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THE FEMALE STREETWALKER PROSTITUTES OF ILOILO CITY: THEIR REASONS FOR ENGAGING IN PROSTITUTION AND THEIR PRESENT ECONOMIC, HEALTH, AND SOCIOPSYCHOLOGICAL CONDITIONS*

Humar D. Aberia

The study aimed to find out why some women became prostitutes, to determine the demographic and educational characteristics of the prostitutes' own or their parents' family; and to find out the present economic, health, and sociopsychological conditions of the prostitutes.

Using a descriptive research design, quantitative and qualitative data were gathered by the researcher, from the streetwalker prostitutes of Iloilo City with the help of two hired interviewers and by the researcher. The first two respondents were identified with the help of informants, the succeeding respondents were located with the use of snowballing technique until a quota of 30 sample cases were obtained.

Results reveal that most prostitutes included in the study were in their early twenties, single, high

school educated, and in-migrants from other places in the Visayas and Mindanao. Most prostitutes' families were poor, with the average size slightly smaller than the regional and national averages. They completed one year of high school education and were from families in which one working member supported less than one respondent. Most families depended on their heads while some depended on the prostitutes for their daily maintenance.

Women who became prostitutes because of poverty did so voluntarily while some were recruited illegally. Keen competition among the numerous prostitutes in the city motivated them to employ different techniques, some working with pimps to hook customers. Prostitutes selected customers primarily on the basis of their ability to pay, using hotels as their favorite places for exchanging sexual favors.

*An abstract of a Master's thesis done at Central Philippine University for the degree of Master of Arts in Sociology, 1987.

The monthly income of a prostitute which was higher than that of a public elementary and high school teacher, depended upon her looks, number of customers served, and her asking price. Many prostitutes were victims of sexual exploitation of some men including policemen and Philippine Constabulary troopers.

There was an alarming incidence of sexually-transmitted diseases among the prostitutes included in the study, the most common being gonorrhea. Most prostitutes submitted themselves for medical check-up while there were those who did not, for fear of being arrested, once known that they are

prostitutes. Some prostitutes continued practicing the trade in spite of their being infected by sexually transmitted diseases.

Most parents knew that their daughters were prostitutes yet, in spite of their initial disapproval, they later on consented and allowed their daughters to support the education of their brothers and sisters. Most prostitutes were unhappy and dissatisfied with their trade and expressed their willingness to get out if decent and better-paying jobs are made available to them. Like many human beings, prostitutes have wishes for themselves and their families.

STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE ADEQUACY OF THEIR
TRAINING IN MACHINE SHOP TECHNOLOGY IN FIVE
STATE-SUPPORTED COLLEGES IN WESTERN
VISAYAS *

Renato V. Alba

The main purpose of this study was to find out the students' perceptions of the adequacy of their training in Machine Shop Technology on the knowledge and skills required of machinists in Western Visayas. The descriptive method was used in this study with the questionnaire as the main instrument for gathering data. One hundred five senior technical students from the five state-supported colleges in Western Visayas responded to the questionnaire. The weighted means of the perception scores of the students were computed to determine the students' perceptions of the adequacy of their training in Machine Shop Technology on the knowledge and skills required of machinists in Western Visayas.

The findings in the study revealed that:

1. The students with on-the-job training perceived as "very adequate" their training on the knowledge and skills required of machinists in five occupations in Machine Shop in Western Visayas.
2. The students without on-the-job training perceived as "adequate" their training on knowledge and skills required of machinists in five occupations in machine shop in Western Visayas.
3. The students perceived their machines, equipment and tools in their shops to be "always in good running and/or working condition" during their shop instruction.
4. The students perceived the machines, equipment and tools in their shops to be "almost always accessible" to them during their shop instruction.

* An abstract of a dissertation done at Central Philippine University for the degree of Doctor of Education, 1987.

It is recommended that on-the-job training should be offered as part of the curricular requirements for the two-year trade technical courses offered in Western Visayas. Specific guidelines for the implementation of the on-the-job training programs should be developed and released to the field by the Department of Education, Culture and Sports Region VI. On-the-Job training should be incorporated in the staff development program for Machine Shop instructors. Instructors should be sent regularly to local machine shops and to Metro Manila for on-the-job training during summer sessions. This training will keep them abreast of the rapid technological changes in industry thereby making the knowledge and skills they teach to their students relevant to the needs of industry.

In the light of the findings of this study, the following recommendations are offered.

It is recommended that the five Colleges involved in this study, which train the machinists required by industry in their service areas in Western Visayas, should be provided with new milling machines and other equipment like crankshaft grinding machines in order that these colleges may give more effective and efficient instruction in Machine Shop Technology. Funds for this purpose should be included in the yearly appropriation of the College for equipment outlay. It is further recommended that specific funds for the purchase of instructional supplies and materials for the course should be provided in the budgetary allocation of the College to insure that instructional supplies can be purchased when needed.

READING MATERIALS PREPARED FOR REGION VI ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PUPILS

From summer, 1982 to school year 1986-87, four groups of reading grantees were supported by Region VI MECS in connection with the Regional project in materials development headed by Dr. Antonio V. Tanchuan and Miss Xenia Dedel, then Regional Director and Regional English Supervisor, respectively.

The MECS Region VI grantees who worked for their Master of Arts in Education with specialization in reading (English), at CPU were required to do a special project of writing and validating reading materials for the various elementary grades, in response to the great need in Region VI for reading materials. Each of these reading materials included a test aimed to measure vocabulary and comprehension skills.

Each project report included the reading materials and tests prepared by each grantee and a teacher's manual to guide teachers in the field on how to use the reading materials.

As the grantees were helped to develop the reading materials, the CPU School of Graduate Studies soon became fully aware that two types of "expertise" were demanded

from the reading grantees: capacity for omnibus writing and ability to construct excellent tests. These two need not be facets of the same "coin". For one can construct a good test from bad material (and, in the process, show how bad the material is!), and one can construct a bad test on well-written materials. Those who advised the reading grantees tried to help them improve their stories/essays and the accompanying test exercises for the grantees understandably could not be trained to be both excellent writers and test makers after just a year or two of graduate work.

