PREFACE TO THE 2000 EDITION

THE PERSONAL IS GLOBAL; THE GLOBAL IS GENDERED

They came dressed as bananas. Also as broccoli and as sea turtles. These were the demonstrators who had traveled from all over the globe to make their voices and concerns heard outside the international meeting of the World Trade Organization in December 1999. For the first time, this Geneva-based organization became visible to many ordinary people. In the midst of the media's coverage of broken Starbucks windows and local police lobbing tear gas at citizens dressed as vegetables, many women and men from Boston to Bombay began to wonder what the government officials dressed in their uniform gray suits were negotiating – and, in the end, failing to reconcile – there, inside their conference rooms. What did a such a seemingly remote agency as the WTO have to do with most of our personal lives?

The answers began to spill out of Seattle – via front pages and network news, and, more interestingly, via Internet lists, Web sites, local cable TV channels, and grassroots groups' newsletters. A fresh understanding of international politics began to sink in: today, at the start of the newest century, the WTO was going to be a major player in ordinary people's lives, whether they – we – were thinking about it or not. When government officials met with their WTO hats on, they were making decisions about whose bananas would reach whose breakfast tables; they were deciding whether or not efforts to save the oceans' dwindling population of sea turtles should be declared violations of international trade agreements; they were voting on whether workers' rights even should be allowed onto the WTO agenda.

Most of the coverage of the WTO meetings makes it clear that debates are going on both inside and outside its sessions. But that same coverage tends to portray these debates as having virtually nothing to do with

gender. That is, according to these mainstream reporters, there is little of real political importance to be learned by asking "Where are women?" These conventional commentators also act as though we can reveal little of significance by trying to find who is manipulating ideas about femininity in the global trade in bananas, for example, or in the tourist industry, or in the international spread of sweatshops. The chapters that follow provide evidence that these uncurious observers are missing the proverbial boat.

Some of the people who went to Seattle to make visible and to challenge the WTO's global outlook traveled there because they had become convinced that, unless we do ask feminist questions, unless we put all globalizing influences under a feminist microscope, we will be left standing on the dock. One of the most energetic (though underreported) international alliances at Seattle was of women's groups from both industrialized and developing countries who called themselves "Gender and Trade." Each group's activist thinkers went to Seattle to offer the strategic and theoretical products of their own feminist curiosities. Here are just a few of the women's groups that created the Gender and Trade alliance:

- CAFRA, the Caribbean Association for Feminist Research and Action
- WIDE, the Network of Women in Development, Europe
- SEWA, Self-Employed Women's Association of Nepal
- Gender and Development, OXFAM-Ireland
- WEDO, Women's Environment and Development Organization, USA
- WWW, Women Working Worldwide of Britain

These women published papers on the Internet, held discussions in living rooms and churches, and returned home to strategize and organize. They shed light on the effects that globalization politics have on women. For instance, it is necessary that we calculate the effects of the spread of tourism on women from Morocco to Tahaiti. It is important that we spell out the effects of any international bank lending package on women from South Korea to Russia. But our curiosity shouldn't stop at "effects" only. As these activist thinkers are warning us, we need to think beyond effects. We need to think about *causes*.

Take sweatshops. On many university campuses today there is an energetic grassroots student movement to press clothing, electronics, sneaker, and toy manufacturing companies to stop producing their goods in factories whose workers are underpaid, subjected to unsafe environments, and denied the right to freely organize their own labor unions. The students have challenged Nike, Abercrombie, the Gap, and

Calvin Klein. Most of the anti-sweatshop groups say out loud that the majority of the people working in these exploitative factories are women. But usually these well-meaning critics' own curiosity stops there. They need to go further. They would expose the causes for the proliferation of sweatshops in the present era of globalization if they asked deeper, more feminist questions. *Why* are women approximately 80 percent of the global factory workforce? These now feminist-informed antisweatshop activists would discover that both the company executives and their partners inside the national governments wield narrow ideas about "dutiful daughters" and "respectable women" and "good marriages" to make their profits in a globalizing factory system. To be really smart, then, about what causes workplaces to be turned into sweatshops and what causes so many company executives and government officials to tolerate, even foster, such conditions we need to ask how powerful political actors on the world stage use certain women and certain ideas about women to pursue their goals. These causal dynamics can be uncovered only if investigators take seriously the full scope of women's lives. We have to be curious about – and hone sensitive skills to explore – the politics of popular culture, of marriage, and of sexuality. Each of these politics has helped fuel a certain brand of globalization that sustains sweatshopped exports.

Or take trafficking in women. All of us – not only feminists – would become smarter about the *entire* international system if we devoted serious attention to: why it is women who are being trafficked; who is profitting; who is turning a blind eye to these abuses. Today an estimated three million people – a majority of them girls and women – are annually bought and sold across national borders. When a person is either coerced (e.g., kidnaped) or deceived (e.g., told there is a genuine job waiting) into labor away from her own home region, she is said to be "trafficked." The women being trafficked today are Kosovar, Albanian, Romanian, Russian, Filipina, Thai, Indian, Dominican. Many of the male-run criminal rings in this fast-growing international industry are motivated by the profits to be made by supplying local businesses with women who can be turned into prostitutes. Some of the traffickers' most lucrative destinations are towns popular with male tourists and male soldiers. The humiliating and dangerous effects of such enforced sexualized trade on the trafficked women are obvious. What can a feminist curiosity reveal about the political causes? First, profits can be made from forced sexual services only if there are willing and paying male customers. Feminist questioning reveals that standards of manliness that rely on men having control over women's sexuality cause the proliferation of commercialized sex. Second, feminist research shows that when any

government or international organization assumes that women and girls are somehow less valuable, less responsible, less fully citizens than boys and men, officials of those governments and international organizations are apt to treat threats to women and girls as trivial, as not worthy of serious attention. Traffickers can traffick women and girls only because so many officials – in the United States, Italy, Japan, Russia, Germany – let them move freely across borders. Equipped with these sharp understandings, a new transnational alliance of feminist activists has launched a sophisticated movement to roll back this sexualized brand of globalization.

In the first decade of the new century we more than ever need to make sense of international politics. If we don't take women's experiences – in all their diversity – seriously, if we act as though manipulations of ideas about femininity and masculinity are not political, but merely "cultural," we risk, I think, underestimating how much of our lives are indeed political. We thereby risk being globally naive. That is, we are naive if we underestimate how much effort and how many political resources are invested every day in shaping international politics. Underestimating the amounts and kinds of power operating in the world is the hallmark of *non*feminist analysis.

The discussions that follow are one attempt to create a more realistic description of and explanation for international politics. If, as these chapters suggest, "gender makes the world go round," then we all have a lot of new listening, new investigating, and fresh thinking to do.

SOME SOURCES FOR MAKING SENSE OF GENDERED GLOBALIZATION

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PREFACE TO THE 1989 EDITION

I began this book thinking about Pocahontas and ended it mulling over the life of Carmen Miranda. Pocahontas is buried in Highgate Cemetery in London and Carmen Miranda has a museum dedicated to her in Rio. Neither is the usual starting point for thoughts about contemporary international politics, but each woman made me think in new ways about just how international politics works.

Pocahontas was a Powhantan Indian, the daughter of a tribal chief who acted as an intermediary between her own people and colonizing Englishmen; she later married one of these English settlers and travelled to London, as if confirming that the colonial enterprise was indeed a civilizing mission. She never returned to her New World homeland, however, for she died of civilization's coal dust in her lungs.

Carmen Miranda lived three centuries later, but her life has remarkable parallels with her Indian foresister's. She was a Brazilian grocer's daughter who became a Hollywood star and the symbol of an American president's Latin American policy. She died prematurely of a heart attack, perhaps brought on by the frenzied pace of life in the fast lane of America's pop culture.

These women were not the sorts of international actors I had been taught to take seriously when trying to make sense of world affairs. But the more I thought about Pocahontas and Carmen Miranda, the more I began to suspect that I had been missing an entire dimension of international politics – I got an inkling of how relations between governments depend not only on capital and weaponry, but also on the control of women as symbols, consumers, workers and emotional comforters. I also began to see that brand names like Benetton and Chiquita Banana are more than merely vehicles for making international politics relevant to the already harried book-buyer. These logos, and the processes by which they have been created, marketed and assigned meaning, expose another neglected international *political* relationship. Here I consider women-as-consumers,

in both industrialized and Third World countries, as global political actors. Furthermore, as tourism demonstrates, companies and their government allies are marketing things not usually thought of as 'consumer goods': tropical beaches, women's sexuality, the services of flight attendants.

The chapters that follow are just a beginning. Other feminists are also seeking a better explanation of why international politics operate in the ways they do. Some of the most exciting work is being done by Third World feminist theorists, such as Swasti Mitter, Chandra Mohanty and Peggy Antrobus. As the Notes make clear, I am especially indebted to these pioneers. Those whom Adrienne Rich has referred to as 'the women in the back rows of politics' are about to be given the serious attention they have long deserved. All of us, as a result, are likely to become much smarter, more realistic about what kinds of power have constructed the international political system as we know it. From these revelations may come fresh proposals for making relations between countries less violent, more just and ultimately more rewarding for women as well as men.

The idea for this book grew out of conversations with Philippa Brewster, friend and director of Pandora Press – conversations which ranged from feminist musings about polyester fashions and film stars to puzzling over the international politics of feminist publishing. One thing became more and more clear as this sometimes daunting project evolved: it makes a big difference to work with feminist editors. Candida Lacey, the editor for this book, has been of inestimable help in keeping it focused, never forgetting the audience, always remembering the wider world beyond the author's study or the editor's office. We have wrinkled our brows together over the stickier analytical points, and we have laughed out loud over some of the more bizarre discoveries.

It is probably a bit insane to take on the topics covered in this book. It has only been possible to make the attempt because I have had the wise and generous support of insightful friends and colleagues. First and foremost has been Joni Seager, co-author of the ground-breaking feminist atlas, *Women in the World*. There was much less chance of my slipping into parochial assumptions with her as a constant sounding-board, reading every chapter, passing on gems of information that a mere political scientist would never have seen. Others who have read chapters and given me valuable suggestions – and caveats – include Margaret Bluman, Laura Zimmerman, Serena Hilsinger, Ximena Bunster and Margaret Lazarus. Superb copy-editing has been done by Daphne Tagg. Margaret Bluman, my agent for this book, has also encouraged me to think that the questions posed were important ones for women committed to genuine social change.

A political scientist is often a bit intimidated by historians and archivists. But as I pursued my hunches about the light that Pocahontas and Carmen

Miranda might shed on international politics, I knew I had to tread on historians' ground. No one made me feel more at home in this adventure than David Doughan, librarian of the Fawcett Library, that treasure-house of surprising information about British and imperial women's history. Ann Englehart and Barbara Haber both encouraged me to make full use of the splendid resources of Radcliffe College's Schlesinger Library. Edmund Swinglehurst, of the Thomas Cook Archives in London, opened up the world of tourism history. In addition to my own digging, I was aided by the research skills of my brother, David Enloe, as well as Lauran Schultz, Shari Geistfeld and Deb Dunn.

Among the many others who shared their special knowledge with me were Beryl Smedley, Gay Murphy, Mary Ann White, Pam Moffat, Nien Ling Lieu, Susan Parsons, Saralee Hamilton, Jacqui Alexander, Georgina Ashworth, Sr. Soledad Perpinan, Raquel Tiglao, Theresa Capellan, Elizabeth Odour, Lucy Laliberte, Wendy Mishkin, Peter Armitage, Cortez Enloe, Philippe Bourgois, Lois Wasserspring, Ann Holder, Saundra Studevant, Caroline Becraft, Elaine Salo, Elaine Burns, Mary McGinn, Sandina Robbins, Nira Yuval Davis, Christine White, Sidney Mintz, Linda Richter, Rachel Kerian, Laurel Bossen, Beth Schwartz, Peg Strobel, Janice Hill, Julie Wheelwright, Antoinette Burton, Sally Davis, Patrick Miller, Anita Nesiah, Joanne Liddle and Eva Isaksson.

