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*In the Service
of Women,
the Filipino
People, and
the Global
Community*

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FOREWORD

The Department of Women and Development Studies (DWDS) is particularly lucky to have this issue of the CSWCD journal placed under its responsibility. It is after all, the issue that comes out in time for the 40th year commemoration of the founding of the College of Social Work and Community Development. More importantly, it comes out during the centennial year celebrations of the entire University of the Philippines which was founded in 1908.

In 2005, the Philippines marked another centennial -- a hundred years of women's activism. Feminist scholars may argue that feminism, whether in the Philippines or in other places, probably began when patriarchy came into existence. But we mark 1905 as the beginning of a woman's movement that consciously called itself feminist with the establishment of the *Asociacion Feminista Filipina* in 1905. That generation of women activists worked on many issues including the decades-long struggle for the right of women to vote. It is not surprising that many women of the University of the Philippines, including its women student leaders, were involved in the struggle which culminated in 1937. Judy Taguiwalo's, "*Ang Kababaihang Maykaya, Ang Pakikibaka para sa Karapatang Bumoto at Ang Pagtaguyod sa Kababaihang Manggagawa*" (Elite Women, The Struggle for the Right to Vote and the Advocacy for Women Workers) takes us back to this historical period in wonderful detail. But the richness of Taguiwalo's work lies in her uncovering of the class dynamics that permeated the women's movement. She demonstrates further how these class dynamics are impacted by and its

relationships to the Philippine Revolution of 1898 and the progressive and socialist movements that carried on the struggle after the annexation of the Philippines by the United States at the turn of the century. The article is culled from Taguiwalo's doctoral dissertation and, like the dissertation itself, fills gaps in mainstream historical writings that have privileged men and the elites.

It is fortuitous that 2008 also marks the 20th year of the DWDS. As the University takes stock of the last 100 years of service to the nation, it is appropriate that we look back on our two decades of contribution to that legacy.

Teresita Barrameda's article, "Coming Full Circle in 20 Years: A Synthesis of the DWDS Field Instruction Program Experience," assesses the Department's culminating course offering for its masteral students. In so doing she must necessarily look at it in the light of the Department's history and the growth of its own scholarship. Her article clearly shows how the Department has been guided by its standpoint that women's studies must remain linked to the broader women's movement. Barrameda's article also demonstrates the type of feminist academic writing that grounds itself in concrete realities. It illustrates how activist academics understand the value of sharing the minutiae of application and practice as part of knowledge production.

Also in this issue is a collation of the abstracts of the theses produced by DWDS majors. As Nathalie Verceles notes in her introduction, it spans a whole gamut of gender and development concerns. The collation provides a broad overview of the body of works of our

discipline and its evolution in terms of concerns, issues and methodological approaches.

However, commemorations also ask us to look at our current situation and make guesses about the future. Women's Studies cross-cut across disciplines and often define the cutting (or lateral) edge of a certain area of study. Allan Orate's analysis of the Vatican's discourse on women in international relations poses questions in all three domains: Catholic theology, international relations and women's rights advocacies. His critical perspective uncovers further avenues of exploration on the critical issues of women, morality, religion and sexuality which may prove fruitful for both theoreticians and activists. Mylene Hega's article on assembly line workers in the 21st century takes a look at the current phenomenon of call centers, that is certain to mark the landscape of globalized production processes for the next few decades. My article entitled "Kagandahan sa Panahon ng Globalisasyon" (Beauty in the Time of Globalization), is but one contribution to an ongoing dialogue with the discipline of Philippine Psychology. It delineates differences between globalized conceptions of beauty in fashion magazines and indigenous views of beauty and the related notions of attraction, love and personhood. It also calls for new and more liberating cultural constructions.

The volume also contains a poem by the current Chair of our Department, Rosalinda Pineda-Ofreneo. Pineda-Ofreneo's contribution recapitulates the trope of beginnings because it was written when she was 18 years old and newly come to feminism. As a point of human interest, her other areas of expertise are women and work, globalization, environmentalism and economic empowerment. These rather disparate

ventures are a personal embodiment and further proof of the crosscutting nature of the work of women studies practitioners. We thank her also for channeling her creative side and coming up with the journal's theme.

A centennial celebration inevitably poses the question of what our descendants will know of us, a hundred years hence. At the turn of the 20th century, the hero Apolinario Mabini admonished the leadership of the Philippine forces against surrendering to the new American colonizers. Mabini reminded his colleagues that they should act so that future generations, "praying over our graves will shed us tears of eternal gratitude and not of bitter regret."

Such ambitions are obviously too grandiose for those of us who produce academic journals. But I do hope that if this one survives, it makes the life of future historians seeking the footprints of women and other marginalized sectors a bit easier. I hope that given this broad overview of what we are doing now, they will judge our efforts as contributions to a world that has been made better for them to live in. I am aware that this hope too, though less grandiose, is still overly ambitious. But if by some miracle I could be assured of such an outcome a hundred years hence, I would shed tears of everlasting gratitude today.

Sylvia Estrada-Claudio, M.D., Ph.D.
Issue Editor

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Ang Kababaihang Maykaya, Ang Pakikibaka Para sa Karapatang Bumoto at ang Pagtaguyod sa Kababaihang Manggagawa[*]

Judy M. Taguiwalo

The paper delves into the relationship between upper class Filipino women and women workers during the American colonial period. The relationship encompasses the struggle for women's suffrage led by upper class Filipino women and their support for workers' struggles. In the early part of colonial rule, possibly because of the shared experience of participation in the revolution against Spain and the resistance to American colonialism, upper class women provided direct support to workers' organizations and struggles. In the last two decades of American colonial rule and with the sharpening of class differentiation among Filipinos, the support given by upper class women to the workers was in the form of projects based on "elite responsibility" for the poor.

Ang pang-aapi sa kababaihan ay dinaranas ng lahat na babae, anuman ang uring kinabibilangan. Ang babaeng maykaya at babaeng mahirap ay kapwa tumatangan ng pangunahing responsibilidad sa pagmamantene ng pamilya at pamamahay, maaaring maging biktima ng karahasan sa labas at loob ng tahanan, ng limitado o kawalang kontrol sa

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kanilang katawan at mga sagka sa kanilang karapatan bunga ng mga itinatakda ng batas at ng mga makalumang paniniwala ukol sa nararapat na papel ng kababaihan sa lipunan. Ang mga ito, ang mga suliraning komon na tinatangan ng kababaihan anuman ang uri, ang siyang batayan para sa pagkakapatiran ng mga babaeng maykaya at babaeng mahihirap.

Sa Marxistang pagsusuri, may limitasyon ang ganitong pagkakapatiran sa pagitan ng kababaihang maykaya at kababaihang mahihirap. Bagamat may pagkilala ang Marxismo na maaring magkaisa sa mga taktikal na kahilingan ang lahat ng kababaihan, ipinag-iiba ng Marxismo ang makauring interes ng kababaihang burges o maykaya at kababaihang manggagawa sa usapin ng pundamental na pagbabago sa lipunan. Sa kabilang banda, binibigyang diin ng Marxismo ang pagkakaisa ng uring manggagawa, babae't lalaki, sa pagharap sa komon na kaaway, ang kapitalismo .

> Nahahati ang daigdig ng kababaihan, tulad ng sa kalalakihan, sa dalawang pangkat; ang mga interes at hangarin ng isang grupo ng kababaihan ay nakapagpapapalapit dito sa uring burgesya, habang ang isa pang grupo ay may malapit na ugnayan sa proletariat, at ang mga panawagan nitong huli sa paglaya ay sumasaklaw sa ganap na solusyon sa usaping pangkababaihan. Sa gayo'y kahit sinusundan ng dalawang pangkat ang pangkalahatang islogan na 'paglaya ng kababaihan', magkakaiba ang kanilang mga layunin at interes. Hindi malay na ginagawang panimulang batayan ng bawat pangkat ang mga interes ng sarili nilang mga uri, na siyang nagbibigay ng makauring kulay sa kanilang mga tayunin at sa mga tungkulin nilang inaangkin...

> Gaano man karadikal ang mga panawagan ng mga peminista, hindi dapat mawala sa paningin ang katotohanang hindi nila maaaring maipaglaban, sanhi ng kanilang makauring posisyon, ang pundamental na transpormasyon ng kasalukuyang kaayusang pang-ekonomiya at pampulitika ng lipunan na kinakailangan upang maging ganap ang paglaya ng kababaihan.

Kung magkatagpo sa ilang pagkakataon ang mga kagyat na tungkulin ng kababaihan ng lahat ng uri, ang huling layunin naman ng dalawang pangkat, na siyang nagbibigay direksyon sa kilusan sa pangmatagalang panahon at nagtatakda sa mga taktikang gagamitin, ay may malalim na pagkakaiba. Habang para sa mga peminista, ang pagtamo ng pantay na karapatan sa kalalakihan sa balangkas ng umiiral na kapitalistang daigdig ay bumubuo na ng sapat na konkretong layunin, ang pagkakapantay ng karapatan sa ngayon, para sa mga kababaihang proletariat, ay isang paraan lamang para sa pagsusulong ng pakikibaka laban sa pang-ekonomiyang pang-aalipin ng uring manggagawa. Tinuturing ng mga peministang kaaway ang mga lalaki dahil inaangkin nila ang lahat ng mga karapatan at pribilehiyo para sa kanilang mga sarili at iniwan lamang ang mga tanikala at tungkulin para sa kababaihan. Para sa kanila'y nakakamit na ng tagumpay kapag natamo na rin ng "fair sex" ang isang pribilehiyong dating tinatamasa lamang ng mga lalaki. Iba ang pananaw ng mga babaeng proletarian. Hindi nila itinuturing na kaaway at mang-aapi ang mga lalaki, taliwas nito, itinuturing nila ang kalalakihan bilang mga kasama, na nakikisalo sa kanila sa araw-araw na pagkabagot at nakikibaka kasama nila para sa mas magandang kinabukasan. Naaalipin ang babae at ang kanyang kasamang lalaki ng parehong mga panlipunang kondisyon, ang parehong kinamumuhiang tanikala ng kapitalismo ang sumisikil sa kanilang kalooban at nagkakait sa kanila ng mga kaligayahan at kasiyahan ng buhay. Totoong maraming aspekto ng kasalukuyang sistema ay dumadagan nang doble sa kababaihan. Totoo rin na ang mga kondisyon ng sahurang paggawa ay sanhi ng pagiging kakumpetisyon at karibal ng babae ang lalaki. Ngunit, sa ganitong hindi magandang kalagayan, nakikilala ng uring manggagawa kung sino ang may sala. ... (*Salin ni Dr. Ramon Guillermo. The women's world is divided, just as is the world of men, into two camps; the interests and aspirations of one group of women bring it close to the bourgeois class, while the other group has close connections with the proletariat, and its claims for liberation encompass a full solution to the woman question. Thus although both camps follow the general slogan of the "liberation of women", their aims and interests are different. Each of the groups unconsciously takes its starting point from the interests of its own class, which gives a specific class colouring to the targets and tasks it sets itself. ...*

However apparently radical the demands of the feminists, one must not lose sight of the fact that the feminists cannot, on account of their class position, fight for that fundamental transformation of the contemporary economic and social structure of society without which the liberation of women cannot be complete.

If in certain circumstances the short-term tasks of women of all classes coincide, the final aims of the two camps, which in the long term determine the direction of the movement and the tactics to be used, differ sharply. While for the feminists the achievement of equal rights with men in the framework of the contemporary capitalist world represents a sufficiently concrete end in itself, equal rights at the present time are, for the proletarian women, only a means of advancing the struggle against the economic slavery of the working class. The feminists see men as the main enemy, for men have unjustly seized all rights and privileges for themselves, leaving women only chains and duties. For them a victory is won when a prerogative previously enjoyed exclusively by the male sex is conceded to the "fair sex." Proletarian women have a different attitude. They do not see men as the enemy and the oppressor; on the contrary, they think of men as their comrades, who share with them the drudgery of the daily round and fight with them for a better future. The woman and her male comrade are enslaved by the same social conditions; the same hated chains of capitalism oppress their will and deprive them of the joys and charms of life. It is true that several specific aspects of the contemporary system lie with double weight upon women, as it is also true that the conditions of hired labour sometimes turn working women into competitors and rivals to men. But in these unfavourable situations, the working class knows who is guilty. ...Kollontai, 1977)

Layon ng papel na ito na ipakita ang katangian ng ugnayan ng kababaihang maykaya sa kababaihang manggagawa sa Pilipinas sa panahon ng paghaharing kolonyal ng mga Amerikano. Ang ugnayang ito ay makikita sa pakikibaka para sa karapatang bumoto at sa kongkretong suportang ibinigay ng una sa huli kaugnay ng isyu ng manggagawa. Sa maagang bahagi ng paghaharing kolonyal ng mga Amerikano, direkta ang suportang ipinakita ng kababaihang maykaya

sa pakikibaka ng mga manggagawa. Habang tumagal ang paghaharing kolonyal at nalinaw pa ang hatian ng mga uri, nagbigay-serbisyo ang mga maykayang kababaihan sa pamamagitan ng mga proyektong nakabatay sa tinatawag na "elite responsibility" o ang pananaw na may obligasyong panlipunan ang mga maykaya na tulungan ang mahihirap batay man ito sa Kristiyanong halagahin o humanismo.

ANG PAKIKIBAKA PARA SA KARAPATANG BUMOTO

Marami-rami ang dokumentasyon sa pakikibaka para sa karapatang bumoto ng kababaihang Pilipino mula mismo sa mga naging kalahok sa naturang pakikibaka.[1] Sa mga dokumentasyong ito, malinaw na kababaihang nakapag-aral ang may nangunang papel sa pakikibaka para sa karapatang bumoto. Si Dr. Paz Mendoza-Guazon, ang unang babaeng nakapagtapos ng medisina sa Unibersidad ng Pilipinas ang nahalal na unang presidente ng Liga Nacional de Damas Filipinas (National League of Filipino Women) na itinayo noong 1922. Ang liga ay itinayo sa simula para himukin ang suporta ng kababaihan para sa kalayaan ng Pilipinas at sa kalauna'y para sa karapatang bumoto ng kababaihan. Si Mendoza-Guazon rin ang nag-inisyatiba sa pagbuo ng Woman Citizen League noong 1928 para mangampanya sa pagpapasa ng batas na magbibigay karapatan sa babae na bumoto (Alzona, 1937 p. 83).

Ang *Philippine Association of University Women (PAUW)* na itinayo rin noong 1928 ay naging aktibo rin sa pagkampanya para sa karapatang bumoto. Hindi ito nakapagtataka dahil sa ang pangulo at kalihim ng Woman Citizen League ay ang pangulo at kalihim ng asosasyon ng kababaihang nakapagtapos sa unibersidad. Naging masigla ang partisipasyon ng mga kasapi ng asosasyong ito sa pagpapadala ng mga sulat sa mga magasin, pagsasalita sa mga pulong at pagdalo sa mga pulong ng lehislatura para maipalaganap ang kawastuan ng pagkakaroon ng kababaihan ng karapatang bumoto (Alzona, 1937 p. 86).

Hindi lamang mga nakaririwasang babae sa Maynila ang aktibong lumahok sa kampanya. Ang plebisito noong 1937 ay kinasangkutan ng mga maykayang kababaihan sa mga probinsiya.

> Para sa kampanya sa mga probinsiya, umasa ang konseho sa mga organisasyon ng kababaihan sa mga bayan-bayan na ang mga kasapi ay ang pinakaedukado at pinakaprogresibong kababaihan sa kani-kanilang lokalidad. Bukod sa kanilang mataas na posisyon sa lipunan. Ang isa pa nilang positibong katangian ay ang kanilang karanasan sa mga kampanyang pampulitika. Ang kababaihang nakaririwasa sa probinsya ay mga kilalang personahe sa mga kampanyang pang-eleksyon, kung saan kanilang tinulungan ang kanilang asawa, ama, kapatid o iba pang mga kamag-anak para makalikom ng boto; at sila ay tinuturing na malalakas at maimpluwensyang mga lider. (*Akin ang salin. For the campaign in the provinces, the council (General Council of Women) relied upon the women's clubs in the towns whose members were the most highly educated and progressive women in their respective localities. In addition to their high social position, their other asset is their experience in political campaigns. Provincial women of the upper class are familiar figures in election campaigns, helping their husbands, fathers, brothers or other relatives to get votes and they are considered to be strong and influential leaders.*) (Alzona, 1937 p. 106)

Ang mga Argumento ng Kababaihan Para Makamit ang Karapatang Bumoto

Ang tindig para sa pagkakapantay ng kababaihan at kalalakihan bilang manipestasyon ng tunay na demokrasya, ang paglalantad sa kabalintunaan na ang kalalakihang nangangampanya para sa kalayaan ng bayan ay nagpipigil sa pagkakaroon ng karapatang bumoto ang kababaihan; ilan ito sa mga argumentong iniharap ng kababaihan sa pagdinig sa lehislatura ukol sa karapatang bumoto ng kababaihan noong Setyembre 1931. Habang matingkad ang asersyon sa usapin ng pagkakapantay ng kasarian, demokrasya

at kalayaan ng bayan sa mga iniharap na mga dahilan ng maykayang kababaihan para sa karapatang bumoto, nakakabit sa kanilang paliwanag ang usapin ng uri at ang pagtanggap sa papel ng kababaihan bilang ina at maybahay.

Pagkakapantay sa kalalakihan sa ilalim ng isang pamahalaang tunay na kumakatawan sa mamamayan ang paliwanag na inihapag nina Encarnacion Alzona, bahagi ng pakikibaka para sa karapatang bumoto habang estudyante sa Unibersidad ng Pilipinas at Concepcion Felix, tagapagtatag ng Asociacion Feminista Filipina noong 1905.

Ayon kay Alzona:

> Para tunay na kumakatawan sa mamamayan ang pamahalaan, ang kalahati ng populasyon, ang kababaihan ay nararapat na mabigyan ng karapatang bumoto... Ang diskwalipikasyong pampulitika ay hindi dapat nakabatay sa kasarian. *(Akin ang salin. In order to make our government truly representative, the other half of the population, the women should be enfranchised... Political disqualification should not rest on sex.)* (Villanueva-Kalaw, 1952 p. 22)

Para naman kay Felix :

> Kung iniisip ng mga kagawad ng Lehislatura na mayroon tayong demokratikong porma ng gobyerno o isang gobyerno ng mamamayan, batay sa mamamayan at para sa mamamayan, sila ay nagkakamali. Ang mamamayan ay hindi lamang binubuo ng mga lalaki kundi pati ng mga babae at paano tayo maging tunay na demokratiko kung tanging kalalakihan lamang ang kumakatawan sa mamamayan?*(Akin ang salin. If the members of the Legislature think that we have a democratic form of government or a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, they are in error. The people is not composed only of men but also of women, and how can we be truly democratic when only the men represent the people?)* (Villanueva-Kalaw, 1952 pp. 23-24)

Iniugnay din ni Pilar Hidalgo Lim, Presidente ng National Federation of Women's Clubs, ang pakikibaka ng kababaihan para sa karapatang bumoto sa pakikibaka ng bayan para sa kalayaan mula sa Estados Unidos at kanyang ipinakita ang kabalintunaan ng pagsuporta ng mga lalaki sa huli at pagkontra sa hiling ng kababaihan.

> Kung ang mga Pilipino ay nag-aadhika ng kalayaan mula sa United States hanggang sa puntong gumastos ng milyun-milyong piso para sa kampanya at propaganda, hindi ba dapat na bigyan muna ng mga lalaking ito ng kalayaan ang kanilang kababaihan? Napakalaking kabalintunaan ang maghangad na mabigyan ng kalayaan mula sa isang dayuhang kapangyarihan samantalang ipinagkakait ninyo ang kalayaan ng inyong mga kabiyak. *(Akin ang salin. If the Filipinos are seeking independence from the United States to such an extent that millions of pesos are being spent for campaign and propaganda, shall not these very men first grant independence to their women? It is a great travesty to wish to be granted independence from a foreign power when you men are denying independence to your better halves.)* (Villanueva-Kalaw, 1952 p. 23)

May argumento ring iniharap para panatagin ang kalalakihan na walang kontradiksyon ang hangad ng kababaihan sa pagkakapantay sa larangan ng pagboto at sa paggampan sa kanilang papel bilang ina at asawa; manapa'y nakakatulong pa nga. Halimbawa nito ang pahayag ni Josefa Llanes Escoda, tagapagtatag ng Girl Scouts of the Philippines:

> Ang modernong ina, bukod sa kanyang responsibilidad sa tahanan, ay tumutulong sa kanyang asawa sa maraming mga gawaing hinihingi ng kanilang propesyon at nananatiling matatag na tagasubaybay ng kanyang mga anak. Ang modernong ina ay hindi na asawang mahina, siya ay katuwang ng kanyang asawa. Ang kahilingan ng kababaihan para sa kalayaan ay nagmumula sa kanilang pagnanais na matulungan ang kanilang mga asawa sa usaping pampamahalaan na laging mangangailangan ng hinahon at talino ng kababaihan. *(Akin ang salin. The modern mother who, despite her having her home, helps her husband in many activities that their profession demands, still remains the unshaken guardian of her children.*

*The modern mother is no longer the wife that clings; she now helps her husband. The women's demand for independence is motivated by their desire to help their husbands in governmental affairs, which always require the moderation and wisdom of women.) (*Villanueva-Kalaw, 1952 p. 24)

Malinaw ang makauring tindig bilang babaeng nakaririwasa sa pahayag ni Dr. Maria Paz Mendoza Guazon, ang unang babaeng nakapagtapos ng medisina sa Unibersidad ng Pilipinas noong 1914. Para sa kanya kung may karapatang bumoto ang mga lalaking namamasukan sa kanya, nararapat na siya at iba pang kababaihan ay mayroon ding katulad na karapatan. Aniya:

Ang aking tsuper, ang aking kusinero at ang aking mga lalaking katulong na napapailalim sa akin ay makakaboto; bakit hindi mapahintulutan ng gobyerno na ako at ang kababaihang Pilipino sa kalahatan ay makaboto? *(Akin ang salin. My chauffeur, my cook and my man servants who are all under me can vote; why can't the government allow me and the Filipino women in general the privilege of going to the polls?) (*Villanueva-Kalaw, 1952 p. 25)

Ang Paghimok ng Pakikisangkot ng Kababaihang Manggagawa sa Pakikibaka para sa Karapatang Bumoto

Noong 1918, sa mensahe sa ika-apat na Philippine Legislature, inirekomenda ni *Governor General* F.B. Harrison ang pagkaroon ng karapatang bumoto ng kababaihang Pilipino. Bunga nito, inihapag ang mga panukalang batas na magbibigay ng karapatang bumoto sa kababaihan. Nagpatawag ng *public hearing* ang Lehislatura para talakayin ang mga panukalang batas na ito (Villanueva-Kalaw, 1952 p. 12).

Bilang paghahanda sa *public hearing*, nagdaos ang mga lider kababaihan ng pulong sa Manila Hotel noong Oktubre 28, 1918. Mga 50 kababaihan ang dumalo kabilang na si Pura Villanueva Kalaw na inatasang

magharap ng resolusyon na ipinasa ng pulong na nag-eendorso sa karapatang bumoto ng kababaihan. Kabilang din sa kababaihan si Rosario Lam na kumatawan sa mga manggagawang kababaihan (Villanueva-Kalaw, 1952 p. 13).

Sa salaysay ni Encarnacion Alzona, na dumalo rin sa naturang pulong bilang isa sa dalawang kinatawan ng mga estudyante mula sa Unibersidad ng Pilipinas, binanggit niya ang presentasyon ng kinatawan ng manggagawang kababaihan bagama't hindi niya matandaan ang pangalan nito:

> Ang una kong pagdalo sa pulong para sa karapatang bumoto ay naganap sa *roof garden* ng Manila Hotel. Maliit na grupo ng kababaihan ang nasa pulong. Lahat ay nag-endorso sa pangangailangang magkaroon ng karapatang bumoto ang kababaihan. Tandang-tanda ko ang isang makisig na babae na kumatawan sa mga manggagawa. Inumpisahan niya ang kanyang talumpati sa paghingi ng paumanhin sa mga dumalo sa limitasyon ng kanyang pagtalumpati dahil hindi siya sanay na magsalita sa publiko. Tinapos niya ang kanyang talumpati sa pagbigay ng suporta ng kababaihang manggagawa sa kampanya. (*Akin ang salin. My debut at a suffrage meeting took place on the roof garden of the Manila Hotel. A small group of women was present and to the end, the gathering remained small. With the main speaker, everybody endorsed the proposal to grant suffrage to women. I remember vividly a good looking woman whose name I no longer recall who represented the factory workers. She began her speech by asking her audience to excuse the poverty of her language for she was not accustomed to speak in public and ended it by offering the support of the working women)* (Villanueva-Kalaw, 1952 p. 13-14)

Pinansin din ni Alzona na ang mga pagsisikap ng *Philippine Association of University Women* na makapangalap ng suporta para sa karapatang bumoto ay hindi naging limitado sa mga intelektwal kundi may mulat na pagtatangkang maabot ang masa ng kababaihan. Ginawa nila ito sa pamamagitan ng mga artikulo na nakasulat sa Filipino na lumabas sa mga magasin at pahayagan na ang pangunahing mambabasa ay ang karaniwang taumbayan (Alzona, 1937 p. 84).

Tindig ng Manggagawa

Habang ang ilang salaysay ay naghayag ng pagkatig ng mga manggagawa sa pakikibaka para sa karapatang bumoto, ang mga primaryang batis mula sa mga kabilang sa kilusang manggagawa sa panahong ito ay nagpahayag ng pagtutol sa karapatang bumoto para sa kababaihan dahil nakapaloob sa kolonyal na pulitika ang ganitong karapatan at kung gayon ay mas naglilingkod pa sa interes ng kolonyalismong Amerikano.

Binanggit ni Rosario del Rosario na ang Liga ng Kababaihang Filipino (League of Filipino Women) na itinatag noong 1930 ay nakibaka para sa karapatang bumoto ng kababaihan at karapatan ng kababaihang manggagawa batay sa kanyang interbyu sa isang lider manggagawa noong panahong yaon (del Rosario, 1995 p. 61).

Ang Pambansang Liga ng Kababaihan, na itinayo noong Abril 1932 at kinabilangan ni Narcisa Paguibitan at iba pang kababaihang unyonista ay nagpalabas ng "*Appeal to Working Women in the Philippine Islands*" sa okasyon ng Pandaigdigang Araw ng Kababaihan noong Marso 8, 1933. Kabilang sa kahilingan ng Liga ay ang pagkakaroon ng karapatang bumoto at mahalal ng kababaihan (Historical Commission, 1996 p. 164).

Ang buwanang "Ang Manggagawa", na lumabas mula Nobyembre 30, 1927 at nagbandila sa sarili bilang "Tagapagtanggol ng Katuwiran at Karapatan ng mga Anak Pawis" ay tumutol sa pagkakaroon ng karapatang bumoto ng kababaihan sa balangkas ng kolonyal na paghahari ng Amerikano. Isinaad nito sa editoryal, na may pamagat na "Ang Suprahio," noong Oktubre 31, 1931 na:

> ...kawawang kababaihan—pati kayo'y makakaladkad na lumusong sa napakabahong burak ng pulitiko. Ito nga ang nais ng mga Amerikano, na ang mga Pilipino'y malibang sa

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> pag-aagawan ng katungkulan upang lalong maging magaan ang pang-aalipin sa Inang Bayan (Ang Manggagawa, 1931 p. 8).

Naulit ang tindig na ito sa isang artikulo sa naturang isyu ng magasin:

> Hindi kailangan ng boto ng mga babai habang walang kasarinlanang Pilipinas, dahil ang politika'y gawa lang hanap-buhay ng ilang marunong (Ang Manggagawa, 1931 p. 17).

Para kay Liw Aglipay, anak ng Obispong Gregorio Aglipay ng Philippine Independent Church at itinuring na kabahagi ng radikal na seksyon ng lipunan sa panahong ito sa kanilang posisyon na kagyat na paglaya ng Pilipinas mula sa United States, hindi napapanahon ang pagkakaroon ng karapatang bumoto ng kababaihan. Sa kanyang palitang sulat noong 1937 kay Helen Auerback, asawa ng Amerikanong lider-komunistang si James Allen, nilinaw ni Liw na hindi niya suportado ang isyung ito dahil duda siya sa suporta ng simbahang Katoliko at ni Manuel Quezon at ang umano'y malawakang dayaan para maipanalo lamang ang plebisito (Allen, 1985 p. 112).

Ang isyu ng karapatang bumoto ng kababaihan sa Pilipinas ay isyung pangunahing dinala ng maykaya at edukadong kababaihan. Hindi matatawaran ang pagkilos at kampanyang kanilang ginawa para matamo ang ganitong karapatan. Malinaw ang kanilang pagsisikap na makuha ang suporta ng mga kabarong manggagawa at nasa probinsiya para sa karapatang ito. May mga akawnt na nagpapatotoo sa pagyakap ng karapatang bumoto ng kababaihang manggagawa, halimbawa si Rosario Lam at ang Liga ng Kababaihan na nabanggit na sa nakaraang mga talata. Gayunpaman, nakatala rin ang matinding pagtutol ng mga manggagawa at sa mga itinuturing na kabahagi ng organisadong kilusan para sa kagyat na paglaya ng Pilipinas mula sa Estados Unidos sa ganitong karapatan. Ang ganitong pagtutol ay hindi nakabatay sa di pagkilala sa pantay na karapatan ng kasarian kungdi sa pagsusuri na sa balangkas ng kolonyal na katayuan ng Pilipinas,

ang ganitong karapatan ng kababaihan ay magsisilbi lamang para patatagin pa ang kolonyal na paghahari at pangunahing makikinabang ang mga lokal na *elite* laluna dahil aktibong sinuportahan ng mga opisyal ng pamahalaang Amerikano at ng Komonwelt ang ganitong kampanya.

ANG PAGTATAGUYOD NG MAYKAYANG KABABAIHAN SA KILUSANG PAGGAWA

Itinaguyod ng mga kababaihang maykaya ang mga isyu at kahilingan ng kababaihang manggagawa sa panahon ng paghaharing kolonyal ng Amerika. Ang pagtaguyod na ito ay nagkaanyo ng pagsuporta sa pamamagitan ng pamamahayag, pagtaguyod sa "maternity leave" para sa mga manggagawang ina at pagtaguyod sa pamamagitan ng mga proyekto.

Pagtataguyod sa Pamamagitan ng Pamamahayag

Sa larangan ng pamamahayag ipinakita ng kababaihang maykaya at/o may mataas na edukasyon ang kanilang pakikiisa sa mga isyu ng kababaihang manggagawa. Sa pamamagitan ng mga artikulo sa mga dyaryong pangkababaihan o mga sulat sa mga dyaryo, nagpahayag ang kababaihan ng pagsuporta sa mga pagkilos o usaping sangkot ang kababaihang manggagawa.

Noong 1909, isang mapanlabang pahayag bilang suporta sa welga ng mga 54 na manggagawa, na karamihan ay babae, ng Sanitary Steam Laundry ang inilabas ng lingguhang pahayagang "Filipinas". Ang lingguhang dyaryo para sa babae at isinulat ng mga babae ay proyekto nina Constancia Poblete, Pura Villanueva, Pilar Lazaro at Felicidad Legaspi.

Ang bunga ng pagkakaisa: Tagumpay pa rin ng Kababaihan

Sa loob ng linggong ito'y may isang mahalagang bagay na nangyari na saming puso'y naglikha ng di maulatang galak: ito'y ang nagwaging aklasan ng mga manggagawa sa Sanitary Steam Laundry.

Maraming mahahalagang bagay ang matuturol namin ngayon sa tagumpay na iyan ng mga anak-pawis, na halos ang lahat sa kanila'y pawang mga babae at mangisangisa nga lamang ang mga lalaking napabilang.

Kami'y hindi naanib sa alin mang pangkatin at kapisanan ng mga manggagawa na nagsusumakit upang ang kanilang kalagaya'y mapabuti at guminhawa; ngunit kailan ma'y makikipiling kami't tutulong ng naabot ng maralita naming kaya sa lahat ng pagkilos at pagpupunyagi ng kahit sino laban sa isang katampalasanang gawa at pag-inis sa katutubong karapatan ng tao, lalo na nga't higit kung ang mga dumadanas ng kapootpoot na asal na iya'y ang mga maralita't mga kabaro namin.

Ang pagtatagumpay ng mga manggagawa sa Steam Laundry ay nag-uulat ng dalawang bagay na sukat pag-aralan sa hinaharap, una'y ang nagagawa ng pagkakaisang loob at ang ikalawa'y ang taglay na karapatan ng mga babae sa pagtatanggol ng matwid, kung sila'y may mabuting kapisanan at mga namamatnugot na matatalino, masisigla't mga buhay ang loob at di nakakikilala ng panganib sa pakikitunggali.

Ang sanhi ng aklasan ay isang gawang dapat ngang pagtutulan, sapaka't ang sino mang tao'y walang karapatang magbuhat ng kamay sa kanyang kapuwa samantalang siya'y hindi ginagamitan ng ganito. Sa makatuwid, ang pagkakaisa ng mga manggagawa sa Steam Laundry sa pagtatanggol sa isa nilang kasamang pinagbuhatan ng kamay ng mga katiwala sa pagawaan, ay kapuripuri at dapat ikagalak ng mga anak pawis, sapagka't iya'y matimyas na bunga ng kanilang pagsasapisapi.

Ngunit sa kabila ng lahat ng iya'y may isang mabuting paraan na dapat gawin ng sino mang anak pawis, kung ang

kanilang karapatan at pagkatao ay nilapastangan ng isang katiwala, nangangasiwa o *cabecilla*.

Ang lalong mabuti sana ay ang pagtatanggol sa sarili't katutubong karapatan ng tao, kung ito'y pinapaslang ng iba. Ibig baga naming sabihi'y kung bigas ang ipinukol sa ati'y gantihin ng bigas din, nguni't kung bato'y bato rin, o kaya kung maaari ay gantihin ng bakal. Hindi namin sinabi ito upang ang mga anak pawis ay maging salarin (criminal), hindi nga: kundi iniuulat lamang namin ang isang gawang pinagtitibay ng katuwira't karapatang kinilala sa lahat ng bayan, na kung turinga'y *derecho de legitima defensa*. Sa makatuwid, yaong pinaslang ng isang katiwala sa pagawaan o ng sino pa man kahit na ang tunay na may-ari noon, ay dapat gumanti ng ubos kaya, mangyari na ang mangyari.

Kung ganyan nga ang gagawin, ay hindi mapipinsalan ni ang mga manggagawa at sampung may ari ng pagawaan man, na ang kadalasa'y walang kinaalaman sa pagpapalagay, inuugali at pangangasiwa sa loob ng sangpagawaaan ng kanyang katiwala, tagapangasiwa o *cabecilla*.

Nabalitaan namin na ang mga manggagawang nagsipagaklas sa Steam Laundry dahilan sa mabuting pagpapasunod sa kanila ng may ari ng pagawaan na si Mr. Wolf, sila'y gagawa ng kung ilang oras sa araw araw sa loob ng sanglinggo na higit sa kaugaliaan at hindi sila hihingi ng anomang kabayaran upang matakpan daw ang kapinsalaan na nagyari sa mga gawain sa pagawaan, sa dalawang araw na kanilang itinigil sa paggawa.

Ang pagkukusang loob na ito ng mga manggagawa'y labis naming pinupuri. At dito napagkikilala na sila at ang may-ari ng pagawaan ay nagkakasundo. Datapuwa'y bagaman gayon, kapwa sila dumanas ng kapinsalaan dahil lamang sa isang hamak na katiwalang nagkulang sa kanyang tungkol at namaslang sa karapatan ng anak-pawis.

Ang mga kapinsalaang iya'y maiilagan nga kung ang gagawin ng mga manggagawa ay ang sinasabi naming pagtatanggol sa kanilang katutubong karapatan at karangalan; alalong baga'y gamitan ng agpang na gawa't anyo ang gawang pamamaslang ng kahit sino. Sa ganang amin nga; ang dapat

maging sanhi ng pag-aklas ay yaon lamang mga bagay, na nahihinggil sa halagang ipinasasahod ng mga manggagawa, sa palakad na pinaiiral sa loob ng pagawaan ukol sa oras na igagawa at iba't iba pang nauukol o kaya'y tumutukoy sa mga karapatan at ikagiginhawa ng manggagawa sa loob ng pagawaan; ngunit ang pagbubuhat ng kamay sa sinomang nagpapauna ng isang katiwala ng may pagawaan o nito kaya ay dapat tugunin—inuulit namin—ng pagbubuhat din ng kamay. Kung sa pagtatanggol ng isang manggagawa sa kanyang karangala'y nangangailangan ito ng saklolo, ay saka dapat magkaisa ang magkakasama sa loob ng isang pagawaan at ibigay sa kanilang kasama ang buo nilang tulong at pagmamalasakit.

Sa ganyang kaparaana'y maiilagan nga, na ang isang maliit na bagay (na sukat mabigayang wakas ng "fintro" (nota:malabo) ring iyon na pinagbubuhatan ng pamamaslang ni Mr.Hartfield o kaya ng isang "planchang" nagbabaga halos o ng kakapirasong bakal) ay mapinsalaan ang puo puo o daang daang manggagawa't ng may ari ng pagawaang katulad ni Mr. Wolf, na may magandang kalooban at mabuting magpasunod sa mga taong sa kanya'y nagbibigay ng ginhawa, pananalapi't kayamanan...