It is clear that the need to adapt does not guarantee accuracy of the adapted material nor preservation of the spirit of the original. The implication of this observation is that there should be some kind of departmentalization of adapters, putting in, say, the natural science group those who have shown promise in the adaptation of science materials. Of course, this means that somewhere in the decision-making there should be a comparative study of original and adapted materials, in order to determine who do(es) the adapting best.

The reading materials and tests developed by the following grantees and others who have yet to put their special projects in a form acceptable to MECS may require additional emendations before these can be adopted for use in Region VI

1. Alexis A. Alisan
2. Zita D. Alon
3. Rhodora L. Aujero
4. Fe V. Baliguas
5. Rebecca S. Barrido
6. Ma. Fe O. Belonio
7. Lucita D. Bilbao
8. Josephine A. Cañonero
9. Lumensita B. Cartagena
10. Paz B. Cuevas
11. Alicia B. Dator
12. Rosario D. Delfinado
13. Marylou T. Demegillo
14. Lourdes F. Denate
15. Emiliana P. Estrellan
16. Eveleth C. Gamboa
17. Gloria G. Ganancial
18. Elnorita H. Gonova
19. Adelaida J. Gonzaga
20. Mercedita T. Guisinga
21. Perla C. Habana
22. Elnora G. Lavalle
23. Ivy L. Malunda
24. Obdulia N. Mendoza
25. Editha E. Negosa
26. Nancy R. Oranio
27. Regina O. Osano
28. Corazon S. Pacifico
29. Maura F. Pait
30. Jazmin C. Pama
31. Felix M. Pelingon
32. Ophelia P. Seyno
33. Betty V. Sedonio
34. Mae S. Sombiro
35. Celia P. Sumagaysay
36. Monica V. Vargas

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT AND
SOCIOPSYCHOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENT OF SECONDARY
SCHOOLS LOCATED IN COMMUNITIES BELONGING TO
FIVE SOCIAL WELFARE LEVELS¹

Miriam Magno Traviña

The purpose of this study was to get at the perceptions of fourth year high school students of the sociopsychological environment of their respective schools, and to find out the relationship between students' achievement and their perceptions of the sociopsychological environment of secondary public schools in Iloilo province which are located in communities belonging to five social welfare levels. The study attempted to answer the following questions:

1. What are the sociopsychological environments of high schools as perceived by their students?
2. Do the school environments of National High Schools significantly differ from those of Barangay High Schools?
3. Is the sociopsychological environment of schools associated with academic achievement?

4. Is there relationship between social welfare levels and the perception scores of students in regard to each dimension of school environment?

5. Is there a significant difference between the perception of boys and the perception of girls in regard to each dimension of school environment?

The respondents were 733 fourth year high school students for the school year 1985-1986 from five National High Schools (NHS) and five Barangay High Schools (BHS) in the province of Iloilo. Of the 733 respondents, 489 were students of NHS and 244 of BHS. Each of the five municipalities represented one of the five social welfare levels.

The mean scores obtained by fourth year high school students in three subjects (English IV, Mathematics IV, Science IV) in the 1985 division-wide achievement

* Abstract of a dissertation done at Central Philippine University for the degree of Doctor of Education, 1987.

Test administered by the Office of the Schools Division Superintendent, Division of Iloilo, were used as indicators of academic achievement.

The High School Environment Questionnaire was used to assess the sociopsychological environment of Iloilo public high schools. Six dimensions (achievement orientation, orderliness, dynamism, supportiveness, personal dignity and control) were included in the questionnaire.

Analysis of the data was done by computer. The point biserial coefficient of correlation (r_{pbi}) was computed for each item. The items in each dimension which obtained the first fifteen highest r_{pbi} were the items included in the final version and were subject to further statistical analysis. The rest of the items were discarded.

Based on statistical results, schools were categorized as either very low, low, high or very high in the different dimensions. The significance of the difference between the means of the independent samples from both NHS and BHS was used to determine whether the school environments of NHS significantly differed from those of BHS. The critical ratio (CR) was used to test the significance of the difference between the means. The CR was also used to test the significance of the difference between the means of the perception scores of boys and the perception scores of

girls in regard to each dimension of school environment.

The association of academic achievement with each dimension of school environment and the relationship between social welfare levels and the perception scores of student in regard to each dimension were both determined using the Kruskal-Goodman ordinal association Gamma (G). The significance of the Gamma was determined by the z-value.

The following conclusions were made based on the findings of this research study:

1. The sociopsychological environment of public high schools was perceived to be very high in dynamism, between high and very high in orderliness and supportiveness, and between low and high in achievement orientation, personal dignity and control.

2. National High Schools were perceived to be more achievement oriented, orderly, dynamic and supportive than Barangay High Schools. On the other hand, BHS were perceived to have a more personally dignified environment than the NHS. Both NHS and BHS were perceived as not control oriented. In general NHS were perceived to have better school environment than the BHS did.

3. Academic achievement was positively associated with achieve-

ment orientation, orderliness, dynamism, supportiveness and personal dignity. On the other hand, academic achievement had no significant association with control. In general academic achievement was associated with the sociopsychological environment of NHS and BHS.

4. Social welfare levels were positively related with academic orientation, orderliness, dynamism, supportiveness and personal dignity.

5. The girls perceived their school environment to be more achievement oriented, orderly, dynamic, supportive and personally dignified than the boys did.

The following recommendations are suggested by the study:

1. The High School Environment Questionnaire developed in this study be used to make comparative study of the sociopsychological environment of different types of high schools (private, public, vocational, sectarian, etc.) on a regional level in order to assess students' perceptions of school environment on a more comprehensive level.

2. The individual participating schools review the results of the High School Environment Questionnaire which will be furnished them. The findings of this study may be used by any of these schools as a basis for self study and for planning more effective and rational school management decision-making.

3. High schools in the province of Iloilo may make use of the High School Environment Questionnaire developed in this study to assess the sociopsychological environment of their respective schools. Principals discuss with their teachers the weak points in their school organization as revealed in the study and together work out solutions to problems that may be identified.

4. Since the sample used in this study was limited to fourth year high school students only, a study on school environment be conducted which would include principals and teachers in order to make the study more comprehensive.