Over the three years during which this book has taken shape I have had my share of misgivings. Generous friends not only have put up with my occasionally odd preoccupations, but have reminded me of the point of pursuing feminist puzzles. So I am, as ever, indebted to each of them for their daily acts of friendship, especially Joni Seager, Gilda Bruckman, Judy Wachs, Serena Hilsinger and Lois Brynes.

1

Gender Makes The World Go Round

Ambassadors cabling their home ministries, legislators passing laws to restrict foreign imports, bank executives negotiating overseas loans, soldiers landing on foreign hillsides – these are some of the sites from which one can watch the international political system being made. But if we employ only the conventional, ungendered compass to chart international politics, we are likely to end up mapping a landscape peopled only by men, mostly élite men. The real landscape of international politics is less exclusively male.

A European woman decides to take her holiday in Jamaica because the weather is warm, it is cheap and safe for tourists. In choosing this form of pleasure, she is playing her part in creating the current international political system. She is helping the Jamaican government earn badly needed foreign currency to repay overseas debts. She is transforming 'chambermaid' into a major job category. And, unwittingly, if she travels on holiday with a white man, she may make some Jamaican men, seeing every day the privileges – economic and sexual – garnered by white men, feel humiliated and so nourish nationalist identities rooted in injured masculinity.

A school teacher plans a lesson around the life of Pocahontas, the brave Powhantan 'princess' who saved Captain John Smith from execution at Jamestown and so cleared the way for English colonization of America. The students come away from the lesson believing the convenient myth that local women are likely to be charmed by their own people's conquerors.

In the 1930s Hollywood moguls turned Brazilian singer Carmen Miranda into an American movie star. They were trying to aid President Franklin Roosevelt's efforts to promote friendlier relations between the US and

Latin America. When United Fruit executives then drew on Carmen Miranda's popular Latinized female image to create a logo for their imported bananas, they were trying to construct a new, intimate relationship between American housewives and a multinational plantation company. With her famous fruited hats and vivacious screen presence, Carmen Miranda was used by American men to reshape international relations. Carmen Miranda alerts us to the fact that it would be a mistake to confine an investigation of regional politics or international agribusiness to male foreign-policy officials, male company executives and male plantation workers. Omitting sexualized images, women as consumers and women as agribusiness workers, leaves us with a political analysis that is incomplete, even naïve.

When a British soldier on leave from duties in Belize or West Germany decides that he can't tolerate his friends' continuous razzing about being 'queer' and so finally joins them in a visit to a local brothel in order to be 'one of the boys', he is shaping power relations between the British military and the society it is supposed to be protecting. He is also reinforcing one of the crucial bulwarks – masculinity – which permits the British government to use a military force to carry out its foreign policy among its former colonies and within NATO. Military politics, which occupy such a large part of international politics today, require military bases. Bases are artificial societies created out of unequal relations between men and women of different races and classes.

The woman tourist, the Jamaican chambermaid, Carmen Miranda, the American housewife, the British soldier and Belize prostitute are all dancing an intricate international minuet.

But they aren't all in a position to call the tune. Each has been used by the makers of the international political system, but some are more complicit and better rewarded than others. A poor woman who has been deprived of literacy (especially in the language of the ruling group), bank credit or arable land is likely to find that the intrusions of foreign governments and companies in her daily life exacerbate, not relieve, those burdens. The woman tourist may not be Henry Kissinger, but she is far removed from the daily realities confronting the Jamaican woman who is changing her sheets. The American housewife who buys United Fruit bananas because the 'Chiquita' logo gives her a sense of confidence in the product may not be Margaret Thatcher, but the problems she confronts as a woman are less acute than those facing the Latin American fruit vendor making a living on the streets.

Power infuses all international relationships. Most of us, understandably, would prefer to think That our attraction to a certain food company's marketing logo is a cultural, not a political act. We would like to imagine that

going on holiday to Bermuda rather than Grenada is merely a social, even aesthetic matter, not a question of politics. But in these last decades of the twentieth century, that unfortunately isn't so. Company logos are designed to nourish certain presumptions we have about different cultures; usually they reinforce global hierarchies between countries. Similarly, tourism has become a business that is maintaining dozens of governments. Power, not simply taste, is at work here. Ignoring women on the landscape of international politics perpetuates the notion that certain power relations are merely a matter of taste and culture. Paying serious attention to women can expose how *much* power it takes to maintain the international political system in its present form.

American popular culture today demands that any political idea worth its salt should fit on a bumper sticker. A feminist theory bumper sticker might say, 'Nothing is natural – well, almost nothing'. As one learns to look at this world through feminist eyes, one learns to ask whether anything that passes for inevitable, inherent, 'traditional' or biological has in fact been *made*. One begins to ask how all sorts of things have been made – a treeless landscape, a rifle-wielding police force, the 'Irishman joke', an all-women typing pool. Asking how something has been made implies that it has been made by someone. Suddenly there are clues to trace; there is also blame, credit and responsibility to apportion, not just at the start but at each point along the way.

The presumption that something that gives shape to how we live with one another is inevitable, a 'given', is hard to dislodge. It seems easier to imagine that something oozes up from an indeterminate past, that it has never been deliberately concocted, does not need to be maintained, that it's just there. But if the treeless landscape or all-women typing pool can be shown to be the result of someone's decision and has to be perpetuated, then it is possible to imagine alternatives. 'What if. . .?' can be a radical question.

Conventionally both masculinity and femininity have been treated as 'natural', not created. Today, however, there is mounting evidence that they are packages of expectations that have been created through specific decisions by specific people. We are also coming to realize that the traditional concepts of masculinity and femininity have been surprisingly hard to perpetuate: it has required the daily exercise of power – domestic power, national power, and, as we will see, international power.

So far feminist analysis has had little impact on international politics. Foreign-policy commentators and decision-makers seem particularly confident in dismissing feminist ideas. Rare is the professional commentator on international politics who takes women's experiences seriously. Women's experiences – of war, marriage, trade, travel, factory work –

are relegated to the 'human interest' column. Women's roles in creating and sustaining international politics have been treated as if they were 'natural' and thus not worthy of investigation. Consequently, how the conduct of international politics has *depended* on men's control of women has been left unexamined. This has meant that those wielding influence over foreign policy have escaped responsibility for how women have been affected by international politics.

Perhaps international politics has been impervious to feminist ideas precisely because for so many centuries in so many cultures it has been thought of as a typically 'masculine' sphere of life. Only men, not women or children, have been imagined capable of the sort of public decisiveness international politics is presumed to require. Foreign affairs are written about with a total disregard for feminist revelations about how power depends on sustaining notions about masculinity and femininity. Local housing officials, the assumption goes, may have to take women's experiences into account now and then. Social workers may have to pay some attention to feminist theorizing about poverty. Trade-union leaders and economists have to give at least a nod in the direction of feminist explanations of wage inequalities. Yet officials making international policy and their professional critics are freed from even a token consideration of women's experiences and feminist understandings of those experiences.

This book aims to cast doubt on those comfortable assumptions. By taking women's experiences of international politics seriously, I think we can acquire a more realistic understanding of how international politics actually 'works'. We may also increase women's confidence in using their own experiences and knowledge as the basis for making sense of the sprawling, abstract structure known as 'the international political economy'. Women should no longer have to disguise their feminist curiosity when they speak up on issues of international significance.

Even women who have learned how crucial it is to always ask feminist questions – about welfare, science, bus routes, police procedures – have found it hard to ask feminist questions in the midst of a discussion about the international implications of Soviet *perestroika* or Britain's trade policies in the European Economic Community. We are made to feel silly. Many women find it tempting to build up credibility in this still-masculinized area of political discussion by lowering their voices an octave, adjusting their body postures and demonstrating that they can talk 'boy's talk' as well as their male colleagues. One result of women not being able to speak out is that we may have an inaccurate understanding of how power relations between countries are created and perpetuated. Silence has made us dumb.

Relations between governments involve the workings of at least two

societies – sometimes twenty. Thinking about international politics is most meaningful when it derives from contact with the diverse values, anxieties and memories of people in those societies. Yet such access is itself gendered. As a British woman explained at the first meeting of the European Forum of Socialist Feminists, 'In this world it is men who do the travelling. They are so much more mobile, have so many more forums than women do – military, financial, they even have spy rings! Whereas it's rare for women to have any kind of international forum, organized by and for us.'[1]

So when women do manage to get together at their own meetings – not just in caucuses of other people's meetings – they usually become absorbed in making comparisons. In international forums women today are comparing how racism and class barriers divide women in their respective societies. We are comparing different explanations for the persistence of sexism and strategies for ending that sexism, but it is difficult to get the chance to work together to create a feminist description of the larger international frameworks that link women. For instance, when groups of women from several countries in Europe meet, do they try to hammer out a feminist analysis of 'Europe', or use their international comparisons as the basis for a fresh explanation of the political workings of NATO and the European Community? Usually they don't have an opportunity to do so. As a result, international politics remains relatively untouched by feminist thought.[2]

It's difficult to imagine just what feminist questioning would sound like in the area of international politics. Some women have come to believe that there is a fundamental difference between men and women. 'Virtually everyone at the top of the foreign-policy bureaucracies is male,' they argue, 'so how could the outcome be other than violent international conflict?' That is, men are men, and men seem almost inherently prone to violence; so violence is bound to come about if men are allowed to dominate international politics. At times this sweeping assertion has the unsettling ring of truth. There's scarcely a woman who on a dark day hasn't had a suspicion this just might be so. Yet most of the women from various cultures who have created the theories and practices which add up to feminism have not found this 'essentialist' argument convincing. Digging into the past and present has made them reluctant to accept explanations that rest on an assertion that men and women are inherently different.

Men trying to invalidate any discussion of gender in international politics tend to quote a litany of militaristic women leaders: 'Well, if you think it's men who are causing all the international violence, what about Margaret Thatcher, Indira Gandhi and Jeanne Kirkpatrick?' Most

women – or men – who have been treating feminist analyses seriously have little trouble in responding to this now ritualistic jibe. It's quite clear to them that a woman isn't inherently or irreversibly anti-militaristic or anti-authoritarian. It's not a matter of her chromosomes or her menstrual cycle. It's a matter of social processes and structures that have been created and sustained over the generations – sometimes coercively – to keep most women out of any political position with influence over state force. On occasion, élite men *may* let in a woman here or a woman there, but these women aren't randomly selected.

Most of the time we scarcely notice that governments look like men's clubs. We see a photo of members of the Soviet Union's Politburo, or the US Cabinet's sub-committee on national security, of negotiators at a Geneva textile bargaining session, and it's easy to miss the fact that all the people in these photographs are men. One of the most useful functions that Margaret Thatcher has served is to break through our numbness. When Margaret Thatcher stood in Venice with Mitterand, Nakasone, Reagan and the other heads of state, we suddenly noticed that everyone else was male. One woman in a photo makes it harder to ignore that the men are men.

However, when a woman is let in by the men who control the political élite it usually is precisely because that woman has learned the lessons

1 Margaret Thatcher and other heads of government meeting at the Venice Summit in September 1987. (photo: Daniel Simon/Frank Spooner Pictures, London)

of masculinized political behaviour well enough not to threaten male political privilege. Indeed she may even entrench that privilege, for when a Margaret Thatcher or Jeanne Kirkpatrick uses her state office to foment international conflict, that conflict looks less man-made, more people-made, and thus more legitimate and harder to reverse.

Still, being able to counter the 'What about Margaret Thatcher?' taunt isn't by itself a satisfactory basis for a full feminist analysis of international politics. We have to push further, open up new political terrain, listen carefully to new voices.