Hindi namin pinupuing ang pagkakaisang ipinamalas ng mga manggagawa sa Steam Laundry kundi bangkus pang pinupuri nami't ikinalulugod; subali't ninanais naming ipabatid sa kanila at sa lahat ng manggagawa, na ang lalong mabisang paraan sa pagsugpo sa isang pamamaslang ay dili iba kundi nga ang pamamaslang din (Muling Pagsilang, 1909, p. 1).

Sa wakas, pinahahatdan namin ng taimtim at puspos na bati ang mga manggagawang yaon dahilan sa kanilang matibay na pagyayakapan, at ninanasa naming sila'y manatili sa gayon, alangalang sa ikabubuti, ikagiginhawa at ikatutubos ng mga anak pawis.

Naturol ng artikulo ang dahilan ng tagumpay ng welga ng mga manggagawa: ang kanilang pagkakaisa at ang kakayahan ng kababaihang maipagtanggol ang kanilang karapatan. Ipinamalas din ng may-akda ang kaalaman nito sa mga isyu ng mga manggagawa na maaring batayan ng

kanilang welga: ang usapin ng pasahod, ang kondisyon sa paggawa kabilang na ang oras ng paggawa at ang mga karapatan ng mga manggagawa.

Sa kabilang banda, may dalawa ring nilalaman ang artikulo na nagsasalamin ng magkakatunggaling pananaw. Ang isa ay ang pangingibabaw ng kaisipang "pagkakasundo ng kapitalista't manggagawa," na isang pangunahing tema ng mga organisasyon ng mga manggagawa sa maagang bahagi ng siglo. Ang pagkakasundong ito ay nasisira dahil sa iresponsibilidad ng mga katiwala't *cabecilla*. Ang isa pang tema ay ang palabang pahayag na "ang sagot sa pamamaslang ay pamamaslang din," matatapang na pahayag na ipinaliliwanag ng may-akda sa balangkas ng pagtatanggol sa sarili. Maaaring maiugnay ang ganitong tindig sa pagiging sariwa pa ng diwang palaban at makabayan bunga ng Rebolusyong 1896 at Digmaang Pilipino-Amerikano na nagbigkis sa mga Pilipino, iba't iba man ang uring kinabilangan.

Noong Mayo 1, 1918, lumabas ang unang bilang ng isa pang dyaryo para sa kababaihan, ang Filpina. Pinangasiwaan ito ni Crisanta Soldevilla. Interesante ang editoryal ng unang bilang na ito sa pagtitibay sa mga pyudal na katangian ng kababaihan bilang mahinhin at matiisin at pagpuna sa mga modernong katangian ng kababaihan na tumalikod sa mga ito.

Sa paglilinaw sa layon at adhika ng "pahayagang bwanan ng mga babae", sinulat ng patnugot na:

> Ang mga babae ay mayroon din namang mahahalagang tungkulin sa PAMAMAYAN na gaya ng mga lalaki. Sa PAMAMAHAY at sa PAGHAHANAP-BUHAY, ang babaeng Filipina ay matiisin sa hirap, may matimtimang loob, at may mahinhing asal. Ngunit samantalang nagbabago ang panahon, ang ugaling itong katutubo ng ating lahi ay untiunting nahahalinhan ng kilos sajonizada, na di umano'y siyang kabihasnan. Sa ganang pagkukuro namin ay wala kaming maipapakli tungkol dito kundi ang "kahinhinan ay siyang

> sagisag ng babaeng Filipina," at ang sagisag na ito'y isang kapurihan ng ating lahi.
>
> Datapwa't ni hindi ang pumuri ni ang pumintas sa kanino man ang layon at adhika ng pahayagang ito, kundi ang maglathala ng mga bagaybagay na inaakala naming pakikinabangan ng karamihang mangbabasa lalonglalo na ang mga babae para sa KARANGALAN, KAGINHAWAHAN, KASAYAHAN AT KAPAYAPAAN ng ating bayan (Filipina, 1918 pp. 1-2).

Kinilala ng editoryal ang dalawang papel ng kababaihan bilang mamamayan at bilang maybahay. Bagama't lumawak na ang papel ng kababaihan ng lampas sa loob ng bahay at kinikilala ang kanilang papel sa bayarang gawain, nanatili ang ideyal ng pagiging babae sa panahon ng mga Kastila, matiisin at mahinhin. Kaya't kahit pinili ng patnugutan ang Mayo 1 bilang araw ng paglabas ng "Filipina" dahil sa ito'y araw ng paggawa, nakabalot pa rin ang pananaw sa kababaihan bilang "ulirang ina ng kanyang mga supling:"

> Ang unang araw ng Mayo, ang araw na itinatangi ng pamahalaan sa taon-taon, para sa pagpapahingalay ng mga kawal ng paggawa, ay araw na dapat ipagdiriwang ng boong bayan, hindi lamang ng mga manggagawa kundi ng lahat ng mga nabubuhay o nakikinabang sa kanila. Sa araw din ngang ito minarapat naming palabasin ang unang lathala o bilang ng pahayagang "Filipina" upang sa pamamagitan nito'y maparating namin sa lahat ng mga kababayang manggagawa ang aming mataos at sariwang bati (Filipina, 1918 p. 2).

Ang magasing "The Woman's World" ay publikasyon ng *Philippine Association of University Women.* Ang namamahalang patnugot sa unang bilang nito noong Setyembre 1935 ay si Paz Mendoza-Guazon, isa sa mga lider sa kampanya para maipagtagumpay ang karapatang bumoto. Naging punong patnugot si Paz Policarpio Mendez ng magasin umpisa noong Oktubre 1935. Sa mga sipi ng magasin (Setyembre 1935 – Mayo 1937) na nasa Aklatan ng Unibersidad ng

Pilipinas, kapansin-pansin ang aktibong pakikisangkot nito para suportahan ang pagkakaroon ng karapatang bumoto ng kababaihan. Maraming mga artikulo ukol sa ganitong paksa ang laman ng iba't ibang isyu ng magasin, kabilang na ang pagtalakay sa pandaigdigang alyansa ng kababaihan para sa karapatang bumoto at pagkakapantay-pantay. Di tulad sa *Filipinas* noong 1909, ang "The Woman's World" ay naging tahimik sa isyu ng mga welga ng mga kababaihang manggagawa. Gayunpaman, dalawang isyu ng kababaihang manggagawa ang dinala nito. Ang una ay ang isyu ng *compulsory maternity leave without pay* ng mga empleyada ng pamahalaan at ang ikalawa ay ang kaligtasan ng kababaihang manggagawa.

Sa editoryal na lumabas noong Abril 1936 na may pamagat na "Penalizing Motherhood," tinuligsa ng magasin ang mga pabigat sa *working wives for no reason but that they are married, must work and want to have children.* Sa partikular, binatikos nito ang anim na buwang "compulsory maternity leaves without pay" para sa mga manganganak. Ibinigay na halimbawa ang patakaran ng "Kawanihan sa Edukasyon" na nagtatakda na ang katapusan ng "leave" ng mga gurong nanganganak ay tumutugma sa umpisa o pagtatapos ng isang semestre. Mas mabigat pa ang kaso sa mga manganganak na nars. May patakaran ang pamahalaan na hindi mag-eempleyo ng isang nars na may-asawa, may anak man siya o wala.

Tinukoy ng editoryal na pangangailangan ang nagtutulak sa mga babaeng may asawa na magtrabaho:

> It is admitted that mothers must rest before and after the arrival of a child but it must also be admitted that wives work not for the fun of it but because mouths must be fed and indigent relatives must be taken care of somehow (The Woman's World, 1936 p. 28).

Sa unang basa sa artikulo, maaaring iugnay ang ginawang pagbatikos sa kawalan ng maternity leave benefits para sa lahat ng

nagtatrabahong babaeng may-asawa. Pero lumilitaw na ang pagbatikos ay kaugnay pa sa mga edukadong ina.

> It would be disastrous for the Philippines to force educated mothers to confine themselves strictly to intellectual pursuits and leave child-bearing to the women of the field and the slum (The Woman's World, 1936 p. 37).

Bahay Pahingahan Para sa mga Babaeng Manggagawa

Nagkaroon ng mga kongkretong proyekto ang mga nakaririwasang kababaihan para sa mga kabarong empleyada't manggagawa. Mayroong itinayong *"Service Center and Rest Room for Business Girls"* sa T. Pinpin, Binondo at *"Rest Room for Industrial Girls"* sa Gandara, Binondo. Pinangasiwaan ang mga ito ng isang Board of Directors na kinabilangan nina Mrs. Geronima T. Pecson bilang Presidente, Mrs. John W. Osborn, bilang Bise-Presidente at Mrs. Mary S. Turner, Kalihim. Si Mrs. Josefa J. Martinez ang Executive Secretary (Manila Directory 1935-36).

Ang mga sentrong ito ay bukas sa mga kababaihang nagtatrabaho sa paligid ng Binondo at Escolta. Pumupunta ang mga empleyadang nagtatrabaho sa mga opisina sa Escolta o malapit sa Escolta tuwing tanghali para mananghalian o magpahinga.

Sa isang sarbey na ginawa noong 1935 sa 44 na kababaihang gumagamit ng pasilidad ng center, ang 12 ay mga *salesgirls*; siyam ay mga *stenographers*, anim ay *clerks,* tatlo ay mga *"secretaries*, tatlo ay mga *typists*, tatlo ay mga *telephone operators*, isa ay *pharmacist* at isa ay *bookeeper*." Ang karamihan sa kanila ay may edad 30 anyos pababa at may dalawang mas bata sa 20 taong gulang (Graphic, 1935 pp. 34-35).

Ang kanilang sahod ay mula P15.00 sa pinakamababa at mahigit sa P100 sa pinakamataas sa isang buwan. Kalahati ay kumikita ng P35.00

hanggang P50.00 isang buwan, sang-apat ang kumikita ng mas mababa sa P30.00 at sang-apat din ang kumikita ng mga P90.00. Dadalawa lamang ang kumikita ng P100.00 o higit pa dito. Ang karaniwang kita ay P40.00 sa isang buwan. Hindi lamang para sa sarili ang pinupuntahan ng sahod ng kababaihan. Tatlumpu't walo sa kanila ay may sinusuportahang isa hanggang sampu katao. Aanim lang sa kababaihan ang sarili lamang ang sinusuportahan.

Mahaba ang oras ng trabaho ng mga kababaihan. May sampu sa kanila na pumapasok mula 7:30 ng umaga hanggang alas dose ng tanghali at mula 1:30 ng hapon hanggang 6:00 ng gabi o kabuuang siyam na oras bawat araw. Ang karamihan ay napilitan pang magtrabaho lampas sa siyam oras ng walang dagdag na bayad at pumapayag naman sila dahil sa takot na mawalan ng trabaho.

Ang *center* ay nagbibigay espasyo sa kababaihan na makapagpahinga nang hindi umuuwi sa kanilang bahay at gumastos sa pamasahe.

KONKLUSYON

Ang hugpungan ng kababaihang maykaya at kababaihang manggagawa sa panahon ng kolonyalismong Amerikano ay nakita sa pakikibaka para sa karapatang bumoto at sa kongkretong suportang ibinigay ng una sa huli kaugnay ng isyu ng manggagawa. Habang may pagsisikap ang mga nasa unahan ng kampanya para sa karapatang bumoto ng kababaihan na kunin ang suporta ng kababaihang manggagawa para dito, may pagtutol mula sa mga kinatawan ng organisadong manggagawa sa batayang gagamitin lamang ng mga nasa kapangyarihan ang karapatang ito para sa pagpapatuloy ng kolonyal na paghahari ng Amerikano sa Pilipinas.

Sa kabilang banda, nagbigay ng kongkretong suporta ang kababaihang maykaya sa mga kabarong manggagawa. Sa maagang bahagi ng paghaharing kolonyal ng mga Amerikano, tuwiran ang suportang ibinigay ng mga ito sa mga welga ng mga manggagawa sa anyo ng pagdalo sa mga pulong ng mga manggagawa at sa pamamagitan ng pamamahayag. Ang pagiging makabayan ang posibleng nagbigkis sa mga kababaihang magkaiba ng uri bunga ng komon na karanasan sa Rebolusyong 1896 at Digmaang Pilipino-Amerikano kaya't may malinaw na direktang suporta ang maykayang kababaihan sa kilusang paggawa. Sa bandang huli, habang lalong luminaw ang hatian ng mga uri sa lipunang Pilipino, sa anyo pa ng kawanggawa tulad ng pagtatag ng bahay pahingahan para sa kababaihang manggagawa ang katangian ng pagsuporta. Walang mga dokumentasyon ng direktang pagsuporta ng kababaihang maykaya sa masisiglang mga welga ng mga manggagawa sa Kamaynilaan noong huling dekada ng paghaharing kolonyal. Pumapasok ang kategorya ng uri sa posibilidad at limitasyon ng pagkakakaisa ng kababaihan mula sa iba't ibang uri.

End Note

[1] Kabilang sa mga ito ay ang kay Pura Villanueva Kalaw sa How the Filipina Got the Vote (1952). Nariyan rin ang isinulat ni Trinidad Tarrosa Subido (The Feminist Movement in the Philippines 1905-55) at ni Concepcion Felix Rodriguez (Forty Years Ago). Isang mahabang tsapter na may pamagat na "Woman Suffrage" ang inilaan ni Encarnacion Alzona sa kanyang aklat na The Filipino Woman: Her Social, Economic and Political Status 1565-1937.

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COMING FULL CIRCLE IN 20 YEARS: A Synthesis of the DWDS Field Instruction Program Experience

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This article discusses the birthing of the Department of Women and Development Studies in parallel with the herstory of the Field Instruction Program or fieldwork to many students. This article is a synthesis of the DWDS 20th experience in doing fieldwork practice that were drawn out from the fieldwork assessments and sharing sessions, interviews with fieldwork students and partner agencies, and other DWDS documents and reports. As a synthesis paper it highlights the strengths and issues confronting the FIP, in particular, its impact to students, FIP administration and management, fieldwork placements, the partner agencies and students' contributions to these agencies. The article ends up by posing some questions and challenges to the DWDS as it embarks on a new phase of its journey in promoting women's studies.

> *"The road to the creation and maintenance of the program, has, by no means, been a bed of roses. Its continued existence, however, makes it possible for a thousand flowers to bloom."- Prof. R.S. del Rosario (WDP Coordinator 1984-1991)*

Introduction

Since its birth twenty years ago, the Women's Development Program has reaped a rich and meaningful existence, starting from a mere program of the College of Social Work and Community Development

(CSWCD) in 1988, it is now a full-blown department, the Department of Women and Development Studies (DWDS). One of the components that contributes to the Department's meaningful experience is the Field Instruction Program (FIP), popularly called the fieldwork program or practicum.

The FIP is an integral part of the Graduate Program of the DWDS. It is composed of two courses, the WD 280 and 281,[1] that students have to take as part of their course requirements. The FIP was designed as a core component of the Women and Development (WD) course to enable students to integrate feminist theories and practice in a community setting, either in collaboration with a women's organization or with a women's desk or program in a mixed organization (DWDS Revised Field Instruction Manual, 2006).

The FIP was conceptualized based on the belief that women's studies need to be relevant to the realities of women especially in poorer urban and rural settings. And through the FIP, the students are provided venues to refine feminist praxis as they work and learn together with grassroots women, while enhancing their knowledge, skills and attitudes for personal and professional development or as advocates of grassroots women (DWDS Revised Field Instruction Manual, 2006). As the practice side of the Women's Studies course, fieldwork enables both the faculty and the students to connect classroom learning to field experiences while creating impact on the lives of community women as well as among themselves as women and men. And most importantly, the "classroom-fieldwork practice" link provided to the students by the WD course is what sets it apart from other Women's Studies courses offered in the country. On the part of the students, the process of "theory- informs- practice, practice-informs-theory" enables them to experience learning as a complete, cyclical experience.

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The twenty year-experience of the Department in implementing its FIP is long enough to take stock of the knowledge and lessons learned in the field. The theories learned in the classroom have been applied to community realities through the FIP in order to test and validate them, and over time, need to be synthesized as lessons and new theories that could serve as new input to classroom teaching. An attempt to synthesize the FIP 20-year experience is like coming full circle from where it started: knowledge learned in the classroom is practiced in the field and brought back into the classroom as new knowledge and theories.

This article is an attempt to capture and synthesize the journey of the DWDS field experiences through its FIP, though an initial synthesis of the lessons and insights of the field experience, this serves as input in the knowledge construction and theory building initiatives of the Department as a Women and Development course.

The Field Instruction Program: the core program of the DWDS academic course

The FIP as the core of the DWDS academic program is composed of two courses, WD 280 and 281. WD students under Plan A (with thesis) are required to take up WD 280 while those under Plan B (comprehensive examination) are required to take up both WD 280 and 281. As a further requirement, WD students are allowed to enroll in FI courses only when they have taken up all the WD core courses.

Below are the course titles, descriptions, requisites and learning objectives of WD 280 and 281 respectively:

Course Title	WD 280 (Field Instruction I)	WD 281 (Field Instruction II)
Course Description	A 3-unit course of supervised field practice in actual community immersion with focus on women's situation and gender relations	A 3-unit course of supervised field practice with focus on developing students' critical analyses of the situation of women and men, implementing interventions and enhancing students' capabilities in organizational development, program management and other aspects of development work.[4]
Prerequisite	Completion of all the WD core courses	WD 280
Required Hours	250 hours	250 hours
Course Objectives	Students are expected to: • demonstrate their critical analyses of women's specific situation and needs vis-à-vis broader realities and issues affecting them; • mobilize women to collective action based on their identified needs and problems through the use of a range of strategies[3]; • document the processes students have undertaken and reflect on feminist concepts and methodologies operationalized, evolved and/or developed; and • propose recommendations for organizational and/or program development to the partner organization where they have been fielded and for the improvement of the FIP.	• Design a program of response strategies that will heighten social consciousness on women's issues and to develop collective action of women's groups; • Facilitate the development of knowledge and skills among grassroots women in planning and implementing a short-term project feasible within the fieldwork period; • Document the process undertaken and reflect on feminist theories and processes being operationalized, evolved and/or developed; • Reflect critically on community realities, issues and conditions; • Apply and test theories, knowledge and skills within the fieldwork experience; • Synthesize their ideas and experiences on feminist theory and practice.

The FIP is managed by a faculty coordinator whose functions include the following: to administer the identification of field placements, to assign students vis-à-vis their corresponding field placement and faculty supervisor, to conduct the orientation to incoming FI students, to coordinate the field sharing sessions and assessment of the Program, and to revise and update the fieldwork manual, when needed. These activities are done in close consultation with other faculty members of the Department.

The FIP has four components consisting of: (1) fieldwork orientation, (2) supervised actual fieldwork, (3) fieldwork sharing, and (4) fieldwork evaluation. The fieldwork orientation is a classroom-based activity conducted prior to actual fieldwork and is attended by the students, faculty supervisors, other DWDS faculty, and the agency supervisors (optional as their schedules permit them). It provides the students with information about the fieldwork requirements and processes. The actual supervised fieldwork takes place in either rural or urban community setting in an approximated four-week period. Each FI student is assigned with a faculty and an agency supervisor who assist the former in the actual fieldwork. Within a semester, the students are required to attend the two classroom-based fieldwork sharing sessions (mid-semester and end-semester sharing sessions). These field-sharing sessions provide an opportunity for students to learn from each other's experiences in their respective field contexts and to draw out common lessons and learning out of these unique experiences.

Aside from the 250 minimum-hour requirement, the students are required to submit the following documents: (a) individual plan, (b) logbook of regular activities, (c) fieldwork report every fieldwork sharing, and (d) reflection/journal to fulfill the fieldwork. Students' grades are based on students' performance and written work. The system of grading is as follows: faculty supervisor (60%), the agency supervisor (30%) and the student (peer/self – 10%) (DWDS Revised Fieldwork Manual, 2006).

The Evolution of the DWDS and the Field Instruction Program: a herstory of challenges and growth

The herstory of the FIP can never be narrated without recalling how the Women and Development Studies Program (WDS) evolved to became a full-blown department. As such, narrating the FIP herstory is also an opportunity to share the birthing of the WDS and its concomitant struggles to become a program and later a department. Below are the nodal points in the herstories of the Department and FIP:

1984:   The earliest initiative on women studies was spearheaded by the Department of Community Development (DCD) through the offering of CD 224, a course titled Seminar in CD Practice I, which was re-titled as Women and Community Development. It was offered to test the reception of students to women's studies and to firm up the preparation for a full-blown Women's Studies Program. This seminar course with focus on women was offered until 1986 (Del Rosario, 1998).

1987:   At the CSWCD, a committee on Women's Studies was created to develop a proposal for a Women and Development Program (WDP). Preparatory activities included meetings and consultations, the roundtable series "*Kuro-Kuro Ukol sa Kababaihan,*" syllabi development workshops for the new program in 1988, and a seminar on feminist theories during the summer of 1989 (Del Rosario, 1998).

1988:   The period marked the formal establishment of the WDP of the CSWCD with the aim of "providing a holistic and comprehensive perspective to the study of women and development particularly in the context of the Third World and the Philippines." It offered two graduate degrees - a Diploma in

Women and Development and later a Master of Arts in Women and Development (WDP brochure, 1988).

1988-1991: Prof. Rosario del Rosario became the first WDP Coordinator during this period. Since the creation of the WDP was not a policy decision of the university but rather the result of the relentless efforts of women and some men, its creation and maintenance as a Program in the university has never been "a bed of roses" as Prof. Rosario del Rosario[2] had put it. The Program had no faculty item and the coordinators who handled it over the years had to fight for equal treatment in terms of benefits (del Rosario, 1998).

1991-1994: The WDP was under the leadership of Prof. Maureen Pagaduan. During this period, the program thrusts included curriculum development, student-advising program and the fieldwork program.

At this period, Program consolidation was given priority. The process involved review and revisions of courses, institution of creative strategies to motivate students to appreciate and have deeper involvement in Women's Studies, and the promotion of the WD Program (Pagaduan, 1998).

Specific for the FIP: This period focused on the enhancement of the FIP to provide the students with opportunity for community exposure and involvement. The FIP, being closely linked to the development orientation of the College, has articulated its strong bias for the poor, especially grassroots women. As a course, the WDP fieldwork program borrowed from the DCD the course titles CD 280 and 281 respectively.

With its developmental orientation, the fieldwork program had established partnership with NGOs and people's organizations with women's desks or programs and those organizations implementing women-focused community programs and projects. Students were assigned to have their fieldwork with these institutions with the hope that through exposures to these fieldwork placements, the students would learn to understand the realities of poor women – their conditions, needs, priorities, and perspectives. And by drawing out lessons from these field experiences, the students may develop a more grounded and holistic view of development issues and women's issues in particular (Pagaduan, 1998).

1994-1997: Under the leadership of Dr. Rosalinda Pineda Ofreneo, this period had the following highlights:

- in 1994 there was a discussion on renaming the Program from Women and Development to Gender and Development. However, upon further debates and discussions, the title Women and Development Program was retained.

- the Program embarked on reviewing the curriculum to make the courses career- and skills-oriented that resulted to the institutionalization of additional courses.[3]

- the Program also developed distance education modules reflecting the socio-cultural realities while various WD courses yielded valuable papers and theses on women's issues and realities and major publications to include the CSWCD update and a review of literature on Women/Gender issues[4] (Ofreneo, 1998).

- various training activities and fora were conducted from 1994 to 1996. The "Gender Awareness Training" and a "Trainors' Training on Gender and Development" were conducted at the College in 1995 (Ofreneo, 1998).

Specific for the FIP:

- efforts were toward the systematization of the FIP through these strategies: (1) reaching out to the UP community through the Center for Women's Studies; (2) strengthening links with groups in the women's movement; (3) assigning students to NGOs with thrust on violence against women; and (4) maintaining partnership with grassroots organizations.

- the FIP expanded its network of institutions and grassroots organizations to include the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women (NCRFW), Center for Women's Studies, Urban Poor Associates, Women's Crisis Center, Women's Legal Bureau and Arugaan, to name a few. Students' involvement in these institutions and organizations are varied that included education and training, research, documentation, women organizing, counseling and group work facilitation, and advocacy.

- in 1997, the partnership with fieldwork partner agencies was institutionalized for the following reasons: (1) to ensure continuity of partnership, (2) to facilitate smoother coordination, and (3) to create better impact. With this thrust, the first set of institutional partners was identified based on these set of criteria (DWDS Revised Field Instruction Manual, 2006):

  - Pro-women standpoint
  - Diversity of areas of concern

- Rich experience in feminist development work
- Capacity to supervise students in the field
- Smooth placement and coordination with the FIP based on past experience
- Expressed interest in institutional partnership

2000-2006: in March, 2001, the WDP became a Department. As a full-blown department, it continued partnership with its institutional partners and also expanded partnerships with grassroots women's groups, mixed NGOs, feminist organizations, and issue-based networks.

Specific for the FIP:

- In 2000, there was an increase in fieldwork placements that provided a rich diversity for exposure of WD students to Women and Development work. It was also during this period that a research was conducted among selected partner agencies that served as information base during the fieldwork program review. As a result, the fieldwork guidelines were reviewed and reoriented to address academic, administrative and coordinative problems.

- Enhancement and further systematization of the fieldwork program was given focus in later years. One significant improvement in 2002 and 2003 was the delineation of learning goals and requirements between CD 280 and 281. Likewise, the contents of the mid-semester and end-semester sharing sessions were defined and guidelines for reporting were developed. Such systematization and program enhancement culminated in the development of a powerpoint FIP orientation in collaboration with the Research and Extension for Development Office (REDO).

- In 2006, two significant developments in the FIP were noted – one was the approval of changing the FI courses, CD 280 and 281 to WD 280 and 281 respectively and the other was the development of a revised field instruction program manual.

Looking back, the FIP has made great leaps in enhancing the WDS Program and is constantly refining its systems, processes and contents.

The FIP in practice: a tripartite partnership of equals

The FIP is a unique feature of the Department's WDS, thus, setting it apart from other Women's Studies programs in the country. As such, fieldwork supervision plays a very important aspect of the program.

During the actual fieldwork, the students are assisted and provided guidance by a faculty supervisor and an agency supervisor to achieve their fieldwork objectives and targets, though both have distinct supervisory roles to play: the faculty supervisor facilitates the learning process by providing the framework to structure the students' lived experience and practical learning as well as, assists them in linking classroom theories in actual community settings while the agency supervisor provides assistance to the students while in the field to ensure that the fieldwork objectives are achieved. These are done through facilitating the students' entry and immersion in the field or community, providing access to needed information about the community and agency, monitoring the progress of the students' work in the community, and providing logistical support (DWDS Revised Field Instruction Manual, 2006).

For the FIP to materialize, the role of the primary stakeholders – the students, the faculty supervisor and the agency supervisor are crucial. Through the FIP, these three entities gain a mutually beneficial relationship and partnership: the partner agency serves as fieldwork

placement while generating benefits from the involvement of both the students and faculty in their work while the partnership with the agency provides both DWDS students and faculty great opportunities for learning. In addition, the fieldwork practice provides venues for students to apply, test out and validate feminist theories, principles and strategies learned in the classroom while creating opportunities for community involvement and extension work to DWDS faculty.

Since its implementation, the FIP has established a considerable number of partner agencies having a wide latitude of concerns: women workers, home-based workers, rights of migrant workers, reproductive rights and health reforms, women and globalization, women's leadership, women and sub-contracting, violence against women, and organizing urban poor women. Along these concerns, the students were exposed to different field realities as well as varied experiences and involvement: feminist research, documentation, advocacy, counseling, documentation, advocacy, community education and training, networking and mobilization, women organizing, technical assistance, and support group building for violence against women (VAW) survivors. The placement of students in these agencies is done through the matching of an agency's needs and the student's present capabilities and interests.

For practical and manageability considerations, the FIP limits its fieldwork placements to only four partners, namely, the Center for Women's Resources (CWR), PaTaMaBa, LIKHAAN, and MAKALAYA. Though limited in number, these partners cover geographical-wide communities and have a wide range of programs and concerns. Though the FIP is into institutionalization of partner agencies, it does not close its doors to other agencies, whether former partners or new ones that are interested in forging future partnership. Thus, it had engaged in short-term partnership with Batis Center for Women, Camarin Barangay Women's Desk, Migrant Forum-Asia, and Samahang Kababaihan Para sa Kaunlaran.ng UP Campus.

Summary of Partner Agencies and Students' Involvement

Name of Organization	Nature of Work/Sector	Duration of Partnership	Nature of Students' Involvement
KMK	Urban poor	Before 1994	Training
Urban Poor Associates	Urban poor; issue-based organizing	Before 1994	Gender sensitizing CO and training
Center for Women Studies	Training and research	1994-1997	Research; training
Arugaan	Advocacy; education on VAW	1994-1997	Community training; advocacy
Women's Legal Bureau	Legal advocacy	1994-1999	Advocacy work
Women's Crisis Center	Services for VAW survivors; Advocacy for women's rights	1994-1999	Research, documentation, casework & counseling, group work facilitation
PETA-women's Theatre Program	Feminist Pedagogy	1999	Documentation; research
Center for Women's Resources	Urban and rural women	1999-present	Feminist research and training
Makalaya-Learn	Women and trade union organizing; reproductive health	1999-present	Training; research; documentation; life stories writing; library systematization
PaTaMaBa	Informal sector; home-based workers' issues	1994-present	Training; technical assistance; organizing and organizational development
LIKHAAN	Women's health care; reproductive rights policy advocacy; women and youth organizing	1999-present	Community training; advocacy; research; library systematization; documentation; youth organizing around sexuality issues

Batis Center for Women	Migrant women in Japan	2002	Organizing; organizational development
Migrant Forum in Asia	Migrant workers	2002-2003	Research; training
Camarin Barangay women's Desk	VAW	2003-2004	Counseling
Samahang Kababaihan Para sa Kaunlaran ng UP Campus/ Brgy. UP	Urban poor issues; VAW	2005; 2006-2007	Women organizing; research on adolescent sexuality; research on conflict mediation

Source: Students' FIP Integrated Reports

The FIP and Fieldwork Realities: when theory and practice meet

Since its shift to working with four institutional partner agencies in 1997, the DWDS confined student placement to communities covered by these partner agencies. The case experiences in two fieldwork placements discussed below illustrate how students applied classroom learning to real community settings.

1) Feminist Research in Brgy. Bagong Silangan: A Fieldwork Experience in the Center for Women's Resources [5]

During the Second Semester AY2004-2005, a WD 281 student was fielded in CWR to conduct research on Gender and Development (GAD) mainstreaming specifically, towards the establishment of a women's desk at the barangay level. The research site was Brgy. Bagong Silangan, a barangay in Quezon City that has no Women's Desk yet. The research was facilitated through the institutional partner agency, the CWR.

The CWR is a women's service institution that provides education, research, advocacy, library and data banking services on women. Through its services, CWR aims to empower grassroots women through consciousness-raising towards improving their situation and effecting structural change. It is instrumental in helping build women's organizations such as the *Samahan ng Maralitang Kababaihang Nagkakaisa* (SAMAKANA), a national organization of urban poor women and GABRIELA, a political center of progressive women's movement in the country. At present, it has linkages with a network of national grassroots women organizations and 17 regional centers. To fully serve the grassroots women, CWR implements these programs – research and data banking, education and training, advocacy, and publication (CWR brochure, undated).

Primarily, the research problem focused on how SAMAKANA-Veterans Chapter, a local women's group, could push for and influence the establishment of the Women's Desk at Brgy. Bagong Silangan. The objectives of the research are as follows: 1) to determine how women's issues (e.g. VAW) figure within the barangay space and among its actors; 2) to determine the socio-political space of SAMAKANA-Veterans Chapter and situate it within the larger barangay context; 3) to assess workable strategies and processes that could be undertaken by SAMAKANA and its support group to introduce, create and implement Women's Desk at the barangay level; and, 4) to cite implications when these strategies and processes are undertaken.

The research employed participatory and feminist processes that included documents review, key informant interviews and informal thematic storytelling among community women. This research includes some basic feminist research assumptions and principles. These are:

- the use of a feminist perspective in which central to its analysis is the awareness of the issues of power in all women's experience;
- the primary goal of research is to improve women's lives;
- the valuation of women's knowledge and experience; and
- reflexivity instead of the researcher as objective and detached from the researched topic and subject.

Utilizing the above feminist assumptions and principles, the student was aware of the issues of power in women's lives that she is ever very careful on how this power dynamics manifested in her relationship with the staff from CWR and the leaders and members of SAMAKANA in the conduct of the research. Aware of these power dynamics, she made sure that there was consultation and consensus in every process of the research. Likewise, she ensured that the CWR staff and the SAMAKANA leaders and members played active roles in the research process from conceptualizing the research problem, designing the research, gathering and validating data, and evaluating the entire research process.

In order to gain insights regarding community women's perception and level of knowledge about VAW issues, the student immersed herself in the community by sleeping overnight for a few days in the community, integrating with the women in their daily activities and attending VAW lectures by women's groups in the community. Further, she did participant observation and conducted transect walks to enrich her knowledge about the community. She engaged in informal conversations with people she met during these transect walks and gained rich information about the community history and local perceptions and beliefs about VAW that women and men hold. Every story shared by community women was valued and taken into the research as valid information. Out of her informal conversations with community women, she formed vignettes of women's experiences that provided some glimpses of how VAW issues are lived by women in their daily existence.

When her data was complete, a feedback and validation session was held with leaders and members of SAMAKANA and other community women. The findings of the research were posed as questions to ponder on for SAMAKANA and the community women alike. These include:

- How to better prepare SAMAKANA Veterans Chapter to further elevate its initiatives from addressing basic social services to that of tackling VAW issues, i.e. the forms of VAW experienced by community women in Brgy. Bagong Silangan?
- How would SAMAKANA eventually define its work to convince the "unbelievers" within the barangay structures?
- What then are the forms of work that it should do to make the barangay government more accountable?
- While forming various initiatives at the barangay government structures, what parallel efforts should it do at the community level?
- How would it start up linkages with other groups in the community to work towards a common goal? What form of partnership would it create with these groups that come from another political line?

During the feedback and validation session, she took into account their insights and recommendations as valuable knowledge to enhance the research findings. In addition, the session did not only validate some data gathered but also raised questions that led SAMAKANA and the community women to ponder on their potential advocacy work with VAW issues and possible actions to take to pressure the barangay government, of the latter's responsibility toward the establishment of an engendered barangay Women's Desk.

Through this research, the positionality of SAMAKANA Veterans Chapter, other community groups and the local government

structures in relation to the issue of VAW and in the establishment of a Barangay Women's Desk was revealed. How concepts and perceptions on VAW were reproduced, performed and contested by different community actors were also identified. And since transformative actions to change women's lives are what this research aimed to achieve, it posed the following recommendations for SAMAKANA and other groups to take on in their advocacy work towards engendering the barangay structures:

- There is a need to revisit existing GST/GAD/VAW[6] modules both for local groups and barangay actors to assess how they intend to address changing participants' consciousness about VAW and the need to rethink the frameworks used by advocates in looking at VAW issues, i.e. should the emphasis be still on the myths and truths about VAW or should it be seen in a holistic manner incorporated along the issues of reproductive rights, patriarchal issues, unequal gender relations, and other problematic structures that advocates work to change. As such, is it necessary to view VAW as a public issue that needs to be responded with services that local governments have to provide.
- There is a need to deliberately create opportunities and spaces for women's groups and barangay actors to continuously engage in VAW discourses.
- There is a need to train and equip local women's groups with skills in utilizing VAW data and statistics as legitimate source to press "unbelievers" to respond to the issue.
- There is a need to create empowering spaces for women as local advocates to work with the barangay officials as allies in improving women's lives.
- As VAW is considered a public issue that needs concrete responses from the government and groups, this should not be separated from other basic issues like water, land tenure, housing, livelihood, and other basic needs, as all issues are also women's issues.

Indeed, this research experience has provided possible transformative actions that community women could do. On the part of the student, through the reflexive character of feminist research, she has also gone some transformation as a WDS student and as a feminist, as gleaned from her personal account of her fieldwork experience:

"I consider this action research not just a simple course requirement to fulfill and to mark my last semester with the Program. But more so on a personal level, I was enriched by the quality of interactions with ordinary women yet exceptional with the way they live their everyday lives in struggle with power, with poverty, with issues of everyday living, and with issues of violence. Such interactions, short as they may seem, enriched me beyond my expectations. Women's everyday lives have drawn from me the depth and nuances that informed me how I should see them and their struggles and how I should relate with them. In over one month of staggered immersion, I came to better understand power relations at play within the structures of a given locality and how women are trapped in between. Yet, trapped as they are, I saw in them the capacity to strategize, to display their resistance, to move collectively, and to negotiate their spaces. And to me, these are good sources of energies to fuel community advocacy work against VAW and other issues. These are the very reasons why I want to be associated with them still by volunteering my time and skills even after as required by the course. Mostly, I have realized that I have long gotten over my existential question such as: why am I doing what I am doing? Rather, I know the exigencies of change that need to be staged by women like myself – that it is necessary to form associations and alliances with grassroots women to do something against our continued oppression, subordination and marginalization. I see this as required from every feminist like myself, as well as to never get tired of committing to transformative actions though it may not happen in this lifetime!" (Mercado, Integrated Paper, March, 2005, p 37).