Recommendations for further research:

1. It is recommended that researchers who may be interested in using all the twenty items in each scale of the questionnaire should revise the items with r_{pbi} of less than .20 with the suggestion that the revised items be tested for validity.

2. Other researchers explore unidentified dimensions of sociopsychological environment of schools.

Implications of the study:

1. The High School Environment Questionnaire developed in this study may be used by high school administrators to gather data about their respective institutions for purposes of making decisions or plans,

policies and practices; for no responsible school administrator would want to implement changes or make policy decisions without institutional analysis. The assessment scales, it is hoped, may be the nuclei of an instrument to measure "total" environment of learning, the desire for achievement, the orderliness of its operations, the dynamism of the school community (administrators, faculty, students), the supportiveness of its constituents, and the respect for everybody's right to self-assertion.

2. The results of the study may directly benefit those who are concerned with teaching and learning — the teachers who actually teach young students, the administrators, and students as well. The results may help the principals and teachers initiate methods of teaching and/or programs which can better meet the needs of students. When learning needs of students are met, then better attitudes toward school work and school in general may be fostered. The result, it is

hoped, would be higher academic performance.

3. Since the study presents statistical proof that sociopsychological environment of secondary schools is positively associated with academic achievement, results of this study could alert a principal who may not be aware of the importance of interactive behavior to efficient and effective school functioning. The principal will be made aware that he contributes to whatever failures or successes his school may have, for the administration has the responsibility of providing an environmental climate conducive to learning.

4. It is hoped that this study will promote greater interest in the study of sociopsychological environment of high schools in the Philippines, much more so now that schools are viewed not merely as clusters of buildings with so much number of classrooms and fixtures found in them, but also as social organizations.

INFLUENCE OF NITROGEN AND ZINC FERTILIZATION ON THE
AGRONOMIC PERFORMANCE AND ON THE CRUDE
PROTEIN AND ZINC CONCENTRATION OF
IPB VAR 1 CORN VARIETY*

Worawat Suriyo

The effects of zinc and nitrogen fertilization on the agronomic characteristics of corn; the relationship between nitrogen and zinc fertilization, and the uptake of nitrogen and zinc by the plant as indicated by the concentrations of protein and zinc in leaves and grain, and the effects of nitrogen and zinc fertilization on zinc concentrations in leaves and grain at different growth stages were studied at the experimental field and the chemical laboratory of the College of Agriculture, Central Philippine University, Iloilo City, Philippines, from December 12, 1981 to April 12, 1982.

The results of the study revealed that except on the number of days from planting to seedling emergence, number of days from seedling emergence to tasseling and silking, plant height and zinc concentrations in flag leaf and grain, the levels of applied nitrogen significantly affected the agronomic characteristics of corn, such as the number of days from seedling emer-

gence to maturity, length and weight of cobs, shelling percentage, stover and root weight, grain yield, and protein concentration of ear leaf at silking and maturity and of the grains. However, varying levels of applied zinc did not show any significant effect on the above-mentioned agronomic characteristics except on shelling percentage.

Statistical analyses further showed that except on length of cobs and shelling percentage, the levels of nitrogen and zinc had no interaction effects on the other agronomic characteristics of IPB 1 corn variety.

The results of the cost and return analysis further revealed that regardless of applied zinc levels, the net returns obtained and the corresponding return on investment increased continuously with increasing levels of applied nitrogen. At increasing levels of applied zinc, the net returns and return on investment decreased continuously because zinc levels did not have any significant effect on yield.

* Abstract of a Master's thesis done at Central Philippine University.

FIELD SCREENING OF FUNGICIDES ON THE CONTROL OF PHILIPPINE CORN DOWNY MILDEW DURING WET SEASON UNDER NOAC CONDITIONS

Julio A. Palomar

Seven fungicides applied singly or in combination were tested for their efficacy against downy mildew on susceptible and resistant corn varieties. Apron 35 SD when applied to IPB Var 1, the resistant variety provided excellent protection from the disease with zero infection from fourteen to forty-two days after emergence. However, when Apron 35 SD was applied to UPCA Var 3, the susceptible variety 4.32 to 2.47 per cent infection were observed from fourteen to forty-two days after emergence. The untreated IPB Var 1 sustained 35.80 per cent infection while the untreated UPCA Var 3 had the significantly highest infection of 96.30 per cent.

Downy mildew had considerably reduced grain yield of IPB Var 1 and UPCA Var 3. The untreated UPCA Var 3 produced the significantly lowest grain yield of 0.68 ton per hectare whereas the untreated IPB Var 1 yielded 2.92 ton/ha. The application of Apron 35 SD on both varieties resulted in the significantly highest percentage of productive plants, shelling per-

centage, number of large ears, and in the significantly lowest percentage of non-productive plants. On IPB Var 1 all other fungicide treatments except Apron 35 SD resulted in percentage of infection comparable with that of the untreated control. However, the application of Daconil 75 WP on IPB Var 1 resulted in grain yield of 4.45 ton/ha which is comparable with that of the Apron 35 SD treatment. Daconil-treated plants had higher percentage of productive plants and lower percentage of non-productive plants. Although the application of Duter and the Duter/Dithane M-45 on IPB Var 1 resulted in lower percentage of infection, the yield was lower compared with that observed from the Apron 35 SD treatment. The heavy phytotoxic effect of Duter reduced the percentage of productive plants and increased the percentage of non-productive plants.

IPB Var 1 showed higher percentage of productive plants, ear number classified as medium and grain yield than UPCA Var 3. The two varieties, however, did not differ in height, percentage of non-

productive plants, ear number classified as small and large, and shelling percentage.

Regression analyses showed that the increase in grain yield due to increase in infection was significantly higher for IPB Var 1 than for UPCA Var 3. For every one per cent increase in downy mildew infection yield decrease by -0.067 ton/ha for IPB Var 1 and -0.039 ton/ha for UPCA Var 3. For every decrease of IPB Var 1 ranges from -0.041 to -0.093 ton/ha and -0.047 to -0.039 ton/ha for UPCA Var 3. There was a highly negative correlation between grain yield and infection of -0.97 for IPB Var 1 and -0.98 for UPCA Var 3. The strength of association between grain yield and percentage of infection is 94.09

per cent for IPB Var 1 and 96.04 per cent for UPCA Var 3.

