Creating social spaces for transnational feminist advocacy: the Canadian International Development Agency, the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women and Philippine women's NGOs

LEONORA C. ANGELES
Centre for Human Settlements, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC V6T 1Z2 Canada (angeles@interchange.ubc.ca)

The postauthoritarian democratisation process in the Philippines saw the rise of 'state feminism', which emphasised gender mainstreaming in government development planning. Various international development agencies, particularly the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), played an important role in harnessing the social capital of women's movements and nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) for gender and development (GAD) programs in the post-Marcos era (1986–2002). This period was marked by a decline in the CIDA's direct assistance to women's NGOs in the Philippines and its shift to institutional capability-building of government agencies, particularly the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women (NCRFW). The article examines how local women's organisations have interpreted, engaged and negotiated transnational discursive practices on 'development', 'social capital', 'capacity-building' and 'gender mainstreaming.' The CIDA-funded Women NGOs Umbrella Project and Canadian aid to the Negros Occidental province are used as case studies to illustrate issues and problems in transnational linkages between Philippine women NGOs, national and local governments and Canadian development agencies. Such transnational linkages, embodied in the interesting mix of 'gender mainstreaming' and

Le processus de démocratisation post-autoritaire aux Philippines a vu la montée d'un « féminisme d'État » voulant accentuer la part des femmes dans la planification de développement gouvernementale. Différentes agences de développement internatio-nales, l'Agence canadienne de développement inter-national (ACDI) en particulier, se sont efforcées de canaliser le capital social des mouvements et des organisations non-gouvernementales (ONG) de femmes au profit des programmes de genre et développement (GED) dans l'ère post-Marcos (1986–2002). Cette période fut marquée par un déclin de l'assistance directe de l'ACDI aux ONG de femmes aux Philippines, la priorité étant donnée à un renforce-ment des capacités institutionnelles des agences gouvernementales, en particulier la Commission nationale sur le rôle des femmes philippines (CNRFP). Cet article examine comment les organisations locales de femmes ont interprété, mis en œuvre et négocié des méthodes discursives transnationales concernant le « développement », le « capital social », la « mise en valeur du potentiel » et l' « inclusion des femmes ». Le projet « Umbrella » des ONG de femmes financé par l'ACDI et l'assistance canadienne à la province du Negros Occidental sont utilisés comme études de cas pour illustrer les questions et problè-mes soulevés par les liens transnationaux existant

'critical engagement' between states, donor agencies and women NGOs, show the interpenetration of the 'global' and the 'local' and the blurring of boundaries between 'state' and 'civil' societies in the course of gender advocacy. At the same time, transnational processes and demands may concurrently create better understanding, as well as conflicts and tensions between state machinery, NGOs and social movements, thus defeating the original intentions of development projects sponsored by international donor agencies.

entre les ONG des femmes philippines, les gouvernements nationaux et locaux et les agences de développement canadiennes. De tels liens transnationaux, confirmés dans ce mélange intéressant d' « inclusion des femmes » et « d'engagement critique » entre les États, les organismes donateurs et les ONG de femmes, prouvent l'interpénétration du « global » et du « local » et l'absence de démarcations nettes entre les sociétés « Étatiques » et « civiles » dans le soutien à la cause féminine. Simultanément, les demandes et processus transnationaux peuvent ensemble produire une meilleure compréhension, mais aussi des conflits et des tensions entre la machine d'État, les ONG et les mouvements sociaux, contrecarrant ainsi les visées des projets de développement patronnés par les organismes donateurs internationaux.

Introduction

Canada is apparently known within the international development community for its strong leadership and support in two areas: gender and the environment. This reputation has been established through the Canadian International Development Agency's (CIDA) advocacy work within the Development Assistance Committee of the Overseas Economic Co-operation for Development (DAC-OECD), the umbrella group of the most industrialised countries in the world (Rivington 2001). The CIDA is lauded within the international donor community for its women-in-development (WID) focus since the 1970s, and its policy guidelines to integrate gender concerns in all its programs and activities. The Philippines, on the other hand, is known for its vibrant social movements and government women's machinery, the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women (NCRFW), which collaborate on feminist advocacy and gender mainstreaming within government and civil society. It is also proud of the fact that four Filipino women chaired the Commission on the Status of Women within the United Nations (UN) system.[1] In this light, Canadian agencies

and Philippine institutions would seem to be logical partners in supporting state feminism and gender mainstreaming by creating transnational and local spaces for women's rights and gender equality within civil society and government bureaucracy.

Gender mainstreaming is a more widely used concept than state feminism[2] within the CIDA, the Philippine government, and women's NGOs. As a broadly accepted approach to achieve gender equality, gender mainstreaming involves ensuring that gender perspectives and the goal of gender equality are central to all government and NGO activities, from legislation, policy development, research, advocacy, planning and resource allocation to project or program implementation and monitoring. In the Philippine context, gender mainstreaming involves both individual feminists and women's organisations engaging with the state and their use of state mechanisms and structures to promote feminist goals. Such engagements with the state shape collective (class and gender) identity formation, a process that is simultaneously 'in flux', 'in place' and 'rooted in people's specific ways of engaging, interpreting and reacting to

1 These women were Helena Z. Benitez in the mid-1960s, Leticia Ramos Shahani in 1974, Rosario Manalo in 1984–1985 and Patricia Licuanan in 1994–1995. Shahani later chaired the 1985 UN International Women's Conference in Nairobi, with Licuanan as her counterpart ten years later at the 1995 Beijing Women's Conference. Both women led and won the 'battle of the brackets', deleting all the bracketed contentious points to produce consensus documents that echo the aspirations of the majority—if not all—of the women in the world (Honculada 2000, 12).

2 State feminism as a concept refers to the 'activities of government structure that are formally charged with furthering women's status and rights' (Stetson McBridge and Manzur 1995, 1–2). Its intent is to confront, minimise and disarm 'state masculinism' operating in the realm of policy-making at the localised and systemic levels to produce detrimental effects and conflicting demands on women (Del Rosario 1997, 87).

lived social relations' (Chouinard 1996, 1485). Such identity formation and social relations stretching over transnational geographic space also constitute 'social space' (Massey 1984, 333), or a transnational social space that involves social learning, networking and other discursive practices across nation-state boundaries.

The partnerships between the CIDA, the NCRFW and Philippine women's NGOs in promoting state-based gender advocacy and mainstreaming, which began in 1987, are interesting for their discursive practices, or practices grounded in international discourses on gender and development (GAD), organisational capacity development and feminist engagement with the state. *Bibingka*[3] (rice-cake) strategy—the equivalent of sandwich strategy in English—is the local idiom used by the NCRFW and women's NGOs to refer to this critical collaboration between state and civil societies. My concern in this paper is not to rehearse the processes, strategies and mechanisms of gender mainstreaming and women's NGOs' relations with the NCRFW and the government, themes well explored in the literature (e.g., Del Rosario 1995, 1997; Valdeavilla 1995; Angeles 2000; Honculada 2000). Nor am I interested in echoing the already well-developed literature on the origins and critiques of participation, partnership, social capital, capacity-building and gender mainstreaming (e.g., Fine 1999, 2001; Angeles and Gurstein 2000; Cooke and Kothari 2001; Fine, Lapavitsas and Pincus 2001; Molyneux 2002). Rather, I want to examine how local women's NGOs have interpreted, negotiated and engaged with transnational discursive practices on 'development', 'social capital', 'capacity-building' and gender mainstreaming in ways that simultaneously 'empower' some groups of women and marginalise, fragment and disenfranchise other groups in the course of interactions between women's organisations, government agencies and international donor agencies. Such responses to and engagement with and against local and national states and transnational agencies are often characterised by contradictory processes that take place at the conceptual, discursive, ideological, practical and material levels. These processes and practices have both subjective and objective content and intent, which are often hard to demarcate in light of limited information and interpretations of facts and 'truths' revealed in documents, narratives, interviews and personal communications. The emerging picture in this study requires a more complex reading of how transnational processes, pressures and demands can provide avenues for better understanding and interaction between state and civil society organisations. At the same time, they can also create distance and disaffection between state agencies, NGOs and social movements, thus defeating the original intentions of development aid projects.

This paper combines various scales of analysis—global, national, regional and local—and units of analysis, from institutions, key individual figures and bureaucratic politics to plans, policies, programs and various sociocultural agents. It explains how social histories, biographies, ideologies, relations and structures intersect within these levels and units of analysis to produce (trans)national feminist discursive practices within national state and local civil-society spaces for gender advocacy and mainstreaming in the Philippines from 1987 to 2001. The paper thus seeks to address the following questions: How have transnational linkages changed the discourse within women's organisations and civil societies in the Philippines and between civil societies, governments and international development agencies such as the CIDA? What role did the CIDA play in creating transnational and local spaces for gender mainstreaming within the Philippine government and feminist advocacy within Philippine women's NGOs and wider society? And how are the outcomes of these partnerships and spaces influenced by the articulation of foreign development assistance and local political cultures?

