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Studies on

FILIPINO

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DEVELOPMENT

Hidden Costs

An Initial Look at Women's Conditions
under the Casecnan Multi-Purpose
Irrigation Power Project

Hard and Heart Data

A Counselor - Mother's Perspective on
Family Violence Prevention

Patok, Padyak, Pila - pila

Urban Poor Women Speak out on
Transportation Issues

A No-Teacher, No-Text, No-Syllabus Class?

A Reflection Paper on WD 225

Markado at Militante

Ang Partisipasyon ng Kababaihang
Anak-Pawis sa Dalawang Pakikibaka sa
Maynila: 1906 at 1934

Mami

Kwento ng isang Asawa, Manggagawa at Ina

College of Social Work &
Community Development
University of the Philippines
Diliman, Quezon City

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FOREWORD

In line with the thrust of the university to publish only refereed academic journals, this issue of the CSWCD Journal contains papers which went through the approval of at least two referees. Written by students and faculty of the Department of Women and Development Studies, the papers encompass the variety of subjects and methodologies of women and development studies.

"Hidden Costs: An Initial Look at Women's Conditions under the Casecnan Multi-Purpose Irrigation Power Project" by Mae Buenaventura explores the gendered impact of mega projects such as the Casecnan dam. The effects of so-called development projects on women are usually overlooked even in alternative impact studies. By linking data from documentary sources and field interviews with women, the author documents the negative effects on the health and livelihood of women in two communities affected by the Casecnan dam.

Salvacion Pascual's paper, "Hard and Heart Data: A Counselor-Mother's Perspective on Family Violence" tackles violence against women in the family based on the results of the research of the Women's Crisis Center where she now works, and her own experiences as a counselor in the center and as a mother.

Prof. Roselle Rivera's "Patok, Padyak, Pila-Pila: Urban Poor Women Speak Out On Transportation Issues" contributes to the very limited literature on the differential gender impact of transport policies and programs. The paper surfaces women's voices on how the lack of access to affordable and safe transport has added to the heavy load of working mothers.

Regina Capuno's reflection paper, "A No-Teacher, No-Text, No-Syllabus Class?" on her Women and Development 225 class, "Gender, Culture and Ideology" exemplifies the self-directed learning in an innovative classroom method utilized in a seminar course of the department.

Prof. Judy Taguiwalo's "Markado at Militante: Ang Partisipasyon ng Kababaihang Anak-Pawis sa Dalawang Pakikibaka sa Maynila: 1906 at 1934" provides additional historical proof of women workers' active participation in the workers movement during the US colonial period.

Alwin Aguirre's "Mami" is a historical sketch of his grandmother's life and struggle as a wife, worker, mother and surrogate mother in Manila. Using oral history, the paper provides an example of the dilemma's faced by working women who have to choose between joining a union and the fear of losing the only source of livelihood for their families.

Regardless of the subject and methodology, the papers in varying degree remain faithful to the basic methodological postulates on feminist research forwarded by Maria Mies in her 1978 classic essay "Towards a Methodology for Feminist Research"¹

1. The feminist researcher must openly state her biases and her conscious partiality which is not to be confused with mere subjectivity;
2. The researcher's usual view from above must be substituted by a view from below;
3. The researcher must actively participate in the women's liberation movement in order to avoid uninvolved spectator knowledge;
4. The starting point for scientific quest must be a commitment to changing the status quo;
5. The research process must be one of "conscientization" and this research is pursued in order to act;
6. As part of the conscientization process, women must study our individual and social histories in order to appropriate our past so that we can devise strategies for the future; and
7. Women must talk together about our experience and generalize from it in order to understand the social causes of our individual deprivation.

¹ Maria Mies. "Towards A Methodology for Feminist Research" in Gloria Bowles and Renate Duelli Klein (eds.), **Theories of Women Studies**. pp. 117-139.

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HIDDEN COSTS

An initial look at women's conditions under the Casecnan Multi-Purpose Irrigation Power Project

Mae V. Buenaventura

Author's Note:

As the title suggests, this article raises the possibility of "hidden costs" that specifically, women in the vicinity of the Casecnan Multipurpose Irrigation and Power Project (CMIPP), may have paid for because of this undertaking. This focus on initially probing the effects on women was intended, not only with respect to the author's masteral studies in Women and Development, but also because she found too little attention given to gendered impacts, even in researches conducted by NGOs on CMIPP. This article should not therefore be expected to present a comprehensive assessment of the social and economic toll of CMIPP and other dam projects on the various sectors of entire communities, as this was not the author's original intent. It will entail a separate endeavor to look at the far-reaching effects of CMIPP on other sectors such as the construction workers hired and the Bugkalot people. This is simply an effort to flag questions on women and CMIPP. On a more personal note, this is an attempt at taking small, tentative steps towards a subject of inquiry and research that the author would like to undertake more exhaustively in the future.

Introduction

On February 22, 1994, President Fidel V. Ramos started seriously toying with the fate of Cagayanos as he directed the Secretaries of Agriculture, Energy, Environment and Natural Resources (DENR), Finance and Economic Planning, the president of the National Power Corporation (NAPOCOR) and the administrator of the National Irrigation Authority (NIA) to commence negotiations with the Casecnan Water and Energy Consortium for the development on a Build-Operate-Transfer (BOT) basis of a multipurpose irrigation project in Casecnan, Central Luzon. A year before, NIA had reportedly began scouting for investors to address the inadequacy of irrigation water from the Pantabangan Dam.

No other competitive bids in the legally prescribed period came in, the government reported, save for an unsolicited proposal (attended by a \$5 million bond) from California Energy Casecnan Water and Energy Company Inc. (CE-CWEC)¹. On June 30, 1995, the Ramos government gave the go-ahead on the construction of what would be known as the Casecnan Multi-purpose Irrigation and Power Project (CMIPP).

Completed in 2001, two years later than targeted,² CMIPP has been touted by its creators as one of the world's engineering marvels. "We are extremely proud of the Casecnan project and celebrate its commercial operation," David Baldwin, president of CE Casecnan was quoted as saying when he announced that CMIPP had achieved commercial operations "It serves as an environmental and technological showcase for the Philippines and for our entire company."³ The company factsheet further emphasizes that: "Energy from the Casecnan project is produced by non-polluting, renewable, indigenous hydroelectric sources."⁴

Government officials have likewise been profuse with praise for CMIPP. Ousted President Joseph Ejercito Estrada, congratulating former President Fidel V. Ramos for initiating the project, lauded it as "...a major step towards our goal of self-sufficiency in rice production...[that] will also generate thousands of new jobs in the agricultural sector not only in Central Luzon but also in the provinces of Quirino, Aurora and Nueva Vizcaya. Its multiplier effects will certainly have a big positive impact on the economy of the Philippines."⁵

Then Agriculture Secretary Leonardo Montemayor highlighted CMIPP's capacity to boost agricultural modernization and secure rice sufficiency for the Philippines by 2004, targets of the President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo's *Ginintuang Masaganang Ani* program.⁶ Montemayor added that the CMIPP's improvements to the country's irrigation systems would enable the production of an additional 465,000 tons of rice per year for at least 50 years; recover 43,000 hectares of ricelands damaged by the Mt. Pinatubo eruption; and foster conditions for the creation of 18,000 jobs that would thereafter, benefit 80,000 people in the agricultural sector alone.⁷

It would appear that CMIPP has brought much promise to everyone for so relatively small a price – a few trees cleared, water diverted from overflowing rivers to parched ricefields, some loose gravel dumped here and there along banks of major river tributaries. But the image is fast eroding, as CE Casecnan may have noticed. Sometime in 2002, the firm that built and operates it ran several full-page paid advertisements in a leading national newspaper that showed a vast, densely forested mountain range and nothing else, obviously to stress an oft-cited claim that the Caraballo Range had sustained practically no damage from the project. In little time, however, the CMIPP contract has turned out to be fraught with irregularities, prompting civil society organizations to demand

a probe, and government to create an inter-agency review committee to assess the project along with other similar controversial BOT deals. Issues surrounding Casecanan have also been subjected to the glare of the Blue Ribbon⁸ and Energy Committees of the Senate and Lower House respectively who are conducting their own investigative hearings into CMIPP's status and operations.

Painfully, too, the realization is sinking in that government's warped utilitarian bent to "always decide for the greater good of the greatest number"⁹ does not always hold, and in the case of CMIPP, may in the long term lead to the greater harm for the greatest number, that is, poor and marginalized communities. Who establishes what is "the greater good"? And who decides that a few hundred indigenous people or a handful of rural women are not as significant an element in economic productivity as, say, farmers in Central Luzon?

Many are challenging the assumption of mainstream economic planners that the avowed benefits of development will redound to the benefit of all. That other variables bear watching because the development experience does not take place in a vacuum but is shaped by historical, socio-economic, political, cultural institutions/structures and events. These same factors influence specific projects and target beneficiaries caught up in the process. Even the way development and the targets of economic productivity and growth are defined and understood bear their imprint. Inevitably, women, who are at the onset already trapped in structures of oppression and have to suffer positions of disadvantage and marginalization that prevent them from having a true say or even just accessing decision-making processes – find themselves bearing the harshest consequences of ill-conceived development programs and projects.

Overall, the project has been clouded by controversy arising from contractual anomalies, insufficient technical merits and even transgressions of Philippine law. There are possible violations of the BOT Law prohibiting direct subsidies for unsolicited proposals like CMIPP but which the Philippine government granted. Constitutionally, issues have even been raised in allowing a 100% foreign-owned company continued control and operations over a resource extractive activity. Many other costs, especially to women and the environment, remain unaccounted for.

Background and Description of the Project

Government accounts point to problems caused by the unreliable irrigation supply of the Pantabangan Dam in Nueva Ecija. As early as 1993, NIA called for investors to finance a project addressing this issue. In 1994, CE Casecnan submitted a single unsolicited proposal for a \$400-million hydropower project.¹⁰ According to NIA's Project Report, the Ramos government promptly approved the project in June 1995 through the Investment Coordinating Committee (ICC).¹¹

The project is located in Bgy. Pelaway, in the municipality of Alfonso Castañeda at the southeastern portion of Nueva Vizcaya. To the northwest and southwest, rise the Caraballo Mountains; to the southeast, the Sierra Madre mountain range; and to the northeast, land ridges guiding the upper Casecnan and Gabe rivers.¹² There, in Pelaway, lies the point of diversion of the Casecnan and Taan Rivers through two runoff weirs or low dams and intake structures set up along the Casecnan and Taan Rivers. An 80.46-kilometer access road was also built during project construction.¹³

As a combined irrigation and hydro-electric facility, CMIPP will divert 802 million cubic meters of water per year from the Casecnan and Taan Rivers, to the two diversion portals in Nueva Vizcaya, which then will channel the river waters into an underground transbasin tunnel. The 26.27-kilometer and 6.5-meter wide tunnel passing through the Caraballo Range, carries the diverted river waters which finally will pour into the Pantabangan reservoir in Nueva Ecija.

Just before reaching the Pantabangan Dam, water is delivered to an underground hydroelectric powerhouse at the end of the tunnel in Manablon, Nueva Ecija where two turbines harness the energy generated from the elevation differences of the Casecnan and Taan watersheds. This feeds into the Luzon switchyard where transmission lines of the National Power Corporation (NPC) connect to power stations.

Technical and Financial Terms of the Project¹⁴

Average electricity generated	603 gigawatt hours/yr
Average irrigation water delivered	802,000,000 cubic m/yr
Land irrigated	Additional 50,000 has.
Energy rate to be paid by NIA to BOT contractor	*\$0.059/kWh
Energy rate to be paid by NPC to NIA to BOT contractor	*\$0.061/kWh
Water rate to be paid to NIA to BOT contractor	*\$0.029/cubic meter

Other estimated government expenses:

New transmission line	*\$4.7 million
Upgrades of existing irrigation infrastructure	*\$73.6 million

*1994 Exchange rate

Project Timetable

Execute project agreement between NIA and

the BOT contractor and Power Purchase

Agreement between NPC and NIA

On or before November 1994

Begin construction

1st quarter 1995

Completion

2nd quarter 1998

Because the water delivery fee is protected by an escalation adjustment for inflation amounting to 7.5 percent per year, water rates have gone far beyond \$.029/cubic meter. As of CE-CWEC's 2001 report to the US Securities and Exchange Commission, water rates have risen to 9.07 US cents/cubic meter. Energy rates have made the same leap, from \$.059/kWh to almost 16 US cents/kWh.¹⁵

Out of the Woodwork—issues publicly raised on CMIPP

Government and CE-CWEC promised many things, primarily the maximum utilization of the Pantabangan Dam, and more:

- providing irrigation to 35,000 hectares of new service areas covering the Muñoz Science City, Guimba, Talugtog, Cuyapo and Nampicuan in Nueva Ecija
- ensuring irrigation for the 102,000-hectare Upper Pampanga River Integrated Irrigation Systems area
- supplementing the electricity requirements of 350,000 households in Northern and Central Luzon¹⁶
- generating 140-150 MW of hydroelectric power that would in turn generate 450 MW of additional electricity

All these, are yet to materialize. In the meantime, evidence is building up that the Filipino people may have been entrapped in a terribly bad deal that would exact grave financial, social, economic and environmental damages over a 20-year period.

The Casecnan project has drawn in two American firms: the California Energy Co., the largest independent geothermal power firm in the world¹⁷ and its sister company Peter Kiewit. Each firm has a minimum 35 percent stake in CE-CWEC. Two minority shareholders – the La Prairie Group and the San Lorenzo Ruiz Builders and Developers Group, Inc. each has a maximum share of 15 percent. In 1998, after purchasing all of San Lorenzo's share, the US-based MidAmerican Energy Holdings Company to which California Energy belongs, had 100 percent ownership of CE-CWEC.¹⁸

One contract involves that of NIA with CE-CWEC while another binds the NPC to purchase Casecnan electricity from NIA. "Take-or-pay" provisions compel NIA to guarantee annual payments to CE-CWEC over a 20-year period, whether or not the company fulfills its 802 million cubic meters/year delivery target. NIA also agreed to buy 19 million kWh from CE-Casecnan at a price set in dollars. NIA subsequently forged another deal with NPC, with the latter agreeing to purchase *at a higher price* (also quoted in hard currency) the 19 million kWh from NIA.

For these commitments, NIA will be paying \$72.7 million a year regardless whether the contracted volume of water reaches the Pantabangan Dam; NPC on the other hand (through NIA) will be shelling out \$36.4 million a year regardless of the level of electric power actually generated each month. Total project costs have recently escalated due to foreign exchange adjustments, jacking up the original contract price to \$650 million.¹⁹ So ridden with other irregularities is CMIPP that Sen. Joker Arroyo, chair of the Blue Ribbon Committee commented on the very first day of senate hearings: "All conceivable anomalies could be found in this single contract."²⁰

The very beginnings of CMIPP have been put to question because of President Ramos' close association with retired Brig. Gen. Donald M. O'Shei Jr., a key officer of California Energy. Ramos would later issue no less than three memoranda to the ICC, instructing them to fast-track California Energy's unsolicited proposal.

This leads to questions on the nature of the proposal itself – an unsolicited project – and casts doubt on government claims that a call for investors had been issued starting 1993. This would mean that government did not single out the Casecnan project as a priority and therefore,

would not have called potential investors into a bidding process. It is because of the absence of any bidding exercise that the amended BOT Law and its Implementing Rules and Regulations prohibits the granting of direct subsidies or government.²¹

Conveniently, this did not apply to CMIPP because the Department of Justice, whose opinion the ICC asked on the matter, chose not to address the undertaking itself but only the budgetary support that the agency would need to be able "...to comply with its undertaking to pay water delivery fees."²²

Tax provisions in the CMIPP contract have provided yet another area of great controversy. CE Casecan claims that it had paid \$51.49 million worth of tax payments from 1995 to 2001. Based on the contract's formula for computing tax reimbursements at a staggering 48 percent internal rate of return, government would have to shell out \$878.74 million in 20 years. And even if government succeeded in negotiating a 17.93 percent rate (based on the BOT law benchmark), it would still need \$131.65 million as upfront payment for CE Casecan's tax advances²³ or pay for higher water delivery fees as stipulated in the contract.

Other than ensuring foreign investors tax breaks and revenues in hard currency for exorbitantly priced power and water, these guarantees have exposed the Philippine government to great uncontrollable risk which includes, among others, hydrological factors, insufficient demand and exchange rate fluctuations.²⁴ Under the terms of the CMIPP contract, the Ramos administration assumed all these risks, which the private investors were predictably unwilling to share.

Hydrological factors are particularly relevant to the targeted volume of water to be delivered to Pantabangan Dam each year, and consequently, the promised level of power that this water flow is supposed to produce. "Stream flow patterns vary greatly over time and depend on factors which are difficult to predict such as rainfall and temperature patterns and watershed land use changes," writes Peter Bosshard.²⁵ A look at the Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) of CMIPP reveals that it used Nueva Vizcaya's climatological data in various places, from more than two decades ago (at the time construction began), indicating little regard for the possible dire effects of global warming on rainfall, through time, and the obvious dire consequences on adequate river water levels, which is a hydropower plant's most critical resource. The trending of river flows that

could justifiably back up projections has also been ruled out because the data utilized mostly spans a period less than 10 years.²⁶

The inability of CMIPP to deliver has been attributed by David Baldwin, president of a major player in the Casecnan consortium, California Energy International, to extremely dry season in the first half of the year 2002.²⁷ Government has to pay nonetheless, having assumed costs that are literally as unpredictable as the weather.

Engr. Edgardo Sabado of the Provincial Planning and Development Office of Nueva Vizcaya had doubted the viability of the project from the very beginning because of the state of the Casecnan and Taan Rivers, and he has been proven right. CMIPP is already diverting up to 90 percent of the two rivers contrary to Environmental Impact Assessment reports that it would require only 10 percent.²⁸

A study of the Environmental Impact Statement of the NIA (completed in January 1995) has furthermore been scored by the Freedom from Debt Coalition research for identifying only the areas where the diversion weirs have been erected, as the Primary Impact Zone (PIZ).²⁹ Consequently, mitigating measures proposed in the EIS are limited to addressing the socio-economic and environmental vulnerabilities of predominantly Bugkalot sites and name the Bugkalot as the primary beneficiaries when non-Bugkalot populations at the exit tunnels would equally be affected by the project's environmental impacts.³⁰

"The Company was able to secure a highly limited ECC that did not take full account of the impact of the project on farming communities in the host and neighboring areas...." Pascual and Maclicing noted. "The area where the exit tunnel was to emerge and find its way to the Pantabangan reservoir was identified as a secondary impact area, although water was to be badly affected by the chemicals used by the company during tunnel boring and construction."³¹

Curiously, the ECC signed by then Secretary Angel C. Alcala that was granted to CE Casecnan on 28 April 1995, relegated the development of a watershed management plan, a vital pre-construction activity, to NIA and not to the more relevant agency, the DENR. To wit:³²

2. Pre-Construction Phase

2.1 *The NIA will provide the EMB [Environmental Management Bureau] the following documents within sixty (60) days after receipt of this ECC for approval by this office:*

- 2.1.1 *A detailed plan containing riverbank and mountain side slope protection/stabilization measures;*
- 2.1.2 *A detailed Watershed Management Plan for Casecnan watershed and an improved management programme for Pantabangan watershed;*

In addition,

3. *NIA shall create an Environmental Unit within sixty (60) days after receipt of the ECC.*

Other claims debunked

Vigorous local opposition to the proposed hydropower project in the early 90s and the sudden turnaround in 1995 is certainly a matter for further inquiry. The 10 July 1995 regular session of the Sangguniang Panlalawigan of Nueva Vizcaya resolved on "changing the stand...on the Casecnan Multipurpose Irrigation Power Project from emphatic 'no' to conditional 'yes'..."³³ A package of other claims from CE Casecnan towards mitigating socio-economic impacts and environmental impacts in the PIZ accompanied this move:³⁴

- Implementing social support measures through the interagency Casecnan Social Measures Task Force (CSMTF) led by the Department of Agriculture. To name some of the benefits extended to indigenous Bugkalot communities in areas identified as primary impact zones
- health and day-care centers, setting up of Botika sa Tribu
- educational assistance for 120 college students
- credit assistance for livelihood projects
- livestock dispersal program
- issuance of ancestral domain claims in Nueva Vizcaya, Quirino and Aurora
- community electrification
- citrus and orchard plantations and seedling distribution

CSMTF pledged "to assist the native Bugkalots develop self-reliance and progressive watershed communities engaged in a variety of economically viable enterprises while adopting environment-friendly methods of economic pursuits."³⁵

The field visit that the Freedom from Debt Coalition conducted in 2002 in the PIZ found a starkly different picture: the citrus project office had been abandoned, its records in disarray. It was also commonly reported that the Bugkalot Association of Casecnan, which CE Casecnan financed and put up in coordination with local leaders to establish and oversee five cooperatives, had succumbed to corruption and discord among the Bugkalot and non-Bugkalot alike. The team spotted at least two sites in the area, equipped with wood finishing tools and stacked with foot-wide narra boards and other mouldings.

This seemed an ironic end to the letter written by overall chieftain Bugkalot Salvador Molina on 7 July 1995 to the chairman of the Regional Development Council of Cagayan, saying: "We wish to officially inform you that the Bugkalot Confederation of Aurora, Nueva Vizcaya and Quirino provinces which I represent have agreed to support NIA's Modified Transbasin Scheme in Casecnan. We are now working closely with NIA for the implementation of a development project for the five barangays in the project site. We want these five barangays to be self-reliant and progressive communities in four years because they will form the nucleus of our movement to establish a Bugkalot municipality in Central Casecnan in the near future."³⁶ Despite the identification of the Bugkalot as the primary beneficiaries over other non-Bugkalot residents suffering the same payoffs triggered by the Casecnan project, the recognition of their land tenurial rights by the government apparently went only as far as securing their permission to be able to locate CMIPP's critical intake weirs in traditionally Bugkalot occupied areas.

..."[T]hese cooperatives and doleouts were doomed to fail as they were undertaken primarily to win community support for the project, without adequate mechanisms in place to ensure the cooperatives' sustainability," wrote Macli-ing and Pascual in the Freedom from Debt Coalition research.

The Controversial Casecnan Project

Despite the drum-beating by government and CE-Casecnan, it thus remains uncertain whether the promised benefits will ever be realized. Many of these like the scholarships and other safety nets intended to make

up for socio-economic dislocations, have already been discontinued. CE Casecanan's other claims are also doubtful, considering that most of them are premised on the actual delivery of 802 million cubic meters of water to the Pantabangan Reservoir.

Through These Lenses, Clearly

Women and the environment as criteria of analysis in appraising development

In the current campaign for economic neoliberal globalization, national borders are increasingly being swept aside to break down all restrictions to the market and to trade. Gita Sen and Caren Grown describe it thus:

It is well known that in many Third World countries, national economic plans are often no more than a collection of bilateral and multilateral aid projects supervised by donor agencies. These agencies therefore exercise considerable leverage over actual economic policy...³⁷

The industrialized countries, northern governments and banks, international financial institutions, donor agencies, and the like stand at the helm of this remorseless drive that has markedly eroded the government's decision-making and regulatory powers and responsibilities. *Le Monde Diplomatique* explains it thus:

Globalisation is institutionalising a new balance of power between states that hardens the sovereignty of some while reducing the autonomy of others...The players with knowledge and power lay down the rules; and the others fall into line.³⁸

Predictably, the loudest and most influential voices in development organizations and processes do not belong to the beneficiaries whose lives development projects are supposed to improve.

Facilitating these scheme of things are the very methods employed by official proponents and implementers. Virtually, the whole process from project identification, strategizing/planning and implementation proceeds with a top-down approach and along lines set by a handful of mutually reinforcing international and local enclaves wielding far-reaching economic and political power and influence. The outcome is predictable:

development programs aimed at improving people's lives threatens, in the final analysis, their very survival.

Defined by their terms and without benefit of people's experiences and issues on the ground, development is bound to render lip service to its professed claims or worse, aggravate people's problems and consign them to conditions worse than before. Development projects do not reflect any serious consideration of the differentiated impacts they may have on women and men. Consequently, the specific multi-layered oppressions that women in particular have to bear, especially in the wake of environmental degradation, pass unnoticed and unresolved.

For Sen and Grown, the only way to have a fair and incisive assessment of development programs and projects targeting the world's majority of underdeveloped countries is to see it from the eyes of poor women. Two reasons relevant to this paper are as follows:

- a) because development aims to improve standards of living, reduce poverty and inequality, etc., it is only logical that inquiry and study starts from the viewpoint of women who after all comprise the poorest and most economically and socially marginalized section of society;
- b) women's work, invisible and unaccounted for, is key to the sustenance and maintenance of communities. From child-bearing to food production (not to mention their direct participation in production work), the whole process of socially reproducing life itself hinges on women's labor.

On short notice, the author came up with a very raw instrument to draw out the particularity of CMIPP's impacts on women. Other members of the FDC research team also used this guide during the October field visit:

	Division of Labor		Employment		Income		Access to natural and material resources	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Pre-project								
During Construction								
After project construction								

Contextualizing the oppression of women in poor, underdeveloped countries

The lack of inputs from the "vantage point of poor women" in planning and implementing development programs has been all too evident in the hegemonic discourse on development dominated by the North. One response has been to push for women's integration in the process. But feminists have pointed out that this misses the point. In fact, it is actually women's "...enforced but asymmetric participation in it, by which they bore the costs but were excluded from the benefits..." that is to blame, asserts philosopher and physicist Vandana Shiva.³⁹

What is the context of this participation? As earlier noted, the development experience occurs in a certain context among poor, disadvantaged women, alongside other large oppressed, disempowered and marginalized sections of the population. The particular historical context of a poor, underdeveloped country like the Philippines is one of centuries of colonial subjugation that has placed it in "an unfavorable structural local in the international economy".⁴⁰ In turn, it has never been able to build and muster its own strength with which to develop on its own terms and resist the whims of an international trade regime that is controlled by perhaps no more than eight industrialized capitalist countries. The vulnerability is not entirely borne of external pressures, but purposively nurtured by local elites – some well-entrenched from their collusion with colonial interests in the past, and some newly sprung after having been co-opted into the web of corporate-led economic globalization and enriching themselves through it.

This has created enabling environments for CMIPP, the San Roque Power Plant and other "development aggression" power and infrastructure projects to flourish. There is little accountability on the part of multinational corporations like California Energy or its parent company Mid-American Holdings upon whom dominant trade institutions like the World Trade Organization have bestowed as much rights as individuals and allowed them to encroach well beyond national borders.

With the growing push for privatization in the global economy, two things immediately become apparent. One, with an automatic appropriations law in place, payments for new loans that government will incur to back up its sovereign guarantees will again eat up precious resources from basic social services. Two, as government relinquishes more of its social

commitments to the private sector, it is assumed that women will take on the responsibility of providing these. Already, women are shouldering the costs of government's warped sense of privatization that has resulted in meager budgets for health, education, land reform and other services.

Structural Adjustment Policies (SAP) now euphemistically called Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) form part of this environment that compels countries to open up to foreign investments and so-called "constructive engagement". The release of new loans dangled by the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank are often contingent on the implementation of SAPs, and countries submitting to the pressure, usually acquiesce. Rising mass poverty worldwide proves just how constructive all these engagements have been.

The Philippine Privatization Law stands out as a mark of this acquiescence – ushering in \$6,603 million worth of long term Build-Operate-Transfer (BOT) Projects, the CMIPP excluded. Passed under the Aquino administration, the measure was strengthened by Ramos' 1995 New BOT Law, which showers investors with such extraordinary perks as protection from foreign exchange fluctuations, tax reimbursements, relaxed labor standards and guaranteed income (in dollars through take-or-pay agreements). Government has absorbed practically all risks that a private firm may encounter in the course of normal business operations.

Impacts on women and the environment: surfacing the hidden costs of the Casecnan Project

From the outset, the government and CE Casecnan's only concern was securing the consent of the communities involved and failed to fully inform them of the consequences of CMIPP.⁴¹ This was validated by this writer's own interviews conducted with affected communities in Brgys. Pelaway (site of the intake structures and named as the PIZ), and Pauan where the exit tunnel is located (secondary impact zone).