The prevailing temperature, relative humidity and rainfall in the area favored disease development.

Economic analysis showed that the application of Apron 35 SD resulted in grain of 4.45 ton/ha for IPB Var 1 which is equivalent to a net income of ₱2,425.09/ha. The same fungicide treatment on UPCA Var 3 resulted in a net income of ₱1,333.89/ha. A net income of ₱784.67/ha was realized from the Daconil treatment on IPB Var 1, but a loss of ₱2,228.08/ha resulted when Daconil was applied to UPCA Var 3. All other fungicide treatments and the untreated control proved unprofitable resulting in losses ranging from ₱127.05/ha to ₱3,884.93/ha.

A STUDY ON WEIGHT GAINS OF PREMATURE INFANTS USING TWO METHODS OF FEEDING*

Virginia P. Gallo

Premature babies can be fed by any of the following methods, breast, medicine dropper, bottle or gavage. This particular study dealt on the last two methods of feeding, on the hypothesis that premature infants fed by gavage method gain weight faster than babies fed by bottle.

Sixty premature infants delivered at Iloilo Mission and Governor Benito Lopez Memorial Hospitals from 1983 to 1986 were studied. Thirty premature infants were on bottle feeding and thirty premies were on gavage feeding.

The sixty premature bases were selected on the following criteria:

- (a) Birth weight of 1,500 grams to 2,500 grams.
- (b) Fed with the same brand of milk.
- (c) Stayed in the hospital for not less than five weeks.
- (d) Accommodated in the isolette for the entire study period of five weeks.
- (e) Placed on either bottle or gavage feeding from birth to the end of five weeks.

From birth to the end of five weeks daily weights of every premie under study were taken and recorded. The sources of the data were the patient's record charts in the two hospitals.

The data gathered revealed that premature babies who were fed by bottle were at the start heavier than those who were fed by gavage. They continued to be heavier than the gavage-fed group for the first three weeks of life, although both groups lost weights beginning the first week of life after birth. Regaining of weight loss started in the third week and the gavage-fed babies began to catch up in weight gain beginning the fourth week.

At the end of five weeks, the data showed that the critical ratio was significant at five per cent level of significance, with the gavage-fed babies weighing more than the bottle-fed premies.

This study concluded that premature infants fed by nasogastric feeding gained weight faster than babies fed by bottle.

*An abstract of a Master's thesis done at Central Philippine University for the degree of Master of Arts in Nursing, 1987.

READING THE TEXT OF THE FEBRUARY "REVOLUTION" IN THE PHILIPPINES

Eric A. San Juan

Manila's February Revolution, if it can be called a revolution, lends itself to semiotic analysis because it wrested state power from an aging despot and installed a popular president with a moral commitment to democracy in a confrontation carried out at the level of signs, while teetering on the brink of war. In this paper, I describe pertinent events of the "People Power" Revolution, identify cultural objects or practices that were transformed into political signs, and discuss how politics was manipulated without physical violence, through signs.

By February, 1986, the Philippines had been ruled by the dictatorship of President Ferdinand E. Marcos for more than a decade. In yet another fraudulent election, Marcos was stealing the presidency from Corazon Cojuangco Aquino, the righteous widow of the recently martyred opposition leader Benigno S. Aquino, Jr. The whole world was witnessing, through the electronic media, Filipinos risk themselves against Marcos' thugs to protect the sanctity of the ballot boxes. Popular outcry threatened the Marcos regime, and on 22 February 1986 Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile and Vice Chief of Staff Fidel V.

Ramos defected. Archbishop Jaime L. Cardinal Sin called on the people of Manila to protect the defectors, and thousands crowded onto Epifanio de los Santos Avenue (E.D.S.A.) near military headquarters, placing themselves in front of advancing and finally immobilized Marcos loyalist troops. Having lost control of the army as well as of his image of legitimacy, Marcos fled the country on 25 February, and Aquino, having taken the oath of office earlier that day before a defecting Supreme Court justice, assumed the duties of President.

Exchange between four sources of power, the state or government bureaucracy, the army, the Church, and the people, took place in an historically charged situation where the background theme was the long-standing Filipino struggle against the former colonial power, the U.S.A., and its continuing world-historical dominance. For the purposes of this paper, however, the events of the four days in February will provide the focus. Nor should those events be underestimated. What happened spontaneously and semiotically at E.D.S.A. was in many ways more potent than the organized nationalist movement,

whose most radical sectors were marginalized because of their decision to boycott the elections, which they were sure would be a sham. The unplanned events of a few days had greater significance to Philippine politics than years of strategizing. I hope semiotics can provide some insights as to why this was so. I do not pretend to objectively present Philippine politics; rather, I herein describe things significant to my own political project. How did the Snap Revolt so efficiently depose Marcos while limiting the revolutionary potential of people power?

Traditional signs of authority, such as the vote, the soldier, and the rosary, invested the crowd with the righteousness of the established order, and thus prevented the Snap Revolt from developing into a social revolution of deep structural upheaval. In one sign essential to this simultaneous fomenting and taming of people power, the opposites of revolt and military authority were united: by its defection the Enrile-Ramos faction became a metaphor for revolt, while at the same time it signified military authority by metonymic relations with the army camps. This contradiction made the February Revolution a festival for those whose world is construed by the traditional symbolic order, that is, the liberal democratic middle

and upper classes. Meanwhile, at the President's Malacanang Palace, members of the urban poor, the proletarian underdog championed by the Philippine revolutionary movement, defended the pathetic fascist. Ironically, the manipulation of signifieds behind the Enrile-Ramos sign was transparent to the urban poor. Revolutionary expectations were turned upside down as each class read its own meanings from heterogeneous possibilities, and traditional authority reigned in a revolution named for people power.

Whereas the slogan "people power" comes from Ninoy Aquino's *Lakas ng Bayan* (Power of the People) parliamentary party, activists prefer "people's power" to indicate revolutionary power in the people's own interest.¹ "People power" disarms "people's power" by reducing the noun people, the source of the power, to an adjectival modifier.² A sociologist writes that the Revolution united people to rectify an unfair election rather than divided socioeconomic classes.² He says that the Revolution did not come about because traditional elites mobilized their client.⁴ Another writer suggests that the E.D.S.A. revolutionists were moved by traditional symbols of authority

¹Bennagen 1986.

