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THE FILIPINO WOMAN: Wife, Mother, Worker and Citizen

By Dr. GELIA T. CASTILLO

Images of the Filipino woman start from accounts or writings that the pre-Spanish Filipina occupied a high position in society relative to the male, although she was taught to regard her family and her home as principal considerations in life. Despite the Spaniards' efforts to make her submissive, there were attempts at self-assertion in an activist fashion. Hence the concept of Maria Clara as the ideal Filipino woman even during those times is at present being challenged.

The image of the contemporary Filipina focuses on her increasing visibility as a participant in the labor force, even invading traditional masculine occupations. However, the glorification has really centered on women who have excelled in their respective professions. Despite claims of gains made by women in the world of work, there are some complaints of discrimination. Popular writings on the contemporary Filipino woman have contributed to further images of the Filipina.

What emerges is a woman of contradictory assets and facets — a woman who represents at least a double-vision. She is said to be exalted by history and tradition to a pedestal and yet she is low in the pecking order. There are arguments as to whether she still fashions herself as a Maria Clara — "coy, retiring, and subservient" who needs to hide her intellect in order to be loved by man. On the other hand, she is supposed to have power and influence unofficially and in private.

The most rhapsodized of the Filipino woman's image is her femininity which is said to be a product of the unique blending of her Asian, Spanish and American heritage. Although there are some misgivings on the absolute virtue of femininity, there seems to be a persistent desire even among advocates of women's rights to preserve it as the Filipina's trademark. The pursuit of beauty also appears to be a national pre-occupation. While there are those who think that the modern Filipina has become "enlightened, well-versed, well-read" and sexually free, there are others who see the Filipina as still "coy, patient and understanding" with the home as her domain despite her pretensions to modernity.

At the moment the Filipino woman is a confusing picture created by scattered statistics, bit of history, and a dose of female chauvinism basking in the glory of being known as one of the most "emancipated" among many of her counterparts around the world. There is a great deal of romanticism about her, doubtless generated by the mood, happenings, perceptions and rhetoric sur-

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rounding the elite among Filipino women. Nevertheless, the images projected are conflicting in so many ways that someone was prompted to ask: "Will the real Filipina please stand up! "

To move away from romantic imagery and to appreciate her actual status and role in life as woman, we must keep in mind the socio-economic situation of the country; the family and household environment she lives in, and the level of amenities she is heir to. Since majority of Filipino families are poor and living a predominantly subsistent existence, we can deduce that majority of Filipino women are poor and living a predominantly subsistence existence. Moreover, more than two-thirds of them are really village women preoccupied with day-to-day survival. Most of them are not college-educated, not elites, and not ladies of leisure, either.

THE FILIPINO WOMAN AS A MATRIMONIAL RISK-TAKER

Demographic statistics. The world is supposed to be almost half male and half female. The Philippines is no exception. As of 1975, we have almost 20.8 million Filipino women of all ages, sizes, shapes, and shades of brown gracing our villages, towns, and cities. Population figures of 1970 showed that half of our people are below 15 years old. The average Filipino is 17.7 years old but females are slightly older (18.1) than males (17.3), and urban older than rural. The oldest group is the urban female who is 20 while her rural counterpart is only 17 and a half years old. The youngest group is the rural male whose median age is less than 17 years.

From 1903 to 1960, there has been a preponderance of males over females, but in 1970, the trend was reversed. There is an increasing femalization of our population as evidenced by the fact that from 1939 to 1970 the number of males per 100 females has declined from 161.6 in 1939 to 98.8 in 1970. The age groups 15 to 34 seem to be the most female of all in 1970 – a fact which should have implications for courtship practices. There are more women than men at this stage in life when people are most concerned with marriage either still being contemplated or actually realized. Is marriage the goal of every Filipina? If it is, would this mean greater aggressiveness on the part of women in search of their men who are in shorter supply?

A breakdown of data by province indicates that in 1970, Palawan ranked first in the ratio of male to female inhabitants with 109.7 males for every 100 females. Mindanao provinces such as Davao del Norte with 109.5; Agusan del Sur, 105.9; Bukidnon and Davao Oriental, 105.0 each; Lanao del Sur, 104.5 and South Cotabato, 104.4. On the other hand, 29 out of 67 provinces have more females than males with Manila ranking lowest in the ratio of male to female inhabitants with 93.2 males per 100 females. Next come Capiz with 94.1; Bulacan and Ilocos Sur with 94.4 each; Antique, 94.6; Aklan, 94.9 and Rizal, 95.0. Given these two different situations in ratio of males to females, would there be a difference in courtship and marriage practices?

One explanation for the femalization of the population is the higher

mortality and shorter life span of males. For some reason, there are more males than females who die even among infants. Of total deaths registered from 1970 to 1972, more than 56 percent are male and only 43 percent are females. Related to this is the longer life expectation of females, 60.3 years in 1975 and only 55.6 for males. The difference is 14 years in favor of females. One consequence of this is that there are more widows (6 percent) than widowers (2 percent).

Marital status and age of marriage. The family is considered a basic institution in Philippine society with marriage as an indispensable component of it. Because a woman is always part of a marital union, we need to know what is happening to marriage since it is a major determiner of her social status. Considering that there is as yet no divorce in the Philippines which gives respective spouses the legal right to remarry, marriage at the moment seals the fate of a woman for the rest of her life unless death claims her spouse earlier. Marriage is therefore, the risk of a lifetime. Over a 10-year period (1960 to 1970), the proportion of married persons among the population 10 years old and over has declined for both males (48.9 to 47.0 percent) and females (49.3 to 47.0 percent). Concomitantly, the proportion of "never married" increased by about 2.4 percent. This does not, however, mean that marriage is going out of date because the crude marriage rate increased from 10.4 per thousand population in 1960 to 12.8 in 1972.

A significant trend is the increasing age at marriage. The mean age at marriage for females was 20.9 years in 1903 and 23.4 in 1973. Marriage is still very much "in style" despite the delay in entrance into this state. Although marriage below 24 years has diminished considerably as shown by the increase in the percent single from 1903 to 1973, the proportion who remain in this status from ages 30 to 49 has declined from 42.2 to 33.7 in 1973. In other words, "marital bliss" continues to be a woman's objective and apparently being an old maid remains an unwelcome state. Marrying later does not mean not marrying at all.

For rural-urban and regional comparisons, marriage seems to occur latest for Bicolanas (24.6 years); Manileñas (24.5); and for those in Central Luzon (24.4). The earliest to become brides are women from Cagayan Valley (20.1 years); Northeastern Mindanao (22.3); and Ilocos (22.6). In general, for all regions, males marry two years later than females (25.7 and 23.7 years, respectively); and rural 3 years earlier than urban (22.3 and 25.3 years) women. For males, the mean age for marriage are 27.3 and 24.8 for urban and rural. It is very striking to note that the highest proportion of unmarried females 50-54 years old are in Manila (20.2 percent); urban Eastern Visayas (18.6 percent); and rural Cagayan Valley (18.7 percent). The high incidence of spinsterhood in Manila and urban Eastern Visayas may be explained by the higher proportion of females in the population of the places but the case of rural Cagayan Valley cannot be explained in the same manner, since in this region, females seem to be in shorter supply relative to the males. The most significant observation one can make is the consistent tendency for the rural sector of all regions to have a much

lower proportion of single women than the urban sector. At the national level, 43 percent of urban women and 30 percent of rural women 15 years and older are single. Socio-economic and cultural factors doubtless contribute to the pressures for early marriage in the village. From countryside conversations, one gets the impression that a woman who is still single at age 25 is already labeled *matandang dalaga* or an old maid who is often the object of unkind jokes.