A fictional James Bond may have an energetic sex life, but neither sexuality nor notions of manhood nor roles of women are taken seriously by most commentators in the 'real' world of power relations between societies and their governments. What really matters, conventional international observers imply, are money, guns and the personalities of leaders – of the men who make up the political élite. The processes holding sway in most societies have been designed so that it is mainly men who have the opportunities to accumulate money, control weaponry and become public personalities. As a consequence, any investigation that treats money, guns and personalities as the key ingredients in relations between societies is almost guaranteed to obliterate women from the picture.

WHERE ARE THE WOMEN? CLUES FROM THE IRAN/CONTRA AFFAIR

In July 1987 I turn on my television to watch the congressional hearings on the Iran/Contra affair. Senior members of the Reagan administration are accused of selling weapons to the Iranian government and funnelling the proceeds to the anti-Sandinista rebels in Nicaragua in violation of congressional policy. All of the congressional representatives sitting at their tiers of desks under the media's bright lights are men. All but one of the congressional committees' lawyers asking questions are men. All but two of the scores of witnesses subpoenaed to answer their questions are men. All of their attorneys are men. All of the men have been told that dark blue suits and red ties look best on television. Everyone wears a dark blue suit and a red tie.

The Iran/Contra hearings are heralded as the event of the decade in international politics. Now we, the ordinary folk, are going to see how foreign policy actually gets made. Some of my friends become hooked on the congressional hearings: watching or listening from morning to evening, arranging their work and social schedules so as not to miss a word. In Britain, Canada and Australia TV viewers see excerpts every evening. As much as Europe's endless drizzle, the Iran/Contra hearings

seem to define the summer of 1987. Information from the hearings is woven into popular culture. There are 'instant books', songs and jokes, 'I luv Ollie' T-shirts, even Ollie North and Betsy North haircuts.

Women do appear during the hearings, though their appearances confirm rather than disturb the implied naturalness of the otherwise all-male cast. Maybe it's because all the women captured by the media's eye are so marginalized.

Ellen Garwood is one of the few women called to the witness table. She is a wealthy conservative who has donated over $2 million to the Contras after being appealed to by Colonel North and other American Contra fund raisers. Congressmen and their attorneys ask her about how her donation was solicited. They aren't interested in her views on US foreign policy. She is not a retired general or a former CIA agent. A public opinion survey comes out at about this time showing that American women are significantly less enthusiastic about US aid to the Contras than are American men, especially American white men.[3] But such revelations do not prompt any of the legislators to ask Ellen Garwood for her foreign policy ideas.

Women appear so infrequently that their very appearance in any authoritative role becomes 'news'. One day a woman assistant-attorney for the congressional committee appears on TV. She asks a minor witness questions. Feminist viewers sit up and take notice. One viewer counts seven young women sitting on the chairs arranged awkwardly just behind the congressmen. They don't speak in public. They are staff aides, ready to serve their male bosses.

Men comprise the majority of the media people assigned to tell us what each day's revelations 'mean'. The women reporters covering the hearings for radio and television do take extra care with their gender pronouns, yet shy away from posing any feminist questions. They haven't climbed this high on the news media ladder by questioning how masculinity and femininity might be shaping foreign policy. They must take care to look feminine while still sounding as though gender were irrelevant to their commentary.[4]

The one woman witness who becomes front page news is Fawn Hall. She is the 27-year-old who worked in the National Security Council as civil-service secretary to Oliver North and who admits assisting her boss in shredding important government documents. Fawn Hall is routinely described, even by the most low-key media commentators, as 'the beautiful Fawn Hall'. It's as if Fawn Hall is meant to represent the feminine side of High Politics of the 1980s: worldly, stylish, exciting, sexy. Beauty, secrecy and state power: they all enhance one another. In the élite politics of the present era, the 'beautiful secretary', the 'handsome,

can-do military officer', and the bureaucratic shredding machine make an almost irresistible combination.[5]

There are at least two sorts of feminized beauty, however: the revealed and the hidden. Fawn Hall is set up as beauty revealed. She stands in stark contrast to the popularly constructed image of beauty hidden: the veiled Muslim woman. Until it began selling weapons to Iran, the Reagan administration liked to emphasize the Iranian regime's wrong-headed regressiveness by pointing to its anti-modern confinement of women. Reagan aides thought their arms sales were giving them access to a moderate 'second channel' in the Teheran political élite. Does the Iranian 'second channel' insist his secretary wear a veil? I try to imagine what Fawn Hall and the 'second channel's' secretary, if they ever had a chance to meet, would find they had in common, as government secretaries to male bosses carrying out secret operations.

Some Republicans deem Fawn Hall worthy of imitation, if not emulation. In Arkansas Republican party activists hold a gathering to celebrate Oliver North with "Ollie Dogs" on the grill, tough-talking T-shirts, water-melons and 95° heat', according to the press report. There is also a Fawn Hall look-alike contest. Women entering the contest have to perform dramatic readings of Fawn Hall's congressional testimony and act her feeding documents into a paper shredder. The winner is sixteen-year-old Renee Kumpee, who, when asked about her attitude to Oliver North, replies, 'I like him OK.'[6]

Women supply most of the clerical labor force that has made the complex communications, money transfers and arms shipments possible. They handle the procedures and technology, and more importantly, they provide many male officials with on-the-job encouragement. In today's international political system, large bureaucracies are vehicles for making, implementing and remembering decisions. Since the deliberate feminization of clerical work in the early twentieth century, every government has required women to acquire certain skills and attitudes towards their work, their superiors and themselves. Even in small states without the huge bureaucratic machines the public agencies rely on women for their smooth running. If secretaries went out on strike, foreign affairs might grind to a standstill. Without women's willingness to fill these positions in acceptably feminine ways, many men in posts of international influence might be less able to convince themselves of their own rationality, courage and seriousness.

Other Washington secretaries felt ambivalent towards Fawn Hall. They resented the media for treating Fawn Hall as the quintessential government secretary. 'I guess the media wouldn't be making such a big deal out of it if she had been fifty years old and not blond.' Still,

they also saw Fawn Hall's dilemma as their own. 'You develop personal relationships when you work in a high-pressure operation like that. . . She was more than a receptionist or a typist, and she was expected to keep things confidential.' Patricia Holmes, a Black woman working as a secretary in the Department of the Interior, summed up many Washington secretaries' feelings: Fawn Hall was caught 'between a rock and a hard place'.[7]

Each woman who appears in person during the Iran/Contra proceedings is considered peripheral to the 'real' political story. None of their stories is interpreted in a way that could transform the masculinized meaning of complex international political relationships. Most of us see them as marginal characters who simply add 'color' to the all-male, blue-suited, red-tied political proceedings.

Several of the male witnesses assure their congressional interrogators that they took their state jobs so seriously that they didn't tell 'even their wives' about the secrets they were guarding. On the other hand, they expected to receive from their wives an automatic stamp of moral approval. This is the kind of marriage on which the national-security state depends.

Thousands of women today tailor their marriages to fit the peculiar demands of states operating in a trust-starved international system. Some of those women are married to men who work as national-security advisors; others have husbands who are civilian weapons-engineers working on classified contracts; still others are married to foreign-service careerists. Most of these men would not be deemed trustworthy if they were not in 'stable' marriages. Being a reliable husband and a man the state can trust with its secrets appear to be connected.

And yet it is precisely that elevation to a position of state confidence which can shake the foundations of a marriage. Patriotic marriages may serve the husbands, giving them a greater sense of public importance and less of a sense of guilt for damaging the lives of people in other countries. And they serve the national-security state. But they don't necessarily provide the women in those marriages with satisfaction or self-esteem. Typically, it is left up to the wife to cope with the tensions and disappointments. She may respond by trying to cultivate interests of her own outside her marriage, investing her relationship with her distracted husband with less importance than she once did. Or she may continue to see her relationship with her husband as her most important friendship, but adjust her notion of it so that it becomes a marriage of unequals: she will continue to confide in him all her hopes and worries, while resigning herself to hearing from him only what is 'unclassified'. In such cases some women express admiration for their husbands' patriotism, a patriotism

they believe, as wives, they cannot match. This is the stance taken by Betsy North. She is praised. Her haircut becomes the new fashion.

Marriages between élite men and patriotic wives are a building block holding up the international political system. It can continue to work the way it now does, dependent on secrecy, risk-taking and state loyalty, only if men can convince women to accept the sorts of marriages that not only sustain, but also legitimize, that system. And it isn't just marriages at the pinnacles of power that must be made to fit. As we will see, marriages up and down the international pyramid can jeopardize power relations between governments if the women refuse to play their parts. They must be willing to see their husbands leave home for long periods of time – as multinational plantation workers, as migrant workers on Middle East construction projects, as soldiers posted to foreign bases. Women working as domestic servants must be willing to leave their husband and children to service other families and, in the process, their country's foreign debt. But no one asked either Betsy North or the wife of a Honduran banana-plantation worker what her analysis was of the international political system that produced the Iran/Contra affair.

One of the beliefs that informs this book is this: if we listened to women more carefully – to those trying to break out of the strait-jacket of conventional femininity *and* to those who find security and satisfaction in those very conventions – and if we made concepts such as 'wife', 'mother', 'sexy broad' central to our investigations, we might find that the Iran/Contra affair and international politics generally looked different. It's not that we would abandon our curiosity about arms dealers, presidents' men and concepts such as 'covert operations'. Rather, we would no longer find them sufficient to understand how the international political system works.

MASCULINITY AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Making women invisible hides the workings of both femininity and masculinity in international politics. Some women watching the Iran/Contra hearings found it useful to speculate about how the politics of masculinity shape foreign-policy debates. They considered the verbal rituals that public men use to blunt the edges of their mutual antagonism. A congressman would, for instance, preface a devastating attack on Admiral Poindexter's rationale for destroying a document by reassuring the admiral – and his male colleagues – that he believed the admiral was 'honorable' and 'a gentleman'. Another congressman would insist that, despite his differences with Reagan officials Robert McFarlane and

Oliver North, he considered them to be 'patriots'. Would these same male members of Congress, selected for this special committee partly because they had experience of dealing with military officers and foreign-policy administrators, have used the word 'honorable' if the witness had been a woman? Would 'patriot' have been the term of respect if these men had been commending a woman? There appeared to be a platform of trust holding up these investigations of US foreign policy. It was a platform that was supported by pillars of masculinity, pillars that were never subjected to political scrutiny, but which had to be maintained by daily personal exchanges, memos and formal policy.

A theme that surfaced repeatedly during the weeks of the Iran/Contra hearings was 'We live in a dangerous world'. Critics as well as supporters of selling arms to Iran and using the profits to fund the Contras were in agreement on this view of the world in 1987. No one chimed in with, 'Well, I don't know; it doesn't feel so dangerous to me.' No one questioned this portrayal of the world as permeated by risk and violence. No one even attempted to redefine 'danger' by suggesting that the world may indeed be dangerous, but especially so for those people who are losing access to land or being subjected to unsafe contraceptives. Instead, the vision that informed these male officials' foreign-policy choices was of a world in which two super-powers were eyeball-to-eyeball, where small risks were justified in the name of staving off bigger risks – the risk of Soviet expansion, the risk of nuclear war. It was a world in which taking risks was proof of one's manliness and therefore of one's qualification to govern. Listening to these officials, I was struck by the similarity to the 'manliness' now said to be necessary for success in the international financial markets. With Britain's 'Big Bang', which deregulated its financial industry, and with the French and Japanese deregulators following close behind, financial observers began to warn that the era of gentlemanliness in banking was over. British, European and Japanese bankers and stockbrokers would now have to adopt the more robust, competitive form of manliness associated with American bankers. It wouldn't necessarily be easy. There might even be some resistance. Thus international finance and international diplomacy seem to be converging in their notions of the world and the kind of masculinity required to wield power in that world in the 1990s.[8]

At first glance, this portrayal of danger and risk is a familiar one, rooted in capitalist and Cold War ideology. But when it's a patriarchal world that is 'dangerous', masculine men and feminine women are expected to react in opposite but complementary ways. A 'real man' will become the protector in such a world. He will suppress his own fears, brace himself and step forward to defend the weak, women and children. In the same 'dangerous world' women will turn gratefully and expectantly to their

fathers and husbands, real or surrogate. If a woman is a mother, then she will think first of her children, protecting them not in a manly way, but as a self-sacrificing mother. In this fashion, the 'dangerous world' evoked repeatedly in the Iran/Contra hearings is upheld by unspoken notions about masculinity. Ideas of masculinity have to be perpetuated to justify foreign-policy risk-taking. To accept the Cold War interpretation of living in a 'dangerous' world also confirms the segregation of politics into national and international. The national political arena is dominated by men but allows women some select access; the international political arena is a sphere for men only, or for those rare women who can successfully play at being men, or at least not shake masculine presumptions.