To address these questions, a few clarifications have to be made. First, we must recognise the interconnectedness and increasingly blurred boundaries of states and civil societies as women's NGO representatives are recruited into the NCRFW as officers, staff and consultants. Second, a distinction needs to be made between NGOs and social movements. NGOs are 'narrower in scope, constituency and impact' than social movements, which are 'an aggregation of people and organisations with a shared set of ideas that seeks to bring

---

3 The rice cake is baked with fire from the top down, representing the state and international development agencies, and fire from the bottom up, representing grassroots civil society. Organisations are simultaneously nurtured to ensure an evenly baked *bibingka*.

about social change consistent with a professed set of values' (Silliman 1999, 154). In the Philippine context, the earliest NGOs that provided social subsidies and advocated social change through collective action grew out of the Catholic church and nationalist social movements. Third, the Philippine women's NGOs discussed in this paper see themselves as part of wider social movements that may embody a wide range of philosophies, ideologies and practices associated with liberalism, nationalism, revolutionary Marxism and Christian democratic socialism (Angeles 1989). These clarifications are important to consider in light of the contextual, complex and highly fluid dynamics of the place-based social and political relations discussed in this paper.

The paper is organised as follows. The first part explains the emergence of transnational feminism in relation to the genealogy of the CIDA's gender policy, focusing on the organisation's emphases since the 1990s on participation, social capital, gender mainstreaming and capacity-building as organising principles of foreign development aid. It demonstrates how these new emphases dovetailed well with the unfolding political democratisation process and capacity-building needs of both Philippine women's NGOs and the NCRFW under the Corazon Aquino (1987–1992) and Fidel Ramos (1992–1998) administrations. The second part describes the CIDA's gender and development thrust based on its development-assistance framework for the Philippines since 1986. The third part analyses two CIDA-funded projects in the context of women's NGOs' relationship with the NCRFW, the Philippine government and Canadian bilateral aid.

Data for this paper were culled from secondary materials, the CIDA library and website, and primary documents from CIDA-funded projects in the Philippines. Further information and clarification of data analysis were generated from electronic and personal communication with six Filipino consultants, project evaluators and participants and three Canadian project evaluators and program officers of GAD projects in the Philippines. The Negros Occidental case study is largely based on key informant interviews held during field research in March 1992, July 1999 and June 2001. Some of these key informants are identified in the footnotes, while others have preferred to remain anonymous.

Shifting Discourses: Transnational Feminist Networks and the CIDA's Development Assistance Framework in the Philippines

The dynamics of the CIDA's development assistance to the Philippine government and women's NGO community can be understood in terms of transnationalism. Transnationalism as an analytical perspective is said to have emerged out of Marxist and postmodern critiques of global capitalism that dispute the centre-periphery and local-global locational dichotomies. Transnational approaches propose analyses of more complicated and contingent historical and geographic linkages in the increasing circulation of goods, money, services, people and politics (Hyndman 2000, 84), including feminist ideas and cultures. Transnational feminism, now considered 'a fashionable concept', refers to the intercultural conversations of various feminisms and the collaboration between feminists across national borders and has replaced 'the more imperial-sounding global feminism' (Razack 2000, 40). This concept-as-process shows how (feminist) women advocates are linked to each other through geographic locations and flows of capital, labour, culture, ideologies and knowledge production between countries and regions (Grewal and Kaplan 1994). Feminist scholars have only begun to analyse more systematically the impacts of globalisation and global (cultural) flows on women, their advocacy work and their scholarly productions (e.g., Gibson-Graham 1996; Marchand and Runyan 2000; Bergeron 2001; Rowbotham and Linkogle 2001; Angeles 2002). Such flows include women's use of global information/communication technologies to promote 'cyberfeminism' in an emerging, informatised 'network society' (Spender 1995; Turkle 1997; Harcourt 1999; Scott 2001). Those writing on the politics of democratic transitions have also focused on the role of women in democratic movements and their gendered strategies in claiming and negotiating spaces in postauthoritarian regimes (e.g., Basu 1995; Jaquette and Wolchik 1998; Schild 1998). In contrast to these works, this paper is interested in how transnational networks—especially those involving unequal actors such as governments, international development agencies and NGOs—are plagued by problems of partnerships, enforcement, accountability and

responsibility. Transnational (feminist) advocacy networks, composed of government and non-government organisational interactions, and the relationships among them are highly problematic, given their differing functions, articulated visions and level of political responsibility (Jordan and Van Tuijl 2000). These problems are not products of poor planning or bad design (although these could exacerbate problems). Rather, they emanate from more fundamental questions of ownership of 'development' agendas, observance of respect, transparency and trust, and exercise of autonomy and freedom of choice.

In the Philippine experience, gender mainstreaming combines with transnational feminist alliances and advocacy to promote GAD and involves social and political processes that are embedded in specific sites at multiple scales (local, subregional, national, international) and institutions, both official and informal. These processes, as Kelly (2000, 12) argues, '*mediate and construct* particular experience of globalization' or transcultural practices.' The practices of Philippine women's NGOs, in particular, are framed by various 'nodes' or 'grids of intersectionality' within 'scapes' or 'networks' of flows of ideas (Appadurai 1990) generated from various transnational agents and interpreted by local actors working within local cultural paradigms. The relevant 'ideoscapes' in this discussion involve elements of global discourses on 'WID and GAD', 'social capital', 'participation', and 'capacity-building' that have entered the lexicon of the CIDA and Philippine women's NGOs since the mid-1980s.

Transnational flows of feminist ideas are best seen in the declaration of International Women's Decade (1975–1985) and the establishment around the world of many national women's organisations and bureaucracies since the 1970s, as public and official acknowledgements of WID's importance. The concept of grassroots economic empowerment that specifically targets women in order to effect an improved quality of life has been pioneered by the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) and other international development agencies (Snyder 1995). UNIFEM, the CIDA and other agencies have responded to the call for nations to 'integrate women' as equal partners of men in the development process. The shift from WID to GAD in the early 1980s (Baden and Goetz 1997) was embodied in the CIDA's restructuring of its 'WID window' and reformulation of its WID strategy, which evolved into even sharper gender equity and gender equality policies in the 1990s.

The history of WID and GAD policies at the CIDA must be understood in the context of the major national and international developments[4] influencing its policy successes and failures (Alexander 1995). The transition from WID to gender equity and equality in the 1990s was accompanied by wider concerns within the international donor community about the sustainability of development efforts and the self-reliance of beneficiaries. Such concerns were raised in light of popular anti-state sentiments, shrinking budgets and public demands for increased accountability on the parts of development agencies. By the mid-1990s, the focus on the Washington consensus that promoted open markets and neoliberal economic policies for developing countries had given way to a new post-Washington consensus that located the 'missing micro-level foundations of macroeconomic growth' (Fine 1999, 4). Development agencies such as the World Bank, the United Nations Development Program and the CIDA have supported the 'new development agenda', which moved away from state-led planning and focused on 'bottom-up development' through 'local participation', 'decentralisation' and 'deconcentration' of state functions without necessarily abandoning economic restructuring through structural adjustment programs (Fine 1999, 2001; Molyneux 2002). Accordingly, many donor agencies working under the DAC-OECD have focused on microlevel capacity-

4 A comprehensive mapping of the genealogy, geography and ideological shifts in the GAD-related policies and plans in Canada and the Philippines would require an inquiry into the mix of historical policy origins, planning processes, institutional analyses, social movements, bureaucratic impetus, development goals or visions and key public figures behind GAD. Such a comprehensive discussion is not attempted in this paper, given space limitations and the availability of excellent sources that already deal with the history and assessment of the CIDA's gender policies (i.e., Alexander 1995; Kardam 1997) and NCRFW's and the Philippine government's efforts with regard to gender mainstreaming (Torres and Del Rosario 1994; Valdeavilla 1995; Honculada 2000). There are also a number of major books and articles that deal with the role of the Philippine women's movement in supporting GAD and gender mainstreaming within the bureaucracy (e.g., Torres and Del Rosario 1994; NCRFW 1989, 1995). What is analysed here is the interesting interface between the CIDA's and the Philippines' gender-related policies that have been shaped by broader international discourses on GAD and capacity development.

building as part of a macrolevel capacity development[5] (Jackson *et al.* 1996, 48–49) that concerns systemic learning, adaptation and change at the individual, group, organisational and societal levels (Morgan 1997, 4). A corollary of this new orientation in development assistance is the emphasis on the role of civil society and social capital in development management and social-welfare delivery in the face of weakened and downsized states. The social policies of bilateral and multilateral agencies, particularly the World Bank, emphasise the importance of local networks, norms of trust and cooperation or community-level ties of social solidarity that rely heavily on women's unpaid volunteer work and social reproductive roles in the household and community (Molyneux 2002).

The synergy between GAD, social capital and capacity-building has been explored in the growing literature at the intersection of development planning and gender studies that deals with how feminists within state agencies, NGOs and civil-society forces respond to development discourse (Goetz 1997; Miller and Razavi 1998). While feminists have given 'capacity-building' a lukewarm reception because of connotations that aid-recipient institutions are 'building from scratch', some women's NGOs have embraced this new orientation by adapting to local and international pressures and assuming new values, roles, attitudes and responsibilities.

As the CIDA and other donor agencies adjusted their development assistance policies, all Philippine governments in the post-Marcos era likewise realigned their national development plans and social policies in accordance to these shifting discourses and orientations on GAD, social capital, local participation and capacity-building. These planning and policy settings are most evident in the series of official national development plans and types of bilateral and multilateral development projects entered into by the government

during the period of political democratisation and economic liberalisation under the Aquino and Ramos administrations. Hence, the CIDA's bilateral assistance projects under Aquino and Ramos were meant to support wider national and international efforts on decentralisation, good governance, privatisation and institutional strengthening or capacity-building of government, NGO and private sectors.