Compared to other Asians, however, Filipino women are marrying later except for the Japanese as shown in the following figures on singulate mean age at marriage in 1960:

Pakistan	—	16.5 years
India	—	16.8 "
Malaysia	—	19.3 "
Sabah	—	19.4 "
Sarawak	—	19.8 "
Taiwan	—	21.0 "
South Korea	—	21.3 "
Thailand	—	21.9 "
Ceylon	—	22.0 "
Hongkong	—	22.3 "
Philippines	—	22.3 "
Japan	—	24.1 "

Characteristics of marital partners. In every wedding there is a question which is always asked: "Who is he or she getting married to?" The expected answer to this is not necessarily the specific name but rather the social identity (occupation, education, income, etc.) of the person concerned. Experience has shown in many ways that in the case of a woman, the credentials of her groom determines her future particularly if she goes through married life as a housewife-housekeeper with no source of livelihood or occupation of her own. If the norm of male superiority still holds, a man is expected to marry someone younger and of lower status or at least someone at his own level. That males marry females younger than themselves is borne out by data presented earlier.

About two-thirds of rural wives and rural husbands marry spouses of the same occupational background. The homogeneity of occupations in rural areas probably contributes to this tendency. What is worth noting is that more wives (21.1 percent) than husbands (16.4 percent) marry upwards in terms of occupational background. In the urban sector, the proportion of wives marrying upward is higher (32.4). Only 27.9 percent of the husbands are able to do so. In general, husbands have a greater tendency to marry downward while wives have the opposite fortune. Urban wives, however, have more opportunities than rural wives to move upward in marriage.

Even in terms of educational attainment, more wives than husbands (30 vs. 23 percent) tend to marry spouses with higher education than themselves. We

can, however, observe that at the lower and upper levels of educational attainment, the proportion of husbands and wives marrying spouses with same level are greater than those at the middle, i.e., wives and husbands with no schooling or only elementary education marry spouses with same education. College-graduates tend to marry college-graduates. On the other hand, high school and college undergraduate males tend to marry spouses with less education than themselves. However, more wives than husbands in these two educational categories find themselves with higher-educated spouses.

Whether in occupational background or in educational attainment, more wives than husbands marry upward. This phenomenon is observable to a greater degree in education than in occupation.

Patterns of marital union. If marriage is the destination of most Filipino women, we would like to know what is happening to patterns of marital unions. The 1973 National Demographic Survey reveals a number of trends:

(1) Although majority of weddings are still solemnized in Church (74 percent) the Justice of the Peace is resorted to by 16 percent although this is slightly more prevalent among urban (17.7 vs. 15.4 percent) than rural couples with Manila, Ilocos and Central Luzon showing higher rates than the national figures. Quite often, in the movie and magazine stories, "immorality" defined as living together without formal and legal ceremony is associated with the "evils" of the city. There is a higher incidence of consensus union of common-law marriages in the rural than in the urban areas (7.2 vs. 6.7 percents), with Eastern Visayas and Ilocos leading in this practice (13.7 and 12.2 percents, respectively). Central Luzon appears to be most "moral" in this regard (2.3 percent).

(2) If we were to go by the traditional norms, a Filipino woman is supposed to be "pure" and virgin until marriage. That premarital union takes place is evident in the 7.4 percent who have lived together before marriage. The urban occurrence is one percent higher than the rural one (8.1 vs. 7.1 percent). If there are couples who live together before marriage, we could expect pre-marital pregnancy as revealed by the 14 percent whose date of first pregnancy came before the date of marriage or within one year after.

(3) Among the marriages which have been contracted, about 14 percent have been terminated mainly due to death of husband (68 percent and 17 percent due to separation or divorce. The latter represents 2.8 percent of total married couples studied. The proportion separated or divorced among urban couples is 3.7 and 2.4 for rural couples. Eastern Visayas and Manila reported the highest percentages of marital unions terminated due to divorce or separation (24.0 and 21.7).

(4) The romantic notion of one-man-one-marriage for the Filipina seems to be very much the trend with 93 percent of wives having been through only

one marital union. About 4.5 percent have been through 2 or 3 marriages. For husbands, the trend is similar although more of them (6.4 percent) have had more than one marriage. Besides the fact of one-marriage for practically all couples, being away from one another during the period of marriage is very infrequent. The average period of absence from each other is 1.5 months. For those who married more than once, the average number of months between unions is 4 and one-half years. The period of widowhood is longer in the rural than in the urban sector (5 vs. 3 years). In Cagayan Valley, the waiting period between marriages is terribly long, 14 and a half years.

(5) For the few women who marry widowers, there are lots of stories about the unpleasant relations between step-mother and step-children. Although the widower who remarries has an average of more than three children from a previous wife, the problem is considerably minimized by the fact that 93 percent of these couples in a second marriage do not have children from previous wives living with them in the family. Those who do, have less than one child with them.

Increasing life expectancy and duration of marriage. Success in the prolongation of life has its corresponding consequences on the length of marriages period because life expectancy at birth increases faster than delay in age at marriage. On the relationship between age of marriage, life expectancy, and duration of marriage over a 34-year period, life expectancy more than doubled (72 years) but age at marriage increased only by 1.8 years. One immediate effect is for the length of marriage with both surviving spouses increased from 3.27 to 25.11 years. In 1939, all her years of marriage are child-bearing years.

In 1973, three out of the 25 years of marriage are non-reproductive years. Considering that the life expectancy at birth for 1975-1980 is estimated to be 63 for females and 50 for males, while age at marriage will probably not increase much beyond the present, and even if it did, the period of marital union with both spouses alive can expectedly be further prolonged. If marriage is defined as a union between man and woman which is supposed to last till death intervenes, there must be greater faith and more positive factors in the marriage to keep the couple together over a long period of time. The period of togetherness past the child-bearing stage will also be much longer and, therefore, this is a new era in the life of husband and wife. When the wife eventually loses her husband, often at a later stage in her life, she will be older and will probably need more things to anchor her life on than if she died at a relatively younger age.

THE FILIPINO WOMAN IN CHILD-BEARING

Fertility patterns. Among the many images of the Filipina is her prodigious capacity to bear children. If she gets married at an average age of 23.7 years, she has about 20 years of reproductive life, with one baby at three year intervals. According to the University of the Philippines, Population Institute,

"the peak child-bearing ages are 25-34. Nearly half of the average number of children born to all women by the end of the child-bearing period is contributed by these age groups. Although women marry later as mentioned earlier, they tend to have their children early in the marriage. Five out of every 11 births during marriage occurred to girls 15-24 years old, offsetting, thereby, the influence of delayed marriage or marital fertility."

How prolific is the Filipino woman? Although the average number of children born per woman aged 45-49 is 6.4, there are a number of factors associated with variation in child-bearing capacity. More children tend to be born to women who live in rural areas and agricultural communities, who are not employed outside the home, who marry earlier, and who live in nuclear households.

Years of schooling and literacy status do not show the usual negative relationship with number of children, which means fewer children for more literate and higher-educated women. Instead what we see is increasing number of children with increasing educational attainment up to a certain level beyond which the expected negative relationship becomes evident.

For whatever reasons, there is a general view that rising family income and educational levels tend to bring about lower fertility. In his analysis, Jose Encarnacion posits that "at low income levels of the LDC's, it may well be that a major effect of rising incomes is to enable women to acquire better health and to have greater access to medical facilities and prenatal care, resulting in their greater capacity to bear more children." Below a subsistence level of family income, the mother's health is also substandard and the probability of still-births and miscarriages could be expected to be higher.

Fewer children born at this low income level is, therefore, not due to deliberate choice but the reason is simply a biological one. Encarnacion's hypothesis is that there is a threshold level of family income and education such that below this level the effect of more income and higher education is to increase fertility. A woman's education and family income has a positive or negative effect on fertility depending on whether or not it falls below a threshold value. At levels below the threshold, more education means better knowledge of health practices, thus enabling a woman to bear more children. The threshold was established to be between Grade 6 to 7 and high school. When a woman's education exceeds this threshold, the negative relationship between number of children and education becomes more effective.

On the relationship of female employment to fertility, Concepcion cites the theory of increasing role compatibility (worker vs. mother role) as an explanation for family limitation among women who work. "Where the roles of mother and employed woman are compatible, a relation between fertility and employment should not be anticipated. Where they are incompatible the relation will depend on the availability of contraceptive technology . . . Where contra-

ceptive means are readily accessible, working women presumably would regulate fertility to lessen the strain of incompatible roles."

