the Beijing "Platform For Action". We highlight key analytical points made in the documents and then the most important mandates and commitments in them.
- SECTION 2 analyzes the state of the issue in the U.S., with an emphasis on those aspects in the document which are most relevant for the U.S..
- SECTIONS 3, 4, and 5 speak to the different types of work needed to implement the more progressive analyses and mandates in the conference documents in the U.S.. We have organized them as lists. Clearly, they are not comprehensive. Instead, they are meant to give readers a sense of the range of possibilities and to spur the imagination.
- SECTION 3 outlines subjects which need further research and/or require public discussion and consciousness raising.
- SECTION 4 lists some new policies and programs at various governmental levels, and within the corporate and non-profit sectors.
- SECTION 5 explores areas for community organizing and individual action at the local level.
- Finally, we conclude by providing some specialized resources if you are interested in pursuing an idea, project, person, or network related to this issue area. Listed are a few major organizations and readings which we have found helpful. See pages 10 and 11 for some more general tips.

Common themes and messages

The subjects we have chosen to analyze: violence, health, environment, poverty, employment, immigration and community development naturally intersect — in theory and in life. We hope you will read all sections, however, because our individual treatments rely on the analyses present in others. We hope you will come away with a sense of an integrated whole.

Some of the most radical and hopeful insights and commitments issuing from these conferences appear as common threads running through all the issue areas. Instead of repeating them in each section, we have gathered them here.

1. There is an important role for government to play in bringing about a society which meets people's basic needs and is just, peaceful, and environmentally sound.

This central theme runs counter to the currently dominant political ideology in our country. According to the documents, less government is not always best and the free market is not always the most effective and efficient means for deciding how to use and distribute resources. The documents begin to spell out a common good and recognize that governments have a major responsibility in working to achieve it. Three examples of this are: in regulating corporations, in eliminating gross income inequalities and poverty, and in protecting and cleaning up the environment.

2. Civil society — citizen groups and individuals — must play a crucial role in defining the common good and in bringing it about.

Governments need to develop new ways of listening to and cooperating with what we call non-profit groups. (They are called non-governmental organizations or NGOs in UN terms and will be referred to in our book as such.) We can forge new mechanisms for citizen political involvement in making public decisions, carrying out programs and services, monitoring and evaluating policies, etc.

In this area, the more important legacy of these conferences is not contained in the documents, but in the experiences of NGOs in preparing for and participating in the conferences. NGOs from Northern and Southern countries worked together to force open a new political space which hadn't existed before the Earth Summit in 1992. NGOs played major roles in developing language, advocating certain positions with their governments, and closely monitoring governmental delegations at these conferences. It is vital that we maintain the momentum in future international conferences and translate gains made at this level to our ongoing engagements with national governmental bodies.

3. New values need to inform governmental structures and processes.

Three values or principles are often cited in conference documents: participation, transparency, and accountability. Participation goes beyond voting for elected officials and ballot initiatives. Documents raise the prospect of on-going governmental relationships with various groups of citizens, engaging "civil society" in new ways to carry out various governmental functions such as making public policy, providing services, monitoring and enforcing laws and regulations, etc. Transparency refers to having accessible information; clear and publicly-known rules and procedures; and the ability of citizens to monitor and evaluate policies and procedures. Accountability refers to mechanisms by which people can find out what their officials are doing, can make their views known and effectively hold governmental officials to their promises, and can be a part of the decision-making process.

4. We need to reshape what government looks like at many levels, and to create more effective public decision-making bodies at the international level.

The documents recognize that governments are not always working well for people as they currently are structured. There are many possible factors. One which the documents hint at is the growing power of transnational corporations which easily move money, goods, and other resources across national boundaries with little or no regard for the social or environmental consequences. The ability of national governments to create the kind of societies their citizens want has been eroding because of this shift in political power out of their hands and into the hands of people who do not have national political allegiances. Many times this is not simply a passive phenomenon, but one which parties and politicians in power promote.

At various points, the documents call for exploring new kinds of decision-making mechanisms to effectively represent people's interests in the face of growing Transnational Corporation (TNC) power. They call for this happening with respect to trade, the environment and employment, for example. Conference documents also recognize areas where new international policies are needed. One policy debated in Copenhagen and Beijing is some sort of international tax on capital movements, such as the Tobin tax. This could be levied to curb global financial speculation and help fund local development initiatives. Some document language begins to revisit what the appropriate powers and functions are of global institutions such as the United Nations, World Trade Organization, World Bank and International Monetary Fund.

5. There is a need for a new vision of development.

One of the greatest successes of the conferences was to consolidate an international

consensus on certain values — peace, environmental sustainability, eradication of poverty, protection of human rights, promoting the full humanity and capacities of women and men. These values provide the foundation for an emerging radically new vision of what “development” means. Conference documents contain some forceful mandates about revamping current policies in line with these values and to have marginalized peoples as partners in the policy-making process.

Cairo, Copenhagen and Beijing also represent a big leap forward by governments, although grudgingly, that the dominant economic system — free market capitalism — does not work well when left to its own devices. The documents contain some contradictions in their analysis of the role of the market. Yet, they provide space for interesting political work by calling for experiments with alternatives at various points such as with employment, macroeconomic policy, and debt. There still is much work to be done in getting Northern governments to admit that they have similar problems as their Southern neighbors. This is not a problem among NGOs participating in these conferences, however. NGOs generally were very clear that “development” is a continuous process in every country in the world. It is not a static goal which countries of the South are attempting to achieve and Northern countries have reached.

6. Gender analysis is hot. But what is it?

Governments knew women were a political force to contend with, so they sprinkled references to women and girls and gender throughout the documents. However, the documents at times are confused about what a gender analysis means. Sex versus gender grew to be an extremely controversial and loaded debate by the time of the Beijing conference. Sex is defined as whether one is born male or female — it is a biological status. Gender is socially constructed. It is what a particular culture teaches you about what it means to be masculine and feminine. At times documents focused on lifting up women's concerns and women's participation as a route to equality. So, for example, they call for increasing the number of women in parliaments, engaging women in shaping policy, evaluating the impact of policies on women, etc.

All of these are important actions. However, simply looking at the status of women is not gender analysis. One can only determine the status of women and work to liberate both men and women by assessing what is happening to each in relation to the other. So, the documents rightly call for gender-disaggregated statistics; doing a gender impact analysis of policies, etc. One of the mistaken assumptions in the documents, however, is that women's problems are solved once women are in decision-making capacities in equal numbers with men. This is certainly a necessary but not sufficient approach. Not all women are champions for their own sex or for the liberation of men. Not all women's problems are limited to gender oppression. For example, many women suffer from racism and poverty. These two problems have multiple roots which can't be traced exclusively to sexism.

7. Racism is an under-developed theme.

References in the documents to racism, racial/ethnic minorities, immigrant and refugee issues are sparse. Northern and Southern governmental delegations tried to avoid these issues, and unfortunately were very successful in dodging them. Perhaps the biggest victories for women of color in the U.S. were: a strong Copenhagen mandate to take concrete steps to eliminate poverty in the U.S.; a clear mandate from Beijing to track unremunerated work; sections in the Copenhagen and Beijing documents which support the rights of immigrants to receive basic public services, and not to be discriminated against. A more general call for governments to thoroughly assess the needs of racial/ethnic minorities and develop a comprehensive plan to meet them could have profound consequences for racial/ethnic people in the U.S. if taken seriously.

conference information

International Conference on Population and Development-Cairo (ICPD)

One of the oldest and thorniest international development issues is population growth. For decades, countries in the global South have viewed the phenomenon not so much as a biological or demographics problem, but as economic — one which calls for redistribution of the world's resources and changing prevailing international economic policies. This view is often in contrast with that of Northern governments which see rapid population growth as unsustainable, hindering development, and one which requires medical and social solutions. Feminists and environmentalists have brought a range of differing views to this debate as well.

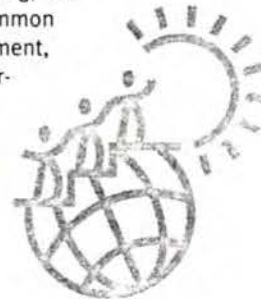
Initially, the UN planned an International Conference on Population (ICP) to occur 10 years after the Mexico City Conference in 1984 as a way of evaluating global progress. Conference plans changed, however, as a result of the political dynamics around the UN Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro. Southern governments felt there was unfinished business from that discussion of environmental questions in 1992. They wanted another opportunity to raise issues of over-consumption of resources by the North and international economic policies affecting development. As a result, the ICP became the ICPD. In September 1994, 179 governments met in Cairo, Egypt to continue the debate. They emerged with a Program of Action which contained a series of 15 principles and some 388 recommendations for action.

Most notable was refocusing the discussion away from a family planning approach in the direction of women's empowerment, education, access to economic resources, and reproductive health.



World Summit on Social Development-Copenhagen (WSSD)

In March 1995, 134 heads of state met in Copenhagen, Denmark for an historic meeting, the World Summit for Social Development (WSSD). They gathered to address critical common problems: mounting poverty and economic insecurity, growing un- and underemployment, and disintegrating societies. Finally, the world's leaders acknowledged what the average person in the street — whether it be in Kansas City, Kyoto or Kinshasa — has known all too well for all too long. While we see dramatic technological progress and economic growth, we are also witnessing profound social, spiritual, environmental, cultural, and economic deterioration around us. After more than one year of preparation under the auspices of the United Nations, the leaders signed their names to a 22-page analysis containing 10 commitments (The Declaration) and a 63-page Program of Action which offers more detailed goals and strategies.



Fourth World Conference on Women-Beijing (FWCW)

Beijing, China hosted the largest international gathering of women in the history of the world in September 1995. Individual women and governmental representatives from 189 countries attended the UN's Fourth World Conference on Women. An estimated 40,000 people debated issues of equality, development and peace from the perspective of women and girls. Governmental delegations signed the Beijing Declaration and a 180-page Platform For Action which contained strategic objectives and action plans in 12 areas. Three important qualities distinguished this meeting from prior UN women's conferences. Women of the South and North tended to work more cooperatively and share more common perspectives on issues than in the past. There was a strong focus on the importance of economic issues which had not existed before. Finally, women took a more pro-active and well-coordinated approach to advocating changes in the official documents with government delegations, building on the precedent the Women's Caucus established in their work for Cairo and the Social Summit in the preceding year.



How to Obtain UN Conference Documents

Hard copies of the official UN conference documents are available from the UN Publications Office at 1-800-253-9646 or fax (212) 963-3489. Charges are:

International Conference on Population and Development

Program of Action \$10.00

World Summit for Social Development

Program of Action \$15.00

Fourth World Conference on Women

Platform for Action \$7.50

The documents are also published on the Internet at the following addresses:

ICPD [gopher://gopher.undp.org:10/00/ungophers/popin/icpd/conference](http://gopher.undp.org:10/00/ungophers/popin/icpd/conference)

WSSD [gopher://gopher.undp.org:70/11/unconfs/wssd/summitt/off](http://gopher.undp.org:70/11/unconfs/wssd/summitt/off)

WCW <http://www.igc.org/usia/conf/I.html>

Key Contact Points for Conference Follow-up

Governmental Contacts

The President's Interagency Council on Women

The White House

New Executive Office Building, Suite 3212

Washington, DC 20503

Phone: (202)456-7350

Fax: (202)456-7357

Web Site: <http://women.usia.gov/usia>

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Phone: (202)690-6347

Ida Castro

Director
Women's Bureau
Department of Labor
200 Constitution Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20210
Phone: (202)219-6611

Dan Magraw

Environmental Protection Agency
401 M Street, SW
Washington, DC 20460
Phone: (202)260-1810

Non-Governmental Agencies (NGOs)

The NGO network for Cairo folded its work into CNSD:

Citizen's Network for Sustainable Development
73 Spring Street, Suite 206
New York, NY 10012
Phone: (212)431-3922
Fax: (212)431-4427

Fourth World Conference on Women:

U.S. Network for Women
633 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20004
Phone: (202)737-0120 ex. 148

Women's Voices Project
Center for Policy Alternatives
1875 Connecticut Ave., Suite 710
Washington, DC 20009
Phone: (202)956-5127
Fax: (202)986-2539

Women's Environmental and Development Organization (WEDO)*

355 Lexington Ave., 3rd Floor
New York, NY 10017-6603
Phone: (212)973-0325
Fax: (212)873-0335
e-mail: wedo@igc.apc.org

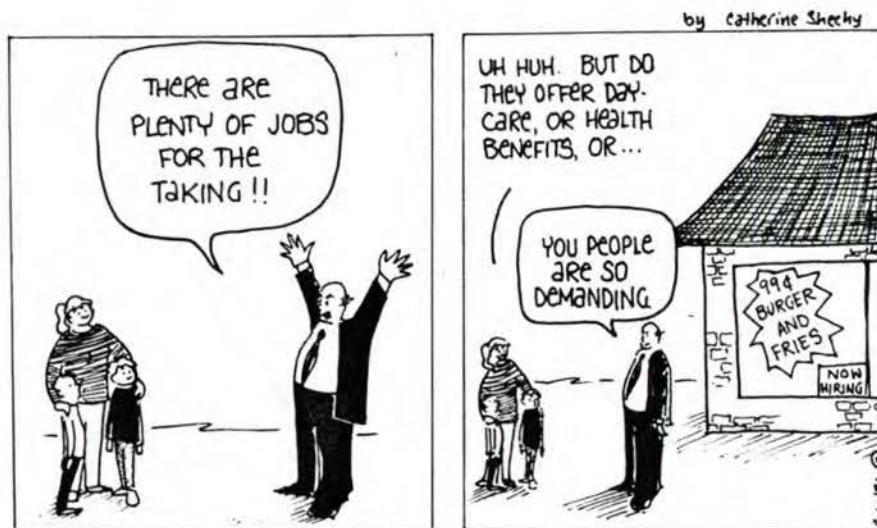
Interfaith Beijing Network*

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Justice for Women Working Group
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**World Summit on Social Development follow-up is occurring through WEDO and the Interfaith network.*

work and employment

Maria Riley



Women's economic and social roles are changing as their contribution to the economy becomes more and more vital. Increasingly as women enter the paid workforce for longer periods of their lives, the issues of employment and unremunerated work are critical. Current statistics and information point to growing productivity but stagnating wages for the majority of working people. The changing work place in the current globalization of the economy creates new and different challenges and opportunities for women.

Despite 20 years of feminist effort, one constant remains: women continue to be primarily responsible for the care of the family and household, as well as for a great deal of volunteer work in communities. While this work remains economically invisible, it creates the foundation for all other economic, political and social life. The critical importance of this work of reproducing families and societies needs to be valued, recorded and supported in order to develop new policies and programs to promote family life and to create more just and sustainable societies.

Key Directions from Cairo, Copenhagen and Beijing

The documents recognize that:

- Women carry a disproportionate share of the problems of coping with poverty, social disintegration, unemployment, environmental degradation and the effects of war;
- Globalization and rapid technological change give rise to increased labor diversification, bringing new employment opportunities as well as new uncertainties;
- There has been an increase in part-time, contingent and other forms of atypical employment;
- Particular efforts by public and private sectors are required in all spheres of employment to ensure gender equality, equal opportunity and non-discrimination on the basis of race/ethnic group, religion, age, health and disability;
- Worldwide, much unremunerated productive work is done by women; the social and economic importance and value of unremunerated work must be acknowledged and accommodated in the paid workplace, as well as recorded in parallel national accounts.

The documents call for:

- Putting the creation of employment, the reduction of unemployment and the promotion of appropriately and adequately remunerated employment at the center of government strategies and policies;
- Seeking to develop policies to expand work opportunities and productivity in both rural and urban sectors;
- Providing education and training that enable workers and entrepreneurs to adapt to changing technologies and economic conditions;
- Ensuring labor law and social security protection for contingent workers;
- Counting, economically measuring and recording unpaid work in accounts parallel to national accounts, such as the GNP (Gross National Product);
- Creating policies to harmonize employment and family responsibilities for women and men and promote egalitarian sharing of domestic and community responsibilities between women and men;
- Developing gender analysis of policy development to ensure equal employment opportunities and wage and benefit rates for women and men;
- Ensuring women's equal access to all economic resources, including credit, information, technical assistance;
- Working to provide affordable support services such as child care, elder care, transportation;
- Establishing appropriate social safety mechanisms to minimize the adverse effects of economic restructuring on the workforce and for those who lose their jobs.

Current U.S. Reality

The changing nature of the U.S. economy continues to create a sense of economic insecurity for many women today. Current economic restructuring is rooted in the dual processes of global economic integration and corporate consolidation that are reshaping politics, economics, communication and culture. In the U.S. its effects are evident in the changes in the productive base of the economy, government and corporate management policies, as well as in diminished income and inadequate employment opportunities for a growing number of citizens, particularly young adults.

For several decades, the U.S. has been in the process of changing from an industrial-based economy to an information, service and sales economy. The relative security of union-based jobs with adequate to high salaries and benefits has been replaced with jobs in services, information and sales that are not unionized and are consistently lower waged and lacking benefits. In addition, the rural economy has been dramatically altered with the rise of agribusiness and the continuing demise of the family farm.

The current direction of U.S. government policy is pro-business in its approach to these changing economic realities. Both the Administration and Congress embrace free trade and corporate consolidation as twin approaches to globalization and they identify corporations as the major leaders in economic development. The passage of NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) and founding of the WTO (World Trade Organization) have ensured that free trade is the current overriding economic policy agenda in the U.S. To support U.S. corporate competitiveness, the government has changed its tax policies and greatly diminished its regulatory role in areas of business, financial institutions, communication, the protection of labor rights, environment and social support systems. In order to compete more effectively, corpora-

tions have been downsizing and restructuring their work force and moving many labor-intensive jobs overseas where labor and environment costs are lower.

The cumulative impact of both corporate and government policies for U.S. workers, women and men, has been dramatic. They include deterioration of income, growing underemployment and the rise of the involuntary contingent work force, weakened unions, a growing gap between the rich and the poor, stagnation and slow deterioration of the middle-class and the rise in small business and self-employment.

Old Problems - New Dimensions

Economic restructuring has brought new dimensions to many of the old problems that women workers face. Women have made some progress in the labor market over the past decade due to increased participation and longevity in the work force, higher educational attainment and greater diversification in occupations. However, these gains have taken place within an overall framework of deteriorating conditions for the U.S. worker.

Employment/Unemployment

While the U.S. economy continues to generate new jobs, the majority are in the service and retail sector, characterized by low wages and weak to nonexistent benefits. Women continue to hold about three-fifths of all service jobs. In 1991, 44% of all employed women worked in technical, sales and administrative support occupations such as clerical work. Some women have broken out of the female job-ghetto, but of the 20 leading occupations for women, 11 are still occupations that have a history of female participation and low wages (Trends 1993).

Corporate America's attempts to remain competitive in the global market have affected women in a variety of ways, including downsizing middle-management, creating the two-tiered workforce, moving labor-intensive work off-shore and sub-contracting, particularly in textiles, clothing and electronics.

Employment in manufacturing has been hard hit by current trends. Since 1979, 3 million manufacturing jobs have been permanently lost. Most of these jobs were held by men. In the most recent recession, for example, women lost 370,000 jobs in the goods producing sector (mining, construction and manufacturing); men lost 1,414,000. In services, women gained 494,000 jobs, while men lost 554,000 (Goodman 1994).

However, some of the industries that have been the hardest hit by the surge of imports and/or plants moving overseas have been major employers of women. Moreover, unemployment remains a serious problem for women of color, who, on average, experience jobless rates double that of white women. In 1995, for example, 10.0% of Latina women and 10.2% of African-American women were unemployed; while the unemployment rate of white women was 4.8% (Bureau of Labor Statistics 1996). Teen women between the ages of 16 and 19 and young adult women between the ages of 20 and 24 are also experiencing a decline in labor force participation (Hayghe 1994).

Downsizing

Many corporations have greatly shrunk their workforces, including management ranks, to achieve greater efficiency and reduce costs. This affects women in several ways. Just as some women are breaking into middle management positions, the positions available are being cut. Moreover, when the lost job is a husband's or father's, it places increasing demands on women to bring income into the family. Even without job loss, more women have had

to increase their working hours to maintain family purchasing power in the face of the downward trend of real incomes during the last decade (Mishel 1995).

Two-tiered Workforce

Corporations have also downsized by creating the two-tiered workforce: the permanent, high waged, full-benefited employees and the contingent workers, who are often part-time, low paid and lack benefits. Contingent workers include part-time, seasonal, temporary and contractual workers. The majority of contingent workers, who now make up an estimated 25% to 30% of the workforce, are involuntary. Two-thirds of these are women (Trends 1993). The rise of the involuntary contingent workforce signals a structural shift in employment patterns. Contingent work patterns also mask unemployment figures. In 1993, the official unemployment rate in the U.S. was 6.8%; when involuntary contingent work is included, the unemployment and underemployment figure was 12.6% (Mishel 1995).

Off-shore Production

For several decades, corporations have been moving labor intensive production outside the U.S. to take advantage of the availability of low-waged workers, many of whom are women, and weak to nonexistent environmental protection requirements. With the signing of NAFTA, the conclusion of the GATT and the founding of the WTO, this will continue. Women are affected both at home and abroad, as many of the jobs that move overseas employed women in the U.S.

More recently, large corporations have increasingly used sub-contractors to orchestrate assembly work. Much of this work is done in small, unregulated sweatshops or contracted out to women in their homes at very low wages. These sub-contractors, operating both within the U.S. and overseas, tend to hire the poorest and most vulnerable women, pay them sub-standard wages and demand high productivity. The exploitation of women workers, many of them women of color, is inherent to the current economic policies of U.S. corporations.

Unions

The continuing decline in unions membership and power has left the majority of workers without organizational strength to address these changes in employment practices. Furthermore, unions continue to be forced to concede to corporate demands in order to maintain the level of jobs in the U.S. The power of the time-honored tool of strikes has been greatly weakened both by the mobility of jobs and by recent court decisions that allow companies to hire permanent non-union workers during a strike.

Wages

The issue of wages presents a complicated and overall depressing picture. Although both GNP (Gross National Product) and employment are growing, although in low-income jobs, median family income has been falling. In 1993, real incomes were \$2,737 below their 1989 level. The 15-year trend of deteriorating wages, which is primarily responsible for the slow growth in incomes and widening inequality in the past, continued to increase in the 1990s (Mishel 1995).

While some statistical evidence over the last decade shows women's average wage approaching the average wage of men, the declining gap relates more

to men's loss in wages than to women's gain. Between 1979 and 1989, men's median hourly wage declined 10.1%, while women's median hourly wage increased only 4.9% (Mishel 1995). Even though more women are working and often working longer hours, the family wage of two-income families continues to fall.

Even though there has been an increase in the number of women with higher incomes, women, in general, continue to be much more likely to earn lower wages than men. In 1989, 33.0% of women earned wages at or below the poverty-level. This was almost double the rate for men at 18.4% (Mishel 1995). *[Note: poverty-level wage is the hourly wage a full-time, year-round worker must earn to sustain a family of four at the poverty threshold. Poverty level wage in 1993 was \$6.93].*

For African-American women workers there has been a decrease in those earning below poverty wages from 49.7% to 39.4%. But the fact that poverty wages have become more commonplace among African-American men, increasing from 24.0% to 33.2% since 1979, continues disproportionately to keep the African-American community in a state of poverty and economic insecurity (Mishel 1995).

The picture for Latinas remains grim also. Since 1979, there has been a general downshift in wages for Latinas. In 1995, 47.7% of Latinas earned less than poverty wages (Mishel 1995).

Overall, young workers have been the hardest hit by the changing job market. The most severe wage reductions have been for entry-level jobs for young high school graduates, a group comprising two-thirds to three-fourths of all young workers. In 1993, wages paid to young men were 30% lower than in 1979, and 18% lower for young women (Mishel 1995).

Finally, the minimum wage, the mainstay of the lowest paid workers, has failed to keep pace with inflation. During the 1980s, the minimum wage remained constant at \$3.35/hour, while its purchasing power consistently declined. The increase in the minimum wage to \$4.25/hour made up less than half the purchasing power it had lost in the 1980s. Since 1991, while the minimum wage has remained constant at \$4.25, the cost of living has risen another 11% (Shapiro 1995). The 1996 \$.90 increase will not raise the minimum wage to the 1993 poverty wage level of \$6.93 an hour. Most minimum wage workers are women and nearly half, 47%, are aged 25 years and older (Shapiro 1995). Raising the minimum wage to above a poverty wage so it becomes a living wage would be one of the most important policy initiatives to relieve women and families in poverty.