2) Organizing and Community Education for Women in Sitio Kumunoy: A Fieldwork Experience in MAKALAYA [7]

During the second semester of 2004, a team composed of two students was fielded in MAKALAYA (Manggagawang Kababaihan Mithi ay Paglaya), a women's organization composed of women workers from the formal and informal sectors. It was established in 1998 with the aim to integrate the concerns of women in the trade unions' programs and activities. It focuses on the development of women's potentials as leaders. In particular, it aims to integrate women's concerns and issues to trade unions' programs and activities. It advocates to trade unions the following concerns: (1) the institutionalization of gender education programs; (2) the representation of women at all levels of the union structures; (3) the formation of Women's Committees; the inclusion of women-friendly provisions in collective agreements; and (4) the integration of women's concerns in the policy documents of unions. As an alternative space for women, MAKALAYA serves as a parallel women-only structure that is independent but working closely with trade unions on women's issues and gender equity. In organizing women, it fuses trade unionism and community unionism as a strategy in reaching out to women in formal and informal sectors. It has chapters in different areas of the country (MAKALAYA brochure, n.d.).

The students were assigned by MAKALAYA to do fieldwork in Sitio Kumunoy, an urban poor community in Bagong Silangan, Quezon City. They were tasked to conduct a needs assessment towards designing an education program on reproductive health issues, which at that time was the thrust of MAKALAYA. It was also expected that this education program would serve as the entry point strategy for MAKALAYA to organize and strengthen the existing organization, the Golden View Homeowners Association. Working as a team, the students initially immersed themselves in the community to enable them to craft a work plan for the entire fieldwork period. The team came up with the following objectives for the semester:

- To develop a community profile and design a training program for the women members of Golden View Homeowners Association;
- To strengthen the core group and the organization; and
- To document women's processes (e.g. leadership development, decision-making and conflict management).

Armed with the feminist perspective and processes, they conducted the needs assessment. In the field, they were guided by the principles of feminist pedagogy, in particular:

- the creation of a community of women learners who are responsible for their own learning as well as those of others;
- empowerment, not as power through domination, but as creative energy;
- leadership through consensus decision-making and non-hierarchical processes;
- women's experience as source of knowledge; and
- education towards consciousness raising and transformative action to improve women's lives.

Applying these principles, the team conducted small group study circles on various themes such as VAW, sexuality, women's leadership, migration, globalization, the informal sector, etc. These topics were identified from the needs assessment and from the suggestions of women during their informal "*huntahan.*" Based on their observation, the team found out that the most effective strategy in gathering data is to start where the women are, for instance, taking part in women's processes and activities like the informal "*huntahan*" and domestic activities, since it is only during these activities that women gather to talk about things that concerned them. At the same time, the team felt that only through immersion that they were able to experience the lives of women.

The team together with the women decided to have a one-hour study circle every week while the women's houses served as venues for the study sessions on a rotation basis. Participatory methods such as personal sharing, story telling, drawing and other creative methodologies were utilized in the study sessions. The use of these processes has been effective in drawing out women's ideas and insights as well as in raising their consciousness on gender issues. In every study session, the team started with evoking women to share stories from their personal experiences, as such, the topics were never abstract and out of these personal experiences, together they eventually draw out the analysis and insights. Although the team served as the facilitators, they were at the same time learners, as they learned from the ideas and insights of the women. Since the atmosphere of trust and mutual learning was established at the very start of the study circle sessions, personal as well as communal learning, were reinforced. Consequently, the practice of valuing the personal experiences of women as sources of knowledge contributed in enhancing their self-esteem and empowering them. For the women, these education activities not only raised their awareness about issues that concerned them as women but most importantly, strengthened their solidarity as women, as neighbors.

However, in the middle of the semester, the issue of eviction cropped up and as a result, the women set aside other concerns and focus on the land issue as the immediate concern at that time. The women were busy attending consultations about the land issue that attendance to the study circles waned. Faced with the dilemma of implementing the training program or to refocus the consciousness raising activities on the land issue, the team held a meeting with the women to decide on what to do amidst the possible eviction and demolition. The team served as facilitators while the women brainstormed possible strategies and identified contingency plans. As the students observed, because the home is the place where

majority of women's activities are conducted, landlessness and its concomitant issues like demolition and eviction are of primary concern to women. For the women, defending their homes is a matter of defending their lives and they were determined to struggle to defend their homes from being demolished. As students were confronted with the complex issues faced by the women in the community, in response, they were flexible enough to adjust their fieldwork plan to accommodate the issue of land in the education program. The issue of land was integrated in every discussion of other issues. For instance, the students integrated the discussion of landlessness with its impact on women's reproductive health. Instead of compartmentalizing issues, they tried to see the interconnections of issues as these affect women and men's lives. After all, as the students enthused, all issues are women's issues.

As students got involved with women and the issues in the community, it also became clear to them the connectedness of their lives to the women in the community as gleaned from the students' insights:

> "In the end, it dawned upon us that the realities and complexities, enveloped within women's lives in the community and in the larger society, are connected with our own issues as well. We came to terms with our selves, the community processes and the lives of women; the methods of learning and unlearning and the full realization that we are bounded by the related experiences of systemic oppression and exploitation." (de Guzman and Mendoza, Integrated Paper 2005, p. 2).

In the course of their fieldwork, the team has culled the following good practices:

- *addressing conflicts as a team.* The students realized the importance of responding immediately to every perceived conflict

or changes. As problem or change cropped up, there was always consultation among the students, the faculty supervisor and the agency supervisor. Such practice helped to facilitate dialogue, to avoid misunderstandings and to minimize aggravation of conflicts.

- *learning with and from the community.* Although the students are armed with theories and workplan, it is important for them to be flexible to accommodate any change in the field context. Women in the community have rich experiences that served as input to validate theories learned in the classroom. The key is to listen to them and to acknowledge the experiential knowledge of community women as legitimate knowledge.

- *utilizing innovative approaches and processes.* Interactive, creative and non-threatening processes and methodologies that encouraged women to participate and learn are important in drawing out women's voices and personal stories.

In addition to the above insights by the students fielded in CWR and MAKALAYA, the effects of the fieldwork on other students vary – for some it is affective, cognitive for others while others experienced both. As gleaned from the mid- and end-semesters sharing sessions, other students have these to say about their fieldwork experiences:

> "The fieldwork made me understand what feminist research is all about – feminist research has no pretensions of objectivity. Its standpoint approach affirmed my conviction that there is no one position from which value-free knowledge can be developed but some positions are better than others. And for me, the women's point of view is the better position." --a student in CWR fieldwork placement.

> "The fieldwork experience gave me a real situation of our country and that of women, as discussed in class. The negative impact of globalization, poverty, class differences, and the cost of migration

– all these concepts were concretized by my fieldwork experience. Prior to my fieldwork, these were just concepts, but now, I can put faces to these concepts." -- a student in MFA fieldwork placement.

"Since I had witnessed the hardship that most families face, like being able to eat only once a day. I can honestly say it changed me. I now feel that I have the obligation not to be wasteful, not to buy things that I do not need, or even as simple as not wasting food." --a student in CWR fieldwork placement.

"Working as a team is advantageous for me. It made me sensitive to the needs of others. Even when theassigned task seems hard, I would still do it so as not to disappoint my other team members. One also gets to appreciate the different characteristics of each member because in one way or another, these differences would help complement the team to come up with better ideas and outputs." --a student in MAKALAYA fieldwork placement.

"The provision of quality health care services takes a decidedly feminist stance. Women are given all the information necessary for them to make clear choices about their health and their bodies. In the process, they were made aware that they have right to decide on their bodies. My exposure to these women made me realized just how disempowered I am and many of my friends are when it comes to our health and our bodies, in a sense. As a result, I have had tremendous desire to inform myself about my own body." --a student in LIKHAAN fieldwork placement.

"Empowering women economically is brought about by a confluence of factors: access to technology, education and markets. All these help to address their practical interests, which potentially raise their status in the community and could contribute to the attainment of their strategic gender interests. At the household level, a woman's bargaining position and power is strengthened by both personal and economic empowerment, wherein the former clarifies her perceived interest of her own well-being, and the latter allows her to make a patent economic contribution to the household." – a student in PaTaMaBa fieldwork placement.

The FIP Experience: A Synthesis of Experience and Lessons Learned

Through the years of fielding students in various women's organizations, the WDS FIP experience has produced considerable gains and lessons worth noting, specifically, in terms of: [8]

1. Choice of Partner Agencies/Fieldwork Placements

- The students affirmed that the fieldwork course served as a venue for them to apply theories learned in the classroom to fieldwork settings. Like the faculty supervisor, the agency played a crucial role in creating an enabling environment for students to learn from the field practice. Among the enabling factors are: consistent support and quality of supervision by agency supervisor, regular meetings with agency staff, regular feedback and assessment with agency supervisor, adequate orientation about the agency and its programs prior to fieldwork, levelling off on frameworks and positions on issues between students and agency, clear tasks and roles of both the students and the agency stipulated in a memoradum of agreement, and realistic targets and outputs to be delivered by the students. On the other hand, there were students who have difficult field experiences with partner agencies. There are agencies that are not prepared to handle fieldwork students because of the following reasons: agencies have no program for practicum students, non- availability/non-supervision of agency supervisor and the notion of students as source of "additional staff" or volunteer labor. The quality of agency supervision and institutional support provided by partner agencies serve as enabling mechanisms for students to apply classroom learning to field realities. Thus, the selection of partner agencies is a crucial element in the fieldwork program.

- The strategy to "institutionalize" (i.e. establishment of long-term partnership) fieldwork partner agencies is a good mechanism to monitor the impact of the FIP in terms of depth of partnership, continuity of fieldwork areas and students' learning. The idea of having institutional partner agencies as field placements was appreciated by the students. However, they had expressed apprehension regarding this strategy as this limits the opportunity for them to work with other agencies, as well as, limits their involvement with other issues that are of interest to them (e.g. prostitution, indigenous women, legislative advocacy, counseling, etc.) that are beyond the scope of work of current institutional partner agencies.

- Since the FIP has already worked with these institutional partner for almost a decade now, thus, there is a need to conduct an assessment of the experience in working with these partners to determine whether to continue the partnership or not in the coming years.

2. FIP Structure and Management

- During the early part of the WD course program, the DWDS had the premise that those enrolling in the Program were former activists, that is, people with development work practice, especially, in community organizing. Consequently, the WDS course gave more emphases on theories and perspectives. However, the profile of the WD students had changed over time. For the Department, the fieldwork served to gauge the gaps that need to be filled in by classroom learning. Likewise, the changing composition of students was taken into account in the assignment of fieldwork placement as well as in the choice of partner agencies. Considering this reality, matching the partner

agency with students' interests and capacities is a crucial step in fieldwork preparation.

- Based on the fieldwork learning goals, the students find the FIP very relevant. The FIP provided the needed exposure and practice for students to apply the theories, feminist principles, processes, and skills they have learned in the classroom. In addition, the students find the delineation of learning goals and requirements for each of the FI course (WD 280 an d 281) helpful as it helped them delineate target deliverables as well as division of functions. Because of the well-defined goals for each course, i.e. WD 280 and WD 281, the students were able to identify concrete outputs for a given time period. As a case in point, when both WD 280 and 281 students are assigned to the same partner agency and community, they work as a team but with clear delineated tasks and deliverables as WD 280 and 281 students respectively. Because of this, the students can easily establish a mechanism to complement each other's work towards a unified output by the end of the semester.

- Most students are working students, thus, fieldwork placement in Metro Manila areas is the most feasible. On the other hand, rural and out of Metro Manila placements are discouraged except, when the student is a full-time student.

- The fieldwork sharing and orientation sessions are considered as class sessions where students and faculty supervisors are required to attend. Each sharing session has different focus and concerns to avoid students from presenting repetitive information. The strategy to provide guidelines for fieldwork sharing helped the students to delineate the contents of mid-semester sharing from end-semester sharing, as well as the reports of WD 280 from WD 281 students. Based on students' feedback, the field sharing

guidelines helped them in structuring their presentations and guided them in synthesizing their fieldwork experiences. Further, the workshops during fieldwork sharing sessions (attended only by the DWDS faculty and students) facilitate students' interaction among themselves and an opportunity for theorizing field experiences.

- The fieldwork sharing sessions are venues for the students, the partner agencies and the faculty to discuss experiences, distill learning, draw out lessons, and proposed recommendations towards the improvement of future work. Based on the insights and learning culled from the field sharing sessions, some themes are recurring that span several semesters, these include: women's leadership, feminist organizing, education and creative pedagogy for women, strategies for women's empowerment, women-friendly health services, among others.

These themes are valuable to the Program on two considerations. First, the themes were utilized during sharing sessions as inputs for our theorizing process with the students. One concrete action in translating these themes into concepts and processes was the launching of the feminist leadership seminar series[9] to explore the various dimensions and processes of feminist leadership and the Summer Camp on Adolescent Sexuality.[10] These activities were participated in by members and communities of partner agencies. Significantly, these activities provided an opportunity for both students and people in the fieldwork communities - for the students to work on a common project and an opportunity for the community partners to interact and learn from each other. Second, these themes served as input in curriculum development. As an example, the course on Feminist Pedagogy was developed in response to the recommendation of fieldwork students who saw

the need to include skills in designing and implementing education activities for women.

- Some of the good practices of the Program that the students had acknowledged include: (1) fixing the dates of the fieldwork sharing sessions during the orientation session provided the students with ample time for preparation; and (2) assigning students to document and synthesize discussions made the process participatory and meaningful to students as this enabled them to lead in synthesizing and theorizing their experiences.

- The fieldwork sharing sessions provide a framework for monitoring the progress of the fieldwork program as well as in synthesizing the students' experiences – this framework contains the description of agency placement and support, the mode of supervision that facilitate and/or hinder work in the field, the theories/models and principles tested and validated, the perceived changes on self, team and the community field placement, as well as the gains from the Department-Agency partnership. The data gleaned from the sharing sessions served as inputs towards the continuous enhancement of the management and conduct of the FIP.

- In terms of fieldwork requirements (i.e. 250-hour fieldwork, log book and journals, field outputs, and integrated paper)

For the students, all the FI requirements are necessary. Students are encouraged to update the logbooks and journals regularly. An updated logbook and journal are of great help for both the students and faculty supervisors – for the faculty to monitor students' field activities and as data for students in writing up their integrated paper. On the other hand, the 250-hour course requirement is still considered adequate for students to experience community

immersion and interaction. However, the 250 –hour time span should be balanced with an output approximate to this time duration. Thus, the FIP does not encourage students to stay overnight in the fieldwork a reas just t o earn t he hours r equired without t he corresponding output. Another important consideration is the presence of a memorandum of agreement that clearly contained the outputs expected from the students and the support to be provided by the partner agency. Having a MOA serves as reminder for the students about the outputs they have to deliver as well as, the support that the partner agency has to provide. In this case, the faculty supervisor is key in ensuring that students' outputs are realistic vis-à-vis the fieldwork period to avoid delays that may affect the partner agency's program or project.

In terms of major changes in the field, whether initiated by the FI Program or the partner agency, it is best that the students should be consulted, especially on matters that would affect them. These changes may be in the form of changes in faculty or agency supervisor, fieldwork area and agency requirements. Students' feedback and feelings should be elicited before a decision is made as this may affect the students' momentum in the field.

3. Fieldwork Supervision (Faculty and Agency)

- For the students, the key to an enriching fieldwork experience is the quality of supervision of both faculty and agency supervisors. Since students are in the field trying to put into practice the theories they have learned in the classroom, therefore, the guidance and support of the faculty supervisor is important. Although the faculty supervisor is required to visit the student/s, at the minimum, four times within the semester, it is best to maximize and employ creative means of getting in touch with the student/s. Regular contact through cell phone

communication, regular weekly out-of-field updating sessions, establishment of an e-group among the students, the faculty and the agency, and the conduct of planning and assessment sessions among students, faculty and agency supervisors prior to fieldwork sharing sessions are some of the mechanisms that worked in the field. On the part of the partner agency, it should provide only one agency supervisor in the course of the student's fieldwork to provide continuity of supervision. Students expressed difficulty in working with different supervisors as this entails changes in methods of work, requirements, outputs, and deliverables. Likewise, problems cropped up, especially, when students' deliverables are not put into a memorandum of agreement.

- Like the classroom, the community is a dynamic and complex context. Power dynamics are constantly at play in the community. As such, conflicts and problems happen in the course of fieldwork. However, the key to address a problem as it crops up is regular consultation with both faculty and agency supervisors. Every concern or problem, regardless of magnitude, has to be discussed and clarified immediately with supervisors to avoid disruption of the entire fieldwork process. Likewise, regular consultations allow a transparent process of learning and unlearning between the students and the faculty/agency supervisors. In this manner, the students are being guided and monitored, as a requisite to a smooth-running process throughout the entire fieldwork period.

- There were cases when the students' orientation ran in conflict with the agency they worked with. As a result, the students have difficulty reconciling such differences. In these cases, the faculty supervisor can mediate and facilitate the leveling off on frameworks and perspectives. One strategy that worked in the field is encouraging the students to conduct regular study sessions to be

attended by the students, the agency staff, and the faculty supervisor. Through these activities, the students can learn the agency's positions on particular women's issues and an opportunity for both of them to find the middle ground, to negotiate and to level off. In another way, the students can use these education sessions to conduct advocacy work to raise the level of awareness of the agency regarding the WD perspectives.

4. Impact of Fieldwork on Students

- The diverse concerns of the partner agencies provided the students with the opportunity to apply feminist theories and processes to various issues and concerns of the partner agencies, particularly the integration of feminist perspective in their respective field contexts. On the other hand, the varying fieldwork contexts provided them the opportunity to apply, test out and validate theories and processes learned in the classrooms. At the same time, it provided them the opportunities to apply feminist principles, among them: (a) starting where the women are; (b) facilitating new inputs such as systematization, documentation, synthesis, women-friendly tools for education; (c) working as team with grassroots women in non-hierarchical relationships; and (d) valuing and affirming each other's capabilities and creating communities among women.

- Depending on their field assignments, they had expressed varying application of their WD courses. [11] For instance, students tasked to do research had expressed the relevance of the WD 291 (Feminist Research). Similarly, for those assigned to an informal sector organization find the WD230 (Women and Work) lessons very useful while those who were into counseling in a barangay women's desk find the WD 270 (Feminist Counseling) very useful. Likewise, they commonly expressed that the other core courses had provided them the theoretical frame in analyzing community

realities and dynamics. However, a majority of them expressed that they should be equipped with skills in designing, facilitating and conducting community education for women.

- Through the fieldwork practice, students were able to work directly with women in the communities and together, they were able to evolve various innovative strategies that include creative processes and methodologies in community education, leadership, research, marketing strategies for women's products, and most importantly, in empowering women.

- To sum up, the major impacts of the fieldwork on most of the students are as follows: (1) the opportunity to integrate and immerse with grassroots women and their communities; (2) direct participation in various aspects of work towards women's empowerment; (3) interaction and exchange with feminists activists from women organizations; (4) the opportunities for exposure to deepen their understanding and appreciation of feminist perspective on reproductive health, globalization, contractualization, women organizing around women's issues like VAW, and (5) the engagement with various institutions and organizations.

The FIP Issues and Challenges: towards theorizing, de/ constructing knowledge and re-visioning

Problems encountered

The WDS fieldwork program is not complete without the heartaches and problems, as well as, issues that it is confronted with. Problems encountered are also worth noting to serve as areas for future improvement. These include the following:

1. On Fieldwork Placement

Among the issues raised by the students in terms of choice of agencies and fieldwork placements are: the limited choice of fieldwork placements and agencies, some agencies are not ready to handle practicum students, non-availability of agency supervisors, students with financial constraints have difficulty in doing fieldwork, and consultation with students in regard to change of fieldwork placements or change of faculty supervisors.

Recommendation: To further improve the identification and selection of agencies and field placements, the students had the following recommendations: (a) an assessment of the partner agencies should be conducted during the end-semester evaluation to determine if partnership with them will be continued or not; (b) a student should take both WD 280 and 281 in one particular agency to have a fuller grasp of the conditions of a community, unless there is a problem that the student is requesting for a new field placement, and (c) provision of a wide variety of placement agencies.

2. On Fieldwork sharing sessions

In the course of the classroom-based sharing sessions, two major problems were noted: (a) the problem of punctuality that resulted to longer sessions; and (b) conflicts and strong reactions from agencies about the students' reports. In response to these concerns, the students had these recommendations: (a) the FIP should find a mechanism to hold shorter yet substantial and productive sessions, (b) to conduct assessment with agency prior to the fieldwork sharing sessions to avoid strong, negative reactions; and (c) to conduct a separate session for students and faculty to discuss learning and lessons.

3. On the 250-hour Requirement and Deliverables

Since most students work full-time, there were cases when they were not able to finish the fieldwork that resulted to an unfinished commitment or deliverables to the partner agencies. Thus, to avoid recurrence of this problem, the faculty supervisors have to ensure that the tasks and outputs expected of the students are achievable within a one-semester period.

4. On Support for Fieldwork Expenses

Since financial constraints have been a constant concern of students doing fieldwork, thus it would be better if the Department maintains a fund to accommodate the financial needs of fieldwork students, even only for the provision of transportation allowance to those who have financial limitations.

Dilemmas and crossroads

As part of the continuing search for knowledge and good practices *vis-à-vis* the problems encountered in the course of doing fieldwork, the FIP is being confronted with questions and dilemmas. However, with the Department's determination to make the FIP truly relevant and enriching for both the students and the women in the fieldwork communities, it continues to search for answers to these nagging questions:

- Had the fieldwork experience created opportunities for students to apply and integrate classroom learning?
- Had the FIP allowed students to develop and demonstrate positive attitudes towards community work and working with grassroots women?

- Had the FIP provided venues for students to practice their skills, to innovate and to apply appropriate strategies in empowering women?
- Did the FIP create the opportunity for students to sharpen their perspective, hone their skills in feminist processes and methodologies and practice feminist values and empowering relationships with co-students and other women?
- Did the FIP create an opportunity for students to create community among women?

Moreover, the FIP is also faced with other concerns that have administrative and organizational implications:

- How could the Program maximize the involvement of foreign students? What are the considerations in fielding foreign students?
- How will the Program clarify the objectives and requirements for those students taking both the WD 280 and 281 simultaneously within a semester?
- How will the Program balance the students' learning process, the academic requirements and the needs of the partner agencies and community women? Is the 250-hour practicum requirement enough or too much?
- How long will the Program continue its partnership with a particular "institutional" partner agency? What are the indicators to say that the goal of partnership is already achieved?

Learning and theories developed from the field

Since the FIP has weathered two decades as a Program, like a learning loop, as it comes full circle towards a new phase in its organizational life, lessons learned from the field have to be distilled into

new theories and learning. As students were involved in various lines of work – organizing, community education, research, counseling, advocacy work, etc. theories learned from the classroom were affirmed and validated and new learning were culled from these fieldwork experiences. As students were involved in various lines of work – organizing, community education, research, counseling, advocacy work, among others, theories learned from the classroom were affirmed and validated and new learning were culled from the fieldwork experiences. The following theories and learning serve as common thread that runs through these various lines of work:

- The Feminist visions, perspectives and analyses provide the framework for understanding women's conditions and realities in the field.

    For the students, feminist theories learned in the classroom gave them the handle in framing and naming women's experiences. The feminist vision of transforming or improving women's lives guided them in defining what actions to take given the findings and data culled from the researches, education activities and working with community women. Feminist analysis provided them the perspective in analyzing power dynamics between women and men in the community, between the students and the women in research projects, between the students and women in education and study circles, and between student -counselors and women survivors. Feminist perspectives guided them in viewing women's lives in a holistic and integrated manner, that all issues that concern women are women's issues. For instance, the issue of landlessness and lack of water are women's issues as these affect women as informal workers and home keepers of their families.

Further, researches conducted in the field provided information about women's lives in the different fieldwork communities. The application of feminist visions, perspectives and analyses enabled the students to understand the conditions and lives of community women that were previously invisible and unimportant in mainstream research and knowledge construction. Through these researches conducted by the students, the lives and hardships of women were given voice and informed the advocacy agenda of partner agencies: the exploitation of women in sub-contracting work in Taguig; the ill-effects of water privatization on the health and well-being of women and children in Tondo; the reproductive and health issues of young women and men in Pasay, Angono and UP Campus, and the VAW problems encountered by community women in Quezon City.

- De/reconstruction of the notion of power not as domination but rather as shared energy and collective strengths

The fieldwork experience provided a forum for students to challenge the patriarchal notion of power as domination. The researches, community education activities, organizing, advocacy work and similar activities conducted in the field have proven that enhancing women's creative energy from within is power in itself. As reflected in the study circles, both the students and community women experienced shared power as facilitator-learners. Informed by the principles and values of feminist pedagogy, the education and study circles focused on creating a community of learners among women in which each woman is responsible for her learning as well as for others to also learn. In like manner, the students not only served as facilitators but also acted as learners. Apparently, the processes and structures of these education and study circles

reflected that power could be facilitative and collectively shared among women. And most importantly, these education experiences of both students and community women taught them a new notion of power that enabled them to take control over their lives and not that of others.

- An awareness of the differences among women

The exposures and immersions of students in various communities provided them with direct experience and valuable knowledge about the realities of women in different sectors (urban poor women, rural women, home-based workers, migrant women, women artist-teachers, youth, LGBT, etc.) and their lived contexts (urban, rural and NGO settings). The students' experiences in working with various women have affirmed the notion of difference among women, as mediated by class, age, sexual orientation, physical disabilities, etc. Because of this awareness on the differences on women, the students were able to surface the problems and issues of lesbians, elderly and women with disabilities. And by giving voices to their conditions and issues, the students have helped in giving voice to their marginality and invisibility.

- Valuation of women's personal experience as sources of knowledge and speaking out these experiences are affirming and empowering experience.

The feminist principle of valuating women's experience as resource in research, community education, counseling, organizing, and advocacy work resonated in the fieldwork experiences of the students. By utilizing women's experiences as a take-off point in discussions about issues that are of concerns to women, the researches, education and other activities in the

field, in a way, have challenged patriarchal notion of "male as the standard." The practice of valuing women's experiences as sources of knowledge is both empowering to the community women and the students. For the women, it affirmed their importance, their identity and their value in the community. On the part of the students, it enabled them to make sense of the reflexive value of hearing women's stories and voices as these resonate in their own lives, thus, reaffirming the principle of "the personal is political." Moreover, the group process employed in community education, focus group discussions and group counseling sessions, with their awareness raising potentials can bring about changes in women's self perceptions and self-esteem. These processes also provided a forum for speaking out and exploring ways of making changes in their daily lives.

Action points for the future

Looking back from 1988 where the DWDS used to be known as the WDP in the university, it was elevated to full department status by the Board of Regents of UP on March 29, 2001 (DWDS brochure). Now in its 20th year of teaching Women's Studies, the Department is looking forward to new challenges. Equipped with the lessons and learning culled from its 20 years experiences of classroom teaching and field practice and fueled by the continued enthusiasm and passion to make a dent in the lives of women in poorer communities, the Department, through its FIP, is ready to face future challenges and new ways of collaboration with partner agencies and other organizations:

- Exploration of a common fieldwork placement with other Departments;
- Collaboration with the REDO in developing classroom materials like case studies and video documentation of field lessons and experiences;

- Institution of regular Summer Camps tackling cutting edge themes and topics like sexuality, spirituality, etc., and involving the partner agencies, the fieldwork students and community women and youths;
- Institution of a regular FIP planning and synthesis of experiences among faculty, partner agencies and students; and lastly,
- Exploration of a mechanism for sourcing funds for fieldwork scholarship to needy students.

Although these challenges seemed daunting, yet, they are achievable and the FIP is all set to face another stage of its journey that may become another herstory in the future.

End Notes

[1]WD 280 and 281 are described as Field Instruction I and II respectively. These field courses were formerly CD 280 and 281 but were change to WD 280 and 281 in 2006 by the University Council. A student under Plan B (with comprehensive examination) of the Masters Program is required to take up both WD 280 and 281.

[2]Prof. Rosario del Rosario is the first WDP coordinator. She handled the Program from 1984 to 1991.

[3]Courses include WD 231 (Gender responsive Planning & Administration); WD 291 (Women and Development Research); WD221 (Feminist Perspectives & Strategies in Organizing)

[4]The review of literature was later published by UNDP (*A Woman's Work is Never Done, 1996)*.

[5]Data in this case study were based on the Integrated Paper of Nellibeth V. Mercado entitled, "How Could Partnership Be Possible? Towards instituting engendered structures in Brgy. Bagong Silangan, Quezon City." Unpublished research report, second semester 2005.

[6]GST/GAD/VAW, are abbreviations of Gender Sensitivity Training/Gender and Development/Violence Against Women.

[7]Data in this case study were based on the Integrated Paper of Ginger de Guzman and Ma. Christina Mendoza entitled, "Reflections." Unpublished report, 2nd semester, 2005.

[8]Information discussed here is based on interviews with students, assessments of FIP during mid- and end-semester sharing sessions and fieldwork reports from 2001-2006.

[9] The Feminist Leadership Seminar Series were conducted every Saturday during the First semester of AY2004.

[10]The Summer Camp on Adolescent Sexuality was conducted on May 19-20, 2007, which was participated in by youths from the communities of PaTamaBa, Likhaan and SKPK.

[11] These WD courses are: WD 201 (History of the Women's Movement in the Philippines); WD 210 (Feminist theories); WD 221 (Feminist Organizing); WD230 (Women and Work); WD 231 (Gender Responsive Planning and Administration); WD 291 (Feminist Research).

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GENESIS

by

Rosalinda Pineda-Ofreneo

The women shall rise from the ground
Like white lilies budding in the burning night
To bloom for the morning after.

They shall break the chains
Fashioned from lies made of sweet bread
To weld a world of honest men.

They shall use their fists
Long held back in patient numbness
To strike at haloed idols
carved out of human flesh.

The women shall rise from the ground
And they shall kiss the sky.

Poet's Note:

"Genesis" was the first ever poem I wrote at age 18, when I was jolted out of my adolescent complacency by the maelstorm now know as the First Quarter Storm. It also signaled my awakening to feminism, which has constantly served as my inspiration in my long, sometimes painful but always fruitful journey as an academic and as an advocate. I am privileged to have a safe, hospitable, and stimulating home in the Department of Women and Development Studies, where many feminist paths converge under a "welcome" sign.

MAWD Theses Abstracts

Introduction

In the past fifteen years, students from the Department of Women and Development Studies have generated twenty-four (24) masteral theses. The theses, apart from delving into subjects which are of intense personal interest to the scholars, are also representative of contemporary issues in gender and development. All were created using methods faithful to the tenets of feminist research.

The first thesis produced, Delia Arellano-Morales' "Tapestry of Knowledge on Women in the Philippines" (1991), aptly set the tone for future knowledge-generation from the Department. It contextualized women's studies in the Philippines, furthered the understanding of the woman question, and championed the use of a critical-liberating framework in all scholarship for women.

Two of the theses touch on the most intimate aspects of a woman's life: "Romantic Love: A Feminist Study of Change" (1994) by Annette Hug and "Love: That which Resides in Songs (A Feminist Analysis of the Lyrics of Love Songs Preferred by some Young and Poor Women in Abusive Relationships)" (2006) by Lalaine Punzalan-Viado. Annette Hug studied changes in the views and lived experiences of feminists in Metro Manila with respect to romantic love and related these changes to organizing and consciousness-raising in the Philippine women's movement. Lalaine Punzalan-Viado probed into the notions of romantic love represented by lyrics of love songs popular among young and poor women in abusive

relationships and discovered that they represented romantic love notions related to women's subordination and oppression in intimate relationships, patriarchy, and VAW. She proposed that these notions be rejected and subverted in favor of a "feminist romantic love," one in which women, by developing and asserting their personhood in intimate relationships, can ultimately weaken patriarchy.

Regina Madriaga Capuno's "On Our Own Terms: Journeys with our Mothers" (2001) also looks into another intimate relationship, this time between daughters and mothers. Personal stories of women who do not consider themselves feminists are analyzed with respect to how these women coped with the realities of patriarchy. The research prescribed the need for a feminist perspective from which to view women's oppression and to clarify the options available to women in coping in a patriarchal world.

Gender-sensitization training is one of the commonly-used methods to develop a feminist perspective. Virgina Yap Morales' "Gender Sensitization, Personal Transformation and Women's Ways of Knowing: A Feedback to Philippine Women Non-government Organizations and Diwata" (1995) showed that conflict negotiation with respect to gender by rural grassroots women is a laborious process and that their ways of knowing are cyclical processes of articulating their self-worth vis-à-vis the self-image imposed by society. It indicated a need for training modules with a longer time frame to keep pace with women's change processes. A feminist perspective is also developed within women's organizations through education and training. Mercedes D. Logarta's "The Making of a Feminist Education and Training Program: Implications for Women's Development" (1994) focused on the experiences culled from a feminist education and training program of a woman's organization and showed how these programs can better respond to women's needs in order to contribute to their development as women.

Fleur De Lys Castelo-Cupino allowed women to tell their stories in "Voices of Militant Women (Herstories of Revolutionaries of the First Quarter Storm of 1970)" (2006). The thesis documented the life stories of seven women revolutionaries from the First Quarter Storm of 1970 until the present, and made a vital contribution to making women visible in our nation's history.

Age-related women's concerns were covered by two theses: The video-thesis on "The Politics of Young Women's Sexuality in the Philippines" (2003) by Romina "Beng" Sta. Clara and "Organizing and Empowering Older Widows in an Agricultural Setting: The Experiences of the Widows' Association of Canlaon" (2003) by Mary Jean Justiniano-Perez. Romina Sta. Clara facilitated the exploration of views and experiences on sexuality of young women and challenged our constructs of sexuality, violence, pleasure and politics. Mary Jean Justiniano-Perez analyzed the organizing experience of a widow's organization and concluded that feminist organizing can empower older women and enable them to become agents of development.

There are theses that probed into the lives of women from the marginalized sectors. Victoria Narciso Apuan's "Ang Paraan ng Pag-angkop ng mga Kababaihang Ayta ng Baryo Camatchiles, Floridablanca, Pampanga sa Pagsabog ng Bulkang Pinatubo" (1993) sought to determine how ethnic Aeta women coped with the destruction wrought by the eruption of Mt. Pinatubo given the existing dynamics of their gender, ethnicity, and the stage of recovery from the calamity. She espoused the need to involve women not only in the rehabilitation of the community but also in the entire development process. Victoria P. Tumbaga's "Gender and Development Issues Among Tucucan Migrant Urban-Poor Women of Baguio" (1995) studied the gender status of poor women villagers both in their ancestral and migration communities and recommended development programs in these areas. Makiko Takei's "Women and Men of Landed and Landless

Households in Barangay Palagay, Cabanatuan City" (1995) explored gender relations, resource base, access and control over resources and benefits, roles and status, constraints and needs, of women and men of landed and landless households in the farm, household, and community levels and made recommendations for the advancement of women's status. Liberty Aleli Tapaoan – Datoc's "Women and Micro-Entrepreneurship: Focus on Women Vinegar Producers in Laoag City" (2000) dealt with the way women combine their reproductive, productive, and community-management roles in the process of attaining gender equality and women's empowerment and proposed recommendations on how women involved in micro-entrepreneurship can work for the betterment of the family, growth of their micro-enterprises, building up of their organization, and development of the community while empowering themselves as women.

Local implementation of the GAD and women's empowerment perspectives were explored in three theses: "Organizational Factors in Implementing Gender and Development: Focus on the Community Based Forest Management Program" (1998) by Jennifer Romero Llaguno; "The Philippine GAD Budget Policy, An Analysis of a Gender Mainstreaming Strategy" (2005) by Cecilia Iguiron-Fantastico; and "Women's Empowerment and Resource Management Organizations: A Case Study on Organizational Processes, Practices and Structures" (1999) by Ma. Linnea Villarosa-Tanchuling. Jennifer Romero Llaguno made an initial assessment of community-based forest management program from a GAD perspective and emphasized that gender-responsive forestry development is critical for sustainable development. Cecila Iguiron-Fantastico studied issues affecting the effective implementation and monitoring of the GAD budget policy, affirmed its potential in providing women with the leverage to improve their political influence in decision-making processes, and made recommendations for its more effectual use. Ma. Linnea Villarosa-Tanchuling explored women's empowerment in a fisherfolk resource

management organization and demonstrated the need for gender awareness for both women and men in promoting this.

Manifestations of VAW were studied in two theses: "Sama-samang Paglakbay sa Pagbubuo ng Sarili: An Exploratory Study on the Incest Using Feminist Participatory Approach: A Contribution to the Study of Violence Against Women" (1994) by Prescilla dele Peña-Tulipat and in "Mute and Academic: Selected Tabloids' Construction of the Rape-Murder Alleged Suicide of Marivic Suller, Filipina Migrant Scholar Scientist who Died in India" (2001) by Ava Vivian Gonzales. Prescilla dele Peña-Tulipat examined the nature and effects of incest abuse and surfaced that survivors actively cope with their incest abuse throughout their lives. Ava Vivian Gonzales uncovered the ways in which tabloid discourse constructs "woman" as a category, demonstrated how to write about VAW in a language that is not inimical to women, and linked every migrant Filipina's unjust death abroad to the death of the country's progress.

Three theses can be categorized under the rubric of the globalization phenomenon, delving as they do into its controversial issues of migration, privatization, and tourism: "Coming Home from Japan: The Story of Eight Filipina Entertainers" (1998) by Noriko Iguchi; "The Privatization Phenomenon: Redefining the 'Public' and 'Private' of Women's Lives" (1999) by Violeta Q. Perez-Coral.; and "Gender and Tourism in the Cordillera: A Study on How Tourism Affects the Women and Men of Banaue, Ifugao" (2000) by Juline Dulnuan and Remedios Mondiguing. Noriko Iguchi looked into the situation of Filipina OFWs after their return to their homeland and made recommendations on how to alleviate their situation. Violeta Q. Perez-Coral presented a framework for analysis on the effects of privatization on women at the macro, meso, and micro levels, examined the privatization of Manila's water service, raised concerns on privatizing across a gendered terrain, and made recommendations on what must

be done by women's organizations, the academe, and government agencies. Juline Dulnuan and Remedios Mondiguing examined the effects of tourism in Banaue, Ifugao using a gender-sensitive methodology and recommended a re-conceptualization of tourism and the formulation of gender- and culture-sensitive tourism programs.

Three foreign students produced theses grounded on the experiences of women in the their own countries : "Childcare and Career of Working Mothers in Government Service at Surkhet, Nepal" (1993) by Bhoj Kumari J.C.; "Women and the Forest: The Importance of Food, Fuelwood and Fodder to the Village Women in Poluntar" (1996) by Sujata Neupane; and "Voices from Within: Experience of Patriarchy in Traditional Marriage and Family Life of High Caste/Class Hindu Women of Kathmandu (2002) by Anita Khadka-Karki. Bhoj Kumari studied the effects of childcare responsibilities of working mothers in government service in Nepal and concluded that women's socio-economic and cultural position should be changed in order to develop their careers and improve their situation as working mothers. Also in Nepal, Sujata Meupane determined the role of women in forest conservation, their situation, coping mechanisms, and burden in the context of deforestation and its consequences on women, and prescribed measures on how to ease their circumstances. Anita Kahdka-Karki looked into the narratives of the lived experiences of high caste Hindu women in Kathmandu and made recommendations on how discriminatory traditions can be fought to improve their lives.

Knowledge-generation continues in the Department of Women and Development Studies, with works in progress covering areas yet unexplored in the terrain of Philippine feminist research.

1. Tapestry of Knowledge on Women in the Philippines. Ma. Delia Arellano-Monares. 1991

This study focuses on knowledge-generation on women in Philippines. It seeks to systematize particular information that highlight women and women's issues in the Philippines based in the specified period (1975-1990). Through selected materials, it hopes to provide a guideline on contextualizing women's studies in the Philippines. Particular emphasis was given to understanding the manifestations of the woman question in the Philippines by highlighting the different sectors, as well as the women's movement in the context of the struggle for social transformation.

Content analysis was used in data systematization of selected 100 materials (studies and writing) to come up with meaningful patterns and trends. Many times, the researcher got caught in a dilemma on how to handle the plethora of information but the feminist of knowing had helped her in grappling with the situation. The bias of the researcher lies in the recognition that in the process of research, there is an interaction between the subjective (one's perceptions, assumptions, feelings) and empirical reality. Experiential analysis (conscious partiality) is part of the method in the total process of the study.

It is heartwarming to note that there were numerous information generated from women in the Philippines during the period. The problem is that very few had attempted to systematize this information in the light of a coherent framework that can weed-out the major from the peripheral, the actual from the mythical, the critical from the naïve.

Perhaps, the most important contribution of this work is generating a framework in reading women's realities and

issues. It tried to classify the materials according to content, approach and framework of analysis. The major patterns and trends woven in the findings are the following; (1) in terms of content, descriptive materials were the springboard from which analytical; and visionary ones were based; (2) in terms of approach, the recognition of women's role (contribution) is dominant, followed by the works in the second half of the 1980's which were basically transitional (it seeks to explain women's situation in terms of the structures in society coupled with the relation between men and women); (3) as to framework analysis, it is worth-knowing that the most of the materials in the study belong to the critical category, which means that the level of consciousness reflected in the materials is more or less sharp in reading issues; (4) critical-liberating works are generated by those women who have grassroots experience and political involvement.

A critical-liberating framework of analysis should be the goal of women's studies in the Philippines for scholarship to be of practical value to the women's movement.

The challenge for women's studies in the Philippines lies in generating appropriate information on the actual conditions of women in different sectors, particularly the marginalized and those less studied—tribal women, housekeepers, professionals— through life histories or case studies that can capture women's social and personal conditions (feelings, consciousness).

There is more to be done in the fields of women's studies in the Philippines. This work salutes the previous efforts done; no matter what level or category they belong. They are the springboard from which this study materialized.

2. Childcare and Career of Working Mothers in Government Service at Surkhet, Nepal. Bhoj Kumari J.C. 1993

This is an exploratory study on childcare and career of working mothers in government service at Surkhet, Nepal. The study aims to find out if childcare responsibilities affect the career of the working mothers. Several aspects were looked into in this study—socio-economic and cultural factors (family income, educational level, caste-ethnicity, type of the family, number of children, age of children, time spent by working mothers in household chores, husband's participation in childcare, presence/absence of baby-sitter, and attitude of the boss about taking care of small children in the office). These aspects were considered in relation to the time spent by the working mothers in childcare and the effect of childcare on their career development.

The study was conducted at Surkhet, Nepal. Actual fieldwork of the study was conducted at Birendra Nagar municipality. The primary data were gathered from the working mothers. The information shared by the husbands was used as supplementary data for the study.

Several methods of data collection were used, in-depth interview based on a structured interview schedule, a quick survey using questionnaire, and repeated observations.

Results of the study showed that working mothers' career is affected by childcare responsibilities of their small children. It also showed that the effect of childcare of working mothers is dependent on their socio-economic and cultural background which many respondents feel should be changed in order to develop their career and to improve the situation of working mothers as a whole in the Nepalese government service.

3. **Ang Paraan ng Pag-angkop ng mga Kababaihang Ayta ng Baryo Camatchiles, Floridablanca, Pampanga sa Pagsabog ng Bulkang Pinatubo. Victoria Narciso Apuan. 1993**

Sa loob ng 15 na buwan (Pebrero 1992-Mayo 1993), nakipag-aralan ako sa pamayanan ng mga Ayta sa Camatchiles, Floridablanca, Pampanga. Ang aking interes: malaman kung papaano umangkop ang mga kababaihang Ayta sa patuloy na kalamidad na dulot ng pagsabog ng Bulkang Pinatubo. Upang lubos na maunawaan ang mga ugat ng kanilang mga naisip, naramdaman at ginawa sa tatlong yugto ng kalamidad, sinikap na maunawaan ang katayuan o antas ng mga kababaihang Ayta bago sumabog ang bulkan at pagkatapos sumabog ang bulkan. Tiningnan ang dinamismo ng tatlong salik sa paraan ng pag-angkop ng mga kababaihang Ayta: ang pagiging babae (gender), pagiging katutubo at bilang mamamayan sa gilid ng lipunan (ethnicity), ang mga katangian at yugto na kanilang dinanas at patuloy na dinaranas.

Napapanahon at mahalaga ang naturang pag-aaral sapagkat kakaunti lamang ang kaalaman ukol sa mga Ayta, at lalong kaunti ang kaalaman ukol sa mga kababaihang Ayta. May kasalatan din sa kaalaman ukol sa mga paraan ng pangangasiwa ng kalamidad, gawa man ito ng tao, dulot ng kalikasan, o pareho. Ito rin ang kauna-unahang pagsisikap na gumawa ng makababaeng pananaliksik sa mga kababaihang Ayta. Samakatuwid, pantay ang pagpapahalagang ibinigay sa mga natuklasan at pamamaraan ng pananaliksik. Iningatan na bigyan ng halaga ang sariling pananaw at tinig ng mga kababaihang Ayta sa pangangalap ng datos.

Napag-alaman na, sa maraming larangan ng mga buhay ng mga kababaihang Ayta ng Camatchiles, napapaloob sila sa di-pantay na relasyon sa mga kalalakihan. Mas napapalala ito sa partikular na kalagayan ng mga indibidwal na kababaihan, batay sa edad, pamilyang pinanggalingan at katayuan sa pangkabuhayan. Kung mayroon mang larangan kung saan nararanasan ng kababaihan ang kanilang kapangyarihan, kakaunti lamang

ito at para sa ilang babae lamang. Bunga rin ito ng di-pantay na pagkakataon na makisangkot sa mga programang pangkaunlaran, inilunsad man ito ng pamahalaan, mga suportang grupo (NGO) o ang sarili nilang samahan.

Tulad ng iba pang mga katutubo, nasa proseso ng transisyon ang mga kababaihan Ayta sa kanilang katutubong pamumuhay tungo sa isang pamumuhay na impluwensyado ng mga pamamaraan na namamayani sa kapatagan at pinamumunuan ng mga unat. Nadagdagan pa ito ng mga impluwensya na dala ng mga taong nakihalubilo sa kanila, bunga ng umusbong na interes sa kanila pagkasabog ng Bulkang Pinatubo.

Sa namayaning kalagayan ng mga kababaihang Ayta bago sumabog ang bulkan, napatunayan ang pahayag ng Tropical Doctor na sa gitna ng kalamidad, ang pinakanahirapan ay ang mga sektor na dati nang dehado, nahihirapan o mahina, tulad ng mga kababaihan. Ngunit may lumitaw na bagong aspeto: ayon sa mga kababaihang Ayta na kinapanayam, malaki ang naitulong ng kanilang regular na iskedyul sa pang-araw-araw (bilang tagapangasiwa ng pagkain, tubig, panggatong, kalusugan at kapanatagan ng pamilya) sa pagpapagaan ng kanilang pag-angkop sa mahabang kalamidad.

Detalyado ang pagkatala ng buong proseso ng pananaliksik. Sinikap gawing tapat ang pagtatala ng mga pahayag ng 57 na kababaihang lumahok, lalo na sa mga kuwentong-buhay, panayam at ginabayang talakayan at kasama sa proseso ng pagpapatunay ng mga datos ang dalawang kababaihang Ayta na naging pangunahing kaakibat sa pananaliksik. May mga kinapanayam akong mga kalalakihan at nakatala rin ang kanilang mga pagtingin sa iba't ibang usapin. (Dahil sa ilang maselan na usapin na tinalakay, iniba ang mga pangalan ng lahat ng mga Aytang kinapanayam.)

Ibinahagi ko rin ang aking personal na pagtingin sa aking naging karanasan sa pakikipag-ugnayan sa mga Ayta at sa mga kinatawan ng mga suportang grupo, pati ang aking napagnilayan bilang peminista.

Mula sa perspektiba na wasto at makatarungan lamang na isaalang-alang ang kalagayan ng mga kababaihan, hindi lamang sa pangangasiwa ng kalamidad kundi sa buong proseso ng kaunlaran, naglahad ako ng mga mungkahi para sa mga suportang grupong kumikilos sa loob ng Baryo Camatchiles at para sa mga aktibo sa mga katutubong samahan sa baryo, maging ang Konseho ng mga Matatanda, ang Barangay Council, at ang balangay ng Aguman da reng Katutubo qng Floridablanca (AKAY).

Inilahad ko rin ang aking paningin na nasimulan na ang proseso ng pagbabago ng relasyon ng mga kababaihan at kalalakihang Ayta sa Camatchiles, bagamat higit-kumulang dalawa pa lamang ang masigasig na nagtataguyod ng hangaring mapaunlad ang kanilang pamayanan sa pamamagitan ng pagpapaunlad ng relasyon ng mga kababaihan at kalalakihan.

Mayaman ang datos na naibahagi at natuklasan sa kasalukuyang nangangapang pag-aaral. Nagkaroon siya ng ilang limitasyon, lalo na sa usapin ng panahong itinigil sa baryo. Batid ko na upang lubos kong maunawaan ang usapin ng ugat at katangian ng di-pantay na kalagayan ng mga kababaihan, taon ang bibilangin.

Sa sinumang may interes sa mga kababaihang Ayta o ibang katutubong kababaihan, maaring magsilbing tuntungan ang mga datos na bunga ng kasalukuyang pag-aaral.

4. Romantic Love: A Feminist Study of Change. Annette Hug. 1994

This is an inductive study of the process of change in the lives of feminists in Metro Manila, using a case-study approach. I focused on romantic love as the specific field of change.

The objectives of the research are to study the changes in the views and lived experiences of feminists in Metro Manila as related to notions of romantic love. Further, the research intends to study variations in these changes as mediated by class and sexual orientation. The third goal is to identify factors contributing to the changes and point to possibilities for change in the organizing and consciousness-raising strategies of the women's movement.

The study was confined to ten feminists in Metro Manila of different age, class background and sexual orientation. Every resource woman was interviewed for two to three hours and consulted regarding the written outcome of the interview. In addition, historical, literary and feminist theoretical texts were utilized and considered in the data presentation as well as in the analysis.

The study documented a process of change that is inseparable from the growth and learning every woman continuously undertakes. The following points were identified as crucial in influencing the specific changes individual women make:

a) The variety or romantic notions and the contradictory cultural messages women receive make the process of active negotiation of these messages important. However, some messages are uniform, namely the heterosexuality of romantic images, the idea of marriage as the goal of romance for women, and the stereotypical passivity of women in the course of romantic tales.

b) Early experiences of violence against women, especially sexual violence, experiences of lesbians in a homophobic environment, growing up as an outcast because of a bad family reputation and strong interests other than men and love had a decisive impact on how women adopted or rejected specific notions of romantic love.

c) The women's environment as well as the progressive movement gave changes in women's understanding and practices of romantic love a conscious direction. The influence of the two movements differs considerably because of their different structures and processes. However, there is no clear dividing line between the two movements.

d) All of the resource women assessed the changes they underwent as empowering for themselves.

In combining the different resource women's analysis of romantic love in relation to women's oppression with published feminist theoretical texts, I propose the use of Michelle Barrett's concept of ideology as relatively autonomous from the material condition (based on Althusser). This analytical chapter is meant to be a starting point for a discussion of the ideology of romantic love as well as the problematique of ideology in political/feminist theory in a Philippine context.

Finally, I relate the observations of women's changes to organizing ad consciousness-raising in the Philippine women's movement. I conclude that for women to attain personal empowerment combined with a deeper insight to the sources of their oppression, the informal aspects of organizations and the feminist community are essential. Paying attention to this area is therefore important in order to maintain a strong base for the further advancement of feminism.

Consciousness-raising as described by the resource women is a collective process, an activity on the continuum of sharing/ discussing/theorizing and intricately connected to the life of a feminist community. This concept of consciousness-raising has to be affirmed as against an understanding where some woman 'raise the consciousness of others'.

5. Sama-samang Paglakbay sa Pagbubuo ng Sarili: An Exploratory Study on the Incest Using Feminist Participatory Approach: a Contribution to the Study of Violence Against Women. Prescilla dele Peña-Tulipat. 1994

This study uses a feminist participatory approach to examine the nature and effects of incest abuse. Two big and three small groups discussion of 18 women victims-survivors of incest reveal that incest is a progression of sexual acts. Incest is described in Filipino words like 'ginalaw', 'pinaglaruan', 'binaboy' and 'ginahasa'. Also, the family, together with the other structures in society, are analyzed as dynamically interacting with each other to produce social processes, which perpetuate incest. These processes are objectification of women, the rapist ethics of men and the culture of silence. The effects of incest are presented here in five general areas: physical, physiological, emotional, behavioral and sexual. The use of the term victims-survivors of incest means that the women actively cope with their incest abuse throughout their lives.

6. Gender Sensitization, Personal Transformation and Women's Ways of Knowing: A Feedback to Philippine Women Non-government Organizations and Diwata. Virgina Yap Morales. 1995

The thesis is a reflection on gender-sensitization training in the context of personal transformation and women's ways of knowing.

This reflection is situated within the researcher's own life and work experience. It dwells particularly at a time when women non-government organizations (WNGOs) managed the DIWATA fund to propel women's empowerment goals. Gender sensitization training (BCR-GST) is aimed to enable women to speak out gender asymmetry in roles and work, and interconnect gender issues to larger social structures. Given the BCR-GSTs' priority allocation and wide dissemination, there is however little information on how gender sensitization touch women's lives.

Specifically, in two WNGOs' evaluation of the BCR-GST, the difficulties of women's participation in training are ascribed to gender roles and moral imperatives. These WNGOs recommended that future training be situated within the complexity of social relations in the woman's local context.

Semi structured interviews and focused group discussions were used to generate the women's articulations, as reconstructed by the researcher, with the benefit of insights from the method of feminist oral history.

The findings show that the rural grassroots women and WNGO trainers negotiate conflicts in gender orientations in their own lives, in an arduous, step-by-step process. The findings further indicate that the articulation by rural grassroots women of their ways of knowing, as reconstructed by the researcher, is a spiral and cyclical process of articulating their self worth vis-à-vis the self-image that society has imposed. The three epistemological positions that were identified in the study are: 1) noise-- characterized by inner disharmony and being subject to external authorities; 2) subjective knowledge/deconstruction--characterized by knowledge that is personally intuited, accompanied with prayer-dialogues and a capacity to handle relationships in a self-assertive manner; and 3) constructed knowledge--characterized by knowers themselves creating knowledge that is relevant to their life context, and is outward directed to others.

The study indicates the need to develop training modules that may be part of the BCR-GST, or become new training syllabus altogether with a longer time frame to keep pace with the women's change processes. These new training [materials] are geared towards 1) deeper self-awareness particularly on areas that are decisive in a woman's life namely: sexuality, spiritual development, and violence against women; 2) new knowledge, attitudes and skills for a woman's

self-assertion; and 3) development of skills for multi-level dialogues with the spouse, family of origin and the community towards strengthening local structures of women's development.

7. Gender and Development Issues Among Tucucan Migrant Urban-Poor women of Baguio. Victoria P. Tumbaga. 1995

My study aimed at describing, comparing, analyzing the gender status of villagers both in Tucucan in Bontoc, Mountain province (ancestral village) and Maligcong Village in Baguio (migration community) of Tucucan-Bontoc urban-poor migrants.

Methods of research used were descriptive and exploratory. The research design included case studies, participatory approach, review of secondary data and interviews with key informants of both villages.

Included in this text are six case studies where ethnic migrant urban-poor women narrate their experiences in the village of their origin and in their migration community, and two community profiles, one on Tucucan and the other on Maligcong Village.

Based on the respondents' narrations, my observations, interviews with key informants and secondary data, the following gender and development issues were drawn: (1) gender division of labor by age group and class; (2) gender relations (in kinship, marriage and in the community systems); (3) access to freedom, decision making and freedom of movement; and (4) access to opportunities.

Significant findings showed that practices of gender division of labor strongly prevail among villagers in both communities. The characteristics of such practices show separateness, inequality, hierarchy among age group and class, segregation, and exploitation of women and

the lower class. It also shows some divergence from common beliefs regarding division of labor roles of males and females, in separate spheres; men are not the main providers but the women are. Not only are the women the primary providers but they are at the same time the mainstay in overall productive and reproductive activities both in the ancestral village and in the migration community.

Labor division is also practiced among age groups, where female children tend to engage in more domestic and fieldwork activities and in greater frequency as compared to male children. Among the elderly, women continue to engage in domestic work, whereas the men tend to spend their time leisurely at the ator.

Relations of domination by the rich fieldowners and subjugation of poor hired field owners prevail to some extent. The perpetuation of class structures and the absence of alternative modes of livelihood in the ancestral village contribute greatly to poverty among most villagers.

The manner of and the concerns of decision making are different between men and women. Women's concerns are providing for the family's subsistence which are vital, urgent, day-to-day needs whereas those of men are along community activities which are not of significance in terms of survival. Again, in the migration area, women make decisions along these vital concerns whereas the men seldom make decisions along subsistence production because they are seldomly employed.

Because the women are the main producers for their household members' survival, whereas the men are subsidiary producers, it is thus stated that men of this group are parasites to women for their survival.

Primary reasons for migration among most villagers belonging to the poor class are; to escape poverty, leave behind hard field labor, and their desire for better economic opportunities.

Despite the change of environment (from the ancestral village to the city) and the shift of modes of production from rice production to service oriented jobs in the city), practice of gender division of labor prevails among migrants. Effects on women of this practice still carry through such as unequal loads, greater bulk of productive and reproductive work, lesser leisure time, and ill-effect to health conditions of pregnant or lactating workers.

Due to migrants' lack of skills for urban-type work, women migrants are force into informal jobs mostly in the service areas. Women's jobs can be characterized as tedious, strenuous, work-intensive, hazardous, exposed to outdoor elements, low-paying, insecure income (that income is dependent on available resources) and devoid of benefits such as insurance and others.

Most migrant women are burdened with having to solely provide for their households because men in the village are often out of job. The men tend to be less employed due to lesser jobs available to men.

Women are adversely affected by the physical environment of the migrant area. The steep terrain and the lack of water supply and lighting facilities of rough and narrow pathways expose them to hazards as they carry out their daily domestic activities.

Villagers are also constantly threatened by possible ejectment and demolition due to the controversial; status of the lands they occupy. Villagers are considered illegal occupants or squatters.

Though respondents perceive that their life situation greatly improved as compared to their situation then in the ancestral village, due to a wider range of opportunities for earning, still, their status as ethnic, migrant, urban-poor and women, situate the marginalized in comparison to other women belonging to other sectors in the city.

My perception of migrant women is that they are more concerned with getting out of poverty, labor-intensive, low-paying modes of production and class oppression than getting out of gender oppression. While findings show that poverty surfaces as the main issue among this group of women, such issues are linked with visible disturbing gender issues which simply cannot be put aside.

As feminists have stated, "Gender division of labor practices embody and perpetuate subordination of women." (Barett, 1980; McIntosh, 1981; Moser, 1990). Again, these women are oppressed due to inequality between men and women. That is, women have more work, lesser leisure, and are heavily burdened with the manner of carrying out of their roles as providers and reproducers. Added to these, women have lesser access to opportunities as compared to the members of the wealthy class in the ancestral village and other groups of people in the urban area. Their lack of skills for urban-type of work make them less competitive to land in more decent and better paying jobs.

In response to issues faced by villagers both in the ancestral village and in the migration community, development programs such as education-organization, livelihoods and health are propose in the service areas. Suggestions for planning and implementing of these services have been given.

8. Women and Men of Landed and Landless Households in Barangay Palagay, Cabanatuan City. Makiko Takei. 1995

The study's main concern is to explore the access and control over resources and benefits, roles and status and constraints and needs of women and men of landed and landless households in the level of farm, in the level of household, and in the level of the community, in terms of gender relations and resource base in Barangay Palagay, Cabanatuan City, Nueva

Ecija. The methods were household survey, case studies, key informant interview, Focus Group Discussion and participant observation.

The findings showed that women's roles and status in the context of the rice farming system are different based on their resource base and their husband's involvement in farming. Women admitted the importance of their income (engagement in productive work) not only to support their family but also to increase in women's power of decision-making at home. Regardless of women's involvement of productive work, women are responsible for reproductive work. Reproductive work is shared by other household members. Regarding family planning, women accept the responsibility for it. At the community level, landed men are in policy-making body and are benefiting from seminars. Women who participate in KaBaPa raise their consciousness of women's rights. It helps women to be more self-confident, to be free from ideology of female inferiority and has influence on the relationship between husband and wife. Effects on intrahousehold division of labor and intrahousehold decision-making processes are examined. To strengthen cooperatives, including post harvest activities, is highly recommended. In order to advance women's status, capital for women, seminar on women's health for both men and women, to encourage women's organization, to encourage women's participation in policy-making bodies are recommended.

9. Women and the Forest: The Importance of Food, Fuelwood and Fodder to the Village Women in Poluntar. Sujata Neupane. 1996

This study was conducted in a small village of Gorkha, on the western part of Nepal. The objectives of the study are: to determine the role of women in forest conservation, their situation, coping mechanism, their burden as compounded by deforestation and its consequences on the women. The nature of the study is descriptive with the chapters giving a picture of the forest in a particular village situation, showing the uses of

forest, the incidence of deforestation, the indigenous way of forest management system and the present mechanisms to protect forests and their interrelationship with women.

Participant observation, unstructured interview, key informant interview and oral life histories are the methods used for the data collection. The information was collected from the historical as well as from other contemporary perspectives.

The main findings of the study include the following:

a) In this village, most of the forest areas have already been converted to grazing fields and cultivate land. The remaining forest has also been degraded. As in other Nepalese villages, forest products are very important, especially tree products like firewood, leaves and timber for village life. Firewood is needed for the food preparation for human beings. Fodder is also important for animal husbandry, fertilizer, cultivation, agricultural production and for human survival.

b) Women's situation in Poluntar reflects marginalization in society. Their lives are governed by Hindu culture that put them at a disadvantaged position compared to men. Women's lives are bound to a cycle of labor for the family's survival. Women's close interaction with the forest is based on the cultural and traditional duties and responsibilities for the family's daily subsistence.

c) In Poluntar village, due to massive exploitation of forest products by the influential village clans, access to forest products has become arduous to women as well as to the other marginalized sectors. The rich and influential people in

the government are involved in the logging industries, thus further monopolizing natural resources and leaving women and other marginalized people poorer.

d) Consequently, the shortage of forest products has been borne by village women who have to spend longer hours of journey to collect firewood, fodder and water for their consumption. The shortage of forest products has created more difficulties for women already burdened by their domestic and subsistence work.

e) The issue of deforestation and women's subordination should be brought into the large context through women's collective participation in community as well as household activities. Local level organizing is needed to involve women in consciousness raising and advocacy to ensure the security of their livelihood. Together with women, men should be organized in order to comprehend the implication of gender issues to their lives and society in general.

10. Coming Home from Japan: The Story of Eight Filipina Entertainers. Noriko Iguchi.1998

A great number of Filipino women go to Japan to work as entertainers. Many studies show problems that they encounter in the country of work. However, few studies have been made to look into their situation after their return to their homeland. Women, upon return, face problems or changes in themselves, in relation to their family and their community. This study examines these areas, in focusing on the views of women, as well as that of family and community.

This study utilized case study analysis. Eight women, their family members, and their neighbors were interviewed. Data were collected with the assistance of non-governmental and governmental organizations in Manila. Personal referrals were also availed of.

The study is guided by Multiple Identities Framework. This approach enables the researcher to look at the issue of female migration from both macro and micro perspectives. And this framework is able to link structure and agency since they are interactive and affect each other. Human beings are viewed as active agents, not as bearers of powerful structural forces. In addition, this framework looks into the complex lives of women through their different identities, such as race, gender, class, age, occupation, etc. instead of looking at women as a homogeneous category. Filipina migration to Japan results in both positive and negative consequences. Women returnees' reintegration into the Philippine society or their community was affected by different pressures/ forces of structures, i.e. family, community and global force. Female migration is a family strategy for its economic survival and social mobility. The community has very low regard for women returnees from Japan, often citing 'morality' issues. Aside from these factors, class and materialism (influenced by global forces), push the women to go back to Japan. However, women have their own coping strategies and act on them. They have their own reality and redefine their life.

Some women want to go back to Japan, while others prefer to stay in the Philippines. Given these points, recommendations are made: (1) improvement of assistance programs for women by NGOs and GOs; (2) Implications for policy changes for the respective governments, and bilateral agreement on regulating illegal migrant workers.

11. Organizational Factors in Implementing Gender and Development: Focus on the Community Based Forest Management Program. Jennifer Romero Llaguno. 1998

The study attempts to undertake an initial assessment of the Community Based Forest Management Program (CBFMP) in the Department of Environmental and Natural Resources (DENR) from a gender and development (GAD) perspective. The impetus for the study is to contribute to the ongoing discourse on the importance of the integration for GAD in social forestry.

The vision of CBFMP is one of empowered forest communities working hand in hand with DENR in sustainably managing, developing and protecting the forest resources surrounding them.

From a GAD perspective, communities are seen as constituted of women and men whose needs, interests, roles, responsibilities, expectations, opportunities and benefits differ from each other on the basis of gender as a socially constructed category.

While empowerment as referred to in the vision pertains to the capacity of program participants as stakeholders in the benefits that can be derived from protecting the forest and maintaining a balanced ecosystem, the GAD framework is concerned with gender as a variable in building such capacity.

The components of the assessment include the organizational diagnoses of the agency where CBFMP is lodged and of the GAD Focal Point in the agency. It also undertakes an implementation analysis of the program by going over secondary data that consist of selected community profiles in Region IV. A major constraint in this part of the research process is the lack of gender-disaggregated data in the available documents.

The study proceeds with the conduct of two case studies that makes use of gender analysis as a research method to generate specific data on women and men. The cases have shown the importance of gender data for the analysis of the subject of inquiry.

The organizational diagnoses revealed a complex enabling agency environment in the DENR in terms of the adoption of the GAD perspective in CBFMP. Questions thus arise about the role of these factors in ensuring the integration of GAD in program planning, design and implementation.

Based on findings, the conclusions of the study indicates that the presence of positive organizational factors palpably supportive of the adoption of the GAD framework in a specific program might not sufficiently ensure its genuine integration due to a variety of barriers. This could refer to factors such as the novelty of the concept, contrary policies established over years of implementation, bureaucratic resistance, etc.

The study ends with the hope that CBFMP will consider gender responsive forestry development as a critical element of the vision of sustainable development. It is therefore suggested as a strategy that it becomes a goal of the program through the adoption of the GAD framework.

12. Women's Empowerment and Resource Management Organizations: A Case Study on Organizational Processes, Practices and Structures. Ma. Linnea Villarosa-Tanchuling. 1999

This qualitative study explores women's empowerment in an organization. Through a case study of a fisherfolk resource management organization (SANRACA Fisherfolk Resource

Management Multi-purpose Cooperative – SFRMMC) in Barili, Cebu, the study aims to identify, describe and assess the organizational strategies, activities, practices and structures that facilitate and/or hinder women's empowerment to take place within the organization. Specifically, it looks into the following organizational components: organizational goals and strategies; organizational practice in relation to assignment of roles, responsibilities and tasks; representation and involvement in decision-making structures and leadership roles; and, system of organizational resource allocation and distribution.

The findings from the case study show that the women's empowerment within the organization is hindered by the following factors:

a) The prevailing perceptions and expectations on the roles of women and men in the community since it facilitated the inclusion of men while it posed limitations and restrictions to women's inclusion and entry in the organization;

b) The policies and practices on membership recruitment, active participation, leadership selection, resource and benefit distribution, and membership retention adopted by the organization. These policies and practices had constricted spaces for women's active involvement in the organization. Women accessed organizational resources based on the extent to which they complied with these policies; and

c) The unequal assignment of responsibilities and the distribution of organizational resources as legitimized by organizational rules, policies and practice. These had facilitated the convergence of authority and control to the men in the organization.

The case study also provides some insights to the factors that can facilitate women's empowerment with the fisherfolk resource management organization. To enable women's empowerment within an organization, its processes, strategies and structures must take into consideration the following realities:

a) Women and men in an organization do not start at an equal footing. Women have more limitations and constraints than men because of their current roles within the traditional gender division of labor.

b) In mixed organizations wherein women and men are members, organizational goals, policies, process and structure could become critical elements that can aggravate the gender gap and discrimination within the organization.

c) Gender equality and equity is hard to achieve if the orientation and core strategies of a community-based resource management program focus only on rehabilitation, protection and management of extractive fisheries.

d) Valuation by the organization of women's participation and contribution on the same terms as men.

e) The presence of a relatively gender aware and organized group of women is critical in advocating and pushing for the women's agenda within the organization.

Gender awareness of women and men is essential in promoting women's empowerment within the organization.

13. The Privatization Phenomenon: Redefining the 'Public' and 'Private' of Women's Lives. Violeta Q. Perez-Coral. 1999

The 13-year old privatization program has not had a single assessment of its social and environmental impacts nor a definitive study of its macro-economic impacts, even as efforts at privatization continue to expand in scope and coverage. A redefinition of what should constitute the basket of public goods that government provides and that which is best produced by the private sector has been taking place, and women are being left out in this reconstitution. Privatization is shifting burdens from the visible 'productive' to the invisible 'reproductive' economy, with actual and potential major consequences on the 'public' and 'private' of women's lives.

Whether as public sector workers on the frontline (where the public sector is a core provider of jobs for women), or as mothers/wives/household managers and major consumers of erstwhile public goods and services, or as citizens of this Third World republic, privatization affects women's lives individually and collectively. Privatization raises a whole gamut of issues which begs urgent attention from women. The extent of the effects of privatization on women are as yet little-known, nor are women's perspectives clearly articulated in the yet-to-emerge substantial debates.

This paper presents a framework for analysis of the effects of privatization on women at the macro, meso and micro level, examines the case of privatization of Manila's water service delivery, raises major concerns on privatizing across a 'gendered' terrain, and recommends what needs to be urgently done by women's groups, academics and relevant government agencies.

14. Gender and Tourism in the Cordillera: A Study on How Tourism Affects the Women and Men of Banaue, Ifugao. Juline Dulnuan and Remedios Mondiguing. 2000

This exploratory study attempted to examine the effects of tourism in Banaue, Ifugao, using a gender sensitive methodology. By listening to the stories of the indigenous women and men, we gathered their perceptions of tourism and how this has affected their lives. In-depth interviews were conducted among eleven women and ten men, comprised of elders, adults and youth. To provide the context of the study, secondary materials which included government tourism plans, programs and trends in visitor arrivals, were also looked into. From the narratives, insights and themes were drawn and then gender analyzed. Coming from two different fields-Juline tourism, and Peach[Remedios] in women's studies-both of us did separate analyses, integrating our own personal experiences and reflections.

Our findings showed that: 1) government tourism plans and programs are gender-blind and biased for tourists; 2) tourism work is structured by gender and reinforces the existing division of labor; 3) class operates in tourism and does not benefit the majority of the Ifugaos; 4) tourism has contributed to the feminization of poverty; 5) some incidences of violence against women have been attributed to tourism; 6) tourism has contributed to the breakdown of Ifugao terraced wet rice farming values; 7) tourism has aggravated the community's garbage and water distribution problems; 8) increased income from tourism has contributed to the gradual cessation of the role of elders in the transmittal of culture; and 9) tourism offends culture, resulting in the loss of respect for women, elders and village freedom.

A reconceptualization of tourism from solely an economic activity to a reciprocal cultural exchange between hosts and guests based on mutual respect is being recommended. The formulation of gender and culture sensitive tourism programs that recognize gender

issues and are based on respect for the culture, values and norms and needs of the community is also being recommended. An immediate plan of action proposes the feedback of our findings and recommendations to the women and men from all sectors in the community particularly the farmers, not only for validation but for the community to be made aware of the issues and make an informed decision about them. A conference of all major participants in tourism development to discuss gender issues in tourism with the end in view of coming up with collaborative undertaking towards our vision of tourism is also proposed.

15. Women and Micro-Entrepreneurship: Focus on Women Vinegar Producers in Laoag City. Liberty Aleli Tapaoan-Datoc. 2000

How do women involved in micro-enterprise cope with their roles as micro-entrepreneurs, as mothers and as wives, and as members of an organization? The main focus of this research deals with the way women combine their reproductive, productive and community management roles in the process of attaining gender equality and women empowerment.

The participants of this study were the 20 women home-based micro-entrepreneurs engaged in vinegar production in Bacsil North, Laoag City. They are the members of the Bacsil North Women's Association, an organization of vinegar producers which is a recipient of micro-financing programs.

This study examined the constraints and issues that affect women as micro-entrepreneurs such as lack of capital, scarcity and high cost of raw materials, and lack of market and technology as well as the facilitating factors of women's access to resources and how they impinge on women's upward movement in the industry.

The experiences of these women which were gathered through their stories and structured interviews provide a deeper understanding of how women survive the intricacies and demands of nurturing the family, sustaining the household economy, and contributing to community development. Hence, within the Women's Equality and Empowerment Framework, there are many stages characterizing the process which women undergo.

While the women's involvement in micro-entrepreneurship and participation in organizations gave them the opportunity to gain access to and control of resources and benefits, such were limited to increasing individual income and participation in community activities and did not improve their level of awareness and empowerment as women in the face of the gender division of labor and other gender-based constraints.

Hence, some recommendations were proposed in terms of how the women involved in homebased micro-entrepreneurship can work for the betterment of the family, growth of the micro-enterprise, building up of the organization, and genuine development of the community while empowering themselves as women.

16. On Our Own Terms: Journeys with our Mothers. Regina Elizabeth Madriaga Capuno. 2001

This is the story of six middle-class women in their forties introspecting on their lives and their relationships with their mothers. Their stories are analyzed for their insights into how these women and their mothers coped with the realities and demands of patriarchy. The researcher participates as one of the subjects, responds to the same questions put forth to the rest, and writes her own story. She then interviews the other subjects and writes down their stories, and analyzes the findings by bringing to bear her own experiences and understanding as a student of feminism,

and one who is seeking some answers to her own personal journey and evolution as a feminist. Probing into how other women of her own generation and class, who do not call themselves feminist, look at the issue of feminism, she also wanted to share with them the experience of participating in feminist research and convince them that each woman's voice and story deserves to be heard.

The researcher sifts through the stories and comes up with some common themes and patterns. Although the major events and the major dilemmas of these women revolve around the family, their frustrations are mostly career-related. Although they do not claim to be feminists, their definitions of feminism are fairly accurate, touching on their rights as women, the equality between the sexes and being able to pursue self-fulfillment. Most of the complaints about their femaleness center on the unfairness of being saddled with the burden of domesticity.

Whether positive or negative, the subjects acknowledge the strong influence of their mothers on their lives. However, all the subjects consider themselves to be different from their mothers. There is no clear trend in terms of the influence of the mothers as role models for the subjects. All the subjects regard their mothers with ambivalence, with not one expressing unequivocal love or hatred for their mothers. All the mother-daughter relationships documented in the study show an improvement with the passage of time.

All the life stories show that the subjects suffered from some forms of patriarchal conditions whether as daughters or as wives. In coping with these realities, the subjects were putting into action a feminist perspective although they did not label it as such. The subjects all manifest what the researcher term as an incipient brand of feminism, which if nurtured, could make the transition from the unconscious to the conscious kind. The family and career emerge as the two areas which the subjects deem as important in the assertion of their rights. The home proves to be the turf where most

of them achieved some measure of success in being able to exert their own influence. Their careers are the source of their frustrations, with most of them, except for one, wanting to have charted their career development with more planning and resolve. Two of them waged particularly difficult struggles in terms of supplanting or supplementing the role of main breadwinner which their husbands abdicated.

A "split-level" feminism is seen to occur first in the divergence between speech and action where some are available to articulate very well what feminism is but has a difficult time translating their assertiveness in action, while others who purport not to be aware of feminism as a concept or guidepost in their lives in fact demonstrate very feminist inclinations in their behavior and decisions. Another split occurs between home and work, where some express their assertiveness only in one area but not in the other. The study points out that the subjects, being more privileged, may be more difficult to convince regarding the need for a feminist perspective in their own lives. They need only to make connection between patriarchy and the sources of their oppression, and feminism and the options open to them for coping with the patriarchal world. It is one of the tasks of feminist research to help women see the connection in clearer, more concrete, more familiar terms.

17. Mute and Academic: Selected Tabloids' Construction of the Rape-Murder Alleged Suicide of Marivic Suller, Filipina Migrant Scholar Scientist who Died in India. Ava Vivian Gonzales. 2001

This inquiry, in subversively reading three (3) tabloids' (namely Tempo, People's Tonight and People's Journal) coverage of Marivic Suller, uncovered two (2) ways tabloid discourse constructs 'woman" as a category. It collected and organized stories on Marivic Suller in the three most widely read tabloids of 1993-1994 and identified 27 plot descriptions these

tabloids used to construct Marivic Suller. A content and discursive analysis of the headlines, leads, sources, and evidence which reinforced the article's angles brought to the surface these tabloids' most prominent portrayal of Marivic Suller as a raped, dead, scientist.

It was found that headlines were six times likely to be based on a man's utterance than that of a woman's. Marivic Suller's and women's silence in tabloid headlines reflect the absence of female voices and concerns in language genres society considers prestigious— political rhetoric, legal discourse and science. Tabloids chose to quote men belonging to these fields over women's NGOs, Marivic herself, or her female relatives. Marivic, however, was allowed space in the lead— upon the condition that she was dead, a language game which exchanges her silence in the headlines for a more subtle form in the lead

For the three tabloids, Marivic was a raped, dead, scientist. This coincides with the finding that autopsies were the most frequently invoked claims to knowledge in tabloid reportage about her. It was mainly the medico-legal text which mapped Marivic's estrangement as a self and her body's fragmentation.

Marivic pays for the privileges of her talent by postponing marriage and childbirth for access to scientific knowledge and is labeled "mad." Her "madness" was attributed to her alleged failure to meet the demands of her training, which was used to justify her death.

This study confirmed that tabloids 'other' women by: 1) privileging the portrayal of a migrant Filipina as a raped body over that of government's failure to secure the rights of the women it has sent abroad and 2) detaching a woman's story from the story of similar migrant women victims of male-inflicted violence. This led the researcher to re-write Marivic's story. The rewritten text will be submitted to the three tabloids and to local and Indian women's NGOs. By this, the researcher hopes to raise not only

awareness on Marivic's case, but likewise show it is possible to write about violence against women in a new language; doing so also operationalizes the researcher's recommendations of attaching the *puri/dangal* discourse embedded in tabloids to the notion of *Inang Bayan*. This requires affixing every migrant Filipina's unjust death abroad to the death of the country's progress.

18. Voices from Within: Experience of Patriarchy in Traditional Marriage and Family Life of High Caste/Class Hindu Women of Kathmandu. Anita Khadka-Karki. 2002.

Hindu patriarchal values, explicitly discriminatory and oppressive towards women, continue to govern the marriage and family lives of the majority of Nepalese women. It is believed that these values and practices exist and operate sturdily among the higher castes of Hindus (Brahmins and the Chettriyas) as compared to the lower castes according to the Hindu hierarchical division. Experience of this discriminatory tradition in our personal lives, remains within the four walls of the household, as our individual problem, and gets no attention in development policies or in the academe. It is widely believed that poverty and illiteracy are the causes for the misfortune of Nepalese women. This implies that once women are relieved of poverty and illiteracy, there will be no woman's question.

This study has looked into the narratives of lived experiences of the high caste/class of Hindu women of Kathmandu, who are both educated and working. With the help of the life stories narrated by ten women, including my own, the study sets out to show how the Hindu traditional values function persistently, strongly at every stage of our lives, in spite of the fact that we neither suffer from poverty nor illiteracy. The study has looked into various stages of the lives of the participants in this study, from childhood to adulthood: to find out how these

traditional values function in our lives, how we experience these values and how we deal with them. The study identifies some key issues and dilemmas we have faced at various stages of our lives and shows how we conform to or deny the traditional demands on us. With the help of these narratives and also a few suggestions that the women participating in the study made, recommendations regarding how we can individually and collectively fight against this discriminatory tradition and improve our and other similarly situated women's lives were made.

Inspired by the feminist research praxis, which rests on concepts such as empowerment of the study participants and equality of the research relationship and insisting on the value of subjectivity and personal experiences, this study has used the life-story method of gathering information. In-depth interviews were made for the life-stories. Belonging in the same community as the other participants I have included my own experiences and the experiences of other women (family and friends) when appropriate and relevant along with those of nine-study participants'. The life narratives have been presented thematically in the fifth chapter according to identifiable issues and dilemmas that emerged from the data itself.

This study is framed upon an understanding of the concept of patriarchy and the patriarchal system in analyzing the experiences of high caste/class Hindu women. The theoretical framework defines concepts such as private and public patriarchy and how the various institutions within these, e.g. caste, kinship and family organization, the state and the legal system, work together in sustaining patriarchy. The extensive review of literature mainly focuses on understanding the patriarchal Hindu culture, social organization (caste, kinship and family) and thoughts regarding women. The review helped understand the interconnectedness of these structures with each other and with the subordination of women.

Using these concepts, the life stories have been further studied to understand patriarchy in the institutional level or political level; thus the sixth chapter analyzes and explains our lives in the light of the personal and political level.

The study attempts to make recommendations on both the personal and institutional level and identifies some areas for further research, in the eighth chapter.

19. Organizing and Empowering Older Widows in an Agricultural Setting: The Experiences of the Widows' Association of Canlaon. Mary Jean Justiniano-Perez. 2003

Feminist organizing among older widows is a new area of women's work in the Philippines. Our own experiences started in 1993 when a group of rural widows in Canlaon City asked our assistance to organize them to overcome the many problems they faced as a poor and marginalized sector in the community. After ten years of organizing work, I initiated this study to analyze the organizing experience with the Association of Widows of Canlaon (WAC) and its effect on the widows and on their families and the community. As a new area of study, my aim is for us to learn from this initial experience and to come up with a body of knowledge to contribute to our understanding of the world of older widows. In the course of the study, I looked into the strategies used, the factors that affected the work, the role of the State and came out with recommendations for future work.

Consistent with our feminist beginnings, I used the feminist qualitative research methodology, particularly the life story approach and focus group discussions as tools to capture the experiences of WAC members, the subjects of the research. The framework for analysis used was a combination of the Class-Gender Framework and the Empowerment Framework of Longwe.

The results of the study showed that the poor widows belong to the lowest strata of the social pyramid. Poverty, widowhood, and experiences of discrimination and neglect drove the widows to form the WAC. Feminist organizing has effectively touched on the practical and strategic interests of the widows and in the process transformed them into empowered women capable of affecting change in their family and community. Our initial findings showed that older widows, with their developed qualities, are an organizable group and given the proper support, they could be potential agents of development.

20. Video-thesis on the Politics of Young Women's Sexuality in the Philippines. Romina"Beng" Sta. Clara. 2003

Young women constitute a substantial and growing portion of the world's population. Sexuality and reproductive health and rights are not freely and openly discussed in the Philippines. Various studies have pointed to the lack of education; services and practical materials intended for young audience have contributed to gender-based violence and continuing oppression of women in society. Thus, most women, especially the young, are misinformed about their sexual and reproductive health and rights. Qualitative researches on sexuality particularly from the perspective of young women are lacking. As an experimental research, this video-thesis uses a mix data and multiple feminist participatory methods to demystify and [de] construct sexuality, particularly for young women, as a political strategy. The purposive sampling of women from Tagabawa-Bagobo and NGO workers and participatory video provide space to young women to explore their views and experiences on sexuality as well as challenge our constructs of sexuality, violence, pleasure and politics.

21. The Philippine GAD Budget Policy, An Analysis of a Gender Mainstreaming Strategy. Cecilia Iguiron-Fantastico. 2005

In the Philippines GAD budgeting efforts, backed by the GAD policy, are geared toward making organizations and their policies and programs and projects gender-responsive. This policy has become one of the most potent, albeit controversial, tools for pushing the women's agenda in the country. Its experience is fraught with the challenges of learning by doing it.

The intention of GAD budgeting project is evident in the policy statement: to identify those responsible for GAD budgeting, to address gender issues, to implement the Framework Plan for Women and to address women's issues.

To ensure that its intentions are realized, the GAD budget policy action requirements include the preparation of a GAD plan, the allocation of a minimum 5% of the total budget for women, the review and endorsement of GAD Plans and budgets by NCRFW, and the submission of Annual GAD Budget Reports.

GAD Budgeting in the Philippines is being sustained by the formal expression of political will, the institutional capacity and accountability of government, availability of technical resource base, NGO Advocacies.

Like any other policy, there are issues affecting the effective implementation and monitoring of the GAD budget policy, as follow: token compliance, attribution, non-utilization of allocated amounts, using the GAD budget policy as a "catch-all" fund, NCRFW's lack of clout to sufficiently and effectively monitor the policy and the limited substantive focus of its monitoring among other.

This study recommends the involvement of the legislative and judicial branches of government in the coverage of the policy, the development of strategies to influence macro processes, multi-level monitoring, the more active involvement of stakeholders.

GAD budgeting in the Philippines is interlinked with its gender mainstreaming efforts. It is both the budget for gender mainstreaming efforts. It is both the budget for gender mainstreaming and for GAD interventions addressing women's/gender issues. GAD budgeting may also mean to en-"gender" the mainstream budgeting process, which may be the next level of GAD budgeting efforts in the country. The GAD budget policy has the potential to provide women with the political leverage to reverse women's lack of political influence in decision-making processes.

22. Voices of Militant Women (Herstories of Revolutionaries of the First Quarter Storm of 1970). Fleur De Lys Castelo-Cupino. 2006

Voices of militant women (Herstories of Revolutionaries of the First Quarter Storm of 1970) documents the life stories of seven women revolutionaries who valiantly fought the Marcos dictatorship. 35 years after the FQS, these women are still involved in the struggle for social transformation and women emancipation.

This work is a contribution to women historiography, adding to the dearth of literature on contemporary women revolutionaries. It is a contribution to making women visible in history and in engendering history. It gives space to women's voices, unearthing their narratives from the margins of historical discourse.

This is an attempt to document the living, for women need not die first to be recorded and remembered. The objective of the thesis is to have an insight into the personal lives of women revolutionaries from the FQS period, particularly on their early life experiences, relationship with parents, husbands (if any), children (if any) and friends, as well as how they are today, 35 years after the FQS.

The resource persons came from the student movement of the general period of the FQS who joined the national democratic movement as fulltime revolutionaries. The thesis did not cover the other revolutionaries of the period who belonged to different ideological and political persuasions nor of the unaffiliated nationalists or activists. All of the resource persons did organizing and other work in the countrysides and/or in the urban areas. All except one studied at the University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City. However, they did not become revolutionaries all at the same time. Their experiences are varied as they are rich. Five of the women are no longer connected with the national democratic movement. All of them learned from their involvement in the struggle and in the movement. But they have evolved a new life with new political and/or organizational commitments. All the seven women are currently engaged in the legal arena in the movement for change.

The methodology used was participatory, consistent with feminist research. Women were able to tell their stories on their own terms, using their own voice and style. They edited and finalized their stories. However, due to limitations of time, the research design did not permit that the conceptual framework and methodology be consulted with the resource persons The data construction, findings, analysis, conclusions and recommendations are entirely my own, and my resource persons may not agree on my own reading of their stories.

The stories are about the revolutionary women's journey in life, the contradictions, dilemmas they faced, and the stimuli that contributed to becoming the persons and the women they are today.

Let us hear their voices...

23. Love: That which Resides in Songs (A Feminist Analysis of the Lyrics of Love Songs Preferred by some Young and Poor Women in Abusive Relationships). LaLaine Punzalan-Viado. 2006

This study scrutinizes the notions of romantic love represented by the lyrics of love songs preferred by some young and poor women who are also in abusive relationships. Combining post-structural methodologies from three research traditions- arts analysis, media analysis and feminist analysis – the sample love songs/lyrics were uncovered to be representing romantic love notions related to women's subordination and oppression in intimate relationships, violence against women and patriarchy.

The analysis of the 27 love sings, 14 in English, 12 in Filipino and one in Taglish, showed that the song/lyrics build on the binary characters of Subject and Beloved and that romantic love represents power between them; the analysis elaborates on the powerlessness of one character, Subject, in this binary relation. The samples also portrayed the binaries in a "you and me against the world" scenarios to emphasize inseparability, co-opting with other characters in love who do not approve of their love. Thus, love is proven to exist more in defiance of the belief of others that such is not romantic love. Their inseparability is also insisted upon even when set in a theater of violence and pursues the following as notions that establish romantic love: pain is the staring point of love; love must be possessed and kept even in the grim scenarios of love and violence; one's autonomy has no place in the dichotomy as love and the loved one is the only thing in life; and, the one who must benefit from these is Beloved and no one else.

On the strength of feminist textual analysis, the sturdy further unearthed the project of the romantic love text in appropriating women's experiences in abusive relationships as no less than romantic love. Suffering Subject appropriates women's experiences, while Beloved is the privileged one, who may be either a man or a woman as in the case of homosexual relationships.

While averse to naming the genders of its binary characters as seen from the majority of the sample songs/lyrics, the study also established the discordant elements and variance in texts, which is a focus in textual analysis, as part of the texts. Only two samples directly named their Subject as a man and only one sample names woman as Subject. These variance, however, establish also that when man is Subject, he does not possess the same disempowered fate as the suffering woman and suffering Subject as in the rest of the samples. When Subject is man, he is only in a courtship stage which is a fleeting moment and does not determine the terms of relating across the love continuum. Or he is simply preoccupied with himself when he possesses love. His weaknesses, absurdities and violent tendencies are appropriated as part of his humanity although he may be wanting to correct this by finding a "better part of" himself. This can also be said of the woman on the receiving end of the abuse as appropriation of forgiveness being part of her humanity in order to find the better part of herself, despite the tragedies she faced.

The study argues that the romantic love texts can be interpreted solely from the context of patriarchy and the subordination and oppression of women not only in intimate relationships but also in other fields of life where women live—social, political, cultural, economic, among others. The texts would thus say that a woman can be further subordinated and oppressed by virtue if her sex, class, race, religion, sexual orientation, etc. when she happens to be in love.

The research concludes that these notions of romantic love songs can be rejected and subverted in favor of a "feminist romantic love." It is not pain but loving oneself which is the starting point of romantic love. Developing women's subjectivities, identities and personhood and asserting them within intimate relationships not only pave the way for equality and respect in it but also weakens patriarchy. Patriarchy is weakened when women makes choices and assert themselves. Addressing structural issues in the economic, social, political and other fronts, that liberate women must enhance women's choices, agency and autonomy and not restrict them.

It is women who bring to life romantic love, and not vice versa, as pursued by the romantic love texts. Thus, women's happiness, desire and pleasures when experienced within the ambit of this "new feminist romantic love" is a decision for a better existence.

The study recommends that further studies on romantic love that would contribute to a more positive, feminist definition and practice of romantic love and intimate relationships can be conducted. Likewise, more research to backstop efforts to enhance women's choices, happiness, pleasure and desires which contribute to ending patriarchy and women's subordination and oppression in various aspects of life are needed. A sharpening of the methodology used is also recommended.

24. Reconceiving Mothering: Motherhood in Representations and in the Lived Experience. Juliene Thesa V. Baldo.2006

This study explores the mother-as-subject discourse. It gives light to the following quries: a) what are the apparent and latent concepts of mothering vis-à-vis the popular concepts of the "ideal" life as represented in the mass medium of television? b) what are the lived experiences of rural mothers in their immediate material reality? c) how do these mothers

deal with patriarchal and socio-economic realities? and d) considering the social context of mothering where there is patriarchy and an imbalanced global economy characterized by an unequal flow of "goods"/ information from the "centers" to the "peripheries," what becomes of the mother, particularly her sense of self?

The framework of the study weaves together discourses on patriarchy, capitalism, globalization and gender and development vis-à-vis mothering. Consequently, it problematizes housewifery in particular, and the care economy in general.

The study was conducted in Sitio Cataogan, Barangay Cawayan, Catarman, Province of Northern Samar, Region 8, Philippines. The primary respondents/research cooperators of the study were mothers who are exposed to television. From this population study of mothers, four research participants were chosen as cooperators for the life stories.

This study first reviews the specific locale to be able to properly establish the context. A feminist context analysis of 20 Philippine television advertisement has been conducted to examine the utopian picture of motherhood. Through the examination of the dominant discourse of motherhood, a reconception of motherhood could be made possible. Advertisements are analyzed because they are powerful representation of the dominant groups' ideals.

The primary data of the study are the life stories of four mothers. The personal interview is utilized as the data gathering method. The intention is to surface the lived experiences of women. The life story approach is seen as an effective way of engaging both the researcher and the women participants themselves in the exploration of lived realities. The introduction of the study states that development must be brought down to the personal level. The narration of the lives by the Mothers (the four (4) women respondents in the life stories) therefore, is the closest possible method of

"voicing out" the composition of their lives. Likewise, the concept of a life being an improvisational form that is full of interruptions, conflicted priorities and exigencies can be best approximated by the life story method. Since this is a Women and Development Studies research, the development aspect of the study is found in the very act of 'The Mothers' telling their stories.

The analysis of the 20 advertisements reveals details on the proposition that mothering is a primarily reproductive-bound pursuit. This is perceived in the dominance of the interior settings employed by the advertisements. There is also the frequent portrayal of mothers being seen with their child/children in seclusion from the rest of the world. This is an affirmation of the statement that the predominant image of the mother is of the ever-bountiful, ever-giving, self-sacrificing mother who chooses to be the whole world of her child.

In the analysis of the advertisements, it is shown that the politics of representation is very arbitrary and selective. Advertisements are selective in the sense that 19 out of the 20 commercials showcase the mother as being from the A, B, and C classes. Advertisements are also discriminating in their portrayal of the mother as a fair-skinned, slim, very neat in appearance woman in her 30s.

Mothers in advertisements are portrayed as doing things to and for others. The representation of a mother in the advertisements analyzed is that she is not somebody with her own distinct needs and interests that may not all the time be in relation to the needs of other people. Mothering is seen in terms of feelings such as love, thus, in no need of any economic reward. The universal 'super-mom" image floods the scenes in advertisement. She is the chief character who performs the task of giving comfort.

The life stories of The Mothers show a very clear picture on how their lives are in opposition to the mothers in the advertisements since they do not have a wide array of choices and control over resources.

One primary insight from the life stories is that the commonality in role and "requirement" in these women's lives, as compared to those in the representation, is inside the oppression of gender arrangements combined with the oppression of race, poverty, or the multiple injuries of class. This commonality is reflected in women's taking on the responsibility of the reproductive sphere of their families.

On the other hand, however, the life stories provide evidence of questions and issues which differ from those of mothers in the centers or those in the popular representations.

25. Babae, Matanda Na, Mahirap Pa (Mga Boses at Karanasan ng Nakatatandang Kababaihan). Maria Eliza O. Diaz. 2006

Ang pananaliksik na ito ay naglalayong bigyang boses ang mga nakatatandang kababaihan ukol sa nararanasang pagkakahon o stereotyping at diskriminasyon dahil sa kanilang edad at kasarian. Lumalabas na ang mga negatibong pagkakahon at diskriminasyon ay hindi lamang nararanasan sa kanilang pamilya at komunidad, ngunit sa mismong sarili na lokasyon ng maraming mito at pagkakahon bunga na rin ng pahubog sa babae ng isang lipunang patriyarkal at konserbatibong Simbahang Katoliko sa iba't ibang aspeto ng kanyang buhay: pisikal na kaanyuan, pag-uugali, kalusugan, relasyon at sekswalidad, pang-ekonomiyang kalagayan, papel sa tahanan at komunidad. At dahil sa peminisasyon ng populasyon at kahirapan, higit na matindi ang nararanasang sexism at ageism ng mga grassroots o mahihirap na kababaihan. Kaya kung tutuusin, hindi lamang siya humaharap sa dobleng panganib (double jeopardy) bagkus, sa

tripleng panganib. Tunay na malaking balakid ang mga nararanasang ito sa paggamit ng angking kaalaman (skills) at karanasang nasa nakatatandang kababaihan. Bukod dito, hindi lubusang natatamasa ng mga ito ang anumang benepisyo at pribilehiyo dulot ng mga batas at mandatos tulad na lamang ng mga probisyon na nakasaad sa RA 9257 na dapat ay nagbibigay ng benepisyo at proteksiyon sa nakatatanda.

Ngunit sa kabila ng kanilang nararanasan, lumalabas na hindi basta-basta na lamang itong tinatanggap. Alam ng mga nakatatandang kababaihan ang kanilang kalakasan at kahinaan, at araw araw ay kailangan nila itong harapin at bunuin - mula sa pananahimik at pagtanggap lamang, pag-iwas o pakikipag-ayos, o sa pagpalag o pagtutol, hanggang sa paglaban upang makalikha ng pagbabago. Lumalabas din na ninanais man ng nakatatandang kababaihan na makilahok sa pag-unlad, kulang sa epektibong mekanismo upang ang mahihirap na tulad nila ay maging bahagi nito. Ang kailangan ay mga mekanismong isasaalang-alang ang marami nang daladalang disbentahe ng isang mahirap at nakatatandang babae. Lumalabas sa pananaliksik na pinaka-ayaw ng mga nakatatandang kababaihan na maging pabigat sa kanilang pamilya at sa lipunan, lalo pa nga't mula't sapul ay pareho naman talaga nilang ginagampanan ang produktibo at reproduktibong papel. Kaya't ngayon sa pagtanda, ninanais at may kahandaan silang bigyan ng nararapat nilang lugar sa lipunan, malaya sa mga mito, pagkakahon, diskriminasyon at pang-aabuso.

26. Sexual Harassment in Public Transport: An Exploratory Study using Gender and Development Perspective. Mary Scheree Lynn V. Herrera. 2007

To my knowledge, this is the first exploratory study done to document the sexual harassment experiences of selected women in land public transportation. It is an initial undertaking that aims to influence public

policies and to increase public awareness and understanding on the issue of sexual harassment by filling the gaps found in the literature of sexual harassment and transportation; by providing baseline data needed to improve the existing Anti-Sexual Harassment Act or RA 7877.

The study utilized various data gathering methods to capture a clear picture of how sexual harassment in public transport is experienced by women; and how this can be addressed at different levels by all concerned sectors. A survey and five focus group discussions (FGD) were conducted to bring out the sexual harassment experiences of women who belong in various unions of workers and communities based in Metro Manila. Separate FGDs were conducted for male public commuters and jeepney drivers. Their roles are crucial in addressing the issue of sexual harassment in public transport. Key informants from a bus company, land transport government agencies and women's group were interviewed. Its purpose was to document their opinions and knowledge of actions taken to attend the issue of sexual harassment in public transport.

Based on the findings of the study, sexual harassment in public transport occurs because of the prevailing patriarchal culture. The unequal power relations between women and men are reproduced in public transport in the form of sexual harassment. However, there are unique factors found in a public transport setting that can contribute further to the occurrence of sexual harassment but are all linked to patriarchy. These are overcrowding, anonymity and transitory condition or situation. More so, sexual harassment is still surrounded with assumptions and misconceptions. This indicates the lack of understanding of the respondents on the issue of sexual harassment.

Anti- sexual harassment policies in the transport sector were also explored. However, it was found out that the mother agency, the Department of Transportation and Communication (DOTC) as well as its attached agencies at the land public transport sectors failed to

comply with the mandates of the law. This is also reflected in the low compliance of the public transport service providers from the private sector. Thus, there are no concrete efforts being undertaken both form public and private transport sectors to address the issue of sexual harassment in public transport.

Considering all these, the study recommends three main strategies or mechanisms that can be employed to solve not only the problem of sexual harassment in public transport but also sexual harassment in general and patriarchal culture. These are: 1) research on women; 2) policy advocacy; and 3) awareness-building. It is hoped that through these strategies, it would be able to capture what the literature on sexual harassment and transportation failed to look at; what the law excluded from its scope and coverage; and what the women's movement left behind in its advocacy and agenda.

WOMEN AND MORALITY IN CHURCH AND STATE RELATION:
Feminist Perspectives on the Vatican Discourse in International Politics

Allan C. Orate

Religion, ethics and gender have been historically displaced by statecetric discourse of realism in international relations. Postmodern and critical feminist critique of the realist paradigm foregrounds issues of gender and religious morality. The Vatican-State with the pope, represented by the Holy See, has privileged the moral voice of the Catholic church in world politics. In international conferences on women, the church has rendered ethical perspective to various issues according to the view that natural law is the basis of international consensus. By universalizing and essentializing moral principles, the Vatican has marginalized the liberating voices of women in world affairs. Criticizing the church's moral point of view from feminist standpoints reveals gender bias against women. The church's politics of a morality has not actually liberated women from oppression, rather it has preserved patriarchy and has promoted the subordination of women under men by maintaining the hierarchical structure of the institutional church. The church constructs women along the domestic role of mothering and caring, thereby hindering their liberation by justifying their subjugation through moral theologizing. The best that both the church and the state could do to women is to help them determine themselves by personal choices rather than control them to conform to the instituted power in the international society.

In the present paper I examine from feminist perspectives the ethical dimension of church and state relation in global setting, particularly the Catholic moral theological discourse of the Vatican in

international politics, towards articulating women's issues. My discussion delves first into theoretical concerns such as the power relation between church and state, the views on gender and morals in international relations, and the ethics of international politics. I then emphasize how Catholic religion, institutionalized in the Vatican-State, by its moral point of view, influences the political discourse of states in the conduct of international relations affecting women. Finally I inquire about the church's social and ethical teachings on women and demonstrate its gender bias against women.

The study is expository and interpretative. Methodologically, it brings in various elements from philosophy, theology and international relations and synthesizes them from the standpoints of feminism particularly radical, postmodern and critical feminist theories. It is therefore interdisciplinary which is now the evolving approach to Philippine Studies. I also aim to define such approach towards refining my proposed dissertation on this area.

Ethics and Church and State Relation

Following Foucault (1984), it may be said that the mode of ideological relation between religion and politics, expressed in the institutions of church[1] and state, is a relation of power. One has asserted its position within, while the other has been excluded from, the official construction of knowledge of truth and reality in the society. That during the modern period, it is the church which tries to infuse its voice within the secular realm of the state, shows that the church is the "other."[2] Foregrounding religious discourse needs a trajectory from which the church could appropriate discourse of the state. And ethics is the conceptual bridge between religion and politics. This is the fundamental view of religious thinkers who challenge the separation of church and state.

Pope Benedict XVI, in his first encyclical letter *Deus Caritas Est,* invokes the moral requirement of justice in the political life of society. According to him, the spiritual sphere of the church and the temporal sphere of the state are "distinct yet interrelated." The essential task of the state is to promote just social order which it cannot achieve without the direction of reason purified by faith. The function of the church is to provide officials and citizens of the state with rational and spiritual guide which enables the state to perform its role effectively (Pope Benedict XVI, 2005). The responsibility of the church "shepherding" the people and "prophesying" about their moral life has consistently been the point taken up by members of the Philippine clergy to justify their participation in the country's political affairs.[3]

The fusion of politics and religion through ethics may also be discerned by interpreting civil law. The constitutional principle of separation of church and state provides for only two clauses: non-establishment and free exercise. It does not actually bar the state from dealing with religious matters among which is morality[4] One paragraph in the 1987 Philippine Constitution, for instance, directs educational institutions to "strengthen ethical and spiritual values" and "develop moral character" in students. (The Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines, 1986 p. 49). The integration of ethical terms to the text of the constitution is described by Bishop Teodoro Bacani to be of religious character referring to it as "the work of evangelization facilitated by the Constitution."[5]

Finally, it is in the human person where church and state necessarily coexist because the faithful who is a member of the church is at the same time also a citizen who is a member of the state (Roelker, 1942 p. 337 cited in Coquia, 1974 p. 22). These dual capacities are due to the nature of persons viewed within their historical situatedness in the world. "At the level of human thought, feeling and action, religion and politics belong together. Both are realms of human experience and discourse about the realities of life and death, of valuing, deciding, loving, caring, creating,

destroying, crying, suffering"(Ruiz, 1986 p. 14). The separation of church and state practically leads to paradox when approached historically: the more the church engages in ethical discourse to uplift the moral fiber of the faithful, the more it is drawn into meddling in the secular lives of the citizens. Justifying the paradox, the hierarchical church affirms its authority over the public domain in matters of morals, a strategy called "Politics of a Morality"(Bolasco, 1994 pp. 298-299).

The Catholic church's politics of a morality came about after Joseph Ratzinger's (Pope Benedict XVI) *Instructions on Christian Freedom and Liberation* described by one writer as "a sign of Vatican applying *realpolitik*." Reiterating that the church's moral point of view is founded on the dignity and freedom of the human person, the instruction defines the role of the church in its exercise of power to the prevailing conditions of contemporary history. Conscious of human oppressions happening in the society, the church hierarchy demonstrates its autonomous power by disentangling itself from the dominant and tyrannical groups towards greater intervention in favor of the oppressed such as in the church's preferential option for the poor. In the process the "church becomes a church for the people." But how much the church's social doctrines could maintain its consistent adherence to fight against oppressions (such as the subjugation of women) through a moral politics of freedom and liberation is subject to a critique of the church's hierarchical structure of power by voices from below (Bolasco, 1994 p. 303).

Privileging Gender and Morality in International Relations

The history of international relations may be understood within the context of struggle between religious morals and political action or the power relation between church and state. Whether the ethical theme constitutes essential matter in the field of international relations is a persistent

philosophical question. Advancing the cause of morality has been a major aim of the subject, particularly in the just war tradition of the West from Aquinas to Niebuhr who thought the conduct of international relations to be fundamentally rooted on the moral doctrines of the Christian church. But at the advent of secular authoritarianism in Machiavelli passing through Hobbes's *Leviathan* and culminating in Morgenthau's Realist Theory of International relations, speculations on the subject have shifted from ethics of justice into politics of power, making the state the main actor in international relations (Vasquez, 1986 pp. 1-7).

As religion and morality have been historically displaced by political discourse of realism being the most dominant theory of international relations today, the realist paradigm has also deliberately ignored gender. Jill Steans challenges realism's statecentric approach to international relations, which she terms "orthodoxy;" in order to articulate postmodern and critical feminist standpoints to the discipline now engaging in the so-called "third debate." Feminist critique of orthodoxy foregrounds women's issues (Steans, 1998 pp. 2-3).

Drawing from feminist critical theory, Steans engenders international relations by exposing the epistemological and ontological assumptions of the realist paradigm. She shows that realism is founded on the dualistic view of knowledge and reality which favors society over nature, reason over emotion and the public over the private. Since the social, rational and public areas of human life have been traditionally associated only with men, the realist theory in international relations assumes the state to be male dominated and masculinized. Steans also criticizes realism by advancing a postmodern perspective on the subject. She explains that people looking at and theorizing about the world are making sense of the world as a complex reality and building up knowledge and truth about it based on their own subjectivity—their personal, social, political, cultural points of view. There are many knowledges, hence many truths, as there are people who construct them, but academic fields limit the extent of

experiencing the world by fixing what could be legitimately talked about, thus dismissing the insignificant others by rendering them invisible behind the power of the dominant and official discourse. The realist paradigm in international relations has reduced the conceptual boundary of the subject within only the range where the state is the main actor and its voice the only genuine discourse. Since the state is male dominated, its discourse in international relations advances only men's interests, hence silencing women's issues and views. Steans challenges the statecentric and androcentric assumptions of the realist paradigm by regarding international relations as a contested terrain of concern within human agency and beyond state's power and control. She reveals and criticizes the masculine bias of realism by deconstructing the patriarchal language, imageries and symbols employed in the discourse of the state. And she privileges women's discourse by making them, as individuals and as a group, active players who determine and fulfill themselves through personal choices in the conduct of international relations (Steans, 1998 pp. 38-59).

Steans' critique of orthodoxy may be extended by incorporating in it elements of religious morals. The statecentric bias of realist paradigm in international relations dismisses all non-state entities from inclusion within the official discourse. This places religion and morality, like women, out of the international scene. Religion, ethics and feminism are therefore allies against realism. If it may be shown that issues of morality, like women's issues, may be inserted into realist paradigm, then the religious ethical standpoint espoused by the church may be articulated within statecentric discourse.

Moralizing realist international relations means reconceptualizing it as a "normative" science, according to Hutchings who frames an "ethics of international politics." "Normative theories," he writes, "are concerned with how to criticize, change and improve the world as it is." It primarily deals not with describing the existing state of affairs but with prescribing conceivable standards or norms towards which ideals the world may

develop. The basic assumption of international ethics is that morality and politics are "fundamentally distinct" and normative theorizing demonstrates how political action can be harmonized with ethical prerequisites of goodness and justice in global society. The purpose is not to replace the sovereign state, in its conduct of international relations, with a moralist institution (such as the church), but to make the state itself function within ethical sphere, a paradigm in international ethics called "morality of the state." The morality of the state theory emphasizes "moral ideality" over "political reality." The ideal moral standard is the basis on which political decisions and actions are to be assessed by world consensus. One idealist international theory is the ethics of natural law which asserts that "both the rights of the states over their population and the rights of states in relations to each other were derived from a higher order set of principles sanctioned by God and immanent in [human] nature." One contentious point, however, in natural law ethics of international politics is that it assumes the immutability and universality of moral principles of rights of the states, it therefore cannot account for the relativity and particularity of what is good which each state perceives to be for its own interests (Hutchings, 1999 pp. 1-6, 28-35).

Natural law ethics is the brand of ethics advocated by the Catholic church. It has its foundation on Aquinas who conceives morality to be under the philosophical view that human beings have a rational nature and the theological view that they are made in the image and likeness of God. He claims that God has implanted in people's innate constitution as humans a moral law which commands them to do good and avoid evil; and since all people have identical and immutable nature determined by God's eternal will, this moral law is universal and unchanging in its ultimate principles.[6] By extension, natural law serves as the basis of the rights of states in international relations. Now, how may the Catholic church in its moral theological perspective legitimately join international politics is the task of the Vatican-State with the pope who holds the supreme authority of the universal church.

Vatican Politicizing and Proselytizing

The seat of the papal power is the Vatican City. Only 0.44 square kilometer inside the Italian City of Rome, the Vatican City is populated by about 1,200 all adult male citizens. It is composed of two chief entities, the Vatican-State and the Holy See, over which the pope has supreme authority. The Vatican was recognized as an independent city-state by virtue of 1929 Lateran Treaty. The Holy See is the government of the Vatican-State as well as the central authority of the Roman Catholic Church. Guided by the code of canon law under the highest command of the pope, the Holy See with its College of Cardinals rules over the city-state, as well as regulates the religious life of every faithful all over the world. The Vatican-State is said to be essential to the Holy See for carrying out its universal ecclesiastical function. But no matter how it is claimed that the Vatican-State and the Holy See are separate and distinct, this does not actually take place in practice. In fact the Holy See, which holds religious capacity, also assumes, by acting as the government of the Vatican City-State, a political role in international relations (Danguilan, 1997 p. 18).

The history of the Holy See's participation in international politics started in 1944 when the Vatican City, as a state, applied for membership to the United Nations. But lacking military power and having neutrality policy, the Holy See was not accepted as a full member. It began attending UN meetings in 1951 as *ad hoc* observer, and in 1956 was elected member of the UN Economic and Social Council. In 1964 the Holy See gained non-member permanent status and began enjoying greater privileges such as participating in debates, having access to documents and addressing the General Assembly. Recently, resolutions by General Assembly calling for world conferences have invited "all states" to participate "in full, with full voting rights." And thus the Holy See has come to

hold the same rights and privileges as any member state. It now has the power to vote and to block consensus. The Holy See has actively participated in UN world conferences such as the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo and the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing (Danguilan, 1997 pp. 18-19).

The issue of the Holy See's status as a legitimate member of the UN is controversial in international relations. The question as for what genuine interest the Holy See exists in the UN, for advancing political position as a state or for imposing universal Catholic moral theology as a church, has been raised by some feminists. The main challenges against the Holy See joining in the UN are the claims that it does not possess the necessary criteria of statehood, and that its only aim is to propagate Catholic doctrines to the disadvantage of other religious denominations. These arguments however have not unseated the Holy See out of the organization (Danguilan, 1997 pp. 19-21).

It is clear that the entry point of the Vatican-State into international politics is the Holy See's religious moral stand. Addressing the diplomatic corps accredited to the Holy See, Pope John Paul II said: "It is precisely the mission of diplomats to transcend borders and to bring people and governments together in the desire to cooperate harmoniously, in scrupulous respect for each other's competencies, but at the same time in the quest for a higher common good" (John Paul II, 2005). In an article the Holy See describes its role in the United Nations: "As a full member of international community, the Holy See finds itself in a very peculiar situation, because it is spiritual in nature. Its authority... is religious and not political ... The real and only realm of the Holy See is the realm of conscience"(cited in Danguilan, 1997 p. 21).

The uncompromising point of the Catholic church's moral theologizing in international politics is its adherence to a universal moral

law believed to be contained in human nature. And this view seems to be confirmed by the fundamental principle upon which the UN is founded. Speaking before the UN General Assembly in 1995, John Paul II called universal moral law "a common human patrimony" shared by the Catholic church and all the UN members. He referred to the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights as the "highest expression of the human conscience." These rights are "rooted in the human person" and "reflect the objective and inviolable demands of a universal moral law."

> There is a moral logic built into human life and which makes possible dialogue between individuals and peoples. If we want a century of violent coercion to be succeeded by a century of persuasion, we must find a way to discuss the human future intelligibly. The universal moral law written on the human heart is precisely that kind of "grammar" which is needed if the world is to engage this discussion of its future (John Paul II. 1995).

The pope, in effect, was claiming that for global politics to succeed, all states, in formulating international laws, need to adopt universal ethical principles which the Catholic church's moral theology of natural law could provide. The fundamental point is that, by essence, moral law prevails over civil law, and ethics over politics, hence, in international relations, Vatican-State over other states! Eventually, by providing moral ideals towards which political decisions and actions of global proportion are ought to be directed, the Vatican State, through moral theologizing by the Holy See during world conferences, has conceptualized and practically enforced a natural law ethics of international politics.

Vatican Imperialism

The Vatican with the pope has been very influential in world affairs from medieval times to the present that its power is described as one of "imperialism" (Manhattan, 1985). The Inquisition, explorations of the planet

and evangelizations of people are testaments of its global domination. It commands billions of faithful, its doctrines taught in all Catholic parishes and schools, and the voice of the pope is echoed by cardinals, bishops, priests and religious people over the world.

The oft quoted statement by Stalin, "How many divisions has the pope?" simply misses the point. The might of the Vatican with the pope is not military, rather it is religious in nature. Avro Manhattan describes this religious power as "the greatest machinery of spiritual coercion in existence." According to him, this power is made possible by the Vatican's "peculiar position" in world affairs.

> Although a Church, she [the Vatican church-state] is at the same time a sovereign government. Although a mighty religious institution, she is also a mighty political presence and a major diplomatic center. Although territorially the smallest state in existence, yet hers is the most significant in the world. And although neither an empire, a kingdom nor a republic, it is a mixture of all three... Because of all of these and because of her spiritual power trespassing into the ethical, social and political fields, she is capable of affecting and does affect the behavior of individuals and of society at all levels, simultaneously, on a local and international scale (Manhattan, 1985 pp. 26-27).

Doctrinally, Vatican imperialism is founded on the belief in the "omnipotence of the popes and their claims to universal dominion" (Manhattan, 1985 p. 50). This absolutizing and universalizing stand of the Catholic church's natural law ethics of international politics concerning church and state relations, may be gleaned from the statement by Pope Pius X in his encyclical letter *Il Firmo Proposito.*

> The church can, and indeed must, intervene in the affairs of men, including politics. Immense in the field of Catholic action, it excludes absolutely nothing which in any manner, directly or indirectly, belongs to the divine mission of the Church... Union of mind therefore requires together with a perfect accord in

accord in one Faith complete submission and obedience of
will to the Church, to the Roman Pontiff as to God himself.
(cited in Manhattan, 1985 p. 47).

Administratively, the Vatican power of global proportion, under the supreme authority of the pope, is enforced and sustained by a great number of Catholic people and religious organizations all over the world. According to the 2006 edition of the *Annuaris Pontifico,* the official Vatican Yearbook, there are now 1,098,000,000 Catholics comprising 17% of global population (http://www. cwnews.com). In 2004, it is reported that there were in the world 405,450 Catholic priests, 54,620 religious brothers and 776,269 religious sisters, and there were 219,655 parishes (http:/car/georgetown.edu). At present the Vatican maintains permanent diplomatic relations with 179 sovereign states most of which have the papal nuncio as the head of diplomatic corps (http://en.wikepedia.org).

In practice, how Vatican imperialism takes place may be seen by its conduct of international relations. The Holy See during world conferences had advanced and imposed its Catholic moral theology. Its essentializing and universalizing Catholic ethics had rallied some states on its side. During UN Conferences, it had practically divided the member states into ethical terms as "moral" and "immoral," or into denominational terms as "Catholic" and "non-Catholic," thereby undermining realism's statecentric paradigm.[7] The Holy See had been very persistent in advancing its moral theology. A rather strong remark came from the Holy See's ambassador Archbishop Martino who "declared that anyone who differed from the position of the Vatican on the Cairo Conference document lacked moral and ethical grounding." But it was not only the Holy See which propounded ethical dimensions to international proceedings; Islamic countries also consistently did. But it was the Holy See which had been so powerfully vocal and influential because of its institutionalized and privileged status as a member of internaitonal community (Danguilan, 1997 p. 28).

Vatican and Philippine-State Relation

The universalizing effect of Vatican ethics has been felt by states engaging in international relations. Especially the Philippines, being a predominantly Catholic country and the only one in Asia, the Vatican exerts great influence in the political affairs of the Philippine-state. In 2004, 86% of the country's total population were Catholics. There were 7,335 priests, 5,694 religious brothers and 12,102 religious sisters, and there were 2,909 parishes in 86 diocese (http:/car/georgetown.edu).

According to Marilen Danguilan, the country is said to be carrying out its international relations within "Vatican power and control."[8] In her book, *Women in Brackets: A Chronicle of Vatican Power and Control,* she talks about how the Filipino delegates to UN international conferences, who were supposed to advance feminist perspectives to issues affecting women, had been dominated by Catholic moralizing through the willing participation by the Philippine government itself.

Another point of inquiry regarding international relations between the Vatican and Philippines is the practice of state visit as a political encounter between government leaders but at the same time a religious journey by the visitor as a church member. When President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo went to the Vatican on June 28, 2006 she brought Pope Benedict XVI a "gift," that is, the abolition of death penalty.[9] The visit turned out to be not purely a political encounter but also a religious pilgrimage replete with spiritual gestures and moral underpinnings. This only shows how Arroyo is willing to transform the issue of death penalty into a moral issue and apply to it Catholic ethics in order to please the pope during her state visit to the Vatican.

The pope has used state visit as a platform for compromising church doctrines and state policies. The visit to the Philippines by

Pope John Paul II in January 1995 coincided with the celebration of Tenth World Youth Day. President Fidel Ramos declared classes suspended in all schools in Metro Manila during the visit. Some sectors questioned the constitutionality of the declaration for it would favor Catholicism over other religions. But the president justified his decision by claiming that the pope was a political leader from the Vatican and that his coming to the country was therefore an official state visit and it was just proper that he be accorded with utmost cordial reception by the republic. But the papal visit was also a religious engagement with millions of Catholics. It became a stage for theological indoctrination by the pope as the spiritual shepherd of the people where he talked about the moral value of Christian love as well as the evil of abortion, artificial contraception and premarital sex and the moral danger of reproductive health.

Catholic Moral Theology on Women

The Catholic church's theological and ethical doctrines on women are rooted on the medieval philosophical view on the moral nature and dignity of the human person. Aquinas believes that people are both rational and free beings created by God. All things tend towards perfection, or they act for an end or good. But only human beings through reason act with knowledge of the end or the consciousness of what is good implanted on their nature and known through the dictate of conscience. Because they are aware of the end proper to them, people move themselves towards perfection by means of their own rational judgment and will, hence they are free. Freewill consists not in following one's tendencies and desires but in being able to regulate them under the rule of right reason. People have the moral duties to develop their bodies, instincts and sensitive powers, and their social, mental and artistic inclinations based on human rational nature. The last end that people ought to attain is God. As the ultimate perfection of intellectual life is the contemplation of the essence of God,

that of the moral life is the possession of the being of God, the supreme good (D'Arcy, 1955 pp. 172-176).

The current Catholic moral theology on women cited in international conferences,[10] are found in John Paul II's apostolic letter *Mulieris Dignitatem* (John Paul II, 1988) and in his encyclical letter *Evangelium Vitae* (John Paul II, 1995). Both works highlight the traditional doctrine on the rational nature and freedom of human persons as the foundation of their ethical life in the society which today is threatened by the moral pitfalls of individualism, hedonism and utilitarianism. These Catholic documents teach that by reason people discern God's will written on their nature, so that they ought to act according to the demands of right reason. By freedom a person opens up the self for others. But freedom is not a warrant to do anything one wishes, rather it is understood as a "gift" of self. Being a gift, a person offers oneself to God, towards knowing and loving God and following the divine will. A person also offers oneself to fellow human beings, towards working with them or even sacrificing for them. Being both human beings, women and men possess reason and freedom in the same way. But the two have different specificities in realizing each one's rational and free nature. To realize their human essence, women ought to act based on reason, that is, to know and obey God's plan stamped on their female personality; and to act based on freedom, that is, to greater enhance human life through their unique feminine dispositions.

According to *Mulieris Dignitatem,* God created a human being only as a man or a woman! This basic premise implies that the dignity of women are equal with that of men since they have identical human nature. But the two have different specificities. The "archetype of personal dignity of women," the symbol of "what is feminine," is Mary. Mary obeyed God's will without hesitation then immaculately conceived and gave birth to Christ

the Redeemer. She participated in the history of salvation which would not be possible without her submission. This salvific role of the individual woman, Mary, constitutes the dignity of all women in the world. And since there are two dimensions of the female personality manifested by Mary, which are motherhood and virginity, then all other women by vocation must also be mothers and virgins. These two dimensions coexist only in Mary being the virgin mother of God, that is why she is "blessed among women." By being a mother or a virgin, a woman personally exercises her freedom as a "sincere gift" of self to others—to her husband and children as a spouse and mother by marriage, or to being a spiritual partner of Christ for the sake of evangelical ministry similar to priestly celibacy.

Human parenthood, says *Mulieris Dignitatem*, "is the fruit of the marriage union of a man and a woman" who, by spousal love with one another, are "one flesh," and who, by "conjugal knowledge," participate in the "creative power of God" through bringing forth a new person into the world. Motherhood is a "special" and "most demanding part" of parenthood compared to fatherhood. It is linked bio-physiologically to the "personal structure of a woman" whose "very physical constitution is naturally disposed to motherhood." It is linked also spiritually to the personal dimension of freedom because it is the woman who carries in the womb a human child to whom she gives a "sincere gift of self" by offering the energy of her own body and soul during pregnancy and childbirth. These innate capacities to conceive and to give birth predispose a woman towards greater gift of self to child upbringing and to caring for others, thus eventually realizing in uniquely feminine way the "ethical order of love" which all human beings must have for one another.

Human earthly life, begins *Evangelium Vitae*, "consists in sharing the very life of God." This fact commands people to uphold

the intrinsic moral value of human life which is at present threatened by a "culture of death" manifested in forms of lethal assault against the innocent and powerless at early stage of life. Abortion and artificial contraception have assumed the attribute of "rights" having been legalized by the state and made available through health-care services. From the Catholic ethical perspective, abortion is a direct form of murder and contradicts the virtue of justice; contraception undermines the value of sexual act and conjugal love and is against the virtue of chastity in marriage. Although different forms of evil, the two fundamentally result from the individual's hedonism and sexual irresponsibility and the state's utilitarian policies. At the personal level, abortion and contraception destroy freedom as one's gift of self to another, hence jeopardizing one's human nature and dignity. In the social order, they endanger the tradition of marriage and family, hence collapsing the basic institution on which the survival of dignified life depends.

Evangelium Vitae's ethical teaching points to the nature of the human body, the male and female compositions by means of whose interaction in conjugal act a new person is conceived and developed. Within the cultural orientation brought by abortion and contraception, the body is reduced to "pure materiality," and sexuality is "depersonalized and exploited" primarily on the part of the woman in whose womb an unborn child is entrusted. A woman precisely is a "mother who carries in herself another human being, enabling it to grow inside her, respecting it in its otherness." A mother manifests genuine human relation which is the acceptance of another person in her womb "who is recognized and loved because of the dignity from being a person not from other considerations such as usefulness, strength, intelligence, beauty or health. This is the fundamental contribution which the church and humanity expect from women. And it is the indispensable prerequisite for an authentic cultural change."

Women's Voices

It has long been affirmed by feminists how religion and politics have placed women under the dominion of men! A passionate thinker Elizabeth Cady Stanton in 1895 wrote:

> The canon and civil laws; church and state; priests and legislators; all political parties and religious denominations have alike taught that woman was made after man, of man, and for man an inferior being subject to man. Creeds, codes, scriptures and statutes are all based on this idea. The fashions, forms, ceremonies and customs of society, church ordinances and disciplines all grow out of this idea (Stanton, 1974 p. 7).

The church that is supposed to bring women's souls into salvation, and the state that is supposed to deliver them from injustice in the world, both have become the very instruments of their oppression. No other form of subjugation could be worse than women condemned in both heaven and earth, during both this life and beyond, by both God and men. Women's oppression in international relations must be terribly acute, indeed, when it comes from the Vatican that is both theologically and politically antagonizing. But gladly, women's voices are now being heard.

Marilen Danguilan tells about the various reactions by women against the Vatican tirades during UN conferences in Cairo and Beijing. Mainly, the essentializing and universalizing religious morals insisted by the Holy See has been the point criticized by feminists. "I think it is very hard to negotiate with a government that believes it is infallible," said one feminist delegate. The Vatican "is not a country that negotiates differences. This is a country that believes in all or nothing"(Danguilan, 1997 p. 91). And an Indian woman asked: "why is one issue, one set of religious values dominating the conference?" (Danguilan, 1997 p. 100).

Assent to a universal system of human value, moral or legal, is a product of multilateral agreement, an international consensus among people and states and not of imposition by power as what Vatican had done during the conference. It is, therefore, a mistake for the pope to claim that UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights is a proof of the existence of a universal moral law inscribed in human nature; it is rather a sign of states and people coming together, talking about and approving amicably a proposition deemed to be universally valid. One UN organization which aims to develop universal rights of women is the Convention on the Elimination of Descrimination Against Women (CEDAW). "An international standard setting instrument" declaring in univocal terms the "universality of the principle of equal rights between men and women," CEDAW presently has 173 state signatories (CEDAW pamphlet, n.d.). There is no wonder why Vatican is not one of the signatories, because CEDAW arrived at universal principle through consensus and not through imposition by power.

Another point for feminist critique of the Catholic church is its hierarchical structure. Ecclesiology states that all people share in one and the same grace, and the hierarchy exhibits merely "functional inequality," which is believed to be divinely inspired, such as only the male clergy could administer sacraments (Legazpi, 1997 p. 79). However such exclusivity extends to the social supremacy of the clergy over laypeople. This makes the church, by maintaining its hierarchical structure, unable to fully realize its preferential option for the lowly and the oppressed, in spite of applying its politics of a morality to fight against state domination. The church hierarchy itself becomes the instrument of further subjugation of people by promoting their subservience under other instituted power in the society.[11]

Feminists also question the nature of Catholic hierarchy as exclusively composed of men—pope, bishops and priests. And it teaches primarily about male divinities—God the Father and the Son. With this

setup, women personalities are forever outside the church, and women issues marginalized in its official discourse. As laypeople, women are always under the authority of male clergy. In fact, the church is a patriarchal institution with misogynist and androcentric orientations. According to radical feminists such as Mary Daly, the key to women's liberation from men's subordination is the demise of patriarchy as the prevailing structure of religious institution (Daly, 1973).

From feminist standpoint, the Catholic view on the human person shows gender bias against women. The Vatican teaches about women's limited capacity for self determination and fulfillment:

> The Vatican church constructs a vision of men and women in which men are normative persons and women are primarily understood in terms of their reproductive and mothering capacities. The most serious implication of this outmoded anthropology are apparent in terms, definitions and proposals that are built on inaccurate premise... The roles of women in family life, in the workplace and in politics are all limited and understood in terms of this anthropology. Nothing accrues to women simply because they are human (Danguilan, 1997 p. 152).

This "definition has not gone beyond women's reproductive dimensions, the only parameter against which women have to perform and against which they are to be judged" (Danguilan, 1997 p. 152). Rather than ascribing to women the full human freedom as capacity for self determination and transcendence, the church in fact has limited women to function within only the domestic realm and to perform only activities of caring. This exactly is the traditional role construction of women in the society, the source of their oppressive condition from which women have been trying to liberate themselves.

From the viewpoint of feminism, the pope's moral theology on women reveals inherent masculine prejudice. The dignity of all women in

the world is symbolically represented by the essential role in the history of salvation played by Mary as the virgin mother of God. But in spite of Mary's profound place in biblical theology, it cannot be denied that her woman's role is merely secondary and peripheral within the Christocentric paradigm. It is a man, Jesus, believed also to be a God, who is central to the gospel story and to all dogmas derived from it. Mary is the mother of Jesus, and her immaculate conception, her virginity, is prepared for the sake of Jesus. Mary is important only in relation to Jesus who is the Son of God the Father (Woodhead, 1996 p. 130). Also this gendered linguistic symbolism reveals the patriarchal structure of Christian religion. "If God is male, then the male is God" says Daly. This means that, as God is superior to men, so men is superior to women. This line of reasoning assumes an androcentric logic which radical feminist theology aims to eradicate (Daly, 1973 p.19).

Women from the religious sector are also articulating feminist views even to the detriment of the church's established beliefs. Two Catholic nuns responded against the pastoral letter issued by the Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines before the Beijing conference in 1995. They emphasized women's free exercise of personal choices to determine their lives:

> Grateful to God for the gift and privilege of motherhood, we nevertheless believe that motherhood is not essential to being a woman. We value the contribution of religious women and other single women to both church and society. For some women, motherhood is their sole career, others choose to combine motherhood with other careers, still others forego the possibility of motherhood altogether. It is women themselves that must make a decision. The choice is theirs; it cannot be dictated (Danguilan, 1997 p. 167).

This value of women's capacity to determine and fulfill themselves through personal choices has also been the perspective by Sister Mary John Mananzan, a feminist Catholic nun. Mindful

of her unconventional position against the dogmas of the institutional church, she articulates human freedom as the supreme moral principle upon which women's chosen actions, such as artificial contraception and abortion, are to be assessed. And she writes in reflection about her spiritual journey towards women's movement:

> For a long time, I was sustained by the image of God as the Almighty Father. At this point in my journey, my God no longer has a face. His is the spirit that moves me to draw energy from the deepest part of myself to sustain meaningful action on behalf of justice and the liberation of people from every oppressive situation. My faith in God ... is the continuing thread in the tapestry of a life of changing themes and designs of which feminism is now the dominant theme.[12]

Finally, Danguilan closes her book with a suggestion on how the church and the state could best relate to one another in matters of women's issues:

> In the meantime, when church leaders and state officials confer on ways to regulate fertility, it would be worth their while to remember that women do possess an intelligence and capacities and are capable of making rational and moral choices. The least that government and church should do is to support the women in the choices they make and not to condemn them or send them to jail. Not to seduce them with the promise of sanctifying grace if they continue to live with violent and abusive husbands, or to threaten them with hellfire (Danguilan, 1997 p. 208).

Conclusion

The paper demonstrates that ethics is the link between religion and politics. But issues of religion and morals have been historically displaced by statecentric discourse of realism. Realism has also ignored gender.

Critique of realism foregrounds issues of gender and religious morality. Engendering international relations means articulating postmodern and critical feminist standpoints to the realist paradigm. The Vatican-State with the pope, represented by the Holy See, has privileged the moral voice of Catholic church in international politics. In UN Conferences, the Holy See rendered ethical perspective to various issues according to the view that natural law is the basis of international consensus. By universalizing and essentializing moral principles, the Vatican has marginalized the liberating voice of women in world affairs.

Criticizing the church's moral point of view from feminist standpoint reveals gender bias against women. Its politics of a morality has not actually liberated women from oppression, rather it has preserved patriarchy and has promoted the subordination of women under men by maintaining the hierarchical structure of the institutional church. The church constructs women along the domestic role of mothering and caring, thereby hindering their liberation by justifying their subjugation through moral theologizing. Some states, having been pressured by the church, tend to adapt their policies to the Vatican position in world politics. Finally, the best that both church and state could do to women is to help them determine themselves by personal choices rather than control them to conform to the instituted power in the international society.

The women's issues in international relations which feminism has advanced in this paper pose extended questions. Philosophically, the dynamics between religion and politics from feminist standpoints may be reduced into the debate between essentialism and existentialism. Is a woman determined by an unchanging and eternal will of some pre-established nature, or does she determine herself through personal choices? Catholic moral theology stands on tradition and authority without which its very foundation as an institution would collapse. Its aim is to unite people within one belief as one people of God. The theological question concerns the nature of human freedom in relation to church as an institution:

Has the church the right to impose upon women its universalizing morals? The question of morality in international relations may be interpreted anthropologically as the conflict between cultural absolutism and historical particularism: Is there a system of value valid univocally for all people in the world, or is there only some sets of prescribed behavior for some people constructed by social and cultural conditioning relative to each one's community?

But in the final analysis, in postmodern thinking, all these questions would boil down to the dynamics of power: Who talks and for whose interest? Who are inarticulate and weak? Power relation governs the world! For the fact that religion and politics have already established their dominance in the society, and women have been silenced by the prevalent theological and political discourses, feminists can only hope that their voices would somehow be allowed to be heard through the church's and state's compassion and humility, the very virtues which ecclesiastical leaders and government officials must morally possess but which, paradoxically, the exercise of their power to stay in position does not permit them to do.

End Notes

[1] The usage of the term "church" in this paper is specific. In Leonardo S. Legazpi, *The Church We Love* (Manila: UST Pub. House, 1997), 25-69, a theologian explains the three senses by which the term is used. Theologically, church refers to the people of God, to Christ's mystical body. Geographically, it means the building: chapel or cathedral. And structurally, church refers to the hierarchy composed of the pope, bishops and priests. The paper employs the last sense. Also in Catholic writings, "church" is a feminine noun substituted by the English pronoun "she" or "her". The paper refers to church as "it" to make the term gender neutral, following the feminist theologian Mary Daly in *The Church and the Second Sex* (New York : Harper and Row, 1968) and in *Beyond God the Father* (Beacon Press: Boston, 1973).

[2] Lester Edwin J. Ruiz, "Modernity, Traditionality, and the Promise of Life: The Relation of Religion and Politics Reconsidered" in National Council of Churches in the Philippines, *Theology, Politics and Struggle* (Quezon City: Phil. Graphic Arts Inc., 1986). The paradigm of modernity by its adherence to objective logic of the new science has established the secularity and temporality of the state over the subjective and spiritual position of the church which in its paradigm of traditionality had previously enjoyed authority in the society.

[3] The Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines (CBCP) being deeply aware of the "burning social issues" writes in one pastoral letter: "As shepherds we offer our moral and religious guidance... We invite you, our beloved People, to use our reflections as Pastors to help guide your own discernment, discussion, decision and action." CBCP Pastoral Letter on Social Concerns, "Shepherding and Prophesying in Hope" in http://www.cbcponline. net/. Accessed on 9 August 2006.

[4] Ranhillo Callangan Aquino, "The Constitution and the Catholic Church," in San Beda Graduate School of Law Journal, (Vol.1, Jan., 206), 1-2. A Catholic priest, Aquino is presently the academic head of the Philippine Supreme Court's Judicial Academy.

[5] Teodoro C. Bacani, *The Church and Politics*. (Quezon City: Claretian Publication, 1987), 107. Bishop Bacani was a member of 1986 Constitutional Convention. The constitution is "in accord with Catholic teaching" he says, implying as if the constitution requires a moral theologian's *nihil obstat* and *imprimatur*.

[6] Thomas Aquinas' treatise on moral law is found in his *Summa Theologica* , I-II, 90-94, and *Summa Contra Gentiles*, II, 111-114.

[7] Danguilan in *Women in Brackets,* 93, reports that the consistent allies of the Vatican during the Cairo Conference were the Catholic countries in South America and those associated with Pope John Paul II such as Costa Rica, Argentina, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Malta, Benin, Poland and Slovakia. The Philippines being predominantly Catholic country and the only one in Asia, Danguilan claims to be under "Vatican power and control," the observation that forms the substance of her book.

[8] Danguilan, *Women in Brackets*. This books tells the personal experience of the author in joining UN international conferences and how the proceedings have been influenced by the local Catholic church and the Vatican's Holy See.

[9] As I heard from 24 Oras in GMA-7 on the evening of June 29, 2006, Press Secretary Ignacio Bunye called it a "gift." This "gift" Pres. Arroyo handed over to Pope Benedict XVI was actually a book bound copy of Executive Order for the Abolition of Death Penalty.

[10] In Cairo and Beijing as reported by Danguilan, *Women in Brackets*. 153.

[11] Bolasco, "Politics of a Morality," 304. Bolasco explains this point by quoting from Otto Maduro *Religion and Social Conflicts* (New York: Orbis Books, 1982), 134.

[12] Interview with Guillermina Mananzan (Sister Mary John, OSB) by Cynthia Rose Banzon-Bautista in *Towards Feminist Consciousness,* ed. Sylvia H. Guerrero (Quezon City: University Center for Women's Studies, University of the Philippines, 1997), 77-88.

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Kagandahan sa Panahon
ng Globalisasyon*

Sylvia Estrada-Claudio

This paper discusses gobalized cultural concepts of beauty as culled from locally published fashion and gossip magazines. It looks at the sexist, ageist, racist and consumerist constructions currently being mainstreamed. It also looks at the power dynamics that underpin these constructions by surfacing data on the transnational nature of local magazine publishing and the influence of western conceptions even on locally published material. It then traces earlier conceptions of beauty and attractiveness by looking at classical love songs and the literature on beauty from the body of work of Philippine Psychology. Finally, the author challenges practitioners of Philippine Psychology to actively participate in reconstructing and modernizing cultural conceptions of beauty and personhood that reaffirm the discipline's goal of establishing more liberational theories and practices.

Sa panahong ito ng rumaragasang globalisasyon, hinaharap ng Sikolohiyang Pilipino ang isang matinding hamon. Paano nga ba natin iintindihin ang mabilis na pagpapalitan ng mga produktong kultural na dala ng mga bagong teknolohiya?

Dalawa ang aspeto ng globalisasyon: kultural at ekonomiko. Sa larangan ng ekonomiya, tila yata kakaunti na lamang ang mga bansa sa mundo na hindi malayang pinapasok ng produkto at kapital ng ibang bayan. Dala ito ng globalisasyon, isang bagong yugto ng kapitalismo na lumulusaw sa mga dating hadlang sa internasyunal na pangangalakal at pinansya. Dahil sa globalisasyon, tinatanggal ng mga pangdaigdigang organisasyon tulad ng World Trade Organization (WTO), ang kapasidad ng mga estado na protektahan ang sariling mamamayan laban sa mga di-makatarungang patakaran sa pangangalakal. Pati na ang mga batayang serbisyong sosyal—kuryente, tubig, pabahay, edukasyon, kalusugan—ay pinagkakakitaan ng mga pribado at banyagang kumpanya. Dagdag pa, ang kabuhayan ng ating mga mamamayan ay nalalagay sa peligro. Ang mga manggagawang agrikultural ay natatalo sa bentahan sapagka't binabaha ang merkado ng murang produktong agrikultural ng mga bansang nagbibigay ng mga dambuhalang subsidyo sa agrikultura. Ang mga "sweatshops" sa export processing zones ay pinupuno ng mga babaeng manggagawang nagtatrabaho para sa kakarampot na sweldo. Resulta ito ng pagpasok ng ibang sistema ng produksyon, ang tinatawag na "post-fordist production," kung saan hiwa-hiwalay na ang iba't ibang yugto ng produksyon, at iniluluklok ang mga yugto na ito sa iba't ibang sulok ng mundo. Kung hirap ang mga kababaihan sa pormal na pagawaan, higit na naghihirap ang mga kababaihan na nagtatrabaho ng mga subcontract na por piraso sa loob ng mga tahanan. Di na makatao ang haba ng oras ng trabaho nila at napakababa ang sueldo, walang pormal na benepisyo at wala rin ang proteksyon ng mga unyon. Sa hirap ng ganitong kalagayan, ang mga anak na musmos ay napipilitang magtrabaho upang tumulong sa kanilang mga ina.

Marahil mayroong ilan sa inyong malapit nang mainip sa akin. Alam kong may kalayuan ang larangan ng ekonomiya sa paksang itinalaga sa akin. Nguni't minabuti kong ilatag ang kasalukuyang sitwasyon ng bayan bilang pagbabalik-tanaw sa mga simulain ng

Sikolohiyang Pilipino. Alalahanin na nagsimula ang disiplinang ito sa dekada 70 ng nakaraang siglo mula sa isang pangkalahatang kritisismo sa neo-kolonyal na kalagayan ng bansa at ang epekto nito sa akademya. Naniniwala ang mga nagtatag ng disiplina na ang isang epektibong sikolohiya ay hindi maaring ihiwalay sa hangarin ng ating mamamayan para sa kasarinlan at kaunlaran.

Nais ko lamang ipaabot ang aking opinyon na kailangan nating sariwain ang ating pagusuri sa lipunang Pilipino matapos ang higit sa tatlong dekada ng pagsasapraktika ng Sikolohiyang Pilipino. Hangad ng papel na ito na maipakita ang halaga ng ganitong klaseng pagtatasa. Sapagka't ang globalisasyon ay hindi lamang isang ekonomikong penomenon. Napakalaki rin ang epekto sa ating kultura.

Kultural na Globalisasyon

Napakadali ng komunikasyon ngayon. Dahil sa internet, madaling magbahanginan ang ordinaryong tao sa iba't ibang sulok ng mundo. Madaling malaman ang mga katha ng iba. Madaling makahanap ng kalaban o ka-kosa. Ang teknolohiya na nagbibigay daan sa lahat ng ito ay isang mahalagang salik ng ekonomikong globalisasyon.

Ang kultural na globalisasyon ay isang penomenon na higit na napabilis ng mga makabagong teknolohiya na siya ring nagbigay daan sa ekonomikong globalisasyon. Sa madaling salita, ang kultural na globalisasyon ay ang pandaigdigang pagpapalaganap ng kultura. Sa partikular, ang mga aspeto ng kultura tulad ng wika at iba't -ibang aspeto ng identidad tulad ng etniksidad, relihiyon, nasyonalidad ay hindi na ngayon nakatali sa isang heograpikal na espasyo na malinaw ang mga hangganan (Appuradai, 1999). Ang paglalakbay, pagbebenta ng mga kultural na produkto tulad ng CD at DVD at libro mula sa iba't ibang

bayan at ang mabilis na komunikasyon ay nagdadala ng bagong antas ng pakikipagpalitan at bahanginang pandaigdig.

Makikita ito sa ordinaryong halimbawa na hindi kasing hirap ang buhay ngayon ng ating overseas Filipino workers sapagka't maari na silang mg-text at chat kaya't araw-araw na nilang nakakausap ang pamilya. Sa internet makikita ang mga "social networking sites" ng mga Ilonggo, Ilokano, atbp. Nakatutuwa na rin ang mga "hybrid" Pinoy: mga basketbolista na nalalahian ng matatangkad na taga-Africa; mga poging artista na halong Pilipino at Israeli. Personal kong ikinatutuwa ang paglaganap ng mga restawran na ang mga putahe ay pagkain ng mga taga-Middle East na siyang natutunang lutuin ng mga Pinoy na nagtatrabaho doon. Personal ko ring ikinatutuwa na marami sa mga kababayan natin ang natututo na magbigay respeto sa iba't ibang relihiyon at pananampalataya dahil naranasan na nila ang mamuhay sa bansang hindi Katoliko ang karamihan. Hindi rin matatawaran ang pagbawas ng mga rasistang paniniwala tulad ng pagkatuwa sa mga puti o pagkamuhi sa mga itim ang balat ng mga kababayan nating nakasama na ang iba't ibang lahi dahil sa kanilang paglalakbay.Pati na ang mga proseso, institusyon at kapamaraanan ng demokrasya ay maari ding maging globalisado. Halimbawa dito ang nagiging mahalagang papel ng mga internasyunal na kasunduan tungkol sa karapatan at kalikasan at mga transnasyunal na organisasyon ng mga aktibista na tumutulong sa pagbabantay laban sa katiwalian, pagyurak sa karapatan, pagsira sa kalikasan (Estrada-Claudio, 2007).

Kaya't ang paglawak ng kakayanan na magbahaginan ay lumilikha ng isang globalisadong kultura. Sa isang banda, nagdadala ito ng magagandang bagay tulad ng demokratisasyon at higit na pagkakaintindihan. Nguni't ang mga proseso ng kultural na globalisasyon ay nagaganap sa isang sitwasyon ng di pagkakapantay-pantay. Kaya't ang kulturang globalisado sa ngayon ay hindi pa rin naka-ugat sa pantay na respeto sa iba't ibang kultura ng mundo. Hindi

pa ito nababatay sa pinaka-makataong mithiin ng sanlibutan. Bagkus, nagiging globalisado ang kultura ng mga makapangyarihan. Ito'y isang kulturang nakabatay sa tubo. Kulturang nagpapatibay sa pang-aapi na batay sa uri, sa lahi, sa kasarian. Isang kulturang pinapa-igting ang hidwaan at hindi pagkakasunduan ng iba't ibang etnisidad, nasyunalidad at tradisyon ng pananampalataya. Isang kultura kung saan pati na ang rebelyon at protesta ay binabaliktad upang pagkakitaan (Klein, 2002).

Mga Fashion Magasin

Bilang paghahanda para sa papel na ito, tumingin ako sa mga fashion magasin. Pagkatapos ay nagbukas ako ng talasalitaan at nakinig sa mga tradisyunal na kundiman.

Aaminin ko na hindi papasa sa estriktong patakaran ng empirikal na pananaliksik ang aking metodo. Sa totoo'y bumisita lamang ako sa tindahan ng dyaryo at magasin sa kanto namin at sa isang malaking bookstore. Nanuod ako doon at bumili ng ilang magasin at binasa. Binisita ko rin ang mga website ng dalawang pinakamalaking tagapaglathala ng mga fashion magasin. Inilabas ko ang paborito kong CD ni Ric Manrique, Jr. Yan ang aking maliit na sampol.

Nguni't kapansin pansin ang kawalan ng fashion magasin na nakasulat sa mga wikang katutubo. Lahat ay nasa Ingles! Heto ang listahan ng mga magasin na nakita ko sa tindahan na malapit sa aming tirahan: "Marie France," "Cosmopolitan," "Candy," "Good Housekeeping" at "Real Living." Ayon kay Chua (2004) mahigit 50 ang ganitong klase ng magasin sa merkado ngayon. Ang ilan ay mga may *licensing agreement* sa banyagang tagapaglathala tulad ng "Cosmopolitan" o "Redbook." Ang ilan naman ay lokal, tulad ng "Candy" at "Mega."

Ang nasa wikang Filipino na nakita ko ay dalawa lamang: "Hi" at "The Buzz". Mayroong mga ka-tipong Ingles ang mga ito, "Star Studio," "Celebrity Connect," "Yes," "Ok-Philippine Edition." Nguni't nang binasa ko ang dalawang magasin na nakasulat sa Filipino, ito'y puro chismis tungkol sa mga artista at showbiz. Dahil sa aking pananaliksik ay alam ko na ang "latest" tungkol sa mga naghihiwalay na love team, pinagtatambalang bagets, pang-11 na pangangaliwa ng isang popular na mang-aawit sa 15 anyos na kapatid ng isa pang starlet, demandahan ng artista at plastic surgeon.

Sino ang Maganda?

Habang nagbabasa, may nakikita akong ilang pamantayan tungkol sa kagandahan, libog, pagiging kaakit-akit. Sa mga tsismis magasin, malinaw naman ang mga pamantayan: bata, payat, matangkad at "seksy." Makikita ito sa mga tipo ng mga ginagawang star na mapuputi ang kutis, malalaki ang suso, walang tiyan, makipot ang balakang, mahaba ang binti. Nakikita ito sa di-matagong pagnanasa at pagkalibog ng mga kolumnista kapag ang pinag-uusapan ay ang mga batang starlet na kinse anyos pa lamang. Nakikita ito sa pagiging komedyante na lamang ng mga maiitim ang balat at sarat na ilong. Mayroong mga artikulo rin na nagsasabing "ok" din ang career ng isang starlet kahit 5"1" lang ang taas niya; na kahit matanda na ang isang tanyag na aktres ay maganda pa rin siya. May isang nagbabala sa isang komedyanteng morena na huwag magpaloko sa mga Europeanong tatangkilik sa kanyang "exotic" na kagandahan at "mag-concentrate na lamang sa career."

Nguni't ang pinakalantad na pagtukoy sa kagandahan ng mga magasing tagalog ay nakikita sa mga ads para sa sabon at make-up. Labing-anim ang mga ads na inilista sa sumusunod na talaan:

Dalas	Paksa	Wika
2	Make-up	Ingles
1	Sabon	Ingles
1	Body Butter	Ingles
1	Skin care line	Ingles
1	Iba't ibang magasin ng isang publisher	Ingles
1	Pa-kontest ng isang brand ng tsokolate	Ingles
1	Baby diaper	Ingles
1	Alak	Ingles
1	Money transfer	Ingles
1	Gatas	Filipino
1	Sandwich spread	Filipino
2	Istayon ng radyo	Filipino
1	Bagong teleserye	Filipino
1	Bagong sine	Filipino

*Mula sa Hi! (September 16-31, 2005) at The Buzz (October 2005)

Kapansin-pansin na kahit sa mga lathalaing Filipino, Ingles ang mga ad ng mga produktong pampaganda, kahit humigit kumulang na 25% ang ads na Filipino at ganuon din ang porsyento ng ads ng mga produktong pampaganda. Sa mga magasin naman na Ingles, nakararami ang mga ads tungkol sa mga pampaganda at palamuti. Siyempre pa, Ingles. Ang pagdami ng mga produktong pampagandang ibinebenta ang sanhi ng pagkabuhay ng napakaraming magasin. Sa taong 2003, P1.2 B ang kinita ng mga magasin sa ads ng mga produktong ganito (Chua, 2004).

Elitismo at Komersyalismo

Malinaw na ang globalisadong kulturang kinakaharap natin ay nakatali sa elitismo at komersyalismo. Sino nga ba ang makakabili sa mga palamuti at pampaganda kung hindi ang mga mayayamang marunong mag-

Ingles? At dito natin makikita ang pagkakaisa ng ekonomikong globalisasyon at kultural na globalisasyon. Ayon ulit kay Lisa Gokongwei ng Summit publications na siyang pinakamalaking tagapaglathala ng ganitong tipong magasin:

> Nandyan ung mga banyagang *advertiser* na susundan ang lathalain tulad ng *Cosmo*. Kapag inilunsad ang *Cosmo* sa anumang lupalop ng mundo, sasama ang Estee Lauder at L'Oreal. *(Akin ang salin. You have foreign advertisers who will go with the publication like in Cosmo. Whenever you launch Cosmo in any part of the world, Estee Lauder and L'Oreal will follow.* Sinipi ni Chua 2004) .

Nguni't nakakatakot rin ang kapasidad ng mga magasin na abutin ang karamihan. Ayon na mismo kay Gokongwei, 90% ng kanilang benta ay sa mga newstand (Chua, 2004). Di nakakapagtaka na naganap ang aking munting pananaliksik sa tindahan sa aming kanto na nasa gilid ng isang komunidad na maralita.

Ayon kay Gauntlett (2002), ang mga paksa na pinakamadalas talakayin ng mga magasin na nakita ko sa tindahan ay ang sex, fashion at kagandahan. Gayundin naman ang pagsusuma ni Chua (2004) sa nilalaman ng mga lokal na franchise at lokal na lathalaing Ingles. Nguni't ang wika at diwa ng mga kanluraning fashion magasin ay nagdadala ng mga dagdag na problema. Sa larangan ng kagandahan, ang mga magasin na ito'y nagpapalaganap ng mga pamantayan ng kagandahan na seksista at rasista.

Hindi kaya't kasukdulan nang pagtatraydor sa sariling kultura ang tawagin ang kayumangging balat at sarat na ilong na "ethnic"? Kung ganito na ang lumalabas sa mga popular na magasin na Tagalog, di nakakapagtaka na ang mga lokal na bersyon ng mga dayuhang franchise ay higit na masahol. Ayon ulit kay Gokongwei (Chua, 2004), sinusunod lang nila ang pormula ng mga banyagang magasin. Sa totoo'y halos lahat ng artikulo ng mga magasin na franchise ay pareho sa orihinal. Ang

pinapalitan lang daw ay ang mga modelo sa mga magasin na panlalaki tulad ng FHM, sapagka't higit na gusto ng mga Pilipinong lalaki ang mga modelong Pilipina. Ito siguro ang pinakamalupit na kombinasyon—ang isang elitista, seksista at makakanluraning diwa na bibigyang buhay ng mga imaheng mala-Pilipina.

Mapanganib na Kagandahan

Malupit ang epekto ng mga pamantayang ito sa mga nagbabasa ng mga magasin. Halimbawa, pinananukala ni Wolf (1992) na kaalinsabay ng pagbibigay-diin sa katawan at kapayatan sa mga fashion magasin ang nakaka-alarmang pagtaas ng mga *eating disorders* sa hanay ng kababaihan. Nagsabi na rin ang British Medical Association (2000) na:

> ...ang antas ng kapayatan ng mga [fashion model] ay hindi kayang tularan at hindi karapatdapat, hindi rin siya mabuting modelo para sa mga kabataang babae.*(Akin ang salin. ...the degree of thinness exhibited by [fashion models] is both unachievable and also biologically inappropriate, and provide unhelpful role models for young women.)*

Hindi lang pisikal na kalusugan ang napapanganib. Heto ang sinabi ni Liz Jones, ang editor ng Marie Claire na nangasiwa sa panahong naging pinakapopular na magasin ito sa UK, nang siya ay magbitiw nuong 2001:

> Nagsawa na lamang ako na magtrabaho sa isang industriya na nakukunwaring magbigay ng suporta sa kababaihan habang araw-araw naman silang binobomba ng mga imposibleng imahe ng kaganapan, na siyang nagpapahina ng kanilang tiwala sa sarili, sumisira sa kanilang kalusugan at hinihiwalay sila sa pinaghirapan na pera *(Akin ang salin. I had simply had enough of working in an industry that pretends to support women while it bombards them with impossible images of perfection day after*

> *day, undermining their self confidence, their health and hard-*
> *earned cash.* Sinipi ni Gauntlett, 2004).

Isipin na ang tinutukoy ni Jones ang mga kababaihang Inglatera. Kung imposibleng abutin ng mga ito ang pamantayan ng kagandahang ipinapairal ng mga magasin na hango pa rin sa kultura nila, gaano na kaimposibleng abutin ito ng ordinaryong Pilipina? Pansinin na di papasa ang karamihan sa atin sa kaputian, kanipisan ng labi, hugis ng mata at tangos ng ilong. Nguni't hindi rin natin kayang pumasa sa taas, sa haba ng mga hita't braso, sa liit ng balakang, sa laki ng suso--mas malapit ang isteryotipo sa katawan ng mga puti.

Ayon na rin sa ilang manunulat na peminista, ang pagbibigay diin sa panlabas na kagandahan at pagiging kaakit-akit sa lalaki ang naging reaksyon ng patriyarkiya sa mga tagumpay ng pakikibaka ng kababaihan. Partikular pa, nilulusaw nito ang mga tagumpay ng kababaihan sa pag-angkin ng sariling katawan at sa pagtuklas ng sariling pagnanasa at libog. Ang pagsisikap na ito ay sentral sa tinawag na karapatang sekswal at reproduktibo. Ayon kay Wolff (1992), hindi aksidente ang mala-pasistang pagpataw ng iisang pananaw tungkol sa sekswalidad, katawan at pagnanasa ng kababaihan na nakikita sa mga fashion magasins. Sinasangayunan ito ni Faludi (1991) na naniwalang isang aspeto ito ng reaksyon o *backlash* ng patriyarkiya laban sa kababaihan.

Liwanag at Kagandahan sa Lumang Kundiman

Matapos akong tumingin sa talasalitaan, nakinig naman ako sa ilang kundiman. Nagulat ako sa dami ng mga titik na patungkol sa kagandahan at liwanag o ilaw. Isang halimbawa ay ang "Bituing Marikit," musika ni Nicanor Abelardo, titik ni Servando de los Angeles:

> *Bituing marikit sa gabi ng buhay*
> *Ang bawat kislap mo'y ligaya ang taglay.*
> *Yaring aking palad iyong patnubayan*
> *At kahit na sinag ako'y bahaginan.*

Heto pa ang titik ng "Madaling Araw" ni Jose Corazon de Jesus:

> *Madaling araw na sinta,*
> *Liwanag ko't tanglaw.*

Heto pa ang isang ehemplo mula sa isang anonimong makatha:

> *O, Ilaw*
> *sa gabing madilim*
> *Wangis mo'y*
> *bituin sa langit*
> *O, tanglaw*
> *sa gabing tahimik*
> *Larawan mo Neneng*
> *nagbigay pasakit.*

Mula naman sa panulat ni Francisco Santiago heto ang koro ng Anak ng Dalita:

> *Sa dilim ng gabi*
> *Aking nilalamay*
> *Tanging larawan mo*
> *Ang nagiging ilaw.*

Nguni't ang ilaw ay hindi lang metapora para sa romantikong pag-ibig. Ang kundimang Jocelyn Baliwag ay awit ng mga Katipunero sa panahon na kailangan nilang maging matalinghaga upang maiwasan ang kalupitan ng mga Espanyol. Ang sinasambang dilag ay walang iba kundi

ang bayan. Heto ang ehemplo ng pagmamahal sa bayan na isinasaad sa pamamagitan na naman ng metapora ng liwanag:

> *Pinopoong sinta niring kaluluwa,*
> *Nakakawangis mo'y mabangong sampaga;*
> *Dalisay sa linis, dakila sa ganda,*
> *Matimyas na bukal ng madlang ligaya.*
> *Edeng masanghayang kinaluluklukan*
> *Ng galak at tuwang katamis-tamisan;*
> *Handa kang maningning na ang matunghaya'y*
> *Masamyong bulaklak agad sumisikal.*

Sa konspeto na ito ng kagandahan, nagniningning sa paningin ng nagmamahal ang kanyang minamahal. Hindi malayo ito sa ordinaryong karanasan. Para sa akin, iba ang ningning sa mukha ng aking mga anak. Nagliliwanag ang bahay kapag umuuwi ang mga makukulit! Kaya't para sa akin, hindi kalabisan na itulad ang ningning ng mga minamahal sa liwanag ng araw o tanglaw ng buwan at bituin.

Kabaliktaran ang pinangangalandakang konsepto ng liwanag ng mga ads para sa produktong pampaganda. Heto ang halimbawa mula sa isang ad tungkol sa "Body Butter, Ever Beautiful:"

> Sinasariwa ng Papain extract ang natural na kinang ng balat. *(Akin ang salin. Papain extract restores the skin's natural light.)*

Ipinapakita ng halimbawang ito na kaakit-akit ang balat ng isang babae (ang ad ay may babaeng nakaposturang pa-sexy) kung ito'y maningning. Baliktad na nga! Kung sa mga kundiman ay gumaganda ang minamahal, sa ad ay kailangan ka munang gumanda bago ka mahalin. Ayon sa mga kundiman ang isang babae ay kasing

liwanag ng araw sa mata ng nagmamahal sa kanya. Sa ilalim ng rehimen ng komersyalisadong kagandahan, limitado na lang siya sa natural na kintab ng kanyang balat. At kung sakali man ay magkulang ang kintab na ito, may mabibili sa botelya.

Kagandahang-Loob

Malinaw ang pagkakaiba ng mga kahulugan na ibinibigay ng globalisadong kulturang popular sa mga tradisyunal na konspeto natin. Matapos akong tumingin ng magasin at kundiman, nagbuklat ako ng talasalitaan. Anupa't nakita ko ang salitang "kagandahang-loob" na salungat sa konstruksyon ng kagandahang panlabas na isinisiwalat ng mga magasin. Malalim ang pakahulugan ng ating kultura sa kagandahang-loob. Dapat din na bigyan ng diin na ang kagandahang loob ay isang katangian na walang pinipiling kasarian.

Mayaman na ang kaalaman ng Sikolohiyang Pilipino sa konsepto ng loob. Ang kagandahang loob ay isang katangiang sumasakop sa buong pagkatao--isip, mithiin, diwa at gawa. Isang konsepto ng pagkataong hindi kayang pagkakitaan, hindi puedeng bilhin.

Ayon kay De Mesa (sinipi ni Miranda, 1988) ang loob ay:

> Loob ang panloob na katotohanan, ito ang sentrong tagapag-ayos ng pantaong realidad. Ito ang larangan ng pagiging nilikha na siyang batayan ng kaisipan, damdamin at pagkilos.Samakatuwid, loob, ang panloob na sarili, ay buod ng pagkatao, kung saan nakasalalay ang tunay na halaga ng isang tao... *(Akin ang salin. Loob is man's* (sic) *interior truth since it is the ultimate, organizing center of human reality. It is the very zone of creaturehood which is the substratum of ideas, feeling*

> *and behaviors. Thus, loob , the inner self, is the core of one's personhood and where the true worth of the person lies...)*

Dagdag pa ni De Mesa, ang loob ay isang konsepto na may elemento ng pakikipagrelasyon. Di naman ito nakakapagtaka sapagka't ang konsepto ng pakikipagkapwa ay sentral din naman sa konsepto ng pagkatao (Enriquez, 1990), tulad ng konsepto ng loob.

Ang may kagandahang loob ay lumilikha ng kagandahan para sa kapwa. Nakikita niya lamang ang kagandahan ng kapwa at kapag natuklasan niya ito, lalo niyang pinagyayaman ito (Miranda, 1992.).

Sa sarili kong interpretasyon (Estrada-Claudio 2002) ang konspeto ng pakikipagkapwa ay isa namang makapangyarihang pangkontra sa diskurso ng *objectification* na likas sa maraming teorya ng pagkatao sa sikolohiyang kanluranin. Sa aking pananaw, ang kanluraning konsepto ng "*self and other*" ang sikolohikal na batayan para sa isang diskursong ginagawang bagay na lamang ang isang babae. Ang punto ko'y mahirap mag-*objectify* ng ibang tao, kung ang pagkatao ay hindi pansarili nguni't binubuo sa pamamagitan ng pakikipagkapwa.

Panawagan

Gawain natin bilang sikolohista ang lumahok sa sariling kultura at lumikha ng isang pandaigdigang kultura na nagmumula sa tunay na mithiin at diwa ng sangkatauhan. Upang makamit ito, marapat na labanan ang mga salik ng kultura na ipinapataw ng ekomikong globalisasyon.

Nguni't sa panawagan kong ito, mamarapatin kong ulitin ang isang punto na matagal ko ng pinanghahawakan bilang isang peministang tagataguyod ng sikolohiyang Pilipino. Hindi sapat na

buhayin natin ang mga sinaunang tradisyon na walang kritikal na pagsusuri na nakabatay sa kasalukuyang kalagayan. Sa aking palagay, ang kultura'y isang buhay na bagay na ipinapasa sa sumusunod na salinlahi upang sila ay mabuhay at umunlad. Ang ibig sabihin nito ay inaasahan ng mga susunod na salinlahi na iangkop natin sa mga kasalukuyang problema at oportunidad ang ipapasang mga tradisyon. Karapatan at tungkulin natin na sariwain ang kultura at gawing makabago habang nagbabago ang takbo ng lipunan. Ang punto ko'y habang mahalagang balikan ang katutubong konspeto, hindi puede itong itaguyod na lamang ng walang pagbabago. Bilang peminista nakikita ko ang nakakatakot na pundamentalismo sa relihiyon at kultura ng ilang kilusang nasyonalista na lumalaban sa globalisasyon. Ang mga pundamentalistang tunguhin ay gusto lamang bumalik sa mga sinaunang kultura na markado rin ng karahasan, kawalan ng demokrasya at pagsikil sa karapatan ng kababaihan.

Kaya't dapat balikan ang konspeto ng kagandahang loob at pakikipagkapwa upang humubog ng makabagong konsepto ng kagandahan. Isang konsepto na ipagpapatuloy ang pagtuklas ng babae ng sariling dinaramdam, pagnanasa, libog, karapatan.

Kailangang ugatin ang konseptong ito sa karanasan ng milyun-milyong kababaihang Pilipino na nararanasan ang kanilang katawan bilang malakas sa paggawa, pagod sa pagtatrabaho, masakit dahil sa pang-aabusong sekswal, maluwalhati sa sekswalidad. Kailangang ugatin ang konspeto ng kagandahang loob sa kapasidad ng isang babaeng mahalin ang sarili, ang mga kaibigan, pamilya at sangkatauhan. Uugatin din dapat ito sa karapatan ng babaeng tanggihan ang romansa o sekswal na relasyon, o di kaya'y bigyang daan ang pagnanasa para sa isang lalaki o sa kapwa babae.

Bilang isang bayan, kailangan nating sariwain ang kagandahang loob para sa kapwa upang makamit ang sapat ang pagkain, pamamahay, edukasyon, kalusugan at kapayapaan sa loob at labas ng mga tahanan. Nais kong bigyang diin na ang kaganapan ng pambansang kaunlaran ay hindi makakamit kung hindi rin natin maibigay sa ating sarili ang kaganapan ng pagnanasa para sa mga pantay at mapagmahal na relasyon. Ito dapat ang diwa ng ating mga konspeto ng kagandahan at kagandahang loob.

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ASSEMBLY LINE WORKERS
OF THE 21ˢᵗ CENTURY:
A Glimpse Into the Lives
of Customer Service
Center Agents

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This article takes a broad view of the phenomenon of customer service centers which have emerged as a distinctive aspect of the globalized economy. The rapid growth in call centers is a result of transnational economic processes that take place in terrains made uneven by differences in economic development across countries. Using data from a number of sources, including focus group discussions and individual interviews, the author looks at the lives of Philippine call center employees with a lens that highlights gender and other oppressions. She also discusses what actions can be taken to protect workers' rights. Lastly, the author problematizes the new conditions for labor organizing among customer service center agents.

> *Call centers have been called the "factories of the new economy." Being a fast growing industry, the call center area faces a great deal of challenges.– Union Network International UNI)*

INTRODUCTION

In the 1970s-1980s, the manufacturing industry, specifically for basic steel, textiles and footwear, and electronics was seriously affected by the massive transfer of production from high-income to developing

countries in order to take advantage of cheaper labor costs and better control of production processes. In the 1990s relocation was no longer confined to traditional industries but extended to sophisticated manufacturing and services as well. Service operations that were initially thought of as 'inherently domestic' were being transferred from one country to another as a result of technological advancements.

Earlier on, in the area of Information and Communications Technology (ICT), the trend was migration of individual information technology (IT) workers from the developing countries to high income countries. However, the expansion of IT industry in developing countries and the digitalization of some business processes paved the way for globalizing the delivery of some service sector jobs. The reduction of barriers to competition in telecommunications unleashed a surge of new investment worldwide. Foreign-based client companies abroad take the work to local workers instead of importing the workers away from their homelands. The development of software programming centers in Bangalore in the '90s was a product of this change in which around 30 transnational corporations (TNCs) transferred part of their work to India at half the price that it would cost in the US or Western Europe for the same amount of work.

Within this global market, workers of all countries regardless of their degree of industrial development or type of social system, are in direct competition both in production and services (Gallin 1997). The primary motive in subcontracting and offshore outsourcing is to relocate jobs away from higher-cost areas of the world to those areas where there is a lower wage level and where employment conditions and rights may be poorer. For instance, the United States has lost 250,000 call center jobs to India and the Philippines since 2001 (Seattle Post-Intelligencer 2003). But "the resulting job losses in industrialized countries do not imply any great gains in employment in the countries where companies relocate and expand" (Gallin 1994, p. 111). Thus,

trade unions argue that migration of work does not create jobs or income. Rather, it initiates an open-ended competition among developing nations to offer the lowest wages and least amount of regulation in what has been called a "race to the bottom".

The spread of offshore outsourcing in the service sector in the early 1990 was simultaneous with a steady increase in the share of services in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of both developed and developing countries. The volume of international trade in services also increased during this period. This prompted the US to strengthen its position for the adoption of an international agreement that will cover regulation and expansion of international trade in services. In fact, the US threatened to abandon the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trades (GATT) during the Uruguay Round if trade in services will not be placed on the negotiating table (Abu-Akeed cited in Lapid 2005, p 16). The General Agreement on Trade and Services (GATS) which was adopted in 1994 "is the natural home for liberalizing commitments on cross-border trade." (Matto and Wunsch cited in Lapid 2005, p. 16). The GATS has provided the environment for business to reap the benefits of lower labor costs through offshore outsourcing. Supporters of liberalization argue that developing countries are to benefit from this arrangement in terms of workers getting higher wages compared to salaries offered by the local industries and therefore are able to improve their quality of life. Critics of GATS, on the other hand, argue that offshore outsourcing is a form of dumping where services are sold internationally at less than fair trade value.

Moreover, while liberalization in trade and services contributes to the over-all increase in demand for women's work, the opportunities opened up for women do not translate into better terms and conditions of employment. Studies show that the ideology of globalization has affirmed women's primary role as housewives to justify their relegation to the lower rungs in the labor market and to exploitative conditions

and wages (Francisco 2005, p. 2). Patriarchal biases about women's labor as embodied in the sexual division of labor, intersecting with the position of our country in global trade, result in jobs for women under non-standard arrangements. Thus, the increase in demand for women's labor (e.g. the call center industry) cannot be viewed separately from the trend of increasing informalization of work and "computer-aided" exploitation. It is with this perspective that we have to analyze whether women are winners or losers in international trade.

The proliferation of call centers in the Philippines is a good example of cross-border trade under Mode 1 of the GATS. Dubbed as the "digital assembly line," call centers are organized in the old industrial culture of mass production. Although there is no moving line that regulates the time spent on each task, networked computers and its attendant workflow software make it possible to time and measure every facet of a call center agent's work to the nearest second. This becomes the basis for expected standard output. The call center worker is one of the first proletariats of the digital age, with the empowered computers and its software imposing the discipline and control that, in the mass production plant, has always been the task of the assembly line and the automatic machine (Head 2003).While issues such as the absence of security of tenure and relentless monitoring of job performance are legitimate workers' issues they are not in a position to demand better terms and conditions of employment since they are not organized into trade/workers unions. Considering the fact that women are the ones most likely to work in these sectors that are difficult to regulate and unionize, offshore outsourcing should also be analyzed in terms of the gender impact on existing instruments laid down for the protection of workers' rights. While there is a rapid pace in the growth of offshore services in our country, stakeholders in this sector have been slow to react (i.e. policy advocacy) in looking closely at this phenomenal growth of cross-border service delivery.

Objectives

This paper aims to (1) provide an overview of the Philippine customer service centers (or call center industry); (2) look at the employment and working conditions and living and social conditions of women customer service agents, and; (3) put forward initial thoughts and initiatives in organizing customer service agents.

Methodology

Data was gathered from four individual interviews of call center agents and team managers and two focus group discussions (FGDs) with a total of eight participants. These are not enough to make conclusive statements. They allow us nonetheless to gather initial insights into the women's working conditions as well as the policies and pronouncements of the government and industry leaders. Likewise, the women call agents' experiences were analyzed in terms of working conditions and possible unionization of workers in the call centers. Lastly, the author tried to highlight the gender gaps in the discourse on interrelations of labor, trade and ICT.

TRENDS AND PROSPECTS IN THE OUTSOURCING OF CUSTOMER SERVICE WORKERS

Outsourcing is defined as the "the process of transferring an existing business function, including the relevant physical and/or human assets, to an external provider in order to strategically use outside resources to perform activities previously handled in-house" (Wikipedia). The trend of outsourcing labor overseas to countries with lower labor cost is often referred to as offshoring or offshore outsourcing. Global multinationals,

including airlines, banks, and IT companies, are major offshore outsourcers of customer service work, both with in-house overseas operations and with subcontractors. (UNI, 2006). Among the major global players in this subcontracting business are Accenture (USA), SNT (Netherlands), Atento (Spain) and Convergys (USA). Asia has become a source of substantial outsource service operations from the United States and Europe.

McKinsey & Co., an investment consultancy firm, projects a bigger demand for outsourcing services that will reach US$ 180 billion in 2010. Human resource services (28%) and customer contact services (24%) lead the firm's projected world demand for white collar services (see Figure 1):

Figure 1. Projected World Demand for White Collar Services
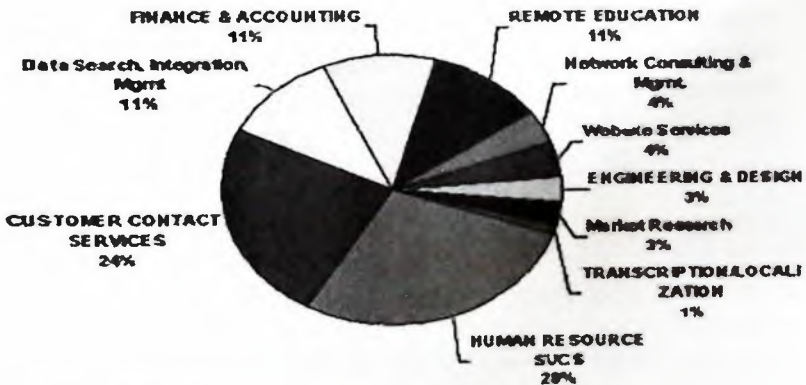
Source: DTI, 2006

Philippine's Comparative Advantage

A study by A. T. Kearney (Matto and Wunsch 2004, p. 9) comparing the attractiveness of different countries as outsource locations

confirms that while India remains to be the overall leader in attracting offshore outsourcing, other countries are no longer far behind. In the Philippines there is an increase in the number of companies "specializing" in business process outsourcing, the most popular of them are customer care services or call centers. Majority of businesses use call centers to interact with their customers. The Philippines is considered to be an attractive location for US companies to set-up offshore customer support services and customer interaction compared to India because of our familiarity with American culture and our Americanized English diction and pronunciation. Last year, the country ranked 3rd in the world for top business process outsourcing (BPO) destinations, according to neoIT's 2005 Mapping Offshore Markets Update (DTI, 2006).

Aside from an affinity to western culture, a strategic location, a hospitable lifestyle and an expanding infrastructure, the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) boasts of the "affordable quality of human resources" and strong government support to attract investors to the Philippines. In terms of 'affordable quality human resource', DTI (2006) outlines the following as our selling points:

   a. Skilled labor force of 29 million

   b. Literacy rate of 94%

   c. 3rd largest English speaking nation

   d. No. 4 worldwide in availability of knowledge workers

   e. 380,000 graduates/year

   f. Western-patterned educational system

   g. Strong work ethic, consultative/customer-oriented mind set

   h. Quality management staff

i. Easily trainable

j. Low attrition rate

k. Lower costs: approximately one-fifth the cost of the US and Europe

Strong government support in this area is manifested by the formation of the Information Technology and E-Commerce Council (ITECC) to oversee, review or update the national promotion strategy for E-Commerce. This government-private council, chaired by the President of the Philippines, hopes "to lead the Philippines' ICT industry through the next millennium and beyond by putting ICT in the forefront of government priorities and national consciousness like it never has been before" (ITECC, 2006).

Employment Creation

The Bureau of Labor and Employment Statistics (BLES) reported in July 2006 that the nature of work is undergoing major shifts. While the industrial sector has remained stagnant, the agricultural workforce is shrinking in favor of the service sector. Further, the BLES report highlighted the fact that in the next ten years, service sector employment will expand and dominate the nature of work. The growth of the service sector will be led by the expansion in call centers and other business process outsourcing (BPO) followed by growth in wholesale and retail trade, tourism and transport sectors. Interestingly, side by side with this change is the "increasing 'casualization' of the work force as more and more employers resort to labor flexibility arrangements" (BLES 2006) to compete in the market.

The recently held National Employment Summit in March 2006, reports that 4.081 million employment opportunities will be created

between 2006 and 2010 (see Table 1) with the largest contribution from agribusiness (2.004 million or 49.1%) followed by cyberservices (1.384 million or 33.9%).

Table 1: Projected employment opportunities by sector 2006-2010

Sector Projected	Employment
Agribusiness	2,004,161
Cyberservices	1,383,890
Hotel and Restaurant	400,280
Medical Tourism	128,150
Health Services	50,003
Mining	39,382
Aviation	27,281
Total	4,081,447

Source: 2006 National Manpower Summit Report cited in LabStat Updates: 2006

In terms of emerging occupations in cyberservices, customer contacts/agents registered the highest potential employment (see Table 2). This result supports the projection of McKinsey and Company that customer contact services will post bigger demand for outsourcing services in the immediate future.

Table 2: Emerging Occupations in Cyberservices 2006-2010

Occupational Title	Prospect
Entry-level animators	14,048
Transcriptionists (medical)	109,590
Customer contacts/agents	735,000
Software developers/ programmers	122,100
Finance/Accounting analysts	137,585

Source: 2006 National Manpower Summit Report cited in LabStat Updates: 2006

DISSECTING THE CUSTOMER SERVICE CENTERS: THE NEXT PHILIPPINE GOLD MINE?

Customer Service Centers or Call Centers are physical locations basically providing services involving agents making calls (outbound) to sell products of mostly foreign clients or receiving calls (inbound) to provide customer services, give information, take orders or provide helpdesk functions. It is a young industry fast becoming a prime source of white collar employment nowadays especially for women.

In 2004, industry revenue reached US$800M. Table 3 shows the expansion of seats and therefore employment (each seat is equal to approximately two to three persons employed) covering the period 2000 to June 2006.

Table 3: Expansion of Industry Seats

Year	Industry Seat
2000	2,500
2001	3,500
2002	7,500
2003	20,000
2004	40,000
2005	77,000
2006, June	112,000

Source: Author's compilation based on data from DTI and the pronouncements of Contact Center Association of the Philippines (CCAP) and Business Processing Association of the Philippines' officials

Currently, the big names in customer service centers operating in our country are:

- PLDT

- Convergys Corporation

- ICT Group

- eTelecare Global Solutions

- Teletech Holdings

- ClientLogic Corporation

- Sykes Enterprises

- IBM Corporation,

- Sutherland Global Services.

Additional seats are being explored by AIG, Siemens AG, Dell and JP Morgan Chase and Company

An Alternative to Migration?

The present Philippine administration has singled out the call center industry as one of the key potential growth areas as Western companies move their office functions in less developed countries.

During her State of the Nation Address of July 2006, Pres. Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo said that:

> The Cyber Corridor will boost telecommunications, technology and education. The corridor runs the length of all the super regions, from Baguio to Cebu to Davao. The cities of Davao, Tagum and Samal Island Garden all operate

electronic government accounting systems. In this corridor, the English and information and communication technology skills of the youth give them a competitive edge in call centers and other business process outsourcing.

In 2001, in this hall, we hailed ICT as a key growth sector. So we built up telecommunications infrastructure and opened the market for Internet phone calls. Today international calls cost 6 cents a minute, down from 40 cents. From 2,000 BPO workers in 2001, we now have 200,000.

I had coffee with some call center agents last Labor Day. Lyn, a new college graduate, told me, "Now I don't have to leave the country in order for me to help my family. Salamat po." I was so touched, Lyn by your comments. With these structural reforms, we not only found jobs, but kept families intact. Thank God, I thought, or someone might also try to impeach me for violating Article 15 of the Constitution on the solidarity of the family as the foundation of the nation.

Government is confident that a developed ICT sector can offer vast opportunities especially in shared services or back office operations, animation and software development and technical support. As such, government has prioritized the development and enlargement of the sector. In order to sustain and generate investments in ICT, the government will aggressively promote the sector by drawing up more focused incentives packages leading to job creation on high skill industries and services, namely, software and business processing outsourcing.

Quoting from the Medium Term Philippine Development Plan (MTPDP) 2004-2010, it mentions that:

McKinsey and Company recently identified 11 white collar services—with an estimated demand worth of US$180 billion by 2010—that the mature economies can profitably outsource, and which the Philippines is well positioned to supply. Through the information highway, Filipinos can help reduce the overhead cost of service industry multinationals without their going overseas, (MTPDP Chapter 1 Trade and Investment, p. 20).

To illustrate how government supports BPO employment (in call centers), the Technical Skills Development Authority (TESDA) in Southern Mindanao has begun conducting free examinations to determine a person's competence in working for a call center. The seven-minute verbal test called Prospeak7 is used to evaluate an individual's English proficiency through a telephone call. Those who posted scores of 61 or above are considered "hirable" and will be issued with a certificate of competency by the TESDA and will likewise be endorsed to call centers in the city. Those who scored 55-60 will be considered "near hires" and a training coupon will be issued which will entitle them to a P5,000 worth of PGMA Training for Work Scholarship at any technical-vocation school offering TESDA-registered finishing courses for call centers (Billacura 2006). "The beauty of call centers is its almost 100 per cent local value added, compared to only 25-30 per cent for electronic components," says Romulo Neri, the government's economic planning chief (Landingin: 2006).

Biggest earner, biggest employer?

According to Cesar Tolentino, a senior analyst from the Canadian market research firm XMG, call centers in the Philippines accounted for about half of the total earnings from information technology-enabled services (ITES). According to him, of the estimated US$1.8 billion ITES earnings in 2005, call centers contributed US$1 billion, or about 56%. He also adds that call center earnings grew 16.3% in 2005 from US$860 million in 2005 when the sector contributed 72% of the total US$1.2 billion ITES revenues. (The Contact 2006)

Rainero Borja, director of the Contact Center Association of the Philippines (CCAP), is confident that the "annual earnings of local

calls centers would grow to $7.3B in 2010 up top nearly 300% from projected earnings of $2.6B this year" (Domingo 2006b). As such, the number of people employed by the industry would increase 182% from 179,000 this year to 506,000 in less than four years. This will lead to expansion of the number of work stations/agents' seats from 112,000 this year to 300,000 in 2010. Borja also mentioned that the call centers and "their employees would pay P8.6B in income taxes this year with more money spent on downstream industries such as office rentals and equipment supplies."

To respond to the inefficiency of operations in call center workspaces, non-voice work is explored such as financial services, back office work and medical transcription which could be done during daytime. To ensure an immediate pool of workers for the company, some call centers are forging partnerships with universities through teachers' trainings termed as 'people development' to equip teachers with skills on how to pass the training to their students thus providing an immediate and steady labor pool for the industry.

Helps boost other businesses

The establishment of call centers has given boost to neighboring restaurants, convenience stores, coffee shops and other businesses that decided to operate round the clock. A 30% increase in daily sales of a McDonald branch located in a special economic zone housing several call centers in Quezon City was noted after it opened 24 hours starting April last year. According to its assistant branch manager, call center agents on meal break after midnight contributed to the sales increase posted last year. Chowking, a Chinese fastfood chain, claims that more call center agents are now patronizing their 24-hour outlets in Metro Manila.

Space demand vs. supply

Only 328,100 square meters of office space for outsourcing companies is being built in the country over the next five years which is half the amount the industry requires if it grows the expected 20% rate, according to Richard Raymundo, director of Collier's Philippines. He revealed that office vacancy rates in major business districts, including Ortigas and Makati, will probably fall below 5% in the next 12 months, the lowest since the Asian financial crisis in 1997 and rents which rose 20% in 2005, will probably increase by at least 15% this year as office space supply tightens. As a result, Raymundo added that "non-traditional office space formats are being considered such as warehouses and shopping malls" (Philippine Star 2006). CB Richard Ellis, a property consultant, estimates that vacancy rates in the Philippines' premier commercial district fell to only 8 per cent last year, from 16 per cent the year before, because of the demand for prime office space from call centers and other business process outsourcing (BPO) operators (Landingin 2006)

Work Organization

Workstation

A call center is an air-conditioned workspace which usually consists of work stations each provided with a personal computer (PC) and a "phone"/headset connected to a telecom switch. Computers are often linked to a corporate computer network and, increasingly, the voice and data pathways are now linked through a set of new technologies called computer telephony integration (CTI).

Technology

The key technology used in call centers is the automatic call distributor (ACD). It is a system that can handle voluminous streams of calls, programmed to direct calls instantly to the next available logged-in agent who receives the call through the headset. ACD ensures good level of services, meaning, agents' level of productivity is high and calls are queued and processed as quickly as possible.

With a PC and ACD technology, video display units are used interactively during telephone calls. ACD technology allows agents to retrieve, encode and dispense information from the PC to facilitate the transaction requirements of callers. Other ACD systems have an Integrated Voice Recorder (IVR), a "voice response" mechanism which is used to obtain information from the caller before they get to speak to an agent. This same technology which facilitates an agent's job also serves as a monitoring facility which allows management to "peek" into an agent's activity and evaluate her or his performance in just a "click of a mouse" (Fabros 2005, p. 4). Management can listen in on conversations either openly or covertly, between the agent and the customer. They can also track how long it takes until a customer is connected, how long the call lasts, the time that the agent is not working actively with calls or disconnected because she or he has left the workstation, number of calls on queue and the average call time.

Quality assurance officers are the ones monitoring agents' call handling performance. This can be done by "barging in" (real time, service-observed) or through retrieval of recordings. Since desktop use is recorded, they can also check if the agent used the PC for personal purposes.

Organized support systems

Call centers are often organized into a layer of support systems for more efficient handling of calls. The frontline agents are the ones directly in contact with customers where most concerns are resolved like basic trouble shooting or inquiry. In cases when customer's needs are beyond their scope of responsibility, the customer is transferred to another department or to a second level of assistance like technical support. There are also cases where work organization allows technical support agents to seek assistance from senior support staff (through "chatting") to better assist customers.

Forecasting demand

Demand estimation is a crucial aspect of call center operations. Forecasting methods are important to maintain service quality by minimizing long call queues. Results generated from these methods are crucial in predicting traffic intensity and ensuring that enough staff are available especially during peak hours.

Call center performance

There are scores of standard traffic measurements (performance metrics) that can be carried out on a call center to ascertain its performance levels. However, the most important performance measures are:

- The average delay a caller may experience whilst waiting in a queue
- The mean conversation time, otherwise referred to as Average Talk Time (ATT)
- The amount of time spent while an agent processes customer requests while not speaking to a customer (referred to as Not Ready time/NR, or After Call Work/ACW, or Wrap-Up.)

- The mean dealing time, otherwise referred to as Average Handling Time (AHT - equal to ATT plus wrap-up and/or hold time)
- The percentage of calls answered within a determined time frame (referred to as a Service Level or SL%)
- The number of calls / inquiries per hour an agent handles (CPH or IPH)
- The percentage of calls which completely resolve the customer's issue (if the customer does not call back about the same problem for a certain period of time, it is considered a successful resolution or FCR - First Call Resolution)
- The percentage of calls where a customer hangs up or "abandons" the call is often referred to as Total Calls Abandoned or Percentage of calls abandoned. Calls are often abandoned due to long hold times when a call center experiences a high call volume.
- Percentage of time agents spend not ready to take calls, often referred to as Idle Time
- Quality Assurance monitored by a quality assurance (QA) team (Wikipedia)

English-only policy (EOP)

As a rule, a worker who is within the premises of the company should communicate in English A disciplinary action is given to violators in the form of verbal warning to suspension depending on the degree of the offense (FGDs 1 and 2 2006, 10 and 14 September).

Job segregation

Customer service agents responsible for customer care accounts are usually females while those handling technical support are males (FGDs 1 and 2 2006, 10 and 14 September). Usually, men are the ones interested in technical stuff hence "the view that it is a man's job." There is also a perception that those handling technical accounts must be very firm and

should sound authoritative or expert on that particular field. One female agent who handles technical support laments that there are cases that she should sound very authoritative about the product she is handling to prove customers that she knows what she is talking about. Usually, the 'product knowledge test" comes first before customers raise their main concern for calling up customer service support.

Terms and Conditions of Employment

Salaries

For non-technical accounts, an agent receives an average hiring rate of P12,500 - P15,000 monthly basic salary while for technical accounts an agent receives P15,500 - P18,000 on the average (FGDs 1 and 2 2006, 10 and 14 September). The Department of Trade and Industry says that the starting pay of about P12,000-15,000 monthly is just one-fifth of the salary of an agent's American counterpart. But here in the Philippines, the industry proves to be lucrative for executives. According to the 2006 Corporate Compensation Survey, business process outsourcing companies (BPOs) executives were the highest paid in 2005. The survey report, published by the Employers Confederation of the Philippines (ECOP), showed that the median monthly salary given to its executives (assistant Vice President upwards) is P180,000. It is interesting to note that while male executives in BPO firms have a median salary of P200,000/month their female counterparts receive only about P82,000/month.

Working time

Call centers usually operate at night synchronizing their office hours with that of their clients at the other side of the globe. A working "day" consists of 8 hours on the "floor," one hour non-compensatory "lunch"

break and two 15-minute breaks. Usually, lunch break is scheduled four hours after an agent has logged-in (between 1:00am and 3:00am) but it can change depending on the volume of calls expected to receive. (FGDs 1 and 2 2006, 10 and 14 September).

In one of the call centers in Quezon City, work shifts are as follows: 6pm- 3am/9pm-6am/10pm-7am/3am-12nn/11am-8pm (Jonas, call center agent, 2006, interview, 2 September). Another company has three shifts: for five-day workweek, shifts are either 8pm-5am or 5am-2pm. If the worker opts for a compressed four-day workweek or 4/10, her or his shift schedule is from 11pm-10am (Leila, team leader, 2006, interview, 7 September).

Employment arrangement

Generally, workers are regularized after fulfilling the probationary period of six months but by and large, employment contract is project-based or account based (co-terminus) (FGD 1 2006, 10 September). In some instances, agents are hired first on a contractual basis for six months, and then serve another six months as probationary staff before being regularized (Leila, team leader, 2006, interview, 7 September).

Upon hiring, agents have to undergo a one-month training which consists of communication and culture training (CCT) and product-specific training. If an agent did not pass the training, she or he can go to remedial training but if there was no improvement, she or he will be terminated. The newly-trained agents will first be "sheltered" (work under close supervision of the team leader) before they are allowed to "hit the floor" (Leila, team leader, 2006, interview, 7 September).

An agent's knowledge of the job is also account-based so that if an agent will be assigned to a different account, she or he has to go

through product-specific training again for that particular account (FGDs 1 and 2 2006, 10 and 14 September).

An agent on training, if newly-hired, is given an allowance equivalent to what she or he gets as a probationary worker but if the training is for an agent transferred to another account, the allowance will be based on her or his current salary level (Ibid.).

A pregnant woman is allowed to work on graveyard shift but she can be given a lighter shift schedule upon request (FGD 1 2006, 10 September).

Benefits

Agents generally enjoy the benefits provided for by the Labor Code (e.g. overtime pay, holiday pay, etc). Big companies offer benefits above what the law provides like life insurance and quarterly performance bonus together with other non-taxable allowances like food and transportation allowance or transportation service. (FGD 1 2006, 10 September).

Agents are given sick leaves and vacation leaves, the number of which depends on the account handled by the team. In effect, even if workers are employed in the same company, those working in a particular account may have 15 days VL/SL (vacation leave/ sick leave) upon signing of contract while those working in another account will have 1.25 days VL/SL for every month of service (FGD 1 2006, 10 September).

Annual physical examination is conducted but no emphasis is given to occupational health-related examinations (e.g. acoustic shock). They are provided with health and dental insurance as well (FGDs 1 and 2 2006, 10 and 14 September).

Facilities

Separate sleeping quarters (with beds or lounging chairs) for women and men are provided to the workers. There is a clinic with a doctor and/or nurse on duty (FGD 1 2006, 10 September). There is also an arcade where workers can enjoy watching cable TV, play computer games or use the Xbox. In other workplaces, billiard tables, dart boards, and videoke players are installed (FGDs 1 and 2 2006, 10 and 14 September).

Grievance Machinery

Company rules outline the steps in taking up grievances. If the issue is between two agents, then the team leader handles the situation. The decision can be appealed to the next level if one is not satisfied with the result (Tony, team leader, 2006, interview, 3 September).

The Customer Service Agent: Up close as a worker

Call center agents speaking

"I am honored to be given the opportunity to work for an industry that does not only employ people but gives a chance to families to better economic status" -- Leila, team leader

"Instead of being unemployed or forced to migrate, call centers absorb the young and inexperienced workers." -- Dina, agent

"This is an industry where there is no gender preferences, no age limit, no discrimination... As long as you possess good communication skills, you can hit the floor." -- Mayeth, agent

"This is just a temporary job, a stepping stone. If there are injustices at the workplace, workers will opt to move out rather than fight back." -- Liza, agent

> "The company I work for gives whatever benefits workers are entitled to according to law." -- Amy, agent

> "This is a job that gives good compensation to its staff so I grabbed the opportunity. Anyway, I am still young and I can still manage a stressful job." -- May, agent

> "Night work is very hard in the beginning but once you are adjusted to it, it is no longer a problem." -- Carol, agent

Agents' profile

The majority of call center agents are young (18 to 29 years old), women, single, university educated and tech savvy. When the job was introduced for the first time, the industry targeted students from schools catering to the upper middle class but this has been extended to the lower middle class sections of society. Call center agents comprise the booming middle class youth with their own culture and habits. Since their wages are comparatively higher than in most industries, agents can adopt a "comfortable" lifestyle (e.g. having the latest model of mobile phones, etc.).

Many call center agents do not see a call center job as a career but rather view it as transitory, a stepping stone for better employment opportunities. They are not bothered if they are just project workers or if they are performing dead-end jobs. Many of them are in call centers because the job offers higher salary level compared to simple day jobs. In the long term, some would like to go back to school or find better jobs abroad (FGDs 1 and 2 2006, 10 and 14 September). But for some "techies" whose passion is drawn to technology, they said that they might stay longer as long as the work feeds on their interests (FGD 2 2006, 14 September). Workers with family responsibilities also look at the job differently. They surmise that they might stay longer out of necessity (Tony, team leader, 2006 interview, 3 September). And while many do not see

themselves working in a call center for a long period of time, one agent is convinced that this is the industry where she can craft her career (FGD 1 2006, 10 September).

Interestingly, an FGD participant who has a bachelor's degree in mass communications and has been working for 1 ½ years in the call center articulated that she cannot see herself still in the industry after five years. Her main motive for applying for a call center job was that she didn't want to be unemployed after graduating from the university. Her goal was to save money for her future plans. In the long run she wants to do media work. Recently, she was called to report to a media company but with a heavy heart, she turned down the opportunity because the salary offered her by the media firm is just ½ of what she is paid in the call center.

Demand of Work: call logging emphasizes quantity, monitoring emphasizes quality

Ability to handle stress

Interestingly, job advertisements of call centers emphasize excellent opportunities waiting for successful hires rather than run through a long list of qualifications they look for in applicants. The following are print media advertisements published in Job Market section of the Philippine Daily Inquirer, a leading daily newspaper, and examples of how call centers project themselves:

- What makes us special? Flexibility that matters. Wide ranging functions, fast growing accounts, boundless career paths. Work for a company unlike any other. Because you are NOT like everybody else. Be an IBMer. -- IBM

- Wake-up call. Take your career to the next level. Go on. Be a Tiger -- Accenture

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- High Rise. With the world's largest contact center, there's no way to go but up. Aim Convergys. We are looking for individuals with passion for learning and drive for success. -- Convergys

- Work among champions! Be part of the winning team. Now Hiring! -- Teletech

- Cool Jobs, Fun People, Great Pay! -- Teletech

- We know there is more to living than just making a living. Aside from competitive pay, performance incentives and referral bonuses, Ambergis employees enjoy hotel-like facilities, company-issued mobile phones, daily shuttle service, round-the-clock food service, fun employee events and comprehensive training. -- Ambergis Solutions

- The undying force, that drives the human spirit to greatness. Come…join the ADVENTURE. Be passionate, be a SUTHERLANDer. -- Sutherland Global Services

- As an agent at ePerformax you have to have The X Factor. This means being Xtremely committed and Xtremely quality focused. And as a result you get Xtreme recognition, Xtreme opportunities, Xtreme pay for performance and, most importantly, you can have xtreme fun working in a supportive environment. If you have The X Factor, then we'd love to have you join our family. -- Mike Grape, Agent and Lead Vocalist of Kala

Looking closer at the nature of the job of a customer service agent, it needs more than excellent communication skills in English to become a call center agent. To a certain extent, a person should show efficiency under time pressure, ambitious goals and sometimes direct monitoring of performance. Aside from being able to handle huge amount of information, an agent must also be able to handle different types of customers.

Attending to an average of two to three bad calls (abusive customers) per duty is considered part of the job. One agent resorts to her own psychological conditioning in order to get through the job by

convincing herself that she should not take bad calls personally, "trabaho lang, walang personalan." (*It's just work, do not take it personally.* FGD 1 2006, 10 September). One of the agents in the FGD calls this "emotional flexibility." When confronted with abusive customers, she consoles herself with the fact that "hindi naman ako kayang kainin nito, kasi nasa telepono lang naman sya." (*The customer can't eat me alive because we are only on the telephone.* FGD 2 2006, 14 September). One agent said that she brings with her a stress ball which she squeezes while talking to an irate customer (Ibid.). One agent remarked that she was able to maintain her "smiling voice" by scratching her legs in exasperation (FGD 1 2006, 10 September). Another agent explained that when she can no longer take abuses from a customer, she presses the mute button to curse back (FGD 2 2006, 14 September).

Excellent call handling skills

Agents reveal that they are expected to fulfill the 5 minute average handling time (AHT) for inbound non-technical calls and a 13.5 minute max AHT for inbound technical calls (FGD2 2006, 14 September). Agents handling outbound sales calls are also given quota which translates to rigid sales or performance targets (Ibid).

Working with scripts

Agents are obliged to follow scripts when talking to customers. Agents share that customers sometimes ask if they are talking to a machine or human being and assert that they want to talk to a human being in case calls will be transferred to another department (FGD 2 2006, 14 September). Working with scripts bind them as to the parameters of what they can offer to the callers. The information they need to assist the customers are indexed in a computer system (eg. usage instruction of their products, key information points). Their hands

are tied when a call requires an agent to work "outside of the script" since non-standard solutions which might prove effective are not allowed (Ibid.).

Loss of identity

Call center protocol includes expectation from agents to interact with customers like "one of the locals." As such, they assume a different identity so that customers won't realize that they are talking to an agent on the other side of the globe. In a way, they lose or compromise their real identity at work and take on an alien persona.

At Ambergis, workers are given USA Today and the most recent Texas travel guide to read between calls. They watch the previous day's TV news from a Texas network during breaks in case conversation with a customer veers to current events (Seattle Post-Intelligencer 2003). It also helps if the agent knows the weather, top stories, who is winning in the NBA games since they cannot afford to sound like they know nothing about their customer's 'world.'

ISSUES AND CHALLENGES

Labor Market Issues

Attrition

Attrition rate is placed at 35% by industry leaders, "well above the 8.3% rate that the industry has set as acceptable" (Villafania 2006). Team leaders note that the usual causes of attrition are (1) agent not "cut" from the job; (2) unable to combine job and school requirements; (3) offers from other call centers; (4) conflict with immediate supervisor (team leader); (5) opportunities to go abroad; (6) health problems and (7) stress – from demands of customers.

Pirating in the industry is common as moving from one call center to another is quite easy given the tight labor market. Hence, call centers ask for bonds (P25,000 -P40,000) from its newly hired workers as an assurance that the latter will stay with the company during the contract period (FGD 1 2006, 10 September).

Labor Demand vs. Supply

The industry observes the dwindling number of skilled workers, especially those proficient in English who can work in call centers. The demand is growing so fast that the industry is facing a labor shortage. In fact, "US-based Cyber City Teleservices Ltd has been unable to fully operate its call center in Davao City due to lack of qualified applicants despite aggressive recruitment drives throughout Mindanao that attracted thousand of applicants" (Reyes 2006). CCAP officials say that "out of the country's 400,000 college graduates every year only 100,000 or 25% are deemed 'immediately employable' in the BPO and IT-enabled services sectors" (Philippine Daily Inquirer 2006). Of the 100,000 only 12,000 could pass requirements to work as contact center agents which is way below the 60,000 minimum needed by the call center industry. Add the fact that "for every 20 job applicants who get accepted, only one shows up for work" (Domingo 2006b).

Industry leaders attribute the shortage to the current quality of education college graduates receive pertaining to the lack of "proper" English communication skills needed for this type of work. In order to curb this problem, CCAP coordinates not only with the government but with the academic institutions as well to design activities that will produce graduates ready for call center jobs.

With the purpose of attracting skilled workers, call centers not only advertise job openings on newspapers, online job sites, job fairs, television and radio commercial spots, magazines or use of streamers and

billboards but they also resort to non-traditional and creative ways of recruiting people. The company E-Telecare put up a team in the basketball league, the Teletech Titans in the PBL while other companies organize party-like events and one even organized a speech and image modeling contest with $1,000 at stake. Some give "sign-in bonuses, travel benefits, and free gadgets like mobile phones and MP3 players" (Domingo 2006b). But, David of the Pilipinas Teleserve, Inc. says that the most effective method of recruitment is still through "word of mouth" which works like a referral system in which companies offer incentives to employees who recommend possible recruits. According to him, "eTelecare and People Support, for example, are companies that offer something between P1,500 –P5,000 for every successful hire" (Ibid.).

From the Developed Countries (compiled by the author from UNI's labor news in 2005)	From the Philippines (results of FGDs and interviews done by the author)	
	Working in a multinational company	Working in a 'local/small' company
unrealistic targets	transportation and safety hazards	transportation and safety hazards
poor working conditions (e.g. poor facilities, poor maintenance and cleaning, cramped working conditions)	lack of sleep /rest, decreased body resistance, sleep disorder or insomnia, backaches, weight loss/gain, cough, colds, tonsillitis, sore throat	lack of sleep/rest. Decreased body resistance, sleep disorder or insomnia, backaches, weight loss/gain, cough, colds, tonsillitis, sore throat
repetitive and boring work; limited advancement opportunity	boring work, repetitive	can be promoted but with no corresponding wage increase
inflexible shifts with compulsory overtime and too few breaks	provides no room for personal growth	non-remittance of SSS contribution
constant monitoring and surveillance		wrong computation of compensation
disrespectful supervisors		power tripping supervisors
abusive customers		systems of promotion is whom you know
low pay		no performance evaluation

Work kills social life

An agent's life runs opposite the normal life of the other members of the household/family. One agent feels that she is considered non-existent at home (FGD 2 2006, 14 September). When her family is awake, she is asleep and vice versa. After four months of working in a call center, she can no longer relate to what her family is talking about. Another agent shares that she is considered a boarder at home (Ibid.). Their social life revolves around friends at work. They go out after duty which could mean enjoying a few drinks early in the morning before going home to sleep. Those who have significant others tell of the difficulties of nurturing the relationship. Most of the time, they have to be content with just text messaging (FGD 1 2006, 10 September).

Sexual Harassment

Aside from the dangers of being robbed, (as agents observed that crime such as hold-up increased concurrently with the increase in the number of call centers) women agents also experience sexual harassment in public transportation or while waiting for a ride (FGD 2 2006, 14 September). While some areas provide police visibility, it is only limited to the area where call centers are located like Eastwood in Libis, Quezon City. At work, there was a case of sexual harassment complaint committed by a team manager to his agent in one of the call centers in Quezon City (Leila, team leader, 2006, interview, 7 September). The Human Resource Department (HRD) handled the case and a preventive suspension was meted out to the offender.

Occupational health issues

A study on safety and health conditions among workers in call centers conducted by the Occupational Health and Safety Center (OSHC) shows that the job is highly stressful and causes severe anxiety among

workers. Computer-related health disorders were also identified such as muscoloskeletal disorder manifested in pain in the neck, shoulder and back areas resulting from long hours of sitting and use of computers; eye problems and hearing disorders caused by continuous telephone use.

Acoustic shocks

Variably described as "long bangs, short screams, and high pitched tones sustained by call center operators wearing headsets" (Communication Workers Union in UK 2005), acoustics shocks can lead to hearing loss. In addition, "victims of acoustic shocks may suffer from debilitating tinnitus, hyperacusis [sensitivity to certain types of noises], dysacusis [inability to hear conversation above background noise], headache, and nausea. The severity of symptoms can range from a short period of pain followed by a complete recovery to permanent symptoms causing job loss. The majority of the shock sufferers will never return to work using a headset" (Ibid.)

Risk of breast cancer

Noel Colina, Executive Director of the Institute for Occupational Health and Safety Development, noting the increasing number of women working in graveyard shift said that this type of working arrangement could pose health risk for women. He cited a study by the US-based Fred Hutchinson Cancer Research Center which found that women who work in graveyard shift may face up to 60% higher risk of breast cancer compared to women who never worked at night...exposure to light at night somehow interrupt melatonin production, which in turn stimulates the ovaries to kick out extra estrogen, a known hormonal promoter of breast cancer" (Aning, 2006). Colina also said that painful menstruation (dysmenorrhea), absence of menstruation (amenorrhea) or heavy menstruation (menorrhagia) are conditions related to women taking graveyard shift.

Carpal Tunnel Syndrome (CTS)

"Carpal tunnel syndrome is particularly associated with certain tasks including repetitive hand motions, awkward hand positions, strong gripping, mechanical stress on the palm and vibration. Such injury results in sensations of numbness, tingling, pain, and clumsiness of the hand. This combination of symptoms is called carpal tunnel syndrome. People with carpal tunnel syndrome experience difficulty in performing tasks such as unscrewing bottle tops, fastening buttons, or turning keys." (Canadian Center for Occupational Health and Safety)
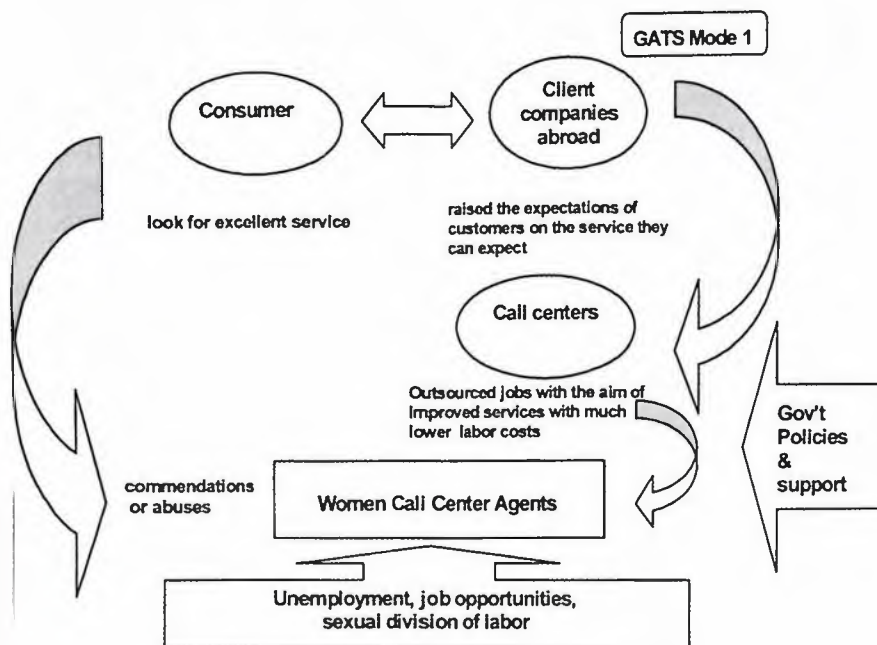
Aside from the occupational hazards mentioned above, it is equally important to look at repetitive strain injury, hazards from exposure to video display unit (VDU), eye discomfort as occupational health issues as well as other practices like giving Kremil-S to newly-hired agents. "Job strain" which occurs when high psychological demands are combined with too little decision latitude (Norman 2005) like agents working on scripts should also be given attention.

SUMMARY, REFLECTIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Understanding the life of customer service agents

Figure 2 summarizes the socio-political context of call centers.

Figure 2. Context of Call Center Agents' Job

GATS Mode 1

Consumer ⟷ Client companies abroad

look for excellent service

raised the expectations of customers on the service they can expect

Call centers

Outsourced jobs with the aim of improved services with much lower labor costs

Gov't Policies & support

commendations or abuses

Women Call Center Agents

Unemployment, job opportunities, sexual division of labor

Customer's satisfaction and agent's excellent performance = company's profit

In a customer service transaction between a consumer and a company, it is understandable that a consumer would be looking for excellent quality service, foremost of which are being attended to and assisted as quickly as possible. In order to attract customer's loyalty, competing companies raise the level of expectations on their

service which consumers can expect to receive. One way companies do it is by defining "excellence" a notch higher than the prevailing standard, ensuring, for example, the promise of reduced queuing time and assurance of agents' excellent product knowledge. Frost & Sullivan research analyst Shivanu Shukla notes, "Contact centres are fast assuming increased importance in the business process as customer service becomes the key differentiator for product or service preference," (The Contact 2006). By looking at workers just as one of the factors of production, this can lead to unrealistic targets which take a heavy toll on customer agents' lives. To exemplify, an in-depth study of contact centers in catalog, retail and e-commerce done by Rama Ramaswami states that currently the median speed of answered calls is 15 seconds, median talk time is 3.5 minutes, median time in queue dropped from 20 to 18 seconds and call abandonment rate reduced from 7-10% to 3.3%. Technological inventions like ACD are designed to facilitate better operation of a call center by putting pressure on agents to "improve" their performance but not necessarily to enjoy "the fruits of the increased productivity that they themselves helped create" (Head cited in Brand 2005).

Call centers may not necessarily be a sweatshop but it is a factory nonetheless

Customer services produced in a physical environment in which shifting is the norm (since many companies operate round the clock) and chilly temperature conditions (primarily for the protection of equipment and machines), is reminiscent of workplaces in electronics industry. The relentless barrage of calls made possible by ACD, the pressure to quickly finish up an on-going call in order to take on the next call is similar to assembly line work in garments factories. In garment factories as in call centers, workers are pressured to finish a job to avoid stacking up and causing delay in the jobs of co-workers

thereby affecting company performance as a whole. The only difference in call centers is that what is stacked up and delayed is information inside the "agent's head" but the pressure to deliver is similarly high since the performance of the call center depends on the agents' productivity. Like their sisters in the garments factory, it is not easy for agents to leave the workstation and so the usual health problem is urinary tract infection. Equally important is the fact that 100 calls per shift and working on scripts prove to be monotonous work with few opportunities for career progression. "Nakakabobo," (*It Makes one Dumb*) as one agent describes her work.

Government's job creation program: How cheap can we get

The hefty salaries call center agents receive are cheap compared to the long term cost of deskilling our young workers. The lower BPO jobs that government is proud to create, entails social costs. In the short term, employment opportunities raises the economic status of a particular section of the labor force specifically the young people who are vulnerable as new entrants on the labor market since they lack work experience. Once the boom is over, our country will be left with highly educated workers who cannot get professional work because their growth has been stunted by working as glorified telephone operators.

Instead of finding ways of solving the problem of mismatch between education and job creation, market-driven education encourages the mushrooming of tutorial schools for English fluency or schools offering "courses" on call center and medical transcription. Two years ago, when the demand for caregivers abroad was high, caregiver schools suddenly flourished to respond to market demands. Clearly, this is our participation in the race to the bottom.

With the plan to push for an amendment in the Labor Code to recognize flexible work arrangements (e.g. subcontracting, flexi-work, flexi-wage) especially in business process outsourcing and cooperatives, the workers will most likely be at the losing end since based on the experiences of our workers in various industries, work is generally not decent with labor flexibility practices.

A revitalized trade union movement as a movement for social change is needed

Today, trade and domestic growth statistics are meaningless indicators of the well-being of a country or of its people. In spite of our country's continuous GDP growth, employment prospects have been deteriorating particularly for women and young people. And the surge in unemployment and underemployment leads to increased violations of workers' rights and poor working conditions.

The challenge that the social movement is facing is how to protect labor standards and trade union rights and put an end to the open-ended competition of the race to the bottom.

Still, organizing is the most important work that trade unions have to take seriously. Approaches must include international organizing of workers at both ends of the work migration. It is also imperative that the movement looks at this new global economy in relation to "the changing composition of the working people, growth of the informal economy and gender issue" (Gallin 2004). These issues when taken seriously will lead to expansion of definition of who can be organized, new strategies in organizing workers, changes in structures and programs of the unions, gender-responsive and more inclusive labor movement.

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Gender lens in crafting policies and responses
Why these jobs? Why women?

The impact of inequalities in access to and control of economic and social services is mediated by different roles within the society. As Cynthia Enloe asserts,

> It has become commonplace to speak of 'cheap women's labor.' The phrase is used in public policy discussions as if cheapness were somehow inherent in women's work. In reality, women's work is only as rewarded or as low-paid as it is made to be.
>
> The international political economy works in the way it does and has done for the last two centuries in part because of the decision which have cheapened the value of women's work. These decisions have first feminized certain home and workplace tasks—turning them into "women's work"—and then rationalized the valuation of that work. Without laws, cultural presumptions about sexuality, marriage and feminine respectability, these transformations wouldn't have been possible. (Enloe 1990, p. 160).

Indeed, technological changes affect the quantity and quality of women's work. In the ICT industry, labor is highly sex-segregated. Men usually occupy high skilled and therefore highly paid jobs while women are often relegated to less skilled, lower paid and least secured jobs. Though employment for women in ICT-related services has grown so fast over the past few years, women are concentrated in those services requiring routine, limited technical training and low skills. As a result of technological revolution, young women workers with low levels of education were recruited to computer-aided electronics industry in the 1980s with their 20/20 eye vision as their 'capital.' In the new millennium, young, highly educated women workers are being recruited to work in computer-aided service industry. Despite the grim reality that

they are vulnerable to sexual harassment at work and while in transit on the way to/from their graveyard shift; and to health-related illnesses due to the nature of their job, the long term impact of working as call center agents has not been given much attention and therefore lacks concrete policy responses.

On top of this, opportunity to work outside the home does not change the division of labor in the family. Married women or single mothers opt to work on nightshift or graveyard shift so they can still perform their household responsibilities during daytime.

Also, the competitive reduction of tax bases in order to attract investors and company relocations reduces the resources available for public services. And when public spending is reduced, it is women who suffer most.

In sum, while call centers might increase the spending power of women workers, the industry profits more from their labor, skills, health and relationships.

SOME POSSIBLE RESPONSES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Legislature: The right to night work, the need to be flexible

> "70% of call center employees are women...Women should be allowed to benefit from the growing call center industry and be given equal treatment as men" -*Senator Mar Roxas*

In 2005, the Committee on Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations (CEACR) of the International Labor Organization (ILO) reported that:

> The [Philippine] government states that even though the
> Convention [89 on night work] is seen as no longer in tune with
> the times and increasing the duration of the night period to 11
> hours, as prescribed by Article 2 of the ILO Convention, would
> be a backward move, it would not be fully ready to dismantle
> protective legislation for women in the name of equality. On
> the other hand, while recognizing that the ratification of the
> Protocol may appear to be a convenient option, as it would
> bring about a relaxation on the night work prohibition against
> women, the Government fears that it would give rise to massive
> requests for exemptions from several sectors or industry (ILO
> 2005).

To date, six legislators have filed bills related to night work for women. Senator Roxas authored SB #2071 aimed at amending three provisions in the Labor Code. The bill argues that workers who work in the graveyard shift (10pm-6am) should be given free medical check-up to ensure fitness for night work and be provided with free rides from their work sites to areas where public transportation is readily available. It further explains that workers should be allowed to work under compressed or flexible time arrangement. Roxas also reasons that night work prohibition should be repealed in consonance with Convention 171 (1990) on Night Work. Senators Estrada and Defensor-Santiago also filed bills related to nightwork. In the House of Representatives, Congresswoman Imee Marcos calls for the abolition of night work prohibition as it is very discriminatory and not gender fair while the other two bills look at expanding exemptions from night work.

To realize its efforts in job creation, the Executive plans to "issue administrative guidelines and propose legislative amendments to the Labor Code to recognize flexible work arrangements (e.g. subcontracting, flexi-work, flexi-wage) especially in business process outsourcing and cooperatives. However, this shall take into consideration the promotion of decent work and respect for core labor standards." (Chapter 9 Labor, MTPDP 2004-2010, p. 112).

Unions: Facing Up to the Challenge of the Global Mobility
Revolution

KMU had referred to call centers as "air-conditioned hubs
for exploiting workers"...Interestingly, unionization can help
stem attrition and job-hopping since workers will be given
bargaining power and will be provided a forum to resolve
work-related issues. Ironically, the apparent transient nature
of the job is hampering efforts to organize unions.— Raffy
David, CCAP director

For the Union Network International (UNI), the global
union federation (GUF) for skills and service workers, call centers
are "a far cry from the sweatshops of old, yet the work can be
highly stressful, opportunities for career progression limited by a
flat grading structure and staff turnover can be high" (UNI 2006,
p 2).

While organizing challenges seems insurmountable, UNI
believes that unions should take these difficulties into opportunities in
crafting effective strategies leading to unionization of call center workers.
This is anchored on the aim that good employment conditions and
workers' representation must be ensured in the global operations of
the employer company, regardless of the country where operations
are located. Quoting Christopher Ng, regional secretary of UNI Asia
Pacific Regional Office, he remarked: "We should not make the
mistake of confusing the difficulties facing unions in organizing the
unorganized and the real need for such organization" (Ng 2001, p.
108).

Internationally, there are a number of agreed codes of
practices and guidelines which unions see as possible labor
tools in ensuring that labor standards are respected. These
are:

- ILO Declaration of fundamental principles and rights at work

  The Declaration was adopted in 1998 and commits Member States to respect and promote principles and rights in four categories, whether or not they have ratified the relevant Conventions. These categories are: freedom of association and the effective recognition of the right to collective bargaining, the elimination of forced or compulsory labor, the abolition of child labor and the elimination of discrimination in respect of employment and occupation.

- OECD Guidelines for MNEs

  The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) is the organization of industrialized countries engaged primarily in economic research and political dialogue. Its member states are home to practically all multinational corporations (MNCs) (Folke 2004). OECD is an international governmental organization but trade unions (through the Trade Union Advisory Committee [TUAC]) and the business sector (through Business and Investment Advisory Committee [BIAC]) of the member countries have consultative voice in the organization. The Guidelines are a set of rules and principles for good business conduct of MNCs which are recommended to OECD governments.

- UN Global Compact

  This is a joint initiative of leading representatives of business, labor and civil society to foster action and partnership in the pursuit of good corporate citizenship. It is one of the many initiatives advocating for what is referred to as "corporate social responsibility."

- International framework agreements

  These are code agreements on labor standards negotiated between a TNC and a Global Union Federation (GUF) concerning the international activities of the company. Though IFA may be limited in cases where jobs are outsourced, "recent framework agreements have at least tried to extend the basic agreed principles to situations where companies are using sub-contractors" (Bibby 2004).

UNI reports that in other developing countries, like India, other forms of organizations are being explored. For example, instead of calling an organization of workers a union, they call it "forums". It is a deliberate decision in order to encourage potential members who have no tradition of trade unionism to join the organization. While in Europe, initiatives are underway in order to protect union members' jobs.

In Spain, Telefonica unions and the company cooperate in a training program that provides at least 35 hours of off the job training a year and allows employees- who contribute to the training fund – to build up qualifications. The union believes that the more qualifications a worker possess the greater the possibility of promotion. In France, unions are monitoring a government Social Label Scheme awarded to call center companies that accept corporate social responsibility and help improve the poor image of the industry there. The scheme has financial incentives – companies with the label can apply for government contracts. (UNI 2006)

Here at home, Jose Umali, Secretary-General of the Union Network International-Philippine Liaison Council (UNI-PLC) proposes a new framework in organizing call center workers. Figure 3 summarizes this proposal.

Figure 3. Comparative Organizing/Organizational Framework

	Proposed Organizing/ Organizational Framework for Call Center Workers	Traditional Union Organizing/Organizational Framework
Organization Form	Industry-based/ Profession-based association or organization	Enterprise based-trade union
Central issues around which organizing is done	Health and safety, quality of working environment, employment security	Wages and benefits, working conditions, job security
Initial services that will be offered by organization	Skills enhancement and development, job counseling	Collective bargaining negotiations, grievance handling, legal services
Method of determining wages, benefits and working conditions	Industry/profession standards-setting eventually leading to firm-level collective bargaining	Firm-level collective bargaining agreement

Source: *Jose Umali, Strategies and Techniques For Organizing and Recruiting Workers in Customer Service Centers in the Philippines: 2005*

Solidarity at work

More than ever, it is crucial to take a broader look at what 'workers solidarity' means. The struggle for democratic rights and for trade union rights is one of the clearest expressions of a common international labor movement: the converging interest of those, on one end of the scale, who struggle to rise from conditions of near slavery and those, at the other end, who are defending rights and standards acquired after difficult and bitter struggles which are eroding under the impact of globalization (Gallin 1997). Practical solidarity work is now being encouraged between unions in developed and developing countries. An important component of this is the recognition that organizations of workers different from the traditional union structure are being set-up in new industries. Another important aspect of solidarity work is forging strategic partnership with other civil society organizations and NGOs which are also concerned with the implication of globalization and challenging its existing form.

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Interviews

Olive [agent], August 24 (5:00 – 7:00 pm)
Jonas [agent], September 2 (10:00 am – 12:00 nn)
Leila [team leader], September 7 (10:00 am – 12:00 nn)
Tony [team leader], September 3 (10:00 – 12:00 nn)

Focus Group Discussions

FGD 1 with 4 participants, September 10 (10:00 am – 1:00 pm)
FGD 2 with 4 participants, September 14 (10:00 am – 12:00 nn)

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

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Mylene D. Hega joined the labor movement in 1986 and since then has been involved in organizing women workers and developing their leadership skills. She is a founding member of the Manggagawang Kababaihang Mithi ay Paglaya (MAKALAYA), a national women workers' organization and served as the organization's Secretary-General for nine years.

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Department of Women and Development Studies (DWDS)

The **Department of Women and Development Studies (DWDS)**, the only one in the Philippines and a pioneer in the Asia-Pacific region, aims to provide a historical and comprehensive perspective to the study of gender and development particularly in the context of the South and the Philippines.

The Women and Development Program (WDP) provides invaluable opportunities for participants to be directly involved in activities which empower women. It grants two graduate degrees: the *Diploma in Women and Development (Dip. WD)* and the *Master of Arts in Women and Development (MAWD)*.

DWDS Faculty

Prof. Teresita V. Barrameda
Dr. Sylvia Estrada-Claudio
Dr. Rosalinda Pineda-Ofreneo
Prof. Roselle Leah K. Rivera
Dr. Judy M. Taguiwalo
Prof. Nathalie Lourdes A. Verceles

(From left to right) Prof. Teresita V. Barrameda, Dr. Sylvia Estrada-Claudio, Prof. Nathalie Lourdes A. Verceles, Dr. Rosalinda Pineda-Ofreneo and Dr. Judy M. Taguiwalo

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Brief History

Initiated as the Social Welfare Section within the Department of Sociology and Social Welfare in 1950 in then College of Liberal Arts, the present College of Social Work and Community Development (CSWCD) became a separate Department of Social Work by 1961 and evolved into the Institute of Social Work and Community Development in 1969 through R.A. 5174 which was passed in 1967. Its reclassification as a full-fledged college was prompted by the University's move to standardize the nomenclature of academic units performing similar functions. The CSWCD offers graduate and undergraduate programs in both social work and community development, as well as graduate programs in women and development.

Vision Statement. Justice, peace and sustainable well-being shared by the Filipino people and the global community *(Katarungan, kapayapaan at likas-kayang kaginhawahang pinagsasaluhan ng bayan at sanlibutan)*