Notions of masculinity aren't necessarily identical across generations or across cultural boundaries. An Oliver North may be a peculiarly American phenomenon. He doesn't have a carbon copy in current British or Japanese politics. Even the Hollywood character 'Rambo', to whom so many likened Oliver North, may take on rather different meanings in America, Britain and Japan.[9] A Lebanese Shiite militiaman may be fulfilling an explicitly masculinist mandate, but it would be a mistake to collapse the values he represents into those of a British SAS officer or an American 'Rambo'. Introducing masculinity into a discussion of international politics, and thereby making men visible as men, should prompt us to explore differences in the politics of masculinity between countries – and between ethnic groups in the same country.

These differences have ignited nationalist movements which have challenged the existing international order, dismantling empires, ousting foreign bases, expropriating foreign mines and factories. But there have been nationalist movements which have engaged in such world challenges without upsetting patriarchal relationships within that nation. It is important, I think, to understand which kinds of nationalist movement rely on the perpetuation of patriarchal ideas of masculinity for their international political campaigns and which kinds see redefining masculinity as integral to re-establishing national sovereignty. Women do not benefit automatically every time the international system is re-ordered by a successful nationalist movement. It has taken awareness, questioning and organizing by women inside those nationalist movements to turn nationalism into something good for women.

In conventional commentaries men who wield influence in international politics are analyzed in terms of their national identities, their class origins and their paid work. Rarely are they analyzed as men who have been taught how to be manly, how to size up the trustworthiness or competence of other men in terms of their manliness. If international commentators do find masculinity interesting, it is typically when they try to make sense

of 'great men' – Teddy Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, Mao Tse–t'ung – not when they seek to understand humdrum plantation workers or foreign tourists. Such men's presumptions about how to be masculine in doing their jobs, exercising influence, or seeking relief from stress are made invisible. Here are some examples:

- In 1806 executives of the Northwest Company decided it was no longer good international company politics for their trappers to take Native Canadian women as their wives; they calculated that it was more advantageous to encourage their Canadian white male employees to import European women. That was a self-conscious use of power to reshape the relationships between women and men for the sake of achieving specific international goals. The decisions of managers in London altered the way in which Canada was integrated into the British empire. It was an imperial strategy that relied on the currencies of gender and race.[10]
- When US Defense Department officials insisted that the Philippines government take responsibility for conducting physical examinations of all women working in the bars around the American military bases in the Philippines, it affected the lives of thousands of young Filipinas and sent a clear message to thousands of American sailors and Air Force pilots. The message symbolized the unequal alliance between the US and Philippines governments. Its implementation rooted that government-to-government inequality in the everyday lives of American military men and Filipino working women.[11]

The chapters that follow explore some accepted arenas of international politics: nationalist movements, diplomacy, military expansion, international debt. However, we will examine these familiar realms from unconventional vantage points. We will listen to male nationalist leaders worrying about their women abandoning traditional feminine roles. Those masculine worries and nationalist women's responses to them will be taken as seriously as male nationalists' strategies for ousting colonial rulers. We will look at diplomacy by listening to wives of foreign-service careerists. To understand how military alliances actually work, we will consider the experiences of women who live and work around military bases and women who have camped outside those bases in protest. We will explore bankers' international operations by paying attention to women who have to live on austerity budgets or work in factories, hotels and other people's kitchens in order for government debts to be serviced.

Later chapters explore areas assumed to fall outside 'international politics'. Looking at fashions in clothing and food sheds light on the

relationships between affluent and developing countries. The often difficult relationships between domestic servants and the middle-class women who hire them will be examined to make sense of new trends in international politics. We will take a close look at the foreign travel of Victorian women explorers and present-day businessmen to understand how power between countries is made and challenged. We will listen to women married to diplomats in order to see to what extent governments' foreign-policy machinery depends on notions of wifely duty.

BEYOND THE GLOBAL VICTIM

Some men and women active in campaigns to influence their country's foreign policy – on the right as well as the left – have called on women to become more involved in international issues, to learn more about 'what's going on in the world': 'You have to take more interest in international affairs because it affects how you live.' The gist of the argument is that women need to devote precious time and energy to learning about events outside their own country because as women they are the objects of those events. For instance, a woman working in a garment factory in Ireland should learn more about the European Economic Community because what the EEC commissioners do in Brussels is going to help determine her wages and maybe even the hazards she faces on the job. An American woman will be encouraged to learn the difference between a cruise and Pershing missile because international nuclear strategies are shaping her and her children's chances of a safe future.

Two things are striking about this line of argument. First, the activists who are trying to persuade women to 'get involved' are not inviting women to reinterpret international politics by drawing on their own experiences as women. If the explanations of how the EEC or nuclear rivalry works don't already include any concepts of femininity, masculinity or patriarchy, they are unlikely to after the women join the movement. Because organizers aren't curious about what women's experiences could lend to an understanding of international politics, many women, especially those whose energies are already stretched to the limit, are wary of becoming involved in an international campaign. It can seem like one more attempt by privileged outsiders – women and men – to dilute their political efforts. If women are asked to join an international campaign – for peace, against communism, for refugees, against apartheid, for religious evangelism, against hunger – but are not allowed to define the problem, it looks to many locally engaged women like abstract do-gooding with minimal connection to the battles for a decent life in their households and in their communities.

Second, the typical 'women-need-to-learn-more-about-foreign-affairs' approach usually portrays women as victims of the international political system. Women should learn about the EEC, the United Nations, the CIA, the IMF, NATO, the Warsaw Pact, the 'greenhouse effect' because each has an impact on them. In this world view, women are forever being acted upon; rarely are they seen to be actors.

It's true that in international politics women historically have not had access to the resources enabling them to wield influence. Today women are at the bottom of most international hierarchies: women are routinely paid less than even the lowest-paid men in multinational companies; women are two thirds of all refugees. Women activists have a harder time influencing struggling ethnic nationalist movements than do men; women get less of the ideological and job rewards from fighting in foreign wars than do men. Though a pretty dismal picture, it can tell us a lot about how the international political system has been designed and how it is maintained every day: some men at the top, most women at the bottom.

But in many arenas of power feminists have been uncovering a reality that is less simple. First, they have discovered that some women's class aspirations and their racist fears lured them into the role of controlling other women for the sake of imperial rule. British, American, Dutch, French, Spanish, Portuguese women may not have been the architects of their countries' colonial policies, but many of them took on the roles of colonial administrators' wives, missionaries, travel writers and anthropologists in ways that tightened the noose of colonial rule around the necks of African, Latin American and Asian women. To describe colonization as a process that has been carried on solely by men overlooks the ways in which male colonizers' success depended on some women's complicity. Without the willingness of 'respectable' women to see that colonization offered them an opportunity for adventure, or a new chance of financial security or moral commitment, colonization would have been even more problematic.[12]

Second, feminists who listen to women working for multinational corporations have heard these women articulate their own strategies for coping with their husbands' resentment, their foremen's sexual harassment and the paternalism of male union leaders. To depict these women merely as passive victims in the international politics of the banana or garment industries doesn't do them justice. It also produces an inaccurate picture of how these global systems operate. Corporate executives and development technocrats need some women to depend on cash wages; they need some women to see a factory or plantation job as a means of delaying marriage or fulfilling daughterly obligations. Without women's own needs, values and worries, the global assembly line would grind

to a halt. But many of those needs, values and worries are defined by patriarchal structures and strictures. If fathers, brothers, husbands didn't gain some privilege, however small in global terms, from women's acquiescence to those confining notions of femininity, it might be much harder for the foreign executives and their local élite allies to recruit the cheap labor they desire. Consequently, women's capacity to challenge the men in their families, their communities or their political movements, will be a key to remaking the world.

'So what?' one may ask. A book about international politics ought to leave one with a sense that 'I can do something'. A lot of books about international politics don't. They leave one with the sense that 'it's all so complex, decided by people who don't know or care that I exist'. The spread of capitalist economics, even in countries whose officials call themselves socialists, can feel as inevitable as the tides. Governments' capacity to wound people, to destroy environments and dreams, is constantly expanding through their use of science and bureaucracy. International relationships fostered by these governments and their allies use our labor and our imaginations, but it seems beyond our reach to alter them. They have added up to a world that can dilute the liveliest of cultures, a world that can turn tacos and sushi into bland fast foods, globalize video pornography and socialize men from dozens of cultures into a common new culture of technocratic management. One closes most books on 'international political economy' with a sigh. They explain how it works, but that knowledge only makes one feel as though it is more rewarding to concentrate on problems closer to home.

Hopefully, the chapters that follow will provoke quite a different feeling. They suggest that the world is something that has been made; therefore, it can be remade. The world has been made with blunt power, but also with sleights of hand. Perhaps international policy-makers find it more 'manly' to think of themselves as dealing in guns and money rather than in notions of femininity. So they – and most of their critics as well – have tried to hide and deny their reliance on women as feminized workers, as respectable and loyal wives, as 'civilizing influences', as sex objects, as obedient daughters, as unpaid farmers, as coffee-serving campaigners, as consumers and tourists. If we can expose their dependence on feminizing women, we can show that this world system is also dependent on artificial notions of masculinity: this seemingly overwhelming world system may be more fragile and open to radical change than we have been led to imagine.

Some women have already begun the difficult process of trying to create a new international political system. Many point to the conference in Nairobi, Kenya, in 1985 to mark the end of the United Nations Decade of Women as a watershed. For eighty years Nairobi women had

been trying to build new international alliances, especially to end men's exclusive right to vote in national elections and to end the exploitation of women as mothers and as prostitutes by national and imperial armies. Some of those efforts made international élites nervous. Occasionally, they wittingly or unwittingly entrenched gendered hierarchies of international power. They elevated motherhood to a political status; they made feminine respectability a criterion for political legitimacy; they proposed that white women should be the political mentors of women of color. An international feminist alliance, as we will see, doesn't automatically weaken male-run imperialist ventures. In the late 1980s there are fresh understandings, therefore, of the ways in which international feminist theorizing and organizing has to be rooted in clear explanations of how women from different, often unequal societies, are used to sustain the world patterns that feminists seek to change. Women organizing to challenge UN agencies, the International Monetary Fund or multinational corporations are developing theory and strategies simultaneously. A feminist international campaign lacking a feminist analysis of international politics is likely to subvert its own ultimate goals. Among the sectors – 'subsystems' – of the world political system that are being most affected by internationalized feminist organizing today are prostitution; population politics; development assistance; military alliances; textile and electronics production.

It takes a lot of information-gathering, a lot of thinking, a lot of trial and error and a lot of emotionally draining work to understand how notions about femininity and masculinity create and sustain global inequalities and oppressions in just one of these sectors. Yet a truly effective international feminism requires us to make sense of how patriarchal ideas and practices link all of these sectors to each other – and to other relationships whose gendered dynamics we have scarcely begun to fathom.