Learning that government could pour in \$46 million in 2001, for example, to reimburse CE-CWEC of its tax obligations yet fail to provide for a single functional health center for about 60 households in Pauan, was incomprehensible.⁴² Expressing regret, people were also dismayed at the significant lowering of water levels, the reduction of fish harvests and the marked scarcity of wild animals that used to abound in the area and supplemented their livelihoods.

Most of Casecnan and Taan's waters now pour into CMIPP's diversions weirs. Loose mountain rock dug out by tunnel boring machines have been dumped along river banks while the clearing of significant portions of the last virgin forests in this area of Northern Luzon continues unabated. As in many situations where socio-cultural, ecological and economic damage has been wrought by so-called development projects, women are made to pay dearly.

Vandana Shiva observed that "ecological ways of knowing nature are necessarily participatory". This resonates in the experiences of the women in Pauan who use the river for different purposes, from washing clothes and bathing to fishing and irrigating plots planted at various times to rice and onions. They knew by the large stones that lay dry and exposed in the river that water levels had gone down. With this development, so did they notice a decline in their daily harvests of various fish, small shrimps and crabs that used to fill salvaged scraps of old mosquito nets simply held against the current. Only *tilapia* is available these days, and not in large quantities.

They were not mistaken. Head tributaries of the Casecnan River, water flows of the Abaca and Denit rivers in the upland town of Alfonso Castaneda had reportedly been decreasing significantly since plant operations started in 2001 because water was allegedly being channeled to CMIPP. The company had assured the governor that only water from the Casecnan and Taan rivers would be diverted through the two weirs in Bgy. Pelaway and that the two other rivers would not be affected. The alarming news could also forebode ill for small springs and brooks downstream, particularly in Quirino province.⁴³

The women also recalled that during construction, the river turned grayish and those who dared bathe in it, suffered skin allergies marked by small, itchy boils (*butlig*). This was only one of their health problems, however. Alfonso Castañeda had been upgraded into a first class municipality sometime in 2000-2001 because of the local government's much larger income owing to taxes of CE Casecnan but it has never addressed urgent calls for a health unit to be set up in the barangay. Neither was CE Casecnan's 1999 promised delivery of health services forthcoming. There are no reproductive services to speak of.

Very few women in Pauan were hired by CE Casecnan; those who found employment worked as secretaries, clerks, health workers and the like. Most of the women were left to tend the household as well as small fields averaging one-half hectare. Their stories speak for themselves.

Luz Mantile, 35, would rise before daybreak to cook meals and prepare her children for school. By 7:00 a.m., from Monday through Saturday, her husband had to be at the construction site where he worked as a truck layer until 7:00 in the evening. Leaving the younger children with relatives, Luz then left to supervise their ricefield (wet season) or onion planting (dry season), returning home briefly before noontime to cook and check up on the children. She would then go back to the field and work there until five in the afternoon. This, she did almost daily in 2001 until the ninth month of her pregnancy.⁴⁴

During the entire construction period from 1995 to 2000, onions were stricken with blight and prices plunged from Php 31-37 to Php 8 per kilo.⁴⁵ Only in 2002 when construction finally ended did harvests improve. Often the only choice open to women was to patronize usurers who would charge 10-15 percent monthly. *"Talagang lulubog ka sa utang,"* she said. *"Hindi maiwasan."*

Susan Verticulo, 32, took on the same routine during the five years her husband worked with the company, leaving the care of the household to her oldest 14-year old child. Planting cycles were delayed several times while construction was ongoing. At its worst, the blight on the onions caused a steep drop in harvests from 100 to 25 kilos. Longer hours also had to be spent in the field because of ensuing irrigation problems. *"Dahil lumiit ang ilog, nag-uunahan sa patubig,"* she recounted. *"Inaabot kami ng alas-siyete ng gabi. Minsan sumusunod ang mga bata at kapag napagod natutulog na lang sa pilapil."*

The loose gravel that CE Casecnan dumped along river banks and fenced with grass borders, had begun to erode and invaded a number of ricelands. The stones have to be picked up one by one before fields can be suitably cultivated. *"Mangingitim ang dulo ng daliri mo sa kapupulot ng bato,"* said Susan's sister Yoly Bustamante.

Just enough money was saved while her husband was employed to build a modest concrete bungalow, but Susan speaks with resigned bitterness that they were better off before CE Casecnan came to Pauan. She still hopes for a remedy to an unexplainable skin affliction that her husband Romy sustained at the CMIPP construction site when some quick-drying cement treated with a chemical commonly called *seca* by company workers, was accidentally spilled on his face sometime in 2000.

Romy was not one of those fortunate enough to have been issued protective clothing by the company. The 1995 EIS certified that no hazardous or toxic materials or chemicals onsite would be allowed.⁴⁶ Romy could not recall any warning issued by the company on the dangers of skin contact with *seca*. The two areas of exposed raw flesh on his chin and brow that started out as one-centimeter burns are spreading. The company clinic then had no clear diagnosis to offer, prescribing no more than antibiotics and ordinary painkillers.

Aside from her work at home, Susan also helps her husband maintain the *kaingin* (about an hour's walk away) which they have planted to various root crops (*kamoteng kahoy*, *kamoteng baging*), fruit trees (*langka*, *guyabano*) some beans and bananas. Still this is not enough and she and her children also have to engage in gathering rattan, which has grown much scarcer through the years. *Maghapon*, is how she described the time needed to go deep into the woods and collect about Php 250 worth of rattan (50 canes sell for Php15 in the town of Rizal). The meager profits hardly compensate for the effort: Php 80 goes to transportation and Php 20 to foodstuff and other expenses along the way.

In October 2001, Divina Mariano, 34, mother of five, was gathering firewood and foraging in the vicinity of the project site for some scrap metal to sell when a steel beam carelessly loaded unto one of CE Casecnan's trucks fell and sliced away part of her scalp. The company did not offer its ambulance to rush her to the hospital; luckily the barangay's service vehicle was around. A week after she was discharged, she was still waiting for the Php 4,000 needed to buy the medicines prescribed for her recuperation. Only when the barangay set up a barricade in the lone serviceable road leading to the project area did CE Casecnan relent.

Divina's husband worked with the company for only a year. Their livelihood is now mainly dependent on slash-and-burn farming and rattan gathering. When more hands are needed in the *kaingin*, she and her older children leave the younger siblings to other family members. Her 16-year old eldest son no longer goes to school, helping out instead in supplementing the family income by gathering rattan in the forest.

Leveta Kedatan, a shy 36-year old Bugkalot mother of nine, views the road built by CE Casecnan with mixed feelings. The author eventually managed to engage her in a conversation at a small *sari-sari* store in Pelaway, finding out that she and her youngest child, whom she had bundled

in a blanket slung from her shoulder, had just covered an hour's walk (by her own reckoning) from her home farther up north in Bgy. Cawayan. True, she said, the walk to Pelaway, has been made much shorter, but the poverty ("*napakahirap ng buhay*") and the hunger have grown deeper too. It was all the blasting during the road construction and the dirt in the river, she added, that drove the fish, the wild boars and deer away. No one can afford *bangus* (milkfish) at Php120/kilo and pork at Php130/kilo being sold at the market in Pelaway. During really hard times, she still has no choice but to make the journey to Pelaway and sell *saba* at Php1 each.

Angelita Ebenga, 38, another Bugkalot woman wishes for quieter days in Pelaway when *videoke*, gambling and drinking was unheard of. The road brought all these to her village and in the end exacted more in return. While washing clothes at twilight (the only time she had left that day, she explained to the author), Angelita remembered: "*Dati hindi na kami bumibili ng isda. May pana ka lang o bingwit o kaprasong kulambo, makakahuli na kami ng hipon, banak, kandule, biya, palos, tilapia... Ngayon maliliit na at kakaunti ang mga isda.*"⁴⁷

Further dangers to the environment have grown more insidious, having taken root within the local communities and cultures, and no longer as easily apparent as the outright damage CMIPP's construction has inflicted on the environment. With alternative livelihood sources eroded by CMIPP, the illegal logging of *narra* (teak) has intensified among the Bugkalot, for instance, whose leaders have fallen prey to CE Casecnan's aggressive drive of cooptation.

Surprisingly, the trucks transporting the cut hardwood passed undisturbed through various checkpoints of CE Casecnan, the DENR and a local police detachment. One resident reportedly spotted a truckload of *narra* driving by the DENR sub-office in Brgy. Talbec that was eventually tailed by a DENR employee on a motorcycle. The resident was allegedly told that the employee had asked for the usual Php 5,000 bribe.⁴⁸

Conclusion

The particular experience of the women in Pauan and Pelaway mirrors just how government – in acquiescing to development projects aggressively pushed by foreign big business and Northern states – can be oblivious to the way its policies and programs impact on the particular conditions of women.

For one, something must be said about the main role particularly of the women in Pauan who singlehandedly sustained the agricultural production of their village while husbands, brothers, sons worked at the CMIPP construction site. Their principal involvement in agricultural production, however, did not translate to some degree of financial independence or an increased mobility, as compared to women exploited for their cheap labor and "nimble fingers" in industrial zones. Thus, even when women took charge of producing rice and onions, the final decision as to the disposal of revenues arising thereof was not in their hands.

Women comprise approximately 70 percent of the world's poor today, Jaggar reminds us, yet, trapped as they are "in a permanent condition of indentured servitude", their contributions to the world's economic production remain unbelievably concealed.⁴⁹

Second, there seems to be no recognition of how closely intertwined the lives of women (especially rural women) are with the environment. The environmental degradation brought about by the Casecnan project was felt directly and acutely because this redounded to a lengthening of labor time in both production and social reproduction where the women actively participate. In both spheres, women had to expend more of their energy for longer periods of time because CMIPP had compromised river and soil resources that are vital to farms as well as natural sources of alternative livelihoods.

"With the destruction of forests, water and land, we are losing our life-support systems...The violence to nature, which seems intrinsic to the dominant development model, is also associated with violence to women who depend on nature for drawing sustenance for themselves, their families, their societies," wrote Vandana Shiva.⁵⁰

And she concludes: "The displacement of women from productive activity by the expansion of development was rooted largely in the manner in which development projects appropriated or destroyed the natural resource base for the production of sustenance and survival. It destroyed women's productivity both by removing land, water and forests from their management and control, as well as through the ecological destruction of soil, water and vegetation systems so that nature's productivity and renewability were impaired...."⁵¹

In the distant mountain fastness of the Caraballo Mountain Range where women also personally live through the backlash of "development" through multiple days, multiple burdens, multiple shifts that are not measured and therefore, not recognized in the overall valuation of the country's productive economic life –Shiva's words ring clear and true.

Notes:

- ¹ Thereafter referred to as CE Casecnan, CE-CWEC or the Casecnan Project.
- ² National Irrigation Administration, *Environmental Impact Statement for the Casecnan Multipurpose Irrigation Power Project, Final Report, Volume I*, as certified by SGC Consulting, January 1995.
- ³ "CE announces commercial operations of the Casecnan Project, 14 December 2000 at www.calenergy.gov.ph.
- ⁴ Worldwide projects factsheet, Casecnan (Philippines) at www.calenergy.gov.ph.
- ⁵ President Joseph Ejercito Estrada's Speech during a visit to CMIPP, Bgy. Villarica, Pantabangan, Nueva Ecija, 22 January 1999.
- ⁶ *Businessworld*, 20 July 2001.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁸ Senate Committee on Accountability of Public Officers and Investigations
- ⁹ President Estrada's Speech, 22 January 1999.
- ¹⁰ A consortium of California energy International Limited, San Lorenzo Ruiz Builders and Developers Group, Inc. and the La Prairie Group of Contractors International, an earth-moving and construction firm.
- ¹¹ CMIPP Project Report, NIA, Nueva Ecija, *undated*.
- ¹² National Irrigation Administration, *Environmental Impact Statement for the Casecnan Multipurpose Irrigation Power Project, Final Report, Volume I*, January 1995.
- ¹³ CMIPP Project Report.
- ¹⁴ DENR.
- ¹⁵ Maria Teresa Diokno-Pascual and Shalom MK Macli-ing, *The Controversial Casecnan Project*, Freedom from Debt Coalition, August 2002.
- ¹⁶ CMIPP Project Report.
- ¹⁷ California energy has three existing BOT contracts with the PNOC for the Leyte Geothermal Plant.
- ¹⁸ Pascual and Macli-ing, August 2002.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*
- ²⁰ Danao, Efren. "Joker: All kinds of Anomalies found in Casecnan Contract." *The Philippine Star*. Posted 9 August 2002 at <http://www.gatewayphil.com>.
- ²¹ Pascual and Macli-ing, August 2002.
- ²² *Ibid.*
- ²³ Nacpil, Lidy. "Why the Casecnan contract should be cancelled." Letters to the Editor. Posted 1 September 2002 at www.inq7.net.
- ²⁴ Bosshard, Peter. Private Gain – Public Risk? The International Experience with Power Purchase Agreements of Private Power Projects. *International Rivers Network*, 20 November 2002.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ National Irrigation Administration, *Environmental Impact Statement for the Casecan Multipurpose Irrigation Power Project, Final Report, Volume I*, January 1995.

²⁷ Danao, 9 August 2002.

²⁸ Based on author's discussion with Engr. Edgardo Sabado, Planning Officer and Information Technology Office, Provincial Government of Nueva Vizcaya, 16 September 2002.

²⁹ Pascual and Macli-ing, August 2002.

³⁰ National Irrigation Administration, *Environmental Impact Statement for the Casecan Multipurpose Irrigation Power Project, Final Report, Volume I*, January 1995.

³¹ Pascual and Macli-ing, August 2002.

³² Ibid.; *Environmental Compliance Certificate*, 28 April 1995.

³³ Republic of the Philippines, Province of Nueva Vizcaya, Sangguniang Panlalawigan. *Excerpt from the Minutes of the 2nd Regular Session of the Sangguniang Panlalawigan*. 10 July, 1995.

³⁴ It would necessitate separate study to investigate and expound fully on the fate of the Bugkalot the shadow of CMIPP, particularly their livelihoods, traditions and culture.

³⁵ CMIPP Project Report. *A separate paper may be needed to study the way CMIPP has created divisions among the Bugkalot and non-Bugkalots because of unequal access to project benefits and other so-called social security measures.*

³⁶ Bugkalot (Illogot) Confederation of Aurora, Nueva Vizcaya and Quirino Provinces. *Letter to the chair of the Regional Development Council* 7 July 1995.

³⁷ Gita Sen and Caren Grown, *Development Crisis and Alternative Visions*, New York, 1987.

³⁸ The States we are in, *Le Monde Diplomatique*, April 2000.

³⁹ Vandana Shiva, *Staying Alive*, UK, 1989, p. 2.

⁴⁰ Sen and Grown, 1987.

⁴¹ Macli-ing and Pascual, 2002.

⁴² The author is part of the FDC research team looking into CMIPP. The interviews cited here were conducted from 11-16 September and 10-14 October 2002.

⁴³ Gascon, Melvin. "Drying up of 2 Vizcaya rivers alarms governor." *Inquirer News Service*. Posted 22 January 2002 at <http://www.inq7.net>.

⁴⁴ From interviews conducted by the author with several women in Pauan during the September 2002 field visit.

⁴⁵ This has not recovered, due this time to the influx of cheaper vegetable produce from other countries.

⁴⁶ National Irrigation Administration, *Environmental Impact Statement for the Casecan Multipurpose Irrigation Power Project, Final Report, Volume I*, January 1995.

⁴⁷ Shrimp, mullet, a variety of catfish, gobi fish, eel, adult leather jacket fish (From the NIA Environmental Impact Assessment, January 1995).

⁴⁸ Basilio, Gene Basilio. "Bugkalot tribesmen in illegal logging, says barangay captain." *The Manila Times*. Posted 8 July 2003 at <http://news.veheve.com>.

⁴⁹ Geoff McMaster, "Debt 'forgiveness' insults poor nations – philosopher," *Express News*, 18 January 2002 at www.arts.ualberta.ca/womensstudies.

⁵⁰ Shiva, , p. xvi.

⁵¹ Shiva, p. 3.

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Hard and Heart Data

A Counselor-Mother's Perspective on Family Violence Prevention

Salvacion Baaco-Pascual

*T*he Women's Crisis Center (WCC) is the first crisis center in the Philippines to offer a holistic range of services to women and children who are victims-survivors of violence against women. At the core of its services is the Crisis Intervention Program, which includes feminist counseling, both hotline and face-to face, medical and legal assistance, and a temporary shelter where women are assured of security and safety. Accompaniment is also provided to women who need support in accessing help from other service providers, until the survivors gain the confidence to stand up for themselves. Survivors who have undergone counseling are encouraged to join the Survivors' Support Group where women share problems and experiences and support each in the healing process. The assistance of donor agencies enables WCC to provide all these services for free. In tandem with the Intervention Program is the Prevention Program that promotes strategies and advocates for the prevention of family violence. Its resource and training institute has been renamed Raquel Edralin-Tiglao Institute for Family Violence Prevention (RETIFVP) in honor of its former executive director who steered WCC into what it is today. RETIFVP houses the Education and Training, and the Research, Documentation and Advocacy Programs. A special project, the National Family Violence Prevention Program, with seventeen partner-organizations, is a nationwide campaign that mobilizes communities to address family violence prevention through concerted efforts to raise public awareness, organizing, social mobilization, and policy advocacy and planning.

As a feminist alternative organization working for women's empowerment, every staff member is expected to do crisis intervention work when necessary. Multi-tasking is the rule rather than the exception. Services and responses to the needs of abused women and girls are guided by what the victims-survivors define as woman-centered, sensitive, helpful and empowering to them. The experience I will share is informed by heart data as a mother and hard data as a crisis worker.

Mothers and Family Responsibilities

As a society we need to recognize and be sensitive to multiple dimensions of family diversity. Children are not disadvantaged by living in non-traditional family structures; rather they are victimized by cultural intolerance and a reluctance to accept and celebrate family diversity.

Mothers nowadays have added responsibilities unlike a century ago. Economic difficulties have forced mothers to join the work force outside the home. However, most family responsibilities are still considered as part of women's work. Socialization and traditional gender roles placed a heavy burden on mothers. They are the nurturers and caregivers not only of their husbands and children, but aging parents as well.

There are circumstances when mothers find themselves unable to give what they think is best because of certain social and family structures. Among these are the structures that condone and perpetuate intimate or family violence. While nobody wants to live in fear and in a hurting environment, the social and political contexts in which we live shape the choices we make in mothering. How do mothers in abusive situations cope with the dilemmas and challenges they face as they try to live up to the paradigm of good mothering?

Mothers and Family Violence

Since WCC is a crisis center based in a tertiary government hospital, most of the women who come to us are from the urban poor communities. But we also have clients who come from posh villages seeking safety and security at the shelter. Housewives, doctors, lawyers, along with sidewalk vendors come to ask our help especially during crisis triggered by violence. In the same manner, there is no definite profile of batterers. They include men who occupy respectable positions in the community and who are considered as good providers. Contours of family violence can be gleaned from the stories women tell us.

He beat me because I refused sex... failed to cook his favorite food... I asked him for marketing money... I got pregnant... I failed to arrive on time... for no particular reason... He poured boiling water on me because he was jealous of another man... he pimped me to pay for his

vices... he gets my salary... he's violent with the children... he raped our only daughter... I'm losing my eyesight because he would always hit my eyes... he did not take me to the hospital when I had a miscarriage because of his beatings... He only stopped the beatings when he got tired... He is violent with his parents... he hit my mother when she refused to give him her money... He has another family ...

My children abandoned me because I'm a burden to them ... my brother sexually assaulted me... my grandfather raped me and I'm carrying his child... my siblings beat me whenever I come home late... My parents sold me to our relatives...

We have witnessed women and children leaving their homes in the middle of the night during violent episodes fearing for their lives while their abusers enjoy the comfort of the conjugal dwelling. We have sheltered elderly women abandoned by their children and siblings. We have sheltered young girls, pregnant because their fathers and brothers raped them. What's happening to our families? Certainly love and violence do not co-exist.

It is difficult to recognize and acknowledge family violence because it is inflicted by family members. We were led to believe that this is a part of family life. When we hear family violence, we express disbelief. Child abuse is justified by discipline. Sibling violence is a part of growing up but some siblings never outgrow their aggression. Wife abuse that starts as cruel teasing, progresses to verbal abuse, mental and emotional torture and escalates into physical and sexual abuse that sometimes lead to death.

We downplay the visibility of family violence and wish it out of existence. We have yet to find a Filipino term for incest. The denial stems from our pain in recounting the violence and embarrassment that we have failed in our homes. Society has tasked us mothers to be the guiding light and binding force of families. We turned a blind eye to the abuser/perpetrator's violence because society assigned him as head of the household and its guardian. Tradition and culture have led us to believe that a woman needs a man for protection and is expected to submit to the power of someone, usually a male throughout her life.

Before, I thought violence was only physical and sexual. Emotional, mental and economic abuses do not count. But I learned that emotional scars remain long after the physical scars have healed and cleared. It pains me to see that people who are supposed to protect, love and guard their family are the ones who are inflicting harm and suffering to the vulnerable members who are the women, children and elderly.

We have popular myths and practices that condone and perpetuate family violence. As mothers, we are guilty of believing in some of these myths. We worry when our children are not yet home and it's late in the evening, because we think that today's streets hold the greatest risk for women and children. Records at the WCC show that people, especially women and children, are more likely to experience violence and abuse inside the home and in the hands of other family members than anywhere else.

We believe that to build character in our children we are licensed to use violence in the name of discipline. Spanking a child is normal, necessary and good. We went through it when we were young. The intent is to cause some slight harm so that the child will get the message. Spare the rod and spoil the child. We use discipline to justify the physical and emotional harm we inflict on our children not knowing that this may have long-term effects that may last a lifetime. Street children come to us fearful that their parents would punish them if they fail to give some money at the end of the day. Some turn to the streets afraid that they will be beaten or sexually abused at home.

Another hidden family violence is violence towards parents. We always think of children as submissive to the authority of parents. Like elderly abuse, parents are reluctant to report or admit that their children had physically assaulted them. As mothers, our children often hurt us emotionally, but our love for them far exceeds our desire to report the abuse or let others know the hurt.

Why do mothers stay in violent relationships?

We always expect women who experience abuse and violence at the hands of their intimate partners to either end the abuse or leave the relationship. Women are judged and criticized harshly if they remain with a violent husband or partner, but are accused of breaking the marriage,

and depriving the children of a father if they leave. Social expectations put a heavy burden on women with abusive partners but it is socialization and male-female stereotyping that greatly influence why women remain in abusive relationships.

There are countless reasons why a mother cannot leave. Women's vulnerability comes from being exposed as a bad wife and mother as well as from the fact that there is no place for her to turn to. We are guilty of blaming and asking why battered women stay; yet we remain indifferent to their plight. Lack of alternatives prevents them from leaving. Most women do not have economic resources. Some have sacrificed their own careers to be the supportive wife and nurturing mother. The law and our courts do not have much to offer either. We don't have a law to protect women from domestic violence. Abusing a loved one is a lesser crime than behaving aggressively towards a stranger. We do not have enough shelters for women who need them. Abused women have shared with us how they were revictimized when they approached the barangay, police and health service providers for help. Most often they were asked insensitive questions trivializing their experience and blaming them for the abuse. Our Barangay Lupon Tagapamayapa always works for the reconciliation of husband and wife and preserving the family even at the cost of the woman's life. Mothers who agree to uncontested separation or annulment of their marriages often find themselves charged as unfit mothers and deprived of child custody.

The nature of violence in intimate relationships is crucial to understanding why women find it difficult to get away from her abusive situation. The type and severity of abuse may vary but the abuse is always intended to control and invoke fear in the victim. Lenore Walker's Cycle of Violence Theory further explains why women stay in violent relationships. The cycle of violence starts with the first phase where there is tension and "minor" incidents of violence such as threats, verbal abuse, and indirect acts of violence that serve as warnings. There is fear and anxiety as to what will follow. This escalates to the second phase when the acute physical battering occurs. After the violent episode, the abuser shows contrition and remorse. When the woman threatens to leave, the abuser soon realizes that so much is at stake. He will lose his wife who did everything for him. Who will now clean the house, wash his clothes and cook for him? He begs the woman to stay, behaves in a loving manner and swears that it was not his intention to hurt her. He was again the man she fell in love with. This gives her hope that he will change. She remembers that abuse is not the only

significant aspect of her relationship and she realizes that she still loves him. The third phase is the honeymoon phase where the woman is led to believe that the abuse is about to end until the next build up phase creeps in again.

It is the honeymoon phase that explains why many women stay with the abuser. This phase provides hope that the abuser will change and violence will end. Families, friends, media, literature, religion all encourage women to hope and believe that they can change their male partners. All they need is perseverance and patience to see the results of their labor of love. But conflict always arises when the abuser's sense of control is threatened and this sets in motion the next cycle of violence.

Fear is another reason why women stay. Women are often stalked and followed by their batterers. Friends and family who try to help them are harassed. To end a relationship is to face the possibility that the man will carry out his threat to harm or kill her and her children. We have clients who were followed by their abusers and have to make the lethal choice of getting killed or be killed. For preserving their lives and their children's lives, these mothers are serving life sentences at the Correctional Institute for Women.

Religion plays an important role. Some women choose to honor their commitments to their marriage vows. Others chose to stay especially if the time and emotional investment is high and the alternatives are few. To leave is to abandon her commitment but to stay is to be beaten. She wants to move into safety but does not want to lose her relationship. It is for the same valued traits of women in society that make women endure the abuse and yet we blame them when they stay.

Mothers of Incest Survivors

For a mother whose children are sexually abused by family members, the stay-or-leave dilemma is a tremendous burden. Society holds mothers, rather than fathers as primary nurturers and responsible for the safety and well being of their children. Our maternal biases against mothers of incest victims accuse them of colluding with the abuser or allowing the abuse to happen. Again there are various reasons why it is not easy for a mother to disclose or report incest. Reporting would mean prosecution of a family member and exposing one's family to shame and stigma. There is also the fear of death penalty for the abuser who could be her

husband, son or relative. Her relationship with the perpetrator causes her ambivalence on whom to protect: her daughter or the perpetrator who is also a family member. She might be economically dependent on the abuser and sacrificing her daughter would mean saving her other children. The mother could also be facing her own victimization. Studies conducted by WCC on incest survivors found that six out of ten survivors reported that their mothers were also abused by their fathers. Such a situation makes her powerless to protect herself and her daughter. The lack of personal resources, support and insensitivity of the people and institutions they approach for justice make some mothers resign to another victimization in their lives. Fear, shame, our insensitivity and indifference have silenced these women. It is the political, cultural and social factors that contribute to their powerlessness and the silent support for the abuser to continue the abuse that make it difficult, if not impossible, to seek justice.

Consequences of family violence

It is not difficult to understand how being trapped in violent relationships, repeatedly subjected to abuse, and receiving no social or legal support extract a heavy toll on the victims-survivors. The research study undertaken by WCC found that consequences on physical health include injuries, body pains, fractures, disfigurement, partial and even permanent disabilities like loss of hearing and eyesight. Reproductive tract infections and contraction of sexually transmitted diseases are common. We wonder and blame battered women on why they have many children. In an abusive situation, family planning has never been an option for these mothers. Using contraceptives gives reason to be beaten. It is alarming to know that violence during pregnancy is common and affects mother and child. It is even used to effect abortion.

Family violence has strong implications not only on physical but mental health as well. Fears, anxiety, depression, anger, and hostility are just a few of the effects. Some became suicidal. While others resort to alcohol or drugs. Others turn to spirituality for inner strength. The mind may deny the abuse but these traumatic experiences are stored as body memories that may manifest in other ways later in life.

Such consequences can also be found in child and elderly abuse and other types of family violence. Children from violent homes also become victims. They are often neglected and abused, suffer severe stress and develop dysfunctional behaviors. Sometimes they get hurt when they

intervene during violent outbursts. Just witnessing violence and seeing their loved ones getting hurt will have profound effects on their physical, emotional and social development. Children develop their own strategies for survival in growing up in abusive homes, including being a "perfect child", acting out in destructive ways through alcohol or drug abuse, delinquent behavior, school related problems, criminal behavior, depression or suicide. They also learn to use violence to control others, bully their friends, siblings or mothers. They learn that violence is an effective means of gaining control over others.