Unmet Needs

The tension between family and job responsibilities continues to be a prime issue for women workers. The need for adequate, safe and affordable day care remains acute. On the other end of life's continuum, the number of seniors who need some kind of daily support care continues to rise. Now women find themselves caring for both generations. The Family and Medical Leave Act began to address the problem, but it is not enough, particularly for workers who cannot afford to take family leave without pay and for workers in small business which are not covered by the Act.

Lack of health care remains a critical issue for some 35 million working people. Most cannot afford to pay for personal health insurance for themselves and their families. Health care coverage continues to be job-related for some workers, but they are mainly

in the higher salary group. Too many jobs do not offer health care as a benefit. Medicare is reserved for the population over 65; Medicaid is part of the declining welfare system, available only to the unemployed, elderly and disabled, and is under siege.

Although evidence shows that women who are unionized have higher wages and better working conditions than non-unionized women, the majority of women workers still are not unionized. Workers everywhere are experiencing a decline in basic rights and protections, including health and safety.

An Emerging Issue

How to recognize and record the economic value of unpaid work in the household and the community has been a debate since the early 1970s. The UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) *1995 Human Development Report* made the following economic calculations: current global counted productivity equals approximately \$23 trillion; uncounted and unremunerated work equals about \$16 trillion; of that \$16 trillion, approximately \$11 trillion is performed by women. The Beijing Platform for Action calls for unpaid work to be measured, given economic value and recorded in parallel national accounts in order to show its contribution to the GNP (Gross National Product). When unremunerated work is counted, valued and recorded in parallel national accounts, citizens and policy makers will have the kind of evidence needed to judge the economic impact, particularly on women, of policy decisions which affect households, social services and community development.

Setting a Research and Discussion Agenda

- Determine what political, social and economic policies and institutions are required in the U.S. and internationally to bring about sustainable livelihoods and communities in the U.S.
- Devise alternative ways of understanding and funding work in the public, private and social sectors which serve human needs and build sustainable communities.
- Develop new approaches for unions, organizations and labor legislation needed to provide adequate social support and labor protection for contingent workers, particularly contract and home-based (piece-rate) workers.
- Assess women worker centers as an alternative to unions or as a means of helping unions become more alert to women workers' issues and needs.
- Review existing and develop new methodologies for counting, economically valuing and recording unremunerated work, including time-studies for multiple tasking, different models of valuing work and recording unwaged work.
- Survey how different countries are counting unremunerated work. Assess their effectiveness.
- Examine the social and ethical issues related to putting an economic value on women's unremunerated work.
- Trace employment patterns in key industries and regions affected by trade agreements.
- Review and evaluate various policies and policy proposals that aim to balance employment and family responsibilities for women and men.
- Analyze the development, extent and success rate of micro-enterprise as an alternative for women.

Advocating Policy and Program Initiatives

- Change the concept of minimum wage to a living wage and enact living wage legislation.
- Develop employment creation policies which include attention to rural employment and job training for new kinds of work.
- Reform labor laws and develop more resources for enforcement of child labor and other employment protections. Strengthen workplace health and safety laws with more resources for enforcement.
- Reform unemployment insurance to cover contingent and home-based workers.
- Strengthen the international department of the U.S. Department of Labor.
- Reform pension and health care benefits to serve contingent and home-based workers.
- Develop portable pensions and health care for all.
- Support the Fair Pay Act to achieve pay equity in the U.S.
- Maintain and enforce affirmative action.
- Develop union initiatives to increase the number of women union members and women in leadership positions.
- Develop new union strategies and policies to unionize atypical workers.
- Develop legislation to protect home-based workers, particularly piece-rate workers.
- Improve the current Family and Medical Leave Act by including paid leave and extending its coverage to all businesses.
- Increase, improve and publicly/privately fund child and elder care.
- Improve pay, benefits, training and standards for child and elder care workers.
- Measure, economically value and record unremunerated work in parallel national accounts.

Organizing for Change

- Set up women workers' centers to assist women workers in dealing with labor issues, particularly in non-union work areas.
- Combat efforts to eliminate affirmative action.
- Develop contacts between union organizers, particularly women union members, and women contingent workers and piece-rate workers to explore and develop new modes of organizing for the atypical worker.
- Develop local organizing efforts to replace the minimum wage with a living wage at state and national levels.
- Track local women's unremunerated work, in the home and community. Present findings to local city councils or state governments to create an awareness of the issue and to counter any local or state legislation that would increase demands on women.
- Organize women and men to demand better and affordable child and elder care centers in local communities.

- Support policy initiatives that encourage and promote employees' participation in decision-making.
- Support the development of cooperatives.

Resources

- Coalition of Labor Union Women. 1126 16th Street, NW. Room 104. Washington, DC 20026.
Phone: 202 298 1200.
- Institute for Women's Policy Research. 1400 20th Street, NW. Suite 104. Washington, DC 20036.
Phone: 202 785 5100.
- National Committee on Pay Equity. 1126 16th Street, NW. Room 422. Washington, DC 20036.
Phone: 202 331 7343.
- 9 To 5. National Association of Working Women. 238 West Wisconsin Avenue. Suite 700.
Milwaukee, WI 53203. Phone: 414 272 0925.
- Southerners for Economic Justice. P.O. Box 240. Durham, NC 27702-0240. Phone: 919 956 2135.
- U.S. Urban Rural Missions of the World Council of Churches. P.O. Box 246. Durham, NC 27702-0240.
Phone: 919 683 3145.
- Wages for Housework Campaign and Black Women for Wages for Housework. P.O. Box 86681.
Los Angeles, CA 90086-0681. Phone: 213 221 1698.
- Wider Opportunities for Women. 815 15th Street, NW. Suite 916. Washington, DC 20005.
Phone: 202 638 3143.
- Women's Bureau. U.S. Department of Labor. 200 Constitution Avenue, NW. Washington, DC 20210.
Phone: 202 219 6611.
- Women and the Economy Program. Center for Policy Alternatives. 1875 Connecticut Avenue, NW.
Suite 710. Washington, DC 20009. Phone: 202 387 6030.
- Women Work. National Network for Women's Employment. 1625 K Street, NW. Suite 300. Washington,
DC 20003. Phone: 202 467 6346.
- Women's Research and Education Institute. 1700 18th Street, NW. Suite 400. Washington, DC 20009.
Phone: 202 328 7070.

Readings

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poverty

Maria Riley and Pamela Sparr



The poverty of women is the poverty of the nation. While social safety nets must be firmly in place to counter the effects of failed or failing economic systems, government policy must do more than simply “catch” women as they fall more deeply into economic crisis. Profound changes in the structure of society and in the economy are needed to overcome poverty. Poor women must participate in the construction of the social safety nets and, most importantly, be a part of the construction of economic systems that meet their needs to live full and productive lives.

To address women’s, children’s, and elders’ poverty in the U.S., a comprehensive approach demands: access to resources for sustainable livelihoods which would include employment that generates a living wage and benefits; training and education; access to fertile land in rural areas; more adequate welfare and social security systems; affordable quality childcare; affordable housing; participation in cultural and social life; protection from violence; access to the justice systems and legal services; and access to food, health care, clean water, sanitation and a safe environment.

Key Issues from Cairo, Copenhagen and Beijing

The documents recognize that:

- Poverty is not an isolated event that can be alleviated by anti-poverty programs alone; it is a question of who owns and controls society’s resources;
- Widespread poverty remains the major challenge to development;
- There is an urgent need for strategies to reduce poverty;
- Basic human needs must be met: food, health, water and sanitation, education, employment, housing and participation in cultural and social life, and access to legal services;
- People living in poverty, particularly women, must be empowered through organizing and participation in all aspects of political, economic and social life, especially in the planning and implementation of policies that affect them;

- Economic policies relating to taxation, investments, employment, markets and all sectors of the economy must take into account their impact on poverty and inequality.

The documents call for:

- Formulating national poverty eradication plans to address the structural causes of poverty with time-bound goals;
- Developing this national plan with the full participation of women to address the structural causes of poverty and the reduction of gender-based inequality;
- Insuring universal access to basic services to address the basic social, educational and health needs of women, particularly those living in poverty;
- Developing anti-poverty programs that enable women to obtain affordable housing and access to land, create social security systems and ensure access to free or low-cost legal services;
- Redesigning public investment policies to benefit people living in poverty;
- Educating women about their rights, the political system and the availability of programs;
- Insuring that older persons are able to meet their basic human needs through access to social services and social security.
- Developing, updating and disseminating indicators of poverty and economic vulnerability as well as indicators of national and international causes of poverty which are disaggregated by ethnicity, gender, disability, family status, language groupings, regions, and economic and social sectors.

Current U.S. Reality

According to the most recent government statistics, there are more than 38 million people living in poverty in the U.S. This represents 14.5% of the total U.S. population. Of the total, 40.2% are children under 18 and 37.2% are adult females (Census Bureau, 1994). Poverty disproportionately affects people of color and women-headed households with children. The percentage of families headed by a woman with no adult male present who are living in poverty are staggering: 54.8% for Hispanics, 50.2% for African-Americans, and 31.8% for Whites. In fact, the U.S. stands out among highly-industrialized nations for the extent of child poverty.

Dismantling Safety Nets

The numbers of people officially considered poor are among the highest they have been since the government first regularly began collecting poverty statistics in 1959. This represents a dramatic reversal from past progress in eliminating and alleviating poverty. From 1960-1973, the numbers of people living in poverty were cut in half, from 22.2% of the population to 11.1%. Critical factors contributing to this progress were: a growing economy, strong government intervention to address impoverishment — “The War on Poverty”, and political movements (welfare rights and civil rights) which emphasized economic justice. Interestingly, male-headed households (both African-American and white) seemed to benefit most from the anti-poverty programs of the 1960s. (Lefkowitz and Withorn 1986).

In contrast, today, neither of the two major political parties support strong government intervention on behalf of people living in poverty. Moreover, progressive political movements in the U.S. are not as effective or as focused on economic issues as they were in previous decades. In reality, the primary welfare programs [Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) and food stamps] take only 2.9% of 1995 U.S. budget, and health care coverage for indigent people takes another 5.8%. This is a rela-

tively small proportion of the total budget, yet conservatives and many liberals in Congress succeeded in passing legislation in the summer of 1996 which eliminates hard-won federal entitlement programs. Having one's basic needs met is no longer a right guaranteed by the federal government. Instead, it is now a privilege, if state budgets allow.

The dominant political ideology which is fueling the current dismantling of entitlement programs is steeped in myth, fear, discrimination, moral judgments, and a very self-oriented understanding of human behavior and the proper role of the State. Myths surround who is poor and why. (Often people think of the typical welfare recipient as a "lazy" adult woman. In fact, two-thirds are children, according to the Children's Defense Fund.) Fear stems from economic uncertainties among low and middle-income workers, steeped in debt, who see friends and family members losing jobs, health care costs tough to manage, college costs escalating while student grants and loans are shrinking, and their children having a hard time finding their first full-time job.

- Subtle and not-so-subtle discrimination towards women, people of color and immigrants is embedded in the policy changes we are witnessing. For women, one particularly disturbing element is the double standard in the new welfare legislation. Moderate and upper income mothers have the option of staying home with their children rather than working outside the home. In fact, many women would prefer this if they could afford to. Socially conservative politicians who advocate "family values" take the approach that public policy should support stay-at-home moms. Yet, in crafting welfare legislation, they take the opposite view — that families living in poverty would be best served if the mothers worked outside the home, even when children are quite young.

One of the chief criticisms of the current welfare system in the U.S. is that it has created a culture of dependency. This has led to legislative provisions in the 1996 welfare overhaul which limit the amount of time families can receive financial support and impose work-related requirements. One of the assumptions behind this reasoning is that financial payments have been too generous. However, quite the opposite is the case. The real value of welfare payments has fallen sharply in the last two decades. Support payments in 1994 for a typical Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) family were only half their 1970 levels when adjusted for inflation. Grants are far from sufficient: the median grant for an AFDC mother and two children was \$366 per month in 1994; and 75% of AFDC families have to pay rent with this money (McFate 1995). Statistics do not show recipients in a long-term involvement with the program. "About 75% of all AFDC users leave welfare within 2 years. Of those who use welfare continuously for long periods, 40% are disabled" (McFate 1995).

Critics have railed against a system which was not working. If they were judging it by escalating poverty statistics, they are correct — even though sizeable numbers of people living in poverty do not receive federal assistance. Yet, one needs to look to structural changes in the U.S. economy and in political life for explanations, rather than to a culture of poverty.

One signal of fundamental economic problems is the fact that income inequalities in the U.S. are at their worst since World War II when the government systematically began tracking distribution of income (Weinberg 1996). Income inequalities declined between 1947 and 1968. Some factors behind this were: a more progressive tax system; the creation of various anti-poverty and other transfer programs; a robust economy which was creating many new jobs; and a strong union movement. Between 1968 and 1994, however the standard measure of income inequality jumped 22.4%. Income concentration among the most wealthy members of society grew most rapidly in the

1980s, where the top 5% had more than 8 times the income of the bottom 20% (Weinberg 1996). Some trends contributing to this were: changes in household composition, shifts in the labor market (types of jobs), wages became more unequal, and the decline of unions. (See "Work and Employment" chapter for a fuller discussion of labor market changes.)

Another critical factor in the worsening inequality was the Reagan Administration's regressive overhaul of the tax system. In 1967, corporate taxes comprised 23% of federal revenues. By 1994, they comprised only 11%. In 1967, individuals contributed 63% of government revenues. This jumped to 80% by 1994 (OMB, 1996). These statistics in part illuminate why average people are feeling a greater tax pinch. Yet, many politicians are channeling these complaints against the AFDC system, rather than the fact that the tax burden has shifted away from corporations and upper income individuals/families towards low and moderate income individuals/families. It is also unfortunate that low and moderate income citizens have not successfully complained about the cuts and inadequate budgets for services which could meet their needs (like education, health care, child and elder care) and excessive spending on corporate welfare (like public subsidies for U.S.-multinationals to advertise abroad) and defense.

A No-Win Policy Approach

The welfare system which was in place before August 1996 was not working — but not because of the reasons that its most vociferous critics cite. Rather, it placed recipients in a limbo of insufficient resources. Low-income mothers and children were caught between two untenable "options". AFDC benefits would not raise them up even to the less-than-sufficient official poverty threshold. [The average monthly AFDC payment varies from 13% of the official poverty threshold in Mississippi to 79% in Alaska and the median benefit is 39% of the poverty level (La Raza 1994)]. And minimum wage jobs cannot adequately provide for a family. The one attractive element for many AFDC recipients was the guarantee of some health coverage through federal programs — a benefit which most low-wage jobs do not provide. AFDC recipients are not automatically eligible for food stamps, although most receive them. Many people officially considered to be poor, however, do not receive food stamps. In 1992, 48.7% of poor Latinos, 33.4% of poor African-Americans, and 54.9% of poor whites did not receive food stamps (La Raza 1994). The vast majority of AFDC recipients do not receive housing assistance. Only 9.5% of AFDC families live in public housing, while only 11.5% received a U.S. Department of Housing and Development (HUD) rent subsidy (La Raza 1994).

A simple example illustrates the untenable position in which many low-income families find neither work nor welfare is sufficient to meet their basic needs.

The Way Forward

The Welfare Bill signed into law in the summer of 1996 may "reform welfare as we have known it," but it does not promise a way out of poverty for the families on welfare. In the immediate future, a careful state-by-state

A sample 1995 monthly budget of a working mother with two children ages, 4 and 7, living in Virginia:

Basic Living Expenses: \$1,790

*assumes health insurance,
and shared living arrangements*

Typical Benefits: \$ 644

*includes AFDC, food stamps and
Medicaid; assumes 76 cents per
person per meal*

**Hourly Wage Needed To
Cover Basic Living Expenses:** \$11.20

Minimum Wage: \$ 4.25
(McFate 1995)

audit of its impact on women and children in poverty will need to be developed. New legislative initiatives at the state and federal levels will need to be crafted to buffer the worst effects of this bill. In the longer term a new social vision and social contract that will ensure basic needs for all our citizens, particularly women and children in poverty, needs to be articulated and translated into law.

Setting a Research and Discussion Agenda

- Conduct a local and/or state audit on the impact of forthcoming state welfare plans on women and children in poverty.
- Identify the appropriate role of government at the national, regional, state and local levels.
- Develop participatory models in which women who are to receive public services participate in the conception and provision of services.
- Develop new understandings of basic needs in the U.S. in light of environmental sustainability and social justice goals.
- Identify from a feminist perspective sustainable public policies that would eliminate poverty.
- Explore social and welfare security systems that ensure basic human needs are met.
- Create models for engaging women in poverty in the construction of economic systems that meet their needs to live full and productive lives and in the identification of realistic social safety nets.
- Develop methodologies for assessing public budgets for impact on gender and racial justice and for reducing poverty and class inequalities.
- Explore the use of international human rights conventions in the U.S. as instruments to further the ability of people in poverty, especially women and children, to ensure their basic needs and rights are met.

Advocating Policy and Program Initiatives

- Reform the current tax laws to reflect progressive taxation, both personal and corporate.
- Increase funds and technical support for long-term monitoring of poverty by federal data collection.
- Increase earned income tax credits.
- Realign public priorities to increase social spending and reduce defense spending.
- Reenact legislation to reverse the punitive measures of the new welfare bill and reinstate entitlements for people in poverty.
- Strengthen legal service programs for people with low incomes.
- Revise the fair housing act to ensure that it is fair for all persons. Increase and improve public housing.
- Develop approaches to address the constellation of needs of homeless people and provide adequate funding.
- Establish food security programs for all people in poverty, especially women and children.

- Increase funding for and availability of quality child care programs, including improved training, pay and benefits for child care providers.

Organizing for Change

- Develop economic literacy programs for women and organize local and national lobbying efforts to address women and children's poverty.
- Encourage and support women with a social justice agenda to run for local, state and national political office.
- Organize opportunities for women in poverty to lobby on issues that impact their lives.
- Work with service providers and clients to ensure they are represented on all state task forces which will be implementing the new welfare legislation.
- Support local welfare rights groups.
- Work with local groups, particularly women and racial/ethnic groups, to assess community needs.
- Work with community organizers and other local groups to create or expand innovative solutions to meet basic needs in your community, such as housing, child and elder care, employment, literacy and job training.

Resources

Center for Budget and Policy Priorities. 820 First Street, NE. Suite 510. Washington, DC 20002.
Phone: (202)408-1080.

McAuley Institute. 8300 Colesville Rd. Silver Spring, MD 20910. Phone: (301)587-0423.

Institute for Women's Policy Research. 1400 20th Street, NW. Suite 104. Washington, DC 20036.
Phone: (202)785-5100.

Coalition on Human Needs. 1000 Wisconsin Ave., NW. Washington, DC 20007. Phone: (202)342-0726.

Justice for Women Working Group. National Council of Churches. 475 Riverside Drive. New York, NY 10115. Phone: (212)870-2421.

Church Women United. 110 Maryland Avenue, NE. Washington, DC 20002. Phone: (202)544-8747.

NETWORK. 801 Pennsylvania Ave., SE. Washington, DC 20003. Phone: (202)547-5556.

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community development

Pamela Sparr

What makes a vibrant local community? Strong, healthy relationships and a shared identity tied to a sense of place are essential ingredients. Economic, ecological, spiritual, political and social practices promote individual as well as collective well-being. In particular, all members have their basic needs met. Few, if any, communities in the U.S. reach this ideal, and even when they do, they are subject to many forces which make it difficult to sustain. In fact, many rural, suburban and urban communities suffer from a range of severe, long-standing problems which have led to an atmosphere of despair, violence, gross inequalities, fear, hostilities, and decay. Women and children often disproportionately bear the brunt of the problems. Therefore, women are among those leading the way in crafting new definitions of what healthy communities might look like and are busy organizing to bring them about.

Increasingly, the strongest forces affecting local communities lie outside their physical boundaries in the national and international realm. This makes it much more difficult for local governments and residents to exercise control and achieve any kind of economic self-sufficiency. Political and economic autonomy are two values which continue to resonate in public discussions in the U.S. despite changing realities. Successful community development strategies for the 21st century will require a holistic approach which addresses inter-connections among local problems and ties solutions to national and international efforts. Supportive national and international economic and regulatory policies will also be essential to provide the necessary framework to enable sound community development. At all political levels, feminist perspectives and women's involvement must be central.

Key Directions from Cairo, Copenhagen and Beijing

The documents recognize that:

- Everyone is entitled to a healthy and productive life in harmony with the environment;
- There is a vital role for governments to play in shaping economic life — the free market is insufficient by itself to produce desired outcomes;
- There is an urgent need for governments to address the causes of major problems like poverty, unemployment, environmental degradation;
- Corporate activity as it relates to trade, employment, investment and the impact on our environment must be monitored, promoted and regulated in ways which enhance community life;
- National security can no longer be equated with military security;
- Governments have an obligation to ensure people's basic needs are met through the provision of a "safety net";
- Military spending and the arms trade take much-needed resources away from meeting basic needs;
- Public budgets and economic policies must be reoriented towards different priorities — basic human needs, social equity, peace and environmental protection;
- Unsustainable patterns of consumption and production in countries like the U.S., are primarily responsible for global environmental degradation and aggravate poverty;
- Women and their needs must become central to the policy processes affecting all aspects of economic life;

- People living in poverty, community groups, and especially women's groups must become vital partners in determining and carrying out community development projects;
- Special attention must be given to ensuring that indigenous peoples have the resources, knowledge, tools and authority to control their own lives;
- Microenterprise is an important survival strategy for women.*

The documents call for:

- Redefine how to evaluate and measure economic progress;
- Promote equitable distribution of income and greater access to resources for all;
- Ensure universal access to basic social services;
- Develop a national plan with time-bound goals to eradicate poverty;
- Halt excessive military spending;
- Make employment creation a top priority;
- Incorporate gender analyses into determining budgets;
- Change agricultural and rural development policies to promote domestic food security, sustainable production methods, and land reform;
- Make more credit available to women;
- Foster microenterprise, coops and other employment/livelihood options.

Current U.S. Reality

The United States is in the midst of a transition in the understanding and practice of community economic development (CED). Local economic development in the U.S. traditionally has been a domain of white men. A few local politicians and businessmen would get together, often informally, to make plans about taxes, zoning and permits, and new commercial developments. The 1960s and 70s brought a new dimension — a focus on urban renewal and revitalization of poor neighborhoods through the use of block grants provided by the federal government. This promised to be a renewed commitment to economic prosperity for urban racial/ethnic minority communities. Community groups became active partners in the process. Community development corporations and urban planners were drawn into the decision-making circle. Housing, jobs, small business retention and creation became the focus of their efforts. However, despite community involvement, results often were mixed.

This traditional approach still is practiced today in certain circles, despite its many shortcomings. It tends to exclude women and their needs from the planning and implementation. It has few if any links to national economic policies (except for relying on federal revenue sharing through block grants for funds.) It relies on a narrow range of indicators of "success" — numbers of jobs, total income created, property values, and the value of the tax base. It relies on the private sector to create "trickle down" prosperity. The government's role is seen as providing training and infrastructure, and to attract business through offering incentives. Generally, there is no urban-rural linkage. It ignores the impact on the local environment. In fact, the success of traditional CED often is based on subsidizing the depletion of natural resources by private business. Local governments provide tax breaks and/or low prices for water, land and energy usage, for example.

* **Microenterprise** is a slippery concept, often loosely used. Technically, it refers to a small business which has fewer than five employees and can initially utilize a loan of under \$15,000. Generally, it is used to refer to small scale income-generating projects engaged by a single person or family (Clark and Hudson 1992).

New CED Thinking

Another stream of local economic development is evolving. It is commonly referred to as community-based development. In this paradigm, development is conceived more broadly to incorporate notions of equity, security, quality of life, and the empowerment of people. While still relying on the private sector, it evaluates economic plans based on their social costs and benefits, and what is in the public interest. The emphasis is on developing local resources, control and capacity, and economic diversification. There is budding awareness of the need for strategies to sustain and replenish the local natural resource base.