This theory is a very intriguing one because it calls attention to a number of casual but relevant observations:

a. There are educated middle and upper-class women who are able to pursue their careers despite many children because they have household help who perform the task of child-bearing and housekeeping.

b. For low-income women who work outside the home or in the farm but who have many children, there are no hired domestic helpers. Here the pattern seems to be the "older children" taking care of the younger ones or other relatives helping out. Out-of-school youths, especially females, are the usual baby-sitters and household helpers.

c. There are low-income women who tend small stores, do laundry or sew in the house as a source of income. Children are taken care of in between work and household chores. "Older Children" are also called upon to perform quite a few of the needed tasks.

If the theory of role incompatibility holds, we should expect dramatic reduction in the fertility of educated middle and upper class where household helpers become more scarce and expensive. But one cannot help thinking that there must be a more powerful explanation for large families in poor rural homes. With the heavy demands on a woman's time and energy for household chores where there are no labor-saving devices, one would think that she would have all the motivation for family limitation in order to lighten her burden. The data, however, do not bear this out because rural wives have more children than urban ones. Perhaps what happens in a poor but large family is that children take care of children. This becomes even more possible when children drop out from school at an early age and hence, are available for farm and household chores including baby-sitting. In this setting, children assume many responsibilities such that a six-year old takes care of baby sisters or brother.

Fewer children were also shown for extended rather than nuclear family households. Other things being equal, and using the theory of role incompatibility, we would expect more children in extended households where other relatives are available to assist in the many domestic chores. The explanations for fertility differentials remain elusive and the dynamics by which women cope with a large family under conditions of poverty deserve to be examined in depth before we think of additional roles for women besides that of wife and mother.

The most obvious and encouraging piece of evidence on fertility decline can be found in age at marriage. The longer marriage is put off, the fewer the number of children born, with the most dramatic reduction occurring between age groups 20-24 and 25-29. In other words, if we can delay marriage beyond age 25, the prospects for fertility decline look good. The importance of this factor is summarized thus: "The Philippines is not the only country in Asia with

changing fertility levels that must be attributed wholly or in significant measure to delayed marriage."

As to the total fertility rates of completed family size from 1958 to 1972, a decline is clearly indicated from an average of 6.46 in 1958-62 to 5.89 in 1968-72. An equally noteworthy observation is the regional variations in fertility, with Greater Manila manifesting fewest children, 4.08, and Mindanao, more than 7. Bicol and Eastern Visayas report more than 6 children per woman. While levels of urbanization could explain smaller family size in Greater Manila and Southern Luzon and the larger family size in Mindanao, the family size behavior of other regions is more difficult to account for in the same manner.

Wives expectations on number of children. Given the actual family size Filipino wives have achieved by the end of the reproductive period, we would like to know if this meets with their preferences and expectations.

The 1973 National Demographic Survey reveals quite a bit about this matter:

(1) When wives below 45 years were asked if they expect more children, more of the urban than rural respondents replied negatively with more than half of Greater Manila wives expressing this. In addition to rural wives expecting more children, there were also more of them who were uncertain as to whether or not they could expect more children. A higher proportion attributed number of children to God, fate or chance.

(2) When asked about the number of children they wanted, a total of 4.66 answered that it was up to God, 4.30 wanted to start married life anew, while 4.08 believed that what they have now is all right, more or less. These stated preferences were about two children less than the 5.89 actual completed family size earlier mentioned. The urban preference is consistently lower than the rural, and Greater Manila wives want the least number of children. Mindanao wives tended to want the most number of children, and they actually have the largest completed family size among all the regions.

(3) That children happen without much discussion and deliberate decision-making on the part of the couple is suggested by the fact that more than 40 percent of the wives have never talked with their husbands about the number of children they would like to have altogether. Again, more rural than urban wives reported this absence of communication with the husband about family size.

(4) The most significant observation one can make from the data is that practically no one preferred childlessness. Only 2.8 percent expressed a desire for only one child. On the other hand, about 15 percent preferred to have six or more children.

In general, the preferred number of children is less than actual completed

family size but childlessness is not preferred at all. Perhaps the Filipino women's concept of *feminismo* is equivalent to *machismo* for men. To be barren or not very productive violates the ideal and the norm of a woman's major purpose in life. To give substance to this ideal, females 15 years and over were included in the 1973 National Demographic Survey, of which only 3.9 percent had never been pregnant and as expected, there were fewer rural than urban wives who belong to this category. Pregnancy establishes fecundity for both husband and wife. It satisfies both *machismo* and *feminismo*. Related to pregnancy and child-bearing is breastfeeding behavior. Contrary to what many people think, breastfeeding is still practiced by a great majority (84 percent) of mothers but it is practiced more by rural (89 percent) than urban mothers (73 percent), with Metro Manila exhibiting the least (70 percent).

Being a working mother and wanting to preserve the shape of the breast as reasons for not breastfeeding were cited by urban and Metro Manila wives. Therefore, breastfeeding as out of style is mainly an urban phenomenon. It would be important to find out if breastfeeding is resorted to for reasons of better health for the baby or for convenience and economy. One does not have to buy milk which is expensive. Because more than half of the mothers do not wean their babies till they are a year and much older, breastfeeding among mothers who are poor ought to be studied for its consequences on the mother's health.

Furthermore, it would be good to know to what extent the practice of breastfeeding the baby entails as it requires no direct cash outlay and theoretically, it poses no additional burden during the infancy months. One could also ask if breastfeeding is part of the *feminismo* complex. *Feminismo* in the Philippine sense is the pursuit of femininity and is not the same as feminism of the Western developed countries. Even the elite and articulate among our women are inclined to elevate the status of our women without sacrificing their so-called femininity. We, therefore, need to determine the dimensions and qualities of *feminismo* as defined by the women themselves.

Attendance at birth. Since Filipino wives bear an average of 6 children, we need to know who helps bring these children into the world. Data from the Philippine Yearbook of 1975 show that in 1972, only one-fourth of registered births had been attended by a physician; another one fourth, by a midwife; more than one-third, by a *hilot* (unlicensed midwife); and less than 4 percent were attended by a nurse. These national figures are misleading, however, because they hide the regional disparities. Greater Manila has an overwhelming 87 percent attended by a physician, while only 2.5 percent of Cagayan Valley mothers enjoyed that. In Bicol and Mindanao, more than half of the deliveries were done by *hilots*. Cagayan Valley and Eastern Visayas both reported about 44 percent.

At the provincial level, the provinces registering the most number of births attended by *hilots* are: Davao Oriental, 80 percent; Davao del Norte, 70 percent;

Agusan del Sur, 69.2 percent; Sorsogon, 69.1 percent; Occidental Mindoro, 66.2 percent; Palawan, 58.3 percent; Romblon, 57.4 percent; and Agusan del Norte, 56.1 percent. A discouraging note is the increasing rather than declining use of unlicensed midwives (hilots) from 33.8 percent in 1970 to 35.4 percent in 1972. The significant increases have occurred in Ilocos, Cagayan Valley, and Mindanao. The increase in use of physicians has taken place only in Southern Luzon. In Mindanao, this has declined.

There is some evidence that perhaps these traditional midwives are not doing badly in their task. The maternal mortality rate per 1,000 live births has gone down from 3.0 in 1960 to 1.3 in 1971. Considering that more than one-third of registered births were attended by hilots, we could have expected a much greater maternal mortality rate. It would be useful to determine what this rate is for provinces with high use of traditional midwives. The other related question is whether reduction in maternal mortality rate encourages more pregnancies since the risks of mortality at child-birth have been minimized considerably. A woman does not have to be afraid anymore about going through the child-bearing process.

Child-bearing and nutrition. Filipino women, particularly the low-income ones make quite a bit of sacrifice in their child-bearing role. A 1975 report of the Food and Nutrition Research Institute (FNRI) says that mothers suffer most from malnutrition. Typically it is the father and older children who get the largest share of food at meal times. The effect of malnutrition is most acute when women are pregnant or nursing. Community nutrition surveys of 2 rural and 2 urban low income areas in 1965 and 1971 found the calorie intake of adults, 81 percent adequate in relation to Recommended Daily Allowance (RDA); toddlers 1 to 3 years, 64 percent; older children 4 to 9, 69 percent; pregnant women, 64 percent; and lactating women, only 46 percent adequate. The report recommends that Filipino women should eat more because they are often lacking in basic nutrients, protein and iron, thus, making them susceptible to anemia. They also point out that among low-income families, it is erroneous to let the men have the most and the best food.