In the period between 1987 and 1998, the CIDA extended about Cdn$125 million in bilateral aid to the Philippines under its priority areas: basic human needs, WID, infrastructure, human rights, democracy and good governance and private-sector development (see Table 1). About 5 percent of the CIDA's bilateral assistance to the Philippines during this period went to WID- and GAD-focused capacity-building projects. This figure would be even higher if we considered the gender-related activities within the Canada Small Grants for grass-roots organisations and university-based projects in the Partnership Branch, other capacity-building projects in the Bilateral Branch, such as the Local Government Support Program (LGSP), and regional projects under the Southeast Asia Gender Equity Program (SEAGEP).

Philippine women's NGOs active in the antidictatorship movement had demonstrated the link between authoritarianism and patriarchy.[6] This gave them an important role in the post-Marcos period in shaping state policies that furthered women's status and rights and in accessing international development aid. Even during the dictatorship period, women's NGOs were already involved in transnational feminist networks, which produced an alternative Philippine NGO report presented at the 1985 International Women's Conference in Nairobi. Thus, when bilateral and multilateral agencies rushed to aid the Aquino government, women's NGOs were already prominent and well placed to access official development assistance.

The expansion of Canadian aid to Philippine women's organisations began in late 1986 to support the new Aquino government's interest in the capability-building of NCRFW and civil-society organisations. At the same time, the CIDA began to operationalise its new WID Action Plan (Guerrero, Lele and Miralao 1995, 12), which required Canada's

---

5 'Capacity development' includes efforts to both transform the macrolevel environment in which institutions operate and reform the mesolevel of systems and structures of institutions. 'Capacity-building', on the other hand takes place more at the meso- (institutional) and micro- (project) levels. Capacity-building is thus crucial to wider capacity development, because '[M]eso-level interventions cannot remain detached from micro-level activities' (Jackson *et al.* 1996, 48–49). This suggests that '[T]he true test of meso-level capacity-building is actually micro-level impact, as well as, to a certain extent, macro-level impact' (Jackson *et al.* 1996, 48–49).

6 'No to Dictatorship and Patriarchy' read one popular banner unfurled by women's groups at Manila Hotel during the presidential campaign sortie of President Marcos in early 1986.

Table 1
The Canadian International Development Agency's bilateral projects in the Philippines

Name of Project	Duration/Amount of CIDA Contribution	Canadian Partner or Executing Agency	Philippine Partner
Basic human needs			
Canada Fund for Local Initiatives	One fiscal year; budget set on annual basis	CIDA	Various local organisations
Women in development			
NCRFW Institutional Strengthening Project II	April 1996–March 2001; Cdn$5,000,000	None	National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women (NCRFW)
Gender Equity Fund II	April 1997–March 2000	CIDA	Various women's organisations
Infrastructure			
Philippine Information Infrastructure Policy Support Project (PII)	1997–1999; $500,000	None	Department of Transportation and Communication (DOTC)
Human rights, democracy, good governance			
Local Government Support Project (LGSP I)	1991–1998; $5,000,000	Groupe TS (Techni-Soil) and Associates	Regional development councils in Visayas and Mindanao and Regional Planning Development Board
Local Government Support Project (LGSP II)	2000–2005; $31,000,000	Agriteam Consulting/Federation of Canadian Municipalities	Government of the Philippines
NGO Support Project Philippine Development Assistance Program (PDAP)	1989–1999; $30,000,000	Canadian Hunger Foundation	Various NGOs
NGO-Human Resource Development			
Policy, Training and Technical Assistance Facility (PTTAF I)	1992–1998; $10,000,000	Defense Procurement Agency (International) Group	National Economic Development Authority (NEDA)
Policy, Training and Technical Assistance Facility (PTTAF II)	1998–2004; $10,000,000	Bearing Point (formerly KPMG Consulting)	Government of the Philippines
Private-sector development			
Promoting Participation for Sustainable Enterprise (PPSE)	April 1997–March 2000; $7,931,930	Philippine Development Assistance Program (PDAP) Canada Inc.	Philippine Development Assistance Program (PDAP) Philippines
Private Enterprise Accelerated Resource Linkages (PEARL)	April 1997–March 2000	Canadian Chamber of Commerce	Board of Investments (BOI) Bureau of Small and Medium Business Development

Source: CIDA Web site, http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca

development assistance to contribute to 'the realisation of the full potential of women as agents and beneficiaries of the development process'. A full-time post-WID coordinator was stationed at the Canadian Embassy in Manila in August 1987 to ensure the integration of WID in all CIDA projects, programs and mechanisms. Following the CIDA's consultation with Philippine and Canadian NGOs in June 1988 and a thorough country program review in 1989, a new WID strategy emerged. Multisector consultations for the review were supported by three studies contracted by the CIDA. One was the Asian Institute of Management's human-resource–development needs assessment of Philippine NGOs, which eventually led to the Philippine-Canada Human Resource Development (PCHRD) program. Another was the human-resource–development needs assessment of Filipino women in government agencies and programs that led to the NCRFW Institutional Strengthening Project (ISP). Last was a human-resource–development needs assessment of women in Philippine NGOs, which provided the background report for a WID NGO umbrella project. The WID program proposed $5.184 million in assistance, $1.53 million for the NCRFW ISP (Phase I, 1990–1995) and $3.654 million for the umbrella project. Moreover, 30 percent of funds from the Canada Fund and all bilateral

projects were allocated to support WID initiatives of Philippine NGOs and grassroots organisations.

The CIDA, DIWATA, the NCRFW and the WID NGO Umbrella Project

The WID NGO Umbrella Project is a good case study through which to understand the complexity or messiness of transnational geographic and discursive linkages between donor agencies, the Philippine government and NGO communities. GAD experts in the Philippines consider the CIDA and other international agencies such as UNIFEM to be key players in the capacity-building of women's NGOs and the gender-mainstreaming thrust of NCRFW. This new focus on gender mainstreaming within and outside the government bureaucracy coincided with the NCRFW's organisational restructuring in 1986, when the Aquino administration appointed several women activists from the NGO sector and grassroots organisations to head the NCRFW.[7]

Several factors inspired the redirection of the NCRFW under this new leadership based on government–NGO partnership (Honculada 2000, 43). Among them was the role played by women NGOs in raising gender issues from feminist perspectives and in forging a broad governmental organisation (GO)–NGO consensus towards more collaboration of the critical—not adversarial—type (Angeles 1989, 181; Honculada 2000, 43).[8] The NCRFW had to undergo 'combined unlearning, awareness-raising, values formation, skills training and organisational development', which played a critical role in the gender mainstreaming focus (Honculada 2000, 43). Foreign-funded gender-sensitivity workshops and training manuals devel-

oped by women's NGOs and academics (e.g., Eviota 1994; Torres and Del Rosario 1994) served as a 'launching pad for the consciousness-raising' (Honculada 2000, 43) and gender-mainstreaming groundwork among government workers. GAD training manuals and resources produced by Canadian agencies (e.g., CCIC 1991) were widely adapted by Filipino advocates and popularised in gender-sensitivity and mainstreaming training sessions. The CIDA played a major role in the process by funding the NCRFW ISP Phase I (1991–1995) and Phase II (1996–2001) and the WID NGO Umbrella Project (1990–1995).[9]

The WID NGO Umbrella Project had been beset since its inception by problems arising from the CIDA's premature insistence in forcing organisational trust, cohesion and political solidarity (or social capital) among women's groups. While women's groups have been able to cooperate and work together on certain issues, especially under the Marcos dictatorship, their separate organisational histories and ideological differences have shaped their divisions into various political formations—national democrats, social democrats, independent socialists, liberals, conservatives, and so on (Angeles 1989). The plan for the formation of a women's NGO umbrella first generated controversy when a prominent women's NGO objected to the negative depiction of some women's organisations and questioned the CIDA's selection criteria (Guerrero, Lele and Miralao 1995, 10). After much discussion, the original nine identified groups on the list of NGO partners created an 'informal' women's network called the 'Group of Ten' (G-10), later joined by a women writers' circle as the tenth group. Thirty-one other women's NGOs organised the Women's Action Network for Development (WAND). The WAND and the G-10 then entered into separate discussions on funding possibilities with the CIDA and became the two 'formations' involved in the WID NGO Umbrella Project.

The CIDA respected the G-10 and the WAND with the hope that they could still work together, providing funds in 1989–1990 so that two women's

---

7 New chair Leticia Ramos-Shahani—eventually replaced by Patricia Licuanan—and Executive Director Remmy Rikken continued the fiercely independent and professional leadership provided by Rikken's predecessor, Leticia Perez-de Guzman, during the Marcos era. Under President Ramos, the appointed chair, Imelda Nicolas, from several women's NGOs, and Executive Director Teresita S. Castillo were also active in grassroots development work and continued the policy of NGO representation in the NCRFW.

8 Karina Constantino-David outlined similar insights in her paper, 'The Philippine Development Plan for Women: Conception, Birth and Infancy', on six main factors behind the plan's realisation, including 'significant advocates for women in government, a relatively cohesive women's movement, a favourable political climate, creative harnessing of the bureaucracy, [and] timely external support' (cited in Honculada 2000, 79).

9 Due to space limitations, this paper does not discuss details of the ISP and the WID NGO projects and how they influenced the drafting of the Philippine Development Plan for Women (PDPW, 1989–1994) and the Philippine Plan for Gender-Responsive Development (PPGD, 1995–2025). For such details, see Honculada (2000).

