Gender and Human Security: The Challenges Facing Canada's Human Security Policy

By

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts

Department of Political Science
BROCK UNIVERSITY
St. Catharines, Ontario

June 2002

*In memory of my father, Murray MacLeod,
a wonderful man who taught me to strive
for greatness and excellence.*

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface

Preface

During the 1980's and for much of the 1990's, many countries in the Asia Pacific were renowned for their economic development and prosperity. The Asian tigers were a source of great interest for many economists and international investors. The 1997 Asian financial crisis, however, dramatically altered the growth and the performance of these economies. The crisis sent several of Asia's best performing economies on a downward spiral from which many have yet to fully recover. The crisis exposed the financial and the political weaknesses of many countries in the region. Moreover, the crisis severely affected the well-being and the security of many of the region's citizens.

This text will examine the economic crisis in greater detail and explore current debates in the study of international relations theory. More specifically, this paper will examine recent challenges posed to traditional international relations theory and address alternative approaches to this field of study. This paper will examine Critical theory and its role in shifting the referent object of security from the state to the individual. In this context, this paper will also assess Critical theory's role in enabling such issues as gender and human security to find a place on the agendas of international relations scholars and foreign policy makers. The central focus of this study will be the financial crisis and its impact on human security in the Southeast Asia. Furthermore, this paper will assess the recovery efforts of the domestic governments, international organizations and various Canadian sponsored initiatives in the context of human security.

International relations scholars and foreign policy makers
have witnessed many changes in the study of international
politics. In recent years, new challenges have been posed to
traditional theoretical approaches and new paradigms have been
developed and articulated. In the dynamic and changing discipline
of international relations, human security is one topic that has
attracted the attention of scholars and policy makers.

What is human security?

Human security is a widely contested concept. Great debates
exist among scholars and policy makers about how best to
conceptualize the notion. Given the questions that surround the
conceptualization of human security, a variety of approaches to
human security have been articulated. These different perceptions
will be addressed in the following chapter. For now it is
important to note that among the various understandings of human
security, common elements can be ascertained. For example, it is
generally accepted that at the most basic level human security
addresses the physical well-being and safety of the individual.
The acknowledgment of an individual's rights and freedoms is
another feature of all human security conceptualizations.
Moreover, at its root, human security also considers the financial
and economic concerns of the individual and the social environment
in which the individual lives.[1]

The Canadian government strives to be a great proponent of

---

[1]Fen Osler Hampson, Jean Daudelin, John B. Hay, Holly Reid
and Todd Martin, Madness in the Multitude Human Security and
World Disorder,(Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press,

human security. The government has conceptualized a specific understanding of the notion and has made human security an objective on its foreign policy agenda.[2] Building on the general articulation of human security outlined above, the Canadian government asserts that security is a broad concept that focuses on an individual's essential needs with regard to basic survival. Inherent within the Canadian approach to human security is an endorsement for an acceptable quality of life for all individuals. The protection of individual human rights is also a central focus of the Canadian approach to human security.[3]

Moreover, Canadian human security policy emphasizes the importance of societies in contributing to the overall security of the individual. Ultimately, human security, according to Canadian policy, involves the establishment and maintenance of civil societies[4]; communities that follow the rule of law, implement good governance, emphasize social equity, foster economic development and acknowledge and respect the individual's fundamental human rights.[5]

2002), 3.

[2]For the Canadian articulation of human security please see, Freedom from Fear: Canada's Foreign Policy for Human Security [online]; available from www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/ foreignp/ HumanSecurity/HumanSecurityBooklet-e.asp. Internet Accessed 10 October 2000.

[3]Lloyd Axworthy, "Canada and human security: the need for leadership", International Journal (Spring 1997): 84.

[4]Edna Keeble, "Gender and Security: Making the Connection", Cancaps Papier no.14 (September 1997): 2.

[5]Axworthy, 184.

The logic behind the Canadian conceptualization of human security is that when an individual's basic needs are not satisfied, when one is hungry, impoverished, unemployed, or living in unacceptable conditions and denied one's basic human rights, the potential for violence and conflict increases. Human security builds on the notion that when violence and conflict arise, the security of the individual, the state and the international community is compromised. Human security delineates how the concerns of individuals are important to the maintenance of peace and security and human security propagates the notion that "lasting stability cannot be achieved until human security is guaranteed."[6] Ultimately, human security conceptualizations place the needs and interests of the individual above the needs and concerns of the state.[7]

Given the international community's inability to find a shared understanding and approach to human security, different conceptualizations have been put into practice. The United Nations, for example, approaches the issue of human security in a different manner than the Canadian government. Essentially, the United Nations assesses human security in terms of improving social conditions for human development. Canada, while acknowledging the importance of development concerns in terms of human security, has chosen to focus on and emphasize human

[6]Axworthy, 184.

[7]Hampson et al., 5.

security in the context of threats to individual security generated by conflicts within states. It has been argued that Canada is critical of the United Nations for endorsing the development approach to human security while neglecting the fundamental threats to individual security that occur during times of violence and conflict.[8] It is the Canadian approach to human security that will be examined and assessed in greater detail in this paper.

Human security is a useful and important concept because it attracts attention to factors previously ignored in examinations of international politics. However, the current Canadian conceptualization of human security generates many questions. One concern with the notion of human security is its ambiguity. Who are the referent objects of the concept? It is obvious the concept is intended to focus on individuals, but what specific individuals? Are all individuals the same? Do all citizens of the world share similar concerns? A policy that addresses the role of the individual in international politics has great potential. Such a concept generates an opportunity for the academic and policy-making communities to address issues that affect a variety of individuals. However, if human security conceptualizations do not acknowledge the different lives and experiences of individuals, the conceptualizations are likely to marginalize certain groups of individuals and privilege others.

---

[8]Amitav Acharya, "Human Security in Asia Pacific: Puzzle, Panacea or Peril?" Cancaps Bulletin no.27 (November 2000): 1.

By not differentiating among groups of individuals, and therefore, in essence, considering all individuals alike, the benefits of the above stated potential is largely negated.

More specifically, concern is raised with the existing conceptualization of human security propagated by the Canadian government with regard to the concept's lack of acknowledgement of gender issues. The existing conceptualization makes only a brief reference to gender and concerns that are relative in the lives of women. The Canadian foreign policy document, Freedom from Fear: Canada's Foreign Policy for Human Security, asserts "...women confront risks, challenges, opportunities and obstacles in situations of armed conflict and in the context of post-conflict peacebuilding."[9] The document goes on to suggest that efforts will be taken to ensure that Canadian peacekeepers have training to raise awareness and heighten sensitivity to conflict situations as they pertain to women.[10] What about the "risks, challenges, opportunities and obstacles" uniquely faced by women around the world on a daily basis? Do these situations not warrant attention and consideration?

The Canadian conceptualization of human security

[9]Freedom From Fear: Canada's Foreign Policy for Human Security, (Ottawa: Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade) [online]; available from www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/foreignp/HumanSecurity/HumanSecurityBooklet-e.asp Internet Accessed 10 October 2000.

[10]Ibid., www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/foreignp/HumanSecurity/HumanSecurityBooklet-e.asp.

does not specifically address the unique concerns and insecurities faced by women in the world on a daily basis. The failure of the current conceptualization to address women and gender issues leaves one to question if these issues and concerns are important to the Canadian advocates of human security. If women's issues are a concern for those who advocate human security, why does the concept not specifically address these issues? Moreover, one is left to question if the concept is capable of addressing a diverse set of gender issues and concerns. What needs to be done to ensure gender issues are addressed in situations where human security is a concern? How can gender issues be incorporated into human security conceptualizations? It is the goal of this paper to further explore these issues in the context of Canadian human security policy.

As the following case study on the 1997 Asian financial crisis will demonstrate, women's experiences differed from the experiences of men during the financial turmoil. The financial crisis affected the security of both men and women in Southeast Asia. The issues that generated insecurity were, however, in many instances, different for men and women. Therefore, given these different experiences it is imperative that human security, a concept developed to focus on the individual, address the specific issues and unique concerns of both men and women in a society.

By examining the crisis and the response of the Canadian government, this paper will demonstrate that gender awareness and gender analysis are critical elements missing from

the Canadian response to the Asian financial crisis and are critical issues missing from Canada's human security agenda. Furthermore, this paper will demonstrate that Canada's approach to human security struggles to adequately address the numerous human security concerns that plague the international community.

An Overview of the Case Study: The Asian Financial Crisis

The recent economic crisis in Southeast Asia provides a useful context to further examine issues of human security. Many of the region's citizens suffered job losses, deteriorated social services, increased costs of basic necessities, weakened currencies and escalating social strife. Ultimately, the economic crisis generated a social crisis and grave human insecurity in the region.[11]

Southeast Asia was a region known for rapid economic development and prosperity. However, the development and the affluence of the countries in this region deteriorated with the advent of the 1997 financial crisis. The crisis started in Thailand after the national government allowed the country's currency, the baht, to float. This decision had severe ramifications that affected the whole region. The currencies of

---

[11]Greater depth with regard to the causes and consequences of the financial crisis will be examined in the following chapters. For a basic overview of the financial crisis see, Tran Van Hoa, The Asia Crisis The Cures, their Effectiveness and the Prospects After,(Great Britain: MacMillan Press Ltd., 2000) and H.W Arndt and Hal Hill, Southeast Asia's Economic Crisis Origins, Lessons, and the Way Forward (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1999).

Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines were soon implicated.[12] By
the end of 1997, Indonesia, South Korea and Thailand had reached
such financial turmoil the countries had to turn to the
International Monetary Fund (IMF) for aid.[13] In August of 1997,
Thailand received an IMF bailout of $17 billion dollars. In
October, Indonesia received a package close to $40 billion and in
December of the same year, South Korea acquired the largest loan,
totaling $57 billion.[14]

. The financial turmoil exposed deficiencies in these nation's
financial systems that had not been acknowledged during the times
of prosperity. Many different causes for the crisis have been
delineated and debated.   The debated causes for the crisis
include: 1) the region's banks had over-extended themselves by
contributing to projects that were essentially unwanted and
unneeded and 2) businesses depended too heavily on foreign
investments that decreased and terminated when the economies
started to have difficulty. Moreover, the crisis also exposed the
corrupt practices and crony politics of the Southeast Asian

---

[12]Jonathon Sprague, "AsiaWeek 1997 Twelve months of turning
points: The end of an era the real question is whether Asian
economies are ready to start anew," AsiaWeek 26 December 1997,
[Online]; available from www.pathfinder.com/asiaweek/ 97/1226/
ye14.html; Internet accessed 30 November 1998.

[13]"Shocks of '97 How to get Asia out of the Emergency Ward,"
Asiaweek, 26 December 1997, [Online]; available from
www.pathfinder.com/asiaweek/97/1226/ed1.html; Internet accessed
30 November 1998.

[14]Sprague, www.pathfinder.com/asiaweek/97/1226/ye14.html.

governments and corporations.[15]

The financial crisis, however, did not only affect the region's governments and businesses. It also severely implicated the region's citizens. Many individuals lost their jobs and the increased unemployment escalated poverty levels in the affected countries. The crisis also exacerbated food shortages, caused riots, prompted cutbacks in education and health care and created pharmaceutical deficiencies.[16] Concerns have been expressed about rising crime levels and an increase in drug dealing and prostitution. Moreover, the attempt to lay blame for the crisis has led to ethnic "scapegoating" and increased violence against ethnic groups and minorities.[17]

From this brief overview, it is clear the Asian financial crisis has generated severe social problems in the affected countries. Moreover, these social problems have created concerns regarding human security in the region. The following sections will examine the crisis in more detail. The examinations will focus on Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia, the Southeast Asian countries most affected by the financial contagion.

---

[15]"Shocks of '97 How to get Asia out of the Emergency Ward," Asiaweek, 26 December 1997, [Online]; available from www.pathfinder.com/asiaweek/97/1226/ed1.htm; Internet accessed 30 November 1998.

[16] Noeleen Heyzer and Martin Khor, "The Asian Financial Crisis: Causes, Consequences and Ways Forward," Development Forum Speaker's Corner, [Online]; available from www.worldbank.org/devforum/speaker-heyzer.html; 30 November 1998.

[17] Michael Vatikiotis, "No Safety Net," Far Eastern Economic

Beyond suffering the greatest consequences of the crisis, these countries were selected because they provide an opportunity to examine issues of human security. All three countries had experienced rapid economic development in the years preceding the crisis. The economic development, in turn, had generated improved social conditions. However, the new social conditions and improved living conditions were very precarious. The social conditions were not supported by any official government safety net.. Therefore, with the deepening of the crisis and the deterioration of the existing social conditions, many individuals were left in an insecure state without any recourse or support. In essence, the citizens in these countries lived in post-crisis conditions that threatened their security.

The following chapter will address the theoretical approaches to international security and international relations in greater detail. The evolution of realism, liberalism, critical theory, feminism and human security will be outlined. The ultimate goal of the chapter is to profile the various theoretical approaches to international relations and to highlight the place of human security in this field of study.

The first section of the following chapter examines the crisis in Thailand. The reasons why the Thai economy was affected by the crisis are discussed. The social impact of the crisis is examined and issues relating to unemployment, weak social programs, inflation, and reduced government spending are

Review, 161 no.41 (October 8, 1998), 10-11.

scrutinized. An analysis of the crisis from a gender perspective is also a central element of this chapter. The role of the international community and its contributions to Thailand's recovery is put forth as well as a gender analysis of these recovery initiatives. Finally, this section will discuss the impact of the crisis and the recovery initiatives on human security in Thailand.

Following the discussion on Thailand, the paper examines the crisis in Malaysia. Attention will be given to how and why Malaysia was implicated in the regional financial turmoil. The social impact of the crisis will be examined and a gendered analysis of the impact will be outlined. Attention will also be drawn to the initiatives of the Malaysian government and international organizations in facilitating Malaysia's recovery from the crisis. The level of gender awareness in these endeavours will be examined. The final section of this case study will include a discussion on how human security in Malaysia was affected by the crisis. This section will also address the role of international organizations in improving security in the country.

Following Malaysia, the paper will provide an overview of the crisis in Indonesia. This examination will review the causes for the crisis in the country and examine how the Indonesian government approached the country's financial problems. Following, is an examination of the social impact of the crisis along with a gender analysis of the impact. The recovery

initiatives of the Indonesian government and the contributions from international organizations will be examined and assessed and for their utility in regard to helping the people of Indonesia. The last section of this case study will assess the impact of the crisis with regard to human security in Indonesia. This section will also address the role of international organizations and their contributions towards improving the security of Indonesia's population.

. The following chapter will address Canada's role in the crisis and assess Canada's contributions to the nations most affected by the economic turmoil. Given the importance of human security on Canada's foreign policy agenda, Canada's contributions will be examined and assessed for their value with regard to improving human security in the Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia. Moreover, attention will be given to the level of gender awareness in the Canadian recovery initiatives.

The final chapter will offer a reflection on human security and gender. The goal of the reflection is to assess whether these two concepts are compatible. It is hypothesized that the case studies will demonstrate that women have different concerns than men with regard to security. The case studies will also demonstrate that the recovery initiatives of the domestic governments, the international organizations and Canada do not accurately account for the different experiences of men and women during the crisis. Therefore, this chapter will assess why these differences cannot be ignored and why gender should be included in

human security conceptualizations. More specifically, this chapter will ascertain why gender should be an inherent part of Canada's human security policy and Canadian foreign policy. This chapter will also offer a number of policy prescriptions with regard to the crisis, the recovery and Canadian foreign policy with regard to human security and gender.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THEORY: THE PATH FROM REALISM TO HUMAN SECURITY

The study of international relations has been influenced by a variety of theoretical approaches. Traditional theories such as Realism and Liberalism have been at the heart of international political studies while non-traditional theories, including Critical theory and Feminist approaches, have more recently attracted the attention of international relations scholars. The following section will provide an overview of the most prominent theoretical traditions in the field of international relations. Particular attention will be given to feminism, gender and human security and the place of these notions in the examination of international politics.

Realism

The study of international relations has been dominated by the precepts and prescriptions of Realism.[18] At the most basic level, Realists are concerned with the struggle for power among states in the international system. One of the founding fathers of Realism, Hans Morgenthau, states "international politics, like

---

[18]The canon of Realism is often defined by reference to the work of Hans J Morgenthau. For greater elaboration of the principles of realism, see Hans J. Morgenthau, <u>Politics among Nations The Struggle for Power and Peace</u>(New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1950). Also see, E.H. Carr, <u>The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations,</u> 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1962) and John Mearsheimer, <u>The Tragedy of Great Power Politics</u> (New York, New York: W.W. Norton & Company Inc., 2002).

all politics, is a struggle for power"[19]. Realists believe that the struggle for power in international politics is a result of human nature and the individual's intrinsic desire to rule. Given that the struggle for power is a constant in the international system and a result of inherent human characteristics, Realists are not optimistic about the eventual cessation of war and conflict and the creation of an international peace.[20]

.Moreover, the desire of all international actors to acquire and maintain power leads to the development of a necessary and inevitable structure according to Realists. This structure is termed the balance of power.[21] The balance of power in international politics consists of each nation attempting to inhibit and prevent other nations from affecting and obstructing the state's freedom and independence.[22] For Morgenthau, the balance of power in the international arena is an equilibrium an "...essential stabilizing factor in a society of sovereign nations..."[23]. Ultimately, the balance of power generates a precarious stability, in need of constant readjustment, within interstate relations that enables the existence and the autonomy

---

[19]Morgenthau, 13.

[20]Stephen M. Walt, "International Relations: One World, Many Theories", Foreign Policy (Spring 1998): 30.

[21]Morgenthau, 125.

[22]Ibid., 131.

[23]Ibid., 125.

of the various states in the international society.[24]

Classical realists such as Morgenthau focus on the state as the primary actor in international politics. The work of Neo-Realists, led by Kenneth Waltz, however, expand on this premise and consider the significance and influence of other factors in international relations. The individual, the state, and the international state system, what Waltz considers the three images of international politics, are central elements in his analysis.[25] It is the examination of the international system, however, that largely differentiates the Neo-realists from the Classical Realists.

The international state system, according to the Neo-realists, is a system of sovereign and autonomous states with no rules governing interaction and behavior. Essentially, the system is anarchic. In this system each state acts according to "...its own reason or desires..."[26]. Consequently, under such circumstances the potential for conflict and war is high. Given, the conditions of the international system, Waltz contends that states must be vigilant in protecting their own interests and "...rely on [their] own devices..." for survival.[27] However, Waltz also asserts that

---

[24]Ibid., 131.

[25] For greater elaboration on the contribution of neo-realism to the study of international relations see, Kenneth Waltz, Man, the State and War. A theoretical analysis (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959).

[26] Ibid., 159.

[27] Ibid., 159.

each state must be aware that the decisions it makes and the endeavours it pursues are "...limited by the actions of all others"[28] in the system. Ultimately, the goals a state pursues may be affected and prohibited by the goals and actions of another state in the system. Peace is found within in an anarchic system when the cost of generating conflict is higher than the benefits received.[29] The costs and benefits of going to war are largely influenced by the distribution of military power within the system.[30]

With the end of the Cold War and the subsequent changes in the international system, many critics believed Realism had lost its utility in the study of international relations. Essentially, the examinations of power politics and balances of power were thought to be unnecessary with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the failure of Communism. Realists such a John Mearsheimer, however, cautioned against making such hasty assertions. In his article, Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War, Mearsheimer revitalizes Realism by arguing why Realist prescriptions and notions are still valid in the post Cold War environment.[31]

---

[28] Ibid., 204.

[29] Ibid., 12.

[30] Ibid., 13.

[31] For greater elaboration see, John Mearsheimer, "Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War", International Security, Vol. 15, no.1 (Summer 1990): 5-56.

Mearsheimer warns that the end of the Cold War could signal a time "...more prone to violence than the last 45 years."[32] He bases his assertion on the notion that "...the distribution and character of military power are the root causes of war and peace."[33] Mearsheimer contends the peace in Europe since the end of the Second World War was largely a result of factors generated by the Cold War. These factors include: the bipolarity in Europe in terms of military power, the parity of military power between the two opposing poles, and the fact that each of the contending powers possessed nuclear weapons. Therefore, with the end of the Cold War and the alleviation of these conditions, Mearsheimer contends a multipolar system will develop in Europe; a system that is by its very nature more inclined to conflict and uncertainty.[34]

Liberal Internationalism

The basic premises of Liberal Internationalism were developed by eighteenth and nineteenth century philosophers examining the prospects of "...a peaceful world order."[35] Over time, however, the study of Liberalism expanded and various strands of this approach were developed and articulated.[36] In essence, Liberalism is an

---

[32]Mearsheimer, 6.

[33]Ibid., 6.

[34]Mearsheimer, 7.

[35]Scott Burchill, "Liberal Internationalism", in Theories of International Relations,Scott Burchill and Andrew Linklater(New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996),31.

[36]For greater elaboration of Liberal International theory

alternative approach to the study of international politics that is in direct contention with the views propagated by Realists. At the heart of this approach to international politics is the belief that war and conflict are the result of bellicose authoritarian and totalitarian regimes.[37] Liberal theorists do not accept the notion that war and conflict are a natural part of the human condition. Rather, these theorists assert that such events are a tenuous and artificial expedient generated by certain regimes to further their own goals and interests. Given the belief that war and conflict are unnatural, Liberal adherents assert that these evils can be eradicated. The key to the alleviation of war and conflict according to Liberalism is the promotion of democratic ideals and free trade.[38]

Ultimately, Liberalism posits war and conflict will cease with the generation of more Liberal states in the international system; states that value electoral representation, individual

---

please see Mark W. Zacher and Richard A. Matthew, "Liberal International Theory: Common Threads, Divergent Strands", in Controversies in International Relations Theory Realism and the Neoliberal Challenge, by Charles W. Kegley, JR. (New York: St Martin's Press, 1995), 107-150. In this article Zacher and Matthew examine the following strands of Liberal International theory: Republican liberalism, Interdependence liberalism, Cognitive liberalism, Sociological liberalism, and Institutional liberalism.

[37]Michael W. Doyle, Ways of War and Peace Realism, Liberalism, and Socialism (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1997), 205-06.

[38]Burchill, 31.

rights and freedoms, civil liberties and private possessions.[39] Liberal theorists, such as Michael Doyle, believe the prospect for international peace is enhanced through the creation of democratic states because democracies have a unique ability to maintain peaceful relations with one another. Building on Immanuel Kant's notion of the "foedus pacificum"[40], Doyle asserts democratic states have in essence created "…a separate peace…"[41]. Moreover, Doyle asserts, that wars are less likely to be generated by leaders of democratic states because the citizens who elect the leaders "…bear the burdens of war…" and thereby make public acceptance of war unlikely.[42]

Liberal theorists also consider the expansion of free trade to be an important element in the alleviation of war and conflict.[43] Essentially, Liberals theorists contend that many of

---

[39]Doyle, 206.

[40]Foedus pacificum also considered a "league of peace" is a notion propagated by Immanuel Kant. Kant's league or federation required states to enter into agreements with one another to work together towards the common goals of security and freedom. The ultimate end of this league was to involve all of the states in the international system so to generate a "perpetual peace". For further explanation see, Immanuel Kant, Perpetual Peace and Other Essays, trans. Ted Humphrey (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 1983), 117.