Low-income is one factor supposedly responsible for malnutrition and consequent vitamin deficiency in women which did not affect men. With each pregnancy, the woman's supply of nutrients dissipates even further, thus making the incidence of malnutrition more common among those with more than 3 children. One effect of the poor nutritional status of the pregnant mother is the higher mortality rates due to abortions, miscarriages, still births and infant/toddler deaths.

These findings are corroborated by baseline data collected by the Philippine Business for Social Progress (PBSP) from their nutrition programs from 1973 to 1976. They studied 3 urban and 3 rural low-income communities with average weekly household incomes ranging from P38 to P83. Of the 970 women with pre-school children, 522 or 54 percent have experienced fetal or

infant toddler mortalities. On the whole, the urban mother had a slightly higher incidence (55 percent) than the rural mothers (50 percent). A higher proportion of infant/toddler deaths was experienced by rural women (30 percent) than urban women (22 percent) but the latter had almost twice as many miscarriages, abortions (29 percent) than the former (14 percent).

It would be apropos at this point to examine the possible reasons for the practice among low-income families of feeding men and older children better than the women. Because men are regarded as bread-winners and they supposedly perform the more physically demanding jobs, the women allow them this privilege. Any impairment of the wage-earner's working capacity is precarious to the entire family's existence. The advice that women should eat more given a finite quantity of food available to the entire family is not likely to be heeded. What seems more crucial is to limit child-bearing to prevent further drain on the mother's health.

Another easier-said-than-done advice is to help increase family income. Another observation relevant to this issue was discussed in the Chapter on Farms and Farmers. Compared to other occupational groups, farmers and farm laborers have lower calorie intake and higher energy expenditure, hence they may be better-fed than their wives but still undernourished for their jobs. The problem, therefore, is not a simple one of men in the low income household being more privileged than women as far as food intake is concerned.

In trying to enlist the participation of low-income women in nutrition education programs, the livelihood, family income, and household chore pre-occupations of the wife cannot be ignored. They are not at "leisure" to benefit from educational programs even if such are designed purportedly for their own welfare. The Philippine Business for Social Progress experience in this regard is instructive. From two years of operations in three low-income communities, 69 percent of 2,098 mothers completed a series of eight to ten training sessions on nutrition but absenteeism and dropping-out were perennial problems encountered. Mothers cited the following reasons for such problems: occupied with work in the farm or in other jobs, busy with household chores, need to look after children, interest in income-generating activities, inclement weather, distant training site and husband's opposition.

In designing strategies to involve low-income women in community and national development programs, we must not forget that livelihood and household activities occupy the major part of their daily lives. "Free time" is not as free and as available as we often assumed it is.

THE FILIPINO WOMAN AS A MEMBER OF THE LABOR FORCE

Female participation in the school system. Because education is an important determiner of employment, we are concerned with the education of our women. Our females are at par with males as far as attendance at school is

concerned. What deserves attention is the regional disparity which puts Mindanao, Eastern Visayas and Cagayan Valley as the most disadvantaged areas, with Manila, Southern Tagalog and Central Luzon reporting the highest proportion of 6-14 year olds who are in school. Within each region, male-female differences are not significant but regional disparities on school attendance are fairly substantial.

The situation with respect to literacy is similar. From 1960 to 1970, the literacy rates increased from 73.6 to 84.6 percent for males and from 70.6 to 82.2 percent for females. Again the males have only a slight advantage over the females, but the rural-urban differentials are quite significant. For 1970, the corresponding literacy rates for urban and rural males are 93.9 and 80.2, while for females, 91.8 and 77.2, respectively. One also observes that the gap between the urban and rural females is bigger than that between urban and rural males.

The females with lowest literacy rates are from rural Sulu, 31.2 percent; Ifugao, 44.1 percent; Mt. Province, 52.2; Cotabato, 56.9; Lanao del Sur, 57.8; Benquet, 66.8; Zamboanga del Norte and Zamboanga del Sur, 67.8. In these provinces of mainly Moslem and ethnic minority groups, the difference between male and female literacy is higher than in other provinces which suggests that there are socio-cultural factors affecting the status of women which are not operative in the majority of the population. However, the chasm between urban and rural seems most pronounced in these eight provinces reported to have the lowest literacy rates for females.

Statistics on school enrolment at all levels of education show disadvantages on the part of the females. On the contrary, at the college and graduate levels, there are more females than males. There is an increasing trend toward femalization of school graduates at different levels over a 5-year period from 1965-1970. More than 90 percent of enrolment at the college level are in private schools. As expected, there are male and female-dominated fields: nautical science is male; food, nutrition and dietetics is female. Agriculture, engineering and technology are mostly male with some female inroads. Law and foreign service, although predominantly male, is increasingly becoming female. Music and fine arts is still largely male. Commerce and business administration are more than half female, so are liberal arts and the sciences. In the case of the latter, it has become more female in 1970 than in 1965. Teacher-training and graduate studies started as only half female but have grown more so over the 5-year period. It should be noted, however, that at the doctoral level, there are still more males but the female proportion has increased from 17.6 percent in 1965 to 45 percent in 1970. The medical sciences have dramatically increased its female component from 48 percent in 1965 to 84 percent in 1970 but this is due to the inclusion of nurses in this category. The case of physicians will be discussed later. Vocational courses tend to be more sex-linked. Beauty and fashion courses are for women while technical courses are for men.

Higher education and some professions. Given the marked attractiveness of

college education in the Philippines, around what major fields of study do Filipinos gravitate? The most important change which has occurred in college education is the rapid decline in the attraction to teacher-training which graduates went down from 55.0 percent in 1965-66 to 42.3 percent in 1969-70.

In 1968-69, 31.4 percent of college enrolment were in teacher training. By 1971-72, this dwindled down to 14.7 percent. This trend is significant because it is a predominantly female occupation (81.3 percent) and has become even more so despite the decreasing total enrolment in it. Teaching has become unattractive because of surplus teachers and low pay. Teachers are the lowest paid of all professionals. Fast rising in popularity is commerce and business administration. Graduates in this field made up 18.6 percent of the total in 1965-66. This increased to 28.5 percent in 1969-70. As far as enrolment trend is concerned, the proportion who took this course increased from 28.4 percent in 1968-69 to 38.1 percent in 1971-72. This field of study has also become increasingly more female, from 49.7 percent in 1968-69 to 57.6 percent in 1971-72. All the fields of study in college have, in fact, shown femalization including agriculture, law and foreign service, engineering and technology, and even nautical sciences.

The health sciences are of particular interest because of the female dominance in nursing, midwifery, dentistry, dietetics and pharmacy. In 1973 those who took the National College Entrance Examination were asked about their occupational preferences. Nurse, midwife and laboratory technician were the most popular choices for the girls. Employment opportunities abroad doubtless play an important role in this choice, particularly because of the dollar-earning potentials. Earnings abroad are easily 5 to 10 times more than what they would make if they worked at home. However, the overseas demand for doctors, nurses, and midwives is not likely to continue indefinitely.

Because in many countries, female physicians are a rarity, developments in the Philippines with respect to medicine are worthy of further examination. The profession was practically a male monopoly before 1930 (2.5 percent female). As of 1969, the percent of female physicians has risen to 43.5. In 1970, it is very obvious that there are more female physicians among the younger age groups of 30 and below. There are more males among older doctors. The enrolment figures for 1970-71 show that there are more females (51.0 percent) than males in the medical schools. The trend is now in the process of being reversed in favor of women physicians.

Architecture which is also a masculine field has opened up to women. From 1921 to 1931, there were absolutely no women in this field. Over a 50 year period, 1921-1971, females in the profession have inched up to 10 percent of the total registered architects. Agriculture is another field traditionally associated with men, but there are definite signs of female "invasions." In the College of Agriculture, University of the Philippines at Los Baños which is the leading institution in this field, the female enrolment in the early 1960's was only about 25 percent. In 1971 this has grown to be more than 40 percent.