The economic costs of family violence include interrupted schooling, home displacement, frequent transfer of residence in search of safety, lack of financial support, medical costs due to physical injuries and mental health therapies, loss of job due to absenteeism, inefficiency and incapability days. There are also legal costs for judiciary procedures like custody of children, separation and annulment and expenditures for arrests and prosecution. But beyond these economic, health and social costs is the cost in human suffering.

Family violence is a traumatic event that overwhelms the ordinary human being. Judith L. Herman has found that victims- survivors of rape and domestic violence and the Vietnam War veterans have one thing in common – they all suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder. The common denominator is intense fear, helplessness, loss of control and annihilation. Remember that soldiers were trained for combat while women and children unexpectedly found themselves in a home turned battleground.

We blame women for their helplessness. In an attempt to create some sense of safety and control over their fears, they restrict their lives. For fear that the batterer will strike her anytime, victims-survivors stop doing anything because any action on her part might result to more violence. Learned helplessness, self-isolation, denial and rationalization of the abuse are just some of women's ways of coping to ensure her and her children's survival. Never underestimate the strength and determination to survive of a battered woman.

Interventions for family violence prevention

While every citizen has a role to play in eliminating the worldwide plague of family violence and abuse, the role and power of mothers in this

area cannot be overstated. Interventions are necessary not only to protect the victims and survivors from further abuse but also to help them cope with the effects of force, abuse of trust and power within the family.

Nowadays we have child welfare agencies operated by both government and non-government organizations. There are women's drop-in crisis centers that provide information and services to women coming from violent homes. There are shelters for battered women, abused children and for the elderly where they can temporarily stay away from a violent environment and are given support to take control of their lives. In some countries, treatment for abusers and programs for men including counseling for behavioral change are also available.

There are legal measures that aim to ensure the safety of family members. We have the Child Protection, Anti Rape (including marital rape), and Anti-Sexual Harassment Laws. Unfortunately we don't have a law against abuse in intimate relationships in the Philippines. The problem with these laws lies in the level of protection they can provide. The death penalty for incest rape in the Philippines is a major reason why some daughters do not want to pursue legal cases against their father-abusers lest they be blamed for their father's death and family shame.

In our intervention work at the Women's Crisis Center Manila, we believe that the ultimate goal of crisis intervention is the empowerment of victims-survivors. Women are given counseling that aims to provide them information to make informed decisions. Whatever decision a woman may arrive at will always be respected for only she knows how to live her life. We celebrate and measure success not by winning cases in court but by the small steps women take towards self-empowerment. Our role is to be there when she needs us because we believe in her capacity to regain control over her life, which has been shaken.

We hold the abusers accountable for their behavior. While we know that they must be viewed with compassion and as victims themselves who need support, we fear this approach will let the abuser get away with his accountability by placing the blame on his past experience. Any intervention should make the abuser fully responsible for his actions. We believe there is a need to use aggressive intervention to punish the violent behavior. But we also fear for interventions that might increase the risks for the victims-survivors since the abuser might retaliate and take violent actions against his wife or children.

Intervention programs are necessary to protect the lives and welfare of victims and potential victims of intimate violence. But even the best programs will not break the cycle of cultural norms and values that contribute to the violent nature of the family and intimate relationships. There will always be the risk that certain relationships will be abusive and violent. There is no easy solution as to what is the best intervention approach, but the best would involve appropriate measures of legal control and human support.

What can mothers do to help in the prevention of family violence?

The central goal of programs and policies aimed at intimate violence is to prevent and eventually eliminate violence. Some fundamental changes in values and beliefs have to occur before we see a decrease in the level of family violence. Stopping the cycle of violence should start at home. Parents who are considered as the children's first teachers are in the best position to sow the seeds of eliminating family violence. Violence is a learned behavior and therefore it can be unlearned. Before I became a crisis intervention worker, I've always believed that the family must be preserved at all cost. Having been exposed to the painful and destructive effects of violence, I have come to realize that while the ideal goal is to preserve the family, the reality is that there are families that cannot be preserved and others that should not be preserved. I have seen in my work how husbands justify their violence by blaming the wives for not being the obedient and dutiful wives that they want. I have also seen children who had cigarette burns, with swollen faces and feet, suffering from sexually transmitted diseases because of physical and sexual abuse. Most women, especially mothers, just want the violence to stop while keeping and preserving the family. We cannot afford to risk lives for future abuse and violence because in the end, we will pay a very high cost.

As mothers and members of our communities, we have a responsibility to actively pursue the prevention of family violence and we are in a position to do so. There are ways to make our contribution count.

- ***Start with a personal commitment to end family violence. Be informed.***

One can start by reading and looking for information on family violence. As we think and learn about it, we may be shocked or troubled

to discover that we can identify with some aspects of abusive relationships. Thinking about family violence may bring back memories of difficult times in our own lives. Maybe we can now identify comments we would not have noticed before as reflections of attitudes that foster family violence. Let us take a stand and share this information to others and help other people recognize and care about the problem.

As mothers, we become fearful for our children especially our daughters. I was scared that what is happening to others can also happen to my family. Having a "feel" for what abusive relationships are about will make one a more empathetic and effective helper and help us be realistic about how to approach the problem.

- ***Examine our parenting practices. Eliminate myths and practices that perpetuate and glorify violence in our families and society.***

Family violence prevention should start with our parenting and child rearing practices. Eliminate spanking and corporal punishment in schools as child-rearing techniques. Fairytales, folklore and nursery rhymes are full of violence. Hansel and Gretel had been abandoned by their parents in the forest because of financial difficulties. Stepmothers are usually portrayed as wicked and evil towards their stepdaughters. Cinderella was a victim of the cruelty of her stepmother and stepsisters. Remember the old woman who lived in a shoe who beats her children before sending them to bed. Do we tell stories that convey the message that violence is all right?

Do we socialize our children into roles that foster violence with toys like guns, swords, and war games that are associated with violence? Monitor what our children are watching on TV and what computer games they are playing. Even cartoons intended for children nowadays portray violence and abuse in families. Eliminate media violence that glorifies and legitimizes violence.

In school, do we encourage our children to use aggressiveness and force in settling disputes with their friends? Fraternities and school gangs that engage in violence in their rivalry for supremacy should be banned. Are we guilty of encouraging and cultivating a culture of violence?

- ***Help in changing the sexist characteristic of our society by starting with our children.***

Sexual inequality makes violence possible in homes. Eliminate the sexual division of labor by teaching our children that there should be no men's and women's work. Men can be good housekeepers and women can be good carpenters and engineers. Let us eliminate prescribed gender roles – sons can be nurturers and daughters can be breadwinners. Boys, like girls, can cry and should get in touch with their feelings. A man's prowess is not measured by the number of women he can "conquer"; rather, it is measured by how he cares, loves and respects his family. Eliminate macho posturing and strive for equality of individuals. Take a stand against commercial advertisements and pornography that depicts women and children as objects. As consumers, we should be vigilant about what is forced on us. Let our voices be heard on what we want for our children's well being.

- ***Break the cycle of violence in the family and at home.***

Violence cannot be prevented if we show that it is okay to hit the people we love. Unfortunately, children learn what they experience at home. They know about violence in their home, despite attempts by the parents to hide what is going on. Boys and girls who grow up in violent homes are more likely to carry these behaviors into their own relationships.

Violence is not an acceptable method of dealing with difficulties. Conflict resolution should not be done through force and abuse. There are peaceful ways of settling differences. Parents should be sensitive to their children's needs in the same way that children should know when their actions are hurting their parents. Let us start breaking the cycle of violence by teaching our children that violence is unacceptable in our homes.

- ***Meet the spiritual and nurturing needs of our children and practice what we preach.***

As parents, we are privileged to be in a position to teach our children the total life concept. It means much more than teaching and imparting to them knowledge and wisdom accumulated through the years. It is also imparting to them our spiritual beliefs and practices.

The expectation is that through words and personal example, parents will nurture their children and teach them how to live peaceful lives. Our biggest investment is in our children. Each child is precious and is worth whatever it takes to care for him/her properly. The returns could be a violence-free world.

Let us teach them values that will guide them in life, develop positive behavior and lasting relationships. Children look up to us parents as their model. Let us train our children in the way they should go but let us be sure we go that way ourselves.

- ***Avoid family isolation by developing involved relationships with support network of kin and community***

The changing patterns of family and community life have isolated families and children from parents and other extended family members. The family, neighborhood and community dynamics that once socialized young people into norms of society are often extinct especially in big cities where one hardly knows one's neighbor. Children need to know through example or indirect methods, moral codes and patterns of living that build strong family relationships. They will help our children resist the negative influences in life. Supportive ties from relatives, friends and the community are necessary.

- ***Support public awareness campaigns that promote attitudes and values that foster nurturing relationships and prevent family violence.***

Participate actively in community campaigns and public education that promote the welfare of families. Advocate and support laws and ordinances that forbid and penalize violence and abuse. Join multi-agency groups and other community-wide efforts to prevent family violence. During the early days of our National Family Violence Prevention Program, parents and children actively participated in its family violence awareness activities like poster making and slogan contests, speak outs and parades.

- ***Volunteer in shelters and centers that provide services and programs for victims and survivors of family violence and abuse.***

Help in supporting victims and survivors of family violence by sharing your resources and skills. Shelters and crisis centers need your services and support. Healing and recovery come easier when survivors receive the community's support and collective care. Violence threatens not only families but also the existence of our communities.

Let me share with you the recommendations of women who come to us at the Women's Crisis Center. These are mothers whose parenting skills were compromised by violence at home. They were unwilling victims but have survived. With their children, they have taught me that there is hope amidst despair. Let us listen to what they have to say.

- Conduct awareness campaigns on family violence prevention in all levels of society.
- Media should help in these campaigns.
- Eliminate the sexual division of labor at home and in the workplace.
- Include children's rights and family violence in the school curriculum so that the young will know and understand.
- Make family violence a community concern and communities have the right to intervene.
- Pass laws on family violence prevention and impose stiff penalties for offenders.
- Create support groups among women to strengthen each one.
- Men and women should undergo seminars and counseling on family violence before getting married.
- Conduct gender sensitivity training for the legal and medical service providers.
- Involve the active participation of men in campaigns against family violence.

In our desire to protect the family, too often we close our eyes to the violence within the family. Too often we act on the behavioral manifestations of hopelessness, helplessness, anger and hostility that we find offensive, dangerous and threatening. We punish our loved ones without asking, listening nor understanding what precipitated these desperate responses. If there is violence inside the home, let us recognize the need to disclose the violence lest we help in protecting a perpetrator by hiding his deeds with our silence. When any family member discloses to us, let us

not blame them. She does not want violence and is usually helpless to fight it alone.

The seeds we have planted won't yield immediate results. But we should recognize that our actions make a difference. We should feel confident that the cumulative and collective effect of our efforts would bear fruit and help to create a healthier, violence-free and more peaceful environment for us all. Let us remember that world peace starts in our hearts and in our homes.

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Patok, Padyak, Pila-pila: **Urban Poor Women Speak Out on** **Transportation Issues**

Roselle Leah K. Rivera

*I*n Philippine cities, the unprecedented pace of motorization (proliferation of private cars, unregulated increase of tricycles, etc) has led to impacts which are at the core of discussion and debate on vital elements of sustainable development: quality of life, environmental integrity, economic viability and social justice. Related to the nightmares of motorization are equally alarming issues: the death toll in road accidents, the damaging effects of noise, and the loss of valuable cultural and historical symbols in the urban landscape. Urban air pollution and traffic congestion are also world-wide plagues. At the top of the totem pole of issues is the nightmare that oil dependence certainly increases the economic vulnerability of many countries.

In the developing countries, private motor cars serve only a small elite. Less than one percent of the people in the Third World can afford a car (Mellouli, 2000). However, the elite in many developing countries have chosen the private car as a rational calculation based on considerations of convenience. The car-owning elite seem to have imported a mind-set along with their vehicles. Western-trained engineers have oriented transport decisions toward the motorized sector. Bad transport policy is one major factor which contributes to the fact that billions are left on foot, or queuing for disorganized and inefficient mass transportation. This in turn has affected their access to jobs, schools, markets, and vital services. One of the most tragic ironies of the 21st century is that in the developing world, vast amounts of valuable things have been relinquished on behalf of motorized transportation. Land and clean air have become lower priority despite the fact that over 99% of people do not own a car, and most of them will probably never do so. (Mellouli, 2000)

What is happening in the Philippines is parallel to the escalating social and environmental impacts of transportation in most countries in the

Asia-Pacific region. In urban areas such as Metro Manila, current transport priorities are such that most investments have been to keep private motor vehicles moving (MMURTRIP, 2001). These impacts fall most heavily on the vulnerable groups in communities—those living in poverty, people with disabilities, the fragile elderly, young children and women.

Related literature from other countries mention that transport is not located in discussions on "settlement issues." While the people affected (by the lack of access to transportation vital for their day to day livelihood) certainly realize the meaning of transport vis-a-vis settlements, it becomes obvious that most politicians and policy makers who throw people out to remote areas are oblivious of the transportation-settlements connection. To begin with, transport is not tightly woven into discussions on the location of credit, housing, water and basic services in communities. According to a study done in the City of Nairobi, 27% of female-headed households depended on walking as their primary form of mobility, compared to only 15% of the male-headed households (Barwell, 1993 in Hook and Peters, 1998). Contrary to common perception, even women in urban areas are more likely than men to be dependent on walking. Walking, for many women, is their only modal choice. Other modes are often not available to them, either because they are too expensive, or located too inconveniently and far away (Hook and Peters, 1998).

A review of available literature points out the need to take into account women's modal preferences in transport infrastructure planning. As one World Bank study in Dhaka, Bangladesh showed, 35% of female commuters relied on cycle rickshaws as their sole mode of transport, with a few more using them in combination with bus services and scooters. One fourth of all women also relied on rickshaws for accessing educational facilities. When the government of Bangladesh recently proposed to ban rickshaws from the streets of Dhaka, they were in fact singling out not only the most environmental friendly mode available, but the one transport choice most essential and accessible to women, thereby gravely affecting their mobility (Hook and Peters, 1998).

The above transport-related concerns must be woven into discussions of the ideals of sustainable human development, which are increasingly being embraced by the international development community. Yet the above negative impacts and concerns should not be seen as inevitable (Sustran, 1998). Community groups, concerned academics and politicians in the country are now actively searching for solutions. A few NGOs,

specifically environment and urban issue-oriented organizations, are beginning to take interest in the issue and crave for progressive information to address the situation.

Available literature from other countries also point out how community-based groups, non-profit agencies and people's organizations are not visible in evolving community strategies for many issues, including transport issues (SSP, 1998; STF, 1997).

In any planning process for transport concerns, it is best to consult and involve the community which will be affected. However, traditional engineering approaches usually distrust community involvement and insist that transport planning is a technical matter that must be left to the experts. The danger in this pervasive belief is that interests only of big businesses, such as oil companies, vehicle manufacturers, construction contractors, large property owners and developers will be heard.

It is a very sad situation that today, many countries, including the Philippines, have left crucial decisions on transport priorities to politicians, transport planners and engineers. In 2002, the Philippine Daily Inquirer, the widest read broadsheet in the country, published a news article about infrastructure projects in the Philippines closely scrutinized by urban-issue non-profit groups, emphasizing the social costs on thousands of Filipino families of such "development" projects: the upgrading of the Batangas pier and the Cebu ports affected 91,000 families, the Rehabilitation of the Pasig River and the Sucol and Tullahan River in Malabon, is expected to displace 98,000 people; the Manila North Rail Transit, would raze approximately 215,000 houses in Paco, Manila; Calamba, Laguna and Mabalacat, Pampanga are also documented to be affected by parallel infrastructure initiatives.

1. Gender Responsive Transport Planning

Development planning, while becoming more open to greater participation by different sectors of society, still remains blind to the differential gender impact of transport policies and programs. The participation of women especially in local communities is also not seen as a key element in program implementation. This is largely a product of the dominant thinking that transport is part of the "hard core" sectors dominated by international agencies and top down state-led planning.

Women are the backbone of the economic life in the developing world (World Bank, 1995/1996) yet women are absent in the transport policymaking process. Not only are they absent in the design and management of the transport system but they are also excluded from making inputs as user groups. There are few opportunities for exchanges of ideas between transport planners and researchers on perspectives of women that are emerging from work with women leaders in local communities, non-profit organizations and community organizations.

A historical review of the development of settlements traces the dynamics of many intervening variables that lead to the current situation. In the past, less mobility was needed because services were located in or near communities. As services went further away, more mobility was needed and this was most conveniently made possible by private motor vehicles. (Sustran, 1998)

In light of the above, gender analysis is part of a general reorientation of transport planning away from a focus on facilitating the movement of motorized vehicles to one that starts with an analysis of basic household mobility needs.

Major differences in the basic mobility needs of women vis-à-vis men are grounded on the gender-based division of labor within the family and community. Men are conventionally recognized as those who belong to the "public sphere" — as taking on the role of bringing income to the household as "breadwinner." Women, in turn, are tasked with the multiple burdens of doing the litany of reproductive/caring and nurturing work based in the "private" sphere— in the confines of the home and community. More often than not, this caring work, which majority of women do, has no equivalent monetary income. Nevertheless, progressive writers have been pushing for recognition of the strategic value of all the nurturing work of women.

It is very noticeable that efforts to mainstream gender concerns are "well entrenched" in the sectors of health, social services, agriculture and education. In the Philippines, gender concerns in the transport sector are still to be integrated. Available data from other countries (Peters, 2000) show transport is at the center of women's daily multiple chores. It affects her access to various facilities, utilities and services—the school, the market, the health clinic, the church, the barangay center, and the factories, among others.

National and local government officials need to be made aware of the particular needs of women and other vulnerable groups in society. Even advocates and planners need to be "educated." They need to be able to reconcile textbook principles and standards with the actual situation on the ground. They also need to develop a systematic ear to women's common perceptions and misperceptions. Questions need to be asked, such as, what are the gender specific needs for infrastructure improvements? Beyond conventional considerations of efficiency, information on these needs would sensitize planning for sustainable investments of time and resources.

Thus, transport, as an issue must be viewed as part of sustainable human development. Sustainable human development demands that women's transport and mobility needs be considered very carefully. The impact of current transport systems on their multiple roles must likewise be given a closer look.

In the Philippines, there has been no systematic attempt by any development agency to incorporate women's experiences and knowledge of the transport system. There has been no appropriate gender representation nor feedback on women's transport needs.

There is also an urgent need to begin to build capacity among women in communities, leaders in community organizations as well as those in NGOs working alongside communities. Such a perspective would mean that women and other groups in communities would learn how to assert their rights to have a say in transport issues and to know where to turn for advice, more information or for contacts on specific issues (STF,1998).

In light of the above, this exploratory research proposes to look into the issues of transport and mobility—issues that have vital implications for the social development and well being of women. This research seeks to initiate a process, which shall at the onset, proceed from a gender-biased viewpoint. This would mean taking on the perspective of women and the particular needs that they bring to fore.

2. Research Methodology

The methodology of the study included (1) review of literature on transport specifically on how they impact on women; (2) key informant

interviews with two representatives each of two community organizations; and (3) focus group discussions (FGD) with women from the two identified organizations.

The two areas selected were chosen based on the following criteria:

- (1) presence of an urban community-based organization with existing programs and projects
- (2) active participation of women in their programs
- (3) at least two years presence of the organization in the community, and
- (4) willingness of the organization to participate in the research.

A transport criteria of access was also considered in the choice of the two areas. One area had access to a main road where public transportation passed regularly. The other area was not located along a main road.

A total of 14 women participated in the focus group discussion at the first urban poor community, Bonanza, located in Parang, Marikina City, 15 kilometers from the Philippine capital of Quezon City. In Bonanza, two women were below 30 years old while the other 11 participants were above 30 years old. Seven women were between 31–40 years old; two were 41–50 years and the last two participants were more than 51 years old. One woman did not state her age.

Twelve reached high school while one went to college. The other one did not give her answer. Three of the participants were recognized leaders in the community organization while the rest were members. Nine of the women in the FGD had work outside the home with paid income while five worked as mothers at home. Thirteen were with intimate partners/married.

In terms of length of residence in the community, nine women have been living in the Bonanza community for more than ten years while the remaining five have lived in Bonanza for less than ten years.

In the second community, Victory Hills, Parang Marikina City, a total of 11 women were participants of the FGD. Of this total, ten were with intimate partners. Two participants were in the 20–30 years age range; six women were 31–40 years old while three were above 40 years old.

On the women in Victory Hills, five reached college, five attended high school while one attended up to primary school. All women were

members of the community organization. More than half of the eleven participants worked at home while five women had paid work outside the home. Nine of the participants have been residents of the community for less than a decade while two of the women have been in Victory Hills for more than a decade.

Data gathered from two communities of Bonanza and Victory Hills shall be discussed with the following themes integrated in the presentation:

- a) How women travel
- b) Women's access to modes of transport
- c) Travel needs of women
- d) Walking and women, non-motorized transport and women, public transport and women

The discussion will weave into the voices of women in the communities on:

- a) disempowering effects of the transport situation on women's overall access and mobility
- b) highlights on women's needs and preference of modes of transport especially as passengers
- c) the need to consider women's transportation experiences in urban planning

3. Transport Glossary

especial This term refers to the special fares charged by tricycle drivers from the usual rate allowed by the local regulatory agency. This special fare is charged because the tricycle would already leave for a lone passenger's destination and not wait for the public transport vehicle to be filled up with five or more passengers. More often than not, drivers also charge this special fare arbitrarily, thus it is usually a source of irritation and complaints by public transport commuters.

Fx (Literally, a five-door model of a utility vehicle manufactured by a particular company) This term is used to refer generally to a taxi or a form of public transport which accommodates ten passengers in an air conditioned vehicle. Unlike the jeepney which has only one exit for majority of the passengers, the FX has four doors where passengers can enter or alight.

langgaman (Literal meaning is a queue of ants) In transport language, areas where one can see organized queues of commuters to be able to ride public transport such as jeepneys.

padyak (Literal meaning is "to kick.") Bicycle with a sidecar used as public transport. Usually found in corners of main roads of urban poor communities.

patok (Literal meaning is "a hit.") A term which refers to speeding jeepneys with reckless drivers. These jeepneys are usually very colorful and can accommodate more than 20 passengers. *Patoks* have stereos blaring loud music during their trips. *Patoks* are usually manned by younger (20-30-year-old) drivers.

pila-pila means several queues of commuters.

sabit (Literal meaning is "to hang.") Passengers of jeepneys, tricycles or buses are unable to sit inside the jeepney because all seats are taken yet drivers allow commuters, from one to as much as five people, usually male, to stand/hang on to the *estribo* (the entrance of the vehicle), holding on to any part of the jeepney or tricycle or bus. This practice is especially dangerous as children (sometimes as many as five youngsters) are commonly seen doing this on tricycles which ferry them to public schools.

4. Bonanza Community

4.1 Women and transport: An overview of the situation

On ordinary days in the lives of women in Bonanza, transportation emerges as an element that allows them to accomplish a string of necessary tasks daily. The unpaid yet important tasks include responsibilities related to nurturing the children and the family, taking the children to and from school, various house chores, marketing food, buying, bringing and selling wares of a small family business, taking a relative to the province and many other reproductive tasks. Walking to the public transport terminal, taking public transport or walking straight to destinations (market, school, etc) is how women are able to fulfill their daily responsibilities.

Short of complaining, the women shared the fact about the narrow range of options for a mode of transport that would guarantee women and their children's safety. One woman said that for short distances, walking was preferable. If the distance was too far to walk, she rode on a jeep but avoided the *patok* because she only got very nervous and anxious. Never mind if the jeepney was not colorful or if the driver was old, as long as being a passenger on a trip meant being out of harm's way.

Another woman respondent owned a bicycle that was used as a *padyak* that she hires out. This is her source of income. For all other respondents, motorized public transport such as the tricycle and jeepney was utilized.

4.2 Problems experienced by women

The women spoke about their experiences, specifically the problems they faced related to transportation. For all the women, traveling is difficult. What transportation mode can help unburden the load of women to get to places they need to be, to allow the multi-tasks of reproductive work slide into their lives more easily?

Problems of transportation were not seen as a concern connected to their being women. The changes in the modes of transportation in the community are seen as a normal fact of life in general and it is a matter of automatically adapting to whatever changes that come their way. There is no such thing as an option that women can choose from, which is the very reason why women do precisely that—accept and adjust. The predominant belief is that there is no choice in the realm of transportation in the everyday lives of people in the community – both men and women. They are not in a position to make choices in the first place and they simply make do with what is available to them in the community. The ultimate objective, as shared by the women participants, is how to be able to lighten the weight of one's traveling situation.

Women have to make adjustments in their lives given the variable times in the day they have to catch a ride to accomplish what they have to do. One woman wakes up in the wee hours of the morning (2:00 a.m.) just so she would not have to get entangled in the traffic. By waking up unusually early, she would be able to reach Divisoria, where she buys goods for her small buy-and-sell business in shorter time and also allows her to get home early.

Women respondents shared that drivers cram their jeepneys with more passengers than the vehicle can accommodate. The ride is very uncomfortable. Because of the need to be home early to attend to the reproductive work awaiting them, women with their children bear the discomfort and heat of the crowded jeepney. Evidently, crowded jeepney rides are a factor in exhausted, worn out bodies women complain about at the end of the day.

Crowding is also a factor for sexual harassment. Speeding and sudden, jerky stops by jeepney drivers also become an excuse of male sexual harassers. Unwanted physical contact because of being so physically close, maliciously touching sensitive body parts of the women commuters are experiences cited in the FGD.

Crowded jeepneys also give rise not only to sexual harassment but also to accidents. There is also shoving and pushing among passengers. According to the women respondents, the shortage of public transport has also resulted in heated arguments between passengers and drivers. To illustrate, one woman related that she was accused of shoving an old woman. She should, according to the commuters, instead ride an FX, or an air conditioned public transport so she would not have to endure the crowded situation of the jeepney.

In the daily struggle of public commuters, women have less chances of getting a seat in public transport, such as the jeepney. "*Pag puno ang jeep, di puwedeng sumabit ang babae, dahil kapag sumasabit ang babae sa jeep pinupulaan ito kaagad ng 'kababae mong tao.'*" (If the jeep is full, women cannot hang on it as she is castigated by the passengers who tell her "it is not suitable for women to hang on at the doorway of jeepneys.") The act of *sabit* is dangerous for everyone and anyone, male or female.

In their regular route, women complain that the public transport has no clear system of charging fares. If there is a system, women respondents said, they are not aware of it. Commuters are being charged "special fares" equivalent to the cost of the whole stretch of the ride from the point of origin to the end as the destination. Women feel this is unfair since they did not ride the public transport vehicle for the entire distance but they are charged for the whole length. If women have a load of bags, they are forced to pay the "special fares" just so the goods they carry would be secure. However, paying special fares does not give any commuter with heavy loads or baggage enough assurance. In one woman's experience in

a journey to her home province, she encountered a situation wherein she was asked to transfer, along with her baggage, from one bus to another and was charged a much higher fare.

While drivers of *patoks* and tricycles are infamous for their reckless driving and maddening speed, women respondents said they have no choice but to ride on these unsafe vehicles to get to their destinations in the shortest possible time. Women respondents observed that it is the young drivers of the *patoks* who are also the adventurous ones. In their words, "*dahil sa adbentura ang mga ito parang nagiging biyaheng langit, umEEKIS ang takbo lalo na yung biyaheng Cubao. Na walang magawa ang mga pasahero dahil sa nagmamadali, na kapag umangal ay pababain ka na lamang.*" (Because they are adventurous and as if they were rushing to heaven, they drive like mad, especially the jeeps heading for Cubao. Passengers are helpless, complainants have been forced to get off the jeep.)

Many women in the discussion raised queries about why fares of public transport remain high despite announcements on reduction of oil prices.

When asked about walking, many shared that it is next to impossible to walk to their places of destination. They shared that it is not safe to walk. Almost all the areas for walking are occupied by motor vehicles speeding by. People who are walking could easily get sideswiped. One woman said "*Tulad dito sa Marikina, may mga bike lane nga, ginagamit naman ito ng mga motorsiklo at jeep.*" (Just like here in Marikina, there are bike lanes alright but the motorcycles and jeeps use the lanes.) The group said that walking is not safe due to the absence of sidewalks.