²Garcellano 1986, 19.

³Carroll 1986, pt. 2, 7-8.

⁴Ibid., pt. 1, 10.

based on a feudal and colonial history.⁵ At the February Revolt, then, people power was unleashed in defense of fair elections, synecdoche for liberal democracy, not by conflict of socioeconomic forces (people's power) but by transcendent cultural signs.

Urban poor people loyal to Marcos reasoned that they would rather listen to a Filipino than to American and foreign muckraking reporters-of-fortune, diehard sight-seers in Asia's reputed showcase of democracy.⁶ With an instinct for survival and for personal integrity, they said it was ridiculous to become human shields for the military at E.D.S.A.⁷ Ironically, the Revolt was for those who obeyed the symbolic order governing middle and upper class life, like Tingting Cojuangco and other Manila jet-setters who brought "chic to the barricades."⁸

By blocking the ten-lane avenue to traffic and to the Marcos forces with their bodies and with buses parked in the intersection,⁹ Filipinos reclaimed public space. By filling space (with their bodily

presence) they took control of the rights of movement and assembly long denied (absence) by dictatorship.¹⁰ The blockade forced civilians to notice the anomalous, bristling, and parasitic presence of the twin army camps on a well-travelled civilian highway — and then made citizens feel it was their choice that the military installation be there. For Cardinal Sin and the reformers exploited the "endearingly Filipino"¹¹ hospitality code by asking the people to bring food to the besieged soldiers. The E.D.S.A. revolutionists could not refuse: a cultural obligation was transformed into a sign of political alliance.

While Minister Enrile and Lieutenant General Ramos acted as if by defecting from Marcos they were placing themselves in the hands of the Filipino citizenry, the mass of civilians who surrounded Camps Aguinaldo and Crame in a protective human barricade, Enrile immediately notified the U.S. Embassy of his plans.¹² The former colonial power was the authority Enrile and Ramos consulted behind the curtain before they, rebels, as they were

⁵Beltran 1986, 41.

⁶Gamalinda & Parcel 1986, 12. Characterization of the reporters my own.

⁷Enrile transferred to Camp Crame across the street from his own headquarters not only because it was strategically easier to defend Crame but because he wanted to go to the side of Ramos, an officer of upstanding reputation, and to walk through the crowd like Moses through the sea. For photograph of Enrile's transfer protected by the crowd see Mercado (1986, 154).

⁸Caption of photo in Mercado (1986, 190).

⁹See Penaranda (1986, 14).

¹⁰Ruiz 1986.

¹¹Constantino 1986, 127.

¹²*Ibid.*, 134.

called by the U.S. media, stepped out to face the crowd which was cheering for people power.

Following Barthes (1957), Enrile, Ramos, and company can be seen as a first-level signifier, their defection, the first-level signified. Thus they are the sign of revolt which, when supported and articulated by Cardinal Sin and Cory Aquino, iconic signifiers for patriarchal authority, Church, liberal democracy, and Mother Mary, signifies the myth of revolution and people power: the transcendent voice of the nation. That's what the crowd was cheering for.

Rather than revolting against state power, the two military men were reestablishing their official legitimacy as the Marcos regime faltered. Enrile, Ramos, and the troops calling themselves reformist pinned small Philippine flags upside down to their uniforms' shoulders, with the red side up as flown when the country is at war. That is, the Enrile faction claimed to be the legitimate army of the state, baptised New Armed Forces of the Philippines by the crowd which welcomed frightened soldiers with the illocutionary speech act: "Mabuhay ang mga bagong sundalo

ng Pilipinas" (Long live the new soldiers of the Philippines).¹⁴ These signs of people power, invested with U.S. imperialist power, state, and army power, rendered Marcos, elected to the Presidency twenty-one years earlier and only recently reconfirmed by election, the impostor in power.

Marcos' elaborate electoral charade was not enough to signify his Presidency's legitimacy because the vote is not as emotive a signifier in Philippine civic culture as the soldier.¹⁵ Alternatively, the snap elections lacked legitimacy because Marcos' most important backer, the U.S. government, in particular the State Department, discredited them. Note the collapse of the diachronic dimension, history, into the present system¹⁶ as the U.S. government, originator of Philippine presidential elections and of the Philippine Constabulary earlier in this century, again manipulates Philippine politics, this time with modern delicacy, mediated by signs.

During the Snap Revolt, Marcos used the government-controlled media to project his claims to stability and strength. Marcos appeared on T.V. with his generals and acted out an obviously rehearsed dialogue in which he

¹³ See photos in Mercado (1986, 112-13 & 147).

¹⁴ Gamalinda & Parel 1986, 7.

¹⁵ Opposing sides in political festivals struggle within a common code, here good citizenship (Jameson 1981, 84). In the Manila Times 25 February (p. 9) the National Citizens' Movement for Free Elections ran a full page advertisement pointing out the fraud in the election in legalistic prose, trying to beat the official Commission on Elections at its own game.

¹⁶ History without events, only repeated signs. Cf. Mehlman (1977, 13).

resisted Chief of Staff Fabian C. Ver's suggestion to disperse the crowd with heavy artillery. The clumsiness of their conversation showed that it was a threat — a message intended for the referent, for the crowd at E.D.S.A., not for the addressees

Most media continued reporting business as usual. Even the oppositionist *Malaya* carried an advertisement for a raffle of kitchen appliances on the front page 26 February above the headline "Marcos Flees." Like commercial products, information is commodified and subject to control.

Only Radio Veritas, whose institutional power base, the Catholic Church, allowed it to report its own version of truth, broadcast reports of the rebellion to the rest of the country. Still, the radio station had to transmit its signals from a secret location to avoid Marcos' troops who sought to smash their equipment.¹⁷ As with God, the voice of Veritas was heard everywhere (omnipresence) but the source itself seen nowhere (absence).

The radio announcer fulfilled the role originally played by the Hispanic town crier in an oral-oriented culture, linking organizers with organized, disorganized, and unorganized.¹⁸ Noting that the confused crowd at E.D.S.A. needed direction, the always shrewd Enrile

told the Catholic broadcasting director, "Radio is what we need! The people in the streets — they don't know what to do! All their direction comes from radio!"¹⁹ The revolutionists deliberately used culturally defined or full signs, here the town crier, for political ends.