However, in a study of 687 women agriculture graduates, there are some evidences of employment handicap due to sex as indicated by 20 percent who mentioned male preference as a reason for being turned down in the jobs they applied for. The same factor was mentioned by four percent of the respondents as a difficulty anticipated in moving to the jobs they desire. The current jobs in agriculture for women are in teaching, extension and research. These are the same general types of jobs which male agriculture graduates have. Job opportunities also seem to be available for women agriculturists. Half of these female graduates were employed after having made only one application. Contrary to the earlier fear that perhaps female agriculturists will not be employed in the field for which they are trained, only 10 percent had their first jobs which are not in agriculture. Only 6 percent of all respondents rated their current jobs as unsatisfactory. Apparently, women graduates find their place in agriculture fields.

Because the teaching profession used to be the most attractive field for women, it is instructive to look at the nature of the jobs which they hold. The higher the educational level to be taught and the higher the position in the educational system, the higher is the proportion of males and the lower the proportion of females occupying these positions. To illustrate, in 1968-69 about 98 percent of kindergarten, 79 percent of elementary, and 61 percent of secondary school teachers were females.

College teachers and graduate school faculty are only 51 and 48 percent female, respectively. But more disturbing is that although majority of teachers are females, 65 percent of principals and supervisors and 94 percent of superintendents are males. Perhaps this is another disincentive to prospective teachers in addition to low salary and excess supply. They have limited job mobility. Considering the continued decline in enrolment for teacher-training, we would expect a reduction of teacher supply and hopefully their relative scarcity will bring about a higher market value for their services.

Education and labor force participation. How do different levels of education affect male-female participation in the labor force? In 1965 there was a substantial difference in female labor force participation rates between high school and college undergraduates (34.5 percent) and college graduates (79.9 percent). Although male participation rate among college graduates is also higher than among those with less education, the difference is not as large with the rates 90.5 and 75.5, respectively. For females, therefore, the opportunity to join the labor force almost doubled among those who graduates from college. Data from the 1968 National Demographic Survey show similar trends with the additional observation that the effect of college education on participation rates is even slightly higher for the rural sector. It is also significant to point out that high school graduates and college graduates have significantly higher labor force participation rates than those who went to high school or college but did not graduate. The possession of the diploma indicating completion of all requirements seems to make a great deal of difference in joining the labor force.

Another way of analyzing this phenomenon is by examining the gross years of active life which is defined by the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs as the average number of economically active years for those persons out of a generation who do not die before retirement age. It measures the expected active years of a generation of men from the time they enter the labor scene to the time they return to inactive economic life. Again, we see the much longer economically active life of women who have college degrees as against even those who went to college but did not obtain a degree as shown in the 25-64 age group. The growth years of active life of the former are 34.8 while the latter have only 21.8 years. For males, there is not much difference between college graduates and undergraduates with respect to number of economically active years (39.1 vs. 37.5) before retirement. The favorable effects of higher education on women's work participation rates were also observed even if they are married. Among married women, those classified as having a high educational level or those who have completed high school, those who went to college, and those who obtained college or graduate degrees have higher work participation rates than married women with lower educational attainment. In other words, when women have high education attainment, they tend to continue on working despite marriage and a family. In the case of the males, they tend to be in the labor force whether they are married, single, divorced, widowed or separated. The social definition of man as the breadwinner seems to be very compelling indeed!

All the data we have analyzed lead us to a generalization that among males, level of education does not seem to be a strong determiner of labor force participation rate as it does among females. College education is a very important variable not only in increasing female work participation rates, in lengthening gross years of active life but also in reducing unemployment rates. The positive effect of college education continues despite marriage. Apparently, once a woman obtains a college degree, she is committed to a career up to retirement regardless of marital status.

Major employment patterns of urban and rural women. If we are to assess the status of Filipino women comprehensively, we have to look at their major activity in life instead of just their occupational status. Among Filipino females, 10 years old and over, only about a third are in the labor force while almost half of them (48 percent) are classified as housekeepers. These are the women in this country. Rural-urban comparisons show that more of the village women (50 percent) than of the city girls (44.0 percent) spend the major part of their life in housekeeping. Conversely, there are more urban than rural women who are employed (30.0 vs. 26.0 percent). Urban labor force participation rate for females is higher than for the rural. The average rate over a nine-year period 1965-1974 is 36.1 percent for urban and 33.6 for rural females.

Employment patterns also show the contrast between urban and rural women as revealed in Labor Force Surveys. In 1974, one third of urban females are in service occupations; about one-fourth in sales; almost 16 percent in professional-technical and 12 percent in crafts and production process work. The

proportion of women in professional and technical occupations is more than three times (15.7 percent) as much in the urban as in the rural areas (4.6 percent). Another important revelation which negates popular notions and impressions is that instead of a reduction of labor force in farming in the rural areas, there has been an upward trend for females in the occupation (53.6 percent in 1965 to 59.7 percent in 1974).

The other significant occupations for rural women are crafts and production-process work, 14.7 percent; sales, 13.6 percent; and service, 5.6 percent. Data on employment by major industry group show that urban women are employed mostly in four industry groups — commerce, 27.1 percent; domestic service, 25 percent; government, community, business and recreational services, 21.3 percent; and manufacturing 14.7 percent. For rural women, 59.8 percent are in agriculture; 14.9 percent in manufacturing and commerce, 13.7 percent. Since agriculture is a major employer of rural women, it is important to have a breakdown of employment in specific industries of agriculture. Because we usually think of rice farmers in the male gender, we should note that about 77 percent of females in agriculture are employed in rice and corn farming; 8 percent in coconut farming; 6.8 percent in other crops, livestock and poultry production; and 4 percent are in sugarcane farming. Farm work, therefore, is far from being a male occupation.

For another more detailed picture of employment for females 15 years and over, we examined the three-digit occupational categories from the National Demographic Survey of 1973 which was conducted by the Population Institute of the University of the Philippines and the National Census and Statistics Office. The Survey revealed that the most significant occupational categories for urban women are: maids, laundrywomen and nurse-maids, 23.7 percent; teachers, 11.0 percent; clerical and office workers, 10.33 percent; sari-sari store owners, 10.33 percent; textile and related workers, 9.46 percent; salesgirls, 7.46 percent; market vendors, street and sidewalk vendors and peddlers, 6.0 percent; dressmakers and tailors, 4.17 percent.

Workers in various manufacturing industries such as leather, cigarette, ceramics, plastics, food processing, packing, etc., amounted to only 3.23 percent of urban female employment. The glamour professions like architects, professors, college presidents, deans, physicians, lawyers, accountants and economists make up only 2.00 percent; administrative, executive, and managerial workers are less than 2 percent (1.84 percent) of employed urban women. The females, therefore, who often fill the pages of our Metropolitan newspapers and magazines are a small, privileged group of elite Filipinas.

For rural women, the most frequently enumerated of the three-digit occupational categories are: farm workers mostly in crop production, 59.13 percent; farmers and farm managers, 18.44 percent; teachers, 14.64 percent; sari-sari store owners, 13.38 percent; maids, laundrywomen and nursemaids, 13.26 percent, basket weavers, 12.34 percent; market vendors, 11.39 percent;

dressmakers and tailors, 10.23 percent; sewers and embroiderers not in factory, 7.30 percent; and salesgirls in wholesale and retail stores, 7.11 percent.

The proportion of females in each major occupational or major industry group is one indicator of the sex-linked character of employment in these occupations. For the Philippines as a whole, in 1974, the most female industry groups and occupations are: domestic service, 36.0 percent; professional and technical 59.4 percent; saleswork, 57.9 percent; construction, 98.0 percent; manual work, 97.3 percent; mining and quarrying, 95.7 percent. It is interesting to note that these occupations which require manual and physical exertion are almost exclusively male. On the other hand, there are no occupational groups which can be considered as almost exclusively female although domestic service comes as the most female of all.