Many participants in the FGD stated that motor vehicles create so much noise and add to the pollution. *Patoks*, according to the women participants, are another source of noise pollution as the loud volume of the stereo boom continuously throughout the long ride.

Women shared that tricycles are certainly a useful form of transport but they believe there is much that can be done to improve it as a form of transport. Many statements about tricycles surfaced during the discussion. One was that tricycles bring with them so many attendant problems. One woman said that she has experienced riding on tricycles that run dangerously. From her experience, drivers are usually totally inconsiderate of the safety of their passengers. According to her, tricycles run on the opposite lane in the highway, against the flow of traffic to avoid the queue of

vehicles in the other lane. This practice makes women passengers vulnerable to accidents.

Moreover, the ubiquitous tricycles move about unregulated—from abusive charging of fares, to reckless driving and the undisciplined behavior of the drivers. It is important to note that tricycles are being used as a service vehicle for public school children. Women respondents were horrified by how children cram into the small vehicle and hang on (*sabit*, a Filipino term used) the sides and top of the tricycle.

The women participants in the FGD said that there are areas where one can see organized queues of commuters taking the jeepneys. These are known as *langgaman o pila-pila*. However, during rush hour when people are out from their work places or schools, there is a shortage of public transportation. More often than not, these orderly lines of disciplined commuters disappear and the old system of pushing and shoving can again be observed.

4.3 Ownership of modes of transportation

None of the participants own any form of motorized transport. There are a few who own non-motorized transport that are used by male members of the family to run short distance errands or to buy necessities in the nearby market.

4.4 Changes experienced

Women recalled the past when walking was the only way to get to where one needed to go, especially for what they considered to be short distances. Ever since, women always chose the transport mode that saved them time and allowed them to fulfill all the necessary daily tasks.

According to them, there have been no changes in transport for women. They said that they do not want to waste their time traveling.

Women participants said that they feel less safe today because of the problems outlined above. Moreover, the women also noticed that their children are more sickly now, which they attribute to the noticeable pollution emanating from public transport.

4.5 Differences between men and women in transport

Women are marginalized in motorized public transport, particularly jeepneys, since they, especially those carrying young children and heavy plastic bags, cannot compete for limited space on these rides.

Women do almost all of the reproductive work, specifically marketing and taking and bringing children to and from school. Women do several tasks in a day therefore the time they travel is more variable than their husbands.

According to the women participants, males in their family own and use bicycles and non-motorized transport. Women in the community, according to the respondents, are rarely seen on a bicycle. They shared that it is rare that young girls are taught how to cycle. One teacher in the group was very strong in her belief, claiming "*Nakakasira ng virginity at masagwa.*" (She will lose her virginity and it is not fit for women to bicycle.) Members of the community frown upon a girl or woman riding on a bicycle.

4.6 Views on the use of non-motorized transport (NMT)

The groups' discussions allowed women to rethink their ideas about transport. First, the women looked deeply into their situation and realized a connection between transport and their lives. While not seeing the direct impact on their lives the changes in the transportation system, the women expressed that their everyday lives are affected because time on transit eats up a large portion of their day.

Secondly, the women realize that a large portion of their limited family income is eaten up by transport. As one woman said, "*Bumababa ang gasoline ngunit and pasahe ay ganoon pa rin.*" (The prices of gasoline go down but fares are still the same)

Women in Bonanza raised that non-motorized transport might not be practical especially in situations where their loads are heavy, bulky and many. Time is crucial and thus NMT, they believe, may not be appropriate most of the time. The concern was raised that schedules in fulfilling their daily tasks might be delayed if NMT was used.

The women also pointed out that the roads are not safe.

Other women disagreed with the earlier idea presented that NMT was not appropriate and emphasized that many wrong beliefs still dominate the thinking of many members of the community, including women. Members of the group also said that it is a matter of changing these negative beliefs to make the bicycle acceptable.

When asked to choose what to purchase, many in the group chose a sewing machine over a mattress or a bicycle. They believed that a sewing machine will give them income-generating opportunity. Yet, the women were all in agreement that if there were safe roads, they would buy a bicycle instead of a sewing machine. A bicycle, they believed, would mean savings in terms of transport costs especially for short distances. All the women were excited and expressed interest to learn how to ride a bicycle.

4.7 Potentials for women

Walking is still the most popular means of getting to where women have to go. The women prefer to walk the short distances to be able to complete their daily reproductive tasks. However, the situation at present makes women wary of either walking to their planned destination or allowing their children to walk in the streets. Many believe that, unlike before, the streets are not safe anymore.

If the streets were safe, the women participants believe riding a bicycle would not be impossible or difficult. For short distances, using a bicycle would help lessen the burden of the costs of transportation for their families. It must be noted that during the discussion, the participants persistently brought up the situation of pollution brought about by tricycles plying the route in their communities.

Many of the women grew up not learning how to use the bicycle and almost all the participants in the discussion have never had the experience of using a bicycle. One woman, a former public school teacher, insisted that the bicycle is not fit for a teacher to use. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that almost all the other participants expressed enthusiasm to learn how to ride and use the bicycle. The women raised ideas on how the design of the bicycle should be made more women-friendly since they noted that the bicycle is obviously designed predominantly for the use of males. Some suggestions included making the bikes easier to mount as well as other women-friendly ideas like putting a mirror so they could see vehicles coming or other accessories that could load some things on the bicycle.

4.8 Women's Voices on Transport:

Herstories from Bonanza Community

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"Transportation fare should be lower for poor families, even free of charge."

Adora Gonzales

"I need twenty five hours or more," Nanay Adora Gonzales, also known as Doy, said of her time. It's a miracle if she can finish all the housework that needs to be done.

She wakes up at 4:00 in the morning each day and prepares the food for her two children who attend school in the morning. At the same time, she fetches water for their bath. By 5:00 a.m., she rouses her children to eat, to take a bath and to get ready for school. By 6:00 a.m., she brings the children to school, which is approximately five kilometers away from their home. There are times when she is kept to stay in school because the teacher talks to her about her children. When she gets back home by 8:00 a.m., she cleans the household. There are times when her husband wakes up at 9:00 a.m. especially when he worked overtime the day before. She would then prepare food for her husband and two other children who go to school in the afternoon.

Whenever laundry work is not "heavy," Doy would do this until 9:30 a.m. Afterwards, she leaves for the market. Sometimes she would buy food for the whole week if cash were available but most of the time she could only buy food for the day. The jeepney ride to and from the market takes approximately 30 minutes. As she reaches home, she would prepare her other two children for school as well as take care of her husband's needs.

In the afternoon, Doy repeats her "morning ritual" for her children who attend the afternoon school session. She then fetches her children who attended the morning session and feed them lunch upon arriving home.

At 3:00 p.m., she goes to the nearby water source to get a place in the queue and leaves her water containers. Then she rushes back home to continue her pile of laundry. By 4:00 p.m., she runs back to the water source just in time for her turn in the queue. She carries the filled containers to her home and finishes the laundry at 6:00 p.m. Then she would try to grab some minutes of rest before starting to prepare the evening meal. By 7:30 p.m., her family eats dinner and leisurely watches television.

By 10 p.m., her husband arrives from work and his food is already laid out on the table. Then Doy washes the dishes. It is only at 11:00 p.m. that Doy finally goes to sleep.

There are days when Doy would peddle dry goods in the Bonanza community or in nearby areas. According to Doy, this takes around five hours. Vending these goods would commence after fetching her children from school at 1:30 p.m. Vending is an irregular activity as it is dependent on the capital she is able to save. Her husband's income is not enough for the family's subsistence.

"Sa mga araw na marami akong tinda, yung gawain ko sa araw tulad ng paglalaba at paglilinis ng bahay ay ginagawa ko sa gabi habang tulog ang asawa't anak ko. Yung gabi ko, nagiging araw." (Whenever I have some goods to sell, I transform night into day. The things that have to be done in the day such as washing clothes and cleaning the house—I do these at night when my husband and my children are asleep. My day activities become my night activities.)

The most common form of transport Doy uses is the jeep and the pedicab or *padyak*.

Doy relates that she usually gets into heated arguments with the driver of the *patok* jeep. Her small children, according to Doy, would almost get thrown off the vehicle. However dangerous, Doy has no choice but to ride this mode because her children are running late for school.

The other mode of transport for Doy is the pedicab, human powered non-motorized transport. According to her, the driver of the pedicab complains of her being overweight and usually demands more than the normal fare. According to the driver of the pedicab, they get tired and pedal more than usual if Doy is their passenger.

Doy has no specific ideas on how to improve the transportation system. According to her, this is not the focus of her attention with regard to the welfare of her children. Her priority is for her children to regularly attend school. "I want my children to be stable, safe and secure schoolchildren," Doy adds. She suggests and hopes that transportation fare should be lower for poor families, even free of charge to reduce the burden of poor parents.

"All the jeepneys with reckless drivers should be taken off the streets."

Susan Jong

Susan Jong has three children. All of them attend classes at the public school. Susan normally wakes up at 4:00 a.m. since she is the water tender in the community water facility. This early, she leaves her household's pails at the water queue. By 5:30 a.m., her water containers are already full and she or her husband would carry the filled containers back to her house.

She would wake her children, cook their breakfast and prepare their bath. Her husband would then go back to sleep.

Susan would bring the two children to school at 6:00 a.m., usually on foot. By 6:30 a.m. she would be back in the house and her *dalaga* (young adult daughter) and her husband would be awake.

Susan and her husband have a small "buy and sell" business. They sell their goods to workers in different factories and communities.

They make a three-hour trek to Quiapo and Divisoria, both located in the city of Manila, three times a week. They leave their house at 9:00 a.m. and shop for their wares for approximately three hours. The trip home to Marikina takes another three hours due to the rush hour traffic. They arrive home at approximately 7:00 p.m.

When the couple needs to go to Manila, Susan requests her neighbor, who has children in the same school, to likewise pick up her children. Otherwise, Susan herself fetches her children.

Susan relates that the teacher of one of her children constantly requests that they talk about her child's behavior in school which needs to be addressed. Thus, Susan has to spend three to four hours waiting and talking to the child's teacher on matters related to the child's welfare.

On "normal" days when Susan is not meeting with her children's teachers, she and her husband are busy earning for their family. As most of their potential buyers are the factory workers who come out from their shifts in the late afternoon or early evening, the best time to sell their wares is from 6:00 p.m. to past 7:00 p.m. They would be home by 8:00 p.m. Selling in the urban poor communities instead of in the factories, however, allowed Susan and her husband to come home earlier by an hour, at 7:00 p.m.

Susan's teenage daughter goes to school in Sta. Mesa in the afternoon. She is given the responsibility to clean the house in the morning. During her free time from school, she would help with the family's laundry as well as in the family's small business. Their other young son also occasionally helps in the "buy and sell" business.

There are times when Susan is left alone to do all the house chores. After 10:00 a.m., when the children are in school, she would do the laundry. While the clothes are in the washing machine, she would clean the house and attend to their small *sari-sari* store. The laundry chores are usually finished by midday. In instances when she has no more time to cook, Susan would just buy cooked food for lunch.

In the mornings, Susan's husband would go around to sell goods in the communities. When sales opportunities are few, he would stop to play chess with men in the community. Once a week, after picking up the children from school in the afternoon, Susan would host a bible study session at their home. Whatever chores left unfinished during the day are done after the bible study session.

Susan is an active member of the community organization. She attends meetings at night after their regular round of selling goods. She actively participates in the activities of her organization such as *Oplan door to door polio vaccinations* and drainage cleaning.

Most often, Susan commutes via jeepney or Fx. She would pay additional jeepney fare to load goods she bought in Manila. While drivers would not demand extra fare for her bulky load, Susan would offer to pay.

Susan mentions her observations on the local government's publicity on the Marikina Bikeways Program. She believes in bicycles. Bicycles, according to her, would be good for children to use in going to school or for women in going to the market. Susan even mentions that it would be good if her own children would use bicycles to school since this would mean less transportation expenses for their family. But to transport heavy loads such as the wares she sells, a motorized vehicle would be needed.

Susan shows excitement when asked on possible recommendations to improve the present transportation system. An articulate woman, she makes a rundown of specific recommendations in a forceful tone:

"Ang daming tricycles. Kahit saan lamang sila, walang disiplina sa kalye. Dapat iregulate ang dami ng tricycle." (There are so many tricycles. They are everywhere and undisciplined. The number of tricycles should be regulated, she suggests.)

"Tanggalin ang lahat ng patok dahil madalas makadisgrasya ito. May insidente na muntik na ako mahulog sa pagkakaupo dahil sa paekis ekis na takbo. Kailangan ng biyaheng direcho ngunit di naman kagaya ng patok." (All the jeepneys with reckless drivers or patoks should be taken off the streets because they are the source of accidents. There was an incident when I almost fell off my seat because the jeepney kept on swerving. I believe there should be a direct ride to my destination but not like these reckless jeepneys.)

Susan also complains of the costs of transportation and hopes that public transport fares would be lowered.

"Pabilisin ang paggawa ng MRT mula Marikina hanggang Divisoria para mabawasan ang dami ng sakay papunta dito at menos pa sa oras ng biyahe at trapik." (Hasten the construction of the MRT from Marikina to Divisoria to lessen the inconvenience, saving on our precious time as well as addressing the traffic problem.)

"Gumawa ng paraan para maiwasan ang mga holdapan sa loob ng sasakyan." (Something serious should be done about the hold-ups inside public transportation.)

5. Victory Hills Community

5.1 Situationer: Women and transport

In the early 90s when there were no jeeps entering the community, people just walked from their homes to the jeepney stop or the tricycle terminal along Champaca Street, located at the exit point of the community. Tricycles were the main mode of transport for most people even if the fare was expensive. People took the tricycles since these brought passengers beyond the public roads, sometimes even, until their doorsteps. People did not hesitate to ride tricycles even though it was obvious tricycles were a nuisance, giving off large amounts of noise and air pollution.

The roads until the early 90s, according to the respondents, were very muddy and full of potholes. One had to walk barefoot as the path was very slippery. There were no canals nor drainage systems even though houses were already being built as part of a subdivision. The residents were still the ones who attended to the road to make it passable.

In the past, one could not expect the local government to deliver the needed services. Residents did their share by fixing the area in front of their homes. They built footpaths. During rainy days, water accumulated at the lower parts of inclined roads. The canals built by the residents allowed the water to flow smoothly. These paths, where water flowed, became slippery. Even on ordinary days when women did the laundry, footpaths became very slippery and dangerous. Laundry water was disposed of on these footpaths which brought flooding, with water flowing even into people's houses.

Washing clothes, going to the market and taking children to school are among the activities considered as time-consuming work of women. The women during the discussion shared that traveling also eats up so much of their time.

For instance, a woman sales agent who works outside the community related she is often late, as the jeepney has to weave through three hours of traffic before it reaches her workplace. It again takes another three hours of travel time to get back home. Another woman spends at least four hours taking her children to and from school.

When going to the market, tricycles are often the mode of transport. Passengers, with heavy load of bags, are usually taken nearer to their homes, unlike jeeps where the passengers still have to walk a distance to their doorstep.

The common complaint is the expensive tricycle fare and disrespectful and uncouth drivers. Tricycle drivers also have an unjust system where passengers are forced to alight from the tricycle because the driver refuses to take the passenger to her home.

While the jeepney fare is much lower than the cost of riding a tricycle, much travel time is wasted. Jeepneys only proceed on their trip if it is already full of passengers. Drivers also have the tendency to force passengers to get off the jeepney if they verbalize their complaints about reckless driving.

Most of the time jeepney drivers "drive like drug addicts." They drive "like an insane person, as if their driving is a trip to heaven." Even if passengers have not fully alighted, the drivers are already starting to move. Many jeepneys plying the route from Victory Hills to Cubao have their stereos turned on at high volumes.

The jeepney drivers also demand double payment of fare whenever passengers carry heavy bags. Occasionally, drivers do not stop for passengers with many pieces of baggage. Since jeepneys do not travel into the communities, passengers are charged another Php20 "special" fare to take an additional tricycle ride.

Victory Hills, as its name reveals, is a hilly community with homes lining steep and hilly areas. There are no *padyaks* because of the many difficult-to-pedal uphill areas.

Some community members own bicycles. According to participants, bicycles are primarily used for buying food in the market or for doing errands within the vicinity. The women participants also shared that the reason why women do not like to ride bicycles is because they believe that the design of bicycles is often unsuitable for women. Some participants expressed that it is difficult for women to ride the bicycles. Others even expressed a notion that a woman can lose her virginity if she rides a bicycle. The saddle is too high and it is difficult for a woman to ride a bicycle, one woman said. Another stated that "*kung meron*

mang gumagamit ng bike, nagiging tampulan ng tingin ng mga lalake na lalo na kung naka shorts ang babae." (Women who ride bicycles wear short pants and this usually attracts undue attention and stares from men.)

5.2 Problems experienced by women

What are the transport problems women face?

Long hours of travel time is a reality women face everyday. There are women who spend more than four hours a day on the road due to the traffic.

Members of the community have no access to affordable transport modes. There are no public transport modes regularly available to take people into and out of the community. During emergencies, it is very difficult to get a ride outside the community.

Available modes are very expensive for the ordinary commuter. The only mode that brings commuters into their community charge Php20 for a special trip.

Potholed roads are a big problem. Due to unpaved roads, traveling, especially on a *patok* jeepney, is very uncomfortable and dangerous.

Rainy season automatically means slippery and muddy roads in Victory Hills. This brings additional hardships and the possibility of accidents.

The community does not have a proper drainage system, which causes continuous flooding in the area. Water used in laundering clothes as well as rainwater flows into the homes of the residents due to the absence of canals and drainage system.

For the women, the distance one has to walk from within the community to the public transport terminal is far, with the roads unlit. More often than not, women are forced to pay the expensive fare of a tricycle because they do not feel safe walking in these roads especially at night.

Even on the public transport vehicle such as the jeep or the tricycle, there has already been a series of hold ups. There was one case in Bonanza where the woman was stripped naked when she was held up.

Passengers are at the mercy of tricycle drivers in terms of fares charged and the route where it would pass. Even the drop off location of the passenger is solely the tricycle driver's choice.

The cost of the jeepney fare is also arbitrary when it comes to passengers with bags and heavy loads.

Residents of the communities often complain of the noise generated by the tricycles. They also complain that the smoke from the exhaust is very polluting.

5.3 Ownership of modes of transportation

Of the 11 who attended the FGD, six owned bicycles. According to them, their husbands use these bicycles when they buy goods from the market. Only two of the women know how to ride a bike because others were never taught how to ride one. They also said that the roads are too steep and hilly for them to use a bicycle.

5.4 Changes experienced

The respondents expressed that there has been very little positive changes since they built their homes at Victory Hills. One of the few changes is the improvement of the main road which resulted to a smooth ride in going to the community. People are also able to walk on a pathway without getting mud on their feet. The improvement of the water drainage, which also gave a positive effect to the transport system, was likewise an effort of the individual residents.

Much of the time in the discussion was spent sharing negative experiences on the public transport modes and the problems experienced by the women in the community. An important note is that the women see these as facts of life, which are so ordinary and do not need to be addressed. This is despite the fact that one woman spends four hours on travel alone in taking her children to and from the school.

The women expressed helplessness about the situation. For them there has been no positive change and instead, things have only gotten worst. The tricycle and *patok* jeepney drivers are like drug addicts, the epitome of recklessness, who overcharge women trudging along bags and little children. More often than not there is no choice

but to walk very long distances because no public transport is available. Tricycles refuse to go into the community because no one will ride on the way out. The women do not see these problems as connected to the everyday burden of their chores of washing piles of laundry, going to market, going to work outside the community.

5.5 Differences between men and women in transport

Women believe that females are forced to use a greater variety of transport modes compared to men because of their reproductive work. The disadvantages of this situation were outlined by the women participants. Women usually carry the loads from the marketplace in one hand and little children on the other. The need to take a tricycle is obvious yet having to pay expensive fare is certainly a burden for the family who is already on a very tight budget. Furthermore, riding a speeding jeepney like a *patok* is certainly very dangerous. Women also admit that they are less confident and skilled than men in riding a bicycle.

5.6 Views on the use of non-motorized transport(NMT)

Non-motorized transport is viewed as not appropriate for those hurrying to go to work or to bring children to school. It would be difficult for a non-motorized vehicle, specifically a bicycle with a sidecar full of passengers, to trek the hilly community of Victory Hills .

5.7 Potentials for women

The behavior of public transport drivers should be given serious attention by concerned authorities. The women in Victory Hills community believe that the safety and interests of the passengers, especially young children, are not at all in the minds of many drivers. They suggest that women leaders in the community participate in discussions concerning transport so that their views, experiences and the real transportation situation can be articulated to the authorities.

One specific recommendation is a strict regulation of tricycles because the present system of this mode of transport is so unclear. This breeds overcharging and dishonesty on the part of the drivers and exasperation and annoyance on the public commuters.

5.8 Women's voices on transport:

Herstories from Victory Hills Community

"There is a pressing need for public transportation."

Sonia Macabale

Sonia Macabale, 57 years old, teaches at Tondo High School. She travels to Tondo, Manila (approximately 40 kms away) from Monterey, Marikina everyday. Her children are all grown up and on their own so Sonia concentrates on her teaching and the activities of her community organization.

She leaves Victory Hills at 4:00 a.m. because she does not want to be late for the flag ceremonies at her school and more importantly, she said she does not want to get caught in the traffic. Travel time during Mondays, the day of flag raising, is two hours but on other days, travel time is usually at least three hours because of the heavy traffic. She stays in school the whole day until 5:00 pm and she reaches home between 8:00 and 9:00 at night. Almost half of Sonia's day is spent on the road traveling and she feels powerless because according to her, the situation has always been like this and she has gotten used to the way things are.

Patoks draw the ire of Sonia yet ironically, she prefers to ride this kind of jeepney. According to her, she has no choice but ride the *patok* as she is able to save time because of its speed. However, she tries hard to take all the precautions to prevent accidents everytime she rides the *patok*. Sonia thinks tricycles are okay except that they charge an exorbitant amount of Php 20, also known as "*especial*", which, for her, is not okay.

On weekends, Sonia allots her time for the community organization through her involvement in the community day care. She is also active in the community cooperative, which gives out tricycle loans. She shared that the cooperative is seriously thinking about providing loans for jeepneys because the "regular boundary" (or rental for the use of the jeepney) could mean additional income for the members of the cooperative.

In Victory Hills she has to walk almost a kilometer to the jeepney terminal outside the community. The hilly area where Sonia lives is a stretch of uphill hike which she finds difficult especially during rainy weather.

Her suggestions to improve the transportation situation are the following:

1. Units of public transportation should be increased since there is a pressing need for public transportation
2. Review the present jeepney routes and alter these routes from Victory Hills to Bayan (towncenter), Marikina or Cubao
3. Open more alternative routes to ease traffic congestion in present routes

" The canals and drainage system within the community should be fixed. "

Lita Atabang

Lita's day begins at 5:00 a.m. as she prepares the needed water for the bath of her two children. By quarter to six, she takes her children to school. She waits until 8:00 a.m. to make sure that they really attend classes. From the school, she proceeds to the market to buy food for the whole day. It takes fifteen minutes to reach the market and another fifteen to get home. By the time she reaches their home, her husband is awake and leaves for work in Quezon City at around 10:00 am. Lita shares that the travel time of her husband is approximately four hours one way.

As soon as her husband leaves, Lita does the day's chores such as cleaning the house and washing the clothes. By 1:00 p.m. she picks up her two children from school. Sometimes she stays at the school until 2:00 p.m., as she has to talk to the teacher about how her children are doing in school. She sighs, "It's fortunate that my children are both in the morning section or else I would be spending my whole day bringing them to and from school everyday!"

As soon as Lita and her children get home from school, she prepares their meals and they eat lunch together. She puts them to sleep and

sometimes Lita also rests with them. There are times when she washes clothes in the afternoon, as water is available during this time. According to Lita, since the water supply in the community is rationed, the residents have to adjust their household chores on the availability of water.

In the afternoon Lita attends meetings of the community organization to discuss issues concerning land tenure of the residents of Victory Hills. The meetings usually last for three to four hours. She then goes back home to continue with her unfinished chores, particularly preparing the supper for her family.

At around 7:00 p.m., her children eat supper, while Lita awaits the arrival of her husband till around 10 p.m. While waiting, Lita spends the time tutoring her children on their school assignments or sometimes, watches television with them. She eats supper with her husband at around 10:30 p.m. She washes the dishes at around 11:30 p.m. and goes to bed by midnight.

The tricycle and jeepney are Lita's modes of transport. She complains that the tricycle charges exorbitant rates and there are times when her day's chores are delayed because she refuses to pay for a tricycle ride. According to Lita, "*Dagdag pa ito sa gastusin namin.*" (It is additional burden to our daily expenses.) To save on expenses, Lita usually walks from her home to the jeepney terminal even if it is considerably hilly and difficult to climb. During rainy and stormy weather, Lita has no choice but shell out extra money to ride a tricycle or make a "*especial trip*" meaning extra fare from the usual cost of a tricycle trip to bring her to her doorstep.

Lita has three recommendations regarding the system of transportation:

1. The fare, especially that of the tricycle, should be lowered;
2. Direct route of the jeepney into the community should be considered;
3. The canals and drainage system within the community should be fixed.

6. Concluding Notes

" In summary, one manifestation of poverty is that the poor travel less, have to spend more of their time traveling, and cover less distance, than the wealthy. As the time and money spent traveling cannot be spent on income-generating activities, poor mobility is not only an effect, but also a cause of poverty." (Hook and Peters, 1998)

Transport is known to be one of the most significant investment sectors for many developing countries. Despite its recognized role in development, scant attention has been accorded to the social and gender impacts of transport investments. Conventional planning methods assume that transport programs are "gender neutral". Available literature from various countries of the developing world (Fernando & Porter, 2002) document the pervasive myth that impacts on men and women of transport are the same. Yet trailblazing case studies have begun to document how women comprise a large proportion of people who are economically and socially disadvantaged and who are harmed by transport policies that focus on economic efficiency (narrowly defined) and by automobile-focused transport priorities that do nothing to meet their travel needs. Women also tend to suffer a disproportionate share of external costs, since they can afford less protection against traffic impacts. Increased dependence on private motor vehicles tends to displace non-motorized transport and reduce the variety of public transport available to the poor. (Peters, 2002)

The preceding presentation and discussion sought to give a preliminary picture of Filipino women's travel needs at the community level as the initial step to bring to fore their voices in the discourse on transport, an arena rarely delved into by existing research on women in the Philippines. Among the data presented and discussed was the travel patterns of women in two communities which are diffused in terms of time (4.2,4.8, 5.2,5.8) and location (4.1,4.5,5.1,5.5). Their travel patterns include a variety of trips to educational facilities, various marketplaces, health care and social services, and administrative areas. Their trips are also notably burdensome in that they involve traveling either with many or small children, with large bags and bulky loads (4.2, 5.1, 5.4,5.5) or all these three together. In the two sites of research, it is notable that women make several short trips or necessary trips which they "chain" together. Their travel patterns are not linear, as they include several necessary tasks in one day.

The roads in the two low income communities are unpaved and are not equipped with proper drainage (4.8,5.1) At the surface, this appears to be a main mobility problem. However, if we look closer, access to clean drinking water would come closer to a priority. An irony is that as many poor households do not have piped water, the tendency is to look in terms of building better roads for water collection than cutting the cost of labor of water vendors or water trucks by instead putting in piped water to the households. Looking into the relationship between drinking water, sewerage and drainage is therefore crucial to future research.

Women in the two urban poor communities are dependent on walking (4.4,5.2,5.4) and riding in public transport, specifically, jeepneys, tricycles and non-motorized pedicabs. While most of the women participants in the research were not regular 8:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. employees who travel on specified times of the day, many of the women were dependent on public transport for their multiple trips. As their communities are not in the regular routes of public transport jeepneys, women are burdened with having to pay expensive fares for tricycles who charge erratic amounts for trips to and from the homes of the women.