NGO formations could consult their member organisations, identify their human-resource–development and WID programming needs, and design funding, management and administrative structures appropriate for the umbrella project. As organisations committed to transforming the lives of disadvantaged women through profound structural change, both the G-10 and the WAND also believed that they could work together towards a common vision. Thus, the CIDA created a centralised management structure called the Development Initiatives for Women and Transformative Action Foundation, Inc. (DIWATA[10]) through which the two formations could work. The DIWATA was registered in May 1990 as a legal entity to manage the five-year WID NGO Umbrella Project (1990–1995). The DIWATA's purpose was to fund three types of innovative women's initiatives and projects—challenging, advocacy and networking— that would not otherwise receive funding. It was clearly seen by women's NGOs as a mechanism for strengthening their capacities and reaching common goals.[11] The two formations had different views and expectations on the appropriate role of the DIWATA, however. While the G-10 saw the DIWATA solely as a funding mechanism, the WAND preferred to give the DIWATA board more decision-making authority and responsibilities (Guerrero, Lele and Miralao 1995, 29).

Despite their common commitment to addressing systemic causes of gender oppression, the two formations were also different in their development orientations and organisational and operational strategies. G-10 members took a more critical stance than did members of WAND towards the government and the use of official development assistance in gender transformation. G-10 members worked together to produce the document 'Women, Aid and Development' (Pagaduan and Israel 1999), which was highly critical of the WID-and-GAD framework. The embeddedness of G-10 member organisations—especially the General Assembly Binding Women for Reform, Integrity, Empowerment, Leadership and Action (GABRIELA)—within wider social movements shaped their stance and attitudes towards development assistance and donor agencies in general. This tends to confirm Feldman's (1997, 60) view that social movements as spaces for social dissent 'cannot be controlled and are not likely sites for donor intervention' (cited in Silliman 1999, 154, n. 64).

The CIDA's insistence that the WID NGO Umbrella Project should lead to greater cohesion and unity among women's organisations created unrealistic program objectives, leading to several operational problems. Differences in philosophies, perceptions and modes of operation between the formations interfered with project operations. Designed as 'a participatory funding mechanism with decision-making based on consensus' (Guerrero, Lele and Miralao 1995, 43), the DIWATA showed many of the difficulties associated with circular, nonhierarchical and participatory management structures.[12] Operational problems and communication difficulties further exacerbated organisational distrust and perceptions that WAND member organisations had more access to CIDA funds than did G-10 members. This was because of the government's appointment of WAND members to the NCRFW and their membership in other networks working with the CIDA (Guerrero, Lele and Miralao 1995, 33–42). In reality, the two formations and their local partners had enjoyed an incredible number of decision-making powers and amount of space to determine how resources were to be allocated. The CIDA and

---

10 In the vernacular, *Diwata* refers to a mythical goddess figure.

11 The WID NGO Umbrella Project aims 'to promote the full socio-economic, political and personal empowerment of women to enable them to transform their lives, families, communities and society' through innovative initiatives; delivery of effective policies, programs and services for women; and networking among women's organisations and other interest groups (Guerrero, Lele and Miralao 1995, 13). This goal is broadly measured in the increased participation of women in all spheres of life, increased numbers of institutionalised policies, programs and services for women, increased numbers of women's organisations networking and pursuing women's issues, increased unity and cohesiveness among women's organisations, increased awareness and understanding of women's issues on the parts of both men and women, and increased influence of women in decision-making.

12 The four regional committees in Luzon, the Visayas, Mindanao and the National Capital Region as local constituents' representatives were originally planned to identify regional priorities and be responsible for initial project screening, review and referral to the DIWATA. However, in practice, the regional committees did not function as such. Instead, they were composed of two regional coordinators for each region, one representing the WAND and one the G-10, and their responsibilities became limited to project monitoring. The regional coordinators had very limited roles due to the lack of a clear mandate on their decision-making powers and the largely volunteer nature of their services (Guerrero, Lele and Miralao 1995, 43).

Canadian women's NGOs had very limited, if not nonexistent, roles in shaping the project.[13]

CIDA project team leaders, the DIWATA Secretariat and technical assistants were often frustrated that the two formations were not able to work more closely together because of lack of trust and communication difficulties. The frustrations shared by organisations from both formations often emerged from their different decision-making structures.[14] Basic issues of accountability and professional autonomy were hard to resolve, given the circumstances. Heightened sensitivity to the perspectives and approaches of the two formations proved to be too demanding and stressful for the DIWATA Secretariat, especially the technical assistants, who were expected to be fully sensitive to political differences while carrying out their professional responsibilities. The stress within G-10 was also shaped by the polarising and debilitating 'Rejection–Re-Affirmation' debates on political orthodoxy that had plagued GABRIELA, other G-10 members and the Philippine left movement since 1992 (Rocamora 1994; Reid 2000).

The WID NGO project raised interesting questions regarding the relevant capacity-building needs of NGOs and the appropriateness of monitoring measurements and results-based management used by development agencies. Documentation of project outcomes and monitoring of project activities were especially difficult in the face of the inability of the two formations to work together effectively and their mutual sensitivity

to criticism from those outside their membership (Guerrero, Lele and Miralao 1995, 38). More intensive monitoring represented a relatively new management technique, if not a virtual paradigm shift, for many formation members who had not been involved in any major foreign-funded project before the umbrella project. This requirement on the part of donor agencies to improve 'managerial' capacity-building does not mesh well with grassroots groups' priorities, such as organising, education and networking. Women NGOs also give less priority to auditing and financial reporting, especially when the amount involved is very small, a stance that does not sit well with project managers and gatekeepers, who value accountability in the use of public money in the name of 'good governance'. In particular, some G-10 organisations 'expressed regret that the CIDA's concern for financial management, project monitoring and reporting became dominant concerns in the Project, rather than the examination of more substantial issues, such as how to empower women' (Guerrero, Lele and Miralao 1995, 42). Donor agencies' inordinate emphasis on the value of systematic monitoring systems, compared to that of recipient organisations, lends credence to the view that the DIWATA paved the way for the trend towards the greater 'social management of women in development' (St. Hilaire 1995, 39). This parallels Escobar's (1995) analysis of development-related discoveries and interventions that contribute to the greater manageability of the poor, women, peasants and ethnic minorities.

Despite these problems, the DIWATA provided an important opportunity for transnational feminist practices never before realised, by enabling women's NGOs to manage a common fund, to learn from Canadian feminist networks and to explore their commonalities and differences as participants attempting to transform gender relations. Nonetheless, although the evaluators recommended continued and separate support for women's NGOs (Guerrero, Lele and Miralao 1995), continued funding for the WID NGO Umbrella Project was denied, given its unsustainable management structure and operational weaknesses and the inability of the two formations involved to reach consensus on crucial matters. Some activists and women's organisations interpreted the denial of funding to the second phase of the DIWATA, in contrast to continued funding of the NCRFW ISP, to

---

13 The DIWATA board also functions as the project steering committee (PSC) in charge of executing the project. The PSC is composed of six members—three representatives each from the WAND and the G-10—and, in principle, a Canadian representative. However, there were no suitable means to involve Canadians other than the CIDA project team leader and the WID advisor, who are occasionally invited to attend PSC meetings as 'observers' and 'resource persons'. Even though funds have also been allocated for three consecutive years to get Canadian NGOs interested in WID issues to come to the Philippines or for Philippine proponents to come to Canada, the amount was not spent in the first four years of the project. This was largely due to the board's indecision or inability to reach a consensus (Guerrero, Lele and Miralao 1995, 34–35).

14 WAND representatives were often frustrated that G-10 representatives need to consult their member groups before making decisions, whereas WAND representatives were fully mandated to represent their organisations on DIWATA matters. In the process, the WAND had a great advantage in dealing with government and donor agencies, given its structure and ability to make quick decisions (Guerrero, Lele and Miralao 1995, 29, 47, 50).

be the product of 'behind closed doors' government-donor agencies negotiations. The outcomes of such negotiations and compliance on the part of government have led to programs and projects that prioritise state governance and government capacity-building needs over that of NGOs and civil societies (former staff of the Philippine Development Assistance Programme [PDAP] at the Development Academy of the Philippines, Tagaytay City, personal communication 12 March 2000; program officer at ISIS International-Manila, UP Village, Quezon City, personal communication; program officer at MASAI, a consulting agency, Quezon City, personal communication June 2000). Since the mid-1990s, the management of the biggest bilateral projects in the Philippines has been given to the private sector, especially large consulting groups connected with multinational corporations, such as KPMG-Ara Consulting and SNC-Lavalin. In other words, Canadian NGOs have not played as active a role as they used to as implementing agencies of the CIDA's bilateral projects (Peachy Cuenca-Forbes, director of the Philippine Development Assistance Program, Vancouver, personal communication regarding insight based on her experience with Canadian NGOs, 30 September 2002).

Debates about the relative merits of government-focused versus NGO-focused programs are highly contentious. Despite these debates, accusations, and suspicions, Philippine (women) NGOs consider the CIDA to have a 'more enlightened' approach in dealing with government-NGO partnerships, civil society organisations and project monitoring and evaluation. Indeed, many NGO leaders generally regard the CIDA and the European development agencies to be more generous and progressive than agencies from other donor countries.[15]

Yet those who are at the forefront of daily interactions with development cooperation are often critical of the motivations behind the 'new' focus on 'partnerships', 'capacity-building', 'improving governance' and 'building social capital', which may have simultaneous ethical, functional, political and instrumental dimensions. Some Filipino activists are quick to point out that there is really nothing new about these concepts, which were generated from the practices of social movements before they were 'co-opted' or found their way into the lingo of international development agencies.[16] The main difference, they say, is in the location and perspective from which these concepts are raised—that is, within or outside, for or against the state, broaching the question of how to view the character of the Philippine State. '*Ginugulo lang tayo ng mga iyan* [They (donors) have just been trying to mess us up]', one Filipina academic activist said frustratingly in an open forum in Southern Tagalog when she talked about how local understandings of women's rights and empowerment have only been confused by the discursive shifts from WID to GAD.[17] '*Papaano ba naman tayong magpa*-partnership *at mag-gu*-good governance, *kung mayroon tayong* bad government? [How can we have partnership with and introduce good governance principles in an intrinsically bad government?]', said another cynical male NGO staff member who obviously takes a unitary and homogenous conception of the state. Such views demonstrate how Philippine and other Southern NGOs feel subjected to the imposed and ever-changing agendas of international donor agencies (Harrison 2002, citing Muchunguzi and Milne 1995).