Thus this book is only a beginning. It draws on the theoretical and organizational work of women in 1890s Britain, 1950s Algeria, 1980s Philippines. Most of the conclusions are tentative. What readers write in the margins of these pages as they test the descriptions and explanations against their own experiences of internationalized femininity and masculinity will be at least as important in creating a different world as what appears here in deceptively solid print.

2

On The Beach: Sexism And Tourism

The Portuguese woman perched on the ladder seems to be enjoying her work. Wearing a colorful dress under several layers of aprons, she is not too busy picking olives to smile at the photographer.

Selecting postcards is one of those seemingly innocent acts that has become fraught with ideological risks. Imagine for a minute that you are a British woman travelling in Portugal. You have saved for this holiday and are thoroughly enjoying the time away from stress and drizzle. But you haven't left your feminist consciousness at home. You think about the lives of the Portuguese women you see. That is one of the reasons you search the postcard racks to find pictures of Portuguese women engaged in relatively ordinary occupations – weaving, making pottery, pulling in heavy fishing nets, hoeing fields or harvesting olives. These are the images of Portuguese women you want to send your friends back home.

Still, you are a bit uneasy when you realize that in the eyes of those Portuguese women you are probably just another northern tourist able to afford leisurely travel outside her own country. They know you don't search for those less picturesque but no less real images of Portuguese women's lives today: women working in the new plastics factories around Porto, marking Portugal's entrance into the European Common Market; women working as chambermaids in hotels, representing the country's dependence on tourism. Such pictures wouldn't mesh with the holiday image you want to share with friends back in damp, chilly Britain.

No matter how good the feminist tourist's intention, the relationship between the British woman on holiday and the working women of Portugal seems to fall short of international sisterhood. But is it

exploitation? As uncomfortable as we are when we look at women smiling out from foreign postcards, we might pause before leaping to the conclusion that they are merely one more group of victims under the heel of international capital. Women in many countries are being drawn into unequal relationships with each other as a result of governments' sponsorship of the international tourist industry, some because they have no choice, but others because they are making their own decisions about how to improve their lives. Many women are playing active roles in expanding and shaping the tourist industry – as travel agents, travel writers, flight attendants, craftswomen, chambermaids – even if they don't control it.

Similarly, women who travel are not merely creatures of privilege; nor today are they only from Western societies. They – or their mothers – have often had to fight against confining presumptions of feminine respectability to travel away from home on their own.

The hushed and serious tones typically reserved for discussions of nuclear escalation or spiraling international debt are rarely used in discussions of tourism. Tourism doesn't fit neatly into public preoccupations with military conflict and high finance. Although it is infused with masculine ideas about adventure, pleasure and the exotic, those are deemed 'private' and thus kept off stage in debates about international politics. Yet since World War II, planners, investors and workers in the tourist industry, and tourists themselves, have been weaving unequal patterns that are restructuring international politics. And they depend on women for their success.

By the mid-1980s, the global tourism business employed more people than the oil industry. These employees were servicing an estimated 200 million people who each year pack their bags and pocket their Berlitz phrase books to become international tourists.[1] The numbers continue to rise steadily. The United Nations World Tourism Organization forecasts that by the year 2000, tourism will have become the single most important global economic activity.[2]

The British woman's dilemma in trying to find a postcard expressing sisterhood rather than exploitation suggests that the galloping tourist industry is not necessarily making the world a more equal or harmonious place. Charter flights, time-share beach condominiums, and Himalayan trekking parties each carry with them power as well as pleasure. While tourism's supporters cite increased government revenues and modernizing influences, its critics ask whether tourism's remarkable growth is narrowing or widening the gap between the affluent and the poor. They question whether the foreign currency, new airstrips and hotels that come with the tourist industry really are adequate compensations

for the exacerbation of racial tensions and other problems that so often accompany tourism.[3]

FOOT-LOOSE AND GENDERED

Tourism has its own political history, reaching back to the Roman empire. It overlaps with other forms of travel that appear to be less dedicated to pleasure. Government missions, military tours of duty, business trips, scientific explorations, forced migrations – women and men have experienced them differently, in ways that have helped construct today's global tourism industry and the international political system it sustains.

In many societies being feminine has been defined as sticking close to home. Masculinity, by contrast, has been the passport for travel. Feminist geographers and ethnographers have been amassing evidence revealing that a principal difference between women and men in countless societies has been the licence to travel away from a place thought of as 'home'.

A woman who travels away from the ideological protection of 'home' and without the protection of an acceptable male escort is likely to be tarred with the brush of 'unrespectability'. She risks losing her honor or being blamed for any harm that befalls her on her travels. One need only think of the lack of sympathy accorded a woman who has been assaulted when trying to hitchhike on her own: 'What does she expect, after all?' Some women may unwittingly reinforce the patriarchal link between respectable womanhood and geographical confinement with their own gestures of defiance. A bumper sticker has begun to appear on women's well-travelled vans: 'Good girls go to Heaven. Bad girls go everywhere.'

By contrast a man is deemed less than manly until he breaks away from home and strikes out on his own. Some men leave the farm and travel to the city or mining town looking for work. Other men set off hitchhiking with only a knapsack and a good pair of boots. Still others answer the call to 'Join the Navy and see the world'.

'I cut off my hair and dressed me in a suit of my husband's having had the precaution to quilt the waistcoat to preserve my breasts from hurt which were not large enough to betray my sex and putting on the wig and hat I had prepared I went out and brought me a silver hilted sword and some Holland shirts.'[4] So Christian Davies set off in the 1690s to enlist in the British army. If she couldn't travel as a woman, she would disguise herself as a man. The stories of Christian and women like her are not unmixed tales of feminist rebellion, however. While some of the women ran away to sea or enlisted as drummer boys to escape suffocating village life, others claimed they were simply acting as a loyal wife or sweetheart, following their man.

If a woman was exposed – while being treated for a battle wound or giving birth – the punishment she received frequently depended on which of these two interpretations was believed by the men who pulled away her disguise.

Vita Sackville-West came from a privileged background but she emulated her working-class sisters and resorted to male disguise. After World War I demobilized veterans were a common sight in Europe. In 1920 Vita dressed as a man and ran away to Paris impulsively with her woman lover. In this masculine camouflage she felt liberated:

> the evenings were ours. I have never told a soul of what I did. I hesitate to write it here, but I must. . .I dressed as a boy. It was easy, because I could put a khaki bandage round my head, which in those days was so common that it attracted no attention at all. I browned my face and hands. It must have been successful, because no one looked at me at all curiously or suspiciously. . .I looked like a rather untidy young man, a sort of undergraduate, of about nineteen. I shall never forget the evenings when we walked back slowly to our flat through the streets of Paris. I, personally, had never felt so free in my life.[5]

More recently, women have been lured into joining the military – without a disguise – by thoughts of leaving home. Getting away from home, not killing Russians or Vietnamese, is what Peggy Perri, just out of nursing school, had in mind when she and her best friend decided to enlist in the US Army nursing corps in 1967. 'Pat and I were both living at home and we were both miserable. I was living at my mother's house. I was unhappy, really unhappy,' Peggy recalls. 'Pat and I had become nurses with the expectation that we could go anywhere and work. We wanted to go somewhere, and we wanted to do something really different.' Peggy wasn't a classic 'good girl'. She chewed gum and liked parties. But she didn't want to surrender her status as a respectable young woman. 'We needed to know that there was going to be some kind of structure to hold us up. The military sure promised that. . .I was infatuated by the idea of going to Vietnam. . .I really didn't know where I wanted to go. I wanted to go everywhere in the world.' She soon got her wish. 'I remember we got our orders; my mother took me shopping in every major department store. Pat and I both bought new sets of luggage, Pat's was hot pink!. . .It was January and we would go to all the "cruise" shops looking for light-weight clothing. I wanted everyone to think I was going on a cruise.'[6]

The most famous of the women who set out to travel further than convention allowed without disguise are now referred to as the 'Victorian lady travellers'. Most of them came from the white middle classes of North

America and Europe. They set out upon travels that were supposed to be the preserve of men. They defied the strictures of femininity by choosing parts of the world which whites in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century considered 'uncharted', 'uncivilized'. Not for them the chic tourist meccas of Italy and Greece. These Victorian lady travellers wanted *adventure*. That meant going to lands just being opened up by imperial armies and capitalist traders.

In their own day these women were viewed with suspicion because they dared to travel such long distances with so little proper male protection. Even if their husbands accompanied them as missionaries or scientists, these women insisted upon the separateness of their own experiences. The fact that most of them were white and chose to travel in continents whose populations were not, added to the 'exotic' aura surrounding their journeys. Space and race, when combined, have different implications for women and men, even of the same social class.[7]

Mary Kingsley, Isabella Bird, Alexandra David-Neel, Nina Mazuchelli, Annie Bullock Workman, Nina Benson Hubbard – these women in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries took for themselves the identities of 'adventurer' and 'explorer'. Both labels were thoroughly masculinized. Masculinity and exploration had been as tightly woven together as masculinity and soldiering. These audacious women challenged that ideological assumption, but they have left us with a bundle of contradictions. While they defied, apparently self-consciously, the ban on far-flung travel by 'respectable' women, in some respects they seem quite conventional. Some of them rejected female suffrage. Some refused to acknowledge fully how far their own insistence on the right to adventure undermined not only Victorian notions of femininity, but the bond being forged between Western masculinity and Western imperialism.

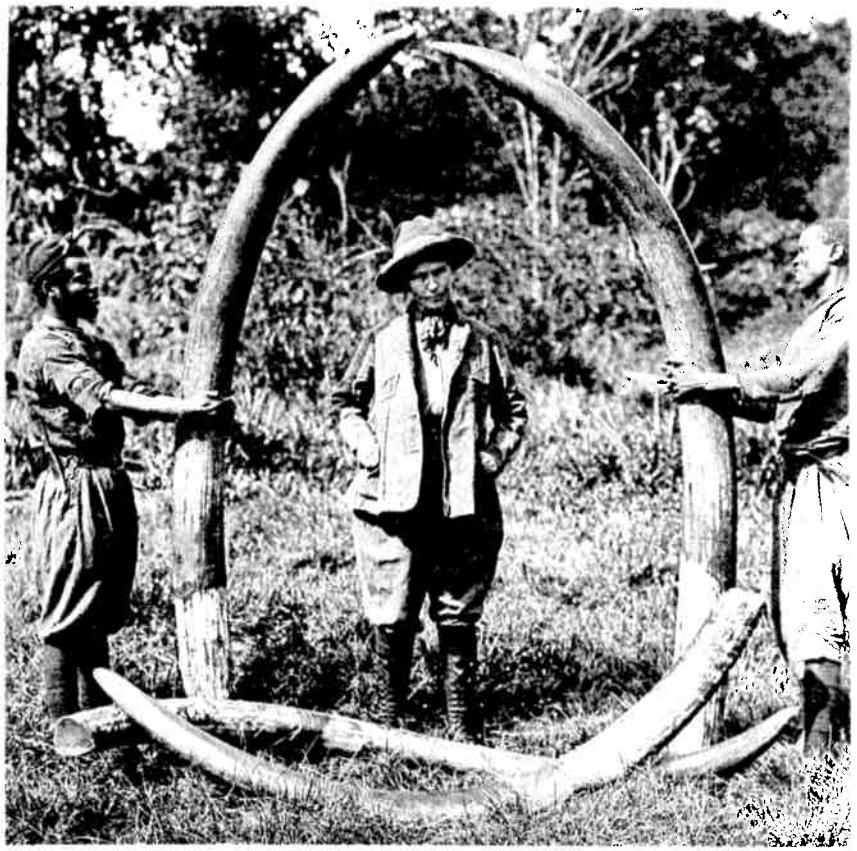
Mary Kingsley is one of the most intriguing lady travellers. Mary's father was an explorer, her brother an adventurer. Mary was born in 1862 and grew up as the twin movements of women's domestication of women and imperial expansion were flowering in Victoria's England. She seemed destined to nurse her invalid mother and to keep the homefires burning for her globe-trotting brother. But Mary had other ideas. In 1892 she set out on the first of several expeditions to Africa. She traveled without male escort and headed for the West African interior. For it was in the continent's interior where 'real' adventures were thought to happen. In subsequent years she befriended European male traders plying their business along the coasts and up the rivers of Africa. Her detailed knowledge of African societies' ritual fetishes was even acknowledged by the men of the British Museum.[8]

Mary Kingsley also became one of the most popular speakers on the lively lecture circuit. She drew enthusiastic audiences from all over England to hear about her travels to Africa and her descriptions of lives lived in the newly penetrated areas of Victoria's empire. Many women travellers helped finance their travels by giving public lectures. The lecture circuit may have provided a crucial setting in which the women who stayed at home could become engaged in the British empire. They could take part vicariously in British officials' debates over how best to incorporate African and Asian peoples into that empire by listening to Mary Kingsley describe colonial policies and their consequences for local peoples.