Over a 9-year period, from 1965-1974, the following occupational groups became more female: professional-technical, from 56.3 to 59.4 percent; clerical and office work, 27.6 to 45.6 percent; government, community, business, and recreational services, 36.7 to 47.7 percent. On the other hand, the following became more male; proprietors, managers, administrators and officials, 44.7 to 79.9 percent; saleswork, 39.1 to 42.1 percent; craftsmen and production process workers, 57.1 to 60.9 percent; commerce, 41.3 to 45.0 percent; personal services, 48.0 to 50.2 percent. The most substantial changes have occurred in the femalization of clerical and office work and government, community, business and recreational services. The greatest masculinization took place in the proprietor, manager, administrative group. This is the reverse of what is often said about more females taking over this type of jobs. Perhaps we only tend to "overexpose" those females who are in it, hence we get the impression that there are more of them than what there really are.

Underemployment, unemployment, and earnings among females. For those who belong to the labor force, the concern is not only to be paid well but to have a regular fulltime job which they can depend on as a source of livelihood. Mijares and Tidalgo estimated the underemployment index from 1956 to 1968 for three broad industry groups like agriculture; industries (such as mining, manufacturing, constructions, utilities, transport, storage and communication); and services (which includes commerce; government, community, business, and recreational services; domestic and personal services). The following general trends have been observed:

- 1) Underemployment for females is higher than for males in all the three broad industry groups.
- 2) A higher level of fulltime employment among females is evident in services and commerce, followed by industries, and the lowest level of fulltime employment is in agriculture.
- 3) From 1956 to 1968, underemployment declined for the three broad

industry groups. Even from 1972 to 1973, the same trend can be noted. Percentage of employed females working increased from 34.6 in 1972 to 44.4 in 1973; in manufacturing, the change was from 56.1 to 61.3 percent. However, in transport storage and communication and domestic and personal services, there has been some worsening of underemployment, especially with respect to personal services.

Labor Force Survey data from 1968 to 1974 showed an improvement in the unemployment situation. For females, the unemployment rate dropped from 10.2 to 5.7 percent within 6 years. It must be noted, however, that for the country as a whole and for all the regions, the unemployment rates are higher for females than for males.

The most agricultural regions as far as female employment is concerned are Region II Cagayan Valley, 61.9 percent; followed by Region XI Southern Mindanao, 57.9 percent; Region I Ilocos, 53.5 percent; Region X Northern Mindanao, 44.3 percent. The three regions with the lowest proportion of the labor force engaged in agriculture are Region IV-A Southern Luzon; Region III Central Luzon; and Region IV Greater Manila which also has the highest unemployment rates for both sexes. Although underemployment in agriculture is greater than in industries and services and this is true for both males and females, the underemployment among females in agriculture is more serious than for males.

Related to the problem of unemployment is the effort exerted in looking for work. How much time do the unemployed spend in looking for a job? The data show a reduction in the average number of weeks spent by females in looking for work from about 10 weeks in 1968 to 5.2 weeks in 1974. This shortening of the job-hunting period happened to both experienced and new workers; agricultural and non-agricultural occupations for both sexes. However, in general, females spent less time than males in looking for work.

Besides being more underemployed and more unemployed than men, women also tend to earn less than men. Again, Labor Force Survey data from 1971 to 1974, reveal the following:

- 1) Within each major industry or major occupation group, average weekly cash earnings of fulltime wage and salary workers in the government and for private employers are consistently lower for females than for males over a three-year period.
- 2) Both males and females working for private employers earned less than those working in government, except for the professional-technical and the administrative, executive and managerial workers where the trend is reversed;
- 3) Of the major industry groups, women employees reported highest

cash earnings from government, community, business and recreational services; followed by transport, storage and communication; commerce; manufacturing; personal services other than domestic; agriculture; and lowest cash earnings were reported by women in domestic service.

The situation of women in domestic service deserves to be scrutinized very well because they are almost always "live-in" household helpers, hence food, lodging and other essentials are usually provided for but the quantity and quality of what is provided depends very much on the "conscience" of the individual employer. If they are well provided for by the family they live with, the cash earnings actually represent net income. However, the "live-in" arrangement is a mixed blessing because household help is available for service on a 24-hour basis. This easy availability is so vulnerable to abuse. Considering that domestic service is a major source of employment for young rural girls who move to the city, it is important to know more about what is happening with the females in this job.

4) Of the major occupation groups employing females, administrative, executive, and managerial workers received the highest cash earnings (but there are so few females in this category), followed by the professional-technical workers, clerical workers, craftsmen-production process workers, farmers — farm laborers; and the lowest cash earnings were received by those in service work.

For the males, the administrative-managerial group also had the highest cash earnings; followed by the professional-technical group; then the clerical workers; sales workers; transport workers; craftsmen-production process workers; service workers; miners; manual workers; while the farmers and farm laborers had the lowest cash earnings.

Comparing the bottom-level occupations for men and women, service occupations were the lowest paid for females, while farmers and farm laborers were the bottom earners among males. Because both these occupations have some non-cash component, it is important to learn more about their working and living conditions. Since females have less cash earnings than males, the bottom occupations for females will really be quite bottom.

It is worth reiterating here what was mentioned in the Chapter on Patterns of Employment and Sources of Income regarding the increase in wage and salary employment among women from 36.2 in 1962 to 45.9 percent in 1975. However, there are more unpaid family workers among females (31.6 percent) than males (18.5 percent). Almost ninety percent of all female unpaid family workers in 1975 are in the rural areas engaged in agricultural work. Only about 10 percent are in the urban sector employed as unpaid family sales workers.

THE FILIPINO WOMAN AS A WORKING WIFE

Although women make up only about one-third of the total labor force,

within the female labor force, 47 percent are married (33 percent within the urban and 53 percent within the rural female labor force). There are, therefore, more working wives in the rural than in the urban areas. Because employment of women, even married women is regarded by many as an essential component of female emancipation, we need to examine relevant data on the subject.

Attitudes toward the working wife. Several studies conducted as early as 1961 dealt with attitudes toward the working wife. Castillo's study of high school seniors found that very few respondents considered the working wife completely unacceptable although there were sex differences observed in this regard. The boys tended to be more restrictive than the girls. On the other hand, the girls reported a high degree of willingness to defer to husband's wishes. Neither the boys nor the girls believe in ignoring the husband's wishes. Another important observation is the importance attached to financial consideration as a justification for the wife's taking a job although this was more pronounced among the females than the males. Guerrero's analysis of husband-wife roles among professionals in an academic community found that although husband's definition of the wife's "proper" role is mostly that of a wife and mother, majority of them nevertheless approve of their wives working. The financial reason again seems to be a very important consideration. However, "if they had a choice," they want their wives to stop working.

In 1965, the International Research Associates conducted a poll of 2,000 adults from 5 different Asian cities which asked the following question: "Some married women take up careers of their own outside the home. Is this a good idea or not a good idea?" The findings are: "Taking all survey areas as a whole, a majority (58 percent) favor the idea. The biggest favorable vote comes from Singapore where 70 percent of adults interviewed think that careers for women are a good idea. From Manila and Bangkok come general assent (58 percent in both cities) followed by Tokyo, 55 percent. Younger people approve more often than older people and the lower classes more than the middle or upper classes. Taking all survey areas as a whole, men and women disagree only slightly on this issue, 60 percent approval from women, 56 percent approval from men. In Singapore and Bombay, such opposition is expressed considerably more by men than by women."

Surveys conducted in Laguna (1973) and La Union (1974) yielded the following answers to the same question: "Two men are talking. With whom do you agree?"

- 1) I allow my wife to work outside the house and earn more money.
- 2) I prefer that my wife stay in the house and take care of the food and kids."

Thirty-one percent from La Union and 44 percent from Laguna endorsed the first response while 68 and 55 percents, respectively, chose the second

response. These two studies showed a more conservative attitude toward the working wife. On the other hand, these same respondents reacted very unfavorably to the statement: "Once I heard a friend say that girls do not need to study as much as boys do. Girls will get married and will stay only at home so their study is useless." Eighty-three percent of La Union and 77 percent of Laguna respondents disagreed with this statement. Apparently they do not regard education for females as useless even if they get married, and stay at home.