## Women's NGOs, the CIDA and GAD in Negros Occidental

While national and supranational discussions on gender advocacy and mainstreaming are also reflected at the microlevel, local-level dynamics often diverge significantly from official and extra-local discourses. In this section, the Negros case shows how the local political-cultural context shapes the way local recipient organisations and government bureaucracies negotiate foreign development aid and navigate the bureaucratic and social spaces where aid is disbursed and managed.

Canadian development assistance in Negros Occidental began in May 1986, when the Canadian

15 The comparison is usually made in relation to the United States and Japan, which is by far the biggest source of development aid to the Philippines.

16 See Molyneux's (2002) parallel view on the co-optation of participatory development practices by multilateral donor agencies.

17 See also the statement circulated at the 1995 Beijing Conference in China by leftist women's organisation Malayang Kilusan ng Bagong Kababaihan (MAKIBAKA—Free Movement of New Women), in Baden and Goetz (1997).
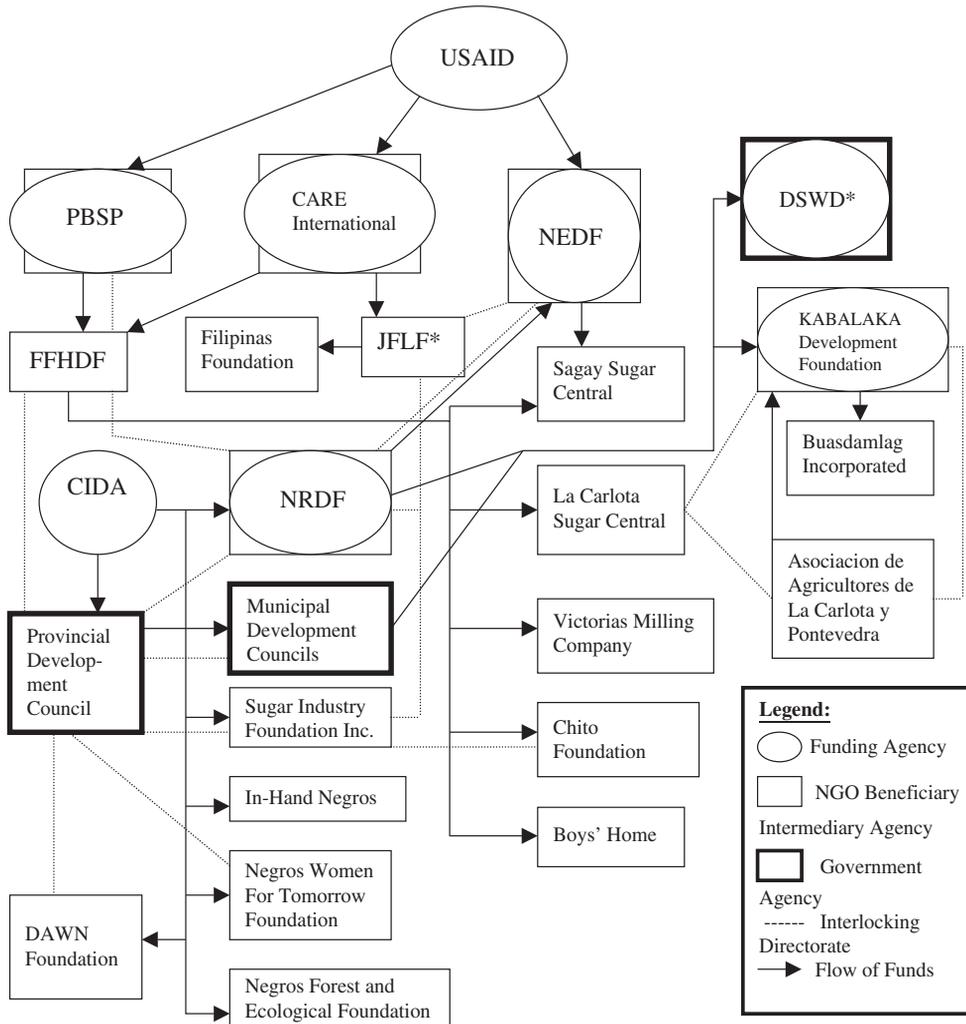
* DSWD stands for Department of Social Welfare and Development. The JFLF was named after Governor Daniel Lacson's maternal grandfather. His uncle, Eduardo Ledesma, founded Chito Foundation, SIFI and FFHDF. Cecile Lacson Del Castillo, who founded the NWTF, is a cousin of the governor. The NRDF's Program Committee, which had the power to approve project proposals, included Eduardo Ledesma of the SIFI, Lacson's classmate, President Leonardo Gallardo of the NEDF, and Cecile Magsaysay of the FFHDF. Governor Lacson sat on the board of trustees of the NEDF, the FFHDF and the PBSP.

Figure 1
Funding Linkages and Interlocking Directorate of Government, NGOs and International Donor Agencies in Negros Occidental, 1986–1992

government sent Member of Parliament James Edwards to investigate the much-publicised famine and sugar crisis in the province. Negros was one of the major recipients of aid from UNICEF's emergency Quick Action Programme (1985–1986), to which Canada was a major donor. In June 1986, Canadian Minister for External Affairs Joe Clark met with President Aquino on advice from the Canadian representative to the Asian Development Bank (ABD). The Development Aid section of the Canadian Embassy in the Philippines conducted follow-up visits and interviews with the provincial

government that led to the formation of the Negros Rehabilitation Development Fund (NRDF). The NRDF's funding was unique for its fast-track process, the role it accorded to NGOs and its facilitation of GO-NGO cooperation. Hastily organised within 90 days by the CIDA, the Canadian Embassy and the provincial government of Governor Daniel Lacson, the NRDF deviated from the usual practice of long consultations with Canadian NGOs and their local NGO counterparts. Grassroots sugar-workers' organisations that had cooperative programs with Canadian labour unions and development NGOs, such as the National Federation of Sugar Workers, were marginalised from the NRDF funding network (McCoy 1991).

As a funding facility for government development councils, private foundations and NGOs, NRDF provided funding to private enterprises, women's groups, community and church-based organisations and local governments wishing to undertake microenterprises, agroindustrial processing and farm-diversification projects supported by education, training and organising activities. In the process, Canadian development assistance coursed through the NRDF, aiding in the 'restoration of planter power' and the creation of landlord-initiated NGOs in Negros (McCoy 1991). The biggest recipients of CIDA aid in Negros were groups formed and managed by women and men from powerful sugar-planter families. Sixteen percent of CIDA funds in Negros went to projects of municipal development councils (MDCs) that were part of municipal governments run by planter families. About 15 private foundations received 61.1 percent of CIDA funds through the NRDF, including Buasdamlag Incorporated, the First Farmers Human Development Foundation (FFHDF), the Negros Economic Development Foundation (NEDF), the Chito Foundation, the Sugar Industry Foundation Incorporated (SIFI), the Jose F. Ledesma Foundation (JFLF), the Negros Forest and Ecological Foundation (NFEF) and the Negros Women for Tomorrow Foundation (NWTF). These foundations have interlocking directorates and funding, management and kinship linkages, with Lacson playing a central role (Angeles 1995) (see Figure 1).

Except for the NEDF and the FFHDF, some of these foundations were hastily organised and allocated generous funding by NRDF. The Buasdamlag's Integrated Rural Development Project

received the CIDA's largest single grant for a local project.[18] Buasdamlag was established by the planter organisation in the La Carlota-Pontevedra milling district, the *Associación de Agricultores de La Carlota y Pontevedra*. The *Asociación de Agricultores* also formed the KABALAKA Development Foundation, which was contracted by Buasdamlag to implement its NRDF projects. The KABALAKA served as the organising and training arm of Buasdamlag through its community organisers, euphemistically called human development officers (HDOs). These HDOs were hired to groom community volunteers who remained beholden to the patronage of planters, who provided their salaries through regular contributions of 1 percent of their total sugar production to KABALAKA. Among those who sat on KABALAKA's and Buasdamlag's board of trustees was Roberto Cuenca, the leader of the *Asociación de Agricultores* and a district power broker.[19] Buasdamlag applied to the NRDF for funding of its Integrated Rural Development Project. The project was endorsed by the Canadian consultant, who introduced Cuenca, as project proponent, to the counsellor for development at the Canadian Embassy in Manila. The counsellor was initially apprehensive about the project, but approved it based on his assessment of Cuenca's group as 'progressive planters willing to have orderly change' (McCoy 1991, 127).[20]

The CIDA's WID policy ensured that the NRDF also benefited women's groups and organisations willing to address women's issues. Women's organisations funded through NRDF included the

---

18 Buasdamlag had an approved funding of 8,751,350 pesos (approximately $400,000 in 1988). See McCoy (1991).

19 Other board members included Esteban 'Sonny' Coscuella, leader of the anti-agrarian-reform Negros Independent Movement (NIM), and Leo Echauz, who founded, with Coscuella, the urban militia Bacolod Citizens for Unity and Peace (BAC-UP). Coscuella was also the founder of the Negros Foundation for Peace and Democracy (NFPD), a rather incongruous name for a vigilante organisation assisting the military in its counterinsurgency campaigns. See McCoy (1991).