[41]Michael Doyle, "Liberalism and World Politics" American Political Science Review (December 1986): 1156.

[42]Doyle (1997), 206.

[43]This strand of liberal theory, according to Michael Doyle, is known as Commercial Pacifism or Commercial Liberalism according to Zacher and Matthew. For greater elaboration see Michael W. Doyle(1997), 230-250 and Zacher and Matthew, 124-126.

the wars fought throughout history have been a result of mercantalist goals and the desire of states and leaders to increase wealth. Free trade, however, will enhance state prosperity, according to Liberal theory and will, therefore, reduce the need of states to pursue mercantalist policies. The expansion of free trade will thus reduce the opportunity and need for conflict and war.[44] Moreover, through the spread of free trade, Liberals anticipate international leaders will recognize the material benefits from maintaining peace are greater than the benefits of war and conflict. Ultimately, Liberal theory contends state leaders involved in free trade agreements will be less inclined to go to war for fear of disrupting the country's trade and overall prosperity.[45]

The Critical Approach

Critical theory is rooted in traditional political philosophy. However, in the context of modern international relations, Critical theory gained prominence as an alternative approach to traditional international relations theory. The basic premise of this theory is to question the existing "...order of social and political modernity through a method of immanent critique."[46] Critical theorists believe traditional theoretical

---

[44]Burchill, 35.

[45]Ibid., 37.

[46]Richard Devetak, "Critical Theory" in <u>Theories of International Relations</u>, by Scott Burchill and Andrew Linklater (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 146.

approaches work within frameworks that attempt to stabilize and legitimize existing bases of "...world order..."[47]. Moreover, Critical theorists believe that traditional theorists are influenced by a variety of factors including, society, culture, and ideology. Therefore, it is the goal of Critical theorists to question the prevailing theoretical frameworks and highlight the influence the aforementioned factors have on traditional theoretical development.[48]

. In the context of international relations, Critical theory considers power relations on a global scale and examines how current relationships developed, the implications of the relationships, and what alternative situations could transpire. The desire of Critical theorists to question existing power relations, stems from the belief that "...the prevailing order is shot through with injustices and inequalities on a global scale..."[49] It is in this context that Critical theorists stress the importance of "...increasing the number of voices, [and] the number of standpoints, reflected within the field..." of international relations.[50] Therefore, it is out of a desire to improve the current human condition that Critical theorists attempt to develop

[47]Ibid., 150

[48]Ibid., 151.

[49]Ibid., 151.

[50]Craig N. Murphy, "Critical Theory And The Democratic Impulse: Understanding A Century-Old Tradition" in Critical Theory And World Politics, by Richard Wyn Jones, ed. (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Reinner Publishers, Inc.), 71.

an alternative worldview.[51]

The challenges posed by Critical theorists to the traditional theories of international relations have generated a fundamental shift in the study of international politics. The traditional theories of international relations focus on the state and the security of the state. These theories consider states as both the object of security and the means through which security can be achieved. Critical theory, however, has altered this component of international relations by broadening the parameters of security studies. In an effort to maximize the number of voices and perspectives considered in security examinations, critical theory has shifted the focus of security from the level of the state to the level of the individual. Ultimately, Critical theorists, intent on studying power and domination in the current world environment, do not consider the state as a "natural actor" in international relations.[52]

In its attempt to increase the number of voices and perspectives considered in the study of international relations, Critical theory has legitimized the examination of hitherto non-traditional factors in the study of international politics. For

---

[51]Ibid., 151. For greater elaboration on the influence of Critical theory on the study of international relations see, Robert Cox, "Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Studies," Millenium Vol. 10 no.2 (1981).

[52]Steve Smith, "New Approaches to International Theory" in The Globalization of World Politics. An Introduction to International Relations, by John Baylis and Steve Smith, eds. (New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 177.

example, Critical theory has facilitated the placement of feminism and gender studies on the agendas of international relations scholars. In traditional theories these issues were not addressed. Such topics were considered irrelevant and unrelated to the concerns of international relations and international security.[53] However, the desire of Critical theorists to articulate alternative world-views has enabled gender issues and feminism to make a "…provocative intervention in the theory and practice of international relations."[54]

Feminism and Gender in International Relations

Feminists ascertain that to truly comprehend and portray an accurate account of women and the struggles they face, one must consider gender and gender analysis. It is asserted that analyses incorporating a gender perspective offer a more complex and advanced description of the position of women.[55] Gender analyses offer an explanation of how the relationships between men and

---

[53]Sandra Whitworth, Feminism and International Relations Towards a Political Economy of Gender in Interstate and Non-Governmental Institutions(New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), 2.

[54]Jacqui True, "Feminism", in Theories of International Relations, by Scott Burchill and Andrew Linklater (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 210. It is important to note, there is not one dominant, overarching feminist approach. Feminism is a varied and diverse method of viewing the world. For greater elaboration on the various existing feminisms and their contributions to international relations see Sandra Whitworth, Feminism and International Relations (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994). Also see, J. Ann Tickner, Gender in International Relations Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security(New York: Columbia Univeristy Press, 1992).

[55]Whitworth, 3.

women are constructed, maintained and perpetuated. Gender analyses explore the roles and positions of men and women in society, the characteristics each demonstrate and "…what it is to be 'feminine' or 'masculine'…"[56]. Ultimately, gender analyses enable one to understand how the roles and characteristics of men and women "…vary across time, place and culture…" and enable one to accent that the characteristics are "…social constructs".[57]

Gender analysis also highlights that in many societies what is categorized as feminine is considered the inferior and subordinate characteristic, while the masculine characteristics are acknowledged as the superior attribute and quality.[58] Essentially, a culture's gender assumptions generate a hierarchy that serves as a source of "…subordination and domination…"[59] The cultural accentuation of masculine qualities places men in a position of superiority and domination over women. The minimization of feminine qualities leads to the subjugation and increased vulnerability of women.[60]

Gender analyses also stress that in many societies a separation exists between issues and activities considered public

[56]Ibid., 4.

[57]Ibid., 4.

[58]V. Spike Peterson and Anne Sisson Runyan, Global Gender Issues (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1993), 165.

[59]Whitworth, 64.

[60]Ibid.

and issues and activities considered private. Public issues have generally been associated with male dominated activities and include such things as elections for government positions, international negotiations and diplomacy. Women are affiliated with private sphere issues that generally include domestic and home activities. Essentially, this division has served to keep issues that occur in the home from becoming political concerns. Ultimately, domestic matters are considered private affairs. As a result, many of the issues and the concerns women face, many of which are in the home, do not receive attention.[61] How can women improve their social positions and enhance their security when issues relevant to their lives are considered non-political and private? Gender analysis offers an avenue for these issues to garner the attention they deserve.

In the context of international relations, gender analysis demonstrates how the identity of the basic units of traditional international relations theory, the state and the international system, are based on restrictive and bias assumptions of the world.[62] Incorporating gender analysis in the study of international relations involves uncovering the way international institutions perpetuate existing gender relations. Incorporating gender into international relations also involves discovering the

---

[61]Peter R. Beckman and Francine D'Amico, Women, Gender, and World Politics (Westport, Connecticut: Bergin and Garvey, 1994), 7.
[62]Rebecca Grant and Kathleen Newland, "Introduction" in Gender and International Relations eds. Rebecca Grant and Kathleen Newland (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1991), 2.

assumptions and the bias' the actors of international institutions
bring with them to their positions. Essentially, all
international actors are socialized and constrained by the
"material and historical conditions in which they operate."[63]
Therefore, it is only by uncovering the bias that exist in the
functioning of international relations that analysts can begin to
assess how to change and improve the situation.[64] Ultimately, the
inclusion of gender in the study of international relations is
important for providing greater depth and analysis in this area of
examination.

Human Security and the Human Security Agenda

Critical theory, as outlined above, broadened the study of
international relations. The different perspectives endorsed by
critical theorists enabled non-traditional issues to find a place
in the study of international politics. Just as critical theory
enabled gender issues to acquire the attention of IR scholars,
this alternative approach to international politics also enabled
the study of human security to find a place in the examination of
international relations and international security.

Human security garnered international acknowledgment and
attention with the publication of The United Nations Development
Program's (UNDP), Human Development Report 1994.[65] This report

---

[63]Whitworth, 4-5.

[64]Ibid., 5.

[65]This report was not the first United Nations publication

highlighted the notion of human security and outlined the need for this type of security in the current international environment. According to the UNDP Report, the creation of this concept is a result of the belief that the traditional approaches to international politics, and more specifically, international security, are narrow and exclusive. Moreover, the report asserts that the changes in the international environment generated by the end of the Cold War demonstrate a need to reformulate the existing notions of international security. The creation of human security is based on the belief that the "...legitimate concerns of ordinary people..." have been forgotten.[66] Essentially, human security was developed because it was believed that security for many citizens was not about the protection of territories or protection from nuclear war but rather security was about basic existence and survival in daily life.[67]

As stated earlier, human security is a contested term. Scholars and policy makers debate how best to conceptualize the notion. Fen Osler Hampson attempts to bring clarity to the human security issue.[68] He articulates three conceptualizations of human

---

to outline human security. The concept was first noted by the former Secretary-General of the United Nations, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, in his book, An Agenda for Peace. For greater elaboration on the original notion of human security, see, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, An Agenda for Peace, 2nd ed. (New York: United Nations, 1995).

[66]United Nations Development Program, Human Development Report 1994, (New York: Oxford University Press, Inc), 22.

[67]Ibid., 22.

[68]For greater elaboration on the different

security that "inform current debates and thinking about the subject."[69] The first approach Hampson considers is what he terms the 'natural rights/rule of law' conceptualization. This perspective is rooted in the liberal notion that 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness' are basic rights for all individuals and all members of the international community must support and defend these rights.[70] In this conceptualization of human security, Hampson considers international organizations as key figures for "...developing new human rights norms and for bringing about a convergence in different national standards and practices."[71]

The second conceptualization of human security outlined by Hampson is the 'humanitarian' approach. According to Hampson, adherents to this approach consider war and conflict as the main threats to human security. This conceptualization, therefore, asserts the importance of supporting innocent civilians caught in the middle of conflict situations. While working to help the innocent individuals of conflict situations, this approach to human security also stresses the necessity of preventing conflicts. Post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding are

---

conceptualizations of human security see, Fen Osler Hampson, Jean Daudelin, John B. Hay, Holly Reid, and Todd Martin, Madness in the Multitude Human Security and World Disorder, (Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press, 2002).

[69]Hampson et al., 5.

[70]ibid., 5.

[71]Ibid., 17.

other elements addressed in this conceptualization of human security.[72] The humanitarian approach to human security endorses the enhancement of international laws that focus on genocide and war crimes and this approach supports the destruction of weapons that have an adverse affect on civilians. Included within this notion of human security is the desire to enhance the conditions in which refugees and victims of war are forced to live.[73]

Hampson's third articulation of human security is the broadest view of the term, the 'sustainable human development view'. This perspective is based on the United Nations conceptualization of human security. This approach considers human security "…in terms of economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political…"[74] concerns. Inequality in the world and social justice issues are inherent elements in this approach to human security. In essence, the third conceptualization of human security considers the large number of threats that exist within the domestic and the international environments that have the potential to affect the well-being and safety of the individual.[75]

The common element among all three of Hampson's articulations is that the individual is paramount in international security.

---

[72]Ibid., 17.

[73]Ibid., 5.

[74]Ibid., 18.

[75]Ibid., 5.

All three conceptualizations of human security endorse the notion that "…international security and international order cannot rest soley on the sovereignty and viability of states…"[76] but rather, international security involves individuals and the sense of security felt among the people of the world. Ultimately, human security, according to Hampson, alters traditional understandings of how to generate international order and stability. Human security changes the focus of security, from the traditional liberal international perspective and its appreciation of liberal democratic states and institutions and their importance to maintaining international stability, to the individual and the environment in which individuals live.[77]

As stated earlier, given the conceptual muddle in which one finds the notion of human security, the Canadian government has developed its own approach to the term. While acknowledging the importance of development and social issues in the context of human security, this paper has outlined how Canada has endorsed a human security conceptualization that places civilians in conflict situations as the referent objects. Following Hampson's three approaches to human security, Canada is clearly an adherent of the 'humanitarian' approach. As the following case studies will demonstrate, the human security issues that resulted from the financial crisis do not fall under the humanitarian approach to

---

[76]Ibid., 5.

[77]Ibid., 5-6.

human security. Therefore, the following case studies will demonstrate that this perspective is not the best approach for Canada to take with regard to human security. More specifically, the case studies will demonstrate that a much broader approach, an approach similar to Hampson's 'sustainable human development view', is required to ameliorate the human security issues generated by the Asian financial crisis. Ultimately, this paper will demonstrate that Canada needs to alter its approach to human security if it wants to fulfill the basic premises of human security; support for all individuals living in insecure circumstances.

THE CASE STUDIES

On July 2nd, 1997, Thailand's government allowed the national currency, the baht, to float on the international financial exchange market. The floating of the baht initiated an economic contagion that affected economies the world over. However, the Thai government's decision to float the baht had the greatest impact on itself and the country's neighbours, Malaysia and Indonesia.

Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia had similar domestic weaknesses that enabled and contributed to the economic crisis. These weaknesses largely involved over-extended and unregulated banking sectors, political fragility and corruption, and a weakened foreign investor confidence that precipitated significant capital flight.[78] Unfortunately, the economic turmoil in Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia extended to the citizens of each country. The following case studies will provide a detailed examination of the social impact of the economic turmoil in each country and highlight the domestic and international recovery initiatives.

The Crisis in Thailand: The Social Impact

One of the greatest social ills incited by the economic

---

[78]For a detailed analysis of the domestic factors that enabled the economic crisis in Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia, see, H.W. Arndt and Hal Hill, eds. Southeast Asia's Economic Crisis Origins, Lessons, and the Way Forward(Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1999). Also see, T.J. Pempel, ed. The Politics of the Asian Economic Crisis(Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1999).

crisis was the increase in the number of unemployed individuals. Thailand and other Asian countries, prior to the crisis, experienced very low levels of unemployment.[79] However, with the increase in corporate debt, loan defaults and bankruptcies, many corporations and businesses were unable to sustain previous levels of employment. As a result, individuals were laid off or let go from occupations. According to the Asian Development Bank (ADB), unemployment in Thailand, including seasonal workers, was 3.6% of the workforce in 1996. By 1998, unemployment rates virtually doubled to 6.1% of the working population. While in 1999, the number of unemployed peoples dropped to 5.9%, a ratio still higher than pre-crisis levels.[80]

The unemployment rates discussed above are national averages and do not adequately represent the disparity in unemployment throughout the country. Initially, the rural areas and the Northeast region of Thailand, both regions known for high levels of poverty, suffered the greatest increases in unemployment. By August 1998, however, the urban centres had also experienced an increase in the number of unemployed individuals.[81] Employment

---

[79]Jong-Wha Lee and Chongyong Rhee, Occasional Paper 33 Social Impact of the Asian Crisis: Policy Challenges and Lessons [Online]; available from www.undp.org/hrdo/oc33c.htm; Internet accessed 10 May 2000.

[80]Asian Development Bank, Development Outlook 2000 [Book Online]; available from www.adb.org/publications/ado2000 Thailand.pdf, 113. Internet accessed 10 July 2000.

[81] J. Shivakumar, "Thailand Social Monitor: Challenge for Social Reform," Worldbank (January 1999), 9. [Online]; available from www.worldbank.org/eapsocial/library/tsm/socialnote1.pd;

contractions also cut across social groups and classes of individuals. Urban white-collar workers were affected by unemployment along with marginal workers; women, young workers, first time job seekers, school dropouts and those with little education.[82]

A joint study conducted by Thailand's National Economic and Social Development Board and private sector organizations demonstrated, by the end of 1997, the manufacturing sector was severely implicated in the increase in unemployment. The unemployment rate in the food-processing sector was estimated at 37.1% of all workers and the automobile and parts industries recorded an unemployment ratio of 35.1% of the workforce. The service sector, including finance and security companies, estimated an unemployment rate of 45.9% and in the construction sector approximately 50.5% of the labour force was unemployed.[83]

Studies also indicate that agriculture remained the strongest sector during the crisis, as the agricultural producers were not exposed to the same financial problems experienced by manufacturers.[84] The agriculture sector also provided

---

Internet accessed 10 May 2000.

[82]Lee and Rhee, www.undp.org/hrdo/occ33c.htm

[83]Kitti Limskul, "The Financial and Economic Crisis in Thailand: Policy Response, Social Impact and Counter Measures" in The Asia Crisis The Cures, their Effectiveness and the Prospects After by Tran Van Hoa, ed.(Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2000), 33-34.

[84]Hal Hill, "An Overview of the Issues" in South East Asia's Economic Crisis Origins, Lessons, and the Way Forward" by H.W.

opportunities to a significant number of urban workers who returned to their home provinces to look for work after being released from other sources of employment.[85] However, poverty is generally higher in the rural areas and among agricultural workers.[86] Therefore, workers returning to the rural area to find employment in agriculture may not have experienced an increase in their overall well being given the incidence of poverty in such regions and the lower standards of living.

. Inflation was another point of concern for many Thai citizens during and after the peak of the economic crisis. The economic turmoil generated by the crisis combined with the austerity measures proposed by the IMF increased Thailand's inflation rate. Thai citizens watched the cost of goods and commodities expand. Rice, a staple of the Thai diet, roughly doubled in price.[87] The increase in inflation also led to a decrease in the real income of most workers.[88] Prior to the crisis, it was estimated that Thailand's poor spent fifty-five percent of the household income on food. However, with the increase in costs and the decrease in or the loss of income, it is likely the amount of household income

---

Arndt and Hal Hill, eds. (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1999),7.

[85]Asian Development Bank, Outlook 2000, 113.

[86]Lee and Rhee, www.undp.org/hrdo/oc33c.htm

[87]Naruemon Thabchumpon, "Thailand A Year of Diminishing Expectations," Southeast Asian Affairs (1999): 313.

[88]Lee and Rhee, www.worldbank.org/hrdo/occ33c.htm

spent on basic foodstuff increased. The increase in the cost of food and a reduction in household budgets also left many Thai families with less money for other necessities such as shelter and healthcare.[89]

Despite Thailand's rapid growth in the years preceding the crisis, at the time of the country's financial meltdown, approximately 12% of the Thai population still lived on less than US$2 a day.[90] It is this percentage of the population that will suffer the most from the economic crisis. It is these people that will be affected by the reduced incomes and the increase in the price of commodities.

Thailand's financial turmoil also generated a reduction in government spending on public works programs and social services. The Thai government reduced social services funding by thirty-two percent, cut spending on public health by fifteen percent and reduced the money available for education by eleven percent.[91] These cutbacks will have a detrimental effect on Thai citizens. The reductions in these areas will hurt the large number of citizens who rely on government support for social benefits and proper medical treatment.

Moreover, the reduction in government spending in these areas

---

[89]Ibid.

[90]Thabchumpon, 113.

[91]Lee and Rhee, www.worldbank.org/hrdo/occ33c.htm

is extremely problematic given the increase in the number of individuals and families requiring government support because of the economic crisis. The spending decreases may aid the Thai government's economic situation, however, they will also distress an increased number of citizens. The cutbacks will generate a greater portion of the Thai population living without access to proper social services and increase the percentage of the population living in insecure circumstances.

.The government's reductions will also have long-term ramifications for all Thai citizens. The cutbacks in healthcare and education damage the growth of Thailand's social capital and therefore, damage Thailand's overall future growth potential. Social capital cannot be cultivated and expanded if citizens do not have access to adequate health care and if individuals do not receive a proper and full education. Therefore, by reducing publicly funded services, Thailand is damaging its future advancement potential.[92]

The Social Impact: A Gendered Impact

The expansion of labour intensive export industries is common in many developing countries seeking to enhance economic growth. As Asian countries entered the global market they experienced large growth rates as a result of export industries and export processing zones (EPZ). In countries with a strong export based economy, women make up a majority of the workers. In Thailand, 80

---

[92]Ibid.

percent of the workers in the export industries, prior to the crisis, were women. In some industries the percentage of female labourers was higher; 90 percent of workers in the canned seafood industry and 85 percent in the garment industry were women.[93]

As countries developed and industry expanded, cheap labour was required to remain globally competitive and economically robust. Many women in Southeast Asia, given few other opportunities for employment, were able find work in the export industries.[94] Gender stereotypes of women's strengths and weaknesses generated the notion that women were well suited for working in the manufacturing and export industries and these assumptions led to and "...reinforced demand for women workers"[95] in these enterprises. Women's strengths are thought to include dexterity and docility; skills necessary to perform the tedious work required in the export sectors.[96] Therefore, given women's desire to work and the stereotypes that perpetuated the notion that women were well suited to this type of employment, women workers significantly contributed to making the developing countries and their export industries competitive in the global

---

[93]Vivienne Wee, "Women's Coping Strategies in the Financial Crisis: Partnerships for Community Livelihoods," Engender (Singapore: Centre for Environment, Gender and Development Pte Ltd.), 1.

[94]Lorraine Corner, "The Financial Crisis: The impact on women," paper presented at 12th Asia Pacific Roundtable (31 May-4 June 1998, Kuala Lumpur), 7.

[95]Ibid., 7.

[96]Ibid., 7.

economy.[97]

Thailand's manufacturing sector was severely affected by the economic crisis. Many industries in the manufacturing sector faced large-scale lay-offs and job contractions. In Thailand's manufacturing sector, women comprised eighty percent of the labour force laid off as a result of the economic crisis. Moreover, in all sectors, from the garment and textile industry to the food processing sector to financial companies, more women than men were laid off or lost jobs.[98] Women were sought to work in the manufacturing sector because of the gender based stereotypes of women's qualities, therefore, it is ironic that these special innate characteristics were not enough to sustain women's positions in the manufacturing sectors in times of economic difficulty.

Women lost jobs in large numbers despite comprising a majority of the workers in certain industries and manufacturing sectors because Thai employers view women as secondary workers. A woman is considered more expendable than a man as it is assumed that her wages are of less value to a family than the wages of a man.[99] This notion is premised on the assumption that a woman's

---

[97]Wee, 1.

[98]UNIFEM and CIDA-SEAGEP, "Women in a Global Economy: Challenge and Opportunity in the Current Asian Economic Crisis," [Online]; available from www.unifem-eseasia.org/resources/global economy/TOC.html; Internet accessed 10 December 1999.

[99]Cross Departmental Analysis and Reports Team, "The Social Impact of the Asian Financial Crisis Technical Report for the discussion at the High-Level Tripartite Meeting on Social

income is superfluous to her and her family's well-being. The concern with this assumption is that for many poor families, a woman's income is not secondary but necessary to sustain the family's well-being.[100]

Moreover, this assumption is premised on the notion that women have families and a husband. However, this is not always the case. In Thailand, it is estimated that twenty-seven percent of urban homes are single-parent, female headed families.[101] Therefore, in these families, it is a woman's income that is fundamental to the well-being of the family. Releasing women from employment, without consideration of such circumstances, places a woman and her family in a heightened insecure environment.