The women lecture-goers are as politically interesting as Mary Kingsley herself. Together, lecturer and audience helped to fashion a British culture of imperialism. The stay-at-home listeners would develop a sense of imperial pride as they heard another woman describe her travels among their empire's more 'exotic' peoples. And they could expand their knowledge of the world without risking loss of that feminine respectability which enabled them to feel superior to colonized women. Their imperial curiosity, in turn, helped Mary Kingsley finance her breaking of gendered convention.

A century later librarians at the American Museum of Natural History in New York mounted an exhibition honoring some of the American women who had made contributions to scientific exploration. 'Ladies of the Field: The Museum's Unsung Explorers' was designed to make visible Delia Akeley, Dina Brodsky and other women explorers whose contributions to science had been neglected because they were dismissed as amateurs or as mere wives-of-explorers. The exhibition consisted of just three small glass cases in the ante-room of the Rare Book Library. As two women visitors peered through the glass to read faded diaries and letters, they could hear the shouts of schoolchildren racing through millennia of dinosaurs not far away. But here there were no curious crowds. They were the only visitors. Something about finding themselves before this modest exhibit prompted the strangers to exchange a few words. As they looked at a photo of Delia Akeley standing proudly between giant tusks she had just collected for the museum, one woman said, 'A friend of mine had wanted to be an explorer, but she resigned herself to being a librarian.'

Some of these contributors to the museum were the first white women to travel to a particular region. That seemed to give their travels greater significance. Historians often think it worth noting when the 'first white woman' arrived, as if that profoundly transformed a place. A white woman's arrival destined it to be sucked into the international system.



2 Delia Akeley on an expedition in Africa for the American Museum of Natural History (photo: Carl Akeley/American Museum of Natural History, New York)

If a white woman traveler reached such a place, could the white wife or white tourist be far behind?[9]

FEMININITY IN A WORLD OF PROGRESS

The idea that the world is out there for the taking by ordinary citizens as well as adventurers emerged alongside the growth of tourism as an industry. World's fairs, together with museums and travel lectures, nourished this idea.

Without leaving her own country, the fair-goer could experience remote corners of the world, choosing to 'visit' the Philippines, Alaska, Japan or Hawaii. It is estimated that in the United States alone, close to

one million people visited world's fairs between 1876 and 1916.[10] World's fairs were designed to be more than popular entertainments; they were intended by their planners to help the public imagine an industrializing, colonizing global enterprise.

At the hub of all the world's fairs was the idea of progress, global progress. It could be best celebrated, fair investors believed, by graphically comparing 'uncivilized' with 'civilized' cultures. Between the two extremes fair designers placed Afro-American and Native American cultures – those apparently already on the track to civilization. They constructed elaborate scenes that they imagined visitors would find exotic. They imported women and men from as far away as Samoa and the Philippines to demonstrate their point. They called on the budding profession of anthropology to order their ideas and ensure authenticity. In the end fair designers created living postcards, clichés of cultures apparently at opposite ends of the modernity scale.

The natives in their exotic environment were as crucial to the celebration of progress as were exhibits of the latest feats of technological invention. Walking between a simple Samoan village and a powerful, shiny locomotive gave fair-goers an exhilarating sense of inevitable progress. By implication, it was America – or France or Britain – which was leading the way in the march of globalized progress. For the cultures most deeply afffected by the colonial experience were furthest along the fair's scale of progress. Eventually, so the fair scenario suggested, the primitive peoples of the world would be led into the light of civilization by imperial trusteeship. The world's fair expressed an elaborate international political cosmology.

It was a gendered America, a gendered Britain, however, that was leading the procession and formulating the heartening comparisons. A reporter for the *Omaha Bee* captured this spirit when describing the 1898 Trans-Mississippi and International Exposition:

> To see these ever formidable and hereditary enemies of the white man encamped together in a frame of architectural splendor erected by courage, manhood, and sterling integrity, will impress upon the growing sons and daughters a lesson which will bear fruit in years hence when the yet unsettled and uncultured possessions of the United States shall have become jewels upon the Star Spangled Banner.[11]

The year was 1898. The US government was extending its imperial reach. American men were exerting their manliness in defeating Spanish, Cuban and Filipino troops. They were proving in the process that industrialization and the rise of urban middle-class lifestyles were not,

as some had feared, weakening white American manhood. Within several decades Americans would no longer have to be satisfied with fair exhibits of Cuban dancers or Philippines villages. Those countries would have built tourist hotels, beach resorts and casinos to lure American pleasure-seekers – all due to world-wide progress generated by a civilizing sort of American masculinity.

The world's fairs of this era preached that white men's manliness fueled the civilizing imperial mission and in turn, that pursuing the imperial mission revitalized the nation's masculinity. At the same time, world's fairs were designed to show that women's domestication was proof of the manly mission's worthiness.

Thus femininity as well as masculinity structured the comparisons and the lessons visitors were to derive from the world's fairs. Women became the viewers and the viewed. White women were meant to come away from the fair feeling grateful for the benefits of civilization they enjoyed. They were not expected to measure progress from savagery to civilization in terms of voting rights or economic independence; they were to adopt a scale that had domesticated respectability at one end and hard manual labor at the other. White men were to look at 'savage' men's treatment of their over-worked women and congratulate themselves on their own civilized roles as protectors and breadwinners. Without the Samoan, Filipino and other colonized women, neither male nor female fair-goers would have been able to feel so confident about their own places in this emergent world.

Some American women saw the world's fair as a perfect venue for showing women's special contributions to the nation's progress. America's Centennial Exhibition in 1876 featured a Women's Pavilion, which celebrated the new concept of domestic science, as well as arts and crafts by women from around the world. Progress, technology and feminine domestic space were combined in a revised version of gendered civilization. In 1893 there was to be a great fair at Chicago to commemorate the four-hundredth anniversary of Columbus's discovery of America. Susan B. Anthony, the suffragist, led a drive to ensure that women wouldn't be excluded from the planning as they had been in 1876. The US Congress responded by mandating the appointment of a Board of Lady Managers to participate in the design of the 1893 Columbian Exposition. The Board commissioned a Women's Building. It was among the fair's largest and most impressive, designed by a woman architect, 23-year-old Sophia Hayden. But the Women's Building and its exhibits did not challenge the underlying message of the fair. The white women who took charge of this ambitious project still believed their mission was to demonstrate

that American women were leading the world in improving the domestic condition of women. The Women's Building was filled with exhibits of the latest household technology that would lighten women's load. Nor did they challenge the racial hierarchy that was implicitly condoned by the fair. The Board of Lady Managers, chaired by a wealthy Chicago socialite, rejected the proposal that a Black woman be appointed to any influential post.[12]

PACKAGE TOURS FOR THE RESPECTABLE WOMAN

Tourism is as much ideology as physical movement. It is a package of ideas about industrial, bureaucratic life.[13] It is a set of presumptions about manhood, education and pleasure.[14]

Tourism has depended on presumptions about masculinity and femininity. Often women have been set up as the quintessence of the exotic. To many men, women are something to be experienced. Women don't have experiences of their own. If the women are of a different culture, the male tourist feels he has entered a region where he can shed civilization's constraints, where he is freed from standards of behavior imposed by respectable women back home.

Thomas Cook perhaps deserves credit for making the world safe for the respectable woman tourist. On an English summer's day in 1841, walking to a temperance meeting, Thomas Cook had the idea of chartering a train for the next meeting so that participants could board a single train, pay a reduced rate, and while traveling to their meeting be treated to 'hams, loaves and tea' interspersed with exhortations against the evils of drink. Some 570 people signed up for that first trip.[15]

Initially, Thomas Cook was concerned primarily with working men like himself. He wanted to provide them with a diversion that didn't involve liquor. In 1851 he urged men to join his tour to the London Exhibition:

> There are a number of you who ask, 'of what use and benefit would be a visit to us?' . . . I ask, of what use was your apprenticeship? Did it make you more useful members of society? . . . Such will be the difference betwixt the man who visits the Exhibition and he that does not – the one will be blind with his eyes open, and the other will enjoy the sight, and admire the skill and labour of his fellow-workmen of different parts of the globe.[16]

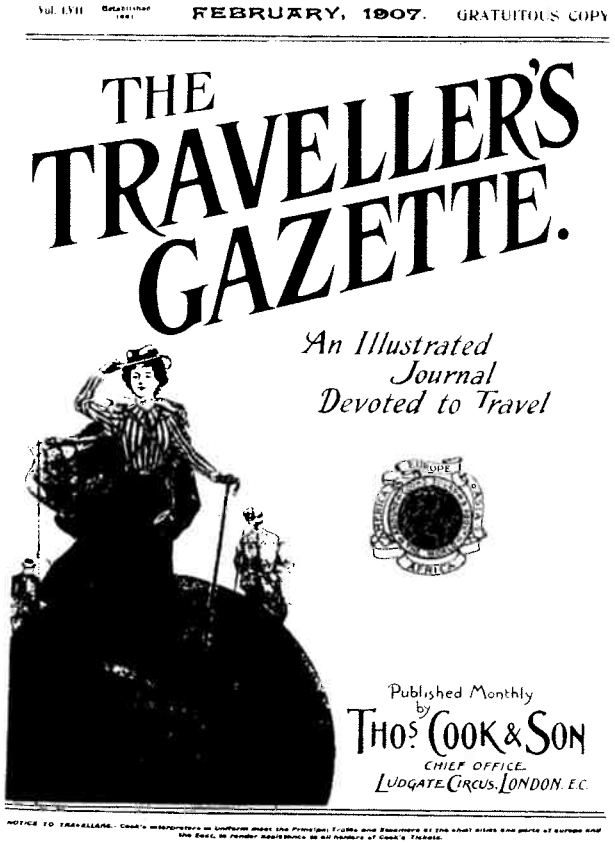
Only later did Cook come to realize that package tours might attract working men and their wives and children and eventually women traveling without a male member of the family By the 1850s Britain's

more adventurous middle-class women were beginning to earn their own income and to think about traveling for pleasure, if not to West Africa, at least to Germany. They still needed to safeguard their respectability in order to stay marriageable and so were looking for a chaperoned tour led by an honorable man. Thomas Cook, temperance advocate, offered precisely such a service. He only realized the business potential of respectable travel for women in 1855, after receiving a letter from four sisters – Matilda, Elizabeth, Lucilla and Marion Lincolne of Suffolk. The Lincolne sisters came from a large middle-class temperance family. Each of them had worked for wages when they were in their twenties and had income to spend on pleasure.[17] They had read about the beauties of the Rhine and the cities of the Continent, but how could they go?