As regards public transport, women in both communities (4.2,4.8,5.2,5.8) raised several serious safety issues. Even if these concerns have become commonplace in the lives of public commuters in the Philippines, this research has been able to document them in detail from the eyes of the ordinary public commuter clamoring for action to change this plight. It is in this light that community organizations may present these issues in a forum so that local authorities would be pressed to seriously address these concerns in their governance and regulatory agenda.

In order to ascertain the conditions in communities, municipalities as well as in cities, the call of this exploratory research is to push for a more systematic research agenda — using a gender analysis framework which can elaborate and delve into the gender dimensions of transport. Specifically, more systematic research should carefully document, at the community, local municipality and city levels — (1) the dynamics of diverse activities of women and men; (2) the access to and control of resources and benefits of men vis-à-vis women; and (3) the transport needs and modes used by men vis-a-vis women. The database which will arise from this research agenda must likewise see the connections of these three factors within the larger social, economic, political and environmental context in how opportunities and constraints unfold due to these link-

ages. Issues and concerns on how these linkages can ensure equitable opportunities and treatment for women would be expected from this initial research agenda.

This exploratory research raises the following questions: How can a reasonably participatory process of transportation planning be developed to review and compare various modes of transport? How can user groups from the marginalized sector, especially women in communities, be included in the planning process? How can a space be opened to articulate public interest and the mobility needs of the poor and women who are more often not represented in political processes? Thus, it would also be important to support pilot on-the-ground or community-based initiatives to integrate gender analysis into the transport sector. This would mean support should be given to develop the institutional capacity of community organizations as well as local governments to address the above concerns and issues regarding transport.

Planning and implementing transport programs and projects which can contribute to quality of life for men and women is a formidable task. A reasonable starting point is to build a political base for more sustainable, gender sensitive and equitable plans. This would mean involving the representatives of women's organizations, public transport commuters, and including the voices of pedestrians in the planning process and debates about transport policy. A widely accepted axiom in the vibrant Filipino people's movement, as well as the international development community, is that if plans are developed with the support of key elements in society, then the constituency of such plans will be broadened and the likelihood of their implementation is not only enhanced, but made more meaningful.

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A No-Teacher, No-Text, No-Syllabus Class?

A Reflection Paper on WD 225 (Seminar on Gender, Culture and Ideology)

Regina M. Capuno

*I*f there is a way to summarize the WD 225 class I took this semester, the closest I could probably come up is that it opens up a box of contradictory experiences. While it was obviously experimentation because of the unique framework around which it was run, the class members apparently took to it like to water. While it ostensibly delved into gray areas, it elicited from us the stark black-and-white biases or conceptions that have long held sway in society and which we might have unknowingly embraced as our own. While it allowed us to assert our own personal feelings or ideas, it made us see on a very personal level how they mirrored that of many other women.

While the class sought to tread into the realm of The Unsaid, no other class perhaps encouraged us more to take the floor and tell our stories as much as we wanted. Before I go on and on about these on-the-one-hand-but-on-the-other-hand explanations, one final word. While WD 225 created a laid-back and very relaxing atmosphere in class, it managed to be a very absorbing experience. You will either love it or hate it to a great degree. If you think I'm done talking, so sorry. See below for more details.

1.

Among all my WD classes so far, none has been as true to the spirit and calling of the feminist creed as WD 225, chiefly perhaps because of the novel methodology it employed. By handing over the power usually held by the teacher to the learners or students, it succeeds for at least some three hours every week to reverse the way the universe runs, so to speak.

Honestly, having been in and out of traditional classroom settings since I started my education, my first reaction to a no-teacher, no-text, no-syllabus affair was: Hello! Translation: 1. Paano? 2. Ano ka, hilo? 3. April Fools Day ba ngayon? 4. Anong ek-ek yan? 5. Ginu-good time ba tayo ni Guy?

But, although my brain went into overdrive as it processed all of the above reactions, externally, I kept my poise. Although every part of me- the quintessential student who enters a classroom and surrenders to the wishes of the expert who is the teacher—was mounting an instant revolt, my smile masked the violent internal responses.

The introductory lecture on the first meeting, which laid down the rationalization for the framework, helped to calm me. From an incredulous "Hello," I shifted to a more calm "Ahh, ganun ba? O sige subukan." It was not yet total acquiescence, but at least, thankfully I didn't reach out for a dropping slip or a change mat. On the first day of class, I gave my teacher, or rather the coordinator, an A for sheer talent and energy in making the first day interesting. I thought to myself: With my low blood pressure, this was a welcome jolt. What a way to start a semester! I couldn't help but recall my usual first days of class where the teacher, in a self-important tone, enumerates the class requirements and the students nod or groan in unison, and both teacher and students seem to be in a hurry to get out of each other's way. On my way out of this class, I actually began thinking: What could she be up to? Verde interesting!

2.

Because of the focus and directions the class discussions took, this class takes the cake in terms of extracting a whole range of emotional responses. Although the old romantic me refused to completely capitulate to the theory about romantic love being another patriarchal tool for subjugation of women, I did feel disconcerted when the discussion turned to how the males kept women captive through the illusions of romantic love. I felt guilty about how most women, me included, have not fully appreciated their mother's efforts of dealing bravely, in their own way, with their subordinated status in the family. Through the stories we shared, I felt rage at how blatantly some men have abused the trust and kindness of the women in their lives, and felt helpless too about how some women continue to allow the men to do so with impunity. I felt relieved in knowing how many women, in their own little ways, try to reclaim the turf that rightly belongs to them.

3.

In terms of the learning in this class, it would perhaps be more accurate to describe it in this manner: My notebook for this class is barely written on but I can bet that, well into the future, when I think back of all the courses I attended, my recollections and impressions and learnings from this class would outnumber and perhaps outlast those of others. Perhaps this is because the course zeroed in on a very personal level while my other courses in the WD program painted the big picture, this course allowed me to locate myself in this big picture and get a sense of where I stand in relation to the rest. By giving space and time to our insignificant little voices and making it the centerpiece of the discussion, the class taught us, women, to value better our own experiences and insights.

One of the more important things I have learned would probably be the perspective to look for what is unsaid in order to find out what is really being said. In short, to sharpen further one's critical eye. This cliché ceased to be one in this class, what with the hands-on training on deconstructing long-held premises and assumptions.

Although I don't recall class sessions where the discussions on the floor did not capture my interest, the way some of our discussions proceeded were not exactly the most enlightening experiences. I felt this way especially during our discussions on the family, and consciousness, that on the political economy of pleasure. Sometimes it felt like we couldn't grasp the many concepts that related to the discussions on hand. Perhaps, it is because we needed to brush up on the theories we had learned in previous classes. (I look mine some nine years ago.) If I remember correctly, we might have raised more questions than gave answers. To try to answer our questions, we went back in time, or at least Guy did with her efforts to ground the discussions in theory and other philosophical formulations, and then fast-forwarded to our own life experiences. Sometimes the discussion went round and round, perhaps because our experiences were inadequate to explain the questions we raised.

4.

Some questions relating to the framework and methodology followed by this course have been gnawing at the back of my mind. Below, I shall discuss how I tried to answer these questions:

Is the method effective? Does it stimulate learning?

Oo naman. Considering the objectives of the course as well as the subject matter, I think that the method is not only appropriate but also most innovative. How else to best impress on the students the importance of deconstructing, of breaking things apart to see how they work, than by starting with the structure governing the teacher-student dyad?

I agree too with an earlier observation made in class that this setup might prove unwieldy for a bigger class size. Our limited number of eight learners allowed us to maximize the potentials of this unusual method.

On the question of whether the method stimulates learning, my answer is that, at the very least, I have thus far scored 100 percent on the attendance. Of course, if you know that I don't have a habit of absenting myself from any class I enroll in, you might say I am just being true to my nature. The difference lies in the fact that with this class, I did not have to drag myself to the class sessions. The method certainly helped because I knew that I did not have to listen to a boring discussion because I had a hand in determining what to discuss. Secondly, there was no pressure or tension that was usually created by a terror of a teacher. Thirdly, since the class decides from the get-go that we would draw from our own personal knowledge and experiences, each class meeting somehow served as some form of therapy with many of us releasing our own anxieties with the personal disclosures we made. Fourth, there was food, glorious food! (On second thought, this could be the most important reason for looking forward to each class. Saan ka ba naman nakakita ng klase na bago magsimula, ang inaasikaso ng mga estudyante ay ang paghahapag ng mga dala-dalang pagkain, kung saan kukuha ng tinidor at plato para sa lasagna, kung saan kukuha ng tasa para sa kape? Of course, this disorganized running around happened only the first few meetings. Later, we all came prepared for our dining pleasure and the transitions to and from our eating and discussing flowed ever so smoothly.)

By not relying on text, did we somehow not become overly dependent on the most learned member of the class who must have gotten her own knowledge from the text that we took great pains to avoid?

The semester is almost over but honestly, I somehow still feel an aching need to pore over some text, brought on no doubt by force of habit. Of course, I welcomed the no-text approach although at some points I did feel the need to read up (which I did) on what we were discussing in class to try to understand it better. This is not to underestimate the value of the personal experiences we brought to bear on our understanding but I could empathize with Guy's frustrations during some of the discussions when it seemed like she was only the one trying to think through what we were discussing. On hindsight, I feel that we might have had more substantial exchanges and perhaps more insightful discussions had we read up on topics to be tackled. Of course, given the general framework of the course, the readings should still not be required but those who wanted to could have been guided towards a selection of materials that could help in the discussions.

Did the flexible and negotiable nature of the structure make us complacent and lacking in discipline in our learning goals?

My experience in this class somehow made me see the importance of learning in an atmosphere devoid of the competitiveness that characterizes the usual classroom setting. Some may argue by saying that if we presume to be equal to men, we must be able to beat them in their own game, or win under the same conditions. I have a better sense now of countering this argument by showing how the playing field is not at all that level, of how the odds are stacked up against women. Further, some may argue that this experiment with new ways and standards of learning is tantamount to changing the rules of the game to fit our own ends. To this I can now say: Whose rules are these anyway? If you set them, go play by them alone. If you want me to play the game, I should have a hand in determining the rules.

ABSTRACT

Markado at Militante

The Significant and Militant Participation of Working Class Women in Two Struggles in Manila: 1906 and 1934

The paper posits that the invisibility of working class women in history is not only a function of method particularly the emphasis on historical documents as the primary source of historiography. The lack of a gendered focus and perspective is the more crucial reason for the invisibility of working class women in both historical writings on the Philippine worker's movement and the women's movement during the American colonial period.

A study of newspaper sources in 1906 and 1934 unearthed the significant participation of working class women in Manila in asserting their economic and democratic rights through militant mass actions.

The 1906 struggle of the women vendors of Divisoria against a city hall ordinance increasing stall rentals in the market involved street marches, indoor fora, meetings with government officials including the American governor-general.

The 1934 general workers' strike from August 15 to October 1 involved more than 11,000 workers. The strike which started with the demand for the return of wages to 1930 rates was noteworthy not only for its duration and its militancy but also for the marked participation of women tobacco workers. A mainstream broadsheet at that time noted that many of the women workers did not have sufficient food to eat but they were in the forefront of the struggle. (The Tribune, September 12, 1934, p. 8)

A woman union leader, Narcisa Paguibitan, had a significant role in the general strike. She was a well applauded speaker in workers' meetings and was one of ten representatives of the workers who met with Governor General Frank Murphy in Malacañang on September 12, 1934. In the aftermath of the killings of four striking workers on September 18, 1934, Narcisa Paguibitan's mother, two brothers and a sister and two sisters-in-law were arrested and charged with sedition. Narcisa herself would be arrested and charged with being one of the leaders of the general strike. Her distinct participation in the general strike and her earlier role as one of the leaders of the Pambansang Liga ng Kababaihan formed in April 1932 would eventually lead to her election as one of two women members (the other was Cleotilde Braganza from Iloilo) of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines in the Third Congress of the party in October 1938.

MARKADO AT MILITANTE

Ang Partisipasyon ng Kababaihang Anak-Pawis sa Dalawang Pakikibaka sa Maynila: 1906 at 1934

Judy M. Taguiwalo

Introduksyon

*M*ay mabibigat na limitasyon sa pagpapalitaw sa papel ng kababaihang anak-pawis sa kasaysayan. Ang kadalasang pokus ng pinag-aaralan ng kasaysayan ay ang pampublikong larangan na sa karaniwang halian ng gawain batay sa kasarian ay larangan ng kalalakihan, habang ang kababaihan ay nakakahon sa larangan ng tahanan at pamilya. Dagdag pa, ang karaniwang perspektibang ginagamit ay perspektibang hindi isinasaalang-alang ang kasarian bilang mahalagang konsiderasyon sa pag-aaral sa kasaysayan.

Ang mga limitasyong bunga ng pokus at perspektiba ay lalong pinatitibay ng metodo sa pag-aaral. Ang karaniwang metodong pangkasaysayan ay ang pag-aaral sa mga nakasulat sa rekord ng pangyayari. Kadalasa'y nakabatay ang mga ito sa mga rekord ng pamahalaan o mga sinulat ng mga nakapag-aral. Sa ganitong metodo karaniwang hindi lilitaw ang boses ng mga uring wala o halos walang pinag-aralan dahil hindi sila nagkaroon ng pagkakataong isulat ang kanilang mga naging karanasan; kabilang sa mga ito ang kababaihang anak-pawis. Kaya lalong hindi nakikita o naririnig ang kababaihang maralita sa mga salaysay kaugnay ng mga pangyayaring pampulitika.

Pero sa aking karanasan, mas mapagpasya ang limitasyong bunga ng pokus at perspektiba sa kakulangan nang nagpapalitaw sa papel ng anak-pawis, partikular ng kababaihang anak-pawis sa pagsusulat ng ating kasaysayan. Kahit sa tradisyunal na metodong pangkasaysayan na nakabatay sa mga nakasulat sa primaryang batis, maaring mapalitaw ang papel ng kababaihang anak-pawis. Ang kailangan lamang ay ang paggamit ng mga lenteng makauri at makababae.

Dalawang pakikibaka sa Maynila na mabubuo mula sa pagsuyod sa mga dyaryo noong panahon ng kolonyal na paghahari ng US ang muling nagpapatunay na aktibo ang kababaihan sa paggigiit sa kanilang mga interes pang-ekonomiya sa anyo ng militante at sama-samang pagkilos. Pinasisinungalingan ng mga pagkilos na ito ang karaniwang pagtingin na ang pakikibaka para sa karapatang bumoto ang naging pangunahing katangian ng pakikibaka ng kababaihan sa panahong naturan sa isang banda, at kalalakihan lamang ang nakikibaka para sa mga isyung pang-ekonomiya na binandila ng kilusang paggawa, sa kabilang banda.

Ang mga pagkilos na ito ay ang pag-aaklas ng mga tindera ng Divisoria noong 1906 at ang partisipasyon ng kababaihan sa pangkalahatang welga sa Maynila noong Agosto – Setyembre 1934. Sa dalawang pagkilos, kabahagi ang kababaihan sa mga martsa, sa pakipagharap sa matataas na opisyal ng pamahalaan at sa pagliban sa trabaho o pagwelga. Markado at militante ang katangian ng kanilang partisipasyon.

I. Ang Pag-aaklas ng mga Tindera ng Divisoria

Malaking bilang ng mga kababaihan sa Maynila ang nasa kategoryang tindera/manininda ("merchants") noong sensus ng 1903: 3,453 ikumpara sa 2,732 na lalaki o halos 56% ng 6,185 na mga kayumanggi. (Sa Sensus ng 1903, ang paghahanay sa mga kabilang sa isang linya ng gawain ay ayon sa kulay: brown, mixed, yellow, white. Kinunsedara ko lamang ang nakahanay sa "brown".)

Noong 1906, kumilos ang mga tindera sa Divisoria laban sa plano ng pamahalaan ng Maynila na magpataw ng dagdag na singil sa mga pwesto sa tindahan. Iba't ibang tipo ng pagkilos ang ginawa ng mga tindera para labanan ang patakarang ito. Dumulog sila sa tanggapan ng dyaryong "Muling Pagsilang" para ipaabot ang kanilang mga plano. Nagmartsa sila tungo sa tanggapan ng pamahalaan at nakipagharap sa matataas na opisyal, kabilang na ang gobernador heneral, at nagliban sa pagtitinda para ipakita ang kanilang mariing pagtutol.

Hinarap ng "maraming babayi" (Muling Pagsilang, Agosto 7, 1906) ang gobernador heneral na Taft noong Agosto 6, 1906. Nagsalita ang isang G. Luciana de la Rosa tungkol sa kanilang pagtutol sa bagong patakarang magdaragdag ng singil sa kanilang pwesto. Sa halip na bigyan ng kongkretong tugon ang kahilingan, sinabihan ni Taft ang mga tindera na magharap ng sulat na magdedetalye sa kanilang karaingan.

Posibleng dahil sa kawalan ng aksyon mula sa pamahalaan, pumunta ang ilang mga tindera sa tanggapan ng dyaryong "Muling Pagsilang" noong Agosto 18 para ibalitang walang magtitinda sa Divisoria sa araw na iyon bilang protesta. Tinutulan nila ang mataas na singil ng munisipyo at ang balitang ipagbibili ang pwestong kanilang kasalukuyang kinalalagyan. Anila'y hindi nila kayang makipagkompetensya sa malalaki ang puhunan. (Muling Pagsilang, Agosto 18, 1906)

Nagkaroon ng epekto ang naturang pagkilos ng mga tindera. Noong Agosto 20, pinulong ng gobernador heneral ang isang nagngangalang Velasco, miyembro ng Junta Municipal ng Maynila at siyang pasimuno sa planong pagtaas ng taripa at inatasan nitong pulungin ang mga "tinderang nag-aklas" para ipaliwanag sa kanila ang mga batayan ng plano ng munisipyo. (Muling Pagsilang, Agosto 21, 1906)

Kaagad na idinaos ang pulong sa pagitan ni Velasco at mga tindera sa sumunod na araw, Agosto 21. Ayon kay Velasco, isusubasta ang mga pwesto sa Divisoria na di palaging matao habang hindi na isusubasta ang pwestong inookupahan ng mga tindera. Gayunpaman, kailangang magbayad ang mga tindera ayon sa bagong taripa: dalawang sentimos bawa't talampakang parisukat sa Divisoria at isang sentimo naman para sa pamilihan sa Kinta dahil mas matumal ang bentahan doon. Sinalubong ang pahayag ni Velasco nang mga sigawan na "Puera ang subasta! Puera ang subasta" at "Ayaw kami! Ayaw kami!" sa planong isusubasta ang mga pwestong bolante. Mga sigaw namang "Welga, welga, mabuhay ang welga" ang kanilang sagot sa planong itataas ang singil sa kanilang mga puwesto. (Muling Pagsilang, Agosto 22, 1906)

Ang mahigpit na paglaban ng mga tindera sa mga plano ng Junta Municipal na pagtaas ng taripa ay dahil sa mangangahulugan ito ng pagtaas ng mahigit sa 100% sa kanilang kasalukuyang inuupahang pwesto. Ayon sa isang tindera, tataas ang singil sa kanyang pwesto mula 30 sentimos tungo 65 sentimos kapag ipatulupad ang bagong taripa. Ang kompromisong ini harap ni Velasco ay hindi katanggap-tanggap dahil ang pwestong bolante ay kakaunti lamang at kinalalagyan ng mga "maggugulay, magpapanigang at ilan sa mga mag-iisda" habang apektado ang marami-raming di bolante laluna ang mga "magkakayo at magkakarne". (Muling Pagsilang, Agosto 22 at 27, 1906)

Isa pang pulong ang idinaos noong Agosto 27 sa pagitan ng mga "nagtitinda ng karne, isda, damit, gulay, suelas, tabako, palayok at iba pa"

at ng mga kagawad ng Junta Municipal at ang mga Amerikanong sina Mr. Hord na nangangasiwa ng Rentas Internas, Mr. Cromwell na asesor at kolektor ng palengke at si Mr. McKenzie. Ayon sa mga taga-Divisoria, si Velasco lamang ang may gusto sa bagong taripa. Sinangayunan ni Felix M. Roxas, ang Alcalde sa Junta Municipal, ang posisyon ni Pedro Paterno, tumayong abogado ng mga tintera, na hindi napapanahon ang pagtaas ng singil at sa halip sa Enero 1907 na itataas ang taripa. Ang mapagkompromisong kasunduang ito nina Roxas at Paterno ay sinalubong ng mga sigaw na "Ayaw, ayaw kami. Ibig namin ang dating taripa" mula sa mga tintera. (Muling Pagsilang, Agosto 26, 1906)

Mga tatlong buwan ring humupa ang isyu. Pero noong Disyembre 10, 1907, muling pumutok ang protesta ng mga tintera ng Divisoria, malamang dahil sa napipintong pagpapatupad ng bagong singil. Tumungo ang "lahat halos" ng mga nagtitinda kay Gobernador Heneral James Smith, na pumalit kay Taft noong Setyembre 1906, para muling ihayag ang kanilang pagtutol sa "singil na di makakaya ng mga tinderang may maliliit lamang na puhunan". Hindi hinarap ng gobernador heneral ang mga kababaihan at sa halip ipinaabot sa mga tintera ng kanyang sekretaryo na magbuo sila ng komiteng haharap sa kanya. (Muling Pagsilang, Disyembre 11, 1906)

Noong Disyembre 21, pagkatapos magtipon sa Dulaang Rizal, nagmartsa ang mga "babaye't lalaki" patungo sa Ayuntamiento para iharap ang kanilang kahilingan, isang "salaysay na nilagdaan ng 3,000 pangalan". May dala ang nagmartsa ng dalawang "cartel" sa Tagalog at Kastila na naghihingi na maalis ang bagong taripa sa Mercado sa Divisoria". Pagdating sa Ayuntamineto, si Dr. Jose Lukban, ang tumayong tagapagsalita ng mga nagtitinda at "ilang babayi't lalaki", ay umakyat sa opisina ng gobernador at humarap sa kanya sa pulong na tumagal ng isang oras. Binuo ng gobernador heneral ang isang komite para siyasin ang hinaing ng mga taga-Divisoria at magpaabot ng kanilang desisyon sa Enero 15, 1907. Nang ipinaliwanag ni Lukban sa mga nag-aantay na mga tintera ang resulta ng pulong sa gobernador heneral, "dalawang babayi ang pumakli at nagsabing di rin makasisiyang loob sa lahat ang gayong sinapi". Walang nasabi si Lukban. (Muling Pagsilang, Disyembre 22, 1906)

Walang karagdagang balita ukol sa naging kahinatnan ng protesta ng mga taga-Divisoria noong sumunod na taon. Pero may sapat na impormasyon sa sunud-sunod na ulat ng Muling Pagsilang noong 1906 para maiguhit ang ipinamalas ng mga tintera na kahandaang kumilos ng

sama-sama at ang katapangang makiharap sa mataas na opisyal ng pamahalaan para ipaglaban ang kanilang kahilingan. Bagama't may mga lalaking maykaya, sina Pedro Paterno at Justo Lukban, na tumayong tagapagsalita ng mga tindera sa iba't ibang panahon ng pakikibaka, naging mapagkompromiso ang kanilang tindig habang malinaw ang pagiging desidido at pursigido ang pagtutol ng kababaihang tindera sa plano ng pamahalaan.

II. ANG MILITANTENG PARTISIPASYON NG KABABAIHAN SA PANGKALAHATANG WELGA SA MAYNILA NOONG 1934

Makasaysayan ang welgang inilunsad ng mga manggagawa sa mga pagawaan ng tabako at sigarilyo sa Maynila noong Agosto 15 hanggang Oktubre 1, 1934. Umabot ng isa't kalahating buwan ang welga at lumahok ang hindi kukulangin sa 11,000 manggagawa. Apat na manggagawa ang namatay sa welga at marami ang nasugatan at hinuli. Matingkad ang militansya at determinasyong ipinakita ng mga manggagawa sa pangkalahatang welga. Bagama't may pagtatalakay si Kerkvliet ukol sa welgang ito at binigyang diin ni Doeppers ang matingkad na partisipasyon ng mga kababaihan sa welga, ibabahagi ko sa pagtalakay na ito ang kabuuang takbo ng welga mula sa pag-aaral sa mga dyaryo ng panahong iyon. Palalawigin ng aking pagtatalakay ang naging papel ng kababaihan sa welgang ito.

Ang Umpisa ng Pagkalahatang Welga

Noong Agosto 11, 1934, nagsumite ang unyon ng La Alhambra sa pamumuno nina Pedro Sevilla at Moises Wenceslao ng kahilingang ibalik ang sahod ng mga manggagawa sa dating halaga nito noong 1930. Hindi sumang-ayon ang maneydsment ng pabrika at inutusan ni Timmerman, ang manedyer ng La Alhambra, na paalisin sa pabrika si Wenceslao. Nang tumutol ang huli, ipinaaresto siya ng manedyer. (The Tribune, August 17, 1934)

Isang libong manggagawa ang nag-walk out sa La Alhambra noong Agosto 15, 1934. Sa sumunod na araw, umanib na ang 3,000 manggagawa mula sa La Insular, La Helena, Minerva at La Yebana. Sumama rin ang 200 manggagawa ng O'Rocca Candy Factory. (The Tribune, August 17, 1934) Kalahati sa mga nag-walk out na mga manggagawa ay kababaihan. (Baguisa: 187)

Hiniling ng mga manggagawa ang:

- Pagbabalik sa dating halaga ng sahod sa antas noong 1930 bago pumalo ang *depression*
- Pagbabalik sa mga pinatalsik na mga manggagawa bunga ng pagmamalabis ng mga maestro
- Pagbabalik sa mga manggagawang inalis sa trabaho bunga ng pagkakasakit
- Limitadong oras ng paggawa mula alas syete ng umaga hanggang alas dose ng tanghali at mula ala una hanggang alas singko ng hapon (The Tribune, August 17, 1934)

Ang Militansya ng mga Manggagawa

Bagama't ilang beses na nakabandera sa mga dyaryo kasing-aga pa man ng Agosto 18 ang umano'y panghihina ng welga at ang napipintong pagbabalik ng mga manggagawa, Oktubre 1 lamang natapos ang welga pagkaraan ng libing ng mga manggagawang pinaslang noong Setyembre 17, 1934.

Dinamiko ang ginawang welga. Nagdaos ng mga pulong-masa sa kani-kanilang mga asosasyon at pederasyon. Naglunsad ng martsa sa iba pang mga pabrika para kumbinsihin ang mga kapwa manggagawa. Pinuntahan ng mga manggagawa ng Alhambra ang sangay ng pagawaan sa Polo, Bulacan. Ang mga manggagawa ng La Helena sa Navotas at Cainta ay umanib rin sa welga. Bukod sa mga manggagawa sa pagawaan ng tabako at sigarilyo, nagwelga rin ang 270 na manggagawa ng Cristobal Oil Mill at 70 manggagawa ng Lauritzen Embroidery Firm. (The Tribune, August 22, 1934)

Nagdaos din ng mga pulong-masa ang mga manggagawa sa iba't ibang plaza ng Maynila. Ang pulong sa Plaza Padilla noong Agosto 22 ay dinaluhan ng 6,000 manggagawa na nanatili sa plaza mula alas seis hanggang hatinggabi sa gitna ng patuloy na pag-ulan. (The Tribune, August 23, 1934)

Palatandaan din ng determinasyon ng mga manggagawa ang pagiging pursigido sa kanilang pagkilos sa harap ng panggigipit ng pulis at konstabularya, ang pagwasak sa kanilang mga piket at ang pang-aaresto sa mga welgista.

Sa mga naunang araw pa lamang ng welga, nagmobilisa na ang kolonyal na pamahalaan ng lakas militar at pulis. Isang detatsment ng konstabularya na may dalang "mounted machine guns" ang itinalaga sa pagawaan ng La Insular. (The Tribune, August 17, 1934) Kagyat ding nagpulong ang Kalihim ng Interyor Teofilo Sison, ang Kalihim ng Paggawa Ramon Torres at ang Hepe ng Pulisya, Columbus Platt. Kanilang pinagpasyahang idoble ang bilang ng mga nakatalagang pulis sa Katubusan, O'Racca at dagdagan ang bilang ng mga nakatalaga sa La Insular, Tabacalera, Flor de la Isabela, La Helena, at iba pa. (The Tribune, August 18, 1934). Lahat ng mga vacation leaves ng mga pulis ay kinansela noong Agosto 20, 1934.