Contributing to the loss of employment among female workers is the existence of the notion that women are only temporary workers. Many female workers are considered temporary employees because many Thai women leave work as a result of marriage or childbirth. Consequently, this situation is frequently used as justification to consider women of less importance to a company and to deem them expendable.[102]

Responses to the Financial Crisis in East and Southeast Asian Countries" International Labour Organization Office for Asia and the Pacific, 27. [Online]; available from www.ilo.org/ public/ english/bureau/intpol/bangkok.

[100]Corner, 11.

[101]UNIFEM and CIDA-SEAGEP, www.unifem-eseasia. org/resources/globaleconomy/TOC.html

[102]Corner, 7-8.

In Thailand, women are also laid off because they lack the necessary skills and knowledge to deal with the changing technology in certain industries. Women are unable to deal with these changes because more men than women are offered the necessary training and re-training when changes in technology occur.[103] The lack of skill training offered to women is a result of the notion that women are not primary and important workers. The notion that women are secondary wage earners or temporary workers needs to change as this assumption is enervating to many women and their families. Ultimately, these types of assumptions have the potential to increase the number of individuals living in poverty and subsequently, increase the number of people enduring an insecure existence.

Given the existence of gender stereotypes and a lack of employment options, many women must turn to the informal sector or perform home-based work to supplement the family income. [104] In Thailand, female home-workers faced difficulties during the economic crisis. Many home-workers were paid lower wages for their work and some experienced late payments for completed work.[105] This predicament has an obvious impact on the livelihood of these women. If home-based work is the main income for these

---

[103]UNIFEM and CIDA-SEAGEP, www.unifem-eseasia.org/resources/globaleconomy/TOC.html

[104]Wee, 2.

[105]UNIFEM and CIDA-SEAGEP, www.unifem-eseasia.org/resources/globaleconomy/TOC.html

women and their families, the lack of payments severely affects the well-being of the worker and her family. To compound the situation, some female home-workers sought loans to help with the decreased incomes that resulted from the financial crisis. For many of these women, however, the loans were offered with debilitating interest rates.[106] Given the pervasiveness of gender stereotypes that do not consider women important workers, it is instructive to question if the above stated assumptions affected the interest rates offered to women. Are women considered a greater risk in terms of repayment and therefore, face greater difficulty in accessing loans? Information to answer these questions was not available, however, future research on these issues would be beneficial in terms enhancing the understanding of gender stereotypes in Thailand.

Outside of home-based work, in the urban areas, other opportunities available to women who experienced difficulty during the economic crisis included, the commercial sex trade and prostitution. This type of employment is appealing for women and girls with little education and no other employment opportunities.[107] The commercial sex trade in Thailand is complex and the women who labour in this industry work in different capacities and in varying circumstances. Given the high levels of

---

[106]Ibid.

[107]Choong Tet Sieu, "Children of the Crisis," World Press Review 46.9 (September 1999), 41.

unemployment among women in Thailand and given the predominance of the sex trade, it is likely the number of women turning to this type of work will increase. However, in most cases this industry is dangerous for women and it does not offer the workers a secure existence. The women who labour in this type of employment face a high risk of disease and other health concerns. This is especially problematic given the Thai government's cutbacks in social services and public health. The reductions will have an impact on the availability and disbursement of prescription drugs and condoms, necessary items for those who work in the sex industry and important in the fight against AIDS.[108] Given the large number of women who have lost jobs as a result of the economic crisis, it is expected that more women will join the commercial sex trade and an increased number of women will live in insecure situations.

It is important to note, however, not all women in this industry perform this work as a result of their own volition. Many of the sex trade workers are bonded into the profession; parents or caregivers are paid money to relinquish daughters to an agency. Many of the workers are also involuntarily induced into this sector through coercion or deception.[109] Moreover, many women stay in this industry for reasons beyond their own

---

[108]Ibid., 42.

[109]UNIFEM Bangkok, "Trafficking of Women and Children," UNIFEM Bangkok Gender Issues Fact Sheet NO. 2 [Online]; available from www.unifem-eseasia.org/Gendiss/Gendiss2.htm; Internet accessed 21 July 1999.

livelihood. Cultural expectations in Thailand suggest that female children should take care of and provide for their parents. Therefore, when women are sent to urban areas to find work and are subsequently led into prostitution, many women feel they must stay in the profession to support their family.[110]   Returning home is not a viable option for many women because many of the women feel they would betray their parents and their families by harming their livelihood. Prostitution offers women an income that enables them to perform their required role as "caretaker of the family and community."[111]

It is unfortunate that in order for women to meet their familial obligations they must labour in occupations that implicate their security. Perhaps, education of the problems and the risks associated with this profession would stop the flow of women seeking work in this sector. Moreover, education could also heighten awareness of the deception and coercion that often leads to employment in this industry. However, with the economic crisis, it is possible that families will become increasingly desperate and as a result, more families may force their daughters and the women in the family to enter this field of work.

---

[110]Wahtinee Boonchalaski and Philip Guest "Prostitution in Thailand," in The Sex Sector: The economic and social bases of prostitution in South East Asia ed. Lin Lean Lim (Geneva: International Labour Organization, 1998), 133.

[111]UNIFEM Bangkok, www.unifem-eseasia.org/Gendiss/ Gendiss2.htm

The Reconstruction Efforts

Social protection programs and social safety nets were virtually nonexistent in Thailand prior to the economic crisis. Unemployment insurance, private sector pensions, and transfer programs for the poor in the form of welfare and food stamps were not available.[112] Consequently, the Thai government was overwhelmed with the social ramifications of the financial imbroglio; many Thai citizens were left without any recourse or support. However, as the depth of the crisis became apparent and the social implications of the financial turmoil were acknowledged the Thai government began introducing policies to deal with the impact.

In response to the social impact of the crisis, in February 1998, the Thai government announced the 8th National Economic and Social Development Plan. The plan outlined three areas for the government to focus on with regard to alleviating the depravity caused by the economic crisis. The three guidelines included: policy development to aid urban unemployment and enhance rural employment; assistance to the individuals most affected by the economic crisis in the form of social welfare, education and health; and measures to impede an increase in social problems, especially drug use and crime. The plan's third guideline also called for the promotion of "... commendable social values".[113]

---

[112]Shivakumar, 14.

[113]Ibid., 17

The National Plan adopted by the Thai government after the economic crisis demonstrates the desire of the government to address the social impact of the crisis. However, the National Economic and Social Development Plan offers only general prescriptions to deal with the impact of the crisis. Moreover, the plan was initiated months after the crisis was acknowledged; at that time the implementation of specific policies should have commenced. Given this situation, it is likely many people greatly suffered before projects to alleviate the impact of the crisis were generated.

The Thai government also offered financial support to businesses and corporations to help ease the burden of the economic crisis. The government based its policies on the assumption that offering support to Thailand's large businesses and corporations would ultimately have a positive impact on Thai citizens. If corporations were given financial aid to sustain their productions and their operations, it was anticipated that the need to reduce workforces would decline. The concern with this initiative is that many of the workers who lost jobs were not employed by large businesses, but rather, many laboured for small and medium size enterprises.[114] Thus, the government's aid and financial support to Thailand's large corporations improved the economic position of these companies but most likely did not help

---

[114]Shawn Crispin, "Without a net" Far Eastern Economic Review. 9 July 1998, 69.

the individuals who needed it most.

Another initiative taken by the Thai government was the repatriation of thousands of foreign workers. Many of the repatriated workers, it is important to note, were in Thailand illegally. The government anticipated this movement would halt the increase in unemployment and enhance the job opportunities available to Thai citizens. In 1998, the Thai Labour Department reported that only 80,000 of 120,000, jobs previously held by foreign workers were filled by Thai nationals. The majority of the foreign workers laboured in industries unattractive to Thai citizens; industries such as mining, fishing, and rice milling. Therefore, many Thais were not interested in performing the work made available by this measure. The government also encouraged Thai citizens to go abroad to find employment.[115] It is ironic the government advocated such notions at the same time it was deporting its own foreign workforce.

Given the social implications of the crisis, the lack of preparedness of the Thai government to deal with these concerns and the government's financial inability to offer support to Thai citizens, international agencies offered funds to Thailand to help develop programs targeted at alleviating the social impact of the crisis.[116] The Asian Development Bank (ADB) for example, proffered a loan of US$500 million to assist Thailand in the payment of its

---

[115]Ibid., 69.

[116]Limskul, 45.

external debts.   The loan was conditional on Thailand's support for policy development in labour, social welfare, education and health.   In terms of policy development the ADB requested the formation of centres to help unemployed citizens receive training, employment counseling and help finding new work placements.   The extension of social security coverage and a limit on the increase in the minimum wage were other conditions supported by the ADB.[117]

The World Bank, ADB, the Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund of .Japan(OECF), the Australian Agency for International Development(AusAID) and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) also joined together to offer loans to Thailand for a Social Sector Program and a Social Investment Project.[118]   The loans were offered to support existing Thai programs that were threatened given the government cut-backs after the economic crisis.   The programs expected to benefit from the loans include: health care, education, environment, unemployment, rural industrialization, labour-intensive public works development and vocational training expansion.[119]   Under the guise of these projects, the World Bank, for example, offered US$300 million to support programs such as low-income health cards, community initiated AIDS schemes and job training for disadvantaged groups,

---

[117]Cross Departmental Analysis and Reports Team, 39.

[118]Shivakumar,18.

[119]Cross Departmental and Reports Analysis Team, 40.

women and the disabled.[120]

The funds from the above donors are also meant to support a Social Investment Fund. This fund offers financial assistance to community oriented projects that support the needs of a targeted population.[121] The World Bank, the ADB and the OECF of Japan also offered support to Thailand to generate numerous temporary labour-intensive civil works employment initiatives. These programs involve: school repair, road and dam construction, rural industrialization, small irrigation projects, tourist infrastructure development; and a village centre development venture.[122]

The Reconstruction Efforts: A Gendered Perspective

In response to the economic crisis, the Thai government initiated the National Economic and Social Development Plan. One of the areas of focus in the Plan was the development of polices to address urban and rural unemployment. However, the government did not outline specific policies to combat the increase in joblessness. The ambiguity surrounding the unemployment policies generates questions about whether the projects will take into consideration the actual diversity of the unemployment situation in post-crisis Thailand. It was highlighted earlier that more

---

[120]WorldBank, Social Policy and Governance WorldBank Activities in Thailand [Online]; available fromwww.worldbank. org/eapsocial/countries/thai/thaimatrix2.htm; Internet accessed 30 May 2000.

[121]Cross Departmental and Reports Analysis Team, 40.

[122]Shivakumar, 19.

women than men lost jobs in the industries affected by the economic crisis. Therefore, in the government's plan to emphasize rural and urban unemployment, will consideration be given to the issue of female joblessness?

Given the gender stereotypes that exist and the notion that many women are not primary workers, it is doubtful the Thai government will specifically target women in the unemployment initiatives. Measures to combat unemployment that are not based on realistic visions of the situation will not be effective in alleviating the number of citizens without jobs. Furthermore, the broad policies highlighted in the government's plan will continue to generate an insecure existence for many of Thailand's women implicated by the crisis.

Another integral element in Thailand's recovery strategy was financial assistance to Thailand's large companies and businesses. General concerns with this program are discussed above. However, what is not noted in the above discussion is the concern with this policy from a gendered perspective. Essentially, the endeavour was generated without any consideration to the role women play in the Thai economy. In Thailand, a majority of women work in small and informal industries.[123] Therefore, it is clear the program was not targeted to address the needs of women. The policy may have served to benefit large corporations but it did not generate an increase in the security of Thailand's workers, and the program

---

[123]Cross Departmental and Reports Analysis Team, 25.

especially did not enhance the well-being of women.

The Thai government also offered loans to generate small businesses in an attempt to alleviate the social ramifications of the economic crisis. However, one must question if women were given the same loan opportunities as men. With the pervasiveness of gender-based assumptions about the role of women and their secondary worker status, one must question the likelihood that women would receive this sort of assistance. To add greater weight to the above stated questions, research indicates that in Thailand, women's businesses are not viewed in the same manner or given the same consideration as businesses run by men. Essentially, women's businesses are not perceived as a serious venture.[124] This perception severely harms the ability of women to make a living and therefore, affects the security of women in Thailand.

Women have not fared well in the Thai government's post-crisis reconstruction efforts. The initiatives taken have overlooked the role of women in Thai society and the policies introduced by the government have not acknowledged the impact of the crisis on this segment of the population.

Numerous international organizations, however, also offered financial support and policy initiatives to the Thai government to facilitate the reconstruction efforts.[125] The funds offered by

---

[124]UNIFEM and CIDA-SEAGEP, www.unifem-eseasia.org/resources/globaleconomy/section4.html.

[125]The international organizations that provided financial

these organizations were largely directed toward the Social Sector Program and the Social Investment Project.[126] In making the offer of financial aid to Thailand, most of these organizations did not mention women, the impact of the crisis on women or make stipulations that specific projects should be developed to ease the burden experienced by women during the economic crisis. Clearly, these organizations, like the Thai government, were misguided with regard to the crisis and its social impact on the citizens of Thailand. With a more accurate assessment of the crisis, these organizations would have learned that unemployment, gender stereotypes, increased domestic burdens, and few opportunities to improve well-being and security, were all issues for women in Thailand during the economic crisis.

One international organization that warrants special mention is the World Bank. Under the guise of the Social Sector Program and Social Investment Project, the bank offered US$300 million dollars to be directed towards programs such as health cards for the poor, community AIDS initiatives and job training for the disadvantaged, women and the disabled. This was the only organization to acknowledge women in terms project development in

---

assistance to Thailand include, the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, the OECF of Japan, the international aid agency of Australia and the United Nations Development Program. For greater detail see, Asian Development Bank, Development Outlook 2000 [Book Online]; available from www.adb.org/publications/ ado2000 Thailand.pdf.

[126]Shivakumar, 18.

post-crisis Thailand.

It is interesting to note that women are grouped with other minorities in terms of offering support to ease the impact of the crisis. This chapter has demonstrated that in Thailand, women are clearly not a minority in terms the crisis and its impact. Ultimately, this paper has underscored the decline in the well-being of Thai women after economic crisis. Therefore, the placement of women with these groups speaks volumes about the assumed role of women in Thai society and demonstrates why women may have been left out of the recovery strategies developed by other international organizations.

The World Bank, however, has also offered support for other projects that do not acknowledge women. For example, the Bank joined with the Asian Development Bank and the OECF of Japan to offer financial support to Thailand for the generation of labour-intensive civil works projects. The projects included: school repair, road and dam construction, rural industrialization and irrigation projects.[127] This measure was adopted to ease the burden of unemployment after the economic crisis. However, this initiative was clearly developed without consideration to the individuals left unemployed after the turmoil. This paper stated the majority of those who lost jobs in numerous sectors were women. Therefore, if these organizations had acknowledged the reality of the unemployment situation after the crisis it is

---

[127]Shivakumar, 19.

questionable if these projects would have been implemented. It is not that women are not capable of performing the work but rather, the pervasiveness of gender stereotypes and the assumptions surrounding the notion of femininity, make it unlikely women would be included in this employment initiative. Ultimately, this plan does little to increase the security of those affected the most by the economic crisis.

The Impact, the Recovery, Gender and Human Security

.Human security is a broad concept that is premised on "...the safety and dignity of the individual human person..."[128] This paper has devoted a great deal of attention to the social impact of the financial crisis and the recovery initiatives taken by the Thai government and various international organizations. From this discussion, it is clear that the safety, dignity and overall human security of many of Thailand's citizens has been compromised as a result of the crisis. It is therefore, prudent to revisit the many social issues and recovery initiatives discussed in this paper and review these issues and concerns with regard to human security.

One of the greatest social problems arising from the crisis in Thailand was the increase in unemployment in the country. The loss of employment impairs an individual's ability to acquire and maintain basic necessities such as food and shelter. Therefore, an individual without employment and consequently, an individual

---

[128]Amitav Acharya, "Human Security in Asia Pacific: Puzzle, Panacea or Peril?" CANCAPS BULLETIN (November 2000): 2.

without access to the fundamental basic necessities cannot live in a state of safety or security. Clearly, the increase in unemployment in Thailand has compromised the safety, dignity and human security of many of the country's people.

Exacerbating the rapid increase in the unemployment situation was the fact that many Thai citizens had few options or alternatives to the loss of employment. Given the increase in job losses, many citizens had to turn to the informal sector to make a living. This is especially true for those living in urban centres. Work in the informal sector involves selling goods as a street vendor, driving motorcycles as a delivery person or some other non-traditional form of work.[129] Working in the informal sector, however, has serious implications on the security and well-being of the individual. Essentially, the regularity of financial compensation is questionable and moreover, the rate of pay is likely below the level necessary to sustain one's livelihood. An individual without regular, secure work or without regular, acceptable levels of compensation cannot be considered secure. The informal sector, in essence, generates insecurity for the individuals who hope to sustain their livelihood from this type of work.

The increases in inflation also created concern for the security of the Thai population during the crisis. Essentially, the rise in inflation increased the costs of all goods sold in the

_____

[129]Cross Departmental and Reports Analysis Team, 26.

country. The increase in costs impaired the ability of many Thai citizens to purchase basic items. The increase in costs was worrisome for those individuals who had lost their jobs as a result of the crisis. The increase in inflation, however, was also a problem for those who were able to sustain employment during the peak of the crisis. The lack of salary increases implicated the buying power of many working Thai citizens. Given that the rise in inflation did not discriminate among the unemployed and the working, a significant percentage of the Thai population was affected by this concern.

In response to the crisis, the Thai government initiated a variety of programs. The programs were intended to ease the impact of the crisis and indirectly improve the security of the citizens of the country. Unfortunately, the Thai government fell short of this goal. One of the programs initiated by the government was the earmarking of funds for large corporations. The Thai government believed that supporting these businesses would contribute to a decline in the number of unemployed citizens in the country. The government, however, failed to consider that the majority of the individuals who lost jobs as a result of the crisis, were not employed by the companies that received government funding. Therefore, this government initiative did little to improve the security of Thai citizens or help those with the greatest need.

As outlined above, several international organizations offered aid and support to Thailand. Many of these organizations

developed viable plans for improving the social situation and the overall human security of citizens in the country. The Asian Development Bank, for example, offered loans to Thailand on the condition the government work to establish programs focusing on labour, social welfare, education and health. However, concerns exist regarding the vagueness of this proposal and whether its initiatives will benefit those in greatest need. Similar concerns exist with the programs, outlined above, developed by other international organizations.

This paper has also provided a gender analysis of the social impact of the crisis and the recovery initiatives. From these analyses it is clear that the crisis had a tremendous impact on women in Thailand. Women were the first to lose their jobs in Thailand and in many industries more women than men lost jobs. Compounding the unemployment situation among Thai women was a lack of alternative sources of formal employment. As a result, more women entered the informal work sector. There are numerous concerns with this type of work and its impact on an individual's security however, these concerns have been discussed at length, earlier in this paper.

One issue addressed in this paper, largely specific to women, is the problem of prostitution. The lack of employment alternatives in Thailand has led women to work in the sex sector. The growing unemployment in Thailand generates concern as it has the potential to increase the number of women choosing to work as prostitutes. The concern with this type of work relates to the

fact that this profession has the potential to cause serious health problems. The health problems generated by this type of work compromise the security of those who work in this industry.

Finally, little consideration was given to women with regard to the recovery initiatives. It was stated earlier that most of the recovery programs did not acknowledge the specific concerns of women with regard to the financial turmoil. For example, the Thai government and the international organizations that provided support to Thailand did not generate programs to target the women who lost jobs as a result of the crisis. Moreover, programs were not developed to help the women who had to turn to prostitution in order to support themselves and their families. A true sense of the position of women in the country and an awareness of the concerns that affect women would have made the recovery initiatives more effective and Thai women more secure.

Post-crisis recovery and reconstruction was intended to enhance the security of all individuals affected by the crisis. However, the evidence indicates that a large section of Thai society has been left without any recourse or support after the financial turmoil. The reconstruction has privileged certain segments of society and marginalized others. As a result, the level of insecurity among the marginalized, essentially, women, is still high. Recovery from the economic crisis cannot be considered complete until all segments of society are included and supported in the recovery endeavours.

The Crisis in Malaysia: The Social Impact

The years preceding the Asian financial crisis were a time of unprecedented prosperity in Malaysia. The country experienced a surge in economic growth, low inflation, virtual full employment and a low level of foreign debt.[130] The prosperity, however, did not impede the Asian financial contagion from wreaking havoc with Malaysia's economy.

It was stated earlier that one of the most critical social issues engendered by the financial turmoil in Thailand was the increase in the number of unemployed citizens in the country. Unfortunately, the crisis generated the same social problem in Malaysia. In the years preceding the economic crisis, unemployment was not a serious issue in Malaysia; the country experienced full employment and at times, weathered labour shortages.[131] The onset of the economic contagion, however, altered the employment situation in the country. In 1997, the International Labour Organization reported the unemployment rate at 2.6% of the working population. The organization estimated the

---

[130]Prema-Chandra Athukorala, "Swimming against the tide Crisis Management in Malaysia," in Southeast Asia's Economic Crisis Origins, Lessons, and the way Forward, H.W. Arndt and Hal Hill, eds. (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1999), 30.

[131]Mohamed Ariff, Mohamed Haflah Piei, Diana Wong and Syarisia Yanti Abubakar, Responding to the economic crisis in Malaysia: A pro-human development perspective,(Malaysia: Malaysian Institute for Economic Research, 1998), 13. [Online]; available from www.undp.org/rbab/program/Malaysia.html; Internet accessed 12 May 2000.

unemployment rate would double to 5.2% by the end of 1998.[132]

The increasing unemployment was especially worrisome for Malaysian citizens during the crisis as the financial turmoil also generated an increase in the country's inflation rate. Subsequently, Malaysian citizens, like their Thai neighbours, experienced a significant increase in the price of basic commodities. The price of sugar, expanded by 14%, the cost of fruits and vegetables increased by 13%, fish and other meats gained by 5% to 7% and the price of coffee, tea and cooking oils expanded by 5%.[133]   Milk products, milk powder and canned foods experienced the greatest increase in cost; a change of 20-30%. In response to the escalating food prices, the Malaysian government encouraged citizens to develop their gardens, grow their own vegetables and purchase locally produced foods.[134]

The increase in inflation also generated a decrease in the real income of all Malaysian workers.[135]   Therefore, the many workers that remained employed during the crisis experienced a decrease in their buying power.   The average Malaysian family, like many Thai families, spends approximately half of the family

---

[132]Lee, 41.

[133]Ariff et al., 15.

[134]Dr. Raj Karim, "The Asian Financial Crisis and Social Change," Paper presented at 13th Asia Pacific Roundtable(Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 30 May-2 June 1998), 19-20.