Women's economic development practitioners generally fall within this stream and have been acquiring influence within it over the last 10 years. They have attempted to incorporate several new elements into the economic development equation: the recognition of the importance of what traditionally has been women's unpaid work in home and community, an understanding that empowerment means not just individual but also community level organizing and action, the explicit goal of improving the lives of women and their families, and targeting women specifically in programs and policies.

Both the new and old streams often divorce community development from a broader national economic policy agenda. Women's CED often focuses on individual training and/or entrepreneurship and neglects more systemic demands for change. Given this tendency and the political inclinations of the Clinton Administration, it is not surprising then, that the U.S. government focused on microenterprise as its most specific commitment for addressing economic issues and women's poverty in Beijing. While this may be a necessary survival strategy which the U.S. is importing from countries of the South, it certainly is not a sufficient one. Fortunately, more women in this field are beginning to recognize the need for contextualizing their work within a "bigger picture" of how the economy functions.

The National Context

Community development activists and practitioners are facing a confused political, economic and ideological setting in which to do their work. There are major contradictions between economic realities and public perceptions and aspirations, for example. These contradictions will make it difficult, at least in the near term, to adopt appropriate national, state and local policies to foster just, vibrant, and sustainable communities. A few examples of the tensions: Individualism, freedom and consumerism are glorified in advertising, the media and other forms of popular culture. Yet, there are impassioned calls for rebuilding community (in "traditional" and "non-traditional" forms) and personal responsibility. There is growing environmental awareness and criticism of unbridled greed. Conversely, there is no political momentum to strengthen environmental laws, or alter the tax system to discourage consumption, speculation and accumulation of wealth.

Some people long for a return to individual initiative. We hear this as praise for entrepreneurs and as arguments for certain types of welfare reform. On the other hand, social commentaries and media images are ripe with references to the good old days of tight-knit communities. While these two aspirations may conflict, neither is likely to be achieved in their old formulation. Both individual initiative and close community life are very difficult to recreate in this era of high mobility, transience, worsening employment prospects, and global economic interdependence.

The power of transnational corporations is such that local communities and even national governments with the power of the U.S. are hard-pressed to control their own destinies. Yet, policy goals which might be more successfully achieved because

they are pursued collaboratively at the national and international levels do not receive much political support. National planning is still taboo — plagued by the stigma of “socialism.” In fact, the political trend in the U.S. is just the opposite — to push decision-making back to the state and local levels, ostensibly to “give people more control.” States compete against each other to attract new and retain old business, including foreign investment. In this process, they erode the regulatory base, tax base, and public services in their communities— precisely those elements which play a large factor in determining the quality of life.

Future Directions

At the heart of the current political turmoil in the U.S. is a debate about the meaning of three key concepts: “family”, “community” and “country”. Conservative elements wish to retain idealized values and visions of these three key institutions. Liberal and progressive elements argue that these three institutions have archaic, destructive, and hypocritical aspects. They will have to be reconstructed to be appropriate for the 21st century. We will have to achieve a working consensus on what these institutions should look like and mean before we can create effective economic policies to bring about the kinds of communities we want.

The need for systemic socio-economic change at the local, national, and international levels also must be central to the visions behind thriving local communities. Uncritically championing community development as a way of re-building the U.S. and the world ignores old “isms” which thrive in the U.S. and around the world today — racism, classism and sexism. Communities have never been equal in the U.S. in terms of the economic resources at their disposal or their political power. Even within specific communities, power relations often have been unequal and oppressive. Communities rarely have welcomed outsiders such as new immigrants. Many communities have not wanted to deal with the environmental consequences of their actions. New views of community development, thus, will have to incorporate mechanisms for redistributing power and resources within and among communities. To measure successful outcomes, communities will have to look outside their physical boundaries as well as within.

Setting a Research and Discussion Agenda

- What can women active in communities and feminist scholars contribute to formulating new economic models which are democratic, participatory, transparent, just and sustainable — principles embedded in the three conference documents?
- What new political institutions and relationships need to be created or old ones transformed to enable us to bring about a transformed economy?
- How do we redefine economic “progress” or “prosperity” in the U.S. to incorporate social and environmental goals? Is economic growth necessary in the U.S.?
- How do we define concretely what unsustainable patterns of consumption and production are in the U.S.? What kinds of policies, behaviors and attitudes maintain these unsustainable practices and who engages in them? What are the most effective ways to encourage sustainable practices?
- What are CED and national economic policy ramifications of putting a value on unpaid home and community work?
- How do we define “sustainable livelihoods”? Does this clash with a goal of full employment? What kinds of policies do we need to promote full employment which is ecologically and socially sustainable? What does this mean for CED goals and strategies?

- What would a comprehensive, detailed plan for conversion to a non-militarized economy look like? What would it mean for specific U.S. industries, companies, communities?
- What kind of criteria and methodology do we need to monitor the impact of trade and investment flows on individuals, communities, the environment? What would it mean to be able to do a gender analysis of trade?
- What is the potential and where are the limitations of alternative trading and investment practices? What are effective types of trade and investment policies which promote community vitality, employment, environmental integrity, social justice? How would their impact be monitored? How would they be enforced?
- What kinds of community development strategies make sense for rural communities, given present realities? How important will the natural resource base be for rural communities in the future? What would "land reform" mean in the U.S. context?
- How does agricultural production need to be restructured? What does "food security" mean for the U.S. (as a domestic policy goal and as a global goal)? What kinds of public policies would promote this? What kind of domestic incentives need to be in place to promote sustainable agricultural practices in the U.S. and around the world? How should CED strategies incorporate these concerns?
- How economically and environmentally sustainable are women-owned businesses in the U.S.? Where does microenterprise fit in an overall economic development strategy for a community, and for the nation? Under what conditions can microenterprise be a transformative strategy for individuals, communities, and the U.S. as a whole?
- How can the potential of coops and other ownership models be better tapped to meet women's and community needs? What kinds of ownership/control models of businesses and natural resources make it easier to achieve environmental and/or social goals in the community? In the nation as a whole?

Advocating Policy and Program Initiatives

- Reassert the right and obligation of governments to intervene in the economy: to protect the environment and citizens (health, safety, well-being); to achieve social goals (gender and racial justice, minimize economic inequalities, eliminate poverty).
- Introduce and strengthen the notion of people in the U.S. having economic rights, which include access to basic health care, shelter, education, legal services, safe drinking water, sanitation, workers' rights, employment/livelihoods or minimum income. The guarantee of certain economic rights returns us to the notion of entitlements, contrary to the direction of the current debate in Washington and at the state level.
- Demilitarize our economy. This requires widespread changes in policy and attitudes. Dimensions include: rethinking the objectives of defense, security and intelligence agencies; our participation in military alliances; foreign policy; trade promotion.
- Change government budget priorities to invest more money in basic infrastructure, environmental protection, quality education, health and dependent care and other basic services. All of these investments would be designed to promote employment.
- Identify priority actions to improve environmental sustainability, gender and racial justice, class equalities in the U.S. Develop procedures to incorporate them into the budget planning process.
- Alter the U.S. tax code to become more progressive and fair; to discourage unproductive consumption and environmental degradation; to encourage employment, savings,

productive consumption, long-term investment, environmental protection. This requires first educating people on the role of taxes, achieving some kind of public consensus on the proper role of government, and effectively addressing "flat tax" proponents.

- Add to and alter key economic indicators measuring health of our nation (e.g. GNP) to include unwaged labor, social and environmental components. Use these to set economic policy and to trigger program benefit levels.
- Strengthen environmental protection laws. Devote more resources to immediate clean-up of environmental health hazards. Move from not-in-my-back-yard approach to policy to not-in-anyone's-back-yard approach (e.g. no transboundary shipments of toxic and hazardous wastes, polluter pays, etc.).
- Strengthen the anti-trust activities within the Department of Justice.
- Require annual public accounting by all public agencies of government-sponsored business promotion efforts (at home and abroad) on a corporation-by-corporation basis to include: foreign trips with Administration officials, sponsorship of trade fairs, export credits, loan guarantees, other types of subsidies, etc. This would make "corporate welfare" explicit.
- Develop public consensus around a comprehensive national industrial policy.
- Strengthen the U.S. Trade Representative's Office (U.S. TR) with respect to environmental, labor and social concerns. Require the U.S. TR to make annual public reports of the impact of trade in the U.S. and U.S. trade on other countries with respect to these 3 concerns. Re-open World Trade Organization discussions regarding its structure and goals, so that the WTO's operations promote environmental sustainability, full employment, and equity. Strengthen social and environmental efforts related to NAFTA or disengage.
- Require the U.S. Commerce Department and U.S. Treasury to track the impact of foreign direct investment in the U.S. and U.S. domestic investment more systematically and comprehensively; make results publicly available.
- Re-orient agricultural policy to promote sustainable practices, bolster de-centralized production and marketing, and strengthen rural communities.

Organizing for Change

- Arrange for an economic literacy workshop in your area. Ask your religious group, women's group, local organization, community center, union, YWCA, school or community college, board of directors — whatever the relevant group of people in your life — to host it. Pick a topic of interest to participants. Use this topic as a gateway for exploring how the global economy works, how it affects your lives, and what kinds of changes you would like to make in how it works.
- Patronize businesses which practice environmentally and socially responsible behavior. Ask your favorite establishments if they have a corporate code of conduct. Ask to see it. Ask them if they have signed the CERES principles (environmental code of conduct). Check out how national producers of consumer products rate in the Council on Economic Priorities "Shopping For A Better World Guide". Buy from farmers' markets where possible; select organic produce. Use Coop America's Green Business Directory to select friendly merchandisers. Ask if the business is unionized. Are there coops or other forms of employee-owned companies you can patronize? If you use credit or calling cards, choose socially responsible ones. If you invest in mutual funds, support those with criteria related to environmental, labor and peace issues.

- Raise your voice about fundamental economic rights. Write a letter to the editor. Call in to a talk radio show. Start a discussion with family, friends or colleagues, other members of a group you belong to. Relate the U.S. commitment at these international meetings to a current policy debate in your town, state or the nation. Relevant topics include: taxes, welfare reform, Social Security, health care reform, public housing, other social services, labor and employment laws, child care. Begin a discussion about common values and vision.
- Find out who is making the economic decisions in your community. What boards or commissions make key economic development decisions? What role does your city council, mayor and/or city administrator play? How prominent are women in these functions? How often do they listen to women? To racial ethnic minorities? To people living in poverty? What can be done to change this?
- Find out about economic development plans for your area and publicize them to women's groups. Do they address the needs and aspirations of women and girls in your area? Are they environmentally sound? Who will benefit from them? Who might be harmed? Could they be improved?
- Conduct a gender audit of your local, state or the national governmental budget. Where does the money go? Who benefits from these programs or services? How is revenue generated? Who is paying the bill? What are women and children's needs? Are they budget priorities? Publicize your findings. Meet with legislators to discuss your findings and concerns. Contact the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) for information regarding a national women's budget project. WILPF, 1213 Race Street, Philadelphia, PA 19107. Phone: (215) 563-7110.
- Determine whether any type of peace-time conversion plan exists for military establishments in your area. Contact your member of Congress, local unions, peace or environmental groups to find out. If no plan exists, work with these groups and/or others to develop one. Then advocate for its adoption by the appropriate legislative bodies.
- Advocate for sizeable cuts in military spending in the national budget and a transfer of savings for infrastructure and social spending.
- Oppose gambling initiatives as a way of financing public programs and analyze taxes. States often claim they can't raise taxes on those most able to pay, often saying it would deter business investment. Challenge this reasoning. Ask for proof. Scrutinize present budgetary priorities and taxation burdens. Are businesses and wealthy individuals paying their fair share? Is precious tax revenue going to questionable business subsidies? Challenge the economic rationale of paying for public services like education with an unpredictable source of income. Challenge the morality of banking the state's budget on potentially addictive behavior. Talk about using the tax code as a tool for creating a just, sustainable, vibrant community or state.
- Challenge your favorite enterprise to do better. Do you appreciate or are you offended by a particular commercial or ad? Let the advertiser know. Don't like a certain radio or TV program or were you really moved or enlightened by one? Let the sponsor and station know. Suggest a specific improvement at your workplace and work to build support for it. Conduct a neighbor-labor audit of a local company and share the findings with the owners or managers.
- Challenge a major business in your area to adopt a corporate code of conduct, if it doesn't have one and allow outside monitoring of its enforcement. Support shareholder resolutions related to corporate responsibility. Support national regulation of corporations so they cannot pit communities and states against each other.

Resources

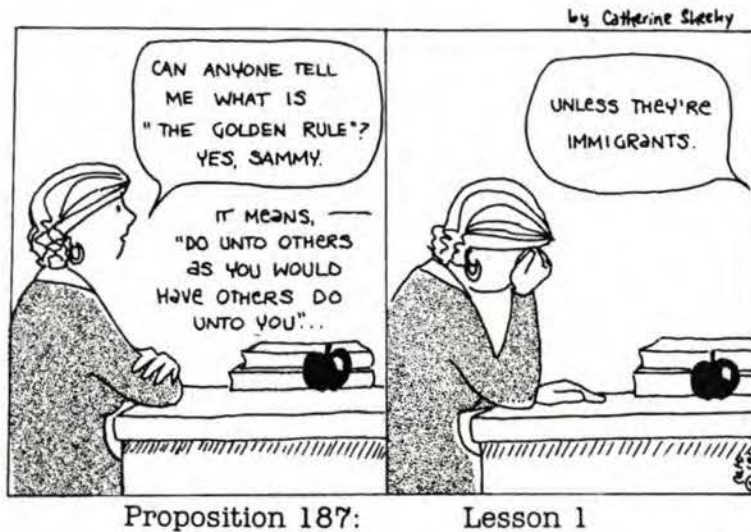
- Association for Community-Based Education. 1805 Florida Avenue, NW. Washington, DC 20009. Phone: (202)462-6333.
- Council on Economic Priorities. 30 Irving Place. New York, NY 10003. Phone: (212)420-1133.
- Federation for Industrial Retention & Renewal. 3411 West Diversey Avenue, #10. Chicago, IL 60647. Phone: (312)278-5418.
- First Nations Institute. The Stores Building. 11917 Main Street. Fredricksburg, VA 22408.
- Good Neighbor Project for Sustainable Industries. PO Box 79225. Waverly, MA 02179. Phone: (617)489-3686. Fax: (617)489-2482.
- Ms. Institute for Community Organizers. c/o Ms. Foundation for Women. 120 Wall Street. 33rd floor. New York, NY 10002. Phone: (212)742-2300. Fax: (212)742-1653.
- National Congress of Neighborhood Women. 21 Park Place. Brooklyn, NY 11217. Phone: (718)783-2298. Fax: (718)783-5099.
- National Council of Churches Eco-Justice Working Group. c/o Lynne West. NCC. 475 Riverside Drive. New York, NY 10115. Phone: (212)870-2386.
- National Family Farm Coalition. 110 Maryland Avenue, NE. Suite 307. Washington, DC 20002. Phone: (202)543-5675. Fax: (202)543-0978.
- Rural Coalition. 110 Maryland Avenue, NE. Suite 505. Washington, DC. Phone: (202)544-9611. Fax: (202)544-9613.
- Southwest Network for Environmental and Economic Justice. PO Box 7399. Albuquerque, NM 87194. Phone: (505)242-0416. Fax: (505)242-5609.
- Southern Regional Economic Justice Network. PO Box 240. Durham, NC 27702. Phone: (919)683-1361.
- Sustainable America/Communities Project. 350 5th Avenue. New York, NY 10118. Phone: (212)239-4221.

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immigration

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Migration has become a major international phenomenon with profound implications for everyone.* Currently, an estimated 125 million people live outside their countries of origin, 20 million of whom are refugees. The immigration "problem" is indicative of larger problems, the more prominent of which is the unbalanced global distribution of wealth. Centuries of colonialism and slavery have created regions where most of the people live in abject poverty and regions of affluence. Over time, multinational corporations from affluent regions have become adept at using poverty to lower wages globally by forcing countries to compete for jobs.

Additionally, severe political repression—often backed by the U.S. military— prevents many countries of the global South from attaining social progress or organizing for better wages and working conditions. Concurrently the number of asylum seekers has been growing due to intolerance and new forms of human rights violations. Therefore, while most people still prefer to remain in their home countries, an unprecedented number of people have been migrating from politically unstable and economically disadvantaged regions to more stable and industrially developed regions of the world.

Key Directions from Cairo, Copenhagen and Beijing

The documents recognize that:

- International, economic, political and cultural forces contribute to the flow of people between countries;
- The causes of migration range from environmental degradation to natural disasters to internal conflicts that destroy human settlements;

* The U.S. government classifies migration as a global issue. **Migration** is defined as any significant shift in population, either across borders or within a nation. **Immigrants** are people, who, for their own reasons, chose to leave their countries of origin and may not return there. In the U.S., **Migrants** are people who pursue seasonal employment such as farm work; people who are not settled in one place. **Refugees** are people who have left their places of origin not by choice, but because of violence and/or persecution for their political or religious beliefs. UN International conferences' reports do not share the U.S. distinction between migrants and immigrants. UN documents use the terms migrants and immigrants interchangeably.

- Although most international migration typically occurs between neighboring countries, interregional migration, particularly among the economies of the countries of the global South has been growing;
- There has been a spate of negative developments including social polarization and fragmentation, widening disparities and inequalities of income and wealth within and among nations, marginalization of people, families, social groups, communities and even entire countries as a result of rapid social change, economic transformation and armed conflicts;
- Armed conflicts, terrorism and hostage taking persist in many parts of the world. Aggression, foreign occupation, ethnic and other types of conflicts are an ongoing reality affecting women and men in nearly every region;
- Acts of violence, whether occurring within the home or in the community, or perpetrated or condoned by the state, instill fear and insecurity in women's lives;
- Some groups of women, including women belonging to minority groups, indigenous women, refugee women, women migrants, have been particularly vulnerable to violence;
- Total social breakdown is an all too real contemporary experience. Organized crime, illegal drugs, the illicit arms trade, trafficking in women and children, ethnic and religious conflict, civil war, terrorism, all forms of extremist violence, xenophobia, politically motivated killing, and genocide present fundamental threats to societies and the global order;
- Women migrant workers, including domestic workers, contribute to the economy of the sending country through their remittances and also to the economy of the receiving country through their participation in the labor force. However, in many receiving countries, migrant women experience high levels of unemployment compared with both non-migrant workers and male migrant workers.

The documents call for:

- Addressing the root causes of migration, especially those related to poverty, by ensuring a better economic balance between developed and developing countries and by strengthening countries with economies in transition;
- Making the option of remaining in one's country viable for all people;
- Integrating international migration issues into national political and economic agendas, including support to developing countries as a strategy for addressing the impact of international migration;
- Cooperating internationally to devise strategies, policies, and legislation to combat national and transnational violence and terrorism;
- Explaining support for relevant international organizations to deliver adequate technical support to developing countries in managing migration flows;
- Eliminating the trafficking in women and girls by adopting and enforcing appropriate criminal and civil measures to discourage commercialized sex, forced marriages and forced labor in order to eliminate trafficking in women and slavery;
- Improving mechanisms for resolving conflicts peacefully and for reintegrating people into society following conflicts;
- Ensuring the rule of law and the practice of democracy by adopting rules and processes to create transparency and accountability for all public and private institutions;
- Reducing the number of migrants, while ensuring that those in need of international protection receive it;

- Preventing exploitation of immigrants and ensuring that their basic human rights are protected;
- Ensuring the social and economic integration of migrants especially of those who have acquired the right to long-term residence in the country of destination and their equal treatment before the law.

Current U.S. Reality

According to U.S. census statistics "foreign born" people comprise about 8% of the U.S. population. Yet, the widespread perception is that a great mass of people of color are illegally migrating to the U.S. and are poised to replace the white majority. As a result, immigration has surged to the front of domestic concerns. The U.S., which prides itself as the world's foremost immigrant-established nation, has become a place of intolerance for recent immigrants incorrectly perceived to be largely people of color. This race and ethnic bias is bolstered by news reports of seemingly uncontrolled U.S. borders where "illegals" crash through to take jobs away from "natives." Foreigners are also perceived to be "abusing welfare" and besieging public schools with their excessive demands for multi-cultural curricula in their states of residence (Simpson 1996).

States which host large populations of immigrants— Texas, Florida and especially California— are blaming immigrants rather than economic factors for their socio-economic problems. They have begun demanding that the federal government compensate them for social services they provide to immigrants. The states' requests have aggravated U.S. taxpayers who then believe themselves to be bankrolling the "free-rider" lifestyle of immigrants on welfare and Medicaid.

Contrary to this impression, studies have shown that immigrants pay \$70-\$90 billion in taxes each year and use less than \$50 billion in services (National Asian Women's Health Organization 1994). In fact, many immigrants pay more income tax than they owe because they are afraid to file and claim a refund (Kane 1995). Another overlooked contribution is that despite some unskilled immigrants' willing acceptance of less than minimum wage jobs, many highly educated and skilled immigrants have brought new business to the United States and created jobs for themselves and others. The U.S. science and technology sector, especially the computer industry, has benefited significantly from immigrant entrepreneurs and scientists. These important facts have become lost in the drive to stop the immigrants.

The 104th Congress(1995-1996) intensified the attack on immigrants. Disregarding an Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS) statement that nearly 90% of all immigrants enter the U.S. legally, Congress has proposed stricter immigration reform laws aimed not only at stopping immigrants at the border, but also at punishing even the U.S.-born offspring of immigrants. Early in March 1996, Congress seriously considered elimination of virtually all distinctions between legal and illegal immigrants and ending their access to basic human services, including education and health benefits.

Inspired by the passage of the punitive Proposition 187 in California, proposed changes to U.S. immigration laws run contrary to UN conference documents which recognize the importance of expanding civil and political rights to immigrants. For example, provisions in the new welfare bill would prohibit benefits to legal, tax-paying immigrants. As a signatory to the UN Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) document, the U.S. agreed that "integration of documented migrants into the host society is desirable." But the welcome wagon is being rolled away from both categories of immigrants, documented and undocumented. The U.S. also agreed at the ICPD that "the family reunification of documented migrants is an important factor in international migration." Yet, the family values conscious U.S. 104th Congress moved to restrict categories of family immigration. The anti-immigrant agenda is not one-sided. The entire political spectrum is fully involved in halting immigration, documented or otherwise, through stricter border patrols and various punitive measures against immigrants and their offspring.

Immigration Flow and Its Underlying Dynamics

Given the right opportunities to meet their basic needs and improve their quality of life, most potential immigrants to the U.S. would prefer to stay in their homeland where they have a network of family and friends and a familiar cultural identity. Push factors are many. Among them: the lack of adequate and stable income, employment or basic services; physical threats to their safety (either by natural disasters, chronic environmental problems, or civil strife and wars). There are also a variety of possible pull factors: the desire to reunite with family members living in the U.S., greater political or economic freedoms and possibilities, powerful cultural and ideological messages about "living the good life" in America.

With the collapse of communism in the former Soviet Union and other nations, and shifts in Chinese economic thinking, many U.S. politicians and allies in other countries of the North and South are using the opportunity to reassert the perceived virtues of free market economics. They are using the new political opportunities to expand capitalism to new regions of Eastern and Central Europe and to strengthen it in countries of the global South where markets and entrepreneurship are relatively recent developments and/or are rather tenuous.

This consolidation and expansion of capitalism to become the global economic system has created new immigration pressures and problems. A two-dimensional explanation may be identified as inducing these new pressures. On the side of the global South, consolidation of capitalism has occurred through debt and trade relationships between countries of the global South and North. Countries of the global South have not been able to count on foreign assistance to grapple with heavy burdens of foreign debt. Aid flows have diminished in the last decade, particularly from the U.S. Instead, governments have been forced to turn to international financial institutions (IFIs) like the World Bank and International Monetary Fund for solutions. The U.S. and other Northern nations control the IFIs because they are the primary financial contributors. As a result, the IFIs prescribe solutions which meet the political and economic objectives of their more powerful members, rather than working for development of their poorer members.

These prescriptions are called "structural adjustment policies" or "economic reform" packages. Essentially they promote the development of free markets, export-oriented trade, and limit the government's role in the economy. Privatization and elimination of subsidies on basic items are common features. These solutions often aggravate poverty and inequalities, continuing the legacies of colonialism and neocolonialism in different clothes. If countries do not accept the free market prescriptions they risk being cut off from development aid and much-needed foreign investment. Local elites often benefit from the changes, another reason why Southern governments take IFI's approach. The end result is a creation of an often educated poverty class whose members seek to migrate from the home country to find a better quality of life elsewhere.