Inaresto ng PC ang 73 sa mga manggagawang tumungo sa Polo, Bulacan noong Agosto 18 dahil sa umano'y hindi pagbabayad ng pasahe sa dalawang bus ng Pambusco. Nakalaya lamang ang mga inaresto pagkatapos mag-ambagan ang iba pang manggagawa ng halaga ng pasahe. (The Tribune, August 19, 1934) Walumpung manggagawa naman, kabilang ang 26 na kababaihan, ang inaresto ng mga gwardyang pulis habang nagpipiket sa Grandeza Cigar Factory sa Reina Regente noong Agosto 20. (The Tribune, August 21, 1934) Ang isang lider-manggagawa na si Eugenio Arogante ay inaresto pagkatapos "i-disperse" ng mga pulis ang mga 700 manggagawa sa Muelle de Industria noong Agosto 21. (The Tribune, August 22, 1934)

Hinigpitan rin ang pagbibigay ng mga *permits* para sa mga pagkilos ng welgista. Hindi natuloy ang planong piket ng mga manggagawa sa Philippine Manufacturing Co., sa La Grandeza at La Dicha bunga nito. (The Tribune, August 23, 1934) Sapilitan ding tinigil ng mga pulis ang pagtitipon ng isang libong welgista sa Pritil, Tondo noong Setyembre 4 ng gabi. (The Tribune, September 5, 1934)

Ang Negosasyon sa Manila Tobacco Association

Sa halip na sagutin ang kahilingan ng mga manggagawa, paghiling ng proteksyon ng pulis at konstabularya ang naging kagyat na reaksiyon ng mga may-ari ng pagawaan ng tabako at sigarilyo, partikular na ang mga taga-La Yebana, La Helena, El Orienta at La Insular. (The Tribune, August 17, 1934)

Noong Agosto 21, nagpulong ang mga kagawad ng Manila Tobacco Association (MTA) at ipinahayag nito ang hindi pakikialam sa welga.

Ayon sa kanila, hindi naman mayorya ang kalahok sa welga at marami sa mga pagawaang sangkot sa welga ay hindi naman kasapi ng MTA. Mariin din nilang binatikos ang paglahok ng mga kilalang komunista, tulad ni Pedro Ocampo, bilang opisyal na kinatawan ng mga manggagawa. (The Tribune, August 23, 1934) Binale-wala ni Manuel V. Gallego, Pangulo ng MTA, ang mga kahilingan ng mga welgista at sinabing lulutasin ang problema sa antas ng mga indibidwal na pabrika. (Free Press, August 25, 1934, p. 34) Para sa MTA, imposible ang pagtaas ng sahod bunga ng malaking pagbaba ng presyo ng tabako at mga produkto nito sa lokal at pandaigdigang pamilihan. Anila, ang pinakamainam ay babaan ng pamahalaan ang mga buwis na ipinapatong sa tabako. (The Tribune, August 23, 1934)

Sa harap ng patuloy na pagmamatigas ng MTA, nagpalabas ang mga manggagawa ng mga kwenta para idiin ang pagiging makatarungan ng kanilang kahilingan sa pagtataas ng sahod.

Ayon sa Union Tabaqueros de Filipinas (UTF), ang kita ng nakararaming manggagawa (85%) ay mula 40 sentimos hanggang 60 sentimos lamang habang ang nalalabing 15% ay kumikita ng 60 hanggang 90 sentimos. Naghapag ang unyon ng tantyang gastusin ng isang pamilyang may limang myembro: (The Tribune, August 24, 1934)

GASTUSIN	MINIMUM	MAKSIMUM
Agahan	Php .05	Php .20
Pananghalian	.30	.35
Hapunan	.20	.25
Ilaw	.03	.05
Panggatong	.04	.10
Samu't Sari	.15	.15
Kabuuang Gastos	Php .95	Php 1.18

Nagpalabas din ang Katipunan ng Anak-Pawis at Kaisahan ng mga Manggagawa sa Tabako ng kanilang kwenta sa minimum at maksimum na gastos ng pamilyang binubuo ng lima katao. (The Tribune, August 28, 1934)

GASTUSIN	MINIMUM	MAKSIMUM
Agahan	Php .15	Php .20
Pananghalian	.30	.35
Hapunan	.20	.25
Ilaw	.03	.05
Pangkatong	.07	.12
Upa sa bahay	.10	.15
Samu't Sari	.15	.15
Kabuuang Gastos	Php 1.00	Php 1.27

Idiniin ng mga manggagawa na hindi pa kasama sa mga kwenta ang mga gastos para sa edukasyon, gamit pambahay, medikal at libangan.

Pagkatapos ng pakikipagpulong sa Kagawaran ng Paggawa noong Setyembre 1, ipinahayag ng Pangulo ng MTA ang pagtataas ng sahod ng mga manggagawa mula 5% hanggang 10%. Limang porsyentong pagtaas sa sahod para sa mga manggagawa ng tabakong ibinebenta ng Php50 hanggang Php100 bawa't libo at 10% naman para sa mga manggagawa ng tabakong ibinebenta ng sobra sa Php100 bawa't libo. (Herald, September 1, 1934) at Free Press, September 8, 1934: 28)

Hindi tinanggap ng mga welgista ang inihapag ng MTA. Para sa mga manggagawa, ang panukalang pagtaas ay paborable lamang sa maliit na bilang ng manggagawa ng tabako para sa lokal na pamilihan at hindi magbabago ang sahod ng maraming manggagawang "londres", isang tipo ng mumurahing tabako para sa pamilihang U.S. (Free Press, September 8, 1934:28) Patuloy na iginiit nila ang orihinal na kahilingang dapat ibalik sa antas ng mga sahod noong 1930 ang bayad sa mga manggagawa at ibalik ang lahat ng mga manggagawang pinatalsik bunga ng welga. (Herald, September 6, 1934)

Sama-Samang Paghingi ng Suporta Mula sa mga Personahe at Ahensya ng Pamahalaan

Bilang tugon sa tindig ng MTA noong Setyembre 1 na nagbibigay ng limitadong pagtaas sa sahod, tumulak ang 3,000 manggagawa, kabilang na ang maraming kababaihan, patungo sa Ayuntamiento bago magtanghali noong Setyembre 3. Bagama't tinangkang harangan ng mga pulis, naigiit ng mga welgista ang pagpasok sa Ayuntamiento. Hinarap sila ng apat na opisyal ng departamento at natransporma ang Ayuntamiento sa isang malaking pulong sa pagitan ng mga welgista at mga opisyal ng pamahalaan.

Sa petisyong kanilang isinumite at pinirmahan nina Pedro Castro, Pedro Ocampo, Narcisa Paguibitan at Martin Berberin, muling iniharap ng mga welgista ang kahilingan para sa pagtaas ng sahod at ang pagbabawal sa pag-upa ng mga scabs. (Herald, September 3, 1934) Pagkagaling sa Ayuntamiento, tumuloy ang mga manggagawa sa Kongreso kung saan nakipagpulong kay Quintin Paredes, ispiker ng Mababang Kapulungan, ang isang delegasyon ng pitong manggagawa, kabilang ang dalawang babae. (TheTribune, September 4, 1934)

Nagkaroon ng kasunduan sa pagitan ng mga welgistang kabilang sa Union de Tabaqueros at Tabaqueros Unidos, sa Kalihim ng Paggawa at sa MTA noong Setyembre 7. (The Tribune, September 8, 1934, Herald, September 8, 1934)

Ang mga welgistang kabilang sa Katipunan ng Anak-Pawis ay nagdaos ng pulong sa Botanical Gardens noong Setyembre 10. Dito pinagtibay nila ang kapasyahang ituloy ang welga, hindi tanggapin ang plano ng Kagawaran ng Paggawa at patuloy na igiit ang mga kahilingang inihapag sa MTA. (Herald, September 10, 1934)

Nagkaroon din ng delegasyon ang mga welgista para ihapag ang kanilang mga kahilingan kay Frank Murphy, ang Gobernador Heneral. Noong Setyembre 10, limang kinatawan ng mga 500 "manggagawang babae at lalaki" ang nakipag-usap kay Murphy sa Malacañang. Iniharap nina Moises Wenceslao at Dolores del Rosario ng Alhambra at Fidel Constantino ng Tabacalera ang dalawang petisyon ng mga manggagawa. Ang una ay ang "reprimand" at kagyat na pagpapaalis kay Captain Manuel Argonza, precinct commander sa istasyon ng pulis sa Luneta, at pagpapalaya sa anim na nakakulong na mga welgista. Humingi rin sila ng tulong para makamit ang hinihinging pagtaas ng sahod. (The Tribune, September 11, 1934)

Isa pang pulong ang ginanap sa Malacañang noong umaga ng Setyembre 12. Kabilang si Narcisa Paguibitan sa mga lider manggagawa na nakipagpulong kay Murphy. Kasama niya sina Moises Wenceslao (na siyang tumayong pangunahing tagapagsalita ng mga manggagawa), Juan Sarile, Fidel Constantino, Manuel Joven, Pedro Ocampo, Ricardo Marquez, Eligio Santos at Eleuterio Cruz. Binuo ni Murphy ang isang "fact-finding board" para siyasatin ang mga kahilingan ng mga manggagawa sa pagawaan ng tabako at sigarilyo. Ninombrahan sina Miguel Unson bilang Tagapangulo, sina Dr. Herminio Velarde, Mrs. Sofia de Veyra, Pangulo ng UP

Jorge Bocobo, Dean Conrado Benitez at Fr. Henry Avery ng Ateneo bilang mga kagawad. (TheTribune, September 13, 1934, Herald, September 12, 1934)

Sa unang pulong na idinaos ng "Fact-Finding Board" noong Setyembre 13 sa Ayuntamiento, muling iginiit ng mga manggagawa ang kahilingan para sa mas mataas na sahod. (Herald, September 14, 1934) Ipinagpatuloy ang pulong ng sumunod na araw kung saan "daan-daang manggagawa kabilang na ang maraming kababaihan" ang dumalo. (The Tribune, September 16, 1934)

Ang Masaker ng mga Manggagawa noong Setyembre 17, 1934

Nag-umpisa ang araw sa isang pulong ng mga 1,000 manggagawa sa Mehan Garden. Tumagal ito mula 8:00 ng umaga hanggang 2:30 ng hapon. Pagkatapos ng programa sa Mehan Garden, naghati ang mga welgista sa dalawang grupo. Ang isa ay nagmartsa patungong Ayala Bridge at ang isa nama'y patungong Sta. Cruz Bridge. Nagsalubong ang dalawa sa pabrika ng Minerva sa may Azcarraga para kumbinsihin ang mga 300 manggagawang bumalik na sa trabaho na ipagpatuloy pa rin ang welga. (Herald, September 18, 1934) Sa pakikipaggitigan ng mga welgistang manggagawa, nagpapatok ang mga pulis. "A concentrated volley was poured from the policemen's guns into the ranks of the strikers". (Free Press, September 22, 1934:40) Mga isang dosenang manggagawa ang natamaan. Isa ang kaagad namatay at tatlo ang malubhang sugatan na bagama't nadala sa Philippine General Hospital ay namatay din. Ang iba pang sugatan ay kinabibilangan ng dalawang babae. Dalawampu't tatlong welgista ang inaresto at kinasuhan ng sedisyon. Walang hinablang pulis. (Herald, September 18, 1934)

Bukod sa pang-aaresto sa tinuring na mga lider at paghahanap sa hindi pa nahuli, lalong hinigpitan ang mga manggagawa. Hindi binigyan ng Mayor ng Maynila, Thomas Earnshaw, ng permit para sa pulong masa ng mga manggagawang taga Alhambra, Tabacalera at mga manggagawa ng kahoy (lumberyards). (Herald, September 20, 1934)

Sa harap ng pandarahas at panggigipit sa mga manggagawa, hindi napasuko ang nakararami sa mga welgista. Apat na araw pagkatapos ng masaker sa Minerva, inilalat na 437 lamang ang bumalik sa trabaho habang patuloy na nakawelga ang 11,438 na manggagawa. (Herald, September 21, 1934)

Ang bulto ng mga manggagawang nananatiling nakawelga ay nagmula sa sumusunod na mga pagawaan:

Alhambra	2,300
Flor de la Isabela	2,020
La Helena (Central)	1,000
La Insular	871
Yebana	345
Oriente	300
Mertas	300
Minerva	300
Grandeza	250
Nobleza	250
Aguila	80
La Helena (Calle Magdalena)	62
La Conchita	62

Ipinagdalamhati rin ng mga manggagawa ang kanilang mga kasamahang pinaslang. Napilitan si Earnshaw na iutos ang paglipat sa mga bangkay ng apat na pinatay na manggagawa mula sa punerarya tungo sa morgue ng lungsod bunga ng pagbisita ng libu-libong manggagawa sa punerarya. (Herald, September 21, 1934) Ang libing ng apat na welgista noong Setyembre 30 ay dinaluhan ng daan-daang manggagawa na nagmartsa tungong North Cemetery. Bumalik lamang ang mga welgista sa trabaho noong Oktubre 1, isa't kalahating buwan pagkatapos nag-umpisa ang welga.

Isang taon pagkatapos ng pangkalahatang welga, nagtangkang magdaos ng memorial service ang Partido Sosyalista para sa mga pinatay ng manggagawa noong Setyembre 1934. Pero hindi sila pinahintulutan ng pamahalaang Maynila sa pamamagitan ng City Engineer na nagdeklara na umano'y "structurally unsafe" ang Manila Grand Opera House kung saan sana gagawin ang pagtitipon. (Graphic, September 22, 1935:56)

Ang Markado at Militanteng Partisipasyon ng Kababaihang Manggagawa sa Welga ng 1934

Hindi maitatatawag ang militanteng paglahok ng kababaihan sa naganap na pangkalahatang welga sa Maynila noong 1934.

Sa unang linggo pa lamang ng welga, 26 na kababaihan ang kabilang sa 80 manggagawang inaresto ng mga pulis dahil sa umano'y "pwersahang pagpasok sa Grandeza Cigar Factory sa Reina Regente" noong Agosto 20. (The Tribune, August 31, 1934) Sila'y nakalaya sa harap ng kahilingan ng mga 3,000 manggagawa na nagmartsa at nagrali sa istasyon ng pulis sa Luneta kung saan sila dinala.

Kabilang din ang kababaihan sa mga 200 welgista na nagtipon sa labas ng Hale Manufacturing Co., tagagawa ng sapatos na Esco, para manawagan sa mga kapwa manggagawa na umanib sa welga. Sinasalamin ng pagpapaliwanag ng isang babaeng welgista, na mula umaga pa'y nakaabang na sa labas ng pagawaan, ang pangkabuhayang adhikain ng welga at ang kahalagahan ng pagkuha sa suporta ng ibang manggagawa. Aniya:

Kailangan naming makakuha ng suporta. Kaunti pa lamang kami. Kailangan ng suporta ng mas marami pang manggagawa na may simpatiya sa amin. Lumalaban kami para sa tahanan at pagkain. Hindi namin mababayaran ang aming upa. Hindi naman kami maaring matulog sa lupa kaya palipat-lipat kami para maikutan ang mga may-ari ng bahay. Ang aming kinakain ay hindi makasasapat. Ano ang aming magagawa? Kailangan naming mabuhay. (The Tribune, August 22, 1934:8, ang awtor ang nagsalin sa Filipino)

Ang determinasyon ng kababaihang welgista ay kinumpirma ng isang ulat ng mga opisyal ng Maynila na nag-ikot sa mga lugar ng welga para kapanayamin ang mga manggagawa. Ayon sa ulat, "Karamihan sa mga babaeng welgista ay hindi nagkakaroon ng sapat na makakain pero hindi sila nahuhuli sa pakikibaka." (The Tribune, September 12, 1934:8, ang awtor ang nagsalin sa Filipino)

Sa martsa-rali ng mga manggagawa sa Ayuntamiento sa Intramuros noong Setyembre 1 para iharap sa mga opisyal ng pamahalaan ang kanilang petisyon para sa mas mataas na sahod, maraming kababaihan ang kabahagi sa 3,000 manggagawang humiling na aksyunan ng pamahalaan ang kanilang mga kahilingan. (Herald, September 3, 1934: 1) Nasa unahan rin ang kababaihan sa paggigiit sa pagpasok sa gusali laban sa panghaharang ng mga pulis. Iniulat pa na ginamit ng kababaihan ang baong tubo (sugarcane) bilang sandata sa pakikipaggitgitan sa pulis. (The Tribune, September 4, 1934:6)

Kabahagi rin ang kababaihan sa mga delegasyon ng mga lider-manggagawa na nakipagpulong kay Gobernador-Heneral Frank Murphy noong Setyembre 10 at Setyembre 12, 1934.

Si Narcisa Paguibitan, lider manggagawa

Litaw ang pangalang Narcisa Paguibitan sa mga ulat kaugnay ng welga noong 1934.



Siya ang tanging babae sa apat na lider manggagawa na nakapirma sa petisyong dinala ng mga 3,000 welgista sa mga opisyal ng pamahalaan sa Ayuntamiento noong Setyembre 2, 1934. Ang petisyon ay naglalaman sa kahilingan ng mga manggagawa na magkaroon na ng sagot ang Manila Tobacco Association ukol sa dagdag na sahod at pagbabawal sa pag-uupa ng mga eskinol. (Herald, September 3, 1934:1)

Kabilang si Narcisa sa delegasyon ng mga 10 lider-welgistang na nakipagpulong kay Gobernador-Heneral Frank Murphy sa Council of State Room ng Malacañang noong umaga ng Setyembre 12, 1934. (Tribune, September 13, 1934:1) Sa sumunod na araw, si Narcisa, kasama sina Pedro Castro, Pedro Ocampo, Moises Wenceslao at Fidel Tolentino, ay nangampanya sa hanay ng mga welgista para iboykot ang mga dyaryong nagpapalaganap ng mga maling balita tungkol sa welga. (Herald, September 13, 1934:15)

Kabilang si Narcisa sa demonstrasyon sa harap ng pagawaang Minerva noong Setyembre 18. Hindi siya kasama sa mga sugatan o kagyat na naaresto. Tumungo pa ito sa Philippine General Hospital at dinalaw

ang mga sugatang welgista at "nagbigay ng tagubilin hinggil sa pag-iingat sa kung ano ang sasabihin sa imbestigasyon." (TheTribune, September 26, 1934)

Kabilang ang kanyang pangalan sa 25 lider-manggagawang hinabla ng sedisyon bunga ng insidente sa Minerva. (Herald, September 19, 1934) Noong Setyembre 25, siya'y naaresto sa panulukan ng Azcarraga at Narra, hindi kalayuan sa pabrika ng Minerva. Tumanggi siyang magbigay ng impormasyon ukol sa kinaroroonan ng iba pang hinahanap na mga lider-manggagawa. (Herald, September 25, 1934:1 at The Tribune, September 26, 1934:3)

Nagmula sa pamilyang manggagawa sa mga pabrika ng tabako si Narcisa. Ang ina ay namamasukan sa La Helena kung saan manggagawa rin si Narcisa. Sa hulihang ginawa pagkatapos ng insidente noong Setyembre 18, 1934 sa harapan ng Minerva, kaagad nahuli ang magkakapatid na sina Emeteria, Placido at Hilario Paguibitan na mga manggagawa rin sa pagawaan ng tabako. Ikinulong din si Marta Manahan, asawa ni Placido at si Benedicta Zamora, asawa ni Hilario. (Herald, September 18, 1934) Si Genoveva Ardan, ang ina ng magkakapatid na Paguibitan ay kasama sa hinabla ng sedisyon. (Herald, September 19, 1934, p. 1) Kapwa nasugatan sa barilang nangyari sa Minerva ang dalawang kapatid na lalaki ni Narcisa, sina Hilario at Placido. Nasentensyahan ng apat na taon at siyam na buwan sina Hilario, Placido, Emeteria at Narcisa habang pinalaya naman ang inang si Genoveva at sina Marta at Benedicta. (Paguibitan: "Synopsis", walang petsa)

Kasapi ng Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas si Narcisa Paguibitan. Kasing-aga ng 1932, isa na siya sa mga pangunahing babaeng kasapi sa Partido. Isa siya sa mga lider ng Pambansang Liga ng Kababaihan na binuo noong Abril 1932 kasama ang kapatid na si Maria Paguibitan, ang manghahabing si Dominga de Leon, ang magkapatid na Elisa at Celeria Santos ng Niugan, Malabon at si Perpetua Viterbo, isang organisador ng mga magniniyog sa Sta. Cruz, Laguna. (Baguisa:164)

Sa Ikalawang Pambansang Kongreso ng PKP noong Marso 1934, si Narcisa ay isa sa mga "prominenteng kagawad ng pambansang istap" ng Partido. (Baguisa:182)

Hindi magtatapos ang partisipasyon ni Narcisa Paguibitan sa kilusang paggawa sa kanyang pagkaaresto't pagkakulong noong 1934. Sa Ikatlong Kongreso ng PKP noong Oktubre 1938, isa sa mga tagapagsalita si Narcisa sa pagbubukas ng Kongreso, nahalal na isa sa 18 kasapi ng "presidium", nagpreside sa Kongreso at nahalal na isa sa dalawang babaeng kagawad ng Komite Sentral, kasama si Cleotilde Braganza ng Iloilo. (Baguisa: 282, 283, 291) Sa eleksyon noong Nobyembre 11, 1941, naging kandidato para sa Senado si Narcisa sa tiket Frente Popular na pinangunahan ni Pedro Abad-Santos bilang kandidato sa pagka Presidente at ni Pilar J. Aglipay, bala ni Obispo Gregorio Aglipay, bilang Bise-Presidente. (Hoeksema:221)

Sa paggamit ng lenteng makauri at makababae, lilitaw na ang kababaihang anak-pawis ay tagapaglikha ng kasaysayan. Sa paggigiit sa kanilang makauring kahilingan at interes, pinasinungalingan ng tindera ng Divisoria noong 1906 at ng mga manggagawang kababaihan noong 1934 na pasibo't kimi ang kababaihan. Lumilitaw din ang mga lider-kababaihan tulad ni Narcisa Paguibitan na ang militansya't determinasyon ay hindi matatawaran.

Mga Batis:

Mga Pahayagan at Magasin:

The Tribune:

1934: August 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 28, 31
September 4, 5, 8, 11, 12, 13, 16, 26

The Herald:

1934: August 22
September 1, 3, 6, 10, 12, 14, 18, 19, 20, 21, 25, 26, 27
October 1
1941: November 13

Philippine Free Press:

1934: August 25
September 8, 22
October 6

Graphic:

1934: September 20

1935: September 22

Muling Pagsilang:

1906: Agosto 7, 18, 21, 22, 27, 28

Disyembre 11, 21, 22

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Mga Personal na Tala:

Placido Paguibitan. "Synopsis", walang petsa; mga bandang 1980s.

Abstract

Mami

Story of a Wife, Worker and Mother

The paper traces the life of Zenaida Lava Chavez, "Mami" to author Alwin Aguirre who is her grandson.

Pregnant at the age of 14, Mami had to marry her 17 year old jobless boyfriend in 1950. Unable to hold on to a stable job, her husband would turn to drinking. Mami became the breadwinner of the family, working as a "cigarrera" at the US Tobacco Corporation for 17 years. There were over 4,000 workers in the factory. Women predominated as the work there, according to Mami, was "women's work; men were few and were drivers or kargador". Her regular salary of Php30 per week for working from seven in the morning to four in the afternoon from Mondays to Saturdays was supplemented by overtime work which would oftentimes last until nine or ten in the evening.

Mami did not join the union at the US Tobacco and did not participate in the strike to demand for higher wages and better working conditions. Her anxiety over the fate of children and her family if she did not bring home any money was stronger than the harassment she had to face from the striking workers as she continued to work inside the factory during the strike. She recounts the insults hurled at her and around 1000 others who continued to work by striking workers who were also mostly women. She bore all the insults because, according to her, "if I didn't work, my family would not be able to eat. Perhaps the striking women workers had husbands who worked."

Mami's story while unique also echoes the stories of other working class women who had to assume the double responsibility of oppressive and exploitative paid work and the nurturing work in the domestic sphere.

Mami

Kuwento ng Isang Asawa, Manggagawa at Ina

Alwin C. Aguirre

Tuwing tinatanong ako ng mga tao kung bakit ako peminista (o, *pro-feminist*), ang laging sagot ko ay dahil sa aking lola. Tuwing sinasabi ko na ako'y peminista, maraming nagtatanong kung pupuwede ba iyon. Kaya't bigla rin akong napapatanong sa sarili ko kung puwede nga ba iyon. Lagi't lagi, bumabalik ang tanong ko sa karanasan ng aking lola, at tinuturo ang paninindigang tama, puwede nga, dapat nga akong maging isang peminista.

Mami¹ ang tawag ko sa aking lola sa ina. Ginugol ko ang unang pitong taon ng aking pagiging tao sa piling niya. Maging noong hanggang mag-hayskul ay nagbabakasyon pa rin ako sa kanya tuwing tag-init. *Lola's boy* nga ang tukso sa akin. Mabuti na lang at nagkagayon nga.

Kung tatanungin ako kung ano ang pinakamalaking impluwensiya ko sa aking buhay at pagkatao, babalik pa rin ang sagot ko kay Mami. Kaya nga sa tuwing nagkukuwento ako tungkol sa aking sarili, hindi maaaring hindi ito maging kuwento ng isang lola at ng kanyang apo. Kaya nga kahit na ang ikuwento ko na ay tungkol sa lola, hindi ko maiiwasang isingit ang kuwento ko. Ito ay kuwento *namin*. Pinaghabing salaysay ng mga karanasang nagbigay-wangis sa pagkatao.

Maramot ako dahil inaangkin ko ang kuwento niya. Sa tuwing ibabahagi ko sa iba ang kasaysayan ni Mami, di ko maalís ang himig ng pagmamalaki. Taas-noo, ubod-ngiti habang tinatahi ang mga pangyayari na aking mga naging karanasan kasama ang aking lola, at ang mga karanasan niya ayon sa mga kuwento sa akin ng aking sariling ina at ng kanyang mga kapatid. Mga kuwento na di na namalas ng sarili kong mga mata. Mga nakaraang kailangan kong habulin. Mga kasaysayang kailangan kong pagkawing-kawingin.

Hindi na ako nagtataka kung bakit di ko malubayan ang kasaysayan ni Mami. Kung bakit ang kuwento niya ay nagpasibol ng maraming kuwento sa aking diwa. Kung paanong ang kuwento niya ay siya mismong nagbungkal at nagpayaman sa aking isipan. Kung bakit ang kuwento niya'y siya pa ring nagdilig sa mga punla ng mumunting salaysayin sa aking haraya. Kung bakit ang kuwento niya'y di lamang ang nagpapalago sa aking imahinasyon, kundi, lalo sa totoo kong buhay-buhay. Tunay namang di nakapagtataka kung bakit di ko maiwan-iwanan itong kuwentong ito. Bukod sa ito'y kuwento ng aking pamilya. Ito'y kuwentong magbubuo sa kuwento ng aking sarili.

Si Mami, Asawa

Ang buhay ni Mami, tila pelikula mula umpisa hanggang sa katapusan. Inabutan ang panahon ng Ikalawang Digmaang Pandaigdig kung saan tinakasan nila ang mga sumusugod na Hapon sa pamamagitan ng pagtakbo sa gubat noong sila'y nakatira pa sa Pagsanjan. Naaalala ko pa ang mga kuwento naman ni Nanay noong panahon ng Hapon kung paanong marami sa mga tao ang nagtatago sa ilalim ng lupa. Si Nanay ang ina ni Mami, naabutan ko pa siya. Ilang Pasko rin ang aming napagsaluhan. Malabo na ang maluha-luhang mga mata, mahina na ang tainga, ngunit di pa rin mapigil ang mga kuwento at payong iniluluwal ng gasgas nang tinig. Di ko makakalimutan si Nanay. Di ko malilimutan ang payo niyang paulit-ulit na sinaliwan pa ng mga kuwento ng paghihirap at pagsusumikap bilang patibay sa mga katotohanang kanyang isinasalaysay. Ang pag-aaral nang mabuti, ang pagtitiyaga upang maiangat ang buhay, ang pagtulong sa mga magulang at kapatid. Di ko siya maaaring di alintanain bagamat sa kanyang katandaa'y bibihira na ang tunay na nakikinig sa kanya. Sa palagay ko nga'y malaki ang pagkakahawig sa diwa nina Nanay at Mami. May pinagmanahan ang aking lola.