[135]WorldBank, Social Sector Reform Update on Malaysia [Online]; available from www.worldbank.org.html/extdr /eap/jmsboard/myannx.htm; Internet accessed 12 May 2000.

income on food.[136]   However, with a decrease in wages due to inflation and the increase in the price of basic commodities, the percentage of the family income spent on basic foodstuff likely increased.   To combat this situation, low-income Malaysian families reported alterations to their food consumption. Families indicated a reduction in the number of meals consumed and a decline in the amount of fish and oil ingested.   Furthermore, families reported buying less expensive brands of food.   Rural women also stated that the escalating costs of milk and milk products forced them to replace real milk with sweetened condensed milk and syrup, as real milk products were not affordable.[137]

Food was not the only commodity that escalated in price during the economic crisis.   Malaysians also endured an increase in the cost of imported medications; medications that constitute 60% of all drugs used.[138]   The increase in the cost of these medications is problematic as many Malaysian families may not be able to afford the prescriptions and medications they require. This situation jeopardizes the health and security of Malaysia's citizens.

The Social Impact: A Gendered Impact

In the years preceding the economic crisis, Malaysia, like other developing countries, experienced a significant increase in

---

[136]Karim, 3.

[137]Karim, 20.

[138]Ariff et al., 16.

growth rates from the development and expansion of labour intensive export industries. In developing countries, the majority of the workers in the export industries and the export processing zones (EPZ's) are women.[139] In Malaysia, female workers fill 70-80% of export sector jobs.[140]

Southeast Asia's export industries required the cheap and flexible labour of women to expand and remain competitive in the global market. Therefore, given few other options for employment, women accepted job placements in these industries.[141] However, women were also sought to fill positions in these enterprises because of existing gender stereotypes that led many to believe women had inherent characteristics well-suited for the work of the manufacturing sector and the export industries. Among the inherent qualities women were considered to possess were dexterity and docility, necessary attributes for the tedious work in the export processing zones and their constituent enterprises.[142]

The manufacturing sector, a component of the export industries and export processing zones, was the industry most affected by the crisis. The greatest number of job contractions occurred in this sector of the economy.[143] Prior to the crisis,

---

[139]Wee, 1.

[140]UNIFEM and CIDA SEAGEP, www.unifem-eseasia.org/resources/globaleconomy/TOC.html

[141]Corner, 7.

[142]Ibid., 7.

[143]Ariff et al., 14.

women constituted 42% of the workers in Malaysia's manufacturing sector.[144] Therefore, given women constituted a significant portion of the manufacturing workers, one can surmise, the majority of the jobs eliminated in this sector were positions held by women.

Research indicates that in times of economic difficulty female workers are the first to lose their jobs.[145] In Malaysia, it was estimated that women constituted close to half of the total number of citizens who lost positions as a result of the financial crisis.[146] It is ironic, that women were considered integral workers in certain Malaysian industries because of their special innate qualities and because they offered cheap and flexible labour, however, these attributes were not enough to sustain their employment during times of economic difficulty.

Women recorded significant job losses, because in many countries in the Asia Pacific, women are classed as secondary or supplementary wage earners.[147] This stereotype is addressed in the previous case study and the suppositions discussed are applicable to Malaysia. In the case of Malaysia, one concern with stereotyping women is that for many of Malaysia's poor and working class families, the income earned by women is fundamental to the

[144]Ibid., 4.

[145]Wee, 4.

[146]Ariff et al., 13.

[147]Wee, 7.

family's livelihood and existence.[148] Research indicates there are approximately 600,000 female-headed families in Malaysia.[149] The income earned by these women is certainly not superfluous and non-essential to the family. Clearly, the loss of employment will affect many women and their families and will place many citizens in a precarious position with regard to security.

The loss of employment is problematic for any individual. However, for many of Malaysia's female labourers the loss of employment is especially troublesome. Many of the female workers, particularly those in the labour intensive industries, have no recourse for the loss of employment and few other alternative job options. Concerns have been generated regarding the number of Malaysian women who will turn to or be forced into prostitution and the commercial sex trade.[150] The economic crisis and the resulting increase in unemployment has made many women vulnerable to the lure of prostitution. Many Malaysian women are responsible "for the livelihood and support of their families in rural areas."[151] It is these women who are especially susceptible to work in this industry as they face pressure to support not only themselves but their extended families as well.

---

[148]Corner, 11.

[149]Ariff et al., 18.

[150]Karim, 21.

[151]Lin Lean Lim, ed. The Sex Sector: The economic and social bases of prostitution in Southeast Asia(Geneva: International Labour Organization, 1998), 74.

Another social concern generated by the financial turmoil that pertains to women in Malaysia relates to domestic abuse cases. Research indicates that violence against women increases during periods of financial difficulty.[152] This research is supported by Malaysia's Department of Welfare, as its studies noted an increasing trend in the number of domestic abuse cases reported in Malaysia in 1998, the year the effects of the crisis became readily apparent.[153] If violence against women increases during periods of financial difficulty, many women in Malaysia are vulnerable and are living in insecure situations. Many families are experiencing financial strain due to a variety of factors generated by the economic turmoil. As a result, women in families devastated by the crisis may be vulnerable to domestic violence and domestic abuse.

The Reconstruction Efforts

At the time of the crisis, modest social protection programs existed in Malaysia and these programs were accessible to the country's citizens. Programs established by the government included micro-credit programs for the poor and support for the elderly, the disabled and the disadvantaged.[154] Furthermore, Malaysia's government had developed the Employees Provident Fund;

[152]J. Ann Tickner, Gender in International Relations Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 56.

[153]Karim, 23.

[154]Ibid., 24.

a pension system with requisite contribution schemes for both employers and employees.[155] Essentially, the social safety nets advanced by the Malaysian government offered only limited support to a narrow portion of the population because the government expected families to provide assistance to one another during times of difficulty.[156] This expectation however, left many of Malaysia's citizens without any recourse or support after the financial crisis. As the extent of the crisis became apparent, the Malaysian government began to establish policies to relieve the effects of the economic unrest.

One of the key initiatives taken by the Malaysian government was the announcement of a National Economic Recovery Plan (NERP). The goal of this program was threefold; to sustain Malaysia's economic growth while increasing domestic demand, to inhibit the deterioration of the country's social sector, and to safeguard the poor and the disadvantaged. The government also announced it would sustain government contributions to existing programs and provide increased support for enhancing the existing social safety net. In keeping with this policy, in 1998, the government provided increased support to specific social programs. These programs included, anti-poverty initiatives, micro-credit for rural and urban areas, and a fund to increase crop production and

---

[155]Asian Development Bank, www.aric.adb.org/social/ssn/ssnol-01.asp

[156]Ariff et al., 32.

support rural livelihood.[157]

Another initiative taken by the government, in an effort to improve the social effects of the crisis, involved the repatriation of Malaysia's foreign labourers. As of July 1998, the government expelled over 30,000 of the country's foreign workers. Moreover, the government enacted strict measures to stop foreign workers from obtaining employment in the service industries.[158] Clearly, the motivation behind the government's initiative was to enhance the employment prospects for Malaysia's unemployed. However, as was the case in Thailand, the program did little to alter or reduce the unemployment statistics in the country. Essentially, the majority of Malaysia's foreign workers laboured in industries unattractive to the Malaysian people and the immigrant workers filled the jobs Malaysians were unwilling to take.[159]

It is clear from the above discussion, the Malaysian government was motivated to ameliorate the social impact of the economic crisis. However, in order to meet the goals of several of its programs and policies, the Malaysian government required support from outside sources. A major contributor of financial

[157]WorldBank, Social Sector Reform Update on Malaysia [Online]; available from www.worldbank.org/html/extdr/offrep/eap/jmsboard/myannx.htm; Internet accessed 12 May 2000.

[158]Amitav Acharya, "Realism, Institutionalism, and the Asian Financial Crisis," Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs (April 1999), 7.

[159]Asian Development Bank, www.aric.adb.org/social.ssn/ssnol-01.asp

aid to Malaysia was the World Bank. In June 1998, the World Bank approved an Economic Recovery and Social Sector Loan for Malaysia worth US$300 million. The intention of the loan was to support social sector reform, maintain current social services and generate economic stability.[160]

Specific programs supported by the Social Sector Loan varied and included: loans for rural employment and income creation, expansion of infrastructure programs, especially in rural areas, and loans to low income families for the purchase of homes. The Social Sector Loan also financed a newly established fund intended to offer support to small and medium sized businesses, underwrote micro-credit programs for workers in the informal sector and generated a retraining program for unemployed workers.[161]

In terms of the education sector, the loan was intended to facilitate the restoration of the education budget. The Malaysian government also indicated it would use the Social Sector Loan for the construction of new schools, skill development programs and the expansion of post-secondary institutions. The maintenance and the enhancement of Malaysia's Higher Education Loan Fund was another program to be supported through the Social Sector Loan. Finally, the loan was expected to build and furnish a number of

---

[160]WorldBank, Social Policy and Governance World Bank activities in Malaysia: Economic Recovery and Social Sector Loan [Online]; available from www.worldbank.org/eapsocial/countries /malay/proj1.htm; Internet accessed 30 May 2000.

[161]Ibid., www.worldbank.org/eapsocial/countries/malay/proj1.htm

new health clinics.[162]

The Reconstruction Efforts: A Gendered Perspective

In response to the economic crisis, the Malaysian government implemented a variety of programs in an attempt to alter its social impact. A major component of the government's recovery initiatives was the National Economic Recovery Program, focusing on poverty alleviation, micro-credit loans and the development of a fund to enhance crop production. One concern with the NERP is that the initiatives specifically do not identify their target populations. As a result, many questions are generated with regard to the effectiveness of the programs. Will the anti-poverty programs consider the women living in impoverished circumstances in Malaysia? Will projects be developed and funded to support women in poverty? Moreover, will these anti-poverty programs offer support to the over 600,000 single parent female-headed households in Malaysia to ensure these families do not experience a decrease in their living conditions and essentially, a decline to a state of poverty?

The gender stereotypes that consider the income earned by women non-essential and unnecessary to the livelihood of families were outlined earlier. Moreover, it was stated that this assumption is often used to justify the unemployment of female labourers. Therefore, one must question if a similar logic would affect the ability of women to access the micro-credit loans

[162]Ibid., www.worldbank.org/eapsocial/countries/malay/proj1.htm

established in conjunction with Malaysia's National Economic Recovery Program. Would women be denied access to loans because the loans would be assumed to be unnecessary for the women's livelihood?

Malaysia also initiated new policies and programs supported by the World Bank's Social Sector Loan. One of the initiatives funded by the Loan is a retraining program for unemployed workers. This paper stated that approximately half of the unemployed workers from the crisis were women. Given the existence of gender based stereotypes, as discussed earlier, one must question if women will be considered for the retraining programs or will these programs only be offered to "essential workers".

The Worldbank's Social Sector Loan was also intended to support a variety of different funds available for Malaysian citizens. One of the new projects involved loans for low-income families to purchase homes. However, one must question what low-income families will have access to the loans. Will the loans be available to male and female-headed families? Will the significant number of women who alone, head families in Malaysia, have access to the housing loans to ensure their families have adequate living accommodations?

Clearly, the reconstruction initiatives established by the Malaysian government and supported by the World Bank do not offer support to Malaysia's female population. This text has outlined the disastrous effect the economic crisis had on Malaysia's women. Therefore, for the reconstruction efforts to be the most

effective, it is necessary that consideration be given to women. The government and the World Bank should clearly indicate that the recovery programs are available to both men and women. This endeavour would reduce the potential for women to overlooked in the offering of financial and technical support and subsequently, enhance the lives of many of Malaysia's women.

Furthermore, this text has outlined issues unique to women in terms of the impact of the economic crisis. Therefore, the World Bank and the Malaysian government should include programs in their recovery initiatives that specifically address these issues. Programs should be developed to help women fight the lure of the commercial sex trade. Moreover, programs should be established and funded to help women, already working in the sex sector, leave this occupation. Financial support should also be directed to educating women about the commercial sex trade and the risks associated with the type of work. Finally, programs should be developed to help the victims of domestic abuse and to help combat the increase in domestic abuse cases. Ultimately, a reconstruction program that endorses these initiatives would serve to benefit and enhance the lives of Malaysia's women.

The Impact, the Reconstruction, Gender and Human Security

At the most basic level, human security is about the individual and the safety and dignity of the individual. The crisis and its social ramifications have generated concerns regarding the safety and the dignity of Malaysia's citizens. As a result, the crisis has also clearly raised concerns regarding

human security in the country. Unemployment is one consequence of the economic crisis that has the potential to affect the security of Malaysia's population. The loss of job revenue impairs an individual's ability to purchase the necessary elements to sustain one's livelihood. Without a source of income it is very difficult to obtain food, shelter and clothing; the basic necessities of life. Human security requires individuals to have access to these fundamental basic necessities. Therefore, when an individual's ability to obtain these fundamental necessities is compromised, the security of the individual is compromised as well.

Another issue affecting the human security of Malaysia's population is the increase in the interest rates and the subsequent effect on the price of basic commodities. This paper showed that because of the increases in the cost of food, many Malaysians reported changes in their diets. These dietary changes generate grave concern regarding the security of these individuals. Access to proper nutrition is fundamental for one's livelihood and necessary for one's security. The families that altered their food intake may not be meeting their nutritional needs. How can a family that reduces the amount and the type of food consumed be considered secure? The inability of mothers to offer milk and overall proper nutrition to children is especially problematic. This situation will negatively influence the growth and development of the children and will impact the children's future livelihood.

Given the clear and undeniable impact of the crisis on Malaysia's citizens, the government, along with numerous international organizations, initiated several crisis recovery programs and initiatives to help ameliorate the issues generated by the financial turmoil. For example, as outlined above, the Malaysian government instituted a three step National Economic Recovery Plan. This program has the potential to enhance the lives of Malaysia's citizens and therefore, enhance the security of the population. Economic growth, a goal of the plan, will enhance employment opportunities in Malaysia. An increase in job opportunities in the country will provide citizens with the opportunity to meet their basic needs and purchase the basic necessities of life. An individual with the ability and the means to purchase the basic necessities of life is able to achieve a state of relative security. Each of these initiatives, however, must also be met with some skepticism. Many of the initiatives are vague and lack a clear plan of implementation.

Along with the Recovery Plan, the Malaysian government implemented several other programs to help the citizens most affected by the crisis. For example, Malaysia's government increased its funding to certain social programs. Programs such as anti-poverty initiatives and micro-credit loans schemes received increased support. In an effort to open up job opportunities for Malaysians, the government also repatriated the country's foreign labourers. Like the National Economic Recovery Plan, these endeavours have the potential to enhance the lives of

Malaysia's citizens. Programs that are directed towards citizens and ensuring the basic needs of the population are met, are programs that will improve the existence of individuals and therefore, are programs that will improve the security of individuals.

It is important to note that several of these initiatives were also misguided. For example, the government anticipated increased job opportunities with the repatriation of foreign nationals. However, as discussed earlier, the government failed to realize that the industries where foreign workers laboured were industries in which Malaysians were unwilling to work. Clearly, the government did not have a basic understanding of the specific concerns and needs of the citizens as a result of the crisis. The misguided nature of these government initiatives affected the security of the country's population.

Building on the efforts of the Malaysian government, several international organizations also contributed financial support and policy prescriptions to Malaysia to facilitate recovery from the financial turmoil. For example, the World Bank provided Malaysia with a significant sum of money for social sector reform, economic stability and social program maintenance. The loan offered by this institution enabled the Malaysian government to implement numerous policies. As was the case, with the initiatives implemented by Malaysia's government, this loan appears to have the potential to enhance the security of Malaysia's population. These programs are directed at improving the lives of the

Malaysian citizens most affected by the financial crisis.

The support of international organizations also enabled Malaysia to maintain its education budget. Moreover, the funding from these organizations helped the Malaysian government open new health clinics. The impact of these initiatives on human security is clear. Education is an important element in ensuring an individual's future livelihood. The enhancement of educational opportunities in Malaysia definitely serves to enhance the security of the population. The increased number of health clinics is also of integral importance to the security of Malaysia's citizens. Access to proper medical treatment is invaluable and necessary for the safety and security of individuals.

A significant portion of this text has been dedicated to assessing the social impact of the crisis and the recovery initiatives from a gender perspective. The discussion above clearly demonstrates that the crisis had a serious impact on women in the country. This paper highlighted that approximately half of all Malaysians who lost jobs as a result of the crisis were women. As outlined earlier, unemployment has a serious effect on the security of the individual. Both men and women share the same concerns generated by unemployment. However, this issue had even greater implications for a significant percentage of Malaysia's female population during and after the peak of the crisis. This paper reported that approximately 600,000 female single parent families exist in Malaysia. Unemployment is a great concern for

these women as it is only their income that supports the family. If unemployment has the potential to place two parent families in a state of insecurity one can only imagine the impact of this situation on the single parent families of Malaysia.

Moreover, for many Malaysian women the loss of unemployment is compounded by a lack of alternative job opportunities. The lack of job opportunities has generated concern regarding the number of Malaysian women who will turn to prostitution and the commercial sex trade to replace lost incomes. Working in the sex sector does not offer a secure and sustainable livelihood. The women who labour in this industry are at risk for contracting a variety of diseases. A profession that puts one at risk for contracting diseases and illness is not an occupation that offers a secure existence.

This paper also addressed the issue of domestic abuse in Malaysia. As outlined earlier, evidence suggests that domestic abuse increases in times of economic difficulty. Moreover, research indicates that the incidence of domestic abuse in Malaysia increased during the peak year of the crisis, 1998. Women who are abused, physically, mentally or sexually are not living in a secure environment. Given the crisis and the increasing number of domestic abuse cases in Malaysia, it is likely that a fair number of Malaysian women are living in insecure environments.

Post-crisis social reconstruction was intended to support and enhance the lives of all Malaysians and address the concerns

generated by the financial turmoil in the country. Unfortunately, it is not clear if the lives and well being of Malaysia's women have been positively influenced by the recovery endeavours. The security of women in Malaysia is compromised after the crisis because many of the recovery programs give little or no consideration to women and their unique experiences during the crisis. For example, approximately half of the unemployed in Malaysia were women. However, none of the recovery unemployment programs address this issue in relation to women. Therefore, one is left to question if women are to be included in these recovery initiatives. Moreover, none of the recovery programs address the impact of the crisis on the approximately 600,000 female-headed single parent families in Malaysia. This paper also discussed the very serious issue of domestic abuse and the increasing number of reported cases in Malaysia during the crisis. The recovery programs also did not address this very clear security concern. The lack of consideration to these issues in the recovery programs makes it difficult to assert that the security of women in Malaysia is enhanced with the implementation of the crisis recovery initiatives.

The reconstruction programs implemented in Malaysia, to ameliorate the impact of the financial crisis, have privileged certain segments of society and marginalized others. Recovery from the economic crisis cannot be considered complete until all segments of society are included and supported in the recovery endeavours. Malaysia needs to initiate programs that target the

marginalized and address their concerns. More specifically, the concerns of women need to be given attention so that the precarious and insecure position of women can be improved. Only with the generation of such targeted programs can Malaysia's reconstruction be considered complete and a success.

The Crisis in Indonesia: The Social Impact

The years leading up to the Asian economic crisis were prosperous times for Indonesia. The country appeared economically sound and it was considered one of the "...best performing economies..."[163] in the region. In fact, given its economic credentials, economists thought Indonesia would be safe from the economic contagion that was afflicting neighbouring countries.[164] The world soon learned, however, that Indonesia's "strong economy" was not enough to protect the country from the region's financial storm.

The economic contagion generated numerous social concerns in Indonesia. Similar to the situation in Thailand and Malaysia, one of the greatest social issues instigated by the crisis was the increase in the number of unemployed individuals in the country. Given the severity of the economic turmoil, many businesses and industries faced insolvency. Consequently, thousands of individuals lost their jobs or were laid off. In 1996, the open

---

[163]Charles Harvie, "Indonesia: The Road from Economic and Social Collapse," in The Asia Crisis The Cures, their Effectiveness and the Prospects After (New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 2000), 112.

[164]Ibid., 112.

unemployment rate in Indonesia was estimated at close to 5% of the population.[165]   In 1998, the International Labour Organization reported Indonesia's unemployment rate at 5.5% of the working population.   In 1999, the rate increased and was reported at 6.3%[166]; an unemployment rate higher than Indonesia's neighbours. The sectors most affected by the economic crisis included: manufacturing, construction, urban services, real estate and banking.[167]

.It is important to note that the unemployment rates reported above may not convey a true picture of the unemployment situation in Indonesia. Informal sector workers are not considered in official unemployment statistics. It is difficult, however, to consider individuals whose only source of income stems from the informal sector as regular employees with full-time employment. Close to two-thirds of all employment in Indonesia is supported through the informal sector.[168]   Therefore, the inclusion of informal sector workers in official unemployment statistics would serve to substantially increase the official number of unemployed individuals in the country.

---

[165]Cross Departmental and Reports Analysis Team, 13.

[166]Asian Development Bank, <u>Indonesia: Asian Development Outlook 2000</u> [Online]; available from <u>www.adb.org/publications/ ado2000/indonesia.pdf</u>; Internet accessed 15 May 2000.

[167]Mohammad Sadli, "The Indonesian Crisis," in <u>Southeast Asia's Economic Crisis Origins, Lessons, and the Way Forward</u>, H.W. Arndt and Hal Hill, eds. (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies,, 1999), 24.

[168]Ibid., 13.

Indonesia, like Thailand and Malaysia, also experienced an increase in its inflation rate because of the financial crisis. Throughout the crisis, the inflation rate escalated more than the Indonesian government anticipated and this situation had a profound effect on the country's population.[169] With the onset of the financial turmoil and the increase in inflation, the price of certain commodities increased by 200-300%, between November 1997 and March 1998.[170] The increase in inflation also affected the real wages of Indonesian workers.[171] The increase in inflation caused workers to experience a decline in their buying power. The increase in the price of goods and the decline in real wage values made it difficult for the general population to afford many basic necessities. For the individuals who lost employment during the crisis, the price escalations were even more worrisome. With the increase in the cost of goods, it is likely a substantial percent of Indonesia's population was not able to afford basic food items. As a result, it is very likely this portion of Indonesia's population faced hunger during the crisis period.[172]

[169]Charles Harvie, "Indonesia: The Road from Economic and Social Collapse," in The Asia Crisis The Cures, their Effectiveness, and the Prospects After(New York, New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 2000), 111.

[170]WorldBank, Social Policy and Governance: Health and Nutrition [Online]; available from www.worldbank.org/eapsocial/ countries/indon/health1.htm; Internet accessed 4 May 2000.

[171]Lee, 47.

[172]"Still sick and gloomy, now rebellious," The Economist (July 11, 1998), 42.

For many Indonesians, however, the change in employment status and the increases in inflation were compounded by the fact that Indonesia did not have a significant social safety net in place to soften the impact of the financial crisis. A major component of a social safety net is unemployment insurance. At the time of the crisis Indonesia did not have an unemployment benefits scheme in place.[173] The lack of unemployment insurance intensified the effect of the economic crisis. Essentially, the recourse offered in the form of unemployment insurance could have prevented an impoverished existence for many Indonesians.

Many social safety net schemes also include legislation regarding severance pay packages. At the time of the crisis, severance pay requirements, involving a payment of four months salary, did exist in Indonesia. Severance pay, like unemployment insurance can provide a crutch for an unemployed worker. The sum obtained through severance pay can support the livelihood of an individual and his or her family. Essentially, this payment can reduce the desperation that results from the loss of employment. However, with the significant number of corporate insolvencies in the country after the crisis, the ability of many Indonesian businesses and corporations to meet their severance pay obligations deteriorated.[174] As a result, a significant percentage of the population did not obtain the benefits they were

---

[173]Lee, 52.

[174]Ibid., 52.

entitled to receive.

The crisis also affected the healthcare services in Indonesia. As a result of the crisis and the IMF reform package, the government reduced the money available to the public health sector. The public health sector also experienced a decrease in charitable donations and community contributions.[175] The decreases in funding affected the services and programs available to Indonesia's citizens. According to the World Bank, this situation affected immunization and disease control programs in the country.[176] In 1998, it was estimated that 68% of Indonesia's population accessed public health services and it was anticipated demand for services would increase. However, the decrease in available money and the increase in public service usage generate questions and doubts regarding the adequacy of the health care services in Indonesia.[177]

Children in Indonesia were also implicated in the financial turmoil. It is estimated that approximately 20% of the country's children, as a result of the crisis, were at risk of leaving school. Many children from poor Indonesian families leave school to find employment and to enhance the family's income. For these

---

[175]James Knowles, Ernesto M. Pernia and Mary Racelis, "Social Consequences of the Financial Crisis in Asia: The Deeper Crisis," Manilla Social Forum: The New Social Agenda for East and Southeast Asia 8-12 November 1999, 5-6. [Online]; available from www.orion.forumone.com/spgovern/files/fcqi/ 402_p2epernia. pdf. Internet accessed 12 May 2000.

[176]WorldBank,www.worldbank.org/eapsocial/countries/indon/health1.htm

[177]Cross Departmental and Reports Analysis Team, 26.

children and their families the income earned by the child is necessary for the family's livelihood.[178] The decline in school enrolments has been so profound in Jakarta the government has initiated the closing of over 80 elementary schools.[179]

The economic turmoil also heightened ethnic tensions and conflicts in Indonesia. During the spring of 1998, at the height of the student protests, organized mobs went through Jakarta "...on a rampage of looting, arson and rape..."[180] targeting the affluent ethnic Chinese minority in Indonesia. In the end over 1,200 people died.[181] Clearly, the frustrations of the economic crisis and its resulting consequences were directed at the ethnic Chinese portion of the Indonesian population.

The Social Impact: A Gendered Impact

In the years leading up to the economic crisis, Indonesia experienced a continued increase in development. The country shifted from a primarily agrarian based economy to one focused on manufacturing and export processing. This shift in development enabled a significant number of Indonesian women to find employment in the country. In fact, at the time of the crisis, women in Indonesia constituted approximately 40% of the country's

---

[178]Harvie, 137.

[179]Choong Tet Sieu, 42.

[180]John McBeth, "Shadow Play," Far Eastern Economic Review (July 23, 1998), 23.

[181]Ibid., 27.

labour force.[182]   However, the majority of female labourers were concentrated in a limited number of industries. Women constituted 38% of Indonesia's agricultural workers, 45% of the manufacturing labourers, 51% of all wholesale and retail trade workers and 37% of social and personal service workers.[183]

Two industries greatly affected by the economic downslide include, manufacturing and urban services[184]; two industries that employ a significant number of Indonesia's female labourers. Given the impact of the economic crisis on these industries, a substantial portion of Indonesia's female workers experienced unemployment.   Statistics   indicate   that   women   comprised approximately 50% of the unemployed workers in the country.[185]   It is interesting to note that although women on average comprise 40% of the labourers in Indonesia, they represent half of the number of unemployed citizens.

The high female unemployment rates in Indonesia can be linked to the gender based stereotypes that persist in many countries. These stereotypes, outlined in the previous case studies, have been discussed at length in this paper. A concern with the persistence of these notions in Indonesia is that for many poor and impoverished families the income earned by a woman is

---

[182]Corner, 2.

[183]Ibid., 4.

[184]Sadli, 24.

[185]UNIFEM and CIDA-SEAGEP, www.unifem-eseasia.org/ resources/globaleconomy/TOC.html

fundamental to the wellbeing and livelihood of the family. Reports indicate that approximately 40% of Indonesia's population lives in desperate circumstances as a result of the crisis. Given this situation it is doubtful that the income earned by many women in this country is, as the stereotypes suggest, superfluous and non-essential. Clearly, for approximately 40% of Indonesia's population, the income earned by any worker, regardless of gender, is necessary for the family's livelihood and sustenance.

Similar to the situation in Thailand and Malaysia, few alternative job options exist for unemployed women in Indonesia. As a result, many of the women have had to resort to employment in the informal sector. In Indonesia, it is estimated that women comprise over 65% of the country's informal sector workers. Moreover, women are concentrated in particular industries within the informal sector. Industries such as, food processing, petty trading and homebased work.[186] As outlined earlier, the informal sector does not provide a stable or secure existence.

The economic crisis has also generated a decline in school enrolment in Indonesia. Evidence, however, suggests that the decline in enrolments is higher among female children than male children.[187] In families that cannot afford to send children to school, often it is the female children that are denied an

---

[186]UNIFEM and CIDA-SEAGEP, www.unifem-eseasia.org/resources/globaleconomy/TOC.html

[187]Knowles et al., 7.

education. Ultimately, many families consider an educated son an investment; an investment that will offer a better rate of return than an educated daughter. In these families, female children are valued for the support they can provide to the family in terms of household duties or supplementary incomes from outside work.[188] Denying female children an education, however, affects the child's future well-being and livelihood.

The Reconstruction Efforts

In response to the economic turmoil and the consequent social implications, the Indonesian government, like the Thai and the Malaysian governments, established a variety of reconstruction and recovery initiatives. In order to support these new programs the Indonesian government received funds and loans from a variety of international organizations. The international organizations contributing funds to the Indonesian recovery projects include: the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank (ADB) and a variety of bilateral donors. The money offered to Indonesia was intended to support programs targeted at sustaining food availability, employment creation and social service accessibility for the poor and disadvantaged.[189]

One of the first initiatives taken by the Indonesian

---

[188]Sieu, 41.

[189]Asep Suryahadi, Yusuf Suharos, Sudarno Sumarto, "Coverage and Targeting in the Indonesian Social Safety Net Programs," paper presented at the Manilla Social Forum (8-12 November 1999), 4, [Online]; available from www.orion.forumone.com/spgovern/ files.qcqi/416_p4ssumarto.pdf; Internet accessed 12 May 2000.

government in response to the crisis was the subsidization of certain commodities. Indonesia's financial turmoil generated an increase in inflation that altered the price of basic foodstuff and necessary commodities in the country. The price alterations, in effect, made a majority of basic commodities too expensive and out of reach for a significant percentage of the population. As a result, the government subsidized these commodities to ensure individuals had access to the necessary items. The commodities subsidized by the government include, rice, soybeans, sugar, wheat flour, corn, soybean meal and fishmeal. All of these products account for a significant portion of Indonesian household expenditures. In poor households, these items account for an even greater percentage of the family's income. This program also included the stabilization of the prices of kerosene, gas, diesel, electricity and medicine.[190]

Compounding the price increases in basic commodities in Indonesia was the fact that the economic crisis also disrupted the distribution system in the country. Essentially, many of the trucks that delivered necessary items throughout the country were off the road in need of repairs and the parts and money to make the repairs were not available.[191] Therefore, in many areas of the country, Indonesians could not purchase many basic commodities even if they could afford them. In response to this situation,

---

[190]Lee, 54.

[191]"Still sick and gloomy, now rebellious," The Economist (July 11, 1998),42.

the Indonesian Ministry of Industry and Trade initiated a monitoring system in the country that highlighted areas at risk for potential food crises. The initiation of this system facilitated the process through which the government could make an early response to a potential food shortage.[192] Moreover, the government made improving the distribution system a priority.[193]

In response to the declining school enrolments the government established a "Stay in School Campaign" that offered scholarships and funding to over 2 million junior secondary school students. The program was intended to combat the number of students leaving school because it was no longer an affordable option for the students' families. The program was a five year initiative that totaled US$382 million dollars and was funded by the World Bank, the ADB, UNICEF, the Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID) and the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM). Included in this project was the advancement of block grants to 82,000 primary and junior secondary schools in the country. These grants were intended to offer extra support to the schools that experienced a decline in parental contributions as a result of the crisis.[194]

The World Bank's contribution to the above program was

---

[192]Harvie, 132.

[193]Ibid., 131.

[194]WorldBank, Social Policy and Governance: Education in Indonesia [Online]; www.worldbank.org/eapsocial/countries/indon/educ3.htm; Internet accessed 3 May 2000.

through a US$ 1 billion Policy Reform Support Loan. From this loan, US$850 million was also used to generate labour-intensive work projects and micro-credit programs that offered new employment alternatives to the country's unemployed.[195] The Indonesian government also used the Policy Reform Support Loan to enhance the country's healthcare system. The funds were used to ensure the availability of essential drugs, vaccines and medications for communicable disease control. Moreover, the loan supported funding for hospital and clinic labs and provided additional equipment for hospital emergency rooms. [196]

The Reconstruction Efforts: A Gender Perspective

The Indonesian government, with the support of several international organizations, generated a variety of social recovery and reconstruction programs. The food subsidies, the distribution system enhancement and the additional support for hospitals and clinics, are projects that are useful and effective for a significant percentage of Indonesia's population. However, several of Indonesia's recovery initiatives generate concern regarding women in the country after the economic crisis.

One of the major initiatives launched by the government was a "Stay in School" campaign that offered scholarships and funding to

---

[195]WorldBank, Social Policy and Governance: Employment and Social Protection in Indonesia [Online]; available from www.worldbank.org/eapsocial/countries/indon/emply2.htm; Internet accessed 3 May 2000.

[196]Ibid., www.worldbank.org/eapsocial/countries/indon/health2.htm

junior secondary students to ensure their attendance in school. This was an inventive and beneficial program because it offered support to students while helping the future growth potential of Indonesia. However, as stated earlier in this paper, the level of female enrolment in Indonesia's schools declined with the advent of the economic crisis. The "Stay in School" campaign did not acknowledge this issue in Indonesia's education system.

To improve the effectiveness of this campaign attention should have been given to the issue of the declining number of female children in the education system. The government should have examined and assessed the reasons behind the declining female numbers. Moreover, the "Stay in School" campaign should have specifically targeted female children. This program should have reserved a specific percentage of the available scholarships for Indonesia's female students. After all, it was a significant portion of this population that withdrew from the education system. However, one must keep in mind the pervasiveness of the gender stereotypes in Indonesia. Given these stereotypes one must question how these beliefs may have influenced scholarship disbursement.

Another major component of Indonesia's recovery and reconstruction program was the development of labour-intensive public works and micro-credit programs. The goal of these programs was to offer greater employment opportunities to the increased number of unemployed citizens in Indonesia. Women

comprised 50% of the unemployed in Indonesia. However, one must question the number of women who will benefit from employment in labour-intensive public works programs. Essentially, the efforts to improve the unemployment situation should have specifically addressed the concerns of the country's unemployed female population. Programs should have been established that offered realistic employment opportunities for women.

A significant number of Indonesia's recovery projects received funding from the World Bank. In February 1998, James Wolfensohn, President of the World Bank Group, asserted, Indonesia's World Bank loans would generate "...75 million man-days of low wage jobs during the remainder of 1998."[197] This statement clearly indicates the place of women in the World Bank with regard to its project initiatives. Furthermore, at the time of the World Bank announcement, the Asian Development Bank stated it was offering US$50 million to support the public works program and to initiate projects in areas not covered by the World Bank loan.[198] The lack of acknowledgment of women in the Asian Development Bank announcement also demonstrates the importance of women for this organization. Given these announcements and the lack of awareness of the real unemployment situation in Indonesia, one must question, how many "woman-days" of work will be created by these loans? Essentially, of the US$150 million put towards

---

[197]Wee, 4.

[198]Ibid., 4.

developing employment initiatives in Indonesia, "...not one dollar may be spent on creating one job for one woman."[199]

Clearly, in the reconstruction efforts initiated by the Indonesian government and supported by several international organizations, women are not a priority. None of the major reconstruction projects consider or address the impact of the crisis on women in Indonesia. Therefore, the lives of many Indonesian women have not been enhanced by the social reconstruction programs. The failure of the recovery programs to address issues relative to women perpetuates and deepens the impact of the economic crisis for this segment of the population.

The Impact, the Reconstruction, Gender and Human Security

This paper has highlighted the tremendous impact of the economic crisis in Indonesia. The crisis and its consequent social affects have implicated a significant percentage of Indonesia's population. Essentially, the social impact of the crisis has raised concerns regarding human security in the country.

Unemployment was one of the greatest concerns generated by the economic turmoil in Indonesia. The onset of the crisis precipitated the closure of many of Indonesia's businesses and corporations and increased the number of unemployed citizens in the country. The unemployment rates in Indonesia generate concern with regard to human security in the country. At the most basic

---

[199]Ibid., 4.

level, for human security to be achieved, an individual must have access to the basic necessities that sustain life. These basic requirements include food, shelter and clothing. Unemployment, affects an individual's ability to acquire these basic necessities. When an individual's ability to acquire the basic necessities is impaired, the security of the individual is also impaired. The increase in unemployment in Indonesia affected the ability of many of the country's citizens to acquire the basic necessities and reduced the security of the country's population.

Given the increases in unemployment in Indonesia, many of the country's citizens had to seek alternative forms of revenue. For many Indonesians this meant work in the informal sector. The informal sector however, does not offer a secure existence for an individual and his or her family. Essentially, individuals who work in the informal sector receive lower wages than formal sector workers and often the work is sporadic. A job that does not offer sustainable and continual wages affects an individual's ability to acquire the necessary items for one's livelihood. As stated above, if an individual does not have the ability to acquire the basic necessities, the individual is not secure. It was also stated earlier in this paper that over two-thirds of Indonesia's labour force was employed by the informal sector of the economy and over 60% of the workers were women. Consequently, in Indonesia, two-thirds of the country's workers and their families may live in insecure circumstances. Moreover, given the increase in unemployment in Indonesia, the number of individuals turning to

the informal sector may also increase. Therefore, it is possible that an even greater percentage of Indonesia's population may be employed by the informal sector and as a result, an even greater percentage of Indonesians may be living in insecure circumstances.

The economic crisis also affected the healthcare system in Indonesia. Given the country's economic situation, the government reduced the amount of funding available to public hospitals and clinics. Consequently, the hospitals and clinics were forced to reduce their services and programs. It was stated above, immunization and disease control programs were affected by the cutbacks. This situation generates concern regarding the effectiveness of the services provided by Indonesia's hospitals. Moreover, this situation raises concerns regarding the security of Indonesia's citizens. An individual can be considered secure when he or she has access to proper and adequate medical treatment. An individual who does not have such recourse exists in an insecure state. Given the conditions in Indonesia, precipitated by the economic turmoil, significant numbers of the population may not have access to adequate healthcare and therefore, many of these individuals may exist in insecure conditions.

Another major social issue generated by the economic crisis was the decline of school enrolments in Indonesia. Education is a key component in ensuring an individual's future well-being and livelihood. Therefore, the decline in school enrolments is disconcerting. A significant number of Indonesia's children may be compromising their future employment potential and livelihood

and condemning themselves to a life rife with poverty and insecurity.

In an effort to help cushion the impact of the crisis the Indonesian government, with the support of numerous international organizations, implemented recovery programs such as the subsidization of basic foodstuffs including rice, sugar, wheat, flour and soybeans. This project also included efforts to stabilize the cost of gas, kerosene, electricity and medicine. This paper has discussed the impact of the crisis on the ability of individuals to acquire certain basic necessities. This paper has also clearly indicated that the failure of an individual to acquire these items constitutes a state of insecurity for the individual. Therefore, this program is clearly an attempt by the government and the international community to ensure that all individuals have access to the basic necessities so that all individuals in Indonesia can exist in a state of relative security.

This text has discussed the inability of many Indonesians to access food and the basic necessities of life. The inability of individuals to acquire these items was largely a result of the increase in unemployment and inflation in the country however, it was also a result of transportation concerns in Indonesia. Transportation problems generated food shortages in certain areas of the country. In an effort to alleviate this issue and its potential to affect human security in Indonesia, the government generated a monitoring program to ensure that all areas of the

country had access to food and other essential items. Ensuring that all regions of Indonesia are able to receive necessary items is an important step to ensuring the citizens of Indonesia are secure.

Earlier, this paper outlined the impact of the crisis on education in Indonesia. In order to soften the impact of the crisis on education, the government initiated a "Stay in School" campaign. As a part of this initiative the government provided educational scholarships to over two million students. The government also provided funding to schools to help with the decline in parental financial support. Clearly, these initiatives will help to maintain the education levels of Indonesia's youth. These programs will also improve the future security of Indonesia's younger generation. As stated earlier, an education is important in enabling an individual to maintain an acceptable quality of life and maintain a relatively secure existence.

The Indonesian government, with the support of various International Organizations, also implemented a program to improve the healthcare system in the country. The government stated it would implement a program to ensure that all essential drugs, medications and vaccines for communicable disease control were available and accessible to the public. Clearly, this program has the potential to enhance human security in Indonesia. Access to certain medications is imperative in ensuring the safety and security of a population. Through this program, the government is attempting to meet this requirement. If the government is able to

follow through with these assertions, the government will have contributed to the security of the Indonesian population.

Finally, to combat one of the greatest concerns generated by the crisis, unemployment, Indonesia and the international community created several employment initiatives. For example, labour-intensive work projects were developed and implemented. Micro-credit loan programs were also established to generate greater employment options in the country. Each of these programs attempts to enhance the lives of Indonesia's citizens and indirectly aims to improve human security in the country. This paper has clearly demonstrated that employment is one of the fundamental elements in ensuring an individual is secure. Therefore, by initiating these programs, Indonesia is attempting to provide its citizens with the necessary tools to generate a secure livelihood.

A significant portion of this paper has been dedicated to examining the gender impact of the crisis and the gender awareness of the recovery initiatives. This paper has clearly demonstrated that women in Indonesia were affected by the financial turmoil. For example, outlined in greater detail above, this paper highlighted that approximately half of the individuals who lost jobs as a result of the crisis were women. Many women lost jobs during the crisis because of gender based stereotypes that exist in Southeast Asia. The loss of employment may be more difficult for women as the existence of these stereotypes make it more difficult for women to find alternative employment.

Given the lack of employment options available to women, many female workers have had to turn to the informal sector. Earlier, this paper stated that approximately 65% of Indonesia's informal sector workers are women. As stated repeatedly in this paper, the informal sector does not provide a safe and secure existence for an individual. Given the conditions of the informal sector and given the number of women who work in this field, it is fair to assert that a significant percentage of women in Indonesia experience great insecurity and instability in their lives. Compounding this issue is the fact that the economic crisis will likely escalate the number of women working under these conditions and therefore increase the number of insecure women in Indonesia.

This paper also outlined the impact of the crisis on education in Indonesia. The crisis precipitated a decline in school enrolment in the country. The impact of this situation was clearly outlined and discussed above. Ultimately, the declining school enrolments will have a tremendous impact on the future livelihood and security of Indonesia's younger generation. This situation has particular relevance to the gender elements of this paper as evidence indicates that more girls are leaving school than boys. This paper highlighted how certain beliefs pervade within Indonesia that consider boys more important to educate than girls. This situation has clear implications for the security of Indonesia's female population. Many of the country's young girls may not receive an adequate education and thus, many young Indonesian girls may not acquire the necessary tools for a safe

and secure future.

Compounding the insecurity among Indonesia's female population is the fact that none of the country's crisis recovery initiatives address the specific concerns of women. For example, none of the employment initiatives address the fact that women constitute approximately half of all individuals unemployed as a result of the crisis. None of the recovery programs address the significant number of women who use the informal sector as their only .source of revenue. Moreover, the government's education recovery program does not acknowledge that more girls than boys are leaving school. Therefore, one is left to questions if female students will receive the scholarships provided by the government. Will female students be targeted for the "Stay in School" campaign?

Post-crisis social recovery was intended to support and enhance the lives of Indonesia's citizens after the economic crisis. However, given the failure of the recovery initiatives to address the concerns and issues that pertain to women, it is questionable if the lives and well being of Indonesia's female citizens have been positively influenced by the recovery initiatives. Moreover, the inability of the recovery programs to address the needs and the concerns of the women of Indonesia raises questions regarding the security of the country's female population. Essentially, a significant percentage of Indonesia's population was offered no recourse and support for their specific needs after the economic crisis. Therefore, this segment of the

population may be enduring continued insecurity.

Canada and the Asian Financial Crisis

In the years preceding the financial crisis, Asia was a focal point for Canadian foreign policy and an important point of focus for Canadian trade. Canada highlighted the significance of the region when it declared itself a Pacific nation, initiated Team Canada trade missions to several Asia Pacific countries, and in 1997, hosted the Asia Pacific Economic Co-Operation (APEC) summit meeting in Vancouver.[200] Moreover, the Canadian government declared 1997, "...as Canada's Year of Asia Pacific."[201] Given the obvious significance of this region to Canada, the following section will examine Canada's support for its Asia Pacific neighbours in the context of the financial crisis.

The case studies outlined in this paper clearly demonstrated the social impact of the economic crisis. More specifically, the case studies highlighted the impact of the crisis on human security in Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia. Given the place of human security on Canada's foreign policy agenda, this paper will also assess Canada's contributions to Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia in the context of human security. Did Canada make a

---

[200]Dane Rowlands, "High Finance and Low Politics: Canada and the Asian Financial Crisis," in <u>Canada Among Nations 1999 A Big League Player?</u> Eds. Fen Osler Hampson, Martin Rudner and Michael Hart (Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press, 1999), 113.

[201]Maureen Appel Molot and Fen Osler Hampson, "Asia Pacific Face-Off," in <u>Canada Among Nations 1997 Asia Pacific Face-Off</u> eds. Fen Osler Hampson, Maureen Appel Molot and Martin Rudner (Canada: Carleton University Press, 1997), 1.

concerted effort to address the human security concerns in the region? Is Canada's human security policy viable in this context?

Canadian Responses to the Crisis

Given the importance of Asia in Canadian foreign policy and trade and given, as well, the structure of the international financial system, it was not surprising that the Canadian economy was also affected by the Asian financial contagion. Essentially, Canada experienced reduced economic growth, depressed commodity prices and diminished trade with the countries affected by the crisis.[202] As a result of this situation, Canada proposed changes to the international financial architecture in order to prevent future financial crises. The policies supported by the Canadian government included: measures to control capital liberalization, economic surveillance combined with peer review and guidance, enhanced private sector involvement in terms of burden-sharing, relief programs sensitive to the social ramifications, fiscal stimulus and more spending on Official Development Assistance (ODA).[203]

However, beyond lobbying its peers for changes to the international financial system, Canada also offered bilateral aid to countries affected by the crisis. The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) provided a significant amount of money

---

[202]John Kirton, "Canada as a principal financial power G-7 and IMF diplomacy in the crisis of 1997-9," International Journal (Autumn 1999): 604-605.

[203]Ibid., 606.

to support the recovery initiatives of the crisis affected Asian countries. In order to direct aid to the affected countries, CIDA developed a framework to facilitate the Canadian response to the crisis. This framework helped Canadian officials determine the areas in need of the greatest support.[204]

The CIDA framework involved a two-pronged approach to the crisis. One area of focus was the immediate concerns generated by the financial turmoil. In this context, the Canadian framework emphasized the need for funding and support to help the most vulnerable in the countries affected by the crisis. Under this heading of the framework, CIDA also provided financial support for crisis-related policies developed in the affected countries.[205]

The second section of CIDA's response framework focused on broader issues and concerns generated by the crisis. Under this section, CIDA highlighted the importance of developing policies and programs directed at creating a better future for the crisis affected countries and their citizens. Issues falling under this section of the framework include: funding for improved economic governance, policies to broaden domestic governance, enhanced environmental management and reduced insecurity and vulnerability for citizens in the region.[206]

---

[204]Paul Hunter, Responding to the Asian Crisis CIDA framework, Canadian International Development Agency, 1999, 1.

[205]Ibid., 1.

[206]Ibid., 1.

The Canadian Response: Thailand

Canadian support to Thailand to help address the impact of the financial crisis was varied. Through the Canadian International Development agency, Canada provided a significant amount of money to support Thailand's recovery. As outlined above, governance issues were a central factor on CIDA's crisis response framework. Given the centrality of governance issues within the framework, Thailand received $1 million from the Canadian government to improve governance in the country. This fund was to be used to examine existing constitutional doctrines and to develop new constitutional goals. A portion of the fund was also to be used for the examination of the social impact of the financial turmoil in the country.[207]

Policies and projects related to economic enhancement also had an important place on Canada's response framework. Following through with its belief that economic enhancement was important for Thailand's recovery the Canadian government provided over $5 million to promote collaboration between Canadian and Thai businesses. This program was intended to facilitate business relationships that would enable Canadian businesses to act in an advisory capacity with Thai firms. A similar amount of money was dedicated to enhancing the National Economic and Social Development Board; a board that acts in an advisory capacity to the Thai government. Through funding this organization it was

---

[207]Brian Hunter, <u>Asian Crisis: CIDA Response</u>, The Canadian International Development Agency, June 1, 1999, 4.

anticipated this board would better serve as an economic advisor to the Thai government.[208] Moreover, projects aimed at developing new approaches to natural resource management were also highlighted in Canadian funding initiatives. The sharing of environmental technology was another project promoted by the Canadian government.[209]

Policies and projects directed towards improving the lives of Thai citizens also received support from the Canadian government. Over $8 million was provided to improve Thai non-governmental organizations (NGO's) and rural development programs. It was anticipated that through the funding of NGO's and development projects, self-determination among Thai citizens, living in economically deprived areas, would be enhanced. Approximately $100,000 was also earmarked to help Thailand implement the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. Moreover, $500,000 was provided for projects aimed at enhancing and improving the managerial, technical and entrepreneurial acumen of women in Thailand while also raising awareness of the importance of gender equity.[210]

Clearly, Canada has offered a significant amount of support to Thailand for post-crisis reconstruction. It is important to note that many of the projects outlined above are long-term

---

[208]Brian Hunter, Responding to the Crisis CIDA Framework, 5.

[209]Ibid., 11.

[210]Ibid., 8-9.

initiatives. In many instances the amount of money provided by the Canadian government was spread over several years. Moreover, many of the projects were initiated prior to the financial turmoil in Thailand.[211]

Human Security and the Canadian Response

As outlined above, governance was a prominent topic within CIDA's Financial Crisis Response Framework. Given the importance of this issue, the Canadian government provided financial support to Thailand to improve governance in the country. Citizens who live in countries where legitimate governance is valued and enshrined are likely to live in a state of security, as countries that value governance also value the individual and his or her human rights. Canada's support for improved governance in Thailand is important as it contributes towards improving human security in the country.

The promotion of enhanced economic ties between Thailand and Canada was another project that benefited from Canadian support. As detailed above, money was provided for collaboration between Canadian and Thai businesses. It was anticipated that Thai businesses would learn from their Canadian counterparts and improve their economic health at the same time. This project had the potential to improve the security of Thailand's citizens.

---

[211]For greater elaboration see, Canadian International Development Agency, Asia-Pacific Thailand Canadian assistance [online];available from www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/cidaweb/ webcountry.nsf.vluDocEn/Thailand-Canadianassistance Internet accessed 10 January 2001.

Essentially, Canadian firms could help Thai businesses become more stable and secure in the economic arena. This endeavour would then enable Thai businesses to sustain a workforce. The increased number of stable and thriving businesses in Thailand would generate employment opportunities for Thai citizens. Opportunities to acquire and maintain employment would provide Thai citizens with the necessary tools to exist in a state of relative security.

Canada also provided support for policies aimed at improving the living conditions of Thailand's people. Canadian funding was directed towards improving Thai NGO's and rural development programs so that these groups and their initiatives would be more effective in improving the self-determination of Thai citizens in less prosperous regions of the country. Upon first consideration, it easy to assert, that any attention to vulnerable Thai citizens will help to improve their existence and consequently improve their security. Therefore, one is inclined to state that Canada's support for improved self-determination in Thailand enhanced human security in the country. However, although these projects have the potential to improve the lives and security of Thai citizens, it is prudent to examine the specific development projects and self-determination initiatives before making concrete assertions regarding their utility, their viability and their relevance to human security in the country.

Finally, Canadian support was offered to generate programs directed towards enhancing the business acumen of Thailand's women. The opportunity to improve business skills enhances a

woman's chances of finding lasting and sustainable employment. Achieving lasting and sustainable employment would enable a woman to improve the state of security in which she lives. Thus, this Canadian funded program has the potential to improve the security of Thailand's female population.

Clearly, the projects supported by the Canadian government in Thailand have the potential to have a positive effect on human security in the country. However, it is interesting to note that although Canada proclaims to make human security a clear priority in foreign policy initiatives, it did not offer aid and support to Thailand with the direct goal of improving human security in the country. For all the projects supported, none of Canada's financial support was offered with the explicit intention of improving human security in Thailand. Why did Canada, a country for which human security is an integral part of its foreign policy initiatives, not make a direct attempt towards improving human security in a country where the security of the population was at risk? At the very least, it was anticipated that Canada would make some mention of human security in its policy pronouncements with regard to the financial crisis. Moreover, it was expected that the Canadian government would outline certain projects and discuss their value with regard to improving human security in Thailand. Canada's failure to specifically address human security in Thailand raises questions regarding the Canadian government's commitment to this policy.

It is also important to note that although many of the

Canadian supported projects will provide indirect enhanced security to the Thai population, several of the country's initiatives are flawed. First, most of these endeavours will provide the greatest benefits over a long period of time. It will take time to develop improved and legitimate policies in relation to governance, it will take time to establish relationships between Thai and Canadian businesses and it will take time to educate women so that they have improved business skills. Therefore, one is left to question, what will happen to Thai citizens in the meantime? The CIDA response framework highlights the establishment of immediate responses to the crisis, however, in the case of Thailand, it appears long-term policy solutions were given priority. As a result, human security for many Thai citizens may remain elusive. For a significant period of time, Canadian support may not translate into more secure circumstances for many of Thailand's citizens.

Gender and the Canadian Response

A significant portion of this paper has been dedicated to assessing the gendered impact of the crisis. This paper has clearly demonstrated that women in Thailand had different experiences during the crisis than men. For example, the Thai case study highlighted that in all industries more women than men lost jobs as a result of the crisis. The case study also outlined how gender based stereotypes affect the opportunities available to women. Therefore, it is instructive to examine the Canadian government's support to Thailand for post-crisis recovery and

assess the consideration given to gender. Attention will be given to the Canadian government's sensitivity to gender concerns with regard to the crisis as the Canadian International Development Agency states that, "gender equality must be considered an integral part of all CIDA policies, programs and projects."[212]

In the funding offered to Thailand for post-crisis recovery, gender issues were considered by the Canadian government. For example, as mentioned above, the government provided support for rural development projects and initiatives aimed at promoting self-reliance. Under this guise of this project the government stated that a priority would be given to "…activities focusing on Women…"[213]. The differentiation and specific mention of women demonstrates the Canadian government's willingness to address gender issues and concerns.

As stated above, the Canadian government also directed funds to a project focused on enhancing the "…political, entrepreneurial and managerial skills…"[214] of women in Thailand. This project also raised awareness for the legal rights of women and led to the generation of gender equity clauses in Thailand's new

---

[212]Canadian International Development Agency, CIDA's Policy on Gender Equality [online]; available from www.acdi-cida.ca/cida_ind.nsf. Internet accessed 15 February 2001.

[213]Canadian International Development Agency, List of projects in Thailand [online]; available from www.acdi-cida.gc.ca Internet accessed 10 January 2001.

[214]Ibid.,www.acdi-cida.gc.ca

constitution.[215] Clearly, by establishing projects and providing funding for initiatives that specifically pertain to women, Canada is following through with its assertions regarding the importance and value of gender awareness.

However, it is also instructive to consider that the funding directed towards gender initiatives is considerably less than the funding issued for other crisis recovery projects in Thailand. For example, the project aimed at enhancing women's skills was given $600,000 over five years[216], while other projects, such as the program focused on governance and the social impact of the crisis, received $1 million. The program focusing on the development of business collaboration between Thailand and Canada received $5.2 million over three years. The disparity in funding is disconcerting. The case study demonstrated that more women than men lost jobs during the crisis. Therefore, the project directed at improving women's business skills would be very useful under these circumstances. However, with the limited funding, one must question the number of women who will benefit from the project. The disparity in funding also leaves one to question just how committed the Canadian government is to gender issues and gender equity. This is particularly relevant given CIDA's assertions regarding the creation of gender equitable policies.

---

[215]Ibid.,www.acdi-cida.qc.ca

[216]Please see CIDA's website for a list of projects funded and the amount of support offered by the Canadian government, available from www.acdi-acdi.qc.ca

It is difficult to create equitable policies without equitable resources.

The doubts regarding the Canadian government's commitment to gender are solidified upon closer inspection of the other projects supported by the government. For example, the re-examination of Canada's support for governance projects in Thailand reveals some concerns. The Canadian government provided approximately $1 million to improve governance in the Thailand. The money from this project was to be used to educate Thai government officials and citizens on issues that pertain to good governance.[217] Furthermore, a portion of this fund was to be used for the examination of the social impact of the crisis.[218] In earmarking funds for the examination of the social impact of the crisis the Canadian government did not specify the need to study a gendered impact of the crisis. As the case studies in this paper demonstrate, the citizens in the countries affected by the financial turmoil did not all share the same crisis experiences. In particular, the case studies show that women and men were not affected by the crisis in the same manner. As a result, a gendered examination of the crisis is imperative in ensuring that the concerns of all individuals are acknowledged. A gendered account of the crisis is necessary to ensure that funding is

---

[217]Canadian International Development Agency, List of projects in Thailand [online]; available from www.acdi-cida.gc.ca Internet accessed 10 January 2001.

[218]Hunter, Asian Crisis: CIDA response, 4.

directed to those that need the most support. If the Canadian government was serious about creating gender equitable policies, the government should have clearly specified in its projects that gender concerns were to garner specific attention.

Canadian funding, as outlined earlier, was also used to establish business collaboration between Canadian and Thai firms. From a gender perspective this project has concerns. It would be very useful for women in Thailand to participate in this project so that they could learn from their Canadian peers. However, women were not specifically mentioned with regard to this initiative. The Thai case study outlines how gender-based stereotypes in Thailand affect the opportunities available to women. Essentially, gender-based stereotypes exist in Thailand that do not consider women as important economic contributors. Therefore, it is very likely, that without specific direction by the Canadian government to included women in this initiative, women would not be given this opportunity. Given these circumstances, it is very important that the Canadian government clearly specify that women must be considered and included in all projects.

The Canadian Response: Malaysia

As an economy affected by the financial crisis, Malaysia received funding and support from the Canadian government. The support offered to Malaysia, however, was not nearly as substantial and abundant as the support provided to Thailand. One organization that benefited from Canadian bilateral aid was the

Malaysian Institute for Economic Research. This institute received $4.9 million from the Canadian government over a period of seven years. This organization has a very influential role in determining Malaysian government policy. Consequently, Canadian motivation with regard to this institute was to ensure the continuation of "…relevant economic policy research…"[219]. It is important to add that this organization completed studies on the crisis and made crisis related policy recommendations to the government.[220] Therefore, similar to an initiative in Thailand, a portion of Canada's aid went to support research and examinations aimed at assessing the impact of the financial crisis in Malaysia.

Canada also offered $4.9 million over four years to Malaysia to help develop economic relationships and collaborations between Canadian and Malaysian businesses. The goal of the project was to have Canadian firms act as advisors and a source of support for Malaysian businesses. The environment, the telecommunications industry, pharmaceutical companies, information technology industries and companies focused on forestry are just a sample of the sectors that benefited from improved business connections with Canada.[221] A similar program was implemented in Thailand.

---

[219]Canadian International Development Agency, List of Bilateral Projects in Malaysia [online]; available from www.acdi-cida.gc.ca Internet accessed 10 January 2001.

[220]Brian Hunter, Responding to the crisis, 3.

[221]Canadian International Development Agency, List of Bilateral Projects in Malaysia [online]; available from www.acdi-cida.gc.ca Internet accessed 10 January 2001.

Finally, the Canadian government provided $500,000 over five years to support the enhancement of the "entrepreneurial, managerial and technical skills..."[222] of women. This money was also to be used to increase knowledge and awareness of gender issues among the Malaysian population while also supporting programs that served to improve the lives of women. Programs supported by Canadian funding include, entrepreneurial training for women, a crisis and support centre for women and skills training in the area of information technology.[223]

Human Security and the Canadian Response

One of the major organizations receiving Canadian funding was Malaysia's Institute for Economic Research. This organization, as stated previously, performs economic research and makes policy recommendations to the Malaysian government. It was also stated that Canadian funding has helped this organization perform studies on the crisis in Malaysia and make policy recommendations to the Malaysian government. Studies on the social impact of the crisis are necessary for directing the crisis recovery and for the enhancement of the security of Malaysia's citizens. Only through awareness of the impact of the crisis and its social ramifications can the government adopt policies to ameliorate the concerns instigated by the financial turmoil and improve the security of the country's population. By supporting research initiatives and

---

[222]Brian Hunter, Responding to the crisis, 9.

[223]Canadian International Development Agency, List of Bilateral Projects in Malaysia [online]; available from www.acdi-

policy development the Canadian government is indirectly promoting human security in Malaysia.

Similar to a project in Thailand, Canada also provided funds for the development of business relationships between Canadian and Malaysian firms. Essentially, this project was intended to enhance Malaysia's industries and corporations. It was anticipated that by working with Canadian counterparts and learning from peers, Malaysian businesses would learn how to improve their financial situation and economic standing. Improved economic positions were expected to generate increased employment opportunities for Malaysian citizens. Increased employment options provide Malaysians with the opportunity to acquire what is needed to live in a relative state of security. Therefore, by introducing this program, Canada is again indirectly improving the security of Malaysia's population while also maintaining its commitment to make human security a foreign policy priority.

Finally, Canada supported projects aimed at improving the technical and business skills of Malaysia's women. The goal of this project was to provide women with the necessary skills to enhance their employability. Employment is fundamental to a safe and secure existence. Therefore, when a woman or an individual has a greater opportunity to gain employment the woman or the individual has a greater opportunity to live in a state of security. Consequently, Canada is promoting human security by supporting programs that enhance the employability of Malaysia's

cida.gc.ca Internet accessed 10 January 2001.

citizens.

These programs discussed above will definitely help to enhance the lives of Malaysia's citizens. However, similar to the Canadian initiatives in Thailand, projects that appear to have long term benefits for the Malaysian population seem to take precedent over projects that address the immediate concerns generated by the financial turmoil. What about the individuals who could not afford to purchase food and other necessities? What about the Malaysian citizens who lost homes as a result of the crisis and who no longer have a place to live? Canada has taken steps to improve the employment situation in Malaysia and the projects will help ameliorate the impact of the crisis. However, the programs Canada has funded will take time to benefit Malaysia's citizens. Training for a new skill, enhancing business connections and researching the impact of the crisis will not immediately provide support to the people in need. What about the security of those in immediate need? Ultimately, the failure of the Canadian government to address the pressing issues of the crisis raises questions about Canada's approach to human security.

Contributing to the questions surrounding Canada's approach to human security is that the fact that the government did not initiate one project directly addressing human insecurity in Malaysia after the crisis. This same situation occurred with the Canadian response in Thailand. For a country that proclaims to make human security a priority and a central focus of its foreign policy endeavours, the Canadian government's lack of

acknowledgment of human security, in response to the financial crisis, creates doubts surrounding the government's commitment to the policy. Essentially, the Canadian funded programs in Malaysia can be viewed in the context of human security. However, one must question Canada's failure to directly address human security in its response to Malaysia's crisis. This paper has shown the grave human insecurity in Southeast Asia after the financial turmoil. As a result, one is left to question why the government would not use this situation as an opportunity to follow through with its human security policy.

Gender and the Canadian Response

Building on the response to the crisis in Thailand, Canada also supported projects in Malaysia that targeted women. As outlined above, Canada provided multi-year support to a Malaysian project directed at helping women acquire useful skills such as managerial and entrepreneurial expertise. Furthermore, as stated earlier, this project also funded the creation of a Support and Crisis Centre in Malaysia. Clearly, by supporting these endeavours Canada is demonstrating the importance of gender issues in its policy initiatives.

However, not all of the projects supported by the Canadian government in Malaysia were sensitive to gender issues or considered how to enhance the lives of women in the country. Essentially, the other policies and projects supported by the Canadian government in Malaysia give no mention to the notion of gender. For example, the Canadian government provided funding to

a research institute to examine the financial crisis in Malaysia and its impact on Malaysian society. However, the Canadian government made no assertions regarding the importance of examining the differential impact of the crisis on men and women in the country. Clearly, with this initiative the Canadian government has not followed through with its attempts to make gender equality a priority. If gender equality was a priority for the Canadian government it would have stressed that examinations of the differential impact of the crisis were imperative and necessary to adequately address the crisis and its impact.

The Canadian government also funded a program to enhance Canadian and Malaysian business collaboration. This project did not give specific details to include women or include female dominated businesses. Therefore, one is left to question if women will be given the opportunity to benefit from this program. It is important to note, that the case study in this paper discussed the gender-based stereotypes that exist in Malaysia and affect the opportunities available to women. Given these stereotypes it is very doubtful women or female-orientated businesses would be a part of this project. If the Canadian government was truly concerned about gender issues the government should have targeted businesses that focus on enhancing woman's lives or businesses that involve a significant number of female workers. Ultimately, the lack of sensitivity towards gender issues in a significant number of the Canadian supported projects in Malaysia, generates doubts regarding the Canadian government's sensitivity to gender

issues.

The Canadian Response: Indonesia

Indonesia received substantial support from the Canadian government in response to the crisis. In fact, Indonesia was considered the "primary focus" of CIDA "because of the depth of the crisis and the severity of the social impact."[224] Given the widespread impact of the crisis in Indonesia, Canada supported a diverse set of programs and initiatives. One of the main areas of focus for the Canadian government was to ameliorate the immediate social problems created by the crisis. One issue that warranted immediate attention in Indonesia was the decline in availability of nutritious food in the country. Given this concern, the Canadian government developed packages of nutritional food toppings. These packages were to be assembled by informal sector workers and sold to those in need.[225] Furthermore, the Canadian government provided $16,400,000 over several years for other food and employment initiatives in the country. Non-governmental organizations (NGO's) also received $470,000 to help provide food to the isolated regions of Indonesia.[226]

The escalating unemployment in Indonesia was another issue that demanded immediate attention. As a result, Canada provided NGO's in Sulawesi and East Timor with $3,000,000 to generate

---

[224]Hunter, Asian Crisis and CIDA Response, 3.

[225]Janet Burn, Director, Southeast Asia Gender Equity Program, Personal Correspondence, 9 March 2001.

[226]Hunter, Responding to the Asian Crisis, 2-3.

employment opportunities and to establish small-scale water sanitation and credit programs in these regions. With the rapid increase in the cost of goods in the country, many Indonesian women could not afford oral contraceptives after the crisis. As a result, Canada provided approximately $3,000,000 over two years for the distribution of these products. Indonesia's Human Rights Commission also received $1,000,000 to advance human rights in the country. Finally, in an effort to create programs targeting sustainable and equitable development, the Canadian government provided over $5,000,000 to Indonesia's National Development Planning Agency.[227]

Enhancing economic governance in Indonesia was another priority for Canada in response to the crisis. As a result, Canada provided $1,800,000 to Indonesia to facilitate the inclusion of the private sector in the delivery of a variety of important public services. The government also generated a program to enhance partnerships between Canada and Indonesia in the area of science and technology. The $495,000 put towards this venture was anticipated to provide Indonesian firms with greater access to support and to research. Financial companies in both the private and the public sector were also targets of the Canadian government. The government offered approximately $14,000,000 to businesses to improve their financial legitimacy

---

[227]Hunter, Responding to the Asian Crisis, 2-3.

while fostering an "…environment conducive to economic growth."[228]

Governance issues in general were a concern for the Canadian government with regard to Indonesia. As a result, several programs were initiated to touch on this topic. For example, the Canadian government promoted the importance of gender and the importance of developing policies sensitive to gender concerns. Human rights and governance issues were also supported through $500,000 that was provided to the Indonesian Governance and Human Rights Facility Project; a project focused on improving human rights and governance in Indonesia. An organization of 10 Indonesian NGO's, known as YAPPIKA, received approximately $5,000,000 for development activities. A portion of this fund was dedicated to improving communication between NGO's and all levels of the Indonesian government so that discussions could be carried out on issues such as "…social equity, human rights and good governance."[229] Canada also provided $10,000,000 to Indonesia to facilitate the decentralization of the Indonesian government. Finally, approximately, $4,000,000 was given to help small and medium sized businesses in Indonesia access new technology and new markets for their products.[230]

The Canadian government also directed aid towards improving the vulnerability of individuals in Indonesia. Several projects

---

[228]Hunter, Responding to the Crisis, 5.

[229]Ibid., 8.

[230]Ibid., 8.

were implemented to meet this goal. For example, $9,900,000 was given to a project in Sulawesi to improve the region's water management abilities. The project was anticipated to improve economic growth, health and development in the region. Moreover, the funding was expected to improve the management and sustainability of the water supply in 516 communities and enhance sanitation and hygiene in 247 villages. This project was also anticipated to generate income for individuals in the region.[231]

.Canadian funding also supported a project aimed at educating the public about the importance of clean water and sanitation. The $14,900,000 project highlighted the importance of these issues in the context of maternal mortality rates in the country. This fund also contributed to promoting the decentralization of government services in Indonesia and helped local governments with this transition. Another $14,500,000 was put towards enhancing cooperative movements in several economic sectors. The funded sectors include, the finance, the insurance and the dairy industries. Finally, $4,500,000 was directed towards enhancing economic management and improving the technical knowledge of Indonesia's small and medium sized businesses. This project was anticipated to increase employment and business earnings.[232]

Clearly, the programs supported by the Canadian government in Indonesia are more diverse and extensive than the programs

---

[231]Ibid., 13.

[232]Ibid., 13.

supported in Thailand and Malaysia. This difference, however, can be attributed to the fact the crisis had a greater impact on Indonesia's society and was far more extensive in terms of severity in Indonesia than in Thailand or Malaysia.

Human Security and the Canadian Response

Earlier, this paper outlined the framework used by the Canadian government to respond to the crisis. One of the main elements on the framework was the implementation of immediate responses to the situation. In pursuit of this objective, Canada funded several programs in Indonesia. The programs established by the government included such elements as the provision of food, food distribution support, employment generation projects, oral contraceptives to enhance the safety of women and support to promote human rights. Human security at its most basic level is about enhancing the lives of individuals. Clearly, each of these programs will enhance the lives of Indonesia's citizens and therefore enhance human security in the country. At the most basic level, a secure livelihood is achieved when one has access to basic foodstuffs and sustainable employment. Canada is contributing to the improved human security of Indonesia's citizens by generating programs that focus on these issues. Furthermore, by generating and supporting these programs Canada is demonstrating its commitment to human security.

The second major section of Canada's response framework focuses on ensuring a better future for Indonesia and its citizens. Under this section there are several sub-headings that

involve programs focused on economic governance, broader governance issues, environmental management and reducing the vulnerability of individuals. Under each these sub-headings numerous programs and projects were initiated. On the topic of economic governance, Canada developed programs to assist the private sector in the delivery of certain services, developed and strengthened partnerships between Canadian and Indonesian businesses in the area of science and technology and assisted in enhancing the legitimacy of public and private sector financial institutions. These programs will have an indirect effect on human security in Indonesia. Essentially, by enhancing the economic climate in the country, it is anticipated businesses will experience an increase in profits and in turn, employment opportunities will expand. Increased employment options will definitely enhance the state of security of individuals in Indonesia. Therefore, by working to improve the employment situation in Indonesia, Canada is also promoting human security in the country.

Broader governance issues were also a target of Canadian support and aid. Under this topic several programs were initiated including, support for the creation of policies that acknowledge gender and gender issues, assistance for the promotion of human rights and enhanced governance and support for several NGO's to facilitate their interaction with various levels of Indonesia's government. Support for research and policy studies on the decentralization of government services in the country and support

for small and medium sized businesses to facilitate access to new technologies and larger markets were two other programs funded by the Canadian government in relation to broader governance issues in Indonesia. Clearly, the funding directed towards improving human rights and governance in Indonesia will directly improve human security in the country. Human rights are an important part of human security. An individual cannot be considered secure if he or she lives in a country where individual rights and freedoms are not valued. Therefore, the Canadian government is demonstrating its commitment to improving human security in Indonesia by initiating programs that aim to improve human rights and governance in the country.

The other programs initiated by the government on the issue of broader governance will also indirectly enhance human security in Indonesia. For example, supporting NGO's and their interaction with the government will enable Indonesia's government to become aware of the concerns and issues of individuals. Essentially, NGO's represent the voice of the people in a country. By making the government aware of the concerns of the people the government can make policies that acknowledge the concerns of the population. This has the potential to improve the security of the citizens of the country. Moreover, by enhancing the access of small and medium sized firms to new technology and markets, Canada is also indirectly enhancing human security. Essentially, this initiative will enhance these businesses and increase their profits, thus enabling the company to increase its workforce. This in turn will

enhance the security of citizens, as it will provide greater opportunities for employment.

The final element on Canada's crisis response framework was the funding of projects that attempted to address individual vulnerability in Indonesia. On this issue, Canadian funds supported several diverse programs. As outlined above, Canada provided funding to improve the water supply and the sanitation systems in hundreds of Indonesian communities. This initiative also created employment opportunities in numerous Indonesian villages. The Canadian government also facilitated the downloading of public services to local governments in Indonesia and supported local governments experiencing an increase in the provision of services. Finally, in its effort to address individual vulnerability, the Canadian government attempted to improve the "...management and technical knowledge of small and medium entrepreneurs..."[233] in Indonesia. Ultimately, the intention of the project was to improve the profits of the small and medium sized businesses in the country. Projects that attempt to enhance the water supply in the country or improve the employment situation in Indonesia will help to improve human security. Each of these projects will directly improve the lives of Indonesian citizens and therefore, each of these projects will improve the security of the targeted Indonesian population.

Clearly, Canada's extensive support to Indonesia will

---

[233]Hunter, Responding to the Crisis, 13.

contribute to the creation of a heightened state of security for the country's citizens. Unlike the situation in Thailand and Malaysia, Canada did provide funding and support to address the immediate concerns of the crisis. In this context, Canada contributed to improving human security in Indonesia. Moreover, the government initiated projects directed at long term issues such as improved governance and enhanced economic management. These projects will also have an indirect impact on human security in the country. However, as was the case in both Thailand and Malaysia, it is important to note that none of the Canadian projects were initiated with the explicit goal of addressing human security in Indonesia. If human security is a priority for the Canadian government, why did it not fund recovery initiatives that specifically targeted the improvement of human security in the country?

Gender and the Canadian Response

Similar to the situation in Thailand and Malaysia, the Canadian government supported programs in Indonesia that addressed gender issues and concerns in the country. For example, one venture taken by the Canadian government was the provision and distribution of oral contraceptives to women in the country. The intention behind the provision of these products was to "…support safe motherhood programs…"[234] in Indonesia. Clearly, by supporting a program that enables women to improve their health and protect

---

[234]Hunter, Asian Crisis: CIDA Response, 3.

their bodies the Canadian government is demonstrating its commitment to the generation of gender aware programs. This project is also valuable for its contribution to the human security of Indonesia's female population. Essentially, this project enables women to have control over their bodies. Having this type of control in one's life is important and central to a secure existence.

The Canadian government also demonstrated its commitment to gender issues by funding a program in Indonesia that worked to create gender sensitive policies at both the national and sub-national levels of government in the country. By working with the Indonesian government to acknowledge and consider gender, the Canadian government is improving the existence of women in the country. A country that initiates policies that consider the unique position and situation of women has the potential to create an enhanced secure existence for women in that country.

Canada's sensitivity to gender issues was further demonstrated with the government's establishment of a program directed towards improving nutrition in Indonesia. The Canadian government developed a project that enabled informal sector workers, the majority of whom are female, to assemble and sell packages of nutritious food toppings. The goal of this project was to improve the income of women in the country while also improving the health of its citizens. The Canadian government's attempt to improve the income of women in Indonesia will enhance the lives and the security of women in the country. In this

context this project appears to be a very worthwhile endeavour. However, this project also raises some concern.

In the case study on Indonesia, this paper outlined the numerous concerns that pertain to workers in the informal sector. For example, the individuals who work in this field have little security. The income of an informal worker is not guaranteed and the income may be sporadic. Given the inherent concerns associated with this form of work, one must question why the Canadian government would develop a program that may increase the number of workers entering this sector of Indonesia's economy. One would expect, given the inherent risks associated with the informal sector, that the Canadian government would have directed money towards reducing the number of Indonesians working in this sector of the country's economy.

The aforementioned projects illustrate the Canadian government's desire to enhance the lives of women in Indonesia. Several of the projects discussed above will have a positive impact on the lives of women in the country. However, as discussed earlier, Canada had a very diverse and varied agenda in Indonesia. Canadian funds supported projects that improved human rights, governance, economic management, water sanitation and irrigation, health, hygiene, and environmental management in the country. From all these projects the only initiatives that acknowledge gender are the three programs mentioned above. The lack of consideration regarding gender in the numerous other projects leaves one to question the Canadian government's

intention to make gender equity a priority. What about programs to improve the human rights of women in Indonesia? What about rural development projects that are directed at getting woman working and involved in development? What about projects focusing on women and governance? If the Canadian government was serious about the creation of gender equitable programs would it not address gender equity in all the projects it supports? Ultimately, the Canadian government's gendered programs in Indonesia give the impression that the projects are tokens to state the government is committed to gender. Clearly, if gender issues were a real priority for the Canadian government more attention would be given to the issue in all government ventures.

Conclusions

As demonstrated in the case studies outlined above, the Asian financial crisis had a tremendous impact on the citizens of Southeast Asia. The case studies in this paper outlined how the crisis increased unemployment, escalated inflation, caused governments to cut social services, generated pharmaceutical shortages, and affected a decline in school attendance. Essentially, this paper has shown how the crisis had an adverse impact on human security in Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia.

This paper also examined the recovery initiatives of the domestic governments and international organizations. In each case study, the recovery initiatives were highlighted for their potential to improve the lives of the citizens in the region and for their potential to enhance the security of the people.

However, numerous concerns were also raised with many of the recovery initiatives. In many instances, the recovery plans were misguided and misdirected. The case studies also demonstrated that the recovery projects did not address the issues or concerns of women. In essence, the recovery projects supported by the domestic governments and international organizations marginalized a significant percentage of the populations affected by the crisis.

. Given Canada's economic and foreign policy ties to Southeast Asia, this paper examined the Canadian response to the crisis. Canada's response to the crisis was also spotlighted because of the government's international pronouncements regarding the importance of human security. Within this examination, however, numerous concerns were raised with the Canadian approach to the crisis. First, as noted above, in all of the three countries focused on in this paper, Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia, Canada did not fund any programs that explicitly addressed human security. Essentially, all the programs initiated by the Canadian government can be viewed in the context of human security however, none of the policies directly address the issue. The case studies in this paper outlined the extensive social problems that were a result of the economic crisis. This paper also showed how the social problems generated by the crisis spawned grave human insecurity in the affected countries. Therefore, one is left to question why the Canadian government would not directly address the issue of human security in response to the crisis. Why would

the Canadian government, an ardent supporter of human security, not use the financial crisis as an opportunity to follow through with its assertions regarding the importance of this issue? Moreover, how can the Canadian government expect other nations to recognize the value in ensuring the security of citizens in foreign nations if the Canadian government itself does follow through with its own pronouncements with regard to the concept? Canada's failure to specifically address the topic generates questions regarding the government's commitment to human security as a foreign policy priority.

This paper also raised questions regarding Canada's response to the economic crisis' in Thailand and Malaysia with regard to human security in these countries. In both of these countries, the Canadian government focused on long term initiatives in response to the social concerns generated by the crisis. The long-term initiatives endorsed by Canada include such things as, improved economic governance, improved business ties between Canada and Thailand and Canada and Malaysia and enhanced skills training for the citizens of these countries. Clearly, these long-term solutions will have a positive impact on the citizens of Thailand and Malaysia as these solutions are fundamental in the creation of an environment that will enable a safe and secure existence for a country's population. However, one must question at what cost these long-term solutions should take precedence over immediate responses to the crisis. As stated above, both in Thailand and in Malaysia, the Canadian government failed to

address the immediate concerns generated by the financial contagion. None of the programs funded in Thailand and Malaysia attempted to help the individuals who no longer had a place to live or who were no longer able to provide food for themselves and their families. Although the situation with regard to these issues was not as severe in Thailand and Malaysia as it was in Indonesia, it does not mean that these issues were not a concern. Ultimately, for Canada's human security policy to be effective it needs to address both short-term and long-term concerns in specific countries.

Throughout the above discussions, a great deal of attention was also given to the gender aspects of the crisis. The case studies clearly show that women had different concerns than men during the crisis. Moreover, women had different experiences during the crisis. This paper has also examined the recovery initiatives in the three countries of focus in this paper. Ultimately, the above discussion clearly illustrates that the concerns of women were largely neglected in the recovery process. More specifically, with regard to Canada's response to the crisis, this paper has demonstrated that Canada did offer some support to help ameliorate the concerns of women. However, this paper has argued that Canada did not go far enough in ensuring its recovery support was sensitive to gender issues. Why should Canadian policy acknowledge gender? Why should the concerns of women be given specific attention? The following section will attempt to demonstrate why this lacuna in Canadian policy should be

rectified.

HUMAN SECURITY, GENDER and CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY

Human security is a relatively new concept that emerged out of a fundamental shift in the study of international politics. As discussed above, the end of the Cold War and the changes in the international environment led international relations scholars to re-examine and question the realist traditions in international studies. Critical theory is an alternative approach to international relations that gained prominence as a result of this situation.

Critical theory emphasizes the importance of addressing a variety of voices and perspectives in the study of international relations. In the context of international security, Critical theory has altered the object and focus of security. In traditional theories, the state is the object of security and the source through which security is obtained. In its desire to address a variety of voices and perspectives, Critical theory, has shifted the focus of security from the state to the individual. This shift in the referent object of security has facilitated the development of human security. Moreover, the articulation of Critical theory has enabled human security to find a place on the agendas of IR scholars and foreign policy makers.

Revisiting Human Security

Human security garnered international acknowledgment with the United Nations Development Program's 1994 report. In this report, the United Nations asserted that at the most basic level, human

security is "safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression" and that human security is "protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life…"[235].   More specifically, for the United Nations, "…human security is a child that did not die, a disease that did not spread, a job that was not cut, an ethnic tension that did not explode in violence, a dissident who was not silenced."[236]

With the generation of the United Nations conceptualization, several different approaches to human security have been developed and articulated.   The creation of various definitions of human security has generated debates regarding what should be encompassed within this concept.[237]   This paper attempted to clarify the confusion surrounding human security by outlining three different conceptualizations of the notion; the natural rights/rule of law approach, the humanitarian perspective and the sustainable human development view. As stated earlier, the shared element of all human security perspectives is that the individual is paramount and the safety and the well-being of the individual is the desired end.

---

[235]United Nations Development Program, Human Development Report 1994 (New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 23.

[236]Ibid., 22.

[237]Mely Caballero-Anthony, Human Security in the Asia Pacific: Current Trends and Prospects. Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: 15th Asia Pacific Roundtable 2001. Conference held 4-7 June 2001 in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 3-6.

This paper also highlighted Canada's approach to human security. Canada has become a leader in the international community propounding the importance of human security. The Canadian government considers human security as "…freedom from pervasive threats to people's rights, safety or lives." More specifically, Canada's human security focus is "…on promoting safety for people by protecting them from threats of violence."[238] Canada has narrowed the term to focus on human security in the context of violent situations. In essence, Canada follows the humanitarian approach to human security.

This paper has devoted a great deal of attention to the human security issues in Asia generated by the financial crisis. Ultimately, the case studies on Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia, clearly demonstrate that human security was a concern after the financial turmoil. In each country, a significant portion of the population faced threats to their security. For example, in Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia, citizens faced a variety of concerns including, increased unemployment, escalating inflation, fewer educational opportunities, and rural migration. All of these issues contributed to the insecurity of the citizens of these countries. This paper also assessed Canada's response to the crisis with regard to the human insecurity in the region.

[238]Canada, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Freedom from Fear: Canada's foreign policy for human security. [online]; available from www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/foreignp/HumanSecurity/HumanSecurityBooklet-e.asp Internet accessed 10 October 2000.

Numerous concerns were highlighted with Canada's role in the crisis and Canada's approach to human security. One of the major concerns discussed in this paper regarding Canada's human security policy was the failure of the Canadian government to explicitly address the social impact of the crisis as a human security concern. This paper questioned why the Canadian government did not use the financial crisis as an opportunity to follow through with its pronouncements regarding the importance of human security.

The nature of Canada's response to the crisis can be explained by the fact that, as stated above, the government follows the humanitarian approach to human security. Given the government's perspective on human security, the concerns arising out of the financial turmoil in Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia did not generate a situation the Canadian government considered a human security concern. However, as this paper has demonstrated human security was a very serious issue during and after the economic crisis. It is unfortunate that the Canadian government chose not to consider the crisis as a human security issue. The situation in Southeast Asia demanded the world's attention from both an economic position and a social development position. Canada should rethink its human security policy if such situations are not believed to warrant concern from a human security perspective. If Canada is seriously committed to human security and its basic premise, the safety and well-being of the individual, Canada should alter its approach to human security to

follow a more inclusive and broad model, the sustainable human development view. This approach would have provided Canada with the framework to address the crisis from a human security perspective. Ultimately, the Canadian government is missing opportunities to help individuals in need, and is in effect, breaching the basic premise of human security, by adhering to such a narrow conceptualization.

One of the other concerns with Canada's response to the crisis was the limited attention given to the gender aspects of the financial turmoil. Essentially, Canadian human security policy, as it is currently conceptualized, does not specifically address gender issues and concerns. Why is this important? Why should Canada incorporate gender into human security conceptualizations?

Revisiting Gender and Human Security

Canada's failure to acknowledge gender is troubling given that the case studies demonstrate women in Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia were greatly affected by the financial turmoil. More important to note, the case studies show that women's experiences during the crisis differed from the experiences of men. Essentially, during the crisis women in Southeast Asia faced unique concerns and threats with regard to their security. For example, in all three case studies in this paper, women were victims of gender-based stereotypes that affected the opportunities available to them. Essentially, these stereotypes led women to lose jobs before men and reduced the opportunities

available to women. The divergent experiences of men and women during the financial crisis clearly illustrate that security is not the same for all individuals. Ultimately, these experiences indicate that human security can mean different things to different people. It is in this context that it is important for gender to be incorporated into Canadian human security conceptualizations. Clearly, human security conceptualizations that do not account for the divergent concerns of individuals may not be effective in ensuring the safety and security of the world's citizens.

There are also more compelling reasons to believe that human security should be sensitive to gender concerns. For example, although human security, as currently conceptualized, is a broad topic, it should not be forgotten that at the most basic level, human security is about the individual and the freedom from want and the freedom from fear.[239] Women are a group of individuals that constitute half of the earth's population. Therefore, policies that are developed to address the concerns of individuals should take the concerns of half of the world's population into consideration. Moreover, as the United Nations suggests, human security is interdependent; the concerns of people in one part of the world affect individuals in other areas of the globe.[240] If human security is interdependent, is it not logical to expect that

---

[239]United Nations Development Program, 24.

[240]Ibid., 23.

the concerns of women in certain parts of the world will affect the rest of the world's citizens? Ultimately, can the world afford to neglect the concerns of a significant percentage of the earth's population?

Moreover, gender and human security should be incorporated as each has much to offer the other. A gendered conceptualization of human security would generate a more inclusive and comprehensive notion of security. Essentially, a gender sensitive human security conceptualization would ensure the unique needs and concerns of all individuals were acknowledged. Furthermore, human security can serve to enrich notions of gender and feminist approaches to international relations. Essentially, human security can provide an avenue for concerns that are important and specific to women to be acknowledged and addressed. Human security is a popular notion at the present time. Given its popularity, the concerns of women, if presented in the context of human security concerns, may garner greater attention by academics, policy-makers and the general public. The increase in the attention given to gender issues would definitely serve to enhance the lives of women in the world.

The reasons above tend to demonstrate that gender and human security are compatible and should be incorporated. However, it is important to consider how the incorporation of these concepts should occur. Essentially, how can human security be sensitive to gender? How would a gender sensitive approach to human security

be conceptualized? How can Canadian foreign policy account for gender in human security initiatives?

Given the above stated assertions regarding the divergent experiences of men and women in the Asian financial crisis, one way to ensure individual interests are adequately acknowledged in human security policy is to generate separate versions of the concept; one notion of human security that focuses on the issues and the concerns that pertain to men and one notion of human security that focuses on threats relative to women. One problem with this assertion, however, is that men and women also experience shared threats to their human security. How will competing notions of human security account for common experiences? Moreover, one must question the utility of this approach. In the context of Canadian foreign policy, how will the government acknowledge and endorse competing notions? Finally, there is the risk that other groups and special interests will argue that the new approaches to human security, if developed, are still not inclusive enough or sensitive enough to the unique concerns of their group. This situation could lead to pressure on the Canadian government to continue to adopt new versions of human security.

If the Canadian government maintains its current approach to human security how will gender be incorporated? Will gender become one more category the government considers as a part of its human security agenda? For example, current Canadian human security policy places an emphasis on, to name only a few, war-

affected children, internally displaced persons, and landmines.[241]
Should gender concerns and issues be added to this list?   The
concern with incorporating gender in this way is that these issues
may change over time.   In the future, other concerns may gain the
attention of the foreign policy making community.   Essentially,
incorporating gender into human security policy in this manner
generates the potential for the issue to be overlooked or even
removed as a foreign policy objective.

.Ultimately, the best approach for the Canadian government
with regard to incorporating gender and human security is to
reformulate the existing conceptualization.   To adequately address
gender issues the government needs to develop a policy that
specifically addresses gender concerns.   In reformulating the
current human security conceptualization, gender issues must be
acknowledged as an inherent part of the concept.   To include
gender as an inherent element in Canada's human security policy,
the reformulated concept must involve a statement regarding the
importance of acknowledging the concerns of both men and women in
situations where human security is an issue.   In a situation
where Canada wants to support internally displaced persons, for
instance, the inclusion of gender in human security policy would
ensure that Canada considers both men and women who are displaced.
A failure to specifically delineate gender as a part of human

---

[241]For greater elaboration on Canada's areas of interest with
regard to human security see, Freedom from Fear: Canada's foreign
policy for human security [online]; available from www.dfait-
maeci.gc.ca/foreignp/HumanSecurity/HumanSecurityBooklet-e.asp

security policy creates the potential for women and gender issues to be overlooked in Canadian foreign policy.

This paper has argued that Canada must broaden its approach to human security. It is important to note that the above statements pertaining to the incorporation of gender and human security are valid and viable in a broadened conceptualization of the notion. In essence, the inclusion of gender as outlined above, can and should be incorporated into a broader conceptualization of human security.

Despite the need to reformulate human security to account for gender, it is likely such a suggestion will be met with great resistance. The inclusion of gender may prompt critics to argue that adding gender will be one more factor to further broaden and confuse the issue. However, given the divergent impact of the crisis and the failure of all parties involved to adequately address the concerns of women, it is imperative that a more formal method of accounting for gender be developed and articulated. Ultimately, if Canada's human security policy is going to adhere to the basic premises of human security; that the individual is paramount, human security must be refined to adequately address the issue. After all, women are individuals and therefore, their concerns and issues deserve equal acknowledgment.

A Gendered Canadian Response to the Asian Financial Crisis

This section has shown that gender and human security are compatible. Moreover, this paper has offered prescriptions for how human security can account for gender. To further demonstrate

why gender sensitive policies are imperative it is prudent to examine what more Canada could have done in response to the crisis, if the current conceptualization of human security was sensitive to gender issues and concerns.

It is important to reiterate, Canada did support programs that focused on women and gender issues. It is the contention of this paper, however, that Canada did not do enough in terms of addressing the gender issues of the crisis. Essentially, Canada could have made greater attempts to address the specific concerns of women generated by the crisis. Canada's failure to adequately address women's concerns in the crisis is especially troubling given that the case studies demonstrate that women were significantly affected by the financial turmoil. It is in this context that this paper will examine what Canada would have done in response to the crisis if the country had a gender-sensitive human security policy.