An April 1975 report of the Institute of Philippine Culture showed that 75 percent of the respondents who knew about working mothers approved of the idea. There is a little difference by residence, sex or income. However, college-educated people tend to look less favorably (58 percent) than those with elementary schooling (79 percent) on the mother who takes an outside job. Those who approve unconditionally of working mothers, 97 percent gave financial advantage as their reason.

Despite the very positive evaluation of working mothers, it is interesting to note that when asked about the ideal job or kind of job women should do, 41 percent of all respondents favor their staying at home, doing housework and related jobs; 17 percent favor clerical or office work; 13 percent, handicrafts and other home industries; 9 percent, teaching; 8 percent, peddling; and only 2 percent each, think farming or serving (maids, waitresses) as the kind of work women should do. Furthermore, more high-income respondents mentioned the higher prestige occupations. As the authors conclude: "In general, the more sophisticated the respondent, the more likely he or she is desirous that the woman who works be well-placed."

Based on the results of several studies cited, by and large, there is favorable endorsement of the working wife but the primacy of financial consideration in this judgment, makes one suspect that if it were not necessary, and if one had a choice, the preference or the ideal situation especially for the husband is to have the wife stay at home. When one considers that many wives are employed in unglamorous jobs which means hard physical work and low pay, such reasons for wanting to work as a desire for psychological fulfillment and professional achievement are not relevant. As a matter of fact, even among husband-wife professionals, the need for additional income was given as the most important reason for working. When asked whether she would stop working if her husband asked her to, more wives said "Yes" than "No". Those wives who gave enjoyment of occupation as their reason were much less willing to stop than those who said they were working for additional income or for utilization of their education.

In another study of 81 home management technicians who work with the agricultural extension service, 38 percent of them think that ideally, Filipino women should perform as fulltime homemakers but 27 percent ranked working wife and 25 percent ranked career woman as number one ideal behavior. In other words, more than half of them endorsed the multiple role as their ideal.

When asked about the actual roles, only 37 percent felt that Filipino women are carrying out the career role because of the demands imposed by children and the household. Among the problems mentioned as being inimical to their job performance are: insufficient time to take care of their families, areas of assignment are far from their homes, and worry about their families while they are doing their duties. But in spite of these misgivings, only 6 percent of them said their families do not approve of their jobs. Again, the need for additional income was expressed as an important consideration.

Wife as breadwinner. Although the husband is traditionally defined as the breadwinner in the family, we have seen that there are more married than unmarried females in the labor force. The wife is a source of income for about 43 percent of Philippine households. There are proportionately more wives in the rural and farm household than in the urban and nonfarm families who contribute to household income. Greater Manila, which projects the image of a metropolis filled with busy working wives, is actually the region with the lowest proportion of households (33.7 percent) where wives contribute to family income, and the highest percentage of households (53.6 percent) where the husband is the sole breadwinner. Cagayan Valley and Western Visayas are regions with the highest proportion of households with wives as a source of income. Ilocos (33.6 percent) and Bicol (31.4 percent) registered the highest percentage of household where children are a source of income.

Considering only the nuclear families, the husband as the only breadwinner is easily the most obvious (41.9 percent) but further examination of the data leads out to the observation that the more predominant pattern of earning income is the multiple source, a combination of any of the following members: husband, wife, unmarried children and other relatives. Only 5 percent of the households reported the wife as the only source of income and only 7.7 percent of households sampled by the 1968 National Demographic Survey had a female household head. Although we find that husbands are the major breadwinners in the family, the burden is shared in about as many families by the wife, and to some extent, by the unmarried children. It is significant to point out that contrary to popular belief, the more affluent and urbanized regions like Manila and Southern Luzon which have fewer households, the wife is a source of income. It is in the poorer rural regions where more wives play the breadwinner role, even if supplementary and contributory to husband's earnings. The households where wife is sole breadwinner are quite rare.

Main activity of married women. Because the official definition excludes from the labor force females who are housekeeping, and we always refer to working wives as those who are gainfully employed, we only have a partial picture of what the rest of the wives do. Fortunately the 1973 National Demographic Survey provides data on the main activity of married women and not just employment or occupational activity. The question asked in the survey was: "If you consider your total time and activities, what do you spend most of your time on?" The categories of responses are: working, housekeeping, studying,

nothing, and others. We would doubtless notice an apparent inconsistency between the data from this table and the previous discussions. It was mentioned earlier that the labor force participation rate (LFPR) is higher for urban than for rural females but there are more married females in the rural female labor force than in the urban female labor force.

Furthermore, there are more rural and farm than urban and non-farm households, where the wife is a source of income. However, there are more married women in the rural than in the urban sector whose main activity is housekeeping. How does one reconcile these seeming contradictions? First, the higher LFPR of married rural women does not mean that working or employment is a main activity on their part. There are more urban than rural wives who are able to regard working as a main activity — because the nature of their work and their place of work is such that it is distinct from housekeeping and that it also occupies most of their time.

On the other hand, rural wives who are working find themselves mostly in farm works, peddling, running a sari-sari store, doing laundry, etc., which are forms of self-employment or unpaid family workers

Only one-fourth of married women 15 years or over considered working as their main activity. Seventy percent regarded themselves mainly as housekeepers. Furthermore, eighty percent said that their main activity also takes place in the household. The image, therefore, of the Filipina who combines marriage, career, and children is far from being representative of the Filipino wife. It is interesting that the urban wives spent more days and more hours per day on their main activity than the rural wives did although more of the latter group reported other activities besides the main activity.

The most important observation of all is that whether the main activity is housekeeping or working, 57 percent of Filipino wives spent 29 days or more a month on it. About 50 percent devote more than 8 hours a day to the main activity. If we consider five working days a week, more than three-fourths of these wives are fully occupied both in terms of days per month and hours per day spent on the main activity are concerned make up about 20 percent.

Incidentally, the urban, more than the rural, wives seem to be more fully occupied. Of the 10 regions Cagayan Valley (II) has the "busiest" wives; followed by Southern Luzon (IV-A), Bicol (V) and Southern Mindanao (XI). The least occupied seems to be Ilocos (I) and Eastern Visayas (VIII). Although the latter reported the highest proportion of wives engaged in activities other than the main activity. If we were to take the median, we can say that the Filipino wife spends a median of more than 29 days a month and eight hours or more a day of her main activity.

The truly leisure class who admitted doing nothing as a main activity is less than 3 percent with Greater Manila (IV) reporting 4.4 percent. For all the

time she spends on her main activity, more than 85 percent of the wives earned less than P1,000 a year in cash and less than P500 in non-cash income for 1972. As expected the urban wives earned more than the rural ones, and those in Greater Manila (IV) had the highest earnings. The lowest earning went to wives from Cagayan Valley (II) although they spent the most time on whatever their main activity was.

Work patterns of married women. The 1973 National Demographic Survey showed that although 40 percent of the wives have worked since first marriage, at the time of the survey, only two-thirds of them had continued working. Reasons why working wives stopped working include family-related reasons such as pregnancy, family, and husband's desire. In other words, the female paragon of wife, mother, and uninterrupted working women which is often depicted in the pages of women's magazines is not a very common occurrence. With respect to kind of work engaged in, one-third of the wives are in farming, more than 20 percent in saleswork, and 20 percent in crafts and production processing. Less than 11.0 percent of working wives are in professional, technical, administrative and managerial jobs. These represent only 2.7 percent of total number of married women 15 years and older, and dispels the image of the Filipino wife as a versatile career woman, combined with marriage and motherhood.

There are regional differences in nature of the jobs held by working wives, with Greater Manila having the highest proportion of wives in professional, technical administrative and managerial jobs (20.6 percent). Ilocos Region and Cagayan Valley have the most farm workers (54.5 percent) followed by Eastern Visayas (46.2 percent), Southern Mindanao (44.9 percent) and Western Visayas (42.0 percent). Predictably Greater Manila also had the highest proportion of wives who are wage and salary workers (61 percent). For the country as a whole 42 percent of working wives were self-employed and 20 percent were unpaid family workers.