On the side of the global North such as the U.S., the pressures take a different form. Stemming from ongoing globalization, workers in the global North have seen little or no relative improvement in their conditions. Wages have stagnated for workers. In other cases, various jobs have been eliminated to accommodate technological efficiency, competitiveness and higher profit margins. Many families, communities of color and some whites, have been hard hit by these adverse conditions. This has fueled xenophobic feelings and actions. Additionally, prejudice, hate and other forms of strife have become rampant among many in the citizen population. Rather than address the employment and social problems at home, disingenuous politicians aggravate the emotions of frustrated U.S. workers so they perceive their non-white immigrant counterparts as adversaries who must be stopped at the border.

A related aspect of the consolidation has been the creation of new trading and investment blocks (like the North American Free Trade Agreement), and the strengthening of old ones (the European Union). Shifting investment flows and sourcing of production facilities has stimulated rural to urban migration within countries and immigration flows as employment opportunities move.

Another element is the consolidation of the culture of capitalism which encourages individualism, competition, acquisition and consumption. Global marketers from Northern transnational corporations bombard Central and Eastern Europe and countries of the global South with movies, advertisements, news programs, music videos, and other forms of mass entertainment which glamorize the "higher quality of life" in the U.S. and other Northern countries. This opulent lifestyle is portrayed as the outcome of two-party democracies, open markets and free trade. When the continuous exposure to these global marketing messages sink in and give form and definition to some Southern peoples' aspirations for social and economic security, the "immigration problem" ensues.

Gender Dimensions

Immigration patterns are not gender neutral. The numbers and ages of women and men immigrating to the U.S. often show distinct patterns based on class, race, family status and country of origin. The push and pull factors contributing to someone moving to the U.S. can work differently for males and females. For example, for many years, U.S. hospitals have hired recruiting agencies to supply them with large numbers of Filipina nurses. The hospital administrators did not want to manage a shortage of U.S. nurses by increasing the salaries and benefits offered, and wanted to weaken U.S. nurses' ability to unionize. Instead, they found that it was cheaper and more desirable to bring highly skilled Filipina nurses to the U.S.. Push factors in the highly-indebted Philippines were a deteriorating economy, political instability under then-President Marcos, and lack of nursing jobs available in the Philippines. In fact, during the 1980s, the Philippines relied heavily on the out-migration of women as nurses, teachers, and domestic workers. Former President Corazon Aquino noted that the monetary remittances these women sent home was a critical part of the Filipino economy and of keeping families afloat.

Some U.S. industries, like garments, electronics, and hotels rely heavily on immigrant women's labor. This has been true for over a century in the garment and textile sector, and a relatively new phenomenon in other sectors. In some ways, domestic manufacturers and service industries might find stricter immigration laws are inadvertently profitable. Employers can take advantage of immigrants' fear of being identified and caught by law enforcement officials as illegals or undocumented, even if they are legally residing in the U.S. Employers also often take advantage of new immigrants' lack of English skills as well as their ignorance of basic labor rights and protections, to pay below minimum wages, not offer benefits, and not provide minimal workplace health and safety standards. Appalling abuses in garment sweatshops have recently received more media and U.S. Department of Labor attention. One area which receives little scrutiny is domestic work. In exchange for low pay, and possibly housing, immigrant women engage in child care and/or housekeeping activities in a highly private situation. If women feel aggrieved about their treatment or conditions, they have little recourse. Employers can threaten to turn them in to authorities or render them immediately homeless.

Setting a Research and Discussion Agenda

- Explore effective ways to better protect the human rights of immigrants, especially women.
- Examine the effects of stricter border patrol and law enforcement as a deterrent of undocumented migration.
- Assess the impact of U.S. foreign policy and arms sales on displacement and migration.
- Conduct case studies of the cultural, social and economic effects of corporate globalization.
- Assess the adverse impact of structural adjustment programs as a root cause of international migration.
- Assess the benefits of legalizing migrant labor based on demands in labor pull countries.
- Assess the impact of unsustainable global economic policies, such as wasteful natural resource consumption, as a cause of international migration.
- Promote immigrants' contributions (taxes, skills, diversity) that benefit host/receiving countries.

Advocating Policy and Program Initiatives

- Evaluate the consequences of a humanitarian and development-focused approach as opposed to a legal approach to control migration.
- Reallocate resources away from the military and reduce the flow of international migration through human and economic development approaches and incentives rather than by law enforcement measures which foster human rights violations and abuses.
- Eliminate discriminatory practices and punitive restrictions against migrants and immigrants especially women, children and the elderly.

Organizing for Change

- Encourage the dissemination and implementation of the United Nations Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) Guidelines on the Protection of Refugee Women and the UNHCR Guidelines on the Prevention of and Response to Sex Violence Against Refugees and Immigrants.
- Ensure that the human rights of immigrants, refugees and displaced people are protected and that refugee women are made aware of these rights.
- Advocate against the adverse impact of structural adjustment programs and corporate globalization.
- Establish linguistically and culturally accessible services for migrant women and girls, including women migrant workers who are often victims of gender-based violence.
- Promote peace and reconciliation; advance respect for human rights including those of persons belonging to minority groups.
- Expedite the processing of asylum requests; encourage adoption of international human rights standards in the U.S.; and defeat the English Only language movement.
- Support innovative forms of community and workplace organizing which includes or focuses on immigrants.

- Talk with social service agencies, community groups and local religious leaders to ensure different communities of immigrants in your area have been identified and their needs met.
- Find out what your public school system is doing to encourage multi-cultural appreciation among all students, and what programs are offered to enhance learning opportunities for immigrant children.
- Work with your PTA to ensure the involvement of immigrant families in local schools.
- Be an advocate in your state legislature for immigrants' rights.
- Start or join a local group which will monitor and counter anti-immigrant sentiment, violence, and political organizing (like the English Only language movement).

Resources

American Friends' Service Committee. 1501 Cherry Street. Philadelphia, PA 19102.
Phone: (215) 241-7060. Fax: (215) 241-7275.

American Civil Liberties Union Foundation Immigrant Rights Project. 132 West 43rd Street.
New York, NY 10036. Phone: (212) 944-9800 ext. 715. Fax: (212) 221-5937.

Asian Immigrant Worker's Association. 2288 Fulton St. #103. Berkeley, CA 94704.
Phone: (510) 268-0192.

U.S. Committee for Refugees. 1717 Massachusetts Avenue, NW. Washington, DC 20036.
Phone: (202) 347-3507. Fax: (202) 347-3418.

National Immigration Law Center. 1815 H Street, NW. #700. Washington, DC 20006.
Phone: (202) 776-0470. Fax: (202) 776-0474.

National Immigration Forum. 2201 I Street, NE. #220. Washington, DC 20002-4362.
Phone: (202) 544-0004. Fax: (202) 544-1905.

Refugee Voices. 3041 4th Street, NE. Washington, DC 20017-1102. Phone: (202) 832-0020.
Fax: (202) 832-5616.

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The health of women has gained national significance over the last 25 years. The U.S. women's health movement grew out of feminism's second wave and created a body of knowledge and momentum for activism on behalf of women and their health. This movement has evolved from an early concern for reproductive and sexual health to an expanding range of topics including environmental health, violence, health system reform, public health policy, and health as it is affected by race, class, and gender.

The health of women as a right is not recognized by national or state governments. In fact, health is often treated as a commodity whose market value is manipulated to benefit providers, pharmaceutical companies, insurers, and businesses. However, recognition that women's ability to live as free and responsible members of society is impeded by illness and advanced by wellness has become an important social concern.

Key Directions from Cairo, Copenhagen and Beijing

The documents recognize that:

- Health is a right;
- Health is well-being, not only the absence of disease;
- Health is determined by social, political, and economic forces, not simply biology;
- Inequality is a barrier to sound health for women and gender bias compromises women's health;
- Women have different and unequal access to health resources;
- Decreases in public health spending, privatization of health systems, and the absence of universal access to affordable health care directly affect the health of women;
- Reproductive and sexual health includes access to safe abortion services when not against the law; safe, effective, affordable, and acceptable family planning; pre-natal, safe delivery, and post-natal maternity care; treatment of reproductive tract infections and sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV/AIDS;
- Quality of women's health care is often deficient in respect, confidentiality, privacy, and information;
- women's health research is underfunded;
- Data on health are not disaggregated by sex, age, and socio-economic status, thereby compromising women's health.

The documents call for:

- Increase in women's access to appropriate, affordable, and quality health care throughout their life cycle;
- Attainment of universal and equitable health care, including preventive, primary, reproductive, and long-term health care;
- Attention to the effects of mental health disorders, HIV/AIDS, substance abuse, occupational health, reproductive cancers, and infertility on the health of women;
- Attention to the health of the girl child;

- Attention to the health of older women, including cardiovascular disease, osteoporosis, aging, and disability;
- Attention to the damaging health effects of violence against women and environmental hazards;
- Provision of basic needs for primary health services including reproductive health care, food security, safe drinking water and sanitation, as well as access to land and credit to improve the health of women;
- Establishment of school and community-based health education programs;
- Programs to ensure attitudes respectful of girls should be made available to boys before they become sexually active;
- Promotion of equal participation of men and women in family planning, household responsibilities, parenting, and work.

Current U.S. Reality

U.S. Women's Health Status

Although women live an average of seven years longer than men, they generally suffer poorer health and more disability from disease. Heart disease is the number one cause of death among American women with nearly one in two female deaths the result of cardiovascular disease. Lung cancer is the leading cause of cancer among women while breast cancer is the second leading cause, with one American woman in eight diagnosed in her lifetime. Women suffer disproportionately from autoimmune diseases, including lupus, rheumatoid arthritis, multiple sclerosis, and scleroderma. Some forms of mental illness, depression and certain anxiety disorders, strike women twice as often as men. Women in the United States are the fastest growing population with AIDS and the incidence of sexually-transmitted diseases among adolescent and young women is growing significantly. Women of color and low-income women have lower life expectancies, poorer health, and lower quality of life, with socio-economic disadvantages contributing to these features of women's health.

Women's Health Movement

Health as a right and equal access to health resources have been a concern in women's health. This is particularly true for advocates, policymakers, and practitioners in the women's health movement who view women's health as part of emancipatory movements for social change. The idea that the health of women matters began with community women, activists, and providers who, in the late 1960's, applied feminist concepts to understanding the health of women. The early movement's critical analysis of the health system and its failure to address women's health needs was and remains its driving force. As Norma Swenson, an author of *Our Bodies, Ourselves*, has stated, the movement has based its work on the abuses reported by women seeking health services, the failed health indicators of poor women, a market-driven health industry profiting at women's expense, the defeat of universal health care, and the medicalization of normal health processes and passages. As interest in women's health expands, the core of the movement, including the Boston Women's Health Book Collective, the National Women's Health Network, and the National Black Women's Health Project, will continue to attend to the best interests of women and their health from a feminist perspective.

Health Care Reform

The U.S. is the only major industrialized nation in the world without a national health system that provides universal coverage for health care to all its citizens. Women are disproportionately affected by health care treated as a privilege and not a right. More than 13 million women have no health insurance of any kind, millions more have inadequate coverage based tenuously on their employment or marital status, and many

women work part-time, in small businesses, and in sales or service jobs where health benefits are not available. Although Medicaid and Medicare have been important federal health programs for many women, these programs may no longer be a safeguard as in the past. Without reform, health care services that are accessible, affordable, and of high quality will continue to be available only to those who have the significant resources to pay for them. As businesses, corporations, and even the public sector continue to eliminate jobs, reduce benefits, and eliminate entitlements, even the middle class will increasingly be without health care coverage and the much touted quality of American medicine will belong to ever fewer citizens. The health of women cannot be protected, much less advanced, no matter what our technological successes, without universal access to primary, preventive, reproductive health, and long-term care services for all.

Current Tensions

Since the early 1990's, a growing interest in women's health has captured the attention of policymakers, elected officials and legislators, health researchers and professionals, pharmaceutical and insurance companies, as well as the general public. The creation of the Office of Research on Women's Health at the National Institutes of Health has been a visible example of the resurgence of biomedical approaches to women's health. Simultaneously, however, the women's health movement and community-based women in health have increased their attention to aspects beyond the biomedical model and towards the social, psychological, economic, and political components of health at both the national and international levels. The tensions between these two approaches are representative of often divergent views on how best to accomplish advances for the health of women. On the one hand, the biomedical model assumes that solutions and improvements in women's health can be achieved through scientific and technological applications. On the other hand, the socio-cultural model assumes that changes in the root causes of discrimination, poverty, unequal distribution of resources, and other factors such as employment, the family, education, and the law are essential to improving the health of women.

As women's health has moved into the public arena, it has acquired market value for a range of products and services, from hormone therapies to managed care. Businesses have found profit in developing new products and services for women as well as in developing influence and access to women through financial support of projects and programs, newsletters, magazines, and women's organizations. While some of these market-based changes have the potential to benefit women, others are solely in the interest of profit and are damaging to women's health.

On the Horizon

We can look forward to a continuing expansion of critical analyses, social science and biomedical research, and community-based responses that affect the health of women. Such key areas of research as women's occupational health, violence against women, and environmental health will expand and intersect in increasingly important and complex ways with ongoing work in breast cancer, cardiovascular disease, and auto-immune disorders, as well as a range of others. However, also ahead are some potentially devastating consequences for women's health. Federal and state budget cuts, loss of entitlements, welfare reform, Medicaid and Medicare changes, downsizing, low-wage jobs, reduced health benefits, and a general retreat from a social compact of support for working families and those in need will disproportionately affect women and their health. As women find themselves increasingly without the means to earn a living wage and protections to provide for themselves and their families, to adequately parent their children, and to gain access to affordable health care, their health will deteriorate. Most severely hit will be low-income and poor women, women of color, disabled women, and immigrant and migrant women — those already at greater risk and marginally served by the current health system.

Setting a Research and Discussion Agenda

- Corrosive effects of poverty on the health of women.
- Social, psychological, political, and economic contexts of women's lives and the consequences on their health.
- Unequal availability and distribution of health resources for women by class, race, ethnicity, and geography.
- Implementing community-based primary care health resources for women, by women.
- Implementing a comprehensive, publicly funded preventive health program for women.
- Development of an integrated women's health public policy. Translation of research into women's health public policy and practice.
- Impact of environmental hazards on the health of women.
- Extent of occupational health risks for women.
- Development of safer, effective, women-defined contraception.
- Prevention and treatment of HIV/AIDS.
- Etiology and prevention of reproductive cancers such as breast and ovarian cancer.
- Mental health consequences of illness for women.
- Discrimination and oppression as a source of women's mental illness. Intersection of mental and physical illnesses.
- Health consequences of violence against women across the life span.

Advocating Policy and Program Initiatives

- Pass national legislation creating universal access to the health care system.
- Implement equal access to a single, high standard of health care at affordable costs.
- Provide a comprehensive health benefits package, including preventive, primary, reproductive health, and long term care services.
- Build publicly-funded community-based health centers that offer preventive and primary care for women and families in neighborhoods, workplaces, schools, stores, places of worship, and other locations, with special attention to low-income urban and rural populations.
- Design health and medical education and training programs to include gender and culturally sensitive women's health information and build provider skills for communicating with patients.
- Include in provider curricula social science courses that address health in the diverse contexts of women's lives, including women's multiple roles and responsibilities, women's cultural and socio-economic differences, and the special needs of rural, urban, minority, indigenous, and disabled women.
- Create multi-disciplinary care teams of doctors, nurses, social workers, mental health providers, community workers, and others based in local communities to assess community health needs and provide coordinated care in neighborhood settings.

- Expand national legislative protections for women's constitutional right to reproductive choice. Increase access to and numbers of family planning sites and provide low-cost family planning services, including access to contraception and abortion.
- Commit to a national public health initiative for girls and adolescents to promote healthy behaviors and provide nutrition, sport/physical activity, sexuality, and reproduction education/programs with the aim of preventing lowered self-esteem, abuse, early pregnancy, substance abuse, and sexually transmitted diseases including HIV/AIDS.
- Increase government funding for women-centered women's health research to include a range of scientific inquiry (including psychosocial, economic and political) in priority women's health issues such as cardiovascular disease, cancer, autoimmune diseases, mental illness, substance abuse, violence, reproductive health, environmental and occupational health, and chronic disabling conditions such as diabetes, osteoporosis, and Alzheimer's disease.
- Require all funded research to include analyses of gender inequalities, socio-economic status, race, and ethnicity to determine the extent to which these factors impact on the etiology, extent, and consequences of illness, disability, and disease in women.
- Increase the number of women researchers and scientists through promotion, grants and awards, and the early education of girls and adolescents for careers in science.
- Revise requirements for the National Center for Health Statistics and other federal health agencies to collect and disaggregate health data by sex, age, socio-economic status, race, ethnicity, geography, and education.
- Allocate funding for research, including health services research, to establish the beneficial links between traditional or alternative forms of health and medicine with standard biomedical forms of diagnosis and treatment.
- Require the appointment of women to all boards, commissions, and regulatory bodies implementing health policy and programs at national and local levels.

Organizing for Change

- Lobby your state health insurance commission and state legislature to pass laws requiring affordable health care coverage for women with pre-existing conditions including pregnancy as well as women who are unemployed, looking for work, or ineligible for Medicaid.
- Organize women's groups in your state to require the state Medicaid program to maintain or expand current eligibility and benefits.
- Form a citizens' council to monitor the effects of managed care on low-income or poor women's access to quality health care services. Publicize your findings.
- Form a women's health task force in your city, town, county, or state and report on the health needs of women there and the services available to meet them. Publicize your findings.
- Encourage your local community colleges, universities, and high schools to offer courses in women's health. Give them this publication to help them get started.
- Volunteer to work at a women's health clinic, family planning clinic, nursing home, hospice, rape crisis center, shelter, or hotline.
- Join one of the membership women's health organizations listed below, such as the National Women's Health Network, and stay vigilant to erosions in women's health.

Resources

Boston Women's Health Book Collective. 240A Elm St., Somerville, MA 02144. Phone: (617)625-0277. Fax: (617)625-0294.

National Black Women's Health Project. 1211 Connecticut Ave, NW. Suite 310. Washington, DC 20036. Phone: (202)835-0117. Fax: (202)833-8790.

National Breast Cancer Coalition. 1707 L St., NW. Suite 1060. Washington, DC 20036. Phone: (202)296-7477. Fax: (202)265-6854.

National Institutes of Health Office of Research on Women's Health. 9000 Rockville Pike. Bethesda, MD 20892. Phone: (301)402-1770. Fax (402)1798.

National Latina Health Organization. 1900 Fruitvale Ave. Oakland, CA 94601. Phone: (510)534-1362. Fax: (510)534-1364.

National Women's Health Network. 514 Tenth St., NW. Suite 400. Washington, DC 20004. Phone: (202)347-1140. Fax: (202)347-1168.

National Women's Health Network Clearinghouse. 514 Tenth St., NW. Suite 400. Washington, DC 20004. Phone: (202)347-1140. Fax: (202)347-1168.

Native American Women's Health Education Resource Center. P.O. Box 572. Lake Andes, SD 57356. Phone: (605)487-7097. Fax: (605)487-7964.

Public Health Service Office on Women's Health. 200 Independence Ave, SW. Washington, DC 20201. Phone: (202)690-7650. Fax: (202)401-4005.

Readings

The New Our Bodies, Ourselves. 1992. The Boston Women's Health Book Collective. Simon and Schuster. New York, NY.

Ourselves, Growing Older. 1994. The Boston Women's Health Book Collective. Simon and Schuster. New York, NY.

Worcester, Nancy and Mariamne Whatley, eds. Second Edition. 1994. *Women's Health: Readings on Social, Economic, and Political Issues.* Kendall Hunt. Dubuque, IA.

Koblinsky, Marge, Judith Timyan and Jill Gay, eds. 1993. *The Health of Women: A Global Perspective.* Westview Press. Boulder, Co.

Fee, Elizabeth and Nancy Krieger, eds. 1994. *Women's Health, Politics, and Power: Essays on Sex/Gender, Medicine, and Public Health.* Baywood. Amityville, NY.

violence against women

Anne S. Kasper



Violence against women has been a common human experience throughout recorded history. Although men have also endured violence, women are overwhelmingly affected, attesting to the gendered nature of violence. For centuries law and custom, as well as religious and social practices, either promoted or condoned gender-based violence in which women were considered to be property, objects, or otherwise reviled. While some forms of violence differ from culture to culture, the pervasive and global nature of gender-based violence remains.

The U.S. women's movement has been at the forefront of making violence against women a human rights issue and in revealing the extensive nature of violence in American society. Women who work in rape crisis centers and battered women's shelters have been instrumental in raising public awareness of sexual assault, domestic violence, child abuse, elder abuse, and sexual harassment as varied and extensive forms of gender violence. As an awareness of the scope and magnitude of violence increases, analyses of its pernicious effects on women, men and children, as well as the prospect for a humane and just society, have become part of the public debate.

Key Directions from Cairo, Copenhagen and Beijing

The documents recognize that:

- All forms of gender-based violence have increased globally;
- All women are at risk of violence, especially the most vulnerable women in society such as minority, refugee, migrant, disabled, elderly, institutionalized, poor, displaced, and repatriated women;
- While all women are at risk, poor social and economic conditions exacerbate violence against women;
- Violence against women is a human rights violation and destructive of the social compact;
- Violence against women is an impediment to equality, development, and peace;
- Gender-based violence reinforces historical patriarchal interests in women's

subordination to men and is a constraint on women's mobility, access to resources and activities, and participation in civil life.

The documents call for:

- Governments and communities eliminating violence and providing support to women and families;
- Addressing the media's responsibility in ending the promotion of violence, including pornography;
- Promoting legal redress for women subjected to violence;
- Funding community-based information, education, and training programs for girls and boys, women and men in violence-free communication and conflict resolution;
- Funding counseling and rehabilitation programs for perpetrators of violence;
- Ending agents of government such as police and security forces as perpetrators of violence;
- Eliminating trafficking in women and girls and assisting victims of violence due to prostitution and trafficking;
- Reaffirming that rape in armed conflict is a war crime and, often, a crime against humanity;
- Identifying and condemning systematic rape as a deliberate instrument of war and ethnic cleansing;
- Eliminating harmful traditional customs and religious practices that result in violence;
- Recognizing women as leaders in the peace movement and their inclusion in all levels and stages of conflict resolution and peace negotiation.

Current U.S. Reality

Violence against women, whether domestic violence, abuse and neglect of girl children, sexual assault, rape, sexual harassment, or elder abuse, has become a concern of the public, federal and local governments, communities and businesses, public health providers, and public interest groups. According to the 1995 Commonwealth Fund report on "Violence Against Women in the United States," 4 million women are abused by intimate partners each year. The American Medical Association reports that 1,500 women are murdered by intimate partners each year and that one-quarter of all women will be abused at some point in their lives. A 1994 report for the American Psychological Association states that approximately 20% of U.S. women have been raped. Studies indicate that from 20% to more than 50% of women have been sexually harassed during their work lives. Most experts believe that the extent of violence against women is greatly under-reported in this country.

Effects of Violence

The consequences of violence against women are profound, sometimes ending in death. The consequences can also be long lasting. The effects on physical health, mental health, social relations, family, work, and economic survival cannot be fully measured. In addition to the immediacy of fractures, bruises, gunshot and knife wounds, women sustain chronic pain and other neurological damage, sleep disturbances, sexually transmitted diseases including HIV/AIDS, respiratory difficulties, gastrointestinal disorders, as well as vision and hearing losses that appear to bear some association to a history of abuse. Social, psychological, and psychiatric effects of violence include homelessness, job loss, isolation, suicide, post-traumatic related responses, substance abuse, anxiety, depression, and self-mutilation, among others. The intersection of physical and mental health effects for the individual woman only compounds the consequences of the violence and the difficulties in assuring her survival and care.

Health Care

Unequal access to the health care system, constraints and costs in health care delivery, failure to diagnose violence-related injury, and general insensitivity in caring for survivors all contribute to the difficulties women face when seeking medical and mental health care. It is true that women who have survived violence use more health services as a result of the violence than those who haven't been victims. However, the health system has yet to adequately train providers of care to acknowledge the presence of violence in their patients' lives or to diagnose it. Providers should also be trained to make appropriate links with social, legal, and advocacy services and provide the quality of care that does not retraumatize the woman being treated.

Community Responses

Community-based services have been some of the most important resources for women who have suffered from violence. Shelters, safe havens, legal assistance, support programs, medical and mental health services, and the development of violence education and prevention programs have their roots at the local level in many communities across the country. These community efforts have been at the forefront of services, support, and education to mitigate gender-based violence, whereas institutional-based responses have lagged behind. The Commonwealth report notes that "grassroots organizations remain a very important source of innovation in the treatment and prevention of violence against women." The same report notes, however, that few violence prevention programs have been evaluated and their effectiveness remains unclear. Despite the proliferation of programs, many women who suffer violence remain without resources or recourse.

Setting a Research and Discussion Agenda

- Links between global economic dislocations and the prevalence of violence against women in the U.S.
- The relationship between national economic trends such as competitive markets, job stratification, job loss, lower wages, and other employment hardships and violence.
- Disintegration of the rural economy and culture and its relationship to violence against women.
- Tensions between work and family responsibilities for promoting violence against women.
- Responsibilities of national, state, and local governments, business, local communities, educational institutions and others to prevent violence.
- Responsibility of the media to eliminate the portrayal and promotion of violence against women.
- Origins and causes of male perpetration of violence.
- Effect of international sales and trafficking in arms and gender-based violence.
- Effect of the military as a social institution and the consequences of armed conflict as a source of violence against women.
- Links between high military expenditures and resulting low investment in social programs and an association with violence.
- Impact of sexual harassment on the quality of women's employment and schooling.
- Consequences of gender stereotyping for gender-based violence.

- Effects of emotional chasms between the genders in promoting violence.
- Consequences of race and class discrimination and their relationship to violence.
- Underlying dynamics and consequences of race and ethnic-based violence against women.
- Social and economic toll of the long term health and mental health consequences of violence against women.
- Effectiveness of the justice system to arrest and prosecute perpetrators, redress violence against women, and avoid the revictimization of women.

Advocating Policy and Program Initiatives

- Reconsider the global competitive market economy for ways to reduce consumption and profit-taking, realign productivity to meet basic human needs, and provide jobs and a living wage for all who can work and support for those who cannot.
- Raise the minimum wage, provide education and job training, and increase job development.
- Begin a high-level dialogue among government, business, community leaders, and women to identify a joint and integrated approach to reducing violence against women in the workplace and in communities.
- Establish a national commission to identify and promote work and workplace changes to better meet the social and emotional needs of families and individuals.
- Create a broad-based citizens' council to call upon the media, publishers, advertisers, and business interests to eliminate all forms of violence against women on TV, radio, in film, magazines, and other media outlets.
- Provide support for social science research into the causes of men's violence against women and establish nationwide education, counseling, and support services for men based on research findings.
- Support a global UN conference calling for an end to arms sales between nations and to international arms trafficking.
- Pass national legislation limiting handgun ownership to police and safety officials.
- Sensitize law enforcement officials to recognize and prosecute all forms of racial and ethnic gender-based violence.
- Reduce the budget of the Department of Defense and increase funding for social programs and services.
- Provide support for social science research on the elimination of gender stereotyping and create materials for schools, workplaces, libraries, health centers and others on the negative consequences of gender stereotyping and the positive effects of gender differences.
- Implement multi-cultural and diversity education in schools and workplaces toward the goal of ending intolerance as a source of violence.
- Create lifetime mental health services and support for survivors of violence, eliminate insurance and employment discrimination against survivors, support research on the long-term health and mental health consequences of violence, and develop programs to interrupt the cycle of violence in families.

- Ratify and implement the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).
- Implement gender sensitive training for judicial, legal, medical, social, educational, police, and military personnel in treating victims of violence and in preventing the abuse of power that leads to violence against women and the revictimization of women seeking assistance and redress.
- Encourage preventive education in elementary age children and beyond, teaching girls self-defense and peer mediation.
- Provide well-funded shelters for girls and women subjected to violence as well as medical, psychological, counseling and other support services, including free or low cost legal aid.
- Provide appropriate assistance to enable survivors to find housing, education, job training, employment, child care, and health care.

Organizing for Change

- Contact your county medical society to ask if they have implemented a violence education program for physicians. Ask your family doctor if he/she knows how to identify women who have been abused as adults or children and how to help them.
- Contact your health insurance company to ask if a history of abuse precludes a woman from being eligible for health coverage. If so, write the company and the state health insurance commission to protest this policy and get others to do the same.
- Meet with civil rights groups in your community to investigate the extent of race and ethnic-based gender violence.
- Find out if your community has implemented a mandatory arrest policy for abusers patterned after the Duluth, MN Domestic Abuse Intervention Project. If not, bring the policy to the attention of your town or city council or state government.
- Encourage men at your workplace, place of worship, at schools and in neighborhoods to form a men's awareness project, modeled after the Oakland Men's Project, to teach alternatives to violence, sexism, stereotyping, and discrimination against women.
- Organize a women's self-defense class for friends and family.
- Volunteer at a program in your community, a women's shelter, a rape crisis center, or at a local hotline.
- Work in your local school and/or religious institution to implement violence prevention education, peer mediation, and self defense.
- Join a handgun control group and lobby for handgun control legislation at your state capitol.

Resources

- American Medical Association, National Coalition of Physicians Against Family Violence. AMA Department of Mental Health. 515 North State. Chicago, IL 60610. Phone: (312)464-5066.
- Against Our Will: How to Create Your Own Peer Support Groups for Survivors. Kasha Baxter. P.O. Box 457. Crownsville, MD 21032. Phone: (301)721-8055 or Voice Mail: (301)930-3834.
- BIHA: Black, Indian, Hispanic, and Asian Women in Action. 122 W. Franklin St. Suite 306. Minneapolis, MN 55404. Phone: (612)870-1193.
- Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, Family and Intimate Violence Prevention. 4770 Buford Highway NE. Mail Stop K60. Atlanta, GA 30341. Phone: (770)488-4410.
- Duluth Domestic Abuse Intervention Project. 206 West 4th Street. Duluth, MN 55806. Phone: (218)722-2781.
- National Coalition Against Domestic Violence. Box 18749. Denver, CO 80218. Phone: (303)839-1852.
- National Domestic Violence Hotline. Phone: (800)799-7233.
- Oakland Men's Project. 1222 Presentation Park Way. Oakland, CA 94612. Phone: (510)835-2433.
- The Family Violence Prevention Fund. "There's No Excuse" Public Education Campaign. 383 Rhode Island St., Suite 304. San Francisco, CA 94103. Phone: (415)252-8900.

Readings

- Violence Against Women in the U.S.: A Comprehensive Background Paper.* 1995. The Commonwealth Fund Commission on Women's Health. Commonwealth Fund. New York, NY.
- Heise, Lori L. with Jacqueline Pitanguy and Adrienne Germain. 1994. *Violence Against Women: The Hidden Health Burden.* World Bank Discussion Paper #255. World Bank. Washington, DC.
- Jones, Ann and Susan Schechter. 1993. *When Love Goes Wrong: What To Do When You Can't Do Anything Right.* Harper Collins. New York, NY.
- Koss, Mary et al. 1994. *No Safe Haven: Male Violence Against Women at Home, at Work, and in the Community.* American Psychological Association. Washington, DC.
- Moving Forward: A Newsjournal for Survivors of Sexual Child Abuse and Those Who Care for Them.* P.O. Box 4426. Arlington, VA. 22204.

the environment

Jill Gay and Linda Appel

Due to the different roles that women and men are assigned in U.S. society as well as physiological differences, the state of the environment has social and health implications particular to women. Environmentally induced health problems which affect the population at large run the gamut from skin diseases to neural disorders to immune system damage. However, little attention has been given to the impact of environmental conditions on women. In the environmental justice movement—a movement which recognizes that people of color and in low-income communities are often at greater risk of exposure to environmental contaminants than non-minority and middle or upper-class communities (Anderson 1993)—women have led the way, often challenging industry and the U.S. government. Yet, despite a tradition of activism, a strong feminist agenda concerning the environment has yet to be articulated by either the environmental or feminist movements in the United States.

Key Directions from Cairo, Copenhagen and Beijing:

The documents recognize that:

- The major cause of continued deterioration of the global environment is the unsustainable pattern of consumption and production, particularly in industrialized countries;
- Women carry a disproportionate share of the problems of environmental degradation.

The documents call for:

- Enacting policies of sustainable development that protect and maintain the integrity and sustainable use of our environment;
- Providing basic needs for all, including food security, safe drinking water and sanitation;
- Promoting environmental awareness—including awareness of unsustainable patterns of consumption and production—in all education and health policies and programs;
- Adopting economic policies which include social development goals, environmental preservation, and provisions that polluters shall bear the costs of cleaning up pollution;
- Documenting the impact of armed conflict on women's health and the environment;
- Strengthening preventive health programs that promote women's health;
- Recognizing indigenous peoples' identity, culture, and interests, strengthening and protecting their groups' economic activities (particularly in interactions with large economies);
- Engaging in land reform.

Current U.S. Reality

The condition of the environment affects nearly every aspect of daily life in the U.S. Disregard for the environment and the well-being of future generations is demonstrated by a general shortsightedness on the part of consumers, business, and government. Damaging business and production practices as well as a general throw-away mentality have consequently left millions of individuals and many communities exposed to environmental hazards that can cause illness and death. Certain patterns of production and ownership also have exacerbated unequal access to and control of natural resources necessary for the social, spiritual and cultural integrity of communities and peoples in the U.S.

A number of environmentally induced health problems are particular to or predominantly strike women, including breast cancer, cancers of the female reproductive tract, autoimmune disorders, endometriosis, infertility, and miscarriages. Yet, beyond reproductive health risks, environmental and occupational threats to women's health at all stages of the life cycle have not received adequate attention. A focus on pregnancy outcomes still dominates occupational health research (Misner 1995). There is an urgent need for increased and improved attention to links between environmental hazards and women's health which must occur without creating new opportunities for discrimination against women.

Environmental Justice

While all people in the U.S. are at risk of environmental contamination which could lead to illness and death, low income communities and communities of color have historically been at greatest risk. Countless studies have shown that these communities are plagued by poor living and working conditions and have also been targeted to house industry's dirtiest businesses and to store its waste.

Women have consistently been at the forefront of the environmental justice movement—"the typical grassroots leader was a woman" (Bullard 1993b). Women activists, particularly women of color, such as Charlotte Keys of Jesus People Against Pollution, Georgia Good of the Rural Advancement Fund, and Pat Bellanger of the American Indian Movement have set examples by fighting for the health and well being of their communities. In contrast, the white men who have traditionally been in leadership positions in the mainstream environmental organizations such as National Wildlife Federation, National Audubon Society, Sierra Club, and others have not put community concerns as their priority, have been less confrontational, and in some cases have accommodated industry. For example, the chairman of Chemical Waste Management, one of the industry greats of pollution, sits on the board of the National Wildlife Federation (Setterberg 1993; Gottlieb 1993; and Dowie 1995).

In 1987, The United Church of Christ published *Toxic Waste and Race: A National Report on the Racial and Socioeconomic Characteristics of Communities with Hazardous Waste Sites*, which determined that race, more than income, dictated where industry located hazardous waste sites. Over 50 percent of all African, Hispanic, Asian, Pacific Island, and Native Americans at the time were living in communities with uncontrolled toxic waste sites (NAWHERC, 1993). African-American children have a higher rate of exposure to lead than white children (Bullard 1993) and African-American urban male children are almost three times as likely as their white counterparts to die of asthma (Dowie 1995). In the NHANES II study conducted from 1988 to 1991, of women aged 14 to 72, African-Americans were found to have the highest blood lead levels, followed by Hispanic Americans—both exceeding levels for white women. Further desegregated by income level, poor African American women had the highest median blood lead levels of all American women (Brody et al 1994). Native Americans have suffered at the hands of the U.S. government. In the past, there were no safety regulations for Native uranium miners working in the southwestern U.S., resulting in many deaths and persistent health problems. Most Indian nations have been confined to poor, barren lands which are often home to toxic waste sites, landfills, and nuclear testing areas.

Toxic Waste

The majority of toxic waste in the U.S. is produced by industry or the U.S. military. The latter is the single largest producer of toxic waste in the country. Waste from arms and chemical weapons production sits in pits and underground storage throughout the U.S. According to some estimates there are as many as 21,425 such sites that will take \$26.2 billion to clean up over 20 years (*Washington Post*, Oct. 18, 1995). This dire situation is exacerbated by the lack of government accountability and the secrecy which veils military activity (Shulman 1992).

The health effects of exposure to toxic substances are only beginning to be understood. Some of the known problems include stillborn or underweight babies, birth defects, heart, liver, and kidney problems, nervous system disorders, headaches, fatigue, dizziness, irritation of the nose, throat, and eyes, nausea, irritability, loss of appetite, reduced coordination, immune system disorders, mental retardation in children, hearing loss, blindness, sterility, brain seizures, and death (NAWHERC 1993). A New Jersey study of white women in 21 counties showed significant positive associations between breast cancer mortality and proximity to toxic disposal sites (National Research Council 1991).

The primary mechanism of the U.S. government for dealing with toxic waste is the Superfund program which was enacted to promote cleanup of hazardous waste sites around the U.S. In 1985, the Office of Technology Assessment warned that a total of 10,000 contaminated sites might require cleanup and Superfund listed 1,200 priority sites. Yet, in February 1991 after 13 years of operation, Superfund had redeemed only 33 sites. At this rate, the priority 1,200 sites will be cleaned up in 500 years (Setterberg 1993). A recent EPA study found that more than 40 million people live within 4 miles of a Superfund site (National Research Council 1991).

An additional burden to communities plagued with toxic waste is that the value of real estate will often plummet in communities where toxic contamination has been uncovered. The drop in property value unfairly penalizes poor communities imposing a double burden of illness and financial insecurity (Askew 1996).

Industrial Chemicals, Commerce, and Regulation

Since 1950, at least 70,000 new chemical compounds have been invented and dispersed into our environment. Yet, of the more than 60,000 chemicals in common commercial use today, fewer than 10,000 have been evaluated for toxicity in animals or humans (WRI 1996). Widespread use of chemicals which have not been adequately tested on people poses a significant public health threat. Yet, despite the obvious danger, U.S. regulatory agencies have tended to give precedence to production over public health by allowing industry to self test for chemical safety. This is a situation in which, essentially, the fox is being asked to guard the chicken coop. One example of industry exploitation of this arrangement is the case of Bio-Tech Laboratories, Inc. In 1977, federal investigators discovered that Bio-Tech, the largest commercial testing firm, had rigged data in hundreds of government-mandated safety tests (Setterberg 1993). While regulation and testing of substances needs to be strengthened where it exists, it also needs to be expanded to include the consideration of differential health effects on women and men.

Lead is one widely used toxic chemical with known health risks for women. In the past, lead paints were used in housing projects and schools, and airborne lead is emitted from some industries. A 1990 U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) study found that 57 million of the 100 million housing units in the U.S. contain lead-based paint (Phoenix 1993). More than 3 million children in the U.S. live in environments with lead levels considered dangerous to their health, including 55% of low-income Afro-American children (Needleman 1993). What is the impact of exposure to lead for girls later in their lives? Lead exposure decreases fertility in women, yet little is known about the impact of lead on women's health beyond reproduction.

Pesticides are a major hazard for farm workers, yet reliable data does not exist on the extent of pesticide-related illness in the United States (Moses 1993), and, in particular, on the specific health effects of pesticides on female agricultural workers (Doyal 1995). Estimates suggest that prolonged exposure to pesticides causes approximately

313,000 illnesses resulting in at least 1,000 deaths annually among agricultural workers. Existing exposure standards and methods of assessment for acceptable exposure are based on daily pesticide intake of those who eat produce rather than on exposure of those who harvest the produce (Bullard 1993). The safety of chemicals applied to nursery and other non-edible crops routinely handled by farm workers has also gone largely unstudied.

The majority of health problems that plague farm workers with access to clinics are consistently linked to environmental conditions. Common problems include respiratory, dermatological, immune, and reproductive disorders (Dever 1993). In women, physiological differences may make exposure to certain chemicals significantly more threatening than for men. For example, since women on average have higher body fat composition ratios than men, women may retain proportionately greater amounts of persistent chemicals such as dioxins and other organochlorines. Furthermore, if women experience weight loss, these stores of toxins may be re-mobilized back into the bloodstream (Roberts and Silbergeld 1995).

Two recent studies in the U.S. implicate the pesticide DDT as a possible cause of breast cancer (Moses 1993b), yet the Institute of Medicine (IOM) points out that an insufficient number of studies have been conducted to definitively link exposure to herbicides, such as dioxin, to greater rates of breast cancer (IOM 1996). In the context of assessing the impact of Agent Orange on Vietnam Veterans, the IOM concluded that there is evidence of an association between exposure to herbicides and soft-tissue sarcoma, non-Hodgkin's lymphoma, and Hodgkin's disease (IOM 1996). A study of women farmers in Nebraska who personally applied pesticides showed a 4.5 fold elevated risk of non-Hodgkin's lymphoma (Misner 1995). However, large scale documentation of the number of women with these afflictions has not been done. Women who wash clothing by hand with water tainted with pesticide residue are further exposed to pesticides, yet again, no such risk assessment has been conducted (Quintana 1996). Study methodologies further skew results as evidenced by the fact that farm women are often not classified as farmers but as farmers' wives, which has excluded them from large studies of pesticide-induced cancer.

The Clinton Administration's position on industrial regulation was articulated by the Commission on Sustainable Development with the release of *Sustainable America*, in March 1996. *Sustainable America* promotes deregulation of industry, calling upon corporations and individuals to self-regulate, a scenario which ultimately gives dominance to corporate profit over environmental safety and sustainability.

Of the known hazardous materials produced in the U.S. but banned for domestic use, many are exported to foreign markets with looser environmental regulations. World Bank and International Monetary Fund structural adjustment policies have been particularly influential in promoting pesticide sales which benefit large agricultural chemical producers seeking markets outside the U.S. (Dinham 1993).

Air Pollution

Industrial and auto emissions spew tons of toxic substances into the air each day. As a result, 150 million Americans live in places where the air quality is below standard (Needleman 1994); excesses of rare cancers have been shown to occur among residents who live near a vinyl chloride plant (NRC 1991); residents who live near or work in oil refineries, chemical plants, and rubber plants where benzene is released, are at increased risk of leukemia and lymphoma (Needleman 1994). Little attention has been given to the effects of airborne pollutants on the health of women.

In an effort to remedy the air pollution problem in the U.S., the U.S. government instituted pollution credits as a compromise provision of the 1990 Clean Air Act. Using pollution credits, companies can "bank" their surplus emissions for sale to high polluters under a total U.S. emissions cap. It is still unclear, however, whether pollution credits indeed reduce the overall emissions level or whether they merely shift the location of pollution sources, creating "toxic hot spots" in vulnerable environments (Dowie 1995).

Water Safety

Millions of tons of hazardous materials, including pesticides, herbicides, and toxic runoff are migrating into ground water supplies throughout the U.S. with unknown or little known health consequences, particularly for women (Needleman 1993).

The drinking water in Tucson, Arizona has been contaminated by four thousand gallons of TCE, an airplane engine degreaser linked to cancer, nervous disorders, and lung and heart problems, dumped by Hughes aircraft into the water supply. A single teaspoon of TCE can contaminate 250,000 gallons of water (Setterberg 1993). Another study has shown that women who consumed chlorinated surface water at rates above the median for 60 years had three times the rate of bladder cancer (NRC 1991). Mercury contamination in the Great Lakes has led to public health advisories to pregnant women and women who wish to have children warning them not to consume fish. The affect of fish consumption on men who may wish to have children has not been considered, nor has the impact on women's health beyond reproduction been examined. In communities where women do the majority of the cleaning and cooking, exposure to contaminated water is higher than for men, compounding the health effects on women (*Washington Post*, June 12, 1996).

Half of the total U.S. population and 95% of the rural population rely on ground water as the main source of drinking water. Each year thousands of wells are closed because of hazardous waste contamination. In other cases, people consume contaminated water because no information on toxic content is available. Inadequately treated water may also contain high levels of harmful microbes. One study noted that nearly one third of all cases of diarrhea in North America can be associated with consuming inadequately treated drinking water (Payment 1991). Recently, however, some areas have moved to make water safety statistics readily available to communities.

Nuclear Testing

More nuclear weapons tests have been carried out in the continental U.S. than in any other part of the world (Robbins 1991). In the U.S., most tests have been conducted in Nevada—a site chosen against public health considerations—and have generated local and continental contamination. (The selection of exact sites on Shoshone Indian land is evidence of environmental injustice). Underground nuclear testing has released large quantities of highly toxic chemicals such as strontium, cesium, and plutonium into the environment, exposure to which has been correlated with increased rates of cancer.

Occupational Health

Occupational health hazards face all members of the work force—paid and unpaid, formal, informal and domestic—yet the majority of occupational health studies conducted thus far have been narrowly focused on healthy, well nourished men in male-dominated occupations (Misner 1995, IOM 1996). The need for woman-focused occupational health studies increases as women are participating in high-risk occupations such as law enforcement, fire protection, construction, sweatshops (a growing employer of women in assembly-type production), and agricultural labor in greater numbers than ever (BNA 1996).

Some of the primary occupational health risks to women include reproductive health problems from exposure to toxic substances and strenuous physical activity, stress from job insecurity, sexual harassment, and combined work and family demands (BNA 1996). Office workers, the majority of whom are women, often suffer from eye strain caused by video display terminal (VDT) exposure, respiratory problems from indoor air pollution and carpal tunnel and repetitive stress syndrome. Nurses and other medical workers are at risk from chemical and infectious hazards (Gottlieb 1993). Women who worked in a microelectronic plant had a four times higher rate of miscarriage, along with severe nervous dysfunctions (Messing 1995). Women garment workers are at greater risk for bladder cancer. Women working in shoe manufacturing have increased deaths from leukemia and lung cancer; jewelry makers have increased death rates from stomach cancer; and women exposed to benzene in their work have a 2 to 4 fold increase in the risk of miscarriage (Misner 1995). It is estimated that between 30,000 to 90,000 of the over 500,000 deaths related to cancer are work-place-related, but data that has been disaggregated by sex and workplace is not available (Public Health Institute 1994).

Occupational health hazards, particularly those affecting women, are poorly understood. For example, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) is currently battling to collect data and set standards on repetitive stress injury (RSI) which affected over 300,000 workers in 1994, predominantly in occupations dominated by women (*Washington Post*, July 11, 1996). One victory for women in the workplace was the Supreme Court decision which ruled that companies could not force women to choose between their job or sterilization if the chemicals they worked with would injure the fetus. The company instead had to ensure a safe workplace for all workers, men and women (Gottlieb 1993; Needleman 1994; Bingham 1984).

Farm workers in most states are not covered by workmen's compensation for payment of damages caused by work-related injuries and exposures. Few of the laws which do cover farm workers, including field health and sanitation and pesticide worker protection standards, are enforced with any regularity. Despite the significant health risks facing U.S. farm workers, migrant health clinics serve fewer than 20% of migrant workers and many environmentally-related illnesses go undiagnosed.

Agricultural workers have an annual death rate that is five times greater than for all occupations combined (Rios 1993) with life expectancy for a migrant farm worker averaging 49 years, compared to the national average for all other occupations of 73 years (Implementation of the Helsinki Accords 1993). It is estimated that more than one fourth of the more than 2.5 million migrant and seasonal farm workers in the U.S. are women (Farmworker Justice Fund 1994) and at least one third of the chile pickers in New Mexico are women (Marentes 1996).

Setting a Research and Discussion Agenda

- Create a research agenda and analyses to examine how environmental factors affect the health of women in all stages of the life cycle. Work should be done in consultation with low-income women and women of color who are most severely affected by environmental injustice.
- Assess the public health consequences of exposures to substances from hazardous-waste sites, contaminated drinking water, and industrial chemicals including any differential impacts on the health of women.
- Document the impact of environmental exposure to nuclear and chemical weapons production on women.