Thailand

In the case of Thailand, the above section outlines how the Canadian government funded rural development projects that focused on women and supported projects that served to enhance the managerial and entrepreneurial skills of women. Moreover, Canadian funds helped to raise awareness for women's legal rights. The obvious benefit of these programs cannot be underestimated. However, upon closer examination there are many things Canada could have done if gender was an inherent part of the human security agenda. For example, funding disparities existed in the

financial support Canada provided to Thailand. Essentially, as discussed above, the programs targeting women's issues received substantially less than the rest of the projects supported in the country. With a gender sensitive policy, it is hoped that the disparity in funding would be eradicated.

Moreover, Canada supported an in-depth examination of the economic crisis in Thailand. However, Canada did not stipulate that the funding was to be used to assess the crisis from both the perspective of men and women. As this paper has demonstrated, a gendered sensitive study of the crisis and its impact would have provided a much more thorough and enriched understanding of the impact of the crisis. It would have also enabled funding to be channeled to those with the greatest needs. With gender as an inherent element in Canada's human security policy it is anticipated that these oversights will no longer occur.

Moreover, it is anticipated that a gender sensitive human security policy would ensure that issues that are specific to women would be addressed. For example, this paper's Thailand case study highlighted how the majority of workers who lost jobs during the crisis were women. Canada's recovery projects in Thailand do not specifically address this issue. The case study also examined the gender-based stereotypes that exist in Thailand and the affect of these stereotypes on the opportunities available to women. As the case study attests, these gender-based stereotypes affect the security of women in Thailand. It is hoped that a human security policy that was sensitive to gender would address these

stereotypes and attempt to offer support to eradicate the issue. In this situation, the support could be in the form of educating Thai citizens about the concerns these assumptions generate for women in the country. Furthermore, prostitution is a major concern in Thailand. This paper discussed how the number of women entering into this type of work has the potential to increase with the economic crisis and the subsequent escalation in unemployment. Clearly, prostitution does not offer women a secure existence. A Canadian human security policy that was gender sensitive would hopefully address this issue and the concerns it generates for a woman and her family. Essentially, a gender sensitive human security policy would help direct Canadian funding and support to the real issues and concerns of the people.

Malaysia

In Malaysia, Canada supported projects that considered women's issues and concerns. For example, Canadian funding was directed towards enhancing the business skills of Malaysian women. Canada also funded the building of a women's crisis shelter. These projects are valuable as they contribute the enhancement of women's lives in Malaysia. However, given the extent of the crisis, the social impact and its affect on the security of women in Malaysia, Canada could have done more from a gender perspective.

For example, similar to a project in Thailand, Canada funded a study on the social impact of the crisis in Malaysia. However, Canada failed to assert that the concerns of women should also be

assessed and examined. How can the concerns and issues that pertain to women be addressed without a thorough and inclusive study of the crisis? Failure to examine the full extent of the crisis and its impact on all citizens will lead to ineffective recovery programs. Therefore, it is in the Canadian governments best interest to consider a gendered approach to the crisis. The Canadian government also supported a project aimed at enhancing business collaboration between Malaysia and Canada. As outlined earlier, this project did not specifically address female run businesses or female dominated industries. It is anticipated that a gendered human security policy would protect against this sort of oversight.

Including gender into human security conceptualizations would also help to direct Canadian funding to the real issues of concern. The case study in this paper demonstrated that women constituted half of all the workers who lost jobs in Malaysia as a result of the financial crisis. Canada's gender related funding did not address this issue. A gender sensitive policy would enable the generation of programs that would help all individuals who lost employment and account for both unemployed men and women. The case studies also highlighted that Malaysia experienced an increase in domestic abuse. This paper discussed how in times of economic difficulty the incidence of domestic abuse increases. This is an important human security issue that was neglected by the Canadian government during the crisis. It is anticipated that a gendered human security policy would ensure that such issues

were acknowledged and addressed.

Indonesia

Canada supported the largest number of programs in Indonesia. As was the case in Thailand and Malaysia, several of the programs directly targeted women's issues. For example, Canada provided funds for the distribution of oral contraceptives to women in Indonesia. The Canadian government also promoted the importance of gender sensitive programs to the Indonesian government. These programs are an attempt by the Canadian government to include gender in foreign policy initiatives. It is ironic the Canadian government promoted the importance of gender equitable policies to the Indonesian government given this paper has argued that the Canadian government has not lived up to its assertions regarding the importance of gender equality. Ultimately, gender sensitive foreign policy initiatives would have enhanced Canada's involvement in Indonesia after the economic crisis.

For example, Canada provided the Indonesian government with money to generate food and employment initiatives. A human security policy with an inherent gender element would have ensured that the employment initiatives would have addressed both the male and the female unemployed in the country. It is important to note that gender stereotypes exist in Indonesia that consider women less important in terms of employment than men. Given these beliefs, it is likely that employment generation programs would not address women in the country. It is in this context that gender sensitive Canadian policies are imperative. Essentially it

is expected that Canadian policies would help to protect against this sort of oversight.

The Canadian government also supported the advancement of human rights initiatives in Indonesia. If gender issues were an inherent part of Canadian approaches to human security, this policy would specifically outline the importance of both men and women's human rights. However, without specific direction to acknowledge women's issues, it is very likely that human rights concerns that pertain to women would not be addressed.

Canada provided Indonesian non-governmental organizations with financial support to generate development initiatives. A gender sensitive human security policy would have clearly stated that the development projects must support both men and women. The failure to specifically delineate the recipients of the funding generates the potential for women's development projects to be overlooked. This oversight would have a detrimental impact on the security of women in Indonesia.

Finally, a gender sensitive human security policy would ensure that issues that specifically pertain to Indonesian women be addressed. For example, this paper indicated that fifty percent of the individuals who lost jobs as a result of the crisis were women. A gendered human security conceptualization would ensure that programs and policies acknowledged that women constituted half of the unemployed in the country. This paper outlined the gender stereotypes that affect the opportunities available to Indonesian women. A gender sensitive human security

policy would enable the Canadian government to support programs aimed at changing and eradicating these policies to improve the security of women in Indonesia. Finally, this paper examined the decline in school enrolment in the country after the crisis. This paper outlined how more girls than boys were withdrawing from schools in Indonesia. If Canadian policy had an inherent gender element, policies would be implement by the Canadian government to address this issue. Essentially, it is likely that attempts would be made to alter this situation, which has the potential to affect the future security of these young Indonesian women.

Clearly, as this section demonstrates, there is a great need to generate a gender sensitive human security policy. Essentially, such a policy would ensure that women's issues and concerns would no longer be an oversight in Canadian foreign policy initiatives. A gendered human security conceptualization would ensure the concerns of both men and women were addressed.

Topics for Further Research

This paper has devoted a great deal of attention to Canada's responses to the Asian financial crisis. Given the amount of financial support Canada provided, to the various countries affected by the crisis, and given the vast number of programs initiated, further research needs to be completed on the success and value of the numerous programs. Essentially, the effectiveness of the various programs needs to be examined and assessed. Are the programs targeting the people who need the most support? Is there demonstrated proof that the programs are

effective? Programs that are not meeting expectations and are not helping the people of the crisis-affected economies should not be continued. The people of Southeast Asia will not benefit from misguided and misdirected projects.

Further research also must be completed on Canada's human security policy. First, research must be completed on the value and validity of human security as a Canadian foreign policy priority. Should the government proclaim to support a policy that it does not use in practice? The government has extensively promoted the notion of human security. Therefore, research needs to be completed to assess why the government did not support the policy in the context of the Asian financial crisis? Moreover, one must assess, if not in Southeast Asia, than in what situations and under what circumstances will the government follow through with its human security pronouncements?

Concerns with the existing conceptualization of human security also generate the need for further investigation into the concept. For example, this paper addressed the failure of the Canadian government to acknowledge the immediate concerns generated by the crisis in Thailand and Malaysia. Further research should be completed on how and when short-term or immediate human security concerns should be addressed by the Canadian government. Essentially, research should be completed on the specific situations that Canada should consider short-term aid in response to a human security crisis. Should this be taken on a case by case situation or can concrete guidelines be established

to facilitate this process. Essentially, this question is brought forward because of Canada's failure to address these concerns in Thailand and Malaysia. What was it about the impact of the crisis in these two countries that led the government to believe that the immediate or short-term concerns were not pressing in these two countries?

This paper has also devoted a lot of attention to gender and the importance of gender equitable and gender sensitive policies. The examination of this topic has generated questions for further research. One area that warrants further exploration is how to make Canadian foreign policy initiatives more attentive to and sensitive to gender concerns. This paper discussed Canada's proclamation to make gender equitable policies. However, this paper also demonstrated how the government fell short of this goal. Canada's pronouncements regarding gender are important and of great value to improving the lives of women. Therefore, it is instructive to examine how the government can rectify this situation. Essentially, how can the Canadian government ensure it lives up to its goals with regard to generating gender equitable and gender sensitive policies?

Finally, building on the importance of generating gender equitable policies is the need to examine how to incorporate gender into human security conceptualizations. Essentially, human security is about individuals. Therefore, to be effective and useful in ensuring the safety, security and dignity of individuals, human security must acknowledge the concerns of all

citizens. Research needs to be completed on how to make human security conducive to the inclusion of gender issues and concerns. This paper had addressed several ways to incorporate gender into human security. Further research should be completed to ascertain if these examples are viable in the current Canadian foreign policy environment.

The Canadian government has initiated some very useful and important policies in the context of the Asian crisis. The need to examine these issues further is not out of inherent weaknesses or flaws with the policies. Rather the importance of examining the above-mentioned issues in greater detail is to ensure the concepts are refined and of the greatest benefit to those in need.

Conclusion

This paper has argued that the 1997 Asian Financial crisis had a tremendous impact on the security of the citizens of Southeast Asia. It has also been the contention of this paper that the majority of the recovery initiatives, implemented by Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia, along with the support of numerous international organizations, did not adequately address the concerns of all the people affected by the crisis. Essentially, this paper has stressed that the recovery initiatives introduced by these organizations marginalized a significant percentage of the individuals in the affected countries. In particular, this paper has demonstrated that women were largely neglected in these recovery endeavours.

Given Canada's ties to Southeast Asia and given Canada's

support for human security, this paper assessed Canada's contributions to the crisis-affected economies. It was the intention of this paper to assess if Canada's support filled the void left by the other supporter's of Southeast Asia's reconstruction with regard to gender issues and concerns. This paper found that Canada did implement programs to address the issues and concerns of women. However, this paper argued that Canada did not go far enough in terms of addressing the specific issues relevant to the women of Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia. In order for Canadian support to be more effective, this paper asserted, the Canadian government needs to create a gender sensitive human security policy.

The above discussion outlines why gender and security should be incorporated and how the incorporation could occur. From this discussion it is clear that gender and human security are compatible. Moreover, it clear that each notion has much to offer the other. Essentially, a gender sensitive human security policy would enable the Canadian government to provide more thorough and accurate aid and support to those in need. It is in this context that it is imperative that Canada should implement a more gendered human security policy. If Canada is serious about its pronouncements regarding the importance of human security to international peace and security than it is fundamentally important that Canada revitalize its human security conceptualization so that it addresses the real concerns of all individuals. With these changes Canada's human security policy

has the potential to be far more useful and effective in creating stability and peace.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Asian Development Bank. <u>Development Outlook 2000</u>. [Online]; available from <u>www.adb.org/publications/ado2000Thailand.pdf</u>.

Asian Development Bank. <u>Asian Development Outlook 2000: Indonesia</u>. [Online]; available from www.adb.org/pulications/ado200/indonesia.pdf.

Asian Development Bank. <u>Asian Recovery Information Center: Social Dimensions</u>. [Online]: available from <u>www.aric.adb.org/social/ssn/ssnol-01.asp</u>.

Canada. Canadian International Development Agency. <u>CIDA's Policy on Gender Equality</u>. [Online]; available from <u>www.acdi-cida.ca/cida_ind.nsf</u>.

Canada. Canadian International Development Agency. <u>List of bilateral projects in Malaysia</u>. [Online]; available from www.acdi-cida.gc.ca.

Canada. Canadian International Development Agency. <u>List of projects in Thailand</u>. [Online]; available from www.acdi-cida.gc.ca.

Canada. Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. <u>Freedom from Fear: Canada's Foreign Policy for Human Security</u>. [Online]; available from <u>www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/foreignp/</u> HumanSecurity/HumanSecurity Booklet-e.asp.

Cross Departmental and Reports Analysis Team, "The Social Impact of the Asian Financial Crisis Technical Report for the discussion at the High-Level Tripartite Meeting on Social Responses to the Financial Crisis in East and Southeast Asian Countries." <u>International Labour Organization Office for Asia and the Pacific</u>. April 1998. [Online]; available from www.ilo.org/public/english/bureau/intpol/ bangkok.

Shivakumar, J. "Thailand Social Monitor: Challenge for Social Reform." <u>WorldBank</u>. January 1999. [Online]; available from <u>www.worldbank.org/eapsocial/library/tsm/socialnote1.pdf</u>.

UNIFEM Bangkok. "Trafficking of Women and Children." <u>UNIFEM Bangkok Gender Issues Fact Sheet No. 2.</u> [Online]; available from www.unifem-eseasia.org/Gendiss/Gendiss2.htm.

UNIFEM and CIDA-SEAGEP. "Women in a Global Economy: Challenge

and Opportunity in the Current Asian Economic Crisis." [Online]; available from www.unifem-eseasia.org/resources/globaleconomy/ TOC.html.

United Nations Development Program. Human Development Report. New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1994.

World Bank. Social Policy and Governance: Education in Indonesia. [Online]; available from www.worldbank.org/eapsocial/countries/indon/educ3.htm.

World Bank. Social Policy and Governance: Employment and Social Protection in Indonesia. [Online]; available from www.worldbank.org/eapsocial/countries/indon/emply2.htm.

World Bank. Social Policy and Governance: Health and Nutrition in Indonesia. [Online]; available from www.worldbank.org/eapsocial/countries/indon/health.htm.

World Bank. Social Policy and Governance World Bank activities in Malaysia: Economic Recovery and Social Sector Loan. [Online]; available from www.worldbank.org/eapsocial/countries/malay/ proj1.htm.

World Bank. Social Policy and Governance World Bank Activities in Thailand. [Online]; available from www.worldbank.org/eapsocial/countries/thai/thaimatrix2.htm

World Bank. Social Sector Reform Update on Malaysia. [Online]; available from www.worldbank.org.html/extdr/eap/j_msboard/ myannx.htm.

Secondary Sources

Acharya, Amitav. "Human Security in Asia Pacific: Puzzle, Panacea or Peril?" Cancaps Bulletin no. 27 (November 2000).

Acharya, Amitav. "Realism, Institutionalism, and the Asian Economic Crisis." Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs. (April 1999): 1-29.

Ariff,Mohamed, Mohamed Haflah Piei, Diana Wong and Syarisia Yanti Abubakar. Responding to the economic crisis in Malaysia: A pro-human development perspective. Malaysia: Malaysian Institute for Economic Research, 1998. [Online]; www.undp.org/rbap/ program/Malaysia.html.

Arndt, H.W. and Hal Hill. eds. Southeast Asia's Economic Crisis Origins, Lessons, and the Way Forward. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1999.

Axworthy, Lloyd. "Canada and human security: the need for leadership." International Journal (Spring 1997): 183-196.

Baylis, John and Steve Smith. Eds. The Globalization of World Politics. An Introduction to International Relations. New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Beckman,Peter R. and Francine D'Amico, eds. Women, Gender, and World Politics Perspectives, Policies, and Prospects. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc., 1994.

Burchill,Scott and Andrew Linklater. Theories of International Relations. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995.

Caballero-Anthony, Mely. "Human Security in the Asia Pacific: Current Trends and Prospects." 15th Asian Pacific Roundtable. Conference held 4-7 June 2001 in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

Corner, Lorraine. "The Financial Crisis: the impact on women." 12th Asia Pacific Roundtable. Conference held 31 May to 4 June 1998 in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

Crispin, Shawn. "Without a net." Far Eastern Economic Review. 9 July 1998: 69.

Doyle, Michael W. "Liberalism and World Politics." American Political Science Review 80.4 (December 1986): 1151-1169.

Doyle,Michael W. Ways of War and Peace Realism, Liberalism and Socialism. New York: W.W Norton and Company, Inc., 1997.

Furtado, Xavier. "Human security and Asia's financial crisis. A critique of Canadian policy." International Journal. (Summer 2000): 355-375.

Grant,Rebecca and Kathleen Newland, eds. Gender and International Relations. Indianapolis, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1991.

Haggard, Stephen. "The Politics of the Asian Financial Crisis." Journal of Democracy. 11.2 (2000): 130-144.

Hampson,Fen Osler, Maureen Appel Molot and Martin Rudner, eds. Canada Among Nations 1997 Asia Pacific Face-Off. Canada: Carleton University Press, 1997.

Hampson,Fen Osler and Maureen Appel Molot, eds. Canada Among Nations 1998 Leadership and Dialogue. Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Hampson, Fen Osler, Martin Rudner and Michael Hart. eds. Canada

Among Nations 1999 A Big League Player? Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Hampson, Fen Osler, Jean Daudelin, John B. Hays, Holly Reid and Todd Martin. Madness in the Multitude Human Security and World Disorder. Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Heyzer, Noeleen and Martin Khor. "The Asian Financial Crisis: Causes, Consequences and Ways Forward." Development Forum Speaker's Corner. [Online]; available from www.worldbank.org/ devforum /speaker-heyzer.html.

Hoa, Tran Van. ed. The Asian Crisis The Cures, their effectiveness and the Prospects After. New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 2000.

Hunter, Brian. Asian Crisis: CIDA Response. Canadian International Development Agency. June 1999.

Hunter, Brian. Responding to the Asian Crisis CIDA framework. Canadian International Development Agency, 1999.

"Indonesia Young and Deadly." The Economist. (25 April 1998): 43-44.

Jones, Richard Wyn. Ed. Critical Theory & World Politics. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 2001.

Kant, Immanuel. Perpetual Peace and other essays on Politics, History, and Morals. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1983.

Karim, Raj Abul. "The Asian Financial Crisis and Social Change." 12th Asia Pacific Roundtable. Conference held 30 May to 2 June 1998 in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

Keeble,Edna. "Gender and Security: Making the Connection." Cancaps Papier no.14 (September 1997).

Kegley,Charles W. Controversies in International Relations Theory Realism and the Neoliberal Challenge. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995.

Keohane,Robert O, and Joseph S. Nye. Power and Interdependence World Politics in Transition. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1977.

Kirton, John. "Canada as a principal financial power G-7 and IMF diplomacy in the crisis of 1997-9." International Journal. (Autumn 1999): 603-624.

Knowles, James, Ernesto M. Pernia and Mary Racelis. "Social Consequences of the Financial Crisis in Asia: The Deeper Crisis." <u>Manilla Social Forum: The New Social Agenda for East and Southeast Asia</u>. 8-12 November 1999. [Online]; available from <u>www.orion.forumone.com/spgovern/files/fcgi/</u>402_p2epernia.pdf.

Lee, Eddy. <u>The Asian Financial Crisis The Challenges for Social Policy</u>. Geneva: The International Labour Organization, 1998.

Lee, Jong-Wha and Chongyong Rhee. <u>Occasional Paper 33 Social Impact of the Asian Financial Crisis: Policy Challenges and Lessons</u>. [Online]; available from <u>www.undp.org/hrdo/oc33c.htm/</u>.

Lim, Lin Lean. ed. <u>The Sex Sector: The economic and social bases of prostitution in Southeast Asia</u>. Geneva: International Labour Organization, 1998.

Mearsheimer, John. "Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War." <u>International Security</u> 15.1 (Summer 1990): 5-56.

"Meanwhile, back where the wagons are circling…" <u>The Economist</u>. (November 29, 1997): 41-42.

McBeth, John. "Shadow Play." <u>Far Eastern Economic Review</u>. (23 July 1998): 23-27.

Morgenthau, Hans. <u>Politics among Nations The Struggle for Power and Peace</u>. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950.

Peterson, V. Spike, ed. <u>Gendered States Feminist (Re)Visions of International Relations Theory</u>. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 1992.

Peterson, V. Spike, and Anne Sisson Runyan. <u>Global Gender Issues</u>. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1993.

Pempel. T.J. ed. <u>The Politics of the Asian Economic Crisis</u>. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1999.

Rodriki, Dani. "The Asian Financial Crisis and the Virtues of Democracy." <u>Challenge</u>. 42.4 (July/August 1999): 40-60.

"Shocks of '97 How to get Asia out of the Emergency Ward." <u>AsiaWeek</u>. 26 December 1997. [Online]; available from <u>www.pathfinder.com/asiaweek/97/1226/edl.html</u>.

Sieu, Choong Tet. "Children of the Crisis." <u>World Press Review</u>. 46.9 (September 1999): 40-42.

Smith, Steve, Ken Booth, and Marysia Zalewski, eds. <u>International</u>

theory: positivism and beyond. Great Britain: Cambridge
University Press, 1996.

Sprague, Jonathon. "AsiaWeek 1997 Twelve Months of turning
points: The end of an era the real question is whether Asian
Economies are ready to start anew." AsiaWeek. 26 December 1997.
[Online]; available from www.pathfinder.com /asiaweek/97/1226/
ye14.html.

"Still sick and gloomy, now rebellious." The Economist. (11 July
1998): 41-42.

Suryahadi, Asep, Yusuf Suharos and Sudarno Sumarto. "Converage
and Targeting in the Indonesian Social Safety Net Programs."
Manilla Social Forum. Conference held 8-12 November 1999.
[Online]; available from
www.orion.forumone.com/spgovern/files/gcgi/416_p4ssumarto.pdf.

"Thabchumpon, Naruemon. "Thailand A Year of Diminshing
Expectations." Southeast Asian Affairs. 1999: 312-324.

"The blind, the deaf and the dumb." The Economist. 18 October
1997: 39-40.

"The faltering front runner." The Economist. 12 December 1998:
41.

Tickner, J. Ann. Gender in International Relations Feminist
Perspectives on Achieving Global Security. New York: Columbia
University Press, 1992.

Vatikiotis,Michael. "No Safety Net." Far Eastern Economic
Review. 8 October 1998: 10-13.

Waltz,Kenneth. Man, the state and War A Theoretical Analysis. New
York: Columbia University Press, 1959.

Walt,Stephen. "International Relations: One World, Many
Theories." Foreign Policy (Spring 1998): 29-46.

Wee, Vivienne. "Women's Coping Strategies in the Financial
Crisis: Partnerships for Community Livelihoods." ENGENDER.
Singapore: Centre for Environment, Gender and Development Pte
Ltd., 2000.

Whitworth,Sandra. Feminism and International Relations Towards a
Political Economy of Gender in Interstate and Non-Governmental
Institutions. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994.

Zhang, Peter G. ed. World Scientific Asian Economic Profiles IMF
and the Asian Financial Crisis. Singapore: World Scientific

Publishing Co. Pte., 1998.

Interviews

Burn, Janet. Director, Southeast Asia Gender Equity Program.
Personal Correspondence. 9 March 2001.

Hunter, Brian. Chief Economist, Canadian International
Development Agency. Personal Correspondence. 5 March 2001.

Lantz, Vaughn. First Secretary, Canadian High Commission,
Singapore. Personal Correspondence. 1 March 2001.