20 McCoy (1991, 127) estimates that up to 20 percent of total NRDF funding from CIDA, or 1.75 million pesos, could have been diverted to police or paramilitary activities in the La Carlota-Pontevedra area. This estimate is difficult to verify, however, as CIDA-funded projects tend to have strict auditing mechanisms and financial controls. In a private conversation with the author in February 2001 in Ottawa, the director of the PDAP of the CIDA claimed that such accusations of fund diversion have long been levelled against the NRDF by leftist organizations.

Development through Active Women Networking Foundation, In-Hand Negros and the NWTF. The NWTF is known in the Visayas for its Grameen Bank–style microcredit project for poor women, called Dungganon. The NWTF was established by Cecile Del Castillo, a first cousin of Governor Lacson, who obtained her Ph.D. in the United States but returned to the Philippines to engage in community development work (Interview, Cecile Del Castillo, Bacolod City, July 1999). In-Hand Negros was a nonprofit organisation organised by Lacson's wife, Fatima Lacson, and involved in 'microenterprise' ventures, serving as the export broker for small-scale producers of handicrafts such as decorations and toys. Even before the sugar crisis, women in many planter families had already been involved in handicrafts, sewing and gourmet cooking as hobbies or as small-scale businesses. More systematic production and marketing of handicrafts was done through the Association of Negros Producers (ANP), formed initially by 15 planters' housewives who attended a seminar on 'The Joys of Exporting—For Housewives Only' (Dungo 1998, 8). At the height of the sugar crisis, some 10,000 sugar-worker families lived off wages from handicrafts, which became a multimillion peso enterprise in the 1990s.

The third NRDF-funded women's organisation was the DAWN Foundation, perhaps the most well known within the Negros government and NGO circle because of its conspicuous Women's Centre and province-wide mobilisation work. DAWN was formed in 1991 as an NRDF project of the West Negros College that aimed to establish a Negros women leaders' multisectoral alliance. DAWN later became a nonprofit organisation assisted by the DIWATA, the NCRFW, Pilipina, the Canada Fund, the Centre for Legislative Development (CLD), and the Asia Foundation (Barrameda 2000, 145). DAWN is a good example of how initial funding from CIDA-NRDF and CIDA-DIWATA assisted the formation of a network of largely middle-class women professionals and politicians who carry out community-based programs on women's rights education and advocacy and involvement in local governance. DAWN has established linkages with Legislative Advocates for Women in Negros (LAWN), a local women lawyers group, to assist in its successful campaigns on violence against women. Together with LAWN and the CLD, DAWN launched seminars that promoted an ordinance

creating the Provincial Council of Women (PCW), composed of women politicians and wives of government officials from the village, city and provincial levels. The elected women leaders later formed Women in Leadership and Legislation for People's Empowerment (WILLPOWER), which seeks to increase the number of elected and appointed women leaders in the province and increased representation of women's groups in the party list system in Congress.

The left-leaning NGO community in Negros also implemented socioeconomic projects and livelihood enhancement programs to accompany their organising efforts. Women-only organisations also emerged, such as the Women's Initiative for Social Empowerment (WISE), which provided financial assistance, training and education for women-initiated projects in poor rural villages and urban communities in Negros. Supported by the Japan Committee for Negros Campaign (JCNC) and Alter Trade Japan (ATJ), WISE was created in 1989 to support people-to-people trading of Negros produce, such as crude brown sugar (*muscovado*) and chemical-free bananas (Quesada 1996). There was little interaction between these organisations and CIDA-supported women's NGOs in the province, however, despite their similar interests in microcredit and microenterprise. This points to the limits of forging/forcing partnerships and cultivating social capital through mechanisms that have not taken root organically and the potential use of development aid to harness intra-elite social capital while sidestepping the need for progressive cross-class alliances.

The Negros Occidental case suggests the importance of understanding how 'social capital' could be corrupted and used in inappropriate ways. Local political cultures, elite kinship networks and hierarchical patronage relations provide the context for how the use of Canadian development aid was negotiated and managed by gatekeepers within state institutions and donor agencies. As the former director and chief planning officer of NCRFW noted, elitism and patronage in the political culture pose early obstacles to effective representation of women (Valdeavilla 1995). In this regard, development NGOs run by elite and middle-class women have to operate within the 'game rules' of the political chessboard, like mixed-gender NGOs, but they have the upper hand in managing and accessing development

assistance compared to local organisations run by poor and working-class women.

Conclusions: Creating Transnational Social Spaces for Feminist Advocacy

Transnational relationships, such as the ones described between Canadian donor agencies, governments and NGOs, are complicated by the absence of any formal mechanisms to enforce compliance, obligations and commitment within transnational aid networks. This problem also affects transnational feminist networks, including those engaged in gender mainstreaming as a globally accepted approach to gender equality and those that challenge gender-blind development interventions. Transnational linkages are further complicated by local-level responses characterised by overlapping and intertwined processes of negotiation, conflict, accommodation, compliance and resistance using various strategies that are employed by states, donor agencies and beneficiary organisations in specific times and places. What appear to be 'problems' in the breakdown of transnational and local partnerships and networking often demonstrate the power and agency, not only of donors and governments, but also of women's NGOs to utilise global networks to their advantage and to exclude certain groups as they play the role of intermediaries between states, local communities and transnational civil societies, including international agencies that are located at the nexus of states, markets and civil societies. This dynamic is best seen in the local-level impacts when international development agencies introduce 'new' orientations such as 'participatory management', 'partnership', 'social capital', 'capacity-building' and 'gender mainstreaming' in bilateral assistance programs.

Multilaterial aid efforts to create transnational spaces for social learning and feminist advocacy thus produce uneven and contradictory effects. The two project cases above have shown that Canadian development assistance to Philippine women's and mixed-gender NGOs may have unintended consequences. Canadian aid could, on the one hand, promote capacity-building of local agents to support productive and progressive goals and, on the other, perpetuate conservative forces or worse, threaten the viability of existing transcultural networks and community-based alternatives. It could also help change the organisational orientation, interorganisational dynamics and internal discourses of local organisations.

As shown in the WID NGO Umbrella Project case study, the appointment of many NGO activists to the NCRFW leadership—and the recruitment of many more as consultants and regular staff—and their readiness to use foreign development to attain feminist goals certainly changed the course and contours of debate around state-civil society relations in the Philippines. At least within the moderate left and allied women's organisations, terms of engagement, resistance, negotiation and accommodation vis-à-vis the (local and national) state have become more nuanced and complex compared to the period before 1986, under the Marcos dictatorship. The radical left, which has become out of touch with local realities and alienated from official state channels, believes that their former allies in the antidictatorship movements have been co-opted and have become compliant, complicit and complacent, lured by the trappings of Western-style bourgeois feminism, development rhetoric and consultancy contracts and other job-creation schemes by donor agencies and government.

Despite their seeming lack of unity, Philippine women's NGOs appeared relatively cohesive, especially in supporting the NCRFW's gender-mainstreaming focus. The national-level impact of the WID NGO Umbrella Project is best seen in the role played by women NGOs in assisting the NCRFW in government policy development and implementation. These NGOs contributed to understanding the local contexts of women's issues and identifying local needs, gaps in policies, legislation and programs and their corresponding solutions. They also served as representatives of political constituencies through consultations and participation in government bodies. Government officials thus recognise the influence and lobbying pressures of WID NGOs and the DIWATA on government policy-setting and implementation, particularly in raising media and public awareness of issues such as sexual harassment, female migration, domestic violence, reproductive health and violence against women. On the other hand, the WID NGO Umbrella Project brought to the fore many capacity-building and partnership challenges facing women's NGOs. Some of these challenges have resulted in

difficulties in assessing project impact and in sharing experiences and lessons learned in planning, management and implementation.

In contrast, the Negros Occidental case has shown how international donors rushed to the aid of the Aquino government by introducing 'democratisation' and 'good governance' models and cultivating 'social capitals' for the purpose of rebuilding livelihoods, communities and political legitimacy in a postcrisis situation. Development aid helped avert many of the crises, primarily in urban and periurban Negros. But foreign aid became an instrument used by landlord organisations to block the implementation of land reform by proposing diversification instead of land redistribution. Channelled through the landlord-controlled local state, political party and NGOs operating within decentralised frameworks, foreign development aid basically augmented the resilience of oligarchic elites by undermining local initiatives on the parts of sugar-workers' unions and local cooperatives and by providing new resources to promote planter families' economic and political interests. By harnessing their kinship relations and intraclass social and cultural capital, these elite planter families were able to maintain their hegemony and avert radical social transformation.