The case of Cagayan Valley wives deserves more than passing mention because as cited earlier, they are the ones most occupied in terms of days and hours spent on main activity but they receive the lowest earnings, have the highest proportion of unpaid family workers (46.0 percent), highest percentage of wives engaged in farm work and away from home (77 percent), and the highest proportion working in family enterprise (62 percent). One can see that Cagayan Valley wives work hard for long hours as unpaid family workers in the farm.

Ways of coping with the multiple roles of the working wife. A rationale frequently advanced for the Filipino woman's ability to keep a job and run a household is the possibility of hiring domestic helpers who perform the chores which the wife has to forego because of her job. In 1963, Castillo and Pua's study of 1,662 households in four villages of Los Banos, Laguna, showed that 129 or 8 percent employed domestic helpers. Of the 129, only half have working wives. This shows that about one-half of the wives in white-collar employ-

ment, about one-fifth of those in the proprietary-managerial category and a very negligible number of the blue-collar and farming groups have hired domestic helpers.

On the other hand, among husband-wife professional studies by Guerrero, practically every household except the childless ones had one, two, or even three maids whose presence seem to be a definite factor in the college-educated wife's ability to carry on her job. The maids were assigned the tasks of cooking, laundry, house-cleaning, dishwashing, cleaning the yard and taking care of children.

In order to find clues as to how other working wives can manage without domestic helpers, other factors were investigated. Seventy-three percent of working wives in the Castillo-Pua study have neither maids nor relatives staying with them, while 27 percent have other relatives and/or maids who help in the chores at home. The possibility that fewer children enable the 73 percent to carry on domestic and job responsibilities side by side without any extra help does not find support from these data. Furthermore, working wives as a category in this study have more children (4.04) than the fulltime housewives who have an average of 3.83.

The ages rather than the number of children seem to be of greater significance in the situation. Sixty-five percent of the working wives have their oldest child eleven years or older. Only 12 percent of the children are below 5 years. Three variables appear to be operating in these households of working wives without domestic help: (a) presence of older children who can assume some of the responsibilities which normally falls on the mother shoulders; (b) some occupations engaged in by the housewives do not require daily absence from the house because the work can be carried out right in their homes such as cooking, sewing, washing clothes, managing a store, hog or poultry raising, etc; (c) part-time jobs such as farm work which are seasonal and, therefore, do not require continued and regular absence from home. Ad hoc arrangements are often made for these occasions.

The 1973 National Demographic Survey showed that only 2 percent of total households have maids or resident domestic workers. Since there are more households where wives work, it is obvious that domestic help is not the solution to household chores to the majority of working wives. Considering that about 25 percent of the urban female labor force is in domestic service, we can infer that 2 percent of the households which have resident domestic helpers must have more than one per household and that these are upper middle and upper class families only, some of which have working wives. Therefore, we cannot say that household help solves the problem of the majority of working wives.

From a study of the households of 115 married females employed as machine operators, telephone assemblers, clerks, and saleswomen, seventy of whom were daily wage earners, it is clear that the bulk of responsibility still

falls on the shoulders of the working wife. Such things as budgeting, supervision of the home, housekeeping, marketing, supervision of children, laundry, and cooking are still largely done by the wife. Some of them get help from their mothers, some from maid, and some from other children. Other tasks are carried out jointly.

In this study, majority of the children are taken care of at home but some are taken to the homes of their grandparents or other relatives. When asked what prevents women workers from carrying out both activities as wage-earners and housekeepers, the obstacles mentioned were: being forced to go on leave if a family member gets sick; no time for thorough housekeeping nor attending fully to family needs and to children. It is obvious that extended family arrangements help solve some of the household problems faced by the working wife.

Education, vocational training, and media exposure of married females. Since majority of the wives stay at home, if we want to reach for some reason or another, it is instructive to know how much of what we want to communicate is likely to be meaningful and what channels should be used. As of 1973, the average wife has about 5 years of schooling and that almost 80 percent are literate. Less than one-third are Tagalog-speaking. More than 70 percent are non-Tagalog such as Cebuano, Ilocano, Ilongo, Bicol, Waray, Etc. English-speaking wives number only 0.1 percent, while only 2.3 percent have had vocational training but trained for an average of 11 months only.

In terms of media exposure, the 1968 National Demographic Survey found that more than 50 percent of the wives seldom or never read the newspaper, not even magazines nor comics. Eighty-one percent seldom or never watch television. Movie attendance is a bit more frequent than TV viewing although the proportion who go to movies is only 20 percent. The greatest media exposure is to the radio to which the wives listen to, much more than the husbands do. Therefore, the greatest potential and challenge for reaching stay-at-home housewives is the creative use of the radio taking into account that the average housewife has only five years of schooling. Television messages, no matter how effective they are, reach only a very small sector of Filipino wives, and most probably only the better-off households.

THE FILIPINO WOMAN AS A CITIZEN

The Filipino woman's participation in activities outside the home and family is a subject that is very salient at the moment because of the desire to see women because of the desire to see women more actively involved in national development programs.

Participation in politics. The Filipino female has been active at the polls. As Cortes points out: Of the 11 elections from 1953 to 1971, the percentage of qualified electors who voted was consistently higher for women than for men by about one percent. However, she also observed that since the plebiscite of April

30, 1937 when about 500,000 women cast their vote on right of suffrage, there has been no identifiable women's vote in the Philippines. The number of votes rose from 5,603,231 in 1953 to 9,962,345 in 1965 to 11,661,909 in 1971.

The percentage of registered female voters rose from 40.65 percent in 1953 to 46.51 in 1971. Although the female voting turn-out is encouraging, the statistics on female-elected officials show that there are very few women who occupy elected positions, but as compared to 1953, there were more women elected to public office in 1971. There were also more women among the lower positions (such as municipal councilors, vice-mayors and mayors) than the higher ones like governor, congressman or senator.

Participation in formal organization. A 1969 report on labor organization reveals that only 12 out of 26 federations and 21 out of 199 affiliated unions had female members. Only 13 percent of the total membership were females. Among the 113 independent labor unions, a little over half of them had female members who made up more than 20 percent of the total membership. Since there were many more males than female workers on the whole, perhaps the extent of female participation in labor unions is about as much as can be expected.

Inch for inch and column for column of news item and feature writing, professional women have occupied the limelight. The Civic Assembly of Women of the Philippines (CAWP) has 67 affiliated organizations. It has chapters in 8 provinces, 11 cities and 3 municipalities. All these organizations are either associations of professional women, church-affiliated or international organization, most of which are based in urban areas.

For a village-based type of organization whose membership is mostly agricultural and rural, let us examine female participation in the Samahang Nayan (a pre-cooperative association at the barrio level) which is part of the nation-wide cooperatives development strategy. Of the 10,538 Samahang Nayan with 472,569 members, only 10.4 percent are females. Of the 52,690 officers, only 5.4 percent are women. However, data on the positions which women hold in these Samahang Nayons can have wider implications because almost half of the female officers are Secretary-Treasurers, about 18 percent are auditors, and 12 percent are managers. One wonders if the reason for choosing them for these positions arises from greater trust in their honesty and ability to handle the financial aspects of the organization. We can likewise ask whether Samahang Nayons with female officers, especially in financially sensitive positions, are likely to have better financial management, other things being equal.

For purposes of closer scrutiny in the future, the ten provinces with the highest proportion of female membership are: Aklan, 37.8 percent; Cebu, 32.7; Guimaras, 29.0; Antique, 26.4; Mt. Province, 22.4; Siquijor, 21.5; Bohol, 21.4; Negros Oriental, 19.6; Ifugao, 19.4 and Benguet, 19.2 percent. These provinces are in Western and Eastern Visayas plus minority group provinces in the north.

Why they have more female members than other provinces is a question which deserves to be pursued, and an analysis of their performance can give us some clues on the role of women in village-level organizations such as the Samahang Nayan.

Participation in church activities. The 1973 National Demographic Survey tells us that 83 percent of married females 15 years and over are Catholics. There are more Catