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The Integration of Women in
Philippine Development

by

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines how Philippine development planning--defined to include formal plans and legislated measures--has prioritized women's fuller integration in development. A review of previous formal plans brought to the fore the government's weak role in raising the status of women.

In law, discrimination towards women was seen to arise from their relative physical weakness and their reproductive function. Thus, men have superior civil rights based on the complementary view that they are the family providers while women are governed by labor laws which are ostensibly protective but which actually work against them because they raise the costs of employing women. On the other hand, legal equality between the sexes was observed in the areas of citizenship, suffrage, property inheritance and right to education.

The paper also tackled the women's role in their own development as manifested in women's organizations. Crisis situations -- from past foreign dominations to the current national crisis -- were pinpointed to have provided heightened opportunities for women to assert more active roles and greater participation in shaping their world.

THE INTEGRATION OF WOMEN IN PHILIPPINE DEVELOPMENT

by

Rosa Linda P. Tidalgo*

Introduction

The United Nations' call for a fuller integration of women in the economic, social, political and cultural life of their respective societies generated different responses from member countries. This paper reviews how this concern for women was integrated in the Philippine government's attempt at development planning. Development planning is defined in this paper to include formal plans and legislated measures. A more thorough treatment of women's integration in Philippine development requires also some evaluation of the role of the non-governmental sector concerned with women's welfare. Hence, the non-governmental organizations (NGOs) concerned with women are also covered in this paper. Although the review focuses on the period from mid-1970s to the present, the discussion goes back from the immediate postwar years to provide a more appropriate frame of reference for the last decade.

Section 1 provides a brief evolution of formal development planning in the postwar period. Section 2 examines how formal develop-

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ment plans prioritized women's fuller integration in development. Section 3 then reviews the relative status of women as defined by law while section 4 evaluates the role of different non- and quasi-government organizations in integrating women in development. The conclusions are presented in the last section.

1 Formal Development Planning in the Postwar

The period soon after the Second World War witnessed the establishment of many nation-states colonies which won independence or were granted such by the colonial powers. These newly independent nations were confronted by formidable problems of poverty made ironically more difficult to eradicate by their change of status since independence meant depending on oneself. The leaders of these newly established nations had to hasten national development through planning. This approach was reinforced by the former colonizers' promise of continued support if convinced of the newly independent nation's ability to manage its development, among other things, and a formal plan has become an acceptable proof (in form at least) of such an ability. As a result, development planning became the vogue, usually with former colonial masters as advisers. The Philippines was one such nation. Although it won its independence from Spain in 1898, such independence was short-lived for it was soon occupied by the Americans in the same year, then by the Japanese in 1941, until it became independent again in 1946.

Immediately after the war, the government drafted a number of plans [Hibben Plan (1947), Beyster Plan (1947), Cuaderno Plan (1948), and Yulo Plan (1950)] which were intended to guide the program of U.S. aid for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the country (Table 1). Comprehensive economic planning began only in 1955 with the adoption of the Five-Year Economic Development Program for FY 1955-1959 (Rodriguez Plan). This was followed by eleven more plans covering periods of four to five years and two long-term plans for ten and twenty-two years. Some of these, however, were revised or updated earlier plans.

Planning in the Philippines has been of the indicative type whereby the government provides a formal document which states the national goals on income or output growth, employment, prices, balance of payments, and income distribution. Since the Philippines adheres to the primacy of private enterprise in the production and distribution of output, the plan only sets sectoral or industry production targets, together with an investment plan to guide the private sector. The government, through the use of incentives, then tries to convince the private sector to adopt the plan. Its direct action in plans is concentrated on facilitating the realization of the production goals by creating the proper infrastructure support (transportation, water resources, energy, communication, financing), and the provision of social services (health, nutrition, family planning, education and manpower development, housing, etc.).

Table 1

POSTWAR PHILIPPINE DEVELOPMENT PLANS

Year Adopted	Development Plan
1947	Joint Philippine-American Finance Commission, "Philippine Economic Development: A Technical Memorandum" (Hibben Plan)
1947	Proposed Program for Industrial Rehabilitation and Development of the Republic of the Philippines (Deyster Plan)
1948	1948 Rehabilitation and Development Program (Cuaderno Plan)
1950	Philippine Agricultural and Industrial Development Program, Revised 1950 (Yulo Plan)
1955	Five-Year Economic Development Plan for Fiscal Year 1955-1959 (Rodríguez Plan)
1957	Five-Year Fiscal Plan for Fiscal Years 1957-1961
1958	Fiscal Plan for FY 1958-1962
1959	Updated Budget Plan for FY 1959-1963
1962	Five-Year Socioeconomic Program for the Philippines, 1962-1967
1967	Four-Year Economic Program for the Philippines, Fiscal Years 1967-1970
1971	Four-Year Development Plan, Fiscal Years 1971-1974
1972	Four-Year Development Plan, Fiscal Years 1972-1975
1974	Four-Year Development Plan, Fiscal Years 1974-1977
1978	Five-Year Philippine Development Plan, 1978-1982, including the Ten-Year Development Plan, 1978-1987; Long-Term Philippine Development Plan Up to the Year 2000
1983	Five-Year Philippine Development Plan, 1983-1987
1984	Updated Philippine Development Plan, 1984-1987

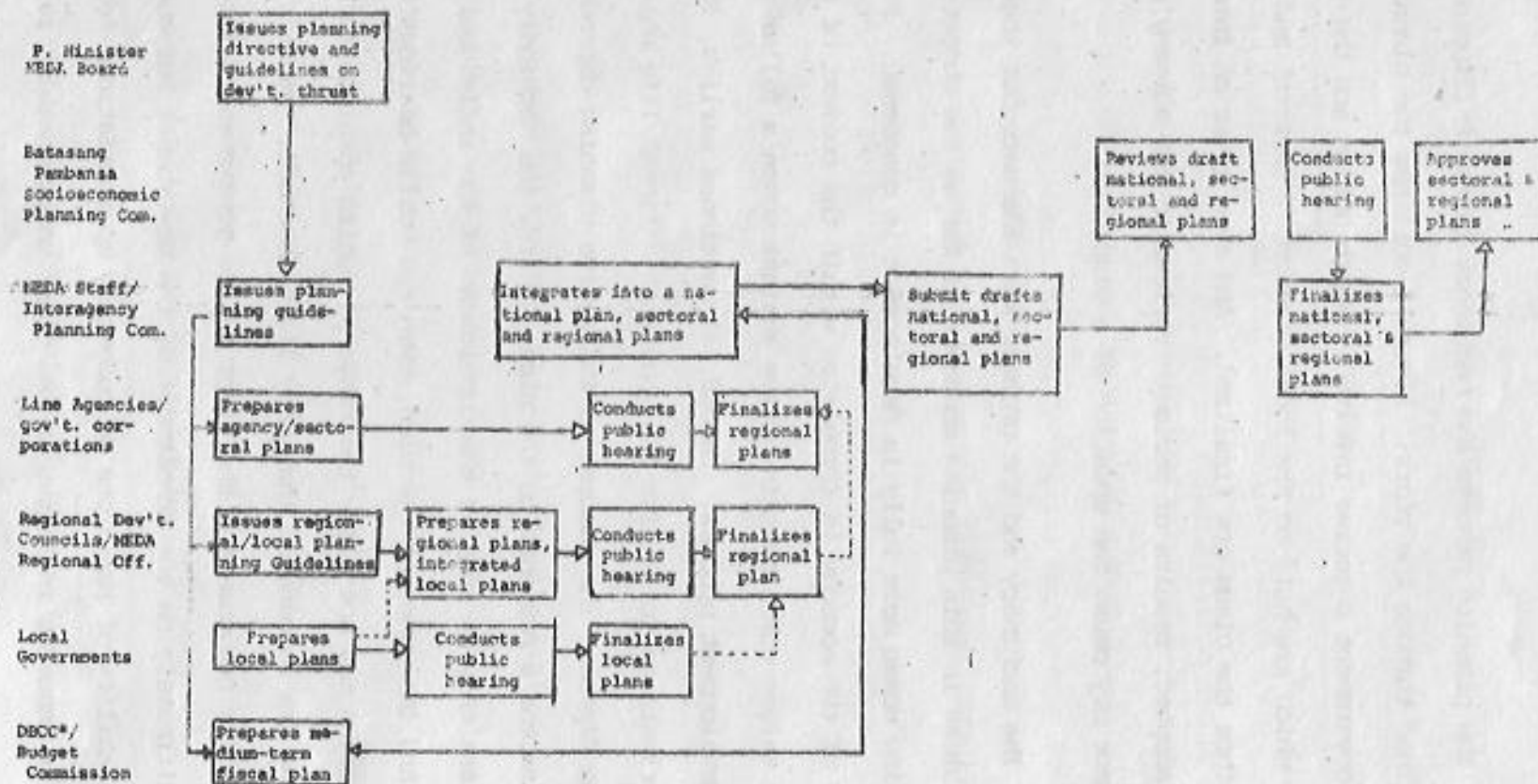
Sources: 1) J.A. Storer and T. L. de Guzman, "Philippine Economic Planning and Progress, 1945-1960" in R.S. Milne (ed.) Philippine Economic Planning and Progress, 1960.

2) Plan documents

The planning process and machinery in the Philippines have been refined through the years. Figure 1 outlines the planning process and the government agencies involved. Worth noting are the public hearings which are held on the local, regional, sectoral and national plans before the plans are finalized. And even after an integrated plan is adopted, results of periodic reviews on the economy's overall performance may cause the updating of a plan.

The machinery and the process seem adequate but there are problem areas in this planning endeavor as far as the objective of integrating women more fully in development is concerned. First, the planning of the economy is formulated within the context of given cultural values which contain biases against women's fuller integration in the development process. Second, as mentioned earlier, the primacy of the private sector limits the sphere of national life which the plans can direct. The success of indicative planning depends on the private sector's response to the plan. Third, the machinery and the process are only as good as the commitment of the individuals orchestrating and implementing the plan, even the public hearings which are by invitation may not allow the range of public opinions to surface if the forums are so managed that they limit feedback. Fourth, the nature of the policy response and the vigor of the government's implementation depend ultimately on the commitment of the government bureaucracy and the availability of resources or budgetary appropriations for the particular concerns indicated in the plan; unfortunately, resources

Figure 1 THE PLANNING PROCESS



*DBCC - Development Budget Coordination Committee

Source - MEDA

are always limited. When objectives were prioritized, whether consciously or unconsciously, women have not been accorded high priority. The priority in past plans and their implementation is highest for economic growth and low for the promotion of equality between sexes under which women's fuller integration in development falls. And as difficult economic times in the country continue, the tighter budget would further disadvantage the lower priority objectives unless the plans reflect changing commitments.

2 Integration of Women in Development Through Formal Planning

The integration of women in development involves their participation in production and their benefitting from it. Women's traditional role has relegated them to family management and procreation. However, their participation in production has always been accepted especially in rural or agricultural settings where production is located in or near the home. In the Philippines, their political and social emancipation during the American occupation was accompanied by the gradual opening up of nonagricultural employment opportunities which became the major postwar source of low-skilled cheap labor particularly in commerce, service, and the manufacturing sectors.

All plans after the declaration of the International Women's Year in 1976 explicitly state a concern for women. The latest plan,

the Updated Philippine Development Plan, 1984-87 (adopted September 1984), vows to promote "the training and active participation of women in the economic, social and political affairs of the country. However, the development plans have mainly addressed the problem of mass poverty in society and hence focused on everyone so characterized. The overriding objective has been "a much improved quality of life for every Filipino," hence, women are not singled out. At the same time, inequalities along non-sex characteristics--such as the poor vs. the less poor vs. the non-poor, the rural vs. the urban, the agriculture vs. the nonagriculture, and the ethnic minority vs. the majority--have been recognized among groups in society and sectoral relative disadvantages have been assessed with the family or household as the unit of focus. However, some plans focused on individuals in the case of groups which are likely to have age-specific problems such as the out-of-school youths who are likely to suffer highest unemployment on account of lack of training and work experience, the elderly who are likely to have diminished or nil incomes as they retire from work, and the disabled who may not be able to fully support themselves.

It is only because of the importance of social reproduction (the bearing and sustenance of children) which is generally accepted by society that women as mothers have been singled out in plans together with children as other special groups of concern. Plans prior to mid-1970s refer mainly to this concern for mother's welfare,

i.e., the benefits they get from development and the government's commitment to provide them with supplementary benefits. This can be interpreted as government's recognition that these groups may not be getting enough share. Invariably, mention of women in all development plans always comes up in the sections on health, nutrition, family planning, education, social services and community development.

The plans have not singled out women as a disadvantaged group in production on account of their sex, as evident in the absence of a policy focus separate from men. This is reflective of the formal national policy that women are members of the Filipino society whose upliftment is targeted by the plans and hence need no special mention. This position was manifested in the official report of achievements of the Philippine government to the United Nations during the middle of the Decade of Women.

Women's ability to participate in production which would mainly determine their share of benefits is embodied in the 1973 Constitution where it was deemed "the duty of every citizen to engage in gainful work to assure himself and his family a life worthy of human dignity" (Art. V, Sec. 3), and that "the state shall afford protection of labor, promote full employment and equality in employment, ensure equal work opportunities regardless of sex, race and creed" (Art. II, Sec. 9).^{1/} These were explicitly subscribed to by

^{1/}The guarantees of due process and equal protection of the laws for everyone existed as early as 1901 in the Organic Acts and were in the 1935 Constitution. The protection of working women was also provided for in the 1935 Constitution which was superseded by that of 1973.

the Four-Year Development Plan, FY 1974-1977. Even more explicit was the policy position on this issue in the succeeding plan (the Five-Year Philippine Development Plan, 1979-1982) which was the first after the United Nations' declaration of the International Women's Year in July 1975 and the Decade for Women (1976-85) in December 1975. Granting women "equal opportunities to work in areas traditionally occupied by men" is included among the strategies for human resource development.

With this statement of principles in the constitution and policy on women in development plans, did women achieve a fuller integration in development? Specifically, did women participate more fully in production and did they benefit more from development relative to their situation in the past? Do they now fare more equitably with men than in the past? These issues transcend what formal development plans and government actions can accomplish in a society that attempts at planning as it adheres to the primacy of private enterprise. The present nature and level of women's integration in development are the product of the society's cultural values and their changes, and the commitments of men and women, as well as the government, to this objective. Hence, it would be difficult to assess the different sectors' relative responsibilities or accomplishments on the present level of women's integration in development. However,

the success of government intervention can be better gauged in areas which it can control more directly and substantially, such as in the provision of maternity care, nutritional supplements and other services.

Although pregnant and lactating mothers have been special concerns of government, nutritional status surveys in 1972 and 1976 revealed the worst state of malnutrition for these women among all other groups. The 1982 Ministry of Health report shows an increasing number of pregnant mothers given prenatal and post-partum care, and home deliveries of babies attended by trained health personnel, a decline in maternal mortality from 1.16/1000 live births in 1978 to 0.9/1000 live births in 1982; and a surpassing of the initial target of 50,000 in goiter control whose beneficiaries number 73,870 adolescent girls and women of childbearing ages. But the same report admits that only 17.8 percent of 156,000 targetted pregnant mothers were given iron supplements and 18.4 percent of targetted population was covered in its Vitamin A deficiency control program due to lack of funds. Reports of this nature are vague on whether the positive achievements are good enough. There is no reference to the number of afflicted or affected population. Positive results of programs do not necessarily mean a satisfactory performance.

What about government's performance in the distribution of educational services? An equal percentage of females and males

attended schools at all levels. The extent of female literacy (as a percentage among those 10 years old and over) was almost the same as that of males (92.2 percent and 84.6 percent, respectively, in 1970). There was even an increasing "femalization" of school graduates from 1965 to 1970 although some higher education fields continue to be dominated by males as in engineering and technology, nautical science and law.

The government's role in women's participation in production can only be an indirect influence, i.e., by enforcing the constitutional provision on equal opportunities regardless of sex, and exerting moral suasion on the private sector. The government happens to be the largest single employer, especially of women (mainly in the Ministry of Education and Culture). But its total employment accounts for less than 10 percent of total employed. Hence, the bulk of employment is in the private sector and decided by private employers and hiring personnel. Although women have been experiencing an increasing labor force participation with more educational and job opportunities, their labor force participation has only been half that of men (32.8 percent vs. 69.1 percent in 1972 and 43.5 percent vs. 80.9 percent in 1978). Female unemployment rate has been higher than that of males (6.4 percent vs. 4.9 percent in 1972 and 8.5 percent vs. 2.9 percent in 1978) although there were more underemployed among males than among females (14.0 percent vs. 9.6 percent) in 1972.

The labor force participation of women has undergone some transformation. Although agriculture remains the largest sector of female employment, its share declined from 37.1 percent in 1976 to 35.9 percent of female employment in 1982 whereas this sector has always accounted for at least half of male employment. Other nonagricultural sectors' shares such as personal services and commerce rose from 14.7 percent and 17.7 percent in 1976 to 26.7 and 20.5 percent in 1982, respectively. Manufacturing comes as the fourth largest sector of female employment (14.7 percent in 1976 and 13.4 percent in 1982).

The above industrial distribution of female employment would imply a certain occupational distribution. Agricultural occupations accounted for the largest group (35.8 percent) of females employed in 1982, while sales workers came second (20.3 percent), followed by the service workers (12.9 percent), and production workers (12.3 percent). For the same year, professional and technical workers accounted for 11.2 percent (which closely approximates their male counterparts' at 11.9 percent) while clerical workers comprised 6.6 percent. Of interest is the occupational group composed of the administrative, executive and managerial workers which accounts for the smallest share of female employment- 0.87 percent as compared to 1.2 percent of male employment. The rising urbanization of female employment is partly explained by the rural-to-urban and female-dominated migration pattern after 1960.

What income shares for women are implied by these patterns of employment? Although wage employment has been increasing among women, the unpaid family workers still comprise a substantial proportion and are mostly in agriculture. National Census and Statistics Office household survey statistics (1st and 2nd quarter) show that cash earnings for agricultural occupations were lowest in the case of males but only second to the lowest in the case of females. Female cash earnings in services occupations were even lower than their earnings in agriculture even as late as 1978 (the latest published data). Also, the services occupations continued to be a major depository of unskilled/semiskilled migrating rural women.

The average ratio of female to male earnings has always been less than one for all occupations. There have been improvements in some occupations but others are worse off. The ratio improved the most for services occupations which increased from a fourth that of males in 1957 to almost half by 1978. What is disappointing is the deterioration of female's relative earnings in the two highest-earning occupations—professional and technical jobs, and managerial and administrative occupations. Is this the result of biased selection process in placement and promotion which might have relegated women to lower-paying professional and managerial jobs? In 1978 (second quarter), only three occupations had earnings which were close to half those of males—services (.47), sales (.54) and professional,

technical, etc. (.57); slightly higher ratios than half those of males characterized the relative earnings of managers and administrators (.63), agricultural occupations (.67), and production, transport and mining occupations (.68). The highest female-male earnings ratio was for the clerical and office workers (.96).

The preceding figures describe but some dimensions of women's participation in production. Whether in self-employment or in unpaid employment in own-household production or in hired work, the extent and quality of women's participation will be determined by culturally defined attitudes and relations, and the legal system pertinent to these.

For production in the household and/or self- or own-family-employment, the relationship between husband and wife, and the rights and responsibilities traditionally observed in a family become important. The succeeding section on Civil Code provisions explains why women tend to become secondary workers when a husband or male relative is the main breadwinner. Property rights disadvantage them from making major decisions in production and participating in government programs. These considerations are crucial to the plans' success in achieving women's fuller integration in development. If a plan does not indicate a specific concern for women's participation in production, the programs of agencies such as those geared to help rural

households would be structured to benefit the traditionally or culturally recognized main decision-maker or breadwinner. For example, credit and extension services programs in rural areas are usually directed at males. This bias may be less in programs for urban areas where female labor force participation is already equally accepted as those of males.

In hired work, women's placement defining conditions of work, and promotion become the prerogative of entrepreneurs and/or their managers. Even if there are laws protecting women, they can still be subjected to discriminatory cultural biases. Although these biases may change with modernization, the process will take some time. Traditions tend to change very slowly. On the other hand, the Philippine labor legislation protecting women is already at par with those of developed countries as a result of the American and United Nations' influences but two factors concerning these laws still work against women. First, they make the employment of women more costly, and second, they are ineffectively enforced. Hence, there persists a bias against the employment of women and those who find employment contend with job placement and promotion practices which limit women's ability not only to participate fully but also to share in total output.

3 Legal Equality Between Sexes

Evaluation of the legal status of women from the vantage point of equality between sexes involves an analysis of laws governing the various relations women may enter into, and the differences, if any, between their rights, duties, and opportunities, and those of men. This section looks into citizenship, suffrage, legal capacity, property rights, right to education, right to work, family relations, and the issue of who in society assumes the costs of social reproduction.

3.1 Basis of Difference Between Sexes

An uncontested difference between men and women is that it is the women who can become pregnant, bear children, and produce milk for them. This difference has given rise to a culturally-defined sexual differentiation of roles, some of which had found their way into laws. Women are generally identified with the home and functions related to the bearing and nurturing of children. Where they are afforded the opportunity of practicing professions, or engaging in "gainful occupations," they are still legally and by custom held responsible for household affairs (Art. 111 and Art. 115, Civil Code).

Corollary to or perhaps because of this difference in biological function is the belief that women are the weaker sex and therefore in need of protection. To this day, women are classed with

children as a group needing special protection. Such ostensibly protective measures (prohibition on night work, for example) however, result in a denial of women's right to equality. This becomes more evident as it is increasingly being shown that the gender typing of roles from childhood is at least partly responsible for the development of a relative weakness in females.

The question of protection, however, is not a simple one. Granting that equally strong and capable (physically as well as mentally) female and male children could be raised without the practice of gender-typing of roles, the fact remains that (till some machine could take over that function) the women bear the children. Since childbearing is necessary for the survival of society, this function of reproduction is a socially necessary one. Women should not be penalized for it, as when unequal work opportunities result from market forces or from legal provisions which leave the women or the employers to bear the costs of social reproduction. Some quarters argue, in fact, that women should be rewarded for it, up to the *n*th child, as needed by society.

Legal equality between men and women has been attained in

- 1) the right to inherit property and to dispose of personal property,
- 2) the right to education, 3) the right to suffrage, and 4) conditions for citizenship. The areas still characterized by legal

differentiation between men and women are those where the socially-recognized differences between them impinge. (Table 2 lists the pieces of legislation affecting the status of women from 1901 to the present as referred to in the following discussion.)

3.2 Areas of Equality

The Right to Inherit Property. The earliest piece of legislation governing the relations between people (of which we have a record) was the Spanish Civil Code which was enforced in the Philippines in 1889. Under this code, legitimate male and female children inherited equally from their parents. However, upon marriage a woman lost to her husband her right to dispose of her inherited property or to enter into contracts (Spanish Civil Code, Art. 1387). This particular provision was amended in 1932 (during the American occupation) by Act No. 3922 which empowered married women of age to dispose freely of their paraphernal property without the consent of the husband. This right is reiterated in the Civil Code (R.A. 386) enacted in 1949. It provided that "a married woman may make a will without the consent of her husband, and without the authority of the court" (Art. 802) and that she "may dispose by will of all her separate property as well as her share of the conjugal partnership or absolute community property" (Art. 803).

Table 2

PHILIPPINE LEGISLATION AFFECTING THE STATUS OF WOMEN, 1901 TO THE PRESENT

Year of Enactment	Title
1901	Act No. 74 - An act establishing a Department of Public Instruction - education was open to both sexes.
1908	Act No. 1870 - An act for the purpose of founding a university for the Philippine Islands.
1917	Act No. 2710 - An act to establish divorce.
1921	Act No. 2988 - Providing for the administration of multi-million peso fund for the protection of early infancy and the establishment of maternity and child welfare centers, the coordination of charitable efforts, and the care of the dependent children. Under the Office of Public Welfare Commission.
1923	Act No. 3071 - An act to regulate the employment of women and children in shops, factories, industrial, agricultural and mercantile establishments, and other places of labor in the Philippine Islands; to provide penalties for violation hereof and for other purposes.
1930	Act No. 3815 (as amended) - An act revising the Penal Code and other penal laws.
1932	Act No. 3922 - An act to amend article thirteen hundred and eighty-seven of the Civil Code, empowering married women, of age, to dispose freely of their paraphernal property, without the consent of the husband.
1933	Act No. 4103 - An act to provide for an indeterminate sentence and parole for all persons convicted of certain crimes by the Courts of the Philippine Islands, to create a Board of Indeterminate Sentence and to provide funds therefore, and for other purposes.
1936	Commonwealth Act No. 34 - An act to provide for the holding of a plebiscite on the question of women's suffrage.
1936	Commonwealth Act No. 63 - An act providing for the ways in which Philippine citizenship may be lost or reacquired.

Table 2 (Continued)

Year of Enactment	Title
1937	<u>Commonwealth Act No. 233</u> - An act to provide for the holding of elections of provincial and municipal offices and amend by said purpose certain sections of the Administrative Code on elections and like matters.
1941	<u>Commonwealth Act No. 674</u> - An act to grant maternity leave to married women who are in the government service or any of its instrumentalities.
1943	<u>Executive Order No. 141</u> - Providing a new divorce law.
1945	<u>Commonwealth Act No. 701</u> - An act appropriating the sum of ₱5,000,000.00 for the resumption of the activities and functions relative to the protection of early infancy, maternity and child health.
1945	<u>Commonwealth Act No. 704</u> - An act to establish municipal maternity and charity clinics.
1948	<u>Republic Act No. 270</u> - An act to amend Commonwealth Act No. 647, granting maternity leave to women who are in the service of the government or of any of its instrumentalities.
1949	<u>Republic Act No. 349</u> - An act to legalize permission to use human organs or any portion or portions of the human body for medical, surgical, or scientific purposes, under certain conditions.
1949	<u>Republic Act No. 386</u> - An act to ordain and institute the Civil Code of the Philippines.
1952	<u>Republic Act No. 679</u> - An act to regulate the employment of women and children, to provide penalties for violation hereof, and for other purposes.
1953	<u>Republic Act No. 896</u> - An act to declare the policy on elementary education in the Philippines.
1954	<u>Republic Act No. 1056</u> - An act to amend Republic Act number three hundred and forty-nine, entitled "an act to legalize permission to use human organs or any portion or portions of the human body for medical, surgical, or scientific purposes, under certain conditions."

Table 2 (Continued)

Year of Enactment	Title
1954	<u>Republic Act No. 1082</u> - An act strengthening health and dental services for the rural areas, and providing funds therefor.
1954	<u>Republic Act No. 1131</u> - An act to amend Republic Act number six hundred seventy-nine
1959	<u>Republic Act No. 1161</u> - An act to create a social security system.
1960	<u>Republic Act No. 2714</u> - An act to establish in the Department of Labor a Bureau to be known as Women and Minors Bureau.
1963	<u>Republic Act No. 3835</u> - An act to establish the Women's Auxiliary Corps in the Armed Forces of the Philippines, to provide for the procurement of its officers and enlisted personnel, and for other purposes.
1968	<u>Republic Act No. 5416</u> - Social Welfare Act
1971	<u>Republic Act No. 6237</u> - An act further amending Republic Act number six hundred seventy-nine, as amended by Republic Law number eleven hundred thirty-one (re: Woman and Child Labor Act)
1973	<u>Presidential Decree No. 148</u> - Amending further sections of Republic Act numbered eleven hundred thirty-one (re: Woman and Child Labor Law).
1974	<u>Presidential Decree No. 422</u> - A decree instituting a Labor Code, thereby revising and consolidating labor and social laws to afford protection to labor, promote employment and human resources development and insure industrial peace based on social justice.
1974	<u>Presidential Decree No. 491</u> - Creating a National Nutrition Council and for other purposes.
1974	<u>Presidential Decree No. 603</u> - The Child and Youth Welfare Code.
1975	<u>Presidential Decree No. 633</u> - Creating a National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women.
1975	<u>Letter of Instruction No. 270</u> - Naturalization of Deserving Aliens by Decree.

Table 2 (Continued)

Year of Enactment	Title
1975	<u>Presidential Decree No. 725</u> - Providing for repatriation of Filipino women who had lost their Philippine citizenship by marriage to aliens and of natural-born Filipinos.
1976	<u>Presidential Decree No. 1043</u> - Amending R.A. 3835.
1977	<u>Presidential Decree No. 1292</u> - Further amending R.A. 1161 otherwise known as Social Security Law.
1978	<u>Presidential Decree No. 1567</u> - Establishing a Day Care Center in every Barangay and appropriating funds therefor.
1980	<u>Letter of Instruction No. 974</u> - Integration of Women in National Development.
1980	<u>Presidential Decree No. 1964</u> - Declaring July 2 of every year as "Working Women's Day."
1980	<u>Letter of Instruction No. 1966</u> - Philippine Targets and Strategies for full participation of women in socioeconomic development, 1980-1985.

- Sources:
1. E.L. Paras, Civil Code of the Philippines, Annotated, Vol. I, 1975.
 2. G.V. Trinidad, Jr., (ed.) Philippine Permanent and General Statutes, Revised edition) Vols. I, III, IV and V, 1978.
 3. Institute of Labor and Manpower Studies, Labor Code of the Philippines, May 1977.
 4. Institute of Labor and Manpower Studies, Philippine Labor Laws and Regulations, October 1979.
 5. Public Laws of the Commonwealth, Vols. I & II.
 6. Vital Legal Documents in the New Society, Vol. I to Vol. 91.

Education. During the American occupation, the equal right to education of both men and women was institutionalized. Landmark laws to this effect were Act. No. 74 in 1901, establishing a Department of Instruction which provided free elementary education to both sexes, and Act No. 1870 in June 1908 establishing the University of the Philippines to which "no student shall be denied admission by reason of age, sex, nationality, religious belief or political affiliation."

The 1935 Constitution also stated (Sec. 5, Art. XIV) that "the government shall establish and maintain a complete and adequate system of public education, and shall provide at least free public primary instruction..." The 1949 Civil Code further states that children have a right to support from parents (Arts. 264, 282, and 287) and clarifies such support to last until completion of education or training even past the age of majority (Art. 290). Art. 71 also provides that "The State shall see to it that no child is refused admission in public schools. All parents are required to enrol their children in schools to complete, at least, an elementary education."

The Elementary Education Act of 1953 (R.A. 896) makes it "compulsory for every parent or guardian or other person having custody of any child to enroll such child in a public school ... until the completion of an elementary education" (underscoring mine). However, exceptions provided in the same section constitute an admission by the

government of its inability "to establish and maintain a complete and adequate system of public education" as well as a recognition of the differential capacity of parents to comply with the duty to send their children to school. To quote:

"...compulsory attendance shall not be required in any of the following cases: First, when the child enrolls in or transfers to a private school; Second, when the distance from the home of the child to nearest public school offering the grade to which he belongs exceeds 3 kilometers, or the said public school is not safely or conveniently accessible to the child; Third, when such a child is mentally or physically defective... Fourth, when, on account of indigence, the child cannot afford to be in school; Fifth, when the child cannot be accommodated because of excess enrollment, and Sixth, when such child is being regularly instructed by its parent or guardian or private tutor, if qualified to teach."

In cases where poverty would force parents to choose only one child to see through school, a girl's education may be sacrificed because she would not be expected to provide for her family when she marries.

More recently, the 1973 Constitution reiterated the government's commitment to provide free public elementary education and "in areas where finances permit, establish and maintain a system of free public education at least up to the secondary level" [Sec. 3(5)].

One of the rights of every child cited in the Child and Youth Welfare Code (1975) is "the right to an education commensurate with

his abilities and to the development of his skills for the improvement of his capacity for service to himself and to his fellowmen." While not directly specifying that the provision of this right of the child is the parent's duty, Art. 46 listing the general duties of parents states that one of the duties is to provide the child "with adequate support, as defined in Art. 290 of the Civil Code."

The most recent piece of legislation embodying the basic Philippine policy on education is the Education Act of 1932. Again it states that:

"The State shall promote the right of every individual to relevant quality education, regardless of sex, age, creed, socioeconomic status, physical and mental conditions, racial or ethnic origin, political or other affiliation. The State shall therefore promote and maintain equality of access to education as well as the enjoyment of the benefits of education by all its citizens."

It is therefore patent that the equality between sexes in access to education is well-entrenched in law. Differential patterns of enrollment and educational attainment between men and women are the result of other factors such as socioeconomic status, the general cultural milieu and individual initiative.

Suffrage. Act No. 4112 which was approved in 1933 granted the right of suffrage to women and made them eligible for all public offices effective 1935. This was however countermanded by the 1935 Constitution which stipulated the holding of a plebiscite on the

issue. Commonwealth Act 233 (passed in September 1937) finally granted women suffrage.

Citizenship. Women have also attained legal equality with men on the question of citizenship. The 1973 Constitution provided that those whose "fathers or mothers are citizens of the Philippines" are citizens, too (Art. III Sec. 1(2)) and that "a female citizen who marries an alien shall retain her Philippine citizenship unless by her act of omission she is deemed to have renounced her citizenship" (Art. III Sec. 2). This option was not available to her under a 1936 legislation (Commonwealth Act No. 63, Sec. 17, as amended) because the law automatically stripped her of her citizenship if the law of her husband's country automatically bestowed citizenship upon her. P.D. 725 (issued June 1975) and LOI 270 (issued April 1975) provided a means for women (and their children) who had lost their right to Philippine citizenship by marriage to aliens to reacquire it.

3.3 Areas of Inequality

Remaining areas of inequality in law are those which govern a women's relationship in the family and in employment. The two are interrelated.

Whereas traditionally, responsibility for supporting the wife and the family belonged to the husband, and managing the household

affairs, to the wife (a view still embodied in the Civil Code, Arts. 111 and 115), development thrusts favor the participation of women in the labor force. This change in role performance calls for a change in status. Under the traditional setup, woman needed only to find a husband to support her. She did not need to concern herself with dealings outside the home. Any education she received was considered merely as an additional asset in raising her children and perhaps in keeping her husband's interest. The husband was responsible for the financial and legal matters. The Spanish Civil Code codified such role expectations.

Various forces (economic necessity especially) have since combined to draw the woman out of the home and into the labor market, but this does not mean they have stopped bearing children. The increasing participation of women in the labor force brings to fore two major issues. First is the image of the woman as being intellectually and physically inferior to man and thus being incapable of managing her personal financial and legal affairs. Second is the importance for society to recognize its need for childbearing and related activities so that women would not have to shoulder all of its costs.

Women in Family. Civil law is defined as "that branch of the law that generally treats of the personal and family relations of an

individual, his property and succession rights, and the effect of his obligations and contracts" (Paras, 1975). It therefore defines relations during the stages of a person's life: childhood, passage into adulthood, marriage, and property relations.

The legal mark of passage into adulthood for both sexes is the twenty-first birthday, after which a person is qualified "for all acts of civil life," that is to say, to make decisions on residence, career, disposition of property, etc., and enter into relationships (marriage and other contracts). There are, however, three general situations in which women's legal capacity to act differs from that of men: a) before marriage for those between 21 and 23 years of age, b) in the conditions for marriage, and c) after marriage.

a) Before marriage for those between ages 21 and 23 years. Article 403 of the Civil Code states "... a daughter above twenty-one but below twenty-three years of age cannot leave the parental home without the consent of the father or mother in whose company she lives, except to become a wife, or when she exercises a profession or calling, or when the father or mother has contracted a subsequent marriage." There is no such limitations for sons.

b) Conditions for marriage. Age requirements for marriage are not pegged to the age of majority (21 years old). The differences

in requirements for males and females, quoted below, may reflect the Civil Code's provisions of the man as provider and the woman, the household manager and/or the view that girls mature earlier than boys. Any female of at least fourteen years of age and any male of at least sixteen years of age, without impediments may contract marriage (Art. 54) provided that i) both parties have the consent of their parents if the female is under eighteen or the male under twenty years of age or ii) a statement that the guardian or parent has been informed if the female is between eighteen and twenty-three years old while the male is between twenty and twenty-three years old (Art. 67).

c) After marriage. Article after article in the Civil Code establish the man's superior rights in marriage. As mentioned earlier, the basic role divisions are clear: "the husband is responsible for the support of the wife and the rest of the family" (Art. 111) and "the wife manages the affairs of the household" (Art. 115). The husband has the right to determine the residence of the family, and the wife is bound by law to follow (Art. 110 and 109). No provision is made for a wife whose profession is established in a particular place to be able to seek relief from that duty. In fact, a husband may object to his wife's practice of any profession, occupation or business so long as "his income is sufficient for the family, according to its social standing, and his opposition is founded on serious and valid grounds" (Art. 117).

With regard to property, the husband still has the upper hand despite the improvements that R.A. 386 made on the Spanish Civil Code. The husband is the administrator of the conjugal property (Art. 11). The wife cannot, without the husband's consent, acquire any property by gratuitous title, except from her ascendants, descendants, parents-in-law, and collateral relatives within the fourth degree (Art. 114). Stipulations also exist as to what she may borrow or buy (Art. 115). "She may purchase things necessary for the support of the family, and the conjugal partnership shall be bound thereby. She may borrow money for this purpose, if the husband fails to deliver the proper sum. The purchase of jewelry and precious objects is voidable, unless the transaction has been expressly or tacitly approved by the husband, or unless the price paid is from her paraphernal property."

While there is a stipulation that "the husband cannot alienate or encumber any real property of the conjugal partnership without the wife's consent ..." (Art. 166), there is also one (Art. 161) which provides: "The conjugal partnership shall be liable for: (1) All debts and obligations contracted by the husband for the benefit of the conjugal partnership, and those contracted by the wife, also for the same purpose, in cases where she may legally bind the partnership; ..." (underscoring mine).

Even in case of marriage of Filipino to foreigners, the laws of the husband's country on property shall be followed (Art. 124) except with regard to immovable property.

The wife's legal capacity to act is further restricted by Art. 113 which provides that "the husband must be joined in all suits by or against the wife." No similar provision limits the husband's legal capacity.

Even after the death of the husband, the woman is under some limitation by virtue of her marriage: "No marriage license shall be issued to a widow till after three hundred days following the death of her husband, unless in the meantime she has given birth to a child" (Art. 84). This provision is, of course, designed to establish clearly the paternity of any child who may be born in that period.

The Civil Code (Art. 328) also stipulated that "the mother who contracts a subsequent marriage loses the parental authority over her children, unless the deceased husband, father of the latter, has expressly provided in his will that his widow might marry again, and has ordered that in such case she should keep and exercise parental authority over their children," whereas in the case of the father's remarriage, it was provided that "the court may also appoint a guardian of the child's property." Fortunately, for the child, this provision

has been superseded by Art. 17 of P.D. 603 (June 1975) which provides that "in case of the absence or death of either parent, the present or surviving parent shall continue to exercise parental authority over such children, unless in case of the surviving parent's remarriage, the court, for justifiable reason, appoints another person as guardian." However, it is this same article which provides that in cases of disagreement between the parents over a child's upbringing, "the father's decision shall prevail unless there is a judicial order to the contrary."

Unequal treatment between men and women also exists in the provisions for legal separation. Article 97 provides two grounds for legal separation: (1) adultery on the part of the wife and concubinage on the part of the husband as defined in the Penal Code, and (2) an attempt on the life of one spouse by the other. The discrimination against women is found in the first ground. Adultery requires only a single act of infidelity to prove it whereas, proof of concubinage requires that a husband "keeps a mistress in the conjugal dwelling or had sexual intercourse with a woman not his wife under scandalous circumstances, or cohabits with his mistress in some other place."

A female child's right to equality with respect to the rights of the male is better protected by law than that of the adult female. P.D. 603 (Child and Youth Welfare Code) states in Art. 3 that: "All

children shall be entitled to the rights herein set forth without distinction as to legitimacy or illegitimacy, sex (underscoring mine), social status, religion, political antecedents, and other factors." Nowhere in the Civil Code or the Child and Youth Welfare Code can one find stipulation granting differential rights to male and female children, except perhaps the age at which a person may get married.

Women in work. The right to life is one of the basic human rights, and in an economic system based on private property, the right to gainful work is one of the basic guarantees of the right to life (especially in cases where one's assets are not enough for basic subsistence). The 1973 Constitution even makes it a duty of every citizen to engage in gainful work to assure himself and his family a life worthy of human dignity" (Art. V, Sec. 3). To deny women equal rights of work would therefore constitute a violation of their basic right to "a life worthy of human dignity."

Significant gains have been obtained by women in the field of labor law. The 1973 Constitution (Sec. 9, Art. II) provides that the State "shall afford protection to labor, promote full employment and equality in employment, ensure equal work opportunities regardless of sex, race, or creed..." in contrast with the 1935 Constitution's declaration that "the State shall afford protection to labor, especially to working women and minors..." which expresses a weaker

commitment. This statement of policy is reiterated in the Labor Code (P.D. 442) promulgated in 1974 thus: "No employer shall discriminate against the woman with respect to terms and conditions of employment on account of her sex. Equal remuneration shall be paid to both men and women for work of equal value." This provision was contained in a much earlier law, R.A. 679, passed in 1952. The 1974 Labor Code goes further by providing in Art. 135 that it shall be unlawful for an employer to require as a condition of employment or for continuation of employment that a woman employee shall not get married, or to stipulate expressly or tacitly that upon getting married a woman employee shall be deemed resigned or separated, or to actually dismiss, discharge, discriminate or otherwise prejudice a woman employee merely by reason of her marriage.

Other prohibited acts are listed in Article 137, namely:

1) to deny any woman employee the benefits provided for in this chapter or to discharge any woman employed by him for the purpose of preventing her from enjoying any of the benefits provided under this code; (2) to discharge such woman on account of her pregnancy, or while on leave or in confinement due to her pregnancy; or (3) to discharge or refuse the admission of such woman upon returning to her work for fear that she may again be pregnant.

Such proscriptions against discrimination, however, still do not address the question of State support for the function of social reproduction. One of the previous reasons for employers' discrimina-

tion against women was that they had to shoulder the cost of social reproduction in the form of maternity leave with pay (R.A. 679 as amended by P.D. 143). The Labor Code reiterated the provisions of P.D. 148 in 1974 but also stipulated the integration of maternity leave benefits into the social security system. Such integration took effect on October 1, 1977 as per P.D. 1202 (May, 1977). Prior to this integration, pregnant employees applied for the benefits directly to, and received from, the employers who in effect shouldered such costs. In this setup, some women refused to apply and collect benefits due them for fear of displeasing their employers who could easily threaten them with suspension or dismissal. The integration provides a solution to this possible intimidation of pregnant employees since the benefits will now be paid by the social security system. The source of the fund is another modification of the previous situation since all employers are now required to contribute to such fund and hence may be viewed as spreading the burden of paying maternity leave benefits among all employers. (The provision of maternity leave benefits is allowed only for an employee's first four deliveries after March 13, 1973, in consonance with the official population control policy.)

After giving birth to a child, a woman is also responsible for its care. This gives rise to conflicting claims on the time of a working mother. A solution to this which has been considered is the

establishment of day-care centers and nurseries in the community or at place of work. R.A. 679 (1952) made it "the duty of every employer having at least fifteen married women in his employ to establish an adequate nursery near the place of work where they may leave their children, said nursery to be under the supervision of either a registered nurse or a qualified midwife....," and "to allow any woman employed by him who is nursing a child at least one-half hour twice a day during her working hours to nurse her child." Strong words and penal provisions (fine and/or imprisonment) notwithstanding, these provisions were likely not followed. These provisions were amended and made less strong by P.D. 148 issued in March 1973 which states: "The Secretary of Labor may by regulation require an employer to establish a nursery in his workplace for the benefit of his women employees."

The latest piece of legislation on day-care centers is P.D. 1587, issued June 1978, which provides for the establishment of a day-care center in every barangay with at least one hundred family heads "to look after the nutritional needs and social and mental development of all children from ages 2 to 5 when their parents are unable to do so." However, these day-care centers were not given firm funding support which is to come from the "unexpected balance of local and national governments or from public donations."

It may even be argued that laws forcing employers to shoulder this particular aspect of the cost of social reproduction contribute to their tendency to discriminate against women in hiring policies. Some other arrangements need to be explored, like making the cost to employers of operating nurseries and day-care centers tax deductible. (Of course, in an economy where there is a shortage rather than surplus of labor, employers would probably be willing to offer such facilities as incentives even if they have to shoulder the costs.)

Another group of laws which resulted in discrimination against women was actually intended to be protective, obviously premised on the assumption that women are by nature weak. One of these is the prohibition on night work. Designed perhaps to prevent women's exposure to greater risks at nighttime such as bad men on the prowl, or to protect their "virtue" so that questions of paternity do not arise; this prohibition (Sec. 7, R.A. 679; Sec. 4, R.A. 6237, Art. 130, P.D. 142; Sec. 4, P.D. 193) despite the exceptions provided, constitutes a limitation on a woman's employment opportunities. This discrimination is magnified when one considers Art. 86 of the Labor Code which provides that: "Every employee shall be paid a night shift differential of not less than ten percent (10%) of his regular wage for each hour of work performed between ten o'clock in the evening and six o'clock in the morning."

A previous provision of the Woman and Child Labor Law (R.A. 679, as amended) prohibiting the employment of women in work which requires the employee to be always standing or to lift heavy objects has been removed by the 1974 Labor Code. It is provided, instead, in Art. 132, that "The Secretary of Labor Shall establish standards that will insure the safety and health of women employees. In appropriate cases, he shall, by regulation, require any employer to: (a) provide seats for women and permit them to use such seats when they are free from work and during working hours, provided they can perform their duties in this position without detriment to efficiency...."

It could be argued that the provision of seats should apply for both men and women because standing for an eight-hour stretch broken only by lunch break, is injurious to health even for men. In any case, the deleterious effects of such practice should have been established since the Department of Labor was tasked in 1974 (Art. 163 of the Labor Code) with conducting "continuing studies and research to develop innovative methods, techniques and approaches for dealing with occupational safety and health problems; to discover latent diseases by establishing causal connections between diseases and work in environmental conditions; and to develop medical criteria which will assure insofar as practicable that no employee will suffer impairment or diminution in health, functional capacity, or life expectancy as a result of his work and working conditions."

There are other aspects of protection that have to be looked into such as a special penal provision that a woman under a death sentence may not be executed within three years from the date of her sentence or while she is pregnant (Art. 83, Revised Penal Code) or the limitation of women's participation in the Armed Forces of the Philippines to non-combat and administrative duties (R.A. 3835 as amended by P.D. 1043). A demand for equal rights should go hand in hand with readiness to assume equal responsibilities.

3.4 Major Influences on Legislation

What has been gained so far has largely been due to outside influences. The first major influence is that of the Americans during their occupation of the Philippines for almost half a century. During this period, women were granted equal rights to education, suffrage and disposition of paraphernal property. The second major influence is the United Nations. As early as its organization in 1946, it recognized the need to work for the promotion of women's rights (see Appendices 1 and 2 listing the U.N. conventions and resolutions concerning women).

The provision for equal remuneration for men and women workers for work of equal value found in R.A. 679 which was enacted in April 1952 followed ILO convention No. 100 adopted in June 1951. The

prohibitions on night work for women (also in R.A. 679), though not classed as a gain, even copied the wordings of ILC convention No. 89.

The equal rights to citizenship which the Philippine government finally granted in 1973 and 1975 could be considered a delayed response to a call long issued by the United Nations in its General Assembly Resolution 1040 (XI) issued January 1957 calling a Convention on the Nationality of Married Women. At that time, the Philippines abstained.

Since the adoption in January 1973 of UN General Assembly Resolution 3010 (XXVII) declaring 1975 as International Women's Year and Resolution No. 3275 declaring 1976-1985 as the Decade for Women, new pieces of legislation which could be considered to have had a positive impact on the improvement of women's status were:

- 1) P.D. 603 - The Child and Youth Welfare Code - granting custody of children to either surviving spouse when one dies.
- 2) LOI No. 270 and P.D. 725, providing ways for women to reacquire citizenship lost through marriage to aliens under the 1935 Constitution; and
- 3) P.D. 1043 (Amending R.A. 3035) removing some of the discriminating provisions on married women in the AFP and the limitation of rank to which women in the Women's Auxiliary Corps (WAC) could be promoted, and;

- 4) a set of laws in connection with the observance of the Decade of Women whose main impact was to focus attention on the women's issues:
 - a) P.D. 633 - Creating a National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women (January 1975)
 - b) LOI 974 - Integration of Women in National Development (January 1980)
 - c) P.D. 1984 - Declaring July 2 of Every Year as "Working Women's Day" (June 1980)
 - d) LOI 1066 - Philippine Targets and Strategies for Full Participation of Women in Socioeconomic Development, 1980-1985 (September 1980).

3.5 In Search of Alternatives

So far, we have seen areas of law in which women have gained equal rights with men, and areas in which they have not. The call for equal rights for women and men, while being undeniably a part of a general movement for an assertion of the human rights of various sectors, is also part of a reevaluation of women's role in development. They are, in a sense, intertwined because both call for a view of the woman as a wholly capable, fully functioning human being.

Such a view does not merely demand equal rights, however, but recognizes the responsibilities that come with rights. The rejection

of the protective/restrictive provisions of the Civil Code vis-a-vis woman, for example, comes with a call for recognition of the fact that men have ceased to be the sole breadwinners. Many couples both work. Some wives even earn more than their husbands. Some couples even decide to switch roles, with the man becoming a househusband and the wife the breadwinner. Any amendment in the Civil Code would have to take these new social patterns into account, as well as the fact that the pace of social change is much faster today. What would be needed in a new law on family relations, therefore, would be some measure of flexibility.

There is a provision in the Civil Code for future spouses to decide prior to marriage their property relations in marriage (Art. 119). In case the couple chooses the system of complete separation of property, Art. 215 provides that "each spouse shall proportionately bear the family expenses." This proviso could be made to apply to all marriages, replacing Art. 111 which makes the husband responsible for the support of the wife and family. Such an arrangement does not preclude situations when only one spouse works and the other keeps house, if it is recognized that housework is actually unpaid gainful work. Some studies are currently being done on the monetization of housework which could be used as a basis for computing how much a housewife or househusband contributes to the family expenses by her/his work.

Equal responsibilities and equal rights would mean that the management of property could be done separately, as when there is a prenuptial agreement to that effect, or jointly, instead of vesting such right or responsibility on the husband alone, as provided for now (Art. 112).

A sharing between two people of responsibility for decision-making is bound to lead to disagreement at some point. The present law makes it easy to resolve such differences of opinion though undemocratically: the husband decides. However, the Civil Code also contains a provision which may be more suitable to present conditions. Art. 252 of the Civil Code, provides thus: "The Court of First Instance may, upon application of any member of the family, a relative, or a friend, appoint a family council whose duty it shall be to advise the court, the spouses, the parents, guardians and the family on important family questions." Such a Council could be more widely employed. In fact, the creation of one could be made one of the requirements of marriage. The essential point is that whatever new provisions are adopted these should be capable of adjusting to the times in providing the persons concerned the widest latitude possible to develop their potentials as human beings and, consequently, contribute more to the total development of their society.

Even as it is recognized that much remains to be done in the field of law to upgrade the status of women, it should also be remembered that the rights established by laws in principle need to be tested in court because implementation does not necessarily follow. Moreover, the status of women will not be altered by mere change in legislation. The battle has to be won in diverse arenas, not the least of which is in the men's and women's consciousness. In all the fields where a reevaluation of the role and status of women has to be made, a strong potential force for change would be the voice of the ones most concerned - the women themselves. And so we look now at the role of women's organizations.

4 The Role of Non-Governmental Organizations in the Women's Movement

On the long road towards equality for women, an important aspect is the participation of the women themselves, and one manifestation of this is their coming together in women's organizations.

To evaluate the roles these organizations play in the movement for women's equality with men, we could classify them according to whether or not they raise the women's issue. Among those which do not are organizations which support the traditional view of women's place being in the home or, at most, in functions which are extensions of homemaking roles. There are also those which are premised on an

assumption of the existence of equality between the sexes. It is in this category that one finds many of the organizations of upper-class and/or professional women. These are generally referred to as socio-civic organizations and their activities are usually towards members' development and/or charitable works for the poor. Such groups, at best, could offer temporary relief to some beleaguered women. At worst, they could only provide symptomatic relief.

Organizations which raise the feminist issue may or may not provide welfare services for women. The decision on whether or not to do so would depend on the resources available to them, the allocation of which would primarily be influenced by the group's stand on the politics of the women's problems.

Among the organizations which raise the women's issue, one may differentiate between those which believe that the necessary changes could be achieved within the present political structure and those which do not. Such a difference in view would manifest itself in the thrust of activities such organizations would engage in. The former would be found cooperating with government agencies in programs for women, and lobbying for legal reforms and institutional changes within the present structure. The latter would be more concerned with organization work, and with the politization of women (oftentimes in what has been dubbed "the parliament of the streets") although such a thrust would not preclude working for specific short-term gains.

4.1 Historical Background

Organizations exist in particular sociohistorical milieux, and discrete actions such as the founding of an organization here and there, then and now, could form a totality identifiable as a movement, even if they were not so intended. With this in mind, we trace the historical roots of the Philippine women's movement.

Despite the dearth of data, Philippine history indicates that women in pre-Spanish times enjoyed a relatively high status which they lost under the Spanish colonial regime (Infante, 1969). Descent was traced both from the father's and mother's side, with no distinction as to which one was dominant (Jocano, 1975). That all children inherited from their parents could be deduced from Placencia's account (Jocano, 1975), of mothers being cautioned against too many births because "when the property is to be divided among all the children, they will be poor, and it is better to have one child and leave him wealthy." With regard to education, Jocano (1975) quotes Chirino's observation that the people were so accustomed "to writing and reading that there is scarcely a man, much less a woman, who cannot read and write in letters proper to the island of Manila." Divorce was allowed and conjugal property equally divided between the couple. Jocano (1975) cites Morga's account: "The property they acquired together was divided into halves, each one disposed of his own. If one made

any profit in which the other did not have a share of participation, he acquired it for himself alone." Although, as Jocano (1975) notes, "succession to the office of the leader was reported to be along the male line, there are accounts of women rulers, priestesses and warriors (Guanzon, 1951).

The roots of the Filipino women's present status could be traced back to the Spanish colonial era. The Spanish culture and the pervasive influence of the Roman Catholic Church during the Spanish regime downgraded women's status in society relative to what it was before the Spaniards came. Philippine history records the subsequent participation of women in the revolution against Spanish rule (Alzona, 1934; Constantino, 1975; Subido, 1955) which was very oppressive of women (cf. section on legal status of women). Famous examples are Gabriela Silang, Melchora Aquino, Trinidad Tecson and Gregoria de Jesus.

More important than the individual participation of women, however, is the fact that they began coming together in organizations. Table 3 lists women's organizations from the time of the revolution against Spain up to the present, as gathered from various published sources. From this, one could glean the patterns of development of the women's movement, although there may have been organizations which have gone unrecorded, either due to the limitation of the chronicling

Table 3

CHRONOLOGY OF WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS
IN THE PHILIPPINES

Founding Year	Name of Organization	Nature/Activities/Issues Raised
1893	Katipunan Women's Chapter	Composed of wives, daughters and sisters of male members of the Katipunan; provided support activities
1893	Logia de Adopción	Women's masonic lodge; upper class, active in anti-colonial movement
1899	Asociación de Damas de la Cruz Roja	Humanitarian work within the anti-colonial movement
1902	Liga Femenina de la Paz	Helped Americans in pacification
1905	Asociación Femenista Filipina	Prison and labor reforms for women; mothers' education on childcare, health and sanitation; campaign against prostitution, gambling, alcoholism; other civic projects
1906	Asociación Femenista Ilonga	Campaign for women's suffrage
1910	La Liga Nacional Filipina Para La Protección de la Primera Infancia	Protection of infants and mothers
1912	Society for the Advancement of Women (name changed in same year to Women's Club of Manila or Manila Women's Club)	Initial purpose was to work for women's suffrage but it gradually drifted into social welfare work
1915	Asociación de Damas Filipinas	Organized for the care of expectant mothers and destitute children; operated a settlement house
1918	Federación Católica de Mujeres en Filipinas (Catholic Women's League)	Established night school for women workers and houseboys; visited and helped women prisoners

Table 3 (continued)

Founding Year	Name of Organization	Nature/Activities/Issues Raised
1921	National Federation of Women's Club	Worked for women's right to vote and for maternity leave with pay; now operates nursery schools in depressed areas; engaged in income-generation assistance
1922	Liga Nacional de Damas Filipinas	Organized to help secure Philippine independence; gave lectures in factories, theaters, colleges and workshops on Filipinism, hygiene, nutrition and civics
1926	Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) of Manila	Recycling junk, adult enrichment classes, dormitory service, leadership training
1926	Girl Scouts of the Philippines	Youth leadership training
1928	Women's Citizen League	Women's suffrage
1928	Philippine Association of University Women	Participated in suffragette movement, lobbied for paraphernal property law
1929	Philippine Women's Christian Temperance Union	Campaigns against narcotic drugs, alcohol, tobacco; other civic projects
1939	League of Women Voters of the Philippines	Women political participation, citizenship education
1939	Women's International League of the Philippines	Welfare projects, scholarships for indigent children, international contacts
1940	Women Lawyers' Association of the Philippines	Free legal services for indigents
1946	Liberal Party Women's Auxiliary	Support for Liberal Party activities
1946	Young Ladies Association of Charity, Inc.	Charity work

Table 3 (continued)

Founding Year	Name of Organization	Nature/Activities/Issues Raised
1940	Rizal Federation of Women's Club	Civic projects
1946	Auxiliary to the Philippine Medical Association, Inc.	Community health care, help to indigents, members' physical fitness, beautification of Philippine Medical Association building and grounds
1947	Women's Civic Assembly of the Philippines	Coordination among various women's organizations for cooperation and assistance to government projects; yearly participation in Independence Day celebration
1947	All-Nations Women's Group	To promote international fellowship and goodwill; main projects are scholarships and other charity works
1948	YMCA of the Philippines	Bible study, adult enrichment classes, vocational training, leadership training
1949	Inner Wheel Club of Manila	Community services (free clinics, day care, visits to prisons, home for the aged, mental patients, etc.)
1949	Philippine Medical Women's Association	Medical outreach
1950	Women Dentists Association of the Philippines	Dental services to needy
1951	National Political Party of Women	Out across party lines for candidates of their choice
1952	Zonta Club of Manila	Feeding program, scholarships
1953	Philippine Women Dental Association	Dental services to needy

Table 3 (continued)

Founding Year	Name of Organization	Nature/Activities/Issues Raised
1955	Nutritionists and Dieticians Association of the Philippines	Members' professional development
1956	Bulacan Ladies Association	Beautification
1958	Kababaihang Rizalista	Commemoration of Rizal, community health assistance
1958	Women's Rights Movement of the Philippines	Citizenship education; yearly search for "unsung heroines;" protection of women's rights
1959	Federacion Internacional de Abogados (FIDA), Philippine Chapter	Women lawyers' organization; aiding government in popularization of law
1960	Philippine Central Conference Board of Women's Work	Bible study, civic works, seminars on women's rights
1962	Women's Management Association of the Philippines	Professional development of members; charity works
1962	Quezon City Chamberette	Community services projects
1963	Altrusa Club	Vocational training for indigent girls, barrio sanitation, school supplies for barrio children
1965	Military Nurses Association of the Philippines	
1970	Malayang Kilusan ng Bagong Kababaihan (MAKIBAKA)	Women's liberation by joining the struggle for nationalism and democracy
1970	Women of Malate, Inc.	Feeding program, medical clinic
1971	Bureau of Women and Minors Auxiliary	Assist the Bureau
1971	Council of Deans and Heads of Home Economics Colleges and Universities of the Philippines	Research projects, seminars for members

Table 3 (continued)

Founding Year	Name of Organization	Nature/Activities/Issues Focused
1971	Soroptimist International of the Philippines	Shelter home for minors, mothers' classes, preschool in depressed areas, medical/dental services
1972	Philippine Council of Trade Union Women	Promote women workers' rights, cutting across union lines (now defunct)
1973	Business and Professional Women's Associations of the Philippines	Members' development, charity works
1975	Katipunan ng Bagong Pilipina	Promote peace and disarmament, community projects
1976	Quota Club of Manila	Service to hearing-and-speech handicapped
1978	Seamen's Wives Association of the Philippines, Inc.	Counseling and assistance to members
1978	Parents' Alternative, Inc.	Organize parents in deprived sectors to form their own day-care service
1978	Concerned Women of the Philippines	Influential women bring to public attention pressing issues
1981	Women in Media Now (WOMEN)	Professional development of members
1981	PILIPINA - Ang Kilusan ng Kababaihang Pilipino	Bring out the hidden women's question in the Philippines, encourage women's participation as an important aspect of social change
1982	National Coalition for the Promotion of Breastfeeding	Promotion of breastfeeding
1982	ANAK - The National Coalition for Alternative Day-Care	Day care programs

Table 3 (continued)

Founding Year	Name of Organization	Nature/Activities/Issues Raised
1983-1984	Katipunan ng Kababaihan para sa Kalayaan	Dissemination of women's issues, participation in national issues
	Women for the Ouster of Marcos and Boycott (WOMB)	Campaign for boycott of May 1984 elections and for the ouster of Marcos
	National Organization of Women (NOW)	Organization of women to participate in nation-building through joining the "moderate legal opposition which is UNIDO"
	Alliance of Women for Action and Reconciliation (AWARE)	Mobilization of women for national issues, particularly those brought out by the Aquino assassination
	Samahan ng Malayang Kababaihan (SAMAKA)	Organization of women youth and students to fight against injustice, exploitation and oppression
	Samahan ng Makabayang Kababaihang Nagkakaisa (SAMAKANA)	Call for women's participation in the struggle for change from the present socioeconomic structure which is oppressive in general and discriminating towards women in particular
1984	General Assembly Binding Women for Reforms, Integrity, Equality, Leadership and Action	A forum through which women, as women, can listen and be heard; first step towards the gathering of women as a social and political force

- Sources: 1. Annual reports and other documents of existing organizations.
2. E. Alzona. The Filipino Woman: Her Social, Economic and Political Status, 1565-1937, 193.
3. M.P. Guanzon. The Development and Progress of the Filipino Woman, 1951.
4. A. Agoncillo and M.C. Guerrero. History of the Filipino People, 1977.
5. T.T. Subido. The Feminist Movement in the Philippines, 1905-1955, 1955.

process of earlier times or the biases of the chronicles, or our own limitations as researchers.

A Women's Chapter of the Katipunan was formed by Bonifacio in 1893 with membership limited to female relations of its male membership (Agoncillo and Guerrero, 1977). In the same year, a women's masonic lodge, the Logia de Adoncion, was founded. It was active in the anti-colonial movement (Maranan, 1984). Hilaria Aguinaldo, wife of Gen. Aguinaldo, founded the Asociacion de Damas de la Cruz Roja (Women's Red Cross) in 1899 for humanitarian work in the course of the Filipino resistance to American rule (Maranan, 1984). On the other hand, the Liga Femenina de la Paz was organized in 1902, to help the Americans in their pacification drive among the Filipinos (Subido, 1955).

During the years of American colonization, women's organizations formed were those of upper-class women and were concerned with reforms, welfare work, and/or the campaign for women's suffrage (Subido, 1955). The Asociacion Femenista Ilonga, organized in 1906, was the first to raise the issue of women's suffrage. The Society for the Advancement of Women followed in 1912 (its name was changed in the same year to Women's Club of Manila). Its initial purpose was to work for women's suffrage but it gradually drifted into social welfare work.

In 1921, the Women's Club of Manila initiated the formation of the National Federation of Women's Clubs (NFWC). It was active in the suffragette movement from its founding to the grant of the right to vote in 1937. In 1935, it organized nursery classes for children of disadvantaged families, and these classes, according to a report of the NFWC in 1983, "continue to be the most significant service of the Federation to the community."

Other organizations mentioned were the Liga Nacional de Damas Filipinas, organized in 1921 to help secure Philippine independence and the short-lived Women's Citizen's League formed in 1928 to unite the various suffragette groups.

The first organization of Filipino professional women, the Philippine Association of University Women (formed in 1928), participated in the suffragette movement and lobbied for the passage of the Paraphernal Property Law (Act 3922, September 1932) which allowed women to dispose of paraphernal property without their husbands' consent (Subido, 1955).

Among the organizations formed with welfare and reformist concerns were (Subido, 1955; Guanzon, 1951; CNRP, 1983) Asociacion Femenista Filipina (1905), La Liga Nacional Filipina Para la Proteccion de la Primera Infancia (1910), Asociacion de Damas Filipinas (1915),

Federacion Catolica de Mujeres or Catholic Women's League (1919), Young Women's Christian Association of Manila (1926), Philippine Women's Christian Temperance Union (1929), and the Women's International League of the Philippines (1939). The League of Women Voters was also formed in 1939 for citizenship education.

That the activities of the women's organizations met with the American colonial government's approval is noted by Subido (1955): "It is interesting to note that practically every annual report of the Governor-General of the Philippine Islands to the President of the United States, since W. Cameron Forbes (1909-1913), included a separate section on 'Women's Clubs' and concluded with a plea to grant them equal suffrage rights as enjoyed by Filipino males." While Subido saw this as a manifestation of American enlightenment and adherence to democratic ideals, a different interpretation is posed by Maranan (1984): "One theory that may be raised is that American authorities had shrewdly deflected the concentration and energies of these women from the more pressing issue of that period which was the independence movement."

4.2 The Postwar Period

In the succeeding decades of the 1940s to the 1960s many associations of professional women emerged, together with other socio-civic women's clubs, and they were mainly concerned with welfare work.

An umbrella organization, the Women's Civic Assembly of the Philippines, was formed in 1947 in response to the "needs of the times which bid all women organizations to come together for mutual consultations on what is the best and most effective way by which women can be of service to our country and people in the critical period of our history" (de Guzman, 1983). (Its name was changed in 1950 to Civic Assembly of Women of the Philippines or CAWP, by which it is known till today.)

Political participation of women was also promoted by the organization of women as support groups for the male-dominated political parties. A National Political Party of Women was set up in 1951, attempting to organize women across party lines for candidates of their choice, but it was short-lived (Mariano, 1984).

While various organizations worked for specific women's rights like suffrage, maternity pay or the right to manage her own property, no women's organization pledged itself mainly to working for women's rights in general until the formation of the Women's Rights Movement of the Philippines (WRMP) in 1958. It was organized by a group of influential women, a number of whom were lawyers who, in the course of citizenship education campaigns with the League of Women Voters, encountered a lot of oppressed women (such as battered wives and rape victims).

The WFP was organized to gather information on Filipino women's status, and work for the promotion and protection of their rights. One of its early projects was a legal advice column for women in the now defunct newspaper, Manila Times. The column was discontinued, according to its founder, F. Balboa, because of pressure from some male lawyers. The WFP also penned a bill to elevate the Women and Minors Division of the (then) Bureau of Labor Standards into a separate bureau. They lobbied successfully for this bill in both houses of Congress; it was finally passed in 1960 as R.A. 2714. However, by the late 60s and the early 70s, despite its pioneering campaign for women's rights in the Philippines, the WFP did not seem to have been able to relate itself to the emerging hatch of young women interested in the issue of women's oppression. This could, in retrospect, be attributed to its inability to offer a realistic or systematic analysis of the various examples of "discrimination, restrictions and limitations on the rights of women," as cited in its constitution, coupled with insufficient attention to organizational work.

The issue of systematic discrimination against women was not raised until the organization of the Malayang Kilusan ng Bagong Kababaihan (MAKIBAKA) in 1970. According to Maranan (1984):

MAKIBAKA pointed out the four authorities from which women suffer - political, clan, religious and male -

which were all seen as expressions of feudal-patriarchal ideology and system. The organization sought to stimulate the formation of other women's organization in both rural and urban areas. It would be the first time in the history of women's movements that an ideological framework would guide women as they struggle for their rights within the cause of nationalism.

MAKIBAKA however succumbed to pressure from the predominantly male-led nationalist movement to pronounce women's issues as secondary to national issues (de Guzman, 1983). The declaration of martial law in 1972 eventually killed it.

The forms of struggle that the women's movement could take were undoubtedly influenced by the declaration of martial law, but the women's movement did not die. In the international scene, the women's issues continued to be raised, and the declaration by the UN of 1975 as International Women's Year, then of 1976-1985 as the Decade for Women legitimated an issue which had long been raised but had been trivialized as the imaginings of neurotic, middle-class women with too much time on their hands.

Thus, in the Philippines, a proposal for the creation of a Philippine Commission on the Status of Women which had been put forward as early as 1967 (by H.Z. Benitez, former president of the CAMF and then Chairman of the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women) could be reiterated and this time be acted upon. The CAMF reports (de Guzman, 1983):

With Dr. Leticia Ramos-Shahani who was at that time chairman of the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women as consultant, CWP urged its campaign for the creation of the commission.

First Lady Imelda Romualdez Marcos took up the cudgels for the women and assured them of her full support when she addressed the women's rally on January 6, 1975. The following day, President Ferdinand E. Marcos announced the creation of the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women (NCRFW) by virtue of Presidential Decree No. 633. CWP has a seat in the body which is multisectoral and multidisciplinary with representatives from the government and the private sector. CWP works with the NCRFW and vice-versa—a linkage which is beneficial to both in the pursuit of their common goals.

The National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women (NCRFW) has since functioned as a conduit by which women could try to influence the different government agencies which may have anything to do with particular problems of women. Through its influence, for example, the National Manpower and Youth Council (NAMYC) has embarked on training programs for women in nontraditional areas. The Ministry of Education and Culture has examined its curricular materials for sex-role definitions.

Originally under the Office of the President, the NCRFW has been placed under the Ministry of Human Settlements. It has funded several researches and published monographs on women, sent delegations and funded the participation of other women to international gatherings on women, established a library collection, and sponsored seminar-workshops on women.

Considered a major accomplishment by the NCRFW is the organization of Balikatan sa Kaunlaran (BSK) Councils. (Balikatan sa Kaunlaran may be translated into "Partners in Progress.") The BSK is considered by the NCRFW as its provincial machinery. Its stated general objective is:

To provide a nationwide formal institutional medium among women, men and youth that will cooperate and collaborate with private and public sectors of the country for the initiation, implementation, sponsorship, assistance and financing of action programs, studies, researches, and facilities for activities concerned with the development of Filipino women, men and youth and their fuller integration in the total development efforts of our nation.

It is thus apparent that the NCRFW, which was created in response to the United Nations' call for the observance of International Women's Year and the Decade for Women, reflects a continuing emphasis of government on family ("women, men and youth") welfare (cf. section on Formal Development Planning).

The CWP which lobbied for the creation of the NCRFW is the non-governmental organization working closely with the Commission. The CWP is an association of various professional, socio-civic and specific cause-oriented women's organizations. Table 4 lists organizations currently existing, majority of which are affiliated with CWP; the list though does not claim to include all existing ones.

Table 4

EXISTING WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

A. Cause-Oriented

Alliance of Women for Action and Reconciliation (AWARE)
 Concerned Women of the Philippines
 General Assembly Binding Women for Integrity, Equality,
 Leadership and Action (GABRIELA)
 Kababaihang Rizalista, Inc.
 Katipunan ng Bagong Pilipina
 Katipunan ng Kababaihan Para sa Kalayaan
 Kilusan ng Manggagawang Kababaihan
 League of Women Voters of the Philippines
 National Coalition for the Promotion of Breastfeeding
 National Organization of Women (NOW)
 Parents' Alternative, Inc.
 PILIPPA - Ang Kilusan ng Kababaihang Pilipino
 Quota Club of Manila
 Rural Improvement Clubs of the Philippines
 Samahan ng Mag-aaral sa Kababaihan
 Samahan ng Makabayang Kababaihang Nagkakaisa (SAMAKKISA)
 Seamen's Wives Association of the Philippines, Inc.
 Women's Association for Rural Development
 Women for the Ouster of Marcos and Boycott (WOMB)
 Women's Rights Movement of the Philippines

B. Professional

Business and Professional Women's Association of the
 Philippines
 Council of Deans and Heads of Home Economics Colleges
 and Universities of the Philippines

Table 4 (Continued)

B. Professional

DCI* Women Lawyers' Club
 Federacion Internacional de Abogadas (FIDA) Phils. Chapter
 Military Nurses Association
 Nutritionists and Dieticians' Association of the Philippines
 Philippine Association of Secretaries
 Philippine Association of University Women
 Philippine Home Economics Association
 Philippine Medical Women's Association
 Philippine Nurses Association
 Philippine Women Dental Association
 University of the Philippines Women Lawyers' Circle (WILOCI)
 Women Dentists Association of the Philippines
 Women in Media (WIM)
 Women in Media Now (WIMEN)
 Women Lawyers' Association of the Philippines

C. Socio-Civic

All-Nations Women's Group
 Altrusa Club
 American Legion Auxiliary
 Armed Forces Ladies Club
 Asociacion de Damas de Filipinas
 Association of Local Superiors of Women in the Archdiocese
 of Manila
 Association of Major Religious Superiors of Women of the
 Philippines

*DCI stands for Department of Commerce and Industry. The members have since retired or transferred from the Department and the Department itself has since been reorganized and renamed, but the organization opted to retain the initials DCI in its name.

Table 4 (Continued)

C. Socio-Civic

Auxiliary to the Philippine Medical Association
 Batangas Province Ladies Club
 Bulacan Ladies Association
 Catholic Women's League
 Centro Escolar University Women's Club
 Church Women United of the Philippines
 Club de Damas de Manila
 Constabulary Women's Club
 Inner Wheel Clubs of the Philippines
 Jayceettes
 Kapisanan ng mga Madre sa Kawaynilaan
 National Federation of Women's Clubs
 National Organization of Women Religious in the Philippines
 Philippine Central Conference Board of Women's Work
 Philippine Muslim Women's Association
 Philippine Navy Officers and Wives Association
 Philippine Women's Christian Temperance Union
 Quezon City Chamberette
 Salvation Army
 San Juan Lioness Club
 Soroptimist International of the Philippines
 Women of Malate, Inc.
 Women's International League of the Philippines
 Young Ladies Association of Charity
 Young Women's Christian Association of the Philippines
 Zonta Club

Sources:

1. Civic Assembly of Women of the Philippines, 37th Anniversary Souvenir Program, Manila, June 12, 1983.
2. GABRIELA (General Assembly Binding Women for Reforms, Integrity, Equality, Leadership and Action) Assembly Proceedings, March 10 and 11, 1984, St. Scholastica's College, Manila.
3. Documents of organizations, newspaper accounts, interviews.

Even if the varied membership of the CNP includes organizations (such as the All Nations Women's Group) which do not by themselves raise the women's issue, the CNP does. Its activities categorize it among organizations which believe that substantive changes in women's status could be made within the present sociopolitical structure.

Sprouting in the wake of the national crisis triggered by the Aquino assassination are a number of women's organizations which have expressed the stand that women's problems could not be resolved under the present sociopolitical structure. Thus, instead of participating in or cooperating with the government programs, they are active in the anti-Marcos/anti-government demonstrations and in organizing women for self-help and "consciousness-raising." A number of them came together in March 1984 to form the General Assembly Binding Women for Reforms, Integrity, Equality, Leadership and Action, with the acronym GABRIELA in honor of Gabriela Silang, a heroine in the revolution against Spain.

GABRIELA's objectives are stated in general terms which do not differentiate them from other organizations which call for women's participation/integration in national life. The difference, however, manifests itself in the analysis on women's conditions. Sectors represented were: workers, peasants, youth and students, urban

poor, tribal minority women, educators, writers, artists, religious and consumers. A general program was also presented which listed tasks under the general headings of Education, Organization and Mobilization (CABRIELA Assembly Proceedings, 1984).

Looking over the years of women's organizations, one finds a persistent trend for women to organize for functions which are extensions of their roles in the home as mothers, care-givers, and peacemakers. Through the years, however, women's consciousness of their status appears to be moving forward from a perception of discrimination in specific areas such as education, suffrage, property rights and employment, to a realization that isolated gains in each of these have not effectively upgraded the status of women in general, as evidenced by the fact that only women of specific classes, usually the upper class, had the opportunity to a more meaningful integration in the society's development.

Crisis situations in the country had provided heightened opportunities for women to discover and demonstrate abilities beyond the sphere of the home. The revolution against Spain was the first. Next came the American colonial regime. Resistance to it was defeated by the gun and the book--ruthless military suppression for pockets of resistance on the one hand and the promotion of the

"Philippines for the Filipinos policy" on the other (Constantino, 1975). As Constantino (1975) put it, "by promoting an improvement in the standard of living of the Filipino and by giving them the benefits of American education, he would be creating new tastes and consumer demands, thus developing a profitable market for American products. Co-opting the elite was of course an integral part of this policy.

It could be said that the energies of the Filipino women and the sense of their strength awakened by participation in the revolution against Spain were redirected toward taking advantage of the educational opportunities offered and the campaigns for suffrage. The women's organizations which were very active at this time were those of upper-class women. It was they, after all, who could afford to go to schools and universities, and who never had to make a choice between voting freely or subsisting.

(Of the role women played during the Japanese occupation we know little except that there were women guerillas. Though this is an area that could be researched on to complete historical records, it is likely not that critical for purposes of assessing women's status in postwar, post-independence Philippines.)

Despite the fact that majority of the Filipino people, and therefore majority of the Filipino women, belong to the lower income

class and of these, most live in the rural areas, women's organizations have remained predominantly upper-class and urban-based, often with the poor women as targets of their progress.

Among the female workers and peasants, for whom problems of poverty are magnified by being women, participation in organizations is very low. A report on labor organizations in 1969 (Castillo, 1979) showed that few unions had female members (12 out of 26 federations and 21 out of 199 affiliated unions); females accounted for 13 percent of the total membership. In the case of the Samahang Nayon (a pre-cooperative association at the barrio level in the nationwide cooperatives development strategy in agriculture). Of the 473 thousand members, only 10.4 percent and only 5.4 percent of 53 thousand officers are females (Castillo, 1979).

That poorer women usually participate less in organizations than middle and upper-class women is understandable because their time is largely taken up by family subsistence concerns. That females participate less than males in organizations is a manifestation of the still-prevailing value that a woman's best place is mainly in the home.

Planners of development, however, be they of the pro- or anti-establishment variety, have realized through experience that

participation of the sectors concerned is essential for the success of any program. Participation, in fact, is viewed not only as a means but also as an end, an essential aspect of a truly democratic way of life. Thus, some organizations of women, even if initiated by and/or composed of upper and middle-class women, have manifested a transformation of roles--from welfare providers to catalysts of change.

5 Conclusions

The task of bringing about equality between the sexes is a vast one involving the reevaluation and restructuring of roles. Inequality between the sexes had deep historical roots and certainly cannot be solved in a decade in spite of the United Nations declaration of a mandate and member countries' expressed commitment to it. It would take much more than these to do it.

This paper examines Philippine development planning and how it has treated women's fuller integration in development. Philippine formal planning suffers from a major weakness - it plans for a primarily private enterprise society and hence produces an indicative type of planning which it tries to sell to the private sector as it encourages the realization of stated national goals through incentives including infrastructure building. Women's participation in

production in the private sector as paid workers would be influenced by the cultural biases of private entrepreneurs and hiring personnel who, on the average, hold traditional views of sex roles.

Government's other area of direct action as indicated in formal plans is in providing supplementary benefits to particular sectors. This planning situation, coupled with the low priority given to the objective of equality between sexes or fuller integration of women in development, weakens the government's role as a major force in raising the status of women.

The government's primary mention on women in previous formal plans was invariably a concern for women's reproductive function, hence, for pregnant and lactating mothers' welfare. The U.N. mandate led it to echo such commitment in formal plans since the mid-1970s; such thrust, however, was still bound by the national objective of "a much improved quality of life for every Filipino" with the family as the policy focus and thus did not consider women as a especially disadvantaged group. Such a position of giving a lower priority to the elimination of inequities may be defensible in a situation where mass poverty is the major problem. Could and should both be attacked at the same time?

Another area of government action under development planning is in legislation. The spirit of legislation concerning women contains both the traditional, which discriminates against women's fuller integration in development, and the enlightened, which treats women and men as equals.

The foundations of the discriminatory pieces of legislation are women's relative physical weakness and their reproduction function. The traditional view of women assigns to mothers the nurturing of children and hence, the home as their rightful place. In the area of civil law, men are given superior rights based on the complementary view that they are the family providers. Differential rights characterize the marriage contract, child rearing, conjugal property administration and dissolution of marriage, with the men or husbands getting the upper hand. In labor law, women are governed by protective pieces of legislation which were mostly the influence of Americans and the United Nations. But laws intended to protect women may work against them because they make the employment of women more costly even as they are effectively enforced. Furthermore, women's demand for equal rights as men must recognize that responsibilities go with rights and, therefore, laws protective of women have to be reexamined and may be removed. As for women's important role in social reproduction, what is required is a resolution of how its cost

can be borne by society as a whole rather than by individual mothers and their employers.

But there have been gains in equality between the sexes as provided by law, mainly, in the areas of citizenship, suffrage, property inheritance, and the right to education. However, it should be remembered that the rights established in principle by laws need to be tested in court since implementation does not necessarily follow. Much remains to be done on laws to upgrade the status of women. However the status of women will not be altered by simply changing laws. The battle has to be waged in various arenas, most important of which is in men's and women's consciousness.

Women constitute a strong, and likely the strongest, potential force for change towards their fuller integration in development. A critical manifestation of their participation is in their coming together in women's organizations.

Despite the fact that majority of Filipinos and hence of the Filipino women belong to the lower income class and most live in rural areas, women organizations have been predominantly upper-class and urban-based. The lower-income women are often the beneficiaries of these women's organizations.

Through the years, women have been organizing for functions which are extensions of their roles in the home. However, women's consciousness of their status appears to move from a perception of discrimination in specific areas to a realization that isolated gains in these have not effectively improved women's status in general. It is more often the women of upper socioeconomic classes who get the opportunity for a more meaningful integration in development.

Crisis situations provided heightened opportunities for women to discover and demonstrate abilities beyond the sphere of the home. The revolution against Spain, resistance to American occupation and then to the Japanese were periods of difficulties and challenged the women to participate more fully. The recent national crisis triggered by the Aquino assassination led to the further winnowing of the women's view of their overall problem - that their problems may not be resolved under the present socio-political regime. The current crisis has also conscientized more women towards a more active role in shaping their world, a participation which is indeed an essential aspect of democratic way of a life. But women still have a long road to travel toward their fuller integration in development.

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Date of
Entry

20 Oct
20 Nov

19 Jan

9 Jul

2 Dec

29 Jan

23 Feb

25 Jan

15 Jan

20 Dec

7 Jan

29 Jan

11 Feb

10 Dec

9 Dec

Appendix I

UN CONVENTIONS CONCERNING WOMEN

<u>Date of Adoption/ Enforcement</u> a/	<u>Title</u>	<u>Adopting Body/ Instrument</u>	<u>Philippine Action/Date</u>
20 October 1947/ 20 November 1947	Protocol to amend the convention for the suppression of the traffic in women and children, concluded at Geneva on 30 September 1921, and the convention for the suppression of traffic in women of full age, concluded at Geneva on 11 October 1933.	General Assembly Res. 126 (II)	
19 June 1955	Convention concerning social policy in non-metropolitan territories	ILO Convention No. 82	NONE
9 July 1948	Night work of women employed in industry	ILO Convention No. 89	Ratified May 1953
2 December 1949	Convention for the suppression of the traffic in persons and of the exploitation of the prostitution of others	General Assembly Res. 317 (IV)	
29 June 1951/ 23 May 1953	Equal remuneration for men and women workers for work of equal value	ILO Convention No. 100	Ratified May 1953
25 June 1958/ 15 June 1960	Discrimination in respect of employment and occupation.	ILO Convention No. 111	Ratified May 1960
20 December 1952/ 7 July 1954	Convention on the political rights of women	General Assembly Res. 640 (VII)	Sgd. 23 Sept. 1953/ Ratified 12 Sept. 1954
29 January 1957/ 11 August 1958	Convention on the nationality of married women	General Assembly Res. 1040 (XI)	Abstained
10 December 1962/ 9 December 1964	Convention on consent to marriage, minimum age for marriage and registration of marriages	General Assembly Res. 1763 (XVII)	Sgd. 5 February 1963 Ratified 21 January 1965

Appendix 1 (continued)

<u>Date of Adoption/ Enforcement ^{a/}</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Adopting Body/ Instrument</u>	<u>Philippine Action/Date</u>
18 December 1979/ 3 September 1981	Convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women	General Assembly Res. 34/180	Sgd. 15 July 1980 Ratified 5 August 1981
23 June 1981	Convention concerning equal opportunities and equal treatment for men and women workers: workers with family responsibilities	ILO Convention No. 156	NONE

^{a/} There is usually a lag between adoption and enforcement because enforcement is contingent upon receipt of a number of signatures.

Sources: Resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, General Assembly Official Records, United Nations, for different sessions.

ILO Conventions Ratified by the Philippine Government. Manila: Institute of Labor and Manpower Studies, Ministry of Labor, November 1978.

Appendix 2

UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS CONCERNING WOMEN

Date of Adoption	Title	Adopting Body/Res. No.
21 June 1946	Commission on the Status of Women	Economic and Social Council/Res. 11 (II)
4 February 1952	Organization and operation of the Economic and Social Council and its commissions	General Assembly/Res. 532 (VI)
5 February 1952	Adoption in Spanish of the term "derechos humanos" instead of "derechos del hombre"	General Assembly/Res. 543 (VI)
12 December 1960	UN assistance for the advancement of women in developing countries	General Assembly/Res. 1509 (XV)
5 December 1963	Participation of women in National Social and Economic Development	General Assembly/Res. 1920 (XVIII)
5 December 1963	Draft declaration on the elimination of discrimination against women	General Assembly/Res. 1921 (XVIII)
16 December 1965	UN assistance for the advancement of women	General Assembly/Res. 2029 (XX)
15 December 1969	Commission on the status of women	General Assembly/Res. 2587 (XXIV)
24 October 1970	International Development Strategy for the Second UN Development Decade	General Assembly/Res. 2626 (XXV)
15 December 1970	Employment of qualified women in senior and other professional positions by the secretariats of organizations in the UN system	General Assembly/Res. 2715 (XXV)

Appendix 2 (continued)

Date of Adoption	Title	Adopting Body/Res. No.
15 December 1970	Programme of concerted international action for the advancement of women	General Assembly/ Res. 2716 (XXV)
18 December 1972	Employment of women in senior and other professional positions by the secretariats of organizations in the UN systems	General Assembly/ Res. 3009 (XXVII)
11 January 1973	International Women's Year	General Assembly/ Res. 3010 (XXVII)
10 December 1974	International Women's Year	General Assembly/ Res. 3275 (XXIX)
10 December 1974	Conference of the International Women's Year	General Assembly/ Res. 3276 (XXIX)
15 December 1975	World Conference of the International Women's Year	General Assembly/ Res. 3520 (XXX)

Source: Resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, General Assembly
Official Records, United Nations, for different sessions.