The discussion above generates a number of insights into the possibilities of creating transnational social spaces for feminist advocacy and gender mainstreaming. First, there exists a need to continuously re-examine the strengths and limitations of GAD approaches, as a set of practices purported to have universal applicability, and to evaluate critically the outcomes of gender mainstreaming within and outside government bureaucracies. Feminist scholars, who often criticise gender mainstreaming advocates for their 'instrumentalism', frequently give insufficient attention to the limited and highly contextual application of gender mainstreaming, suggesting the need to appreciate the different strategies of feminist advocacy (Razavi 1997). To date, neither within nor outside the CIDA has there been a systematic and critical analysis of gender mainstreaming as an approach that, at best, produces uneven results or creates models that cannot be replicated elsewhere (Maggie Paterson, senior policy office, Gender Equity Division, CIDA, Halifax, Nova Scotia, personal communication 2 June 2003). On the other hand, there is an increased interest among Philippine women's NGOs in rethinking their GAD and gender-mainstreaming focus, recasting their advocacy and practice using a 'rights-based approach' to women's empowerment while taking into consideration the unique histories and cultures of various social groups. This approach is predicted to enable more cross-class alliances and promote organisational unity and cooperation between women NGOs and social movements (Dr. Carol Sobritchea, director, University of the Philippines Centre for Women's Studies, personal communication 30 October 2002). As shown in the case of the NCRFW and DIWATA projects, gender mainstreaming through government-civil sociey cooperation may produce meaningful results when state and the larger society protect women's basic rights and support the progressive visions of leaderships in these agencies.

The second insight concerns the limitations of using external agencies and foreign aid in creating artificial mechanisms for networks and partnerships intended to transform local political cultures and develop social cohesion, organisational unity and grassroots participation. The creation of trust-based social networks cannot be forced; it has to grow organically from interaction and social learning among and between organisations. In the WID NGO Umbrella Project, the women's organisations comprising the two formations were not able to overcome the tensions that attended the beginnings of the project, even though they were extensively involved in co-managing the DIWATA and designing the project as a whole. Hence, the goal of 'uniting the women's movement' seemed not only unattainable, but also inappropriate, given the existence of different groups.

The NCRFW and Philippine women's NGOs have played very important roles in challenging dominant social structures and political cultures. Their operations are still very much embedded within the structures and cultures that influence their ways of dealing with other groups within their networks, with government and with other civil society organisations. The existence of 'uncivil interstices between civil and political society' (Whitehead 1997) limits the ability of progressive NGOs to clip the powers of strong, landed capitalist interests, business lobby groups and political parties. These groups are able to manipulate the implementation of existing legislation on decentralisation and party-list representation to

marginalise local government and congressional representation of grassroots organisations and affiliate NGOs. Development aid, when not negotiated and managed carefully at the local project and institutional levels, may become implicated in perpetuating the status quo or being used as instruments by powerful elite groups to undermine progressive initiatives.

Third, the two cases have also demonstrated the transnational social learning processes going on within state agencies, NGOs and social movements, between Northern and Southern institutions and between donor and recipient agencies. Clearly, in the DIWATA and ISP projects, the CIDA, the NCRFW and Philippine women's NGOs have emerged asking similar questions around the role of gender and development aid in women's empowerment and organisational capacity-building. What kinds of activities and projects would contribute to lasting gender equity within and outside organisations and their networks? How could the effectiveness of policies, programs and services for women be clearly defined? What new and effective forms of cooperation between government, civil society and donor agencies could emerge in the process? In the course of project evaluations, Philippine women NGOs have asked the CIDA sincere but pointed questions on the seriousness of the CIDA in dealing with WID, the attitude of CIDA officers towards WID-GAD concerns and why there are so few women project team leaders in the CIDA. They also gave concrete suggestions and future directions: their desire to participate in joint activities on WID-GAD and foreign aid, conflict management, NGO management and decision-making processes. And they suggested the need for clearer criteria and processes in the CIDA's choices of representatives for its partner consultation, and for the CIDA to better understand the larger social movements to which Philippine NGOs are linked (Guerrero, Lele and Miralao 1995, 41–42). These views support Harrison's (2002, 591) observation that the main concerns of Southern NGOs are 'not demands for increased funding, but for increased transparency and respect'. More importantly, the focus on 'transparency' and 'accountability' should not be a 'one-way street' on which beneficiary NGOs have to spend disproportionate amount of time and effort to meet the accountability and transparency requirements of donor agencies (Harrison 2002,

591) that are not compelled to undergo similar exercises. 'Better governance' of NGOs and development aid should not be confined to ensuring fiscal responsibility alone, but should encompass more equitable transnational and organisational relations, mutual respect and ownership of common agendas between donors and aid recipients.

Lastly, the CIDA, the NCRFW, the Philippine government and Canadian and Philippine women's NGOs have not yet maximised the resources and spaces available for greater transnational GO-NGO collaboration and transnational civil-society interaction and social learning. This could be due to internal organisational problems, as shown in the WID NGO project, or to the ability of vested interest groups to set the terms of development cooperation, as in the Negros case. The creation of transnational, cross-cultural and cross-class 'strategic sisterhood' (and brotherhood) between Filipino grassroots women's organisations and middle-class Canadian women could be supported beyond short-term 'study tours', which to benefit mainly privileged government officials and NGO staff. This could be supported more systematically through church-, school-, and community-based popular development education in Canada that integrates Philippine women's issues and gender concerns. Parallel programs in the Philippines that focus on Canadian development concerns, the plight of First Nations and Filipino immigrant communities—especially of Filipina domestic workers and mail-order brides—and the outcomes of Canadian-funded projects are also needed. More importantly, the CIDA could further support local partnerships between like-minded progressive Canadian and Philippine NGOs to ensure that development aid is channelled to organisations with long track records in assisting communities in their resource mobilisation and organisational capacity-building. This way, critical communities could effectively use development aid to ensure that their local governments are led by sincere and capable personalities and able to provide much needed services to the poor and disadvantaged.

Acknowledgements

References

AGARWAL, B. 1996 'From Mexico 1975 to Beijing 1995' *Indian Journal of Gender Studies* 3(1), 21–35

ALEXANDER, R.E. 1995 'Evaluating experiences: CIDA's Women in Development policy, 1984–1994' *Canadian Journal of Development Studies* special issue, (16) 79–87

ANGELES, L.C. 1989 'Feminism and nationalism: the discourse on the woman question and the politics of the women's movement in the Philippines' M.A. thesis, Department of Political Science, University of the Philippines, Quezon City

—. 1995 'The survival of privilege: strategies of political resilience of landed oligarchic families in the Philippines, 1945–1992' Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Political Science, Queen's University, Kingston

—. 2000 'Women, bureaucracy and the governance of poverty: a preliminary study on the integration of gender and participatory governance in social service delivery in two Philippine cities' *Philippine Political Science Journal* 21 (44), 57–98

—. 2001 'The Filipino male as macho-*Machunurin*: bringing men and masculinities in gender and development in the Philippines' *Kasarinlan* 16 (1), 9–30

—. 2002 'Engendering security and development discourse: feminist scholarship on gender and globalization in the Philippines' *Atlantis Journal of Women's Studies* 26 (2), 23–34

ANGELES, L.C., and GURSTEIN, P. 2000 'Planning for participatory capacity development: the challenges of participation and North-South partnerships in capacity-building projects' *Canadian Journal of Development Studies* 21 (special issue on participatory development, ed W. Cowie), 447–478

APPADURAI, A. 1990 'Disjuncture and difference in global culture and economy' *Public Culture* 2 (2), 1–24

BADEN, S. and A.M. GOETZ 1997 'Who needs sex when you can have gender? Conflicting discourse in gender at Beijing' in *Women, International Development and Politics: The Bureaucratic Mire*, ed K. Staudt (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997) 37–54

BARRAMEDA, T. 2000 *Breaking Silence* (Quezon City: Philippine Educational Theatre Association and UNIFEM)

BASU, A., ed. 1995. *The Challenge of Local Feminisms: Women's Movements in Global Perspective* (Boulder, CO: Westview)

BERGERON, S. 2001 'Political economy discourses of globalization and feminist politics' *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 26 (4), 983–1005

CANADIAN COUNCIL FOR INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION (CCIC) 1991 *Two Halves Make a Whole: Balancing Gender Relations in Development* (Ottawa: Canadian Council for International Co-operation, MATCH and AQOCI)

CANADIAN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AGENCY (CIDA) http://www.cida-acdi.gc.ca

CHOUINARD, V. 1996 'Gender and class identities in process and in place: the local state as a site of gender and class formation' *Environment and Planning A* 28, 1485–1506

COOKE, B., and KOTHARI, U. 2001 *Participation: The New Tyranny?* (London: Zed Press)

DEL ROSARIO, V.O. 1995 'Mainstreaming gender concerns: aspects of compliance, resistance and negotiation' *IDS Bulletin* 26 (3) 102–109

—. 1997 'Mainstreaming gender concerns: aspects of compliance, resistance and negotiation' in *Getting Institutions Right for Women in Development*, ed Anne Goetz (London: Zed) 77–89

DUNGO, N.G. 1993 'The NGO experience in Negros' *Philippine Sociological Review* 41 (1–4), 123–132

—. 1998 'Women entrepreneurs and subcontractors in a traditional plantation economy' Paper presented at the Mid-South Sociological Association Annual Meeting, Lafayette, LA, 28–31 October

EVIOTA, E.U., ed. 1994 *Sex and Gender in Philippine Society: A Discussion of Issues on the Relations Between Women and Men* (Manila: NCRFW)

FELDMAN, S. 1997 *NGOs and Civil Society: (Un)Stated Contradictions* (ANNALS, AAPSS)

FINE, B. 1999 'The developmental state is dead—long live social capital?' *Development and Change* 30 (1), 2–32

—. 2001 *Social Capital Versus Social Theory: Political Economy and Social Science at the Turn of the Millennium* (London: Routledge)

FINE, B., LAPAVITSAS, C. and PINCUS, J. 2001 *Development Policy in the Twentieth Century: Beyond the Post-Washington Consensus* (New York: Routledge)