- Establish a national database for information on rates of spontaneous abortion to ascertain potential linkage to environmental contamination.
- Investigate the use of green taxes. Green taxes could theoretically reduce the burden of the income and investment tax, stimulate the economy, while at the same time encouraging U.S. citizens to be more environmentally conscious.
- Compile and assess environmentally sound and gender sensitive practices used in other countries for their utility in the U.S.
- Broaden the scope of occupational health as a discipline to include not only paid labor in the formal and informal work sectors, but also women's many roles and tasks outside of the workplace.
- Study actual job tasks performed by women and determine the associated health effects of these tasks.
- Improve the design of personal protective clothing for women, taking into account women's physiology and body structure.
- Determine the number of women farm workers and their potential for differential exposure to pesticides and strenuous work conditions.
- Compile a database of women workers who have left the workplace because of health hazards associated with the workplace.
- Assess the potential for using telecommunications to keep geographically widespread populations informed of environmental issues and developments, to link populations at risk with advocacy groups, and to mobilize diverse groups — particularly women — to take action on environmental issues.

Advocating Policy and Program Initiatives

- Enact a policy of sustainable development in which urban planners, farmers, and politicians must take into account the effects of their practices and policies on present and future generations' health when planning.
- Do not measure economic progress solely by GNP growth, which does not take sustainability into account.
- Incorporate environmental factors into women's health studies. The Women's Health Initiative—the largest health study currently underway throughout the U.S.—gives very little consideration to environmental risk factors and women's health.
- Promote pollution prevention measures targeted at industry and the military to complement clean up efforts.
- Enforce legislation requiring regular safety inspection of public housing and zoning laws to ensure adequate distances between housing and hazardous wastes.
- Ensure that real estate in communities that has been contaminated by toxic waste or in which toxic substances are uncovered cannot be drastically devalued, penalizing innocent citizens.
- Institute community control of Superfund sites using federal funds and ensure that women are represented on boards and commissions.
- Enact and enforce regulation for industry and business to develop environmentally sound practices — evaluate the example of Chile's green national accounting.

- Strengthen and enforce legislation that chemicals must be tested for a broad range of health effects before being approved for commercial use.
- Ensure that trade measures do not undermine environmental regulations in the U.S. and that U.S. industry does not export dangerous chemicals which are banned in the U.S.
- Promote environmentally sound farming and industrial practices which include gender considerations.
- Promote Integrated Pest Management (IPM) farming and teach women farmers IPM.
- Enforce and strengthen legislation to reduce air, water and land pollution.
- Do not allow the sale of pollution credits.
- Ensure that all people living in the U.S. have safe drinking water, adequate sanitation, and food security, and that these conditions are considered basic human rights.
- Mandate statistics on occupational safety and health for all workplaces, with data disaggregated by sex.
- Require all industry and business to have health care providers for workers on site or readily accessible.
- Provide alternatives to industry-financed health and safety research.
- Provide funding for women's health research related to environmental contamination and occupational health.
- Promote training of primary care physicians in fields of environmental and occupational health/medicine.
- Incorporate increased gender analysis into the fields of environmental and occupational health with a simultaneous promotion of women working in these fields.
- Create partnerships between affected communities and scientists, similar to those initiated by National Institute for Environmental Health Sciences (NIEHS), to combat problems of environmental pollution and degradation.

Organizing for Change

- Get involved in local government and community groups to stay abreast of initiatives that could compromise the health of you and your neighbors. Encourage women in your community to get involved in these groups and to assume positions of leadership and shared responsibility with men.
- Monitor the pollution in your community and its impact on women's health.
- Lobby for legislation to improve environmental protection.
- Support and participate in community agriculture, farmers' markets, community gardens, and kitchen gardens.
- Support organic agriculture by buying organic food.
- Organize farmer-to-farmer exchanges of goods.
- Organize support groups for migrant farm workers. Arrange for bilingual traveling medical vans which can provide health care without requiring loss of work days and which can provide services in a comfortable, familiar environment.

- Ensure that your workplace honors its employees' right to know if they are at risk from hazardous chemicals or devices.
- Promote educational efforts to increase environmental awareness at a young age, such as Magic School Bus on public TV and Rutgers University's curriculum for grade school environmental health education.

Resources

The Rural Coalition/Coalición Rural. 110 Maryland Avenue, NW. Suite 505. Washington, DC 20002. Phone: (202)544-9611. Fax: (202)544-9613.

Women's Environmental Development Organization (WEDO). 355 Lexington Ave. 3rd Floor. New York, NY 10017-6603. Phone:(212)973-0325. Fax:(212)873-0335. E-mail: wedo@igc.apc.org.

Greenpeace. 1436 U Street, NW. Washington, DC 20009. Phone: (202)462-1177. Fax: (202)462-1177.

National Coalition for Health and Environmental Justice. 860 Pine Grove Ave. Traverse City, MI 49686. Phone: (616)933-0121.

Citizen's Clearing House for Hazardous Wastes (CCHW). P.O. Box 6806. Falls Church, VA 22040. Phone: (703)237-2249. E-mail: CCHW@essential.org.

World Resources Institute. 1709 New York Avenue, NW. Washington, DC 20006. Phone: (202)638-6300. Pubs: (800)822-0504.

The Native American Women's Health Education Resource Center (NAWHERC). P.O. Box 572. Lake Andes, SD 57356-572. Phone:(605)487-7097. Fax:(605)487-7964. E-mail: nativewoman@igc.apc.org.

National Black Women's Health Project. 1615 M Street, NW. Suite 230. Washington, DC 20036. Phone: (202)835-0117.

Indigenous Environmental Network. Box 485. Bemidji, MN 56601. Phone: (218)751-4967. Fax: (218)679-3378. E-mail: ien_info@econet.apc.org.

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CHOICES

THE HUMAN DEVELOPMENT MAGAZINE

October 1996

The Faces of Poverty

Views from Nadine Gordimer
Jean-Bertrand Aristide
Hillary Rodham Clinton
and others

Central America's Longest War
Business, Profits and Youth

8TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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The Irish Times

January 13, 1996, CITY EDITION

SECTION: WEEKEND; Pg. Supplement Page 1

LENGTH: 2627 words

HEADLINE: Where children are cheap

In the first of four reports from the Philippines, Nuala O'Faolain visits a shelter for child prostitutes and abused children from Manila and the former Us military's 'recreation' cities of Olongapo and Angeles, where there is no tourism except sex tourism. Photographs by Peter Thursfield

BYLINE: By NUALA O'FAOLAIN

BODY:

IMAGES from Manila and the places around it come crowding like fever dreams. The dwarves, a man and a woman dwarf, scuttling forward from the back of a dim bar to drag the customer in. The young prostitute, standing passively in her little frock in front of the paunchy, middle aged, Caucasian man who has called her out from a flock of girls, and the contempt with which he flicks up her skirt at the front to inspect her.

Listless children holding begging hands out to the endless, honking traffic jams in Manila, where the polluted grey concrete pavements of a city of ten million people are what they have for home.

Poverty beyond imagining. A runny nosed, blotchy child, crawling up the slope of a garbage dump, bent under a load of the bits of cardboard his father has collected to build a lean to. They've picked a square foot or so between the plumes of acrid smoke that belch up from where the deep layers of rotting garbage are permanently on fire. If there were anything to eat in the garbage, the terrible dogs, bald with mange, would have got it already.

On the verandah of Father Shay Cullen's shelter for children, the pinched, drugged look on the face of a little boy whose mother has hauled him back to ask for another chance there. This boy, it transpires, was the partner of a little girl called Rosario in sex displays. Rosario was once world famous. She became famous for dying from the effects of having a vibrator break inside her.

And outside Manila, on the road to the former "sin city" of Olongapo, where the Subic Bay US Naval Base left a corrupted society behind when; the Marines moved out in 1992, a vision of environmental hell. The landscape, from one moment to the next, is wiped out. When the Mount Pinatubo volcano erupted three years ago it covered fields and trees and houses and churches and every living thing in a sea of mud. Now there is nothing as far as the horizon but smooth, hardened, grey mud.

The people sit out in the grey vastness, under makeshift canopies. Women, babies on their hips, line the road, hoping for a few pence to be thrown through

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the dust from passing buses. These people have nothing. They have absolutely nothing.

Statistics are no more reliable than anything else in this chaotic country. But the World Bank estimated, a few years ago, that approximately 30 million Filipinos live in absolute poverty. The number of the poor increases all the time. The Roman Catholic church has successfully opposed any national family planning initiative. The population, 65 million in 1993, is likely to reach 100 million in under 30 years.

The rich own the land. The rich run the country. The Marcos family alone took about \$ 10 billion out of the Philippines.

Everyone who can steal, steals, from the ruling oligarchy with its rural slave labour and its urban kick backs, to the traffic policemen, "fining" drivers for imaginary infringements, to the postal workers who peel the stamps off postcards. The poor must shift for themselves. This is the context of sex tourism.

This is the immediate explanation for why, according to UNICEF, there are 60,000 child prostitutes in the Philippines. The first thing I hear on Philippine soil, as the plane lands in Manila, is a European man explaining to a group of Filipino boys that he is on a holiday. "We'll get you nice company," the boys say, and they all laugh, understanding each other. There is no tourism in Manila, or the former US "recreation" cities of Olongapo and Angeles, except sex tourism.

The last words I hear are "I am hungry", from a child living in a doorway near the hotel, and from a couple of transvestites, hanging, around the street in a downpour of hot rain - "My, you are beautiful". They simper as the rain runs down their faces, pathetic in their thin women's clothes and tottering high heels.

In between, the signs of how cheap sex can come when too many people are trading it are everywhere. The menu in a cafe, scribbled over with messages: "Hi! Hello! My name is Jefferson de la Cruz and I am a callboy.". The patient whores, combing their shining hair as they wait for custom in bars and hotel lobbies. The local girls, so slight that in a hamburger diner, the half drunk men customers bounce them on their thighs like babies. In a karaoke disco, the girls exaggerate their infantile appeal with white ankle socks. Not that they need to compared to the big Australian and German and English men, all the Filipina girls look like children.

They are as relatively helpless as children, too. Which is why, in spite of all the neon and the pounding music and the suggestive language, the sex scene is so dull. The girls must always say "yes". The man points; she must come forward. There is no erotic edge, no thrill of seduction, in the nightclubs and bars of metro Manila.

There are scores of impassive young people on offer foreign men, however inadequate by the standards of their own cultures, can preen themselves in front of them. For no other reason than that outside, on the broken down streets, and far away, in the villages, there is absolute poverty.

A pimp was secretly recorded offering under age girls to Father Cullen's

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investigator. "I tell the girls doesn't want to go to the tourist," the pimp remarked, "only Filipino, because the girls think that Caucasian penis are very big compared with Filipino. But because of money, because she want money to buy foods or for buying something, I can't explain . . .

And then, there are the real children. The three year old, dragging a battered toy through the dust of the yard she lives in. "She was abused by her step father." Nothing unusual about that thousands, if not tens of thousands of the street children have been sexually abused in their home or their neighbourhood. It is just that she is so strikingly tiny.

The national chairwoman of the Philippines' women's organisations, a Benedictine, Sister Mary John Mananzan, tersely explains. "The children are too small for what the men want to do with them. So the men give them drugs to relax their muscles. Then they become addicted. Our children are systematically corrupted."

In a wide ranging discussion of the plight of her countrywomen, Sister Mahanzan stresses the ideals that make prostitution so especially destructive in her culture. Virginity is everything. (In the newspaper ads, private clinics offer vaginal repair.) Even without penetration, girls who have been abused believe in their own heads that they can never be brides. And a husband is every girl's ideal. Family is cherished. The world sees the lives of lonely toil that young men and women from the Philippines cheerfully undertake to help the family at home. At Christmas, the planes to Manila from the Gulf states are full of Filipina maids, laden with the gifts they can afford after a year of work abroad. A Channel Four documentary has followed an even more desperate strategy - a Filipino father of a large family who works as a "woman" in Japanese gay bars, to earn a living for all of them. EVERYWHERE, people are as courteous and as dignified as their circumstances allow. They have no affinity with sleaze. A man who owes his education and his job to the Americans at the Subic Bay base is nevertheless glad they are gone, because of the pain of watching the sailors fondling the local girls lasciviously in public on the street.

A conference of prostitutes - ASCONPRO - was held in Manila. Some of the first world prostitutes - working in the Netherlands and Paris and the USA - insisted they had freely chosen to work in prostitution and that it is their right. But the Filipina prostitutes were unanimous. If there was anything at all else they could do to earn money, they would do it. Anything.

But the Philippines, once the economic hope of Asia - English speaking, linked with America, and more developed than Indonesia, Malaysia or Thailand before the ruin of the Marcos regime - appears to be in rapid decline. There are blackboards on the pavements of Manila, offering batches of jobs as labourers and servants all over the Arab world. But there are no jobs in the Philippines.

Poverty denatures. An appalled sadness is all there is to offer back to it. To the photo of a child witness in one of Father Shay Cullen's paedophile prosecutions, who was chained by her mother to a bed - food thrown down to her, as to a dog - to prevent her giving testimony against her abuser. To the harsh tears of a tough trial lawyer who represents women who use a crisis centre in Quezon City, when she suddenly breaks down, mid interview, at the memory of a five year old whose mother had stuffed her with cotton wool soaked in chicken blood to make her desirable to sex tourists, and who is now infected with VD. To

The Irish Times, January 13, 1996

the little girl, living now in Father Cullen's Preda Foundation shelter in Olongapo, who proudly showed me her locker with her toothbrush and school blouse and other precious things, when she tells an ITV camera exactly what happened when she was first with a paedophile. He had claimed that she and the other kids enjoyed it. But she whispers, through sobs - "when it was over I said, 'I want to go home now, sir. Sir, please' 'let me, go home'. But he said, one more time."

The local political and even legal establishment will protect that paedophile sooner than face what they are allowing him to do within their country. A sex industry is not simply a product of market economics. There is a system which allows it to be. That is why Father Shay Cullen's work for children has developed in the direction of entrapping paedophiles while simultaneously entrapping local police into starting proceedings against them.

At a typical, apparently ramshackle, court hearing one morning last month, Father Cullen sits on a broken oilcloth sofa in the decrepit, fly blown court room while people wander in and out, hens cluck in the laneway outside, and prisoners stand around in T shirts that read "Inmate Olongapo City Jail" and joke with their warders.

A 62 year old Australian man - still jaunty enough looking, after two years of hearings got one girl who was living on the street to collect some other homeless small girls and bring them to his yacht, moored in Subic Bay. He "messed with" six little girls altogether. His defence is that they enjoyed it, and that no signs of violence were found on their private parts.

Father Cullen has been counter accused of inventing the children's testimony. A social worker from his shelter is testifying that the girls themselves gave an account of what happened. Time passes slowly. The ceiling fan pushes the humid air, around. There will be a hearing in another paedophile case tomorrow. Another hearing in this one next month. No foreigner has ever been convicted, of child sex abuse. If change does come, it will be slow in coming. And, it will apply only to children that any man can do whatever he likes to their older sisters and mothers is accepted.

A TYPHOON is passing across the South China Sea. Rains begin. In Manila, in the Tondo shanty town, passing, jeepneys and lorries spray mud onto a mad young woman who stands, naked, in the middle of the rutted road, and gibbers, pointing at herself. No one takes any notice.

A few miles away, in the faux Spanish church of St. Anthony of Padua, in the rich enclave of Forbes Park, the rain relieves the grey heat that hangs over a society wedding. A line of white Mercedes waits at the porch. Marvellous bouquets, with trailing streamers of the whitest chiffon, adorn the pews. It is a scene of silk and brocade and gift boxes wrapped in gold and silver, and a tenor sings Nat King Cole songs, When I Fall In Love. It Will Be Forever.

Two grimy street boys have somehow got past the security guards, and are going through the bit of rubbish spilled where the church keeps its bins. They find something. A few hungry cats begin prowling around them to try to get at it. But the boys crawl in under a hedge to share whatever it is. The limousines of the bride and groom and their bevy of attendants in virginal white, resplendent representatives of the importance and beauty of the temple of the

body when you have money, swish past the hedge where the boys are crouching, on their way to the customary banquet.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: January 15, 1996

2ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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June 6, 1996, Thursday

LENGTH: 1304 words

HEADLINE: PHILIPPINES-HABITAT: DISEASE AND DEATH STALK MANILA'S SLUMS

BYLINE: By Cecile C.A. Balgos

DATELINE: MANILA, Jun. 6

BODY:

Death is no stranger to Parola, a cramped squatter community built over swampland in Metro Manila. But even the most hardened among the ghetto residents were taken aback last July, when children began dying one after another.

Virgie Sarimo, of the local non-governmental health organization Pulso-Tundo, recalls recording 14 deaths in less than a month in a community of 2,000 families. All those who died were under seven years old.

Although it is unclear if the two events are related, the deaths were recorded soon after trucks started rolling into Parola to dump Manila's trash at the compound's Area 3. Sarino says the official causes of death were varied; some from asthma, others diarrhea.

The tragedy in Parola is symptomatic of the deteriorating conditions in Metro Manila slums, where rising population density, pollution, and the lack of basic services has proved to be a debilitating, sometimes fatal, combination.

The people of Parola do not expect to see any direct results from the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements that began this week in Istanbul, Turkey.

But they do hope the meeting would, at least, generate some interest in the plight of the urban poor, who make up more than 20 percent of the Philippine population, and whose health and housing needs have been largely neglected by the government.

Every year, 300,000 people from the provinces migrate to Metro Manila, where half of the population, up to 4.5 million people, already live in squatter communities. Chances are many of the new migrants will end up in the slums as well, since rent and housing costs put more decent shelter out of their reach.

The new city residents, experts say, will then become unwitting contributors to, as well as victims of, environmental degradation.

The health department describes the capitol's squatter areas as "veritable rat holes of death and disease" and the situation will worsen as grinding poverty, development projects and armed conflict in the countryside drive more and more people to flee toward city centers that are already hard-pressed for

resources.

With the current trend of demolishing entire slums to make way for roads, high-rise buildings, housing estates and shopping malls, many more people will be forced to live on the streets or crowd into existing settlements, transforming the city into a giant ghetto with pockets of affluence.

Activists estimate that the number of families displaced by massive development projects could reach hundreds of thousands. They say the Manila Bay Master Project, which includes a wide coastal road from Bataan to Manila to Cavite and a mega-city in the reclamation area, could lead to the dislocation of some 125,000 families living along the coast.

In Quezon City, 25,000 families will have to give way to the expansion of Light Rail Transit system. Also, a program aimed at privatizing and modernizing ports will affect an additional 20,000 households in the South and North Harbors. Having already been displaced from the provinces, the new urban poor now face eviction in the city as well.

"If our two-hectare land would be returned to us, then I would go home," says Jess del Prado, an urban leader who has resided in Manila for years, but still dreams of life back in rural Tolosa, Leyte. "It was hit by a development project by Malacanang. We were given rations for five years then after that, nothing. We'd lost our livelihood."

Today, del Prado is among the urban poor, a sector of society that the health department's Urban Health and Nutrition Project (UHNPP) says "are ravaged by illness and disease that result from and aggravated by overcrowding, filth, dirty water and unsanitary toilet facilities."

The UHNPP adds: "Worst hit by disease and illness are women and children, especially females in the reproductive age group and pre-school children."

According to the non-governmental organization (NGO) Urban Poor Association, infant mortality rates in Manila's squatter communities are three times that in the rest of the city.

"The incidence of tuberculosis per 1,000 residents is nine times higher in urban poor settlements and diarrhea twice as common as in the rest of the city," it says in a 1995 report. "Twice to five times as many children in these communities suffer from malnutrition."

People like del Prado, who is secretary of the League of Urban Poor for Action (LUPA), feel authorities have little sympathy for the squatters. "We have communities that have been around for 30, 50 years," he says. "But it seems government has yet to do something so that these communities could prosper."

Popular opinion says that the reason for this is the resident's lack of rights to the land they occupy. As such, their tenure there is apparently considered temporary. Therefore, there is no need to make long term plans for the residents, such as providing water, sanitation and solid waste disposal service.

The result has been devastating on the environment as well as on the health of the people themselves.

A recent World Bank report says that some 2,000 cubic meters of waste is left on the roadside, vacant lands and waterways in Metro Manila each day. It also notes that illegal dumping "increases the risk of flooding and the risk of pollution of water sources."

Contaminated water is blamed for the prevalence of diarrhea as well as the spread of typhoid and other water-borne diseases in some areas. Flooding also heightens the risk of leptospirosis, an illness caused by the urine of rats in the floodwater.

Urban Poor Associates claims, "By ignoring the needs of these communities, the authorities are creating the very environment of deterioration they abhor, and blame the urban poor people who have no alternative but to accept a deteriorating physical environment."

Activists say the lack of guarantee of tenure also inhibits slum dwellers from investing their own money in sanitation facilities. Still, an increasing number have organized themselves and have set up their own garbage collection system.

One problem is, however, that they still have nowhere to put the communal trash. Thus, some have resorted to burning it, a method that has been found to contribute to respiratory and skin problems, or to dump it somewhere else.

Also, there is the congestion in squatter areas that makes it easier for diseases to spread and the flimsy housing materials that fail to keep out the heat and the rain.

Once infected by disease, the urban poor do not have the money to seek treatment.

A first-time tuberculosis patient is usually required to take four kinds of tablets each day for six months, and an occasional injection. Total daily expenses for the tablets alone is 70 pesos (\$ 2.65), too costly for the poor and unemployed.

Some NGOs have tried to subsidize part of the cost of the medicines. At Payatas, a sprawling squatter community, Vincentian fathers ask patients for a token donation of about ten pesos (about 40 cents) in exchange for the medicine; consultation of the doctors and paramedics is free.

"As an NGO, we are not supposed to have parallel services," says Fr. Bebot Carcellar of the Vincentian Missionaries Social Development Foundation. "But what's happening now is that we are absorbing many of the functions of the Department of Health."

Tuberculosis and other respiratory ailments are the main health problems in Payatas, where residents inhale smoke from the huge, steaming garbage site in the area.

Long-time Payatas resident and paramedic volunteer Amy Mamarga, says they have got used to the stink of the place, though the children cry when the smoke becomes unbearable. "One of my children even got TB," she says. "But where else

Inter Press Service, June 6, 1996

can we go?"

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: June 10, 1996

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The Ethnic NewsWatch

Filipino Reporter

June 6, 1996

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LENGTH: 1242 words

HEADLINE: VIRGINS AND CONCUBINES: Pinoy "heirs" after DHL estate

BODY:

VIRGINS AND CONCUBINES: Pinoy 'heirs' after DHL estate.

SAIPAN, Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands--After he vanished into the Pacific Ocean in his World War II-vintage seaplane, the May 1995 death of 52-year-old Larry Lee Hillblom, co-founder and majority shareholder of DHL Corp., left his family and friends in shock.

More shocking than his death, however, is the mess that Hillblom has left behind. Hillblom's estate--valued conservatively at \$500 million--is now in turmoil over numerous claims that, in satisfying his alleged penchant for Filipina teenage girls, he sired multiple children across several islands, and in the Philippines.

The first of the heirship claims surfaced only months later. Now, arrayed on one side before Saipan Superior Court Judge Alexandro Castro are the claims of two would-be heirs of Hillblom, each born to 16-year-old girls. Another claim has been filed in the Saipan court by a Philippine woman who lived for years in Hillblom's house, ostensibly as his maid but in reality as his "omitted spouse," she alleges.

A fourth heirship claim has been filed in court in Manila, Philippines, by a girl who says she became Hillblom's concubine at age 13 and got pregnant with his child two months before he died.

More claims are likely to follow in Manila, a city where Hillblom spent much of his time procuring, and caring for, teenage virgins, say people who worked with him there.

Angelica Nonan, for one, was certain she gave birth to Hillblom's daughter in 1990, at age 15, her relatives say. Last summer, Nonan, who hasn't yet filed a claim, ran away from home without the child, after DHL Philippines Corp. ended a \$70 weekly allowance that Hillblom had arranged for her until he died, her relatives say.

DHL Philippines says it knows nothing of the arrangement. "Whatever it was, it was a private deal between Larry and her," says the affiliate's president, Rudolph Feliciano.

With a free airline pass that he got as a result of his airline investment,

Hillblom frequently visited Manila. He kept Philippine "mama-sans," or madams, on retainer to scour the provinces for young girls, says Renita Duga, better known in Manila as "Mama Anne." She is the Manila bar manager who says she introduced Hillblom to 16-year-old Julie Cuartero, one of the girls who claims she had his child.

According to Duga, Hillblom would phone ahead to make arrangements before coming to town; the madams dropped off the girls at his bay-front condominium. "He only wanted virgins," Duga says. "He said he didn't like used girls, 'already damaged.' He didn't want to catch disease."

Joseph Waechter, one of DHL's first drivers, its president in the mid-1980s and Hillblom's right-hand man before he died, confirms that Hillblom "was concerned about AIDS, no question. Larry wasn't into one night stands."

Hillblom was a health nut who didn't smoke, drank temperately and chided companions for eating cheeseburgers. Since moving to this tropical tax haven in 1981, he had reveled in paradise and made the Pacific his oyster. A sporting man, savvy investor and fervid bachelor, he bought land from Honolulu to Hanoi and fished, flew and golfed. Aside from teenage virgins, he also pursued a penchant for suing the U.S. government over alleged poor treatment of the islands he had come to call home. This has made him a folk hero here.

Hillblom often spent days, even weeks with the teenagers, taking them shopping, giving them money for their families and putting them up at one of his several residences in the Philippines. He would then leave town and never see most of them again, says Gido Imbat, a Manila taxi driver who was Hillblom's driver and confidant for many years.

Several girls got pregnant, Imbat says, and Hillblom gave them money for abortions, which are illegal in the Philippines. When one of them named Lea suffered bleeding from a botched abortion, Imbat and Hillblom visited her in the hospital, he recalls. For a while, Hillblom was giving Imbat money to care for three teenage girls at Imbat's family home outside Manila, the driver says. At Imbat's suggestion, Hillblom had bought the girls' freedom from their parents and madams, and Imbat was sending them to school. But the arrangement broke down after Hillblom suffered severe injuries in a 1993 plane accident that nearly cost him his life.

By all accounts, Hillblom courted better than he flew; following that crash, in the jungles of Tinian, a little island off the coast of Saipan, the Federal Aviation Administration barred him from flying.

According to Imbat, Hillblom first laid eyes on Angelica Nonan, the woman who purportedly collected the allowance through a DHL employee, when she was working as a nude dancer at a club in Baguio City, a mountain town in northern Philippines where Hillblom would go to play golf. She was 13. He didn't talk to her that night, but when he got back to Manila, he dispatched Imbat to find her. It took several more evenings of watching her dance; eventually, after Hillblom gave Angelica a gold necklace, Imbat dropped them off at a thatched hut in a mountainside rice paddy, returning for them the next morning. They spent many months together, he says.

When Angelica informed Hillblom she was pregnant, he told her to have an

abortion, Imbat says. She refused. When her daughter, Honeylyn, was born, Hillblom denied the baby was his, but dispatched Imbat to the baptism. Hillblom arranged for the stipend through DHL through a woman named Cecilia Ho, Angelica's relatives say.

"Mr. Larry was in love with Angelica," Imbat says.

Her relatives have photographs of Angelica with Hillblom on the beach, in a hotel room and in a small airplane. After he died, they say, she went to pick up her weekly allowance, but a DHL employee said it was finished, unless her daughter took a blood test and proved she was Hillblom's child. Distraught, Angelica ran away.

Cecilia Ho no longer works for DHL and couldn't be located. Her name has also come up as Hillblom paymaster in the heirship claims of the two other Philippine mothers, whose stories parallel Angelica's in many respects.

Filed for heirship

Mercedes Feliciano, 16, filed an heirship petition in Manila court, claiming she lived in Hillblom's Manila condo for more than a year before he died, and gave birth to his baby daughter seven months after his death. Hillblom had supported the Feliciano family since Mercedes was 13, according to her mother, Milagros Feliciano. Just days before his death, according to her lawyer, Luz Manlapaz, Mercedes told Hillblom she was pregnant; he said he had to make a quick trip to Saipan, but would return to marry her--a promise several witnesses, including Cecilia Ho, say they heard. He never came back. "I think Mr. Hillblom fell in love with my client," Manlapaz, the Manila attorney, says.

Executor named

To each of his two brothers, Hillblom left personal property and \$300,000. The remainder of his assets were to be formed into a charitable trust to benefit medical research, notably at the University of California. He named the tiny bank of Saipan, which Hillblom owned when he wrote his 1982 will, to be the estate's executor.

Hillblom never amended his will to exclude the possibility of an unacknowledged heir stepping forward; thus, under existing law, any of the would-be heirs stand to inherit a share of the Hillblom fortune should they be able to prove their case.

ETHNIC-GROUP: Asian/Pacific Island

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE: September 16, 1996

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Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani

on Page B7, Column 1

INSIDE

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Death Rates Drop

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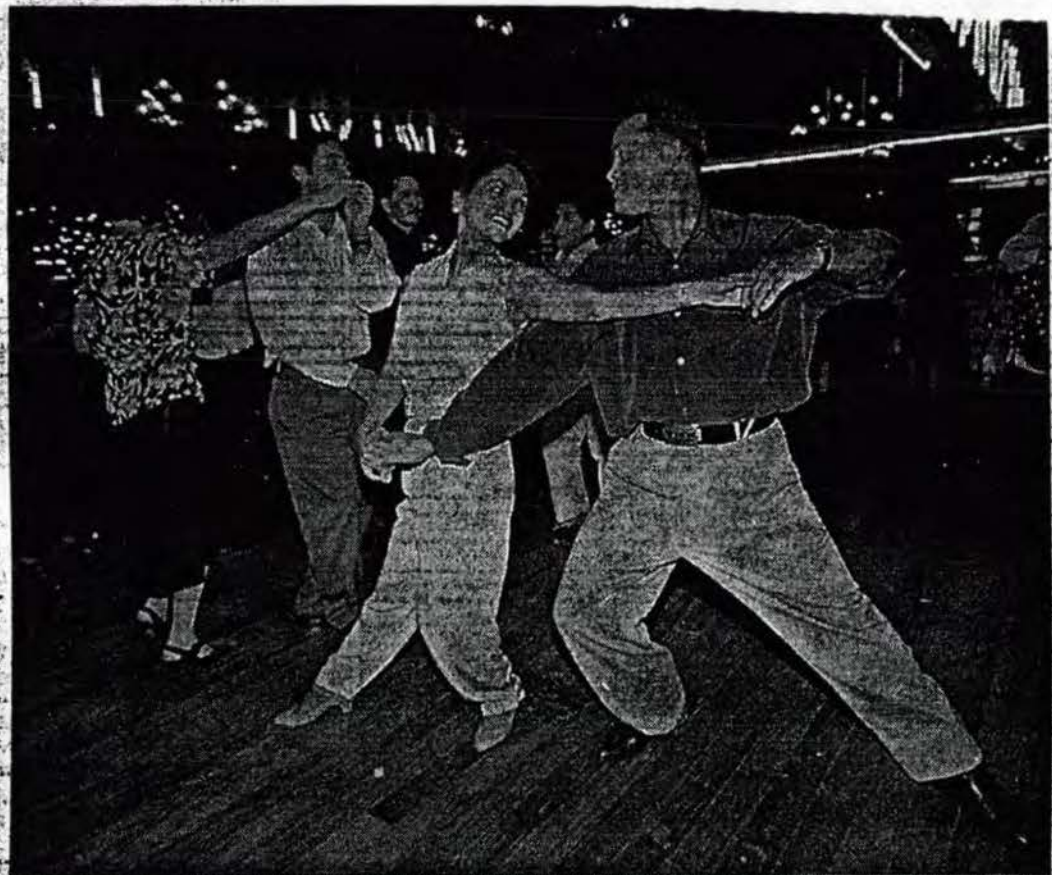
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D19 Auto Exchange D19

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ND ST. HAS BEEN LIBERATED



Bullit Marquez/Associated Press, for The New York Times

Day or night, indoors or out, Filipinos and other Asians are caught up in a craze for dancing.

In Philippine Ballroom Fad, Women Lead

By SETH MYDANS

MANILA, Nov. 12 — What was former Senator Rene Saguisag doing on the dance floor at the Inter-Continental Hotel; twirling a woman who is not his wife through the rapid paces of a tango?

Manila Journal
"It's exquisite!" exclaimed the former Senator, once the chief spokesman for Corazon C. Aquino in her improbable rise to the presidency. "It's good, clean fun and we have lost a lot of weight."

His wife, Dulce, like him in her 50's, was not far away, gliding across the floor with a man half

her age — another addict of a craze for ballroom dancing that is sweeping through Asia.

"My wife loves me a million more times when I take her out dancing," Mr. Saguisag said. "But we rarely dance with each other; we both have excellent dance instructors. My wife is born to dance. Wow!"

No one seems sure just how the current ballroom dancing fad got started, but in the last two or three years it has adapted itself around the region, taking on the colorations of different national cultures and including everything from the tango to the swing.

In China, people can be seen hopping from their bicycles on the way to work to do a few dance turns among early-morning practitioners of tai chi in Beijing parks and on the Shanghai Bund. The China Daily recently suggested that dance classes could be a healthy way to channel the interests of young people away from premarital sex.

Millions dance in Japan — where ballroom dancing has been regimented into a 12-tier ranking system — inspired by a sentimental Japanese movie about a drab of

Continued on Page A4, Column 3

widespread fear among gulf war veterans that service in the gulf has sickened thousands. But many veterans remain unconvinced.

Ever since the war — and even during it — veterans have been complaining that they were ill. Within a year after the war, the Department of Veterans Affairs began a registry of veterans who were concerned about their health, as did the Defense Department.

Now, about 80,000 veterans are

Continued on Page B12, Column 1

Graphic Testimony at And a Sentence for S

By DON TERRY

FORT LEONARD WOOD, Mo., Nov. 13 — Lonely and far from home, Joy Paulsen was a scared 21-year-old Army recruit last spring when a drill sergeant asked her up to his room for a smoke and some talk.

As she testified today in a military courtroom here packed with reporters and soldiers, she was having a rough time. She had broken her pelvis four weeks into training and was desperate for a friendly face. And even if she wasn't, she said, how could she say no? From the minute she hit this sprawling post, she and the other recruits were told the gospel according to the Army: The drill sergeants were "in absolute control."

The next thing she knew, the sergeant, Loren B. Taylor, was kissing her. Yes, she kissed him back, but she was scared and "very vulnerable." He was her sergeant. But when he tried to put "me on the ground" the young soldier resisted, she said.

Ms. Paulsen's testimony came at the sentencing of Sergeant Taylor, who pleaded guilty on Tuesday to

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In Philippine Ballroom Dance Boom, Women Lead

Continued From Page A1

fice worker who finds meaning for his life on the dance floor.

Dancing comes with dim sum at Ocean City Restaurant in Hong Kong and draws celebrities to Paul Bishop's Academy of Dance.

In Thailand the venue is Lumpini Park in Bangkok, where there is already talk of Olympic medals at the Games in 2000 in Sydney, where ballroom dancing will be a new event.

And in Singapore, the authorities have added ballroom dancing to wine tasting and tennis as an appropriate activity for Government-run matchmaking clubs.

But nowhere is ballroom dancing bigger than in the Philippines, where "people power" and coup attempts are things of the past. Morning, afternoon and evening, in discos, living rooms and stadiums, Filipinos are dancing.

They gather under the palm trees in Luneta Park when the born-again Christians are not holding a rally.

At the Western Police District, officers have been ordered to dance to keep fit and they waltz and fox trot through the headquarters with their pistols at their belts.

"It's really big; it's huge," said Paulynn Sicam, a newspaper columnist and former Government commissioner.

"You say: 'I have to leave this dinner early. I have to go ballroom dancing.' And they'll say: 'Oh, no, how wonderful! Can I go too?'"

Ballroom dancing is biggest here among middle-aged and elderly women who leave their husbands at home—sometimes surreptitiously—to samba and jive.

It has spawned the fast expanding profession of dance instructor, mostly athletic young men who carry beepers and maintain stables of loyal clients.

"I have the calling cards of three or four of my favorite dance instructors," said Dr. June Lopez, a prominent psychiatrist. "I just beep them and say, 'I want to go ballroom dancing.'"

In the early days, when the respectability of their pastime was still in question, the rich matrons of the Sparklers Society at the exclusive Polo Club introduced their dance escorts as their attorneys, and the term stuck. Ballrooms were filled with middle-aged women swooping and dipping in the arms of their young attorneys.

Now everybody does it, and the dance instructors are known everywhere by straightforward initials, D.I.'s. Female D.I.'s are available as



A ballroom dancing boom that has swept Asia is biggest in the Philippines, particularly among middle-aged and elderly women. Couples spin on an open-air floor under the palms at Luneta Park in Manila.

well for liberated men like Mr. Saguisag who accompany their wives to the ballroom.

When the deputy chief of staff of the armed forces, Gen. Alfredo Fillar, retired earlier this year, he was asked what he wanted to do with the rest of his life.

"I want to learn ballroom dancing," he said.

Even at the University of the Philip-

pines, once the spawning ground of the country's Communist movement, teachers and students alike are ballroom dancing, a clear sign that the country is mellowing.

One leading leftist professor can-

cells all meetings on Wednesday afternoons when the university hosts a dance session.

In a country that loves gossip, there is no shortage of stories about middle-aged women who have had affairs with their young dance instructors. Everyone seems to have heard of someone who has bought a car or a condominium for her D.I.

But for the most part, serious dancing takes precedence over romance. Some people even credit ballroom dancing with fostering marital harmony.

"I know women who bring their dance instructors to Rotary Club meetings and dance the night away while their husbands sit and drink with their buddies," Dr. Lopez said.

"One woman comes with her D.I. and says, 'Would you like me to keep another one for you?'"

Throughout the country, discos and nightclubs have converted to

ballroom dance spots, and many of them have afternoon hours for those wives who slip out to "go shopping" and must be home in time to fix their husbands dinner.

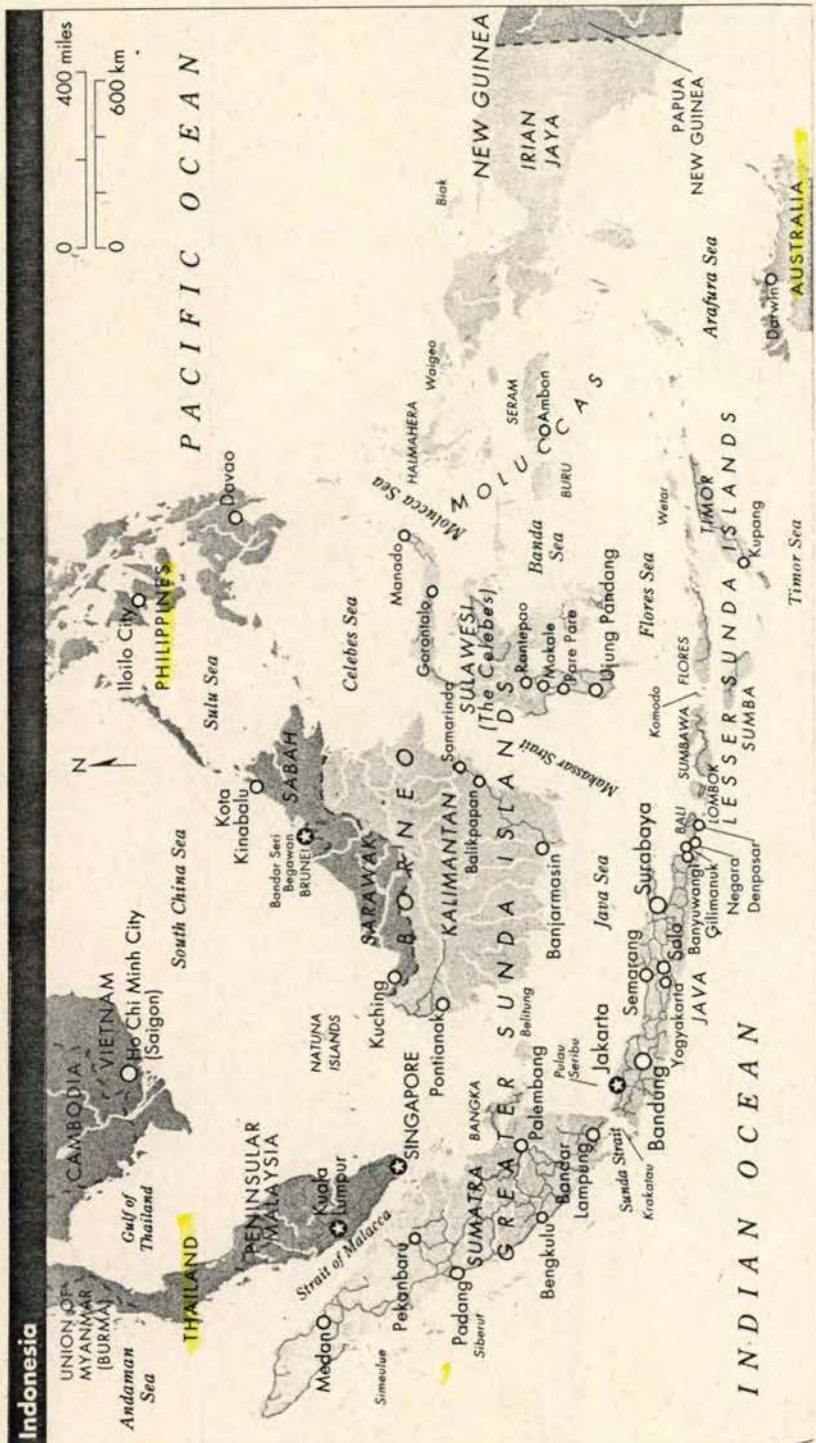
It is a liberated role reversal in a nation where men often play hooky to visit their mistresses, and the excuses tend to be the same: a birthday, a wedding, a wake.

"The husbands say, 'You seem to have a lot of friends dying,'" said Dr. Lopez, who prescribes ballroom dancing to her depressive patients.

Indeed, the husband of her friend Carmen Villegas, who owns her own clothing factory, died on the dance floor two years ago while dancing the swing.

"He died with a smile on his face," Mrs. Villegas said.

"He died in ecstasy," said Dr. Lopez.



Staying in Indonesia

ditional houses built on poles, with high south, around Bukit Thinggi, a quiet h Minangkabau live in distinctive house roofs.

East of Sulawesi are the Moluccas, a g nating and beautiful than the rest, beaches, and coral gardens, but virtua the Moluccas, it is less than an hour's Dutch New Guinea. Irian Jaya is rough anyone willing to hike along narrow p next the rare opportunity of meeting p the 20th century.

From Jakarta's tall steel-and-glass of thatched huts, Indonesia embraces an The national motto—Unity in Diversi vidualism of the many ethnic groups, w culture. Today Indonesia's 165 million Bataks, Dayaks, and on down throug as 300 languages, though a national la officially recognized as a means of bind

Staying in Indon

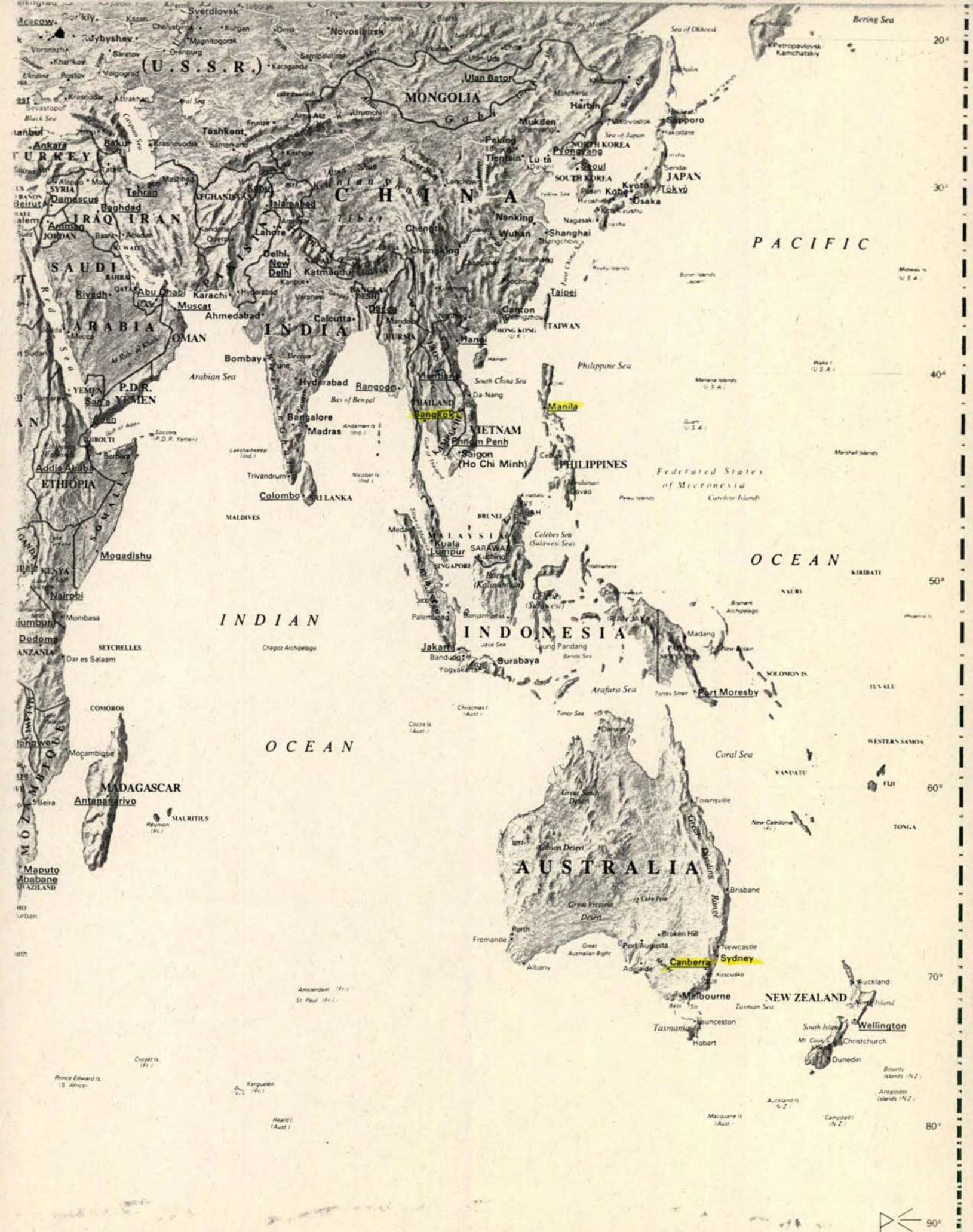
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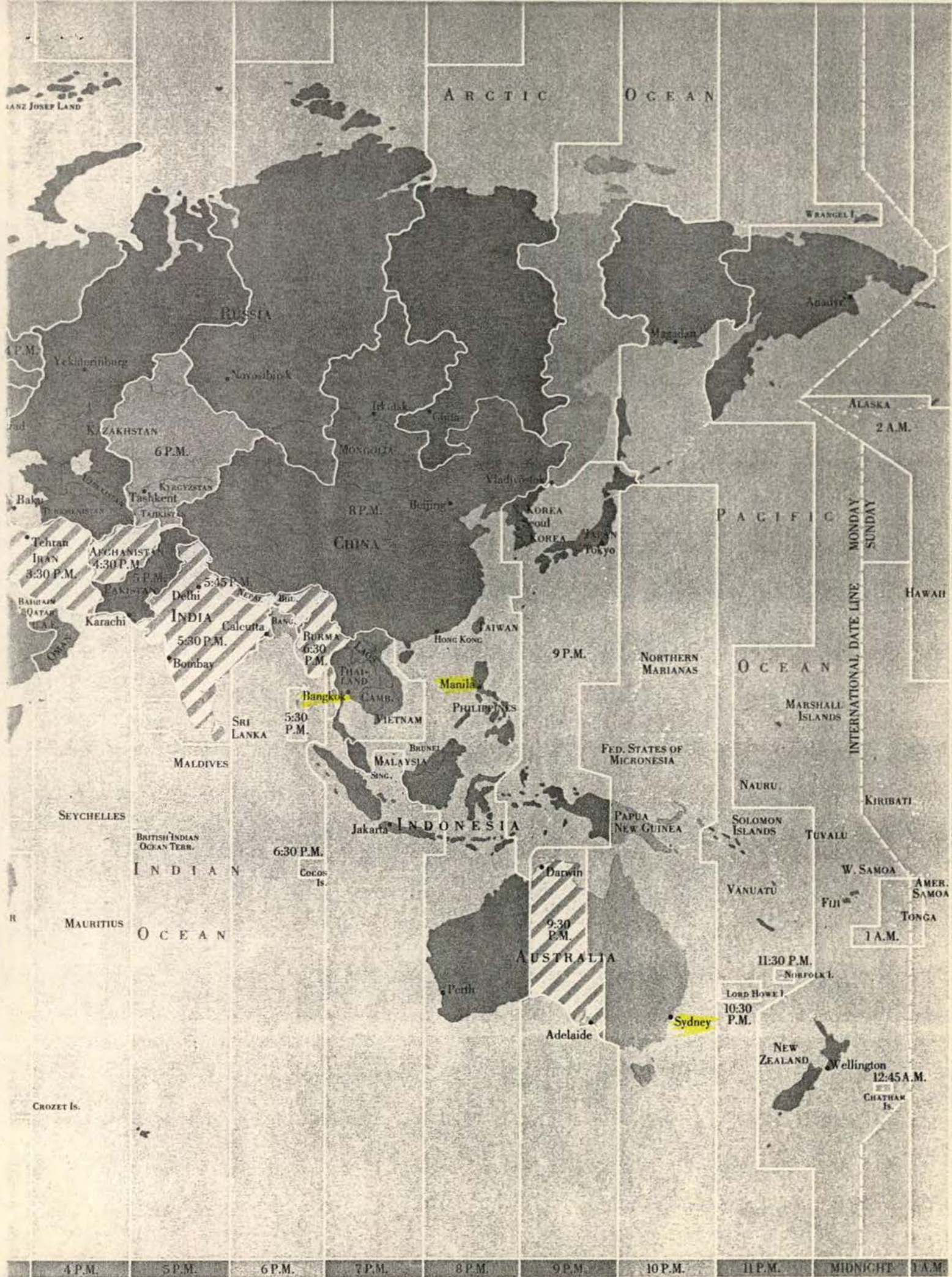
By Plane Under the current restructuring of Garuda Indonesia Airways will hand ove to Merpati Airlines. Garuda will retain t ports, but for shorter hauls Merpati— planes—will be the government car Sempati, is challenging both Garuda s vice and lower fares. Bouraq, a quasi smaller towns. The airports at Bali, Ja have been opened to foreign airlines, a carrier, such as Singapore Airlines, int

Reservations are strongly advised on t karta and Yogyakarta, for example. E ing the monsoon rains, which can ma can save up to 60% on domestic flights donesia instead of overseas. However, you will not receive a full refund. Ga Pass to a minimum of three destini US\$300 and an additional US\$100 for e

By Train Only Java has a useful passenger railro the island. It offers three travel classe ers available for trips between Jakar Solo and Surabaya. Southern Sumatr Panjang and Palembang. Except for t the Jakarta-Bandung expresses, train they're not always air-conditioned. Yo ets at hotel travel desks, travel agencie are also available at tourist offices.

By Bus The main means of land travel in Indon grees of comfort. Long-distance expre have reclining seats; some even show can be crowded and steaming hot. It





Inside a Wartime Brothel: The Avenger's Story

By SETH MYDANS

MANILA, Nov. 11 — Years later, asleep in the arms of her husband, Maria Rosa Henson would sometimes cry out the name of the Japanese Army officer who had imprisoned her in a brothel in the Philippines for nine months in World War II.

"Who is this Tanaka?" her husband would ask, waking her, but Mrs. Henson said she never told him, afraid that if he knew of the abuse she had suffered he would reject her.

There was another, perhaps even sadder, reason for her reticence: She was grateful to Captain Tanaka.

"He was good to me," Mrs. Henson said in an interview, recalling the occasional cups of tea and kind looks he offered her during the months he forced her, at the age of 15, to provide sex to 10 or 20 or 30 Japanese soldiers a day.

"I was always asking him, 'Let me go, Tanaka,' but he answered: 'I cannot do that. It is against my Emperor,'" Mrs. Henson said, without bitterness. "I realized that the vow of Tanaka to his Emperor was very great, greater than my plea."

Still grateful for small favors, Mrs. Henson, now 68, recently became the first woman in the region to accept a Japanese reparation payment for her suffering in the brothels. The payments have been rejected as inadequate by all but half a dozen of the 500 surviving victims, widely known as "comfort women," who have come forward in the Philippines, South Korea and Taiwan.

After receiving her payment of about \$19,000 and a letter of apology from Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto of Japan in August, Mrs. Henson said, she wrote to the Prime Minister to thank him.

Most of the other women, now in their 60's and 70's, have joined in rejecting the payments because they come from a private fund organized by the Japanese Government rather than from the Government itself.

Until recently, the Government had denied any involvement in the wartime brothels, which historians say victimized as many as 200,000 women and teen-age girls throughout Asia. Its offer of payments now from

what it calls the Asian Women's Fund is in part an effort to avoid opening the door to hundreds of lawsuits from survivors of various wartime atrocities.

"The victims oppose the private fund principally because it cannot be a substitute for official legal compensation," said Nelia Sancho, a spokeswoman for a Philippine support group for the women.

Demonstrating in front of the Japanese Embassy in August, one of the victims, Gertrudes Balisalisa, said she was rejecting both the payment and Prime Minister Hashimoto's expression of "most sincere apologies and remorse."

"I would be a hypocrite if I said I didn't need the money, but I need my dignity and honor more," Mrs. Balisalisa said. "I want the money to come from the Japanese Government."

Mrs. Henson said she accepted the money, quite simply, because she needs it. She needs medical care and she wants to provide for her three children and their families after working for most of her life in a tobacco factory.

And in any case, she said, "I cannot restore any more my dignity for what happened 50 years ago."

"No amount of money — even a mountain of money — can repay the horror of the war."

Mrs. Henson may feel gratitude for small kindnesses, but she has kept her anger alive. Rather than trying to forget her trauma, she said, she has clung to her sanity over the years by remembering everything.

And she has found a powerful way

to avenge her humiliation: she is telling her story.

After revealing her long-held secret in 1992, as the first of the women to speak out in public, Mrs. Henson sat down to write about her experiences. The result is a short, blunt book published here and in Japan this year, titled "Comfort Woman: Slave of Destiny" (Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism).

"I am telling my story so that they will feel humiliated," Mrs. Henson said. "It is true: I am an avenger of the dead."

Every day from 2 P.M. until 10 P.M., she recalls in the book, she and five other women in the brothel were forced to have sex with scores of soldiers who lined up noisily outside their small, curtained rooms.

The women were given four days

of rest each month during menstruation, except for Mrs. Henson, who had not yet begun to have her period.

"We began the day with breakfast, after which we swept and cleaned our rooms," she wrote. "Then we went to the bathroom downstairs to wash the only dress we had and to bathe. The bathroom did not even have a door, so the soldiers watched us. We were all naked, and they laughed at us."

And she wrote: "When the soldiers raped me, I felt like a pig. Sometimes they tied up my right leg with a waistband or belt and hung it to a nail on the wall as they violated me. I was angry all the time."

Even the Japanese Army doctor who checked the women for venereal disease raped her, she wrote. Even when she was shaking with the fever and chills of malaria she was raped.

Sometimes Captain Tanaka, who had also raped her, seemed to feel compassion for her, stroking her hair and kissing her cheek.

"He would hold my face and look straight into my eyes," she wrote. "Sometimes I pitied him."

In January 1944 the camp where she was being held came under attack by Philippine guerrillas and Mrs. Henson and the other women were rescued.

For months afterward, she wrote, she was so severely traumatized that her mother thought she had gone mad.

Overcome with shame and guilt, she wrote, "I kept muttering to myself: 'Why did I not escape? Because they might kill me.'"

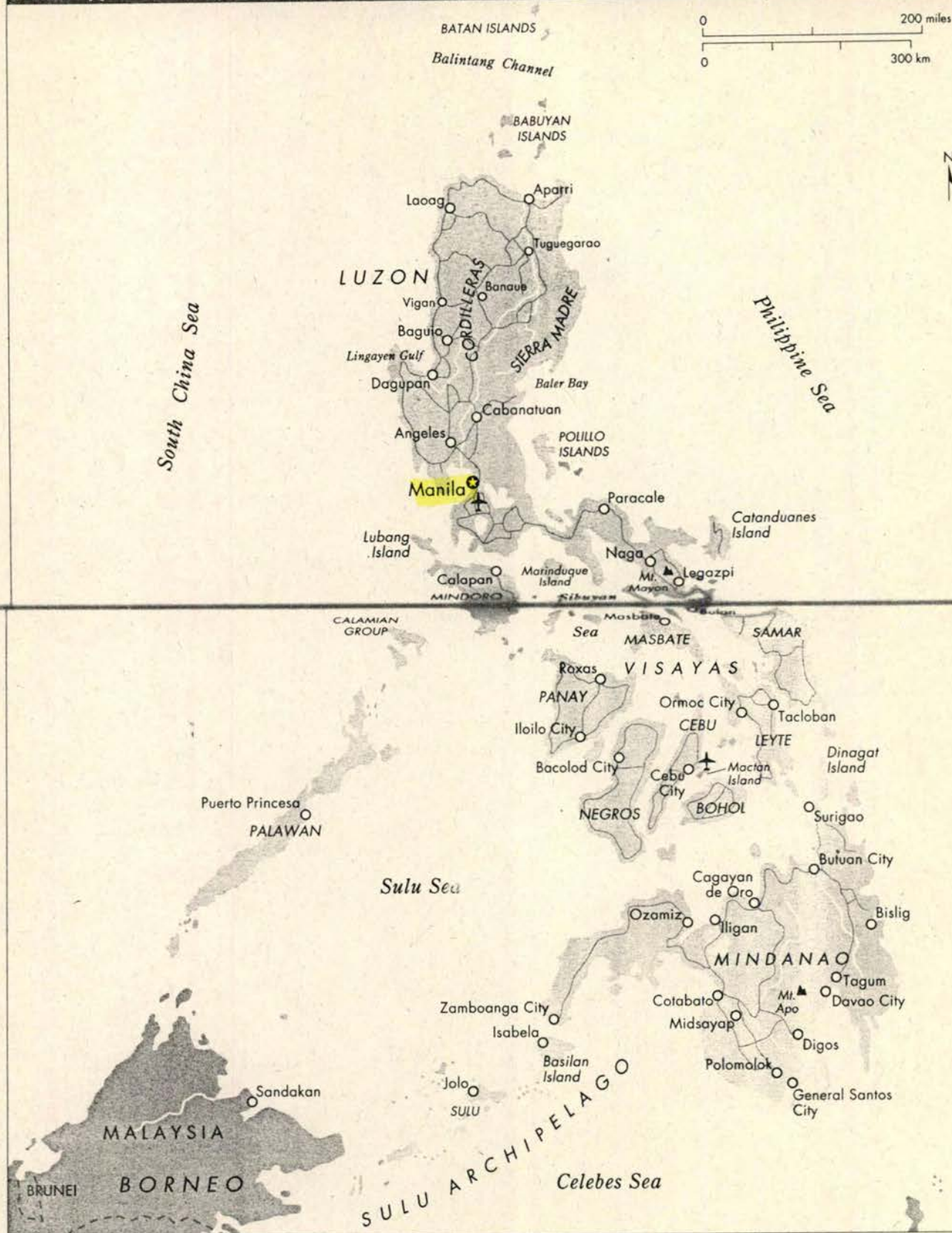
During this period, she overheard a Philippine doctor saying she might never be able to function or to recover her memory.

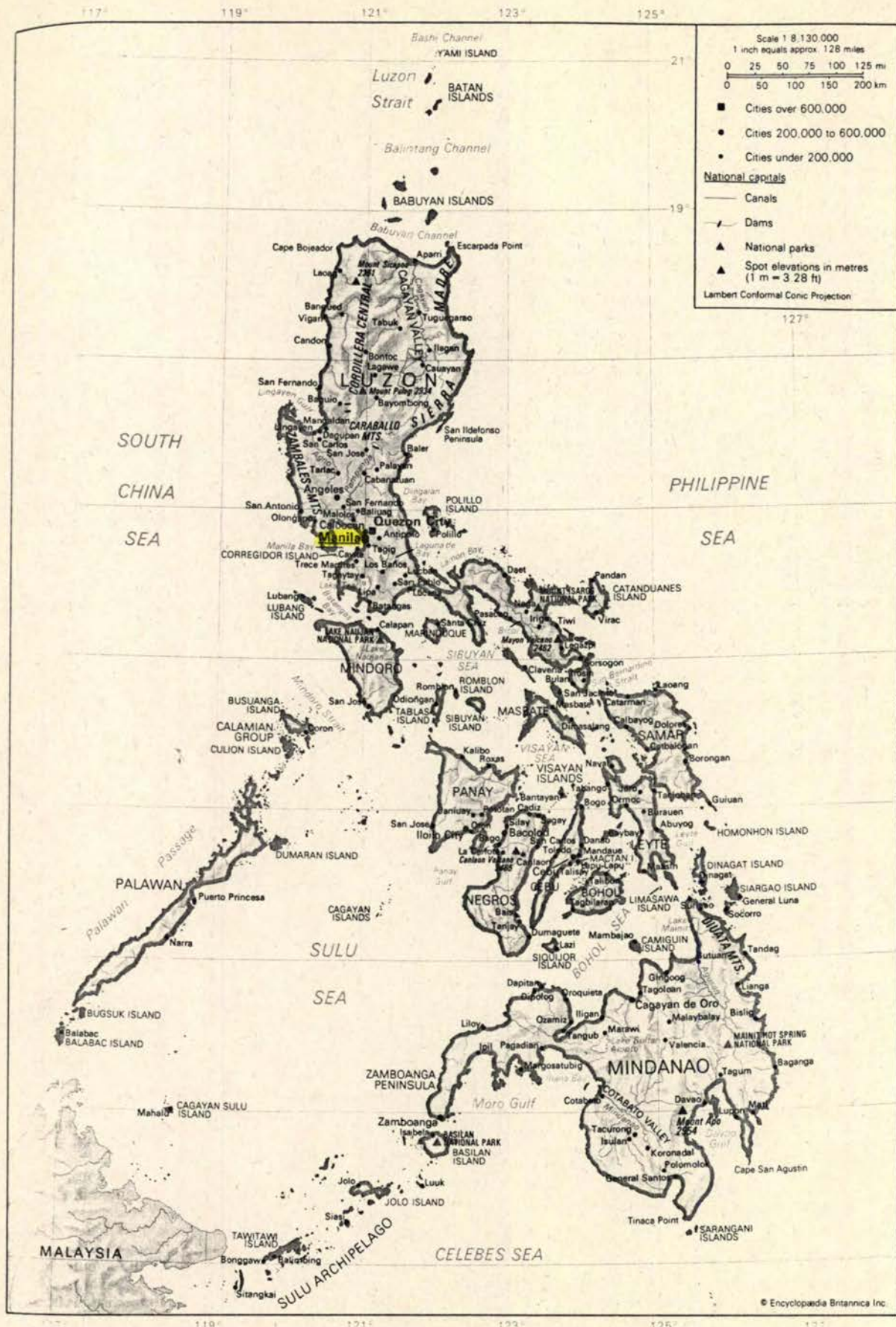
"I told myself, no, I cannot lose my sanity; I will fight," Mrs. Henson said in the interview. "I tried to work my mind all the time, night and day. I did not let my brain stop thinking. Always thinking and thinking. I learned to remember everything, to remember always, so that I will not go mad."

The New York Times

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1996

The Philippines

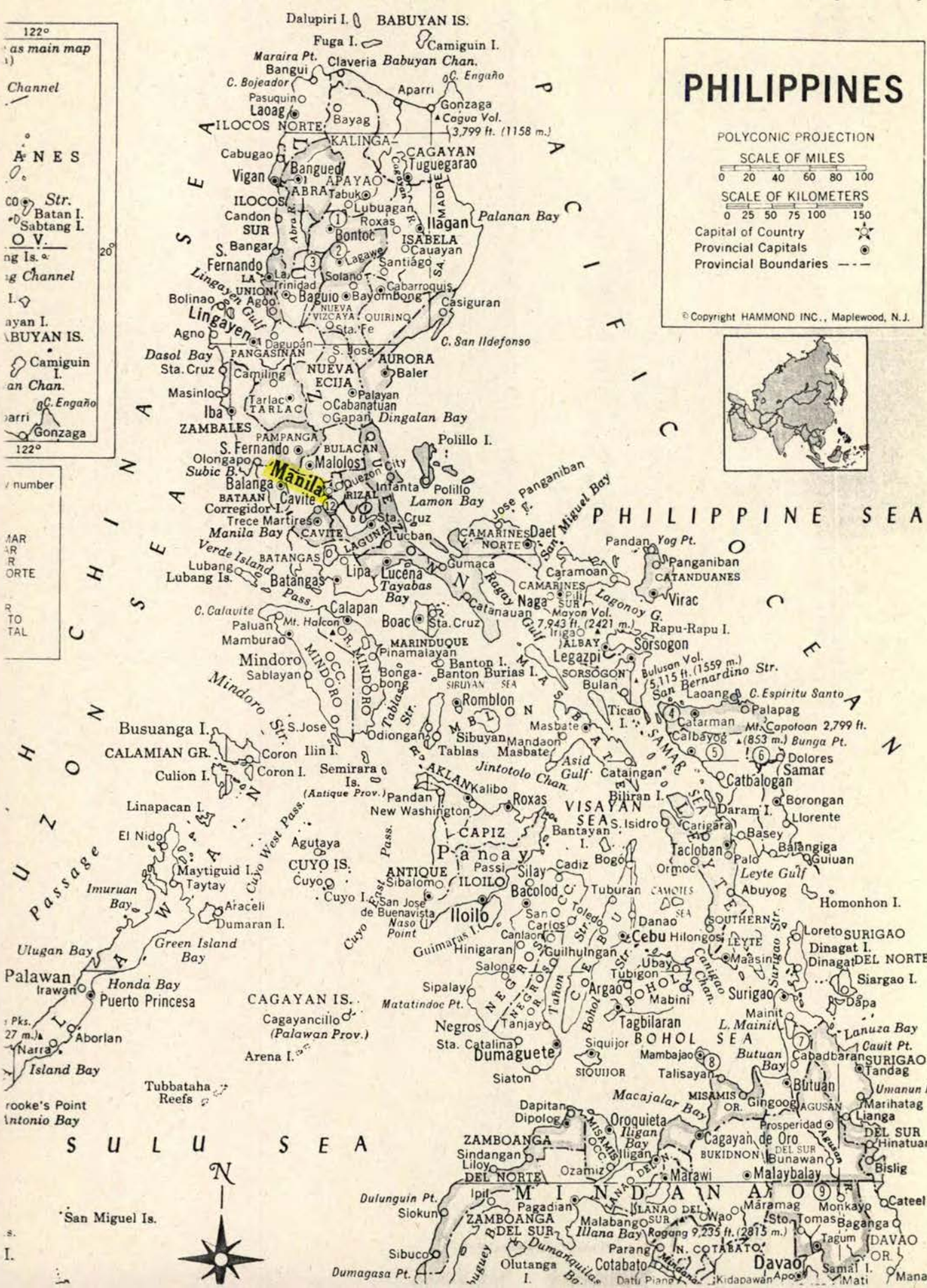




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100K Americans in Philippines

Edun - 95% literacy

↑ crowded classrooms.

Women

Make up only 15% of labor force

Avg woman's salary = $\frac{1}{3}$ of man

Violence against women a serious problem

Divorce illegal (Catholic country)

Few laws on domestic violence.

Double std on morality issues

Dom Viol → Philippine Nat'l Police has instituted a Women's desk, staffed by men + women to protect women + encourage reporting of crimes

→ Dept of Social Welfare has similar desk

→ Doubling in re # of women '94 → '95 -
ppl less afraid to come fwd abt it

Rape → Congress considering a re-classification of rape in criminal code to result in more serious penalties

Overseas work → Roughly 5% of lab. force → overseas
call. many poor women + girls

→ Govt campaign to end illegal recruiting, raise age + educ'l + prof'l standards for women seeking jobs abroad.

NBOS say measures are not adequate

PHILIPPINES

Beijing

Nona Ricafort - pres of NCWP / Cabinet members?

Grp of 77 chair Leticia Ramos-Shahani
(Senate Pres. Pro Tem)

helped forge consensus

Irene Santiago - chaired NGO forum

Dr. Patricia Limanan - chaired Platform
also chairs UN Comm'n on Status of Women ^{committee}

Philippine delg'n called attn to:

- ① plight of rural women
- ② women migrant workers
- ③ trafficking of women & children.

Govt commitments:

- women's draft budget statement
- allocate at least 20% of fed budy to issues w/ high impact on women
- ↑ fam ply services & health
- ↑ credit & traing for rural women
- legal reforms → ^{state} bilateral agreements re protection of migrant workers

New initiatives in past year:

- ① Women's Health & Safe Motherhood progr.
- ② Literacy in low income provinces.
- ③ Magna Carta for migrant workers

Govt has ratified Conv. on Rights of the Child.

→ A fam. code

→ career adv. for women in civil service

Nat'l Council of Women of the Phil = umbrella
organis'n of NGOs

↓ Pop'n rates

↓ Unemployment

→ mortality rates but still way too high

PHILIPPINES

USAID → assistance in family planning

US Dept of Labor → funded 1995 Phil post survey on child labor

Half population lives below the poverty level

\$75m → projects women + children

all maximize NGO involvement

SPEECH OUTLINE

AdC - incl. mention of Filadelfia

Fil-Ames.

Beijing was beginning of a world-wide discussion
that has led to unprecedented action & activity
on behalf of women - examples
> Represented a shift in the balance of power
Can only make the balance equitable
if we continue initial progress

APEC has tailored its sustainable
develpt - women must be a part -
Beijing gave us a road map
will meet next week w/
Fr of Hemisphere

Today let's renew the call to action

NGOs - vehicle for women > global network

Politics - U.S. election as an example

Econ. Empowerment -

Connie

> POTUS faithfully served by me F.A

Ref. spe

A yr ago we were gathered to reaffirm
world's commitment to give girls &
women opportunities + to recognize
the importance of role that women
play in the develpt of society +
importance of giving each girl opportunity
to fulfill potential -

Examples - literacy - example for tools

Each on its own is upl

But together they represent an unprecedented
effort to create more balance in
society + in people's lives

✓ Language on sustainable

sold
exploit'n

equal pay
political -

Many women feel can't be full
practicing Catholics -

Women are / eumenical activities
Spiritual

In the expression of their religious
faith -

Many of us, whether we find the
source of our ^{conscience} social action + justice
pol. action in our spiritual lives
+ our religious faith

As we move forward we must
remember that religion is ~~not~~ ^{not} ~~just~~ ^{not} ~~a source of enlightenment~~
~~not~~ ^{not} ~~just~~ ^{not} ~~a source of enlightenment~~

<Religion used against women>

used to legitimize ^{the} discrimination
+ oppression of women.

PHILIPPINES

✓
Women's issues
Pop/Plan
Beig Conf
Ch-Labor
USDAO

→ Child Labor - Ph needs int'l help in
combating this problem

→ USAID

Many projects benefit women & families
I'm proud we are a partner

Fabella Hosp.

→ Literacy - gender

→ People power Rev'n - women in the forefront

As people gathered for APEC -

They're talking about clean. prospects, but not

how women empowerment a global issue -

Connie Mariano

Family - central inst'n / focus of life

Respect for elders - grandma / grandpa / extended family

Education is the ticket

great pride

Instead of introducing people as Mr & Mrs Neg intro

you as Engineer xx, or Lawyer xxx

Jagolog [Tah-GAH-log]

Father joined Navy → became U.S. citizen

Roots of hard work; faith in God & family - play by the rules

→ success in America and in other countries

Most of WH guys ^(and C's father) joined the Navy via Philippines

(no longer possible) and become eligible for citizenship

Gateway to opportunity

Elder families have titles - older sister, brother etc.

Always kiss hand of an elder you meet

WH guys:

Brought gifts from the homeland

- work ethic, pride, dedication, commitment to family

Lido - 6th president he has worked for
Bautista Valet

1st Filipino / Mil Aide

Fred Sanchez - valet

Connie's uncle ^{Rodney} - served Kennedy -

"silent service" stood for silent service