After Radio Veritas mistakenly announced that Marcos had fled the country, the President and his family appeared on government owned Channel 4 T.V. to prove they were still there 24 February — only to be vaporized into the airwaves as rebel troops took over the station. The next day, Marcos' inauguration ceremony was wiped off Channel 9 as that too was taken.²⁰ When the major television stations aired stories from E.D.S.A., people held television sets in front of the soldiers to show them the size of the crowd and the extent of the revolution. That is, some participants could not see what was happening beyond the gates of the army camp. What mattered was the media package.

News during the Revolution was made by the media itself, no longer directly reporting on events, which were often obscure or secret. On 25 February the *Manila Times* stated that Channel 4 T.V. had reported that the parliament had nullified Marcos' election, and the next day that U.S. Air Force television and

¹⁷Reuter 1986, 23.

¹⁸Beltran 1986, 42.

¹⁹Reuter 1986, 23. Italics original.

²⁰Constantino 1986, 127-28.

Voice of America radio had reported that Marcos had fled. At Cory Aquino's inauguration, the P.A. system was so weak that the audience in the Sampaguita Room itself listened to A.M. radios to hear the oath-taking.²¹ Although the event was taking place before their eyes, people had to hear it from the press to know it was true.

In relying on television to reproduce his image on every screen in the country, Marcos subjected himself to the control of technology, to the speech of the camera and film maker. No longer the speaking subject, the President no longer decreed the presence or absence of the President. The viewers, themselves cinematic creations or spoken subjects, saw only the screen — fight for control of the station took place out of the scope of the camera.

The media during the Revolution united the opposites of traditional culture, the collective ritualistic effervescence of the festival at E.D.S.A., and electronic technology, an objectifying medium. These two signifiers characterize Philippine life, and more generally signify the neocolonial mode of production with its manifold contradictions (Debord, 1967). How appropriate that Marcos, a petty despot who prostituted his country to the imperial interests of the likes of the World Bank and its transnational allies, should fall prey to the

modern "free" press, another Third World dictator well spent.

Throughout its existence Marcos' dictatorship had depended on control of the media: "Martial Law was declared against mass media."²² Marcos himself appeared in and faded out of absolute power as he appeared on and faded off the television screen. In submitting to the power of the electronic image, Marcos created a distinct opposition between the official and the authentic.

Consider two historic events which were not reported by the media: the 1978 noise barrage in support of the Ninoy Aquino parliamentary candidacy and the 1983 murder and funeral of Ninoy Aquino.²³ The reported event is official imagery, false, while the non-reported is authentic, with mass participation. Compare the non-appearance (absence) of Cardinal Sin from E.D.S.A. during the Revolt of which he was a principal (moral principle, prince of the Church) initiator. The unadvertised 1978 appearance on T.V. of Ninoy Aquino from his jail cell, defending himself against what virtually all established Filipino statesmen recognized as trumped up murder charges, mediates between the reported falsehoods and the authentic non-reported.

Absence again indicated presence during most of the Snap Revolt

²¹Mercado 1986, 235.

²²Reuter 1986, 21.

²³Ibid.

while the inspiring force, Cory Aquino, was in hiding in a nunnery. Cory Aquino, until the 1983 assassination a mere metonymic extension of her husband Ninoy, was transformed into a grieving widow, a metaphor for the suffering woman who personifies the nation *Pilipinas* in the patriotic tradition, and a living metaphor for Saint Mary. Support for Cory at E.I. S.A. was made more poignant by her absence, as the woman herself sought refuge after retrieving her youngest daughter from a downtown shopping excursion, in the Carmelite Convent outside of the city of Cebu, while the rest of her campaign party found equally appropriate sanctuary in the American consulate in the southern province.²⁴

The crowd at E.D.S.A. brought together the themes of patriotism, democracy, and the ever-present U.S.A. through the songs they shared: "Ang Bayan Ko" (My Country), a revolutionary song from the turn of the century and an unofficial national(ist) anthem, and "Mambo Magsaysay," a campaign jingle for C.I.A.-backed 1953 anti-insurgency presidential candidate Ramon Magsaysay. At the height of a tear gas attack on the crowd, Radio Veritas played the National Anthem.²⁵ Finally, at Cory Aquino's inauguration, a brass band played "Tie a Yellow Ribbon 'Round the Old Oak Tree," an

American song for a Filipino homecoming. Common cultural background united the revolutionists in singing songs whose significance transcended their own lyrics to encompass the heterogeneous tendencies of the mythic People Power Revolution.

The events leading to the triumph of people power in Manila during four days in February, from the 22d to the 25th, were carried out symbolically, stopping short of military violence. People stopped tanks by holding their rosaries in front of them, and oncoming soldiers were halted as statues of saints were placed in their way.²⁶ Stereotypically superstitious Filipinos say that the crucifix formed by the crowd at an intersection on E.D.S.A., named for a nineteenth century patriot who in turn was named "Epiphany of the Saints," warded the attacking Air Force away. Constant recitation of "Hail Mary" calmed the frightened mass, invoking the ritual practice most present had been taught to worship since childhood. Impassioned faith in the Church and its amulets, full icons and symbols, overpowered steely-armed might.

Wielding the substantial weight of the Roman Church in a country eighty-five percent Catholic, Cardinal Sin, personal confessor to the Marcos couple and close adviser to the devout Cory Aquino, made the

²⁴Quijano 1986, 84.

²⁵Mercado 1986, 211.