Ngunit bago pa man dumating ang mga Hapon, kinailangan na nilang lumuwas ng Maynila sapagkat sa probinsiya ay walang pagkakakitaan. Napilitan lamang silang bumalik sa Laguna nang mapasailalim ang bansa sa mga Hapon.

Kuwento pa ni Mami na noong bumalik na sila ng Maynila upang pamahalaan ang isang bakery (*Insular* ang naging pangalan) sa San Andres Bukid, na nakuha nila sa pamamagitan ng pagsanla ng bahay at lupa sa Pagsanjan sa halagang limang libong piso, ay saka niya nakilala si Lolo. Ito ay yaong mga panahong ang pandesal ay dalawa-singko pa.

Pelikula nga. Tila pinilas mula sa isang eksena ang kuwento nina Mami at Lolo. Kilalang-kilala na natin ang pantasyang ito ng wagas at inosenteng pag-ibig. Bingi na nga tayo sa kawikaang "O, pag-ibig, kung nasok sa puso ninuman, hahamakin ang lahat masunod ka lamang". Ito ang hulma ng "pag-iibigan" nila. Kung iimahe natin, makakikita tayo marahil ng *black and white* na pelikula (o, *sepia*). Mga beteranang artista (na di ko na nga kilala). Mga eksenang kung madalas ay nauuwi pa sa kantahan at sayawan. Ganoon din ang kasaysayan nilang dalawa. Matamis kung matamis. Sa ulap kung sa ulap.

Ah mura lang, ang pandesal noon, dalawa-singko. Noon, ten centavos, makakarating ka na ng Quiapo. Totoo yon, kung meron ka na 20 centavo, back and forth, mula San Andres Bukid hanggang Quiapo, nakarating ka na. Ganun lang ang pamasahang noon. Mura lang.

Dito (Maynila) na ako nag-Grade 5, Grade 6. Tapos nung Grade 4, sa province yun, sa Pagsanjan, Laguna. Tapos nung bumalik naman ako nung Grade 5 ako at Grade 6, International College. Nung first year to second year, Southern College.

Wala na (ang Hapon noon), Amerikano naman. Hanggang matapos na ako sa high school. Hanggang high school lang ako e, sa Southeastern College ako nung high school ako. Tapos nag-asawa na ako, 14 ako nag-asawa.

E, di (nakilala ko Lolo mo) sa bakery namin, di ba nakatao ako? Dun nya ako nakita. Three years (niya akong niligawan). Tapos yun nga sa bakery na yon, nakita nya ako noon. A. di pala kami three years, one year lang pala.

Sabay kami sa school, kapag papasok kami. Yung school nya iniwanan nya yon, at lumipat sya sa pinapasukan ko. Iniwanan nya yung school nya kase para magkasama kami parati na pumapasok. Tapos di ba kapag ganyan, nagkakatuksuhan kayong dalawa, kaya tuloy nagkaasawahan kaming dalawa. Ang aga pa. 14 lang ako, 1950.

Next year nagpakasal na kami. Tapos ganon, ikinasal na kami. Kase pregnant noon ako. (14 ako), 17 (siya). Tapos wala siyang trabaho. Pareho kaming tamad, nakatira kami sa amin. Doon nga kami nakatira sa amin, doon sa bakery. Pa-transfer-transfer kami. Minsan nandoon

kami (sa kanilang bahay), two months kami doon. Malapit lang, kanto lang kase, e.

Minsan wala ngang work kase nga bata pa. Kaya parents ang nagpapakain. Tapos nun ngang anak ko ay tatlo na, nag-work na sya. Si Mama mo, si Kuya Boy saka si Tito Ric. Nag-work na sya ngayon, sa bangko. Pero hindi sya sa bangko, naggagawa sya ngyung libro...bookbind. Hawak nya yung isang bangko. Pakyawan yun, e.

Nung nag-work kase ako, apat na anak ko, nandito na si Tita Nerie mo. Nung four na yung anak ko, nag-work na ako noon.

Si Lolo mo kase ano, e, Si Lolo mo kase e, hindi stable job yun kanya e. Iniipon nya ang mga libro. Taga-bind ng libro....iniipon nya yung libro na yon. Yung libro ng bangko kung ilan yon, binu-book bind nya yon, kino-cover nya, pinapaganda nya. Kung minsan umaabot ng two thousand pesos. Yun ang trabaho nya. Twice a year. Iniipon kase nila yun e, bago nila pagandahin.

Kaya magwo-work kailangan ako di ba?

Tapos kapag naubos yon, ang parents na naman ang sasagot. Pero nung panahon na yon, malaking halaga na yon. Pero hindi rin puwedeng magkasya lalo na kung may pinapaaral na ako. Siyempre ang mama mo noon, maano na sya noon.

Alam mo ba saan ako nag-work? Sa US Tobacco.

Tulad ng marami pang kuwento na akin nang narinig sa mga kaedad nina Mami at Lolo, karaniwan ang maagang pag-aasawa sa panahon nila, at, karaniwan din ang maraming anak. Kaya nga, ang kuwento ng pag-ibig na nagsisimulang matamis at nakalutang sa mga ulap, ay tila pelikula pa rin, na nauwi sa kasawian. Kung pelikula nga lamang ba, maaari nang ulitin ang lahat ng eksena upang ituwid ang mga pagkakamali at makabawi sa susunod na kuha. Kaya lang, tila mas malupit ang totoong buhay. Ang nakakikilig na pag-ibig sa simula ng kabanata ay maglalagos din sa halos di matakas-takasang kasawimpalaran.

Tuwing naaalala ko si Lolo, ang naaalala ko ay alak. Iyon ang pinakamatingkad na larawan niya sa aking isip. Di ko siya nakitang

nagtrabaho upang itaguyod ang pamilya. Ang batid ko'y mahilig siyang magtanim at magkutingting at tumugtog ng piano (kaya nga't may *live music* kami tuwing may okasyon). Kaya lamang ay natatabunan ang kakapiranggot na masasayang sandaling iyon sa mga hapon na uuwi siyang lango at nagwawala. Naghahahagis ng kasangkapan, pinagmumumura ang mga tao sa di malaman na dahilan.

E, di mag-inom nang mag-inom. Minsan gusto naming malibang o kaya mapasok sa trabaho, sasabihin ni lolo (Pedro)², o paano ka dun ka sa PGH, meron kaming kamag-anak dun. Yung lahat ng mga sapatos at alahas, lilinisin nya. Isa-shine din nya para meron syang kita. Kapag una okey lang sa kanya, pero kapag matagal na, sinasawaan nya. Di mo nga sya maasahan, e. Ganun lang yon.

Nung ang anak ko ay dalawa (na saka siya nagsimulang uminom). Pero nung nanligaw sya sa akin saka nung ano, mabait yan. Wala syang bisyo, kase disentang pamilya yan saka ano...mga kilala sila. Sa Ateneo nga sya pinapaaral, e, sumunod lang talaga sa akin. Maykaya. Kaya sa akin galit ang mother nya. Kase nung makilala nya ako, nasira na. Sumunod nang sumunod sa akin. Ayaw na nyang makinig sa kanila. Pati ang school na maganda ng Ateneo, iniwanan nya. At doon pumunta sa school ko.

*Ni di ko nga maisip na noong nagsusuyuan pa sina Mami ay "mabait" si Lolo. Tulad ng isang Romeo sa pelikulang pag-ibig—tatalikuran ang karangyaan at pamilya para sa minamahal. At kagaya rin sa maraming pantastikong kasaysayan ng pag-iibigan, hindi na natin inaalintana pa ang kinahinatnan ng kuwento ng babae at lalaking nabihag ng pagmamahalan. *Happily ever after*. Iyon na lamang ang ilusyon na ating pinanghahawakan.*

Palagi naman syang ganun, e. Nung una kase ay mild lang, habang tumatagal gumagrabbe na, nang-aaway na. Ano, siguro ano, basta kapag nakakainom nang sobra, nang-aaway na sya. Matagal din, ang mama mo noon, mga may isip na siya, e. May isip na sila noon e, nag-aaral na sila noon e.

Nung maliliit pa sila (mga anak namin), nung nasa elementarya sila, umiinom na yon. Hanggang lumala na, naging dalaga at binata na sila. Lalong lumala na, di na sya nakatrabaho, ang ginawa na lang nya ay uminom nang uminom at mang-away. Pero mabait naman yon kapag di nakainom. Di ba nakikita mo naman, kasama nga kita sa bahay, e. Kapag di nakakainom, okey naman, gawa nang gawa sa bahay. Mabait.

Di ba sa Novaliches? Di ba kasama natin? E, ganun naman yun. Minsan mabait sya, kapag marami na ang nainom nya, magulo na sya. Parating ganun nang ganun, hanggang nung mamatay sya, ganun nang ganun, di na nagbago, puro ganun. Ako naman nag-stop ako nung work ko after 17 years, kase nga nag-close yung US Tobacco. Wala na akong work.

Yung lolo mo talaga, drinker talaga yon. Nung si Mama mo pa lang, di sya ganun. Nung two na or three na (ang aming anak), nabarkada na sya sa masama. At siguro naaburido sya sa buhay nya dahil nga sa wala syang trabaho. Siguro parang disappointed sya. Tapos nabarkada pa sya sa marunong uminom kaya natuto na syang uminom. Kaya ang buhay nya noon, naloloko na. Yung parang napabayaang na nga kami, yung ganon. O, kaya ang ginagawa ni Nanay, kinukuha na lang sila. Kaya malaking tulong yon doon kila Tatay doon. Di ko sila halos kasama noon, doon sila lumaki.

Si Mami, Cigarrera

Matingkad na matingkad sa kuwentong-buhay ni Mami ang karanasan niya bilang isang manggagawa sa pabrika. Kailan ko lamang ito nalaman. Noong bata ako at nakatira pa sa kanila, ang batid ko lamang ay siya ang nagsumikap upang maitaguyod ang buong pamilya. Alam ko rin na matagal na panahong hindi niya nakapiling ang mga anak dahil sa kailangan niyang kumita ng panustos sa pang-araw-araw na pangangailangan. Sa puntong ito ng kanyang buhay naging napakalaking tulong ang mga kapatid at magulang na siyang tumayong tagapag-alaga ng mga anak.

Naging *stamper* si Mami sa isang pabrika ng sigarilyo, ang *US Tobacco*. Sa katunayan, sa dalawang pabrika ng sigarilyo naging manggagawa si Mami, sa *US Tobacco* nga at sa *La Suerte* nang magsara ang nauna. Kung tutuusin, isang napakahalagang bahagi sa kasaysayan ng kababaihang Pilipino ang kanilang pagpasok sa sistemang pabrika na sinimulan ng mga establisimyento ng monopolyo sa tabako noong 1782. Sa kauna-unahang pagkakataon, nagkaroon ng regular na oras sa paggawa ang mga kababaihang Pilipino, napasailalim sa superbisyon at patakarang pandisiplina, at nagkaroon ng *sick at maternity leave benefits* (Camagay, 1995: 3).

Cigarrera ang katawagan sa mga babaeng nagtatrabaho sa pabrika ng tabako noong mga panahon ng Kastila at sa pagkakalarawan nga ni Ma. Luisa Camagay sa kanyang pag-aaral ay ganito ang kanilang ayos sa paggawa:

How were the *cigarreras* organized in the factory? The *operarias* were grouped around a working table, numbering 10 to 13 per table...work was divided among 10 workers in the following manner: two were tasked to moisten, stretch and remove the stem, seven rolled the cigars while one counted, bundled and weighed the cigars. Those who were assigned the task of rolling cigars were each provided with a stone as large as a lemon with which to beat the tobacco leaf. Once the leaf was rendered pliable, the *cigarrera* would put a small quantity of chopped tobacco at the center of the leaf, a little gum on one edge and then would roll it to its desired form. Each working table was under the supervision of a *cabecilla* (section leader) who was in turn supervised by a *maestra celadora* (custodian). (1995: 6)

Di man makabago ang paraan ng paggawa noon, makikita na tila makina na rin ang mga babaeng nakasaayos upang makalikha ng isang produkto sa loob ng maikling panahon. Sa mga tala pa nga, makikitang ang mga banyagang bisita sa mga pabrika ay nagkakaroon ng lubos na paghanga sa kakayahan ng mga babaeng manggagawa, halimbawa na ang isang Ruso na dumalaw sa isang pabrika sa Binondo ang nagbigay ng obserbasyon na ang lahat (ng *operarias*) ay tahimik at wala ni isa man ang umuusal ng salita ngunit ang kanilang mga mata'y epektibong gumagana, lalo na ang kanilang mga kamay (Camagay, 1995, 7). Samantala, isang Pranses naman ang nakapansin sa galing ng mga babae sa pagrolyo ng sigarilyo:

I noticed the celerity with which the women rolled each cigar and pasted both ends. However, their work was not considered done until after both ends of the cigar were cut following a given model and afterwards strictly inspected by the *maestra* of the section. Only then was the cigar allowed to be part of a pack of 32; a thousand packs made up a chest and 500, a half chest. (Camagay, 1995: 8)

Hindi naman nalalayo ang karanasan ni Mami bilang *stamper* nang magsimula siyang magtrabaho sa kalagitnaan ng 1950s. Nakakatawa nga dahilan sa nang sinabi niya sa akin kung ano ang trabaho niya sa pabrika ay nagulat at nagtaka ako—*stamper*? Mayroon palang ganoon. Hindi mo akalain na ang isang bahagi ng pakete ng isang produkto na hindi na nga pinapansin ay nangangailangan din pala ng lakas-paggawa at labis na pasensiya sa mahabang oras sa pag-upo at paulit-ulit na gawain. At bagamat naging mas moderno na nga ang makinaryang gamit sa pagbuo ng produkto, tulad pa rin ng mga *cigarrera* noong una, tila bahagi na rin ng makina ang mga mata at kamay ng mga manggagawang nakatutok sa partikular nilang trabaho.

Stamper, ang dali lang noon, hinahawakan mo yung stamp tapos igaganun mo lang yon sa gitna. Paghawak mo ng stamp, babasain mo lang nang kaunti, yung sigarilyo lalakad sa harap mo yon—conveyor yun, e. Yung sa banda dun e, may ginagawa doon e, irepak nila yun. Hinahawakan nila tapos mamo-molde. Tapos aandar yung ano...tapos maglalagay ng stamp.

"Old Gold...Pure Gold" (ang pangalan ng sigarilyo). Noong araw ang lakas no'n. Tapos nahuli ang may-ari noon. Kaya na-close agad.

Marami kami, 4, 000 kami na tauhan ng US Tobacco noon. Ang laki ng pabrika noon sa port area. Malakas kase ang sigarilyo noon, e. Seventeen years ako doon, yun ang bumuhay sa amin kahit ganun-ganun yon. Kung hindi yon, saan ako papasok, di naman ako nag-college. Siyempre dun ako papasok sa mga ganun. Sa pabrika, yun lang naman ang kaya ko. Di ba ganun?

Oo, sila (dalawang kapatid na babae ni Mami) naman wrapper. Kung minsan naman pagdating sa dulo, i-ra-wrap mo na yon. Para malagyan na sya ng wrapper. Tapos yun na. Hanggang malagay sa malaking kahon. May tagalagay doon. At conveyor yun e, umaandar doon. Ang una doon yung ipa-pack mo muna, tapos aandar yon lalagyan mo na ng stamp. Pagdating sa banda doon, ilagay mo sa kahon na ganyan. Hanggang dumating sa kadulu-duluhan, ilagay mo na sya syempre sa malaking box. Hayun. Grupo-grupo yun, e.

Mula sa mga kuwento ni Mami sa kanilang karanasan at sa kuwento rin ng iba pang manggagawa sa pabrika, lantad ang katotohanang may partikular na mga trabaho na mas kinukuha ang serbisyo ng mga babae dahil sa tinuturing na mga "pambabaeng katangian" na mas magiging

kapaki-pakinabang sa paggawa. Mula pa noong panahon ng mga *cigarrera*, malinaw na ang pagkiling sa babae upang kuhanin bilang *operaria* sa mga pabrika ng tabako dahil sa mga inaakalang taglay nilang katangian na tanging babae lamang ang may angkin, at hindi napipinid lamang sa pagkilos o galaw, kundi maski na sa pagpapahalaga at pag-uugali:

The Spaniards believed that women were more adept and more patient for this particular task, and that they were less prone to commit frauds. It should be noted that based upon documents found at the Philippine National Archives, reports of smuggling usually involved the *cigarilleros* (male cigarette makers) and the *faginantes* (porters) rather than the *cigarreras*. It was probably the acknowledged skill of women for rolling cigars and their observed honesty which made four out of five factories hire exclusively women employees. Only the factory in Arroceros became an exception to the practice as the government experimented on the hiring of men in the manufacture of cigarettes. (Camagay, 1995:5)

Sinabi pa nga ni Mami na sa pabrika ay talagang mas nakalalamang sa bilang ang mga babae—*babae, kasi nga trabaho ng mga babae yun, e. Yung mga lalaki kaunti lang, mga kargador, driver*. Tunay na namamayani sa kamalayan ang paghahati sa gawain at kakayahan ayon sa tanggap na paniniwala ukol sa katangian na mahigpit na kakabit ng kasarian. At sa maraming pagkakataon ay ito ang nagiging ugat ng diskriminasyon. Ang mga naghaharing esensiyalistang konsepto ukol sa pagkababae at pagkalalaki na nagbibigay ng di makatarungang hangganan sa mga maaaring magawa ng bawat isa, at tuloy nagbibigay ng limitasyon sa pag-unlad ng kakayahan at pagkatao ng isang indibidwal, lalaki man o babae, ang dahilan sa mga sinangkaang oportunidad.

Di nga mawaglit sa isip ko ang pagmuwestra ni Mami ng paglalagay niya ng selyo sa mga pakete ng sigarilyo habang isinasalaysay niya ang trabaho niya sa pabrika. *Ang dali lang*—iyon ang paglalarawan niya sa kanyang responsibilidad bilang *stamper*. Ang hinlalaki at hintuturo lamang ang mga nakaumang na daliri habang kunwang dinadampot ang isang selyong kunwari'y babasain nang bahagya at matapos ay ilalapat sa pakete ng sigarilyong naglalakbay sa iniimaheng conveyor. Waring *tiyane* ang dalawang daliring may sinusungkit na barya sa alkansya. Tila munting tuka ng ibong paslit na mabilis na bumubuka-buka.

Masarap pagmasdan ang pagmuwestra ng kanyang mga daliri. Tila isang sayaw sa isang mapagbunying ritwal. Ngunit, batid naman natin na hindi ganoon kaligaya ang karanasang iyon sa tunay na buhay. Ang paggawa sa isang pabrika ay di kailanman magiging isang anyo ng pagdiriwang, kundi "trabaho" na dapat, pilit, sapilitang gagampanan dahil sa kakaunti ang bukas na pintuan para sa mas kaiga-igayang pagkakakitaan lalo sa mga babae, at sa mga babae na hindi ganoon kataas ang antas ng edukasyong nakamit katulad ni Mami.

Sa panahon ngayon, hindi na lamang ang pagawaan ng tabako ang mas pinipili ang kababaihang manggagawa dahil sa kanilang mga katangian—*femininidad*. Maging sa paggawa ng bumbilya ay mas magiging kapaki-pakinabang daw ang mga babae dahil sa liksi ng kanilang mga daliri. Tulad ng pilantik ng daliri ni Mami sa pagseselyo ng sigarilyo, sila naman ay kinakailangang bunuin ang pagkutingting sa maninipis na alambre:

Most of the women make up the production section, where their nimble fingers are put to use. Nimbleness is a requirement to be able to perform tedious tasks in an efficient and quick manner, where a fraction of a second could cause an accident. For instance, for stem and mount machines, women have to insert the lead wire and filament into the tube-like glasses, which are directly under a flame. Agility and concentration are needed to avoid getting burned...Deftness of fingers and stamina are valuable qualities to be able to perform the tasks, giving females an edge over males. (Paguntalan, 2000: 49)

Sa unang tingin ay tila nagbubukas ang ganitong pagbibigay-preperensiya sa maraming oportunidad sa pagtatrabaho para sa mga kababaihan. Ang ganitong pagpapahalaga sa katangiang pambabae ay waring palatandaan na ng pagkilala sa kakayahan ng kababaihan sa larangan ng lakas-paggawa. Na ang ganitong kultura ng pagtangi sa "pagkababae" ay isang hakbang tungo sa mas malawak na partisipasyon ng babae sa gawaing panlipunan.

Special. Specialized. Tila sa tunog ay may gawad ng karampatang pagpapahalaga. Itinatangi. Binibigyang-importansiya. Inaalintana. Tila ba kakaibang katangiang bibihirang matagpuan kung kaya't kinakailangang pagkaingatan at pagkapahalagahan. Ngunit, kung iisipin, hindi naman ito

lubos na nagpapalaya sa kababaihan na makilahok sa produksiyong panlipunan, o nagbibigay man lamang ng sapat na oportunidad para sa pagpapaunlad ng kanilang sarili at buhay, bagkus ay maaaring nagiging limitasyon pa ito at hadlang sa pagtalunton ng babae, at kahit na sino, sa kanyang mga posibilidad (na maaaring labas sa itinakda sa kanya ng kostumbre):

It might be expected that *specialisation by custom* would give the individual worker more scope, but in fact it does not. In the cogent case of women's work, even in settings which do not legislate against women in politics, banking or engineering, or forbid by *decree* their handling cattle, ploughing fields or slaughtering animals, social (or socio-biological?) forces designate categories of "women's work" and assume it specialised to women whatever the empirical evidence to the contrary. By a similar logic, when work which falls outside the customary frame of women's work is done by women either the work or the sex of the worker can be conceptually or politically invisible. (Wallman, 1979: 7)

Ang mga uri pa nga ng trabahong ito na mas ibinibigay sa mga kababaihan ay karaniwang may masamang dulot sa kanilang katauhang moral, emosyonal at pisikal. Kung tutuusin, ang hirap at panganib na inihahain ng trabaho na iniaatang sa mga babae sa pabrika ay sapat nang dahilan upang maghanap sila ng ibang larangang mas magpapaunlad sa kanilang buhay at sarili. Ngunit, isang napakamapaniil na puwersa ng kahirapan na pinapasan ng marami kung kaya't sa kaunting halagang maidaragdag sa kita ay susuungin at tatanggapin ang karagdagang pagdurusa. Sa salaysay pa nga ng maraming kababaihan, labis na inimikal ang dulot ng trabaho sa pabrika sa kanilang kalusugan. Kanilang inilalarawan kung paanong napakadulas na sila'y labis nang pagod upang tapusin pa ang pagkain. Babagsak na lamang sila sa kama matapos mag-overtime. Nawawalan sila ng ganang kumain, nagiging anemik at iregular ang regla dahilan sa iregular na tulog. *Lantutay* na matapos ang mahabang oras ng pagtatrabaho para sa maliit na sahod (Paguntalan, 2002, 57-58).

Sa one week, kumikita ako ng Php 50, Php 60. Fifty pesos. Ang laking halaga na noon, nung panahon na yaon. Nag-overtime ako hanggang eight or nine.

Seven to four (ang pasok ko). Pagdating ng five o' clock, bilangin mo nga...five six, seven, eight, nine. E, kung gusto mo hanggang ten. Sa bawat oras...ay nakalimutan ko na, pero bawat oras yon meron din yon (dagdag), e. Malaki din yon kapag napadagdag sa salary mo. Kaya yung salary ko, imbes na thirty lang yon, nagiging fifty yon. Kase nga napapadagdag sa overtime.

Minsan forty. Kung ano ang mapadagdag. Pero kung di ka mag-overtime, ano lang yon, four pesos a day lang kami noon, e. Yun lang, kapag walang overtime. Yun lang. Ang Saturday may pasok. E, magkano lang yon kung four pesos a day.

Wala sweldo lang. Ang benefits lang na inaasahan ko at tinatamasa ko ay yung SSS. Oo, noong unang pasok ko, doon din ang umpisa ang SSS. Ten centavos lang (contribution ko). Weekly. Weekly kase ang sweldo namin, e. Ang hina ng kabig ng SSS noon, e. Kase four pesos a day, e.

Ang oras ng breaktime ay 9 o' clock. Di ako kumakain, ang iba pumupunta sa canteen. E, di nagtrabaho pa rin ako. Minsan naman nakatigil lang ako, inaantay kong maging ano, quarter lang naman yun, e. 15 minutes lang naman ang breaktime ng umaga, e. Fifteen minutes lang. Ang mataga! na break time ay yung 12 o' clock. Pagdating ng 12 o' clock, lunch time na yon. Ang ulit noon ay 1 o' clock na.

Sila nagka-canteen, ako may baon ako. Ang always na baon ko noon ay galunggong. Kase yun naman ang mura noon. Kaya di ako nagpupunta sa canteen, kase ayaw kong tumabi sa mga kumakain doon. Siyempre kahit ano, nakakaano. Minsan siyempre kapag bibili sila sa canteen, ang sarap ng menu. Doon sila bumibili, ako naman pumupunta ako doon sa malapit sa CR kase malinis naman yung CR. Pero di naman mismo sa CR, yung bago ka makarating sa CR, di ba may pasilyo yun? Minsan marami kami doon, kung ayaw naming pumunta sa canteen dahil di naman kami bibili. Kung minsan naman pupunta ako sa canteen, kase minsan bawal yung ginagawa naming ganon.

Naging mas mahirap naman ang kinailangang pagdaanan ni Mami sa pagtatrabaho sa La Suerte nang magsara na ang US Tobacco. Sa panahong ito, mas matindi ang puyat at pagod na dapat indahin ng isang manggagawa upang magkaroon lamang ng kita. Kinailangang sanayin ang sarili sa isang sistemang mas masalimuot. Kinailangang ihanda ang katawan sa mas mabigat na kahingian sa paggawa.

La Suerte. Di ko alam kung nandidiyan pa sya ngayon. Nakalimutan ko na ang pangalan ng mga sigarilyo pero hindi sikat. Doon ginagawa yung Alhambra...hayun, dun ginagawa yung maitim na yon.

Kase alam naman nila na may experience ka, e. Pero ibang klase doon, ano yon, may panggabi at pang-araw doon. Pag sinabing panggabi ka, sasabihin sa 'yo na mag-umpisa ka ng 2 o' clock hanggang 12 ng gabi ka doon. Ganun yon, at kung gusto mong mag-overtime, aabutin ka ngayon ng umaga. May overtime din yon. Ako, noon ay 2nd shift na ako e, mag-uumpisa ako ng alas dos.

E, di mag-uumpisa ng morning. Siguro 7 hanggang six sila o five. Siguro yung mga datihan sila ang morning (shift). Kaya hayun, kung gusto mung mag-overtime hanggang morning ka na. Kaya ako minsan umuuwi ako mga 6 na ng morning. Kase kung gusto kong madagdagaan ang kita ko, ang hilig ko noon sa overtime, kase naghahabol ako sa kita ko.

Ganun din. Kung ano ang ginagawa ko sa US Tobacco, yun din ang gagawin ko dahil yun din naman ang alam ko kase. Pero one year lang ako doon.

Kase nga niyaya na ako ng kaibigan ko. Papasok sya sa Triumph.

Overtime. Tila isang mantra na paulit-ulit na sinasabi sa sarili upang magkamal ng kung anong kapangyarihan. At tunay nga, na gagawin lahat ng isang tagapagtaguyod ng pamilya ang mga paraan upang maitawid ang mag-anak sa pang-araw-araw na buhay. Lalo kung iisipin na hindi naman malaki ang kumpensasyon na iginagawad sa maliliit na manggagawa bagamat napakahalaga nilang bahagi ng isang buong sistema ng paglikha. Ilangkap pa natin ang katotohanang ang karanasang kanilang pinagdaraan ay hindi naman nakapag-aambag sa ikaaangat ng kanilang estado sa lipunan na maaaring makapagbukas ng mas maraming pintuan, tila nga sila ay napipiit pa sa isang maliit na kahon ng halaga at kakayahan—yun din ang gagawin ko dahil yun din naman ang alam ko kase.