> How could ladies alone and unprotected, go 600 or 700 miles away from home? However, after many pros and cons, the idea gradually grew on us and we found ourselves consulting guides, hunting in guide-books, reading descriptions, making notes, and corresponding with Mr. Cook . . . Tis true, we encountered some opposition – one friend declaring that it was improper for ladies to go alone – the gentleman thinking we were far too independent . . . But somehow or other one interview with Mr. Cook removed all our hesitation, and we forthwith placed ourselves under his care . . .
>
> Many of our friends thought us too independent and adventurous to leave the shores of old England, and thus plunge into foreign lands not beneath Victoria's sway with no protecting relative, but we can only say that we hope this will not be our last Excursion of the kind. We would venture anywhere with such a guide and guardian as Mr. Cook.[18]

Cook was so struck by Matilda and her sisters' letter that he began to run excerpts in his advertisements, making appeals directly to women. By 1907, the company's magazine, *Traveller's Gazette*, featured on its cover a vigorous young woman bestriding the globe.

Today the package tour holiday is a profitable commodity for some of the international economy's most successful companies. In Britain 40 per cent of the population cannot afford an annual holiday, but one third of the upper-middle class take two or more holidays a year. There are now 700 tour operators in Britain selling more than 12.5 million package holidays annually, worth £3.1 billion. While most of their customers pick



3 Cover of one of Thomas Cook's early holiday brochures, 1907 (Thomas Cook Archives, London)

the Mediterranean, British and continental tour companies are nudging clients to travel further afield – to North Africa, North America and the Caribbean.[19]

Japanese government officials are predicting that foreign travel will be one of that country's major growth industries in the 1990s. Although only 5 per cent of Japanese took holidays abroad in 1987, large tourist companies like JTB and Kinki Nippon Tourist Agency have already turned foreign travel into a $16 billion business. One third of Japanese overseas tourists today travel as part of a package tour. Most notorious are groups of businessmen traveling to South Korea, the Philippines and Thailand on sex tours. But the country's second largest tourist market is single working women: 18 per cent of all Japanese tourists. Their

favored destinations are the shops and beaches of Hong Kong, Hawaii and California.[20]

THE TOURISM FORMULA FOR DEVELOPMENT

From its beginnings, tourism has been a powerful motor for global integration. Even more than other forms of investment, it has symbolized a country's entrance into the world community. Foreign-owned mines, military outposts and museum explorations have drawn previously 'remote' societies into the international system, usually on unequal terms. Tourism entails a more politically potent kind of intimacy. For a tourist isn't expected to be very adventurous or daring, to learn a foreign language or adapt to local custom. Making sense of the strange local currency is about all that is demanded. Perhaps it is for this reason that international technocrats express such satisfaction when a government announces that it plans to promote tourism as one of its major industries. For such a policy implies a willingness to meet the expectations of those foreigners who want political stability, safety and congeniality when they travel. A government which decides to rely on money from tourism for its development is a government which has decided to be internationally compliant enough that even a woman traveling on her own will be made to feel at home there.

When mass tourism began to overtake élite travel following World War II, most travel occurred within and between North America and Western Europe. By the mid-1970s, 8 per cent of all tourists were North Americans and Europeans traveling on holiday to Third World countries. A decade later 17 per cent were.[21] Middle-class Canadians who a decade ago thought of going across the border to Cape Cod or Florida in search of holiday warmth are now as likely to head for the Bahamas. Their French counterparts are as apt to make Tunisia or Morocco rather than Nice their holiday destination. Scandinavians are choosing Sri Lanka or Goa instead of the Costa del Sol.

Third World officials and their European, American and Japanese bankers have become avid tourism boosters. Tourism is promoted today as an industry that can turn poor countries' very poverty into a magnet for sorely needed foreign currency. For to be a poor society in the late twentieth century is to be 'unspoilt'. Tourism is being touted as an alternative to the one-commodity dependency inherited from colonial rule. Foreign sun-seekers replace bananas. Hiltons replace sugar mills. Multinational corporations such as Gulf and Western or Castle and Cook convert their large landholdings into resorts or sell them off to developers. By the mid-1980s tourism had replaced sugar as the Dominican Republic's

top foreign-exchange earner. In Jamaica, tourism had outstripped bauxite as the leading earner of foreign exchange. Caribbean development officials are happily reporting that, with more than 10 million visitors a year, the region is outstripping its main tourism rivals, Hawaii and Mexico. But, they add reassuringly, all the new hotel construction isn't turning Caribbean islands into concrete jungles: 'Many of the islands are mainly wild and underpopulated, with room for many more hotels and resorts before their appeal is threatened.'[22]

In reality, tourism may be creating a new kind of dependency for poor nations. Today tourism represents 40,000 jobs for Tunisia and is the country's biggest foreign-currency earner. Countries such as Puerto Rico, Haiti, Nepal, Gambia and Mexico have put their development eggs in the tourism basket, spending millions of dollars from public funds to build the sorts of facilities that foreign tourists demand. Officials in these countries hope above all that tourism will get their countries out of debt. The international politics of debt and the international pursuit of pleasure have become tightly knotted together as we enter the 1990s.[23]

The indebted governments that have begun to rely on tourism include those which previously were most dubious about this as a route to genuine development, especially if 'development' is to include preservation of national sovereignty. Cuba, Tanzania, North Korea, Vietnam and Nicaragua all are being governed today by officials who have adopted a friendlier attitude toward tourism. They are being complimented and called 'pragmatic' by mainstream international observers because they are putting the reduction of international debt and the earning of foreign currency on the top of their political agenda.[24]

This belief in the logic of fueling development and economic growth with tourism underlies the full-page color advertisements in the Sunday supplements. Many of those ads luring travelers to sunny beaches and romantic ruins are designed and paid for by government tourist offices. Most of those bureaucratic agencies depend on femininity, masculinity and heterosexuality to make their appeals and achieve their goals. Local men in police or military uniforms and local women in colorful peasant dresses – or in very little dress at all – are the preferred images. The local men are militarized in their manliness; the local women are welcoming and available in their femininity. The Cayman Islands Department of Tourism ran an expensive advertisement in the *New York Times* 'Sophisticated Traveller' supplement in October 1987. It pictured a white couple on an expanse of sandy beach. Underneath were smaller snapshots of local life and tourist activities – the tourists were portrayed as white couples shopping, swimming, dining; the local people were uniformed men on parade and a single black woman smiling out at

the reader. Over her head ran the caption, 'Those who know us, love us.'

FLIGHT ATTENDANTS AND CHAMBERMAIDS

Singapore Airlines, a government company, runs a center-fold advertisement that shows an Asian woman of somewhat vague ethnicity. She could be Chinese, Indian or Malay. She stands in a misty, impressionistic setting, looking out at the reader demurely, holding a single water lily. There is no information about the airline's rates or safety record, just this message in delicate print: 'Singapore Girl . . . You're a great way to fly.'

On the oceans and in the skies: the international business travelers are men, the service workers are women. Flight attendants in the United States began organizing in the 1970s and won the right not to dress in uniforms that they believed turned them into airborne Playboy bunnies. But most women working today as flight attendants do not yet have the backing of strong trade unions. They are subject to their employers' desire for flight attendants to represent not only the airline company that employs them, but the feminine essence of their nation. For that distinctive femininity is a major attraction in the eyes of the flight attendant's employer and her government. 'When your business is business . . . our business is pleasure,' runs a Sri Lankan airline's advertisement.[25]

The airlines have taken their cues from the longer established ocean-liner companies. It was they who first used a racial and gendered division of labor to maximize profits while constructing a notion of leisure. Initially, ocean-liner crews were male, ranked by class and race. The white officers were to exude both competence and romance for passengers. The Indonesian, Filipino and other men of color serving in the dining rooms and below deck reflected a comforting global hierarchy while permitting the company to pay lower wages. Women crew members multiplied when company executives began to realize that their women passengers preferred to be waited on by women. Elaine Lang and Evelyn Huston were among the handful of British women who signed up to work on the *Empress of Scotland* in the 1930s, a time when shore jobs were hard to find. They worked as stewardesses, rising gradually in rank, but finding it impossible to break into the ship's all-male officer corps. Their best hope was to service first-class rather than steerage-class passengers: 'work and bed, work and bed, that's all it was.' Today hundreds of women are hired to work as service personnel in the burgeoning cruise-ship industry. 'Love Boat' is still kept afloat by a sexual division of labor.[26]

When people go on holiday they expect to be freed from humdrum domestic tasks. To be a tourist means to have someone else make your bed.

Thus chambermaids, waitresses and cooks are as crucial to the international tourism industry – and the official hopes that underpin it – as sugar workers and miners were to colonial industries. Still, a chambermaid seems different. Even a low-paid, over-worked male employee on a banana or sugar plantation has a machete, a sense of strength, a perception of his work as manly. Many nationalist movements have rallied around the image of the exploited male plantation worker; he has represented the denial of national sovereignty.

Nationalist leaders who have become alarmed at the tourism-dependent policies imposed by foreign bankers and their own governments have been reluctant to rally around the symbol of the oppressed chambermaid. Men in nationalist movements may find it easier to be roused to anger by the vision of a machete-swinging man transformed into a tray-carrying waiter in a white resort – he is a man who has had his masculine pride stolen from him. Caribbean nationalists have complained that their government's pro-tourism policies have turned their society into a 'nation of busboys'. 'Nation of chambermaids' doesn't seem to have the same mobilizing ring in their ears. After all, a woman who has traded work as an unpaid agricultural worker for work as a hotel cleaner hasn't lost any of her femininity.

In reality, tourism is not dependent on busboys. Tourism is what economists call a 'labor-intensive' industry. It requires construction crews, airplanes, gallons of frozen orange juice, and above all a high ratio of employees to paying customers; people who come as tourists need and expect a lot of service. As in other labor-intensive industries – garments, health and childcare, food processing and electronics assembly – owners make money and governments earn tax revenues to the extent that they can keep down the cost of wages and benefits of the relatively large numbers of workers they must hire.

Since the eighteenth century, employers have tried to minimize the cost of employing workers in labor-intensive industries by defining most jobs as 'unskilled' or 'low-skilled' – jobs, in other words, that workers naturally know how to do. Women in most societies are presumed to be naturally capable at cleaning, washing, cooking, serving. Since tourism companies need precisely those jobs done, they can keep their labor costs low if they can define those jobs as women's work. In the Caribbean in the early 1980s, 75 per cent of tourism workers were women.[27]

Hawaiians refer to the large hotels owned by Americans and Japanese as 'the new plantations': Caucasian men are the hotel managers, Hawaiian men and women the entertainers, Hawaiian men the coach drivers and Filipino women the chambermaids. In China, post-Mao officials, eager to attract foreign industry and foreign exchange, are approving the construction of new hotels within coastal zones set aside for electronics, textile and other

export factories, and are helping managers hire workers. Shenzhen's new Bamboo Garden Hotel employs 360 employees; 80 per cent are women.[28]

In the Philippines, where tourism under both the Marcos and Aquino regimes has been relied on to earn badly needed foreign exchange, the Manila Garden Hotel employs 500 workers; 300 are women. But there is something different here. Workers are represented by an independent union, the Philippines National Union of Workers in Hotels, Restaurants and Allied Industries, and equal numbers of women and men are union representatives. In the wake of the widespread political mobilization of women that helped to bring down the Marcos regime in 1986, women in the union created a Working Women's Council. Beth Valenzuela, a single mother working in the hotel's food department, is one of the Manila Garden Hotel's active women unionists. She told a Filipino reporter that she hoped to make the Women's Council a place where issues of particular importance to women hotel workers could be studied and discussed. It would also train women union members in public speaking and decision-making, skills that in the past 'have been jealously guarded by the men as their exclusive preserve'.[29]

In Britain, too, the Conservative government has been trumpeting tourism as a growth industry. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, tourist companies are creating 45,000 new jobs per year, especially in the depressed industrial areas of the North. A new museum is opening every two weeks: deserted steel mills are becoming part of the 'heritage industry'. But most tourism jobs are part-time, seasonal and provide little chance for advancement. This means that they are also likely to be filled by women. Nevertheless, some British critics of the tourism formula for economic revival seem less upset at the prospect of a British woman struggling on a part-time wage than at the idea of a former steel worker compromising his masculinity by taking a 'candy-floss job' at a theme park.[30]