²⁶Photos in *ibid.*, 265 & 182.

best of it. As soon as Enrile informed him of the defection, Cardinal Sin instructed three contemplative orders of nuns to fast and pray with outstretched arms before the Blessed Sacrament: "I said I will tell them why later."²⁷

Soon Our Lady of the Rosary appeared at the helm of the Revolution, as people brought out statues and images of La Naval de Manila, who protected the Spanish Philippines from Dutch invaders in 1646.²⁸ When protesters were repelled from Malacanang Palace by a volley of hurled stones, it was nuns bearing an image of Our Lady of Fatima who led the crowd in, like a religious festival procession.²⁹ People fell in line not behind armed revolutionary ideologues, but behind historically significant religious icons. Here are more. People cut barbed wire from martial law roadblocks and fashioned them into crowns symbolic of Lent.³⁰ White robes of the clergy, especially nuns and seminarians (women and children or rank-and-file in the patriarchal church), became the uniforms of the "NAMFREL (National Citizens' Movement for Free Elections) marines."³¹

A photojournalist has framed a sign in the *Sunday Times Extra* of 23 February in a picture which

resolves the army versus church opposition in what might be called the altar of the jeep: an image of Our Lady of Fatima stands on a jeep's hood, while three candles on the ground in front of the vehicle are lighted.

Secular symbols also figured. Yellow, Cory Aquino's campaign color, signified support of the rebels and invoked the memory of Bengino Aquino, who, instead of being welcomed with yellow ribbons as planned, was shot dead at his homecoming on the airport tarmac. Yellow also took significance from what it was not. It was not red, white and blue of Marcos' K.B.L. (New Society Movement) party, and not red of BAYAN (New Nationalist Alliance). An "L" formed by thumb and forefinger meant LABAN (fight), the name of the late Senator's party.

While the late Aquino was an *Ilustrado* (member of the old Philippine elite) and a statesman by birthright, Marcos and his wife Imelda Romualdez Marcos were of more humble origins. Madame Marcos was the illegitimate child of an *ilustrado* father, trying to transfer the aristocratic identity to herself. The Marcoses legitimated their pretensions to royalty with lavish displays of wealth, which an

²⁷Ibid., 105.

²⁸Ibid., 151.

²⁹Gamalinda & Parel 1986, 14-15. Photo of Our Lady in Malacanang in Mercado (1986, 286-87).

³⁰Photo in Beltran (1986, 46).

³¹Mercado 1986, 88.

angry and curious mob would defile soon after their flight from Malacanang Palace.

Marcos' gravest mistake was to authorize the 1983 assassination of Aquino and thus violate the honor code of not killing one's "brother" in the elite, showing that Marcos in fact was not of the blue blood he claimed.

Like his first cousin the President, General Fabian C. Ver started at a low rank in life. On the other hand, Lieutenant General Ramos, a West Point graduate, was the quintessential professional soldier. The Marcos Cabinet was all show. Only Minister Enrile, the bastard son of a prominent father like Minister of Human Settlements Imelda Marcos, was wily enough to dissociate himself from the regime which he had originally engineered. (Of course, Enrile legitimated himself with a

Harvard degree.)

Despite the individual differences in the above cast of characters, all are members of the Philippine ruling class. They are distinct only in relation to each other. For example, as shown by his recent resignation, Enrile was on Cory's side only in opposition to Marcos. Through the February Revolution, a spectacle in the sense of Debord (1967), the different sectors of the ruling class, liberal democratic and military authoritarian, were made to seem separate (56). The upper class had a festival as legitimacy of state power was passed from one sector of the elite to another. At the same time, the unreal unity of the spectacle naturalized the contradictions of the capitalist world-system, while the crowd at E.D.S.A. obeyed traditional signs of authority which directed them to revolt.

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THE FEMINIST CHALLENGE*

Delia D. Aguilar

1. Feminism in Global Perspective

The United Nations Decade for Women, set up for the purpose of looking into the situation of women worldwide, has come and gone, the majority of women unaware that they were its intended beneficiaries.¹ Ironical as this may be, we would have to acknowledge the fact that, it failed to alter the condition of women's lives, the Decade has nevertheless placed the struggle for gender parity securely on the global agenda. Moreover, the subordination of women is now accepted as the consequence of discriminatory practices engendered by social structures rather than as a natural state of affairs in which female weakness and nurturance complement masculine strength and authority.

Despite this consensus about women's inferior status, the articulation of a program that would express feminist demands as such has been called into question.

Claims to represent all women voiced by First World feminists have been refuted as specious at best and, at worst, racist. To counteract the tendency of white, middle-class women to set forth their own experience as universal — a predisposition exclusive to the superordinate — others more "revolutionary" have dismissed feminism outright as irrelevant to the needy who comprise the world's majority. Thus at the mid-Decade UN Conference at Copenhagen, the word "feminism" was rejected by some participants, ostensibly speaking for women of color, in this manner: "To talk feminism to a woman who has no water, no food, and no home is to talk nonsense."

Fortunately, such debates have been outdated by recent formulations in which the imposition of a false unity on women's movements is no longer considered imperative.

*Presentation given at the Women's Consultative Conference Sponsored by The Womens Resource and Research Center (Maryknoll College), Jan. 29-31, 1988.

Instead, new meaning and respect has been invested in "the problem of difference,"² the very diversity and heterogeneity of the issues, goals, and strategies in women's organizing now viewed as giving feminism its dynamism and vitality.³ What these new frameworks are attempting to do is develop a political analysis which brings together different struggles through specific attention to the critical structuring relations of gender, class, and nation, race or ethnicity.

II. Feminism as the Cutting Edge

It is necessary for us to understand and appreciate how women's struggles, theoretical and practical, are being played out in the global arena not only so that we can begin to see our "common differences" but also so that we can endow our own movement with a distinct texture and character. Here we take our place beside other women of color⁴ who, involved in progressive movements in their countries, are charged with divisiveness whenever they take up feminism as a slogan. Like them we are accused of diverting precious, limited resources in the wayward direction of peripheral (read: women's) concerns. On the other hand, from another corner our demands for food and housing, higher wages, and an end to military terror are perceived with disdain as "not feminist enough" But with the new global vision that postulates feminism (one in which the needs of disadvantaged women of color take precedence) as "the

most potentially powerful challenge to the status quo" because it aims for "the broadest and deepest development of society and human being free of *all* systems of domination,"⁵ we can declare our alliance with pride. If we take this as our ultimate objective, we would first of all need to contextualize women's oppression; that is, we cannot relate our lived experience as though we were disembodied beings. We would need to situate ourselves concretely in time and place; that is to say we would have to recognize gender, class and race or nationality as determining structures that shape individual character, social experience, and human relations. Note that in this theoretical construct, analytical value is given to gender as a variable equal in weight to class and nationality,⁶ a heresy for class-reductionists.