Sa ganitong kalunos-lunos na kondisyon sa pamumuhay at sa trabaho, mahalaga ang pagbubuo ng isang kilusan upang iigiit at makamtan ang mga mas makatarungang patakaran sa paggawa. Sa mga pag-aaral, malaking tulong ang unyon sa mga manggagawa upang magkaroon ng lakas at makamtan ang kapangyarihang maisakatuparan ang mga hiling na pagbabago sa kondisyon ng pagtatrabaho. Subalit, sa kasalukuyan,

ang kondisyon ng krisis sa ekonomiya, mas mahirap na organisahin ang mga manggagawa dahil sa marami na ang tinatanggal na di naman napipigilan ng mga unyon. Ang ganitong mga insidente ay karaniwang binibigyang-katuwiran ng kapitalista sa pamamagitan ng *authorized cause provision* sa Labor Code (Aganon: 119 nasa Illo at Ofreneo, 2002).

Hindi ko nga malilimutan ang ipinagkaloob na tulong ng unyon nang yumao ang aking ama. Ang unyon na, sa wari ko, ang naging barkada niya sa buong buhay niya sa pagtatrabaho. Di ko rin malilimutan ang mga pagkakataon na ikinukuwento ni Papa noong nabubuhay pa siya ang mga panahon ng kawalang-kasiguruhan dahil sa *nilalakad pa ng unyon ang mga kaso*.

May kahalagahan naman ang pagbubuo ng samahan sa paggawa na tangi sa mga kababaihang manggagawa. Ang mga samahang binubuo, pinapamunuan o kinapapalooban ng kababaihan ay hindi lamang nagbibigay-tuon sa mga usaping karaniwang pinagkakaabalahan ng mga *mas maka-lalaking unyon*; pinagtutuunan din nila ng pansin ang mga isyu na may direktang kinalaman sa kababaihan (Jaggar, 1983: 327). Bukod sa mga namamayaning usaping ipinaglalaman ng mga unyon tulad ng dagdag na benepisyo, pagtaas sa sahod at seguridad, sa panahon ngayon ay mas mulat na ang mga manggagawa sa kondisyon ng mga kababaihang kasamahan at sa mga adhikaing kailangang isulong tulad ng pagbaka laban sa diskriminasyon sa pagtanggap sa trabaho, sexual harassment at mas mababang pasahod.

Batid din naman ni Mami ang kahalagahan ng sama-samang pagkilos upang igiit ang karapatan ng mga manggagawa, ngunit sa panahong kinailangan ang kanyang pakikilahok ay mas pinili niyang hindi sumapi.³ Marahil, ito rin ang dahilan ng maraming kababaihan na siyang bumubuhay sa pamilya. Marahil, ito rin ang mahirap na panig na kanilang pinili sa kabila ng matinding pangangailangan sa pakikiisa. Ang kawalang-pagpipilian sa kanilang pananaw ang nagiging sagka sa pakikilahok. Higit sa takot, ay ang pangamba sa kalagayan ng mga anak at pamilya ang nakikita bilang mas pangunahing pangangailangang dapat matugunan sa bawat araw ng buhay. At, kinakailangang *pumili* ng panig—ang kung ano ang nakikita at nasusuri bilang pinakamahalaga at pangunahin sa kasalukuyang mga kondisyong nakahain at dapat na harapin.

Alam mo ang meron doon (sa US Tobacco) ay ang union. Di ako naki-member noon. Galit nga sa akin ang union. Kase natatakot ako. Kase

kapag nag-member doon di ka papasok sa trabaho. Kase ako nag-try ako, di papayagan ng union, kapag sumapi ka, kapag sumapi ka sa kanila, nandoon ka sa kalye.

Siyempre nakabantay ka doon. Ako kumampi ako sa management. Oo, tama ang patakaran nila (ng unyon) at paninindigan nila. Pero, maraming magugutom, e. Marami akong anak. Kung palagi kami sa kalye, di kami magtratrabaho. So, maghihingi kami sa kalye.

Itaas daw ang sweldo, mga ganyan, hinihingi nila ang ganyan. Saka ang mga patakaran na ayaw nila na ang over time, masyadong gabi kung minsan. Dagdagan dapat ang sahod ng over time. Saka yung mga ginagawa minsan sa tao na malupit sila—maraming bawal-bawal na ano. Pero ang ano doon ay itaas ang sweldo, pero di raw talaga makakaya.

Ako wala naman akong kinakampihan sa kanila, e. Gusto ko lang talaga na magtratrabaho. E, kung sa union ka, ano ang kakainin ng mga anak mo.

Malinaw nga sa imahinasyon ko ang eksena ng pagtutunggalian ng mga unyonista at mga piniling ipagpatuloy ang trabaho. Sa pagsasalaysay ni Mami, madarama pa rin ang takot, at kalungkutan na kanyang naranasan noong mga panahong kinailangan niyang pumili, at ang mga sentimiyento ng mga unyonistang kapwa manggagawa na kinailangan niyang bakahin at tanggapin.

Kami ngang pumapasok ang tawag nga sa amin...ay minumura kami. Tinatanggap ko yon. Kami daw mga traydor, balimbing, nakalimutan ko na ang iba. Okey lang kung anung sasabihin nila. Kase kapag di ako pumasok, di kakain ang pamilya ko, e di patay kami. Kaya siguro yung mga asawa nila ay may trabaho na iba. E, ako wala e. Kaya ako kahit na nagpapatayan na sila, kami pumapasok pa rin.

Sinusundo kami ng sasakyan kase nakaabang sila sa may pintuan. Meron kaming tagpuan. Para kaming baboy na nakasakay sa trak. Susunduin kami sa isang lugar. Bago kami makapasok sa pinto, napakatagal bago mapaalis ang mga nakaharang doon. Pagdating namin sa pinto, maglulundagan na kami at hilong-hilo ako. Ang init-init at pawisan kami.

Babae (ang mas marami). Kase nga trabaho ng mga babae yun, e. Yung mga lalake konti lang mga kargador, driver. Puro babae. Kapag nasa labas ka nga, e, puro babae. Kapag uwian nga sasakay na naman

kami dun sa trak. Hahampasin nila (kami) kase nga ayaw kaming papasukin, minumura kami, mga traydor kami.

Tapos yung management naman, nakikiusap na pumasok ang gustong pumasok. Para di matigil ang pagbenta ng sigarilyo. Para di lang ma-stop, kase marami ang nasa labas. Para di ma-stop ang benta, kase papaano kikita ang kompanya? Kase kung kayung lahat ay lumabas, magiging paralyzed ang ano. Kaya nga nagagalit sila kapag pumapasok kami. Konti lang ang pumapasok, mga 1,000. Lahat ay sumasali na para maibigay daw. Kapag uwian na ihahatid na naman kami sa malayo.

At bagamat sa diwa ay malinaw na nauunawaan ni at nakikiisa si Mami sa ipinaglalaban ng mga kasamahan, sa pagiging wasto ng kanilang mga kahilingan, sa katarungang nararapat lamang naman na ipaglaban at sa pakikisangkot para sa katuparan ng ikabubuti ng nakararami, mas nanaig pa rin ang pag-aalala niya sa kalalagyan ng pamilya, sa kakapusan ng ibang pintuan ng alternatibong pagpipilian, sa kawalan ng ibang maaasahan, bukod sa sarili.

Ang mas aktibo at positibong partisipasyon sa pagkilos para sa pagbabago sa larangan ng paggawa ng mga babaeng manggagawa katulad ni Mami at ng iba pang kagaya niya ay mas maisasakatuparan kung ang kanilang mga kabiyak ay tunay na magiging katuwang sa pagtaguyod nila sa pang-araw-araw na pag-usad ng buhay-pamilya. Sa ganitong kalagayan, inaasahan na ang isa ay ang aako ng responsibilidad sa tahanan habang ang isa ay kumikilos para sa mas ikailigi ng kondisyong paggawa para sa sarili, sa mga kasamahan at sa pamilya rin. Sa kuwento nga ni Mami, mas nakatulong sana sa kanyang pagpapasya ukol sa partisipasyon sa pagkilos ng unyon ang pagkakaroon ng mas maaasahang kabiyak at katuwang sa buhay.

Oo, sinasabihan ako na, Zen, 'wag ka nang pumasok. Kaming lahat pinapakiusapan nila. Sabi nila konting tiis lang yon. Pangutang ko muna raw. Sabi ko, kanino ako utang? Saka, saan ako kukuha ng pambayad sa bahay?

Si Mami, Ina

Nakakatawa. Habang nagkukuwentuhan kami ni Mami ukol sa buhay niya, sumingit si Tita Ner, pang-apat sa anim na magkakapatid, sa

punto na isasalaysay na ni Mami ang mga sandali ng pagtatangka niyang makakuha ng trabaho sa US Tobacco—ayan, *sige Ma, ikuwento mo iyan, 'yan ang nakakaiyak!*

Tila pelikula, mula simula hanggang wakas. Mula unang pag-ibig hanggang sa masalimuot buhay may-asawa. Mula pagiging manggagawa hanggang sa pagiging ina. Hindi na matatawaran ang “kahusayan” ni Mami sa pagiging nanay, kung kakayahan nga ba nating maituturing ang “pagiging ina”.

Tila pelikula nga. Melodrama.

Kase nandun (US Tobacco) na ang mga kapatid ko e, nauna na sila...kase nga nag-aplay sila doon. Ako ang wala noon kase nga may mga anak ako. Siyempre sila matatanggap agad kase mga dalaga ang mga yon, e. Ako iniisip ko kanino ko kaya iiwanan ang tatlong ito, ay apat na pala sila. Pati si Tita Ner mo noon, kanino ko iiwan. Pagkatapos, ayaw nila akong ipasok, ng mga kapatid ko.

Kase nga marami na raw akong anak so bakit pa ako papasok? Sino raw mag-aalaga, so ayaw nila akong tulungan. So ang ginawa ko na lang, ako mismo ang nag-aplay. Akong mag-isa ang nagpunta noon. Mahirap doon ang mag-aplay, bawal. Siyempre, aantayin ko yung boss dun, dahil alam ko na papasok nang maaga kaya aantayin ko sya—si Mr. Brooks.

Tinitingnan ko nga kung saan sya nagpa-park. Tapos kapag nag-park na sya, hahabulin ko ngayon sya, talagang hihingi ako ng tulong talaga. Kase hindi talaga ako tatanggapin talaga dahil marami ang aking mga anak.

Siyempre ang kailangan nila dapat single kung puwede. Pag nakita ako nung guwardya hahabulin nya ako noon, magagalit sa akin. Pero nung makita ako ni Mr. Brooks na ano, pero matagal akong nag-antay ng tiyempo. Di mo kase puedeng lapitan yon. Kapag nagpa-park, maraming guard doon. Kaya noon, araw-araw nakabantay ako, maaga ako, titingnan ko sya kung ano, kung darating ang kotse nya, susundan ko na agad sya. Di nga ako makatiyempo kase nga marami ang guard, e. Yung time na yon, talagang inaraw-araw ko sya. Nung time na yon, medyo malayo, kaya pagbaba nya sa kotse, tumakbo na ako sa kanya, nagulat nga ako, yung isang guard hinihila ako. Tapos sabi niya (Mr. Brooks) pabayaang daw, pabayaang daw ako nung guard. Kaya nung kinausap ako nung guard...ano daw yung kailangan ko? Tapos sabi ko kailangan ko nga ng trabaho dahil sa mga

anak ko. Ini-explain ko sa kanya, English yon pero ano nakakaintindi ng Tagalog, saka nung time na yon di naman ako fluent na mag-ingles. Di paano-ano, may konti Ingles, ganun. Tapos, ang galit nung guwardiya, nakatingin. Tapos pinapaalis ako nung guwardiya. Nasa kalye lang kami.

Basta, madali lang ang salita ko sa kanya, walang makain ang mga anak ko, kaya kailangang magtrabaho ako. Tapos pinasunod na ako. Tapos nakatingin nga yung mga sekretarya nya. Kase bawal na lalapitan mo sya. Kase kung gusto mong mag-aplay, mag-aplay ka sa ano, di sa kanya. Siguro talagang naawa ang Diyos sa akin, pinakinggan ako noon. Tapos kinausap nya ako, tapos yun nga sabi ko na walang makain ang mga anak ko. Alam mo sabi nya, "Proceed for employment". Di ko talaga makakalimutan yon, gumawa agad ng sulat, proceed for employment. Yun daw ibigay ko sa pagbaba ko, ibigay ko sa manager na yon. Tapos binigyan din ako ng pera.

Binigyan nya ako ng forty pesos, malaki na yon. Ibili mo ng milk ng mga anak, saka ibili mo sila ng pagkain. Ang bait! Akala mo nung panahon na yon, 10 centavos lang ang transportation, ang laki na ng 40 pesos. Tapos kunin mo na din yung pamasahang mo. Pagbaba ko, galit na galit yung guwardya. Tapos pumunta na ako dun mismo sa factory, binigay ko dun sa guwardya. Nakatingin nga sa akin. Tapos yung manager tinanong ako, "Ano'ng ginawa mo?" Sabi ko, wala, nakiusap ako, nagtataka ako. "O, sige mag-umpisa ka na dyan, pero kailangan namin ang check up bukas, ha. Kase kailangan namin sa lungs, pero puede ka nang mag-start".

So kinabukasan, pumunta ako ng city hall. Tapos may tama ako, nagkaroon ako ng minimal, ang lakas naman ng katawan ko. Minimal sa lungs. Hindi ko naman alam, "kailangang magpagaling ka, at least kung magaling ka na puede ka nang bumalik". Tapos noon, wala kaming makain. Ano kaya ang gagawin ko ngayon? So, binantayan ko si Mr. Brooks, wala din syang magawa. Sabi nya sa akin na magpagaling muna ako, kase baka lumala pa, yun ang advice nya sa akin. Tapos, binigyan nya uli ako ng forty pesos.

Tapos may kakilala kami sa city hall, kumpare ng Lolo mo at kaibigan. Pinalitaw na wala akong sakit. Kaya pagbalik ko sa pabrika, kinuha na nila ulit ako. Nagtatrabaho ulit ako.

Naikintal sa aking isipan ang sinabi ng isang kinatawan ng MAKALAYA (Manggagawang Kababaihan Mithi ay Lumaya) sa aming

klase⁴—*lahat ng kababahihan ay manggagawa*. Hindi lamang ito sa produktibong aspeto, kundi maging sa mas personal, reproduktibong gawain na sa lipunan ay karaniwang iniaatang sa kababaihan.⁵

Sa kuwento ni Mami ay mababanaag pa rin ang *guilt* na nadama niya noong panahong kinailangan niyang maghanap-buhay at piliing huwag makapiling ang mga anak. Sa kabila ng mabigat na responsibilidad sa pagkakaroon ng kita upang may ipanustos sa mga pang araw-araw na pangangailangan, nasa balikat pa rin niya ang pag-aaruga sa pamilya, ang pag-aalala sa pang-araw-araw na kondisyon ng mga anak, ang pagtitiis sa pakikisama sa isang asawang di naman alintana ang kanilang kapakanan.

Kase minsan lang tayo nag-mi-meat at kapag araw ng Linggo. Yun ang patakaran ko e, kase yun lang ang kaya ko, e. Kase ang sweldo ko ngang yun ay paaabutin ko ng one week. Andun na ang lahat. Mura pa noon. Noon hindi kinikilo ang bigas, 80 centavos lang. Nung araw noon, sinasalop.

Ay, ang mura! Magkano nga ba ang baboy noon? Ang isang kilo noon ay seven pesos. Kase nung ako bumibili, 3.50 kalahati, e. Minsan kapag wala akong pera, one fourth. Yung maliit na yon, titipakin ko nang maliit yon para magkasya. Pero kung meron naman akong pera...kapag bagong sweldo ako, makakabili ako ng one half kilo. So 3.50 na yon, ang binibili ko talaga ay rice. Kahit ano lang ang meron ka. Kase baka agad maubos ang hawak kong pera kaya bumibili na ako ng tatlong salop na rice. Kase alam ko hanggang one week namin yon.

Tapos, heto ang 25 centavos, bumili na kayo ng galunggong.

Hindi kinikilo, nakatumpok lang. Ang isang tumpok 50 centavos. Tapos sasabihan ko na sila (mga anak) na kapag wala na akong pera, na kalahati na lang.

Siguro mga pitong piraso yun. Tinutumpok yun dati, hindi kinikilo. Ngayon lang nauso ang kilo-kilo na yan. Tapos hindi ako bibili ng isang tumpok, hindi kami makakabili non. Kaya nga sabi ko nga sa mga batang (apo) yan, kayo ang susuwerte ninyo.

Alam mo nung araw, nagdaan kami sa ganyan. Kapag dumating na ako sa hapon, ang lolo mo lasing na. Nag-overtime ako. Kaya sinasabi ko sa kanila na kayo na ang bahala dyan. Kaya iiwanan ko na sa kanila

agad na bibili na kayo sa hapon ng ganyan, ganito. Pero kung alam kong wala akong naiwan, di ako mag-overtime kase alam ko na walang kakainin, e. Kaya alam ko na yon, kapag biglaan na may overtime. Di ako mag-overtime, pero pag alam kong mayroon akong naiwan, mag-overtime ako hanggang 9 o' clock o ten o' clock para madagdagan ang sweldo.

Aalis ako nang maaga at iiwan ko sila sa lolo mo. Minsan kapag dumarating ako, ang dumi-dumi ng bahay. Kasi ang lolo mo, nagdidrink-drink.

Double burden. Isang matingkad na bahagi sa danas ni Mami ang binubuno rin ng maraming kababaihang manggagawa. Samantalang sila na ang nagpapasan ng paggawa ng paraan upang kumita, sila pa rin ang inaasahan na umintindi sa pamilya bilang "ina". Sa ganitong kalagayan ay naging malaki ang papel ng ka-pamilya (mga magulang at kapatid) sa pag-aaruga ng mga anak. Sa kuwento pa nga ni Mami ay napakalaki ng pasasalamat niya kina Nanay at Lolo Pedro na silang nagpa-aral kina Mama at tumayong tagapag-alaga habang siya'y naghahanap-buhay, at wala ang ama upang gampanan ang responsibilidad.

Marahil ang kahirapang kanilang pinagdaanan ang nagbunsod sa paglikha ng mga katotohanang tinatangang ipasa ni Mami sa amin. Lagi iyan. Mula sa dalawang bibig ko naririnig ang mga payo ukol sa kahalagahan ng edukasyon at pagsusumikap. Mula kina Mami at Nanay. Tuwing may okasyon at nagkakasama-sama kami, ito ang idinidiin nila sa akin.

Mahirap mabuhay nang walang alam. Mabuti nga nakatapos ang lahat ng mga anak ko. Di lang yung pababayaan mo ang pag-aaral mo. Tatanda ka nang walang alam. Ano ka? Basurero ka lang? Ano'ng gagawin mo sa buhay mo? Kaya nga ang dami diyan na walang alam dahil di sila nag-aral...Ano'ng mahihita nilang kaginhawahan. Isipin mo naman yun, di ka nag-aral, ano'ng gagawin mo? Paano ka kakain? Wala kang hanap-buhay tapos isang kahig-isang tuka. Kaya ang pag-aaral, number one yan. Yan ang stepping stone sa kaginhawahan. At kapag marunong ka, gaganda ang buhay mo.

Tama naman sila. Ang tingin ko rin sa sarili ko ay hubog ng edukasyon. Kaya nga sa palagay ko'y iyon ang dahilan kung bakit sila natutuwa sa akin noong bata ako—magaling daw kasi ako sa libro.

Iyon din ang di ko malilimutan sa mga salita ni Nanay. Piliit ko iyong pinakikinggan dahilan sa mahina na talaga ang tinig ng isang 98 na taong gulang na lola sa tuhod. Sabawat pagkakataon na magkita kami, sinisikap ko paring pakinggan ang bawat salita niya, kahit na alam ko na ang kanyang sasabihin. Masarap lamang madama ang pag-aalala at pagpapa-alala ng mga mas malalalim ang karanasan.

Ngayon nga, kung babasahin ko ang kuwentong-buhay ni Mami, tunay na suson-susong pakikipagtunggali ang kanyang binaka, at pinagtagumpayan. Siya'y asawa, manggagawa, at ina. Siya'y isang manggagawa na tiniis ang maliit na pasahod at piniling huwag sumapi sa pagkilos sa unyon upang maitaguyod ang pamilya, mapakain at mapaaral ang mga anak, isang responsibilidad na hindi nagampanan ng asawa.⁶

Si Mami, sa paglipas ng panahon, ay naging Mamang na sa ibang henerasyon ng kanyang mga apo. Pero, ako Mami pa rin ang tawag sa kanya. Ang nag-aruga sa akin mula noong bata hanggang ngayon sa tuwing kami'y magkikita. Ang nagbigay sa akin ng paulit-ulit na payo. Ang sa ngayo'y nagpapaalalang lagi sa bagong *batch* ng mga apo. Ukol sa buhay, sa kinabukasan, at sa kapalarang ang tao lamang mismo ang may kakayahang makapanghawak.

Di totoo yung minamalas at sinusuwerte. Ako di naniniwala dyan, kase nasa tao yon. At saka yung mga swerte-swerte, nasa sa'yo yon. Ikaw ang nagdadala noon, e. Kailangan na kumilos ka. Ganyan ang buhay, hindi natin sisisihin kung kanino-kanino. Kung noon na wala kaming nakain, at saka di ko napag-aral ang mga anak ko, halimbawa ang mga anak ko, pinabayaan ko at di ko sila pinag-aral, e, ganun, hanggang ngayon siguro ganyan ka pa rin. O, isipin mo nga yon kung di ka nag-aral. Paano ka aasenso nyan? Bale, nasa tao lahat ang mga 'yan.

Hindi mawaglit sa isip ko ang tanong na kung masaya na nga ba ngayon si Mami. Sumasaglit lagi sa akin kung ano kaya talaga ang nais pa niyang maranasan, mangyari sa kanyang buhay. Iniisip ko nga, kung tunay ba siyang maligaya sa kalagayan ng buhay niya, namin, ngayon.

Ako, okey na mamatay ako. Mababait naman ang mga anak ko, ang mga apo ko malalaki na at nakita ko na lahat. Masaya na ako, wala na akong mahihiling. Gusto ko lang ang magkasundo-sundo lahat, masaya lahat. Makaraos sila sa araw-araw na mga pangangailangan. Yun lang, tama na sa akin ang ganito. Okey na sa akin. 'Wag magkakasakit. Mabuhay araw-araw na tahimik at masaya ka. Pag namatay ka di mo naman

madadala ang kayamanan mo. Basta ba maligaya ka at healthy ka, makaraos nang araw-araw. Basta ba nabibili mo ang mga kailangan mo. Ayaw ko ng sobra-sobra. Nakakaloka yon, aanhin ko yon. Ang iba kamkam nang kamkam, ang yayaman na, ayaw pang tumigil. Aanhin nila yon kapag namatay sila? Kahit singko di naman nila madadala. Diyos ko, nagtataka lang ako sa iba.

Tunay nga, ang lahat ng kababaihan ay manggagawa. Ngunit hindi ito nagtatapos dito. 'Pagkat sa kuwento ni Mami, ang babae ay tunay ding mandirigma. Ang pagtugon sa pang-araw-araw na pagdaloy ng buhay ay pakikibaka ng babae laban sa sapin-saping opresyon at kahirapan. Mula sa pagiging asawang pinapasan ang dobleng responsibilidad, sa pagiging manggagawang kailangang tiisin ang di-makatarungang kondisyon sa paghahanap-buhay, hanggang sa pagiging ina na inaasahan ng lipunang mag-iilaw sa tahanan, ang pagiging babae ay ang walang humpay na pagpili at pagpapasya ng sarili, ngunit higit para sa sarili, sa mga taong nakapaligid at umaasa sa kanya.

Akala ko matatapos ko ang pagkukuwento tungkol kay Mami. Akala ko nga matutuwa ako at sa wakas ay mabubuo ko na rin ang kasaysayang ito ng aking lola. Nagkamali ako. Hindi pala madaling buuin ang mahabang panahon ng paglaban sa kawalang-pagpipilian at kawalang-pag-asa. Hindi naipipinid ang salaysay ng malalim at masalimuot na karanasan ng isang babae sa pakikiharap niya sa mga pagkakamali at pagbangon upang akayin ang sarili patungo sa mas maliwanag na kalagayan. Hindi kailanman maaaring magwakas ang ligayang nadarama sa pakikinig, at paghubog ng kuwento ng paglikha, paggawa at pagkatuto.

Totoo namang hindi nagtatapos ang mga kuwento. Gasgas man ang linyang ito, di pa rin mapapasubalian ang katotohanang walang kuwentong may tiyak na katapusan. At kahit gaano man katalas ang pagsusuri, ang pagtingin at pag-ako lamang ng nagmamay-ari ng kuwento ang siyang tunay na may gagap dito.

Nagwakas ang kuwentuhan namin ni Mami, hindi parang pagtatapos ng isang pelikula. Wala pa ang credits. Hindi pa nalulubos ang pagkilalang ibinibigay sa humubog ng aming salaysay. Sabi ko sa kanya, itutuloy pa namin ang kuwentuhan kapag nagkaroon muli ng pagkakataong bumisita.

Marami pang masasabi. Mahaba pa ang kuwento.

Talaan:

¹ Zenaida Lava Chavez ang tunay na pangalan ng aking lola. "Mami" na ang nakasanayang itawag ko sa kanya. *Mommy*, na sa Filipino ay nanay. Sabi nila masyado pa raw bata si Mami noong magkaapo para tawaging lola.

² Si Lolo Pedro ay ang ama ni Mami. Ang lolo ko na asawa ni Mami ay si Lolo Teddy (Teodoro) na nakagawian na ring tawaging Lolo Miming.

³ Bagamat, ang unyonismo ay kinakailangan din ng matinding pag-aaral at pagbabago sa mga patakarang lalong nagpapairal at nagtataguyod ng kulturang patriyarkal. Ang unyon na "nakasanayan" nang tingnan bilang larangan ng lalaki ay kailangang basagin upang bumuo ng panibagong dalumat na may pagtugon sa partikular na ikatataguyod ng kapakanan ng kababaihang manggagawa at ikalalansag ng *kamalayang* makalalaki pa rin.

⁴ Ang naturang klase ay sa Women and Development 210 (Feminist Movements and Theories) sa College of Social Work and Community Development, sa ilalim ni Dr. Sylvia Estarada-Claudio, ikalawang semestre 2002-2003.

⁵ Sa Marxistang pananaw, nahahati sa dalawang larangan ang paggawa sa lipunan—ang produktibo at reproduktibo. Sa kasalukuyang sistema ng lipunan, hindi nga ba't mas mabigat ang pagpapahalagang iginagawad sa produktibong aspekto na karaniwan ay pinamamayanihan ng kalalakihan. Dahilan din dito ay mababa naman ang pagpapahalaga sa kontribusyon ng kababaihan sa paggawa, bagamat kung tutuusin ay kadalasang doble ang responsibilidad na kailangan nilang pasanin kung sila ang kumikita at namamahala sa tahanan.

⁶ Kung tutuusin, ang pagpasok sa trabaho na katulad ng kay Mami ay hindi rin maituturing na "mainam" kung may ibang pagpipilian. Ang pagpapailalim sa sistema ng kapitalista ay pagpapailalim sa isang opresibong kondisyon ng paggawa kahit pa sa marami ay huling pag-asa na ito. Sa mga salita nga ni Eviota ukol naman sa pamamasukan ng kababaihan sa mga pabrika sa kasalukuyan, *the recent absorption of particular groups of women in the labour-intensive operations of multi-national firms is a capitalist strategy to cut down on labor costs, taking advantage of a reserve pool of low-paid labour with particular 'feminine attributes'* (1992, 89). Bagamat sa unang tingin ay ang ganitong uri ng "trabaho" ang pag-asa at sagot sa kahirapan at kawalan, hindi naman talaga ang maliliit na manggagawa ang nakikinabang—*sila* ang pinakikinabangan.

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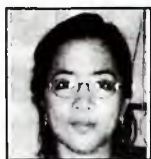
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