SEX TOURISM IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Pat Bong is a neighborhood of Bangkok that caters to foreign men. There are 400,000 more women than men living in Bangkok, but male tourists outnumber female tourists by three to one. Pat Bong's urban landscape makes the census figures come alive. Although the government passed a Prostitution Prohibition Act in 1960, six years later it undercut that ban by passing an Entertainment Places Act, which had enough loopholes to encourage coffee shops and restaurants to add prostitution to their menus. Thus today Pat Bong is crowded with discos, bars and massage parlors. In the early 1980s, it was estimated that Bangkok had 119 massage parlors, 119 barbershop-cum-massage parlors and teahouses, 97 nightclubs, 248

disguised brothels and 394 disco-restaurants, all of which sold sexual companionship to male customers. Some of the women who work here as prostitutes have migrated from the countryside where agricultural development projects have left them on the margins; other women are second, even third generation prostitutes increasingly cut off from the rest of Thai society. A woman working in a Bangkok massage parlor can earn an average of 5,000 baht per month; wages in non-entertainment jobs open to women average a paltry 840 baht per month. Marriage to a foreigner frequently appears to be the only avenue out of Pat Bong, but it too can prove illusory:

> [She] had lived with an English man working as a technician on an oil rig. But he left her and went back to England. She said she was not working when she was with him, but returned to her job after some months since he failed to send her money and it was impossible for her to keep such an expensive flat. 'What else can I do? After all, these men are good business.'[31]

Sex tourism is not an anomaly; it is one strand of the gendered tourism industry. While economists in industrialized societies presume that the 'service economy', with its explosion of feminized job categories, follows a decline in manufacturing, policy-makers in many Third World countries have been encouraged by international advisers to develop service sectors *before* manufacturing industries mature. Bar hostesses before automobile workers, not after.[32]

A network of local and foreign companies encourages men – especially from North America, Western Europe, Japan, the Middle East and Australia – to travel to Third World countries specifically to purchase the sexual services of local women. The countries that have been developed as the destinations for sex tourists include those which have served as 'rest and recreation' sites for the American military: Thailand, South Korea, the Philippines. Nearby Indonesia and Sri Lanka also have received sex tourists. Goa, a coastal state of India, is among the newest regions to be targeted by sex tourism's promoters. Local laws explicitly prohibiting prostitution are often ignored, not only by pimps and bar owners, but by India's police and tourism officials as well.[33]

To succeed, sex tourism requires Third World women to be economically desperate enough to enter prostitution; having done so it is made difficult to leave. The other side of the equation requires men from affluent societies to imagine certain women, usually women of color, to be more available and submissive than the women in their own countries. Finally, the industry depends on an alliance between local governments in search

of foreign currency and local and foreign businessmen willing to invest in sexualized travel.

> Thailand is a world full of extremes and the possibilities are unlimited. Anything goes in this exotic country, especially when it comes to girls. Still it appears to be a problem for visitors to Thailand to find the right places where they can indulge in unknown pleasures . . . Rosie [Rosie Reisen, a West German travel company] has done something about this. For the first time in history you can book a trip to Thailand with exotic pleasures included in the price.[34]

In 1986 Thailand earned more foreign currency from tourism – $1.5 billion – than it did from any other economic activity including its traditional export leader, rice. The Thai government's Sixth National Economic and Social Development Plan for 1978–1991 makes 'tourism and exports' its top priority. In pursuing this goal Thai officials want to increase the numbers of tourists (2.7 million came in 1986), but also to alter the mix, especially to get Japanese men, who now stay an average of only four days, to stay longer.[35]

Sex tourism is part of the domestic and international political system. And changes are now occurring both within and between countries that could radically alter the sex tourism industry: AIDS; official nationalism; Asian and African feminist movements; and international alliances between feminist organizations.

By October 1987 Thai tourism officials had become alarmed at the sharp drop in the numbers of single male visitors to the beach resort of Pattaya. After Bangkok, Pattaya was the favored destination for foreign male tourists. The number of Middle Eastern men had declined to such an extent that Pattaya's VD clinics, which advertise in Arabic as well as English, had begun to see a fall in clients. Initially, the Thai government was reluctant to talk about AIDS. Like other governments dependent on tourism and on sex tourism in particular, public admission of AIDS was seen as damaging to the economy and national pride. Then, once acknowledged, officials set about compelling women working in bars and massage parlors in Pattaya and Bangkok to take tests for the HIV virus. Government health officials were pressed by government tourism officials to co-operate. By mid-1987 only six people, five Thais and one foreigner, had died of AIDS according to official statistics. Most of the other twenty-five people reported by the government as having been infected with the virus and developing AIDS-related symptoms were categorized by the government as homosexual men and drug addicts. Female prostitutes are the group that most worried Thai officials. Bureaucrats began

talking of building more golf courses. If foreign men began to avoid Thai women there had to be an alternative attraction. But little was said of the poor women who have taken jobs in the sex industry because they have had to leave the Thai countryside for lack of land and decently paid waged work.[36]

Empower and Friends of Women are two of the Thai women's organizations formed in the 1980s to fill the gaps left by uninterested policy-makers and investors. Each group works directly with women in the sex-tourism industry, providing English lessons so that the women can deal on a more equal footing with their clients. They publish and distribute cartoon brochures informing women about AIDS. Most recently they have begun efforts to work with Thai women who have traveled to Europe to work as entertainers or to marry as mail-order brides.[37]

Feminist groups in the Philippines have had a better political opening for making sex tourism a national political issue. The overthrow of the authoritarian and export-oriented regime of Ferdinand Marcos in 1986 made the government's entire development formula vulnerable to popular scrutiny. Marcos and his advisors, with encouragement from foreign banks and technical consultants, had viewed tourism as a primary building block of development. The regime had used the reputed beauty and generosity of Filipino women as 'natural resources' to compete in the international tourism market. The result was that by the mid-1980s, 85 per cent of tourists visiting the country were men, and sex tourism had become crucial to the government's economic survival. While many outside observers focussed their attention on the prostitution that had grown up around the large American bases in the Philippines, some Filipino feminists noted that there were many more women working as prostitutes in Manila's tourist establishments.

Another evening is starting in the history of the international political system:

> Rows of taxis, cars and minibuses pull up behind a number of Manila hotels. Long lines of women pass the guards and enter a private door, sign a book, hand over their identification cards and take a private elevator to one of the special floors designated for prostitution. . .
>
> The woman goes to her assigned room; if the man is out she waits in the corridor . . . [A prostitute] may not be taken to any public area of the hotel, all food and drink orders must be by room service. Hotels charge a $10 'joiners fee' for the privilege of taking a woman to a room . . .

Before breakfast the next day the women collect their IDs and leave.[38]

When Corazon Aquino replaced Ferdinand Marcos as president, Filipino women activists pressed the new regime to give up sex tourism as a development strategy. Aquino herself was not a feminist, but she had made restoration of the nation's dignity a central theme in her political campaign. As president, she took steps to change the Tourism Ministry's leadership and policies. The new minister brought a tour of Japanese women to the Philippines in order to demonstrate that the government was making the country a more wholesome tourist destination. But when Aquino authorized police to make raids on establishments in Ermita, Manila's infamous entertainment district, feminists were alarmed. The policy was not devised in consultation with women's groups such as Gabriela. Women working in the industry were not asked about the causes or likely consequences of such a heavy-handed approach. No steps were taken by the government to provide alternative livelihoods for the women working as dancers, hostesses and masseurs. In the name of cleaning up the city, washing away the degeneracy of the Marcos years, police arrested hundreds of women. Virtually no pimps, businessmen or male clients were jailed.[39]

Several Filipino feminist groups have created drop-in centers in those areas where prostitution is concentrated. They acknowledge that there are class barriers to be overcome in these new relationships between women in prostitution and women in political organizations. Filipino women activists, including a number of feminist nuns, have tried to avoid moralism. To provide a place to meet other prostitutes outside of the bars, to allow women to sort out together the conditions that pull Filipino women into prostitution, to provide practical information on AIDS, VD and contraception – these are feminists' first objectives. Yet the lack of the substantial resources it takes to offer prostitutes realistic job alternatives has been frustrating. Learning handicrafts may provide a woman working in Ermita or on the fringes of an American military base with a new sense of confidence or self-worth, but it doesn't pay the rent or support a child. 'When it comes to income-generating alternatives, we don't think we offer anything because we are up against so much. Economically we cannot give them anything.'[40]

Filipino feminists refuse to discuss prostitution or sex tourism in a vacuum. They insist that all analyses and organizational strategies should tie sex tourism to the issues of Philippines nationalism, land reform and demilitarization. Nowadays, they argue, sex tourism must also be understood in relation to Filipinas' migration overseas.

Migration as entertainers and as brides to foreign men has been the latest step in making world travel different for men than for women. Men in Scandinavia, West Germany, Australia, Britain, the United States and Japan now want to have access to Third World women not just in Third

World tourism centers; they want to enjoy their services at home. Thus feminist organizations in Thailand, South Korea and the Philippines are having to make alliances with women in Europe, North America and Japan in order to protect women in the international tourism/entertainment/marriage industry. Thai feminist social workers go to West Germany to investigate the conditions Thai women encounter there; Filipino feminists travel to Japan to take part in meetings organized by Japanese feminists concerned about Filipinas recruited to work in discos and bars, women now referred to as 'japayukisan'; South Korean feminists fly to New York to attend a conference on international prostitution to urge American women activists to think and organize internationally.[41]

CONCLUSION

Tourism is not just about escaping work and drizzle; it is about power, increasingly internationalized power. That tourism is not discussed as seriously by conventional political commentators as oil or weaponry may tell us more about the ideological construction of 'seriousness' than about the politics of tourism.

Government and corporate officials have come to depend on international travel for pleasure in several ways. First, over the last forty years they have come to see tourism as an industry that can help diversify local economies suffering from reliance on one or two products for export. Tourism is embedded in the inequalities of international trade, but is often tied to the politics of particular products such as sugar, bananas, tea and copper. Second, officials have looked to tourism to provide them with foreign currency, a necessity in the ever more globalized economies of both poor and rich countries. Third, tourism development has been looked upon as a spur to more general social development; the 'trickle down' of modern skills, new technology and improved public services is imagined to follow in the wake of foreign tourists. Fourth, many government officials have used the expansion of tourism to secure the political loyalty of local élites. For instance, certain hotel licences may win a politician more strategic allies today than a mere civil-service appointment. Finally, many officials have hoped that tourism would raise their nations' international visibility and even prestige.

Many of these hopes have been dashed. Yet tourism continues to be promoted by bankers and development planners as a means of making the international system less unequal, more financially sound and more politically stable. A lot is riding on sun, surf and souvenirs.

From the Roman empire to the eighteenth century European grand tour, the rise of Cooks Tours and Club Med, travel for pleasure and

adventure has been profoundly gendered. Without ideas about masculinity and femininity – and the enforcement of both – in the societies of departure and the societies of destination, it would be impossible to sustain the tourism industry and its political agenda in their current form. It is not simply that ideas about pleasure, travel, escape, bed-making and sexuality have affected women in rich and poor countries. The very structure of international tourism *needs* patriarchy to survive. Men's capacity to control women's sense of their security and self-worth has been central to the evolution of tourism politics. It is for this reason that actions by feminists – as airline stewardesses, hotel workers, prostitutes, wives of businessmen and organizers of alternative tours for women – should be seen as political, internationally political.

Movements which upset any of the patterns in today's international tourist industry are likely to upset one of the principal pillars of contemporary world power. Such a realization forces one to take a second look at the Portuguese woman on her ladder picking olives, smiling for the postcard photographer. She has the potential for reshaping the international political order. What is behind her smile?