This mode of analysis contextualizing women's degradation diverges sharply from that which predicates the emancipation of women in the context of national liberation. In the latter view, the full commitment to gender equality is made contingent upon or conditional on the success of a wider struggle,⁷ women's political participation being deemed essential to this goal. It is important to stress here that the feminist perspective would not set a priority on women's issues exclusively defined. To do so, particularly in a nation of the periphery, is to deny glaring problems of uneven development in which Third World economies

are pegged to the requirements of a world market dominated by the metropolis. Instead, in organizing to subvert exploitative structures, feminism would serve as an antidote to a mechanical perspective that stubbornly upholds the determinacy of class factors in the face of a situation or reality that might indicate otherwise. What this approach offers, then, is a refreshing acknowledgment of the enormous complexity found in the interlocking of various forms of oppression and the need for non-reductive tools to unravel their specificities.

While the message ought to be dear that the gender struggle cannot be compromised or put off for some vague future when inequality will be the feminist perspective explicated here does not concentrate on issues central to women alone. Far from it. In utilizing instruments of analysis that attempt to disentangle the intricate interweaving of gender, class and nation or ethnicity underpinning differential access to power, feminism has the capacity for broadening and deepening the movement for social reconstruction. For finally we can engage groups marginal to a productivist perspective—women, tribal minorities, and the religious, for example — in ways that reflect genuine respect for their particular interests, as we cast aside the instrumentalism that further downgrades them. Through this form of analysis we can proceed to examine all structures of power and hierarchy, whether

instantiated by class, gender or race wherever these are found. We can, without apology, critique the necessary realm of human relations in which social practices inscribing class, gender and racial prejudices are daily acted out. We can take the initiative in appropriating for our scrutiny and self-criticism subject matter hitherto relinquished to senate committees or to liberal white men eager to explain our subaltern attitudes and habits of mind.⁸

At a forum sponsored by a progressive group a few months ago, women who were pressing for the inclusion of feminism into the agenda for social change were asked point-blank (as if women should have to make excuses for being alive): "How will feminism help the movement?" Unstated, of course, was the predetermined judgment — a mark of ignorance at this late age of historical development and intellectual ferment — that a call for feminism constitutes a diversionary tactic serving to deflect energies from the "real struggle". What has already been sketched above should clarify for anxious if smug, activists that, rather than representing a detour, feminism provides the concepts and practice requisite to ensuring a political reconstruction process that at all times remains clear-sighted and humane. By projecting a vision of an alternate society free from gender, class and national oppression through a program based on a concrete analysis of experience instead of on rigid,

preconceived ideas, it gives centrality to conscious human agency. It widens the terrain of struggle by accepting the complexity of socio-economic challenges in which oppression takes place in a multiplicity of sites, not merely at the point of production. Finally, it seeks the empowerment of people by insisting on a model of development that guarantees democratic participation and an expansion of choices along with the equitable distribution of resources.

III. Women's Studies Programs

Given this feminist challenge, Women's Studies Programs have a tremendous responsibility in providing the academic impetus for a women's movement built on the authentic fusion of theory and practice, not on a priori arguments or schematic ideas.

It is for this reason that the study of feminist intellectual currents should rank uppermost in the prioritizing of tasks. With the comprehension of feminist paradigms, it then becomes possible to undertake a thorough examination of the literature on women produced by conventional social science in order to evaluate its insights and limitations. It is understanding of theory, brought to bear on empirical data, that will unlatch doors leading out

to new directions. Without theoretical knowledge, we can easily fall prey to research methodologies characterized by gross empiricism and replicate the errors of mainstream social scientists. Put another way, the use of feminist frameworks requiring the passionate application of powers of the mind will help point to modes of inquiry and areas of investigation that will aid in our pursuit of a new understanding of our condition as Filipino women.

Two general categories immediately come to mind: 1) the household and family in which the totality of social relations, among other things, is reproduced everyday, and 2) cultural norm a sanctioning authoritarian or hierarchical relations. I deliberately propose these topics because they have hardly been subjected to feminist analysis in the Philippines. I have also phrased the topics in the broadest terms precisely to allow for the positioning of gender in interaction with other structuring relations as outlined earlier.

If Women's Studies Programs can proceed to undertake these basic tasks and conduct joint activities with organizers in a systematic way, the foundation will soon be laid for the feminist challenge.

NOTES

¹Debbie Taylor, ed. *Women: A World Report*, Great Britain: Oxford University Press, 1985.

²For an explication of this concept, see Michele Barrett, "The Concept of 'Difference'." *Feminist Review*, 26 (Summer 1987), pp. 28-41. For a discussion of some of its ramifications for women of color, see Trinh T. Minh-ha, "Difference: 'A Special Third World Women Issue.'" *Feminist Review*, no. 25 (Spring 1987), pp. 5-22.

³See, for example, Gita Sen and Caren Grown, *Development, Crises and Alternate Visions: Third World Women's Perspectives*, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1986; Charlotte Bunch, *Passionate Politics: Feminist Theory in Action*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987.

⁴I deliberately use "women of color" in place of "Third World women" in order to lay emphasis on that distinguishing feature that,

thanks to our colonial heritage and post-colonial status, we Filipinos, alas, are often blind to. The traditional Marxist framework that occludes feminist demands also makes the question of race inconsequential insofar as it can not be directly linked to production. Thus our blissful ignorance of our objectified position as victims of racism.

⁵Sen and Grown, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

⁶Asserting that sexism and racism cannot be seen in purely economic terms, Arthur Brittan and Mary Maynard break away from determinist categories by devising a framework in which they focus on specific mechanisms of oppression to shed light on the interrelationship of these hierarchical forms. Brittan and Maynard, *Sexism, Racism and Oppression*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984.

⁷For a documentation of the functionalist commitment to women's emancipation as inherent in the orthodox corpus referred to as "Marxism-Leninism", see Maxine Molyneux, "Family Reform in Socialist States: The Hidden Agenda," *Feminist Review* 21 (Winter 1985), pp. 47-64.

⁸Without a doubt susceptible to the charge of racism, James Fallows' imperious ascription of Philippine culture as "damaged" nonetheless contains observations that seem to have eluded the grasp of dogmatic Marxists.

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