FRANCISCO, J. 1999 'Scanning the terrain: NGO analysis and policy advocacy on gender equity and economic development of women's groups and mixed NGOs in the Philippines' in *Gender Equity and Economic Reforms*, ed J. Francisco and S. Vitan (Quezon City: Oxfam Great Britain-Philippines) 9–27

FRANCISCO, J. and VITAN, S., eds. 1999 *Gender Equity and Economic Reforms: Engendering Policy Critique and Advocacy of Philippine NGOs* (Quezon City: Oxfam Great Britain-Philippines)

GIBSON-GRAHAM, J.K. 1996 *The End of Capitalism (As We Knew It): A Feminist Critique of Political Economy* (Oxford: Blackwell Press)

GOETZ, A. ed. 1997 *Getting Institutions Right for Women in Development* (London: Zed Press)

GREWAL, I. and KAPLAN, C., eds. 1994 *Scattered Hegemonies: Postmodernity and Transnational Feminist Practices* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press)

GUERRERO, S., LELE, D. and MIRALAO, V. 1995 'The Philippines WID-NGO umbrella project' Mid-project evaluation report submitted to the Canadian International Development Agency, Ottawa, May

GUERRERO, S.H., PATRON, M.C. and LEYESA, M. 1996 *Women's Studies in the Philippines: An Assessment of the Impact of Women's Studies Association of the Philippines in Promoting the Gender Perspective* (Quezon City: Women's Studies Association of the Philippines, CIDA, DIWATA Foundation and University of the Philippines Centre for Women's Studies)

HARCOURT, W., ed. 1999 *Women @ Internet: Creating Cultures in Cyberspace* (London: Zed)

HARRISON, E. 2002 '"The problem with the locals": partnership and participation in Ethiopia' *Development and Change* 33 (4), 587–610

HONCULADA, J.A. 2000 *Transforming the Mainstream: Building a Gender-Responsive Bureaucracy in the Philippines, 1975–1998* (Bangkok: UNIFEM)

HYNDMAN, J. 2000 *Managing Displacement: Refugees and the Politics of Humanitarianism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press)

JAQUETTE, J. and WOLCHIK, S.L., eds. 1998 *Women and Democracy: Latin America and Central Eastern Europe* (Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins University Press)

JORDAN, L. and VAN TUIJL, P. 2000 'Political responsibility in transnational NGO advocacy' *World Development* 28 (12), 2051–2065

KARDAM, N. 1997 'The adaptability of international development agencies: the response of the World Bank to women in development' in *Women, International Development and Politics: The Bureaucratic Mire*, ed K. Staudt (Philadelphia: Temple University Press) 136–148

KELLY, P.F. 2000 *Landscapes of Globalisation: Human Geographies of Economic Change in the Philippines* (London: Routledge)

MCCOY, A.W. 1991 'The restoration of planter power in La Carlota City' in *From Marcos to Aquino: Local Perspectives on Political Transition in the Philippines*, ed B. Kerkvliet and R. Mojares (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press) 118–135

MARCHAND, M. and RUNYAN A.S., eds. 2000 *Gender and Global Restructuring: Sightings, Sites and Resistances* (New York: Routledge)

MASSEY, D. 1984 *Spatial Divisions of Labour: Social Structures and the Geography of Production* (London: Macmillan)

MILLER, C. and RAZAVI S., eds. 1998 *Missionaries and Mandarins: Feminist Engagements with Development Institutions* (London: Intermediate Technology Publications)

MOLYNEUX, M. 2002 'Gender and the silences of social capital: lessons from Latin America' *Development and Change* 33 (2), 167–188

MUCHUNGUZI, D. and MILNE S. 1995 *Perspectives from the South: A Study on Partnership* (Dar es Salaam: African Relief and Development Consultancy Association)

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON THE ROLE OF FILIPINO WOMEN (NCRFW) 1989 *Philippine Development Plan for Women* (Manila: National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women)

—. 1995 *Philippine Plan for Gender-Responsive Development, 1995–2025* (Manila: National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women)

PAGADUAN, M. and ISRAEL L. 1999 'Advocacy for women's empowerment in official development assistance: the experience of a women's network on aid and development' in *Gender Equity and Economic Reforms*, ed J. Francisco and S. Vitan (Quezon City: Oxfam Great Britain-Philippines) 29–39

QUESADA, D. 1996 'Towards engendering the Negros alternative' in *Asian Women's Alternatives in Action: Report of the Workshop at the Beijing NGO Forum on Women*, ed D. Quesada and K.C. Lau (Hong Kong: Ji Jin Press) 32–39

RAZACK, S. 2000 'Your place or mine? Transnational feminist collaboration' in *Anti-Racist Feminism*, ed A. Calliste and G. Dei (Halifax: Fernwood) 39–53

RAZAVI, S. 1997 'Fitting gender into development institutions' *World Development* 25 (7), 1111–1125

REID, B. 2000 *Philippine Left: Political Crisis and Social Change* (Manila: Journal of Contemporary Asia)

RIVINGTON, D. 2001 Talk given by head of the Gender Equity Division of the CIDA, Vancouver Centre for the Study of the Americas, Vancouver, BC, March

ROCAMORA, J. 1994 *Breaking Through: The Struggle in the Communist Party of the Philippines* (Quezon City: Anvil Publications)

ROWBOTHAM, S., and LINKOGLE, S. 2001 *Women Resist Globalisation: Mobilizing for Livelihoods and Rights* (London: Zed Press)

SALINAS, A., and LIAMZON, T. 1985 *Too Little, Too Late: An Alternative Report on Government Initiatives* (Manila: Philippine Women's Research Collective)

SCHILD, V. 1998 'New subjects of rights? Women's movements and the construction of citizenship in the "new democracies"' in *Cultures of Politics, Politics of Cultures: Re-visioning Latin American Social Movements*, ed S. Alvarez, E. Dagnino and A. Escobar (Boulder: Westview) 93–117

SCOTT, A. 2001 '(In)forming politics: processes of feminist activism in the information age' *Women's Studies International Forum* 24 (3/4), 409–421

SILLIMAN, J. 1999 'Expanding civil society, shrinking political spaces: the case of women's nongovernmental organizations' in *Dangerous Intersections: Feminist Perspectives on Population, Environment and Development*, ed J. Silliman and Y. King (Cambridge, MA: South End Press) 133–161

SNYDER, M. 1995 *Transforming Development: Women, Poverty and Politics* (London: Intermediate Technology Productions)

SPENDER, D. 1995 *Nattering on the Net: Women, Power and Cyberspace* (North Melbourne: Spifinex)

STETSON MCBRIDE, D. and MANZUR, A., eds. 1995 *Comparative State Feminism* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage)

ST. HILAIRE, C. 1995 'Le projet DIWATA aux Philippines: les effets contradictoires de la mobilisation des femmes dans de développement' *Revue canadienne d'études du développement* num. spécial (6) 39–60

TORRES, A. and DEL ROSARIO, R. 1994 *Gender and Development: Making the Bureaucracy Gender-Responsive* (Manila: UNIFEM and NCRFW)

TURKLE, S. 1997. *Life on the Screen: Identity in the Age of the Internet* (London: Phoenix)

VALDEAVILLA, E.V. 1995 'Breakthroughs and challenges of making the Philippine government work for gender equality' *IDS Bulletin* 26 (3), 94–101

WHITEHEAD, L. 1997 'Bowling in the Bronx: the uncivil interstices between civil and political society' in *Civil Society: Democratic Perspectives*, ed R. Fine and S. Rai (London: Frank Cass) 94–114

Appendix: List of Acronyms

ANP – Association of Negros Producers
ATJ – Alter Trade Japan
CCIC – Canadian Council for International Co-operation
CIDA – Canadian International Development Agency
CLD – Centre for Legislative Development
CWR – Centre for Women's Resources

DAC-OECD – Development Assistance Committee/Overseas Economic Co-operation for Development
DAWN – Development through Active Women Networking Foundation
DIWATA – Development Initiatives for Women and Transformative Action Foundation
FFHDF – First Farmers Human Development Foundation
G-10 – Group of Ten
GABRIELA – General Assembly Binding Women for Reform, Integrity, Empowerment, Leadership and Action (named after anticolonial heroine Gabriela Silang)
GAD – gender and development
HDOs – human development officers
ISP – Institutional Strengthening Project
JCNC – Japan Committee for Negros Campaign
JFLF – Jose F. Ledesma Foundation
LAWN – Legislative Advocates for Women in Negros
LGSP – Local Government Support Program
MAKIBAKA – Malayang Kilusan ng Bagong Kababaihan (Free Movement of New Women)
MDC – municipal development council
NCPD – Negros Council for Peace and Development
NCRFW – National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women
NEDA – National Economic Development Authority
NEDF – Negros Economic Development Foundation
NFEF – Negros Forest and Ecological Foundation
NGO – nongovernmental organisation
NRDF – Negros Rehabilitation Development Fund
NWTF – Negros Women for Tomorrow Foundation
PBSP – Phillipine Business for Social Progress
PCHRD – Philippine-Canada Human Resource Development
PCW – Provincial Council of Women
PDAP – Philippine Development Assistance Program
PDPW – Philippine Development Plan for Women
SEAGEP – Southeast Asia Gender Equity Program
SIFI – Sugar Industry Foundation Incorporated
UNICEF –United Nations Children's Emergency Fund
UNIFEM – United Nations Fund for Women
WAND – Women's Action Network for Development
WID – Women in Development
WID NGO – Women in Development Nongovernmental Organizations
WILLPOWER – Women in Leadership and Legislation for People's Empowerment
WISE – Women's Initiative for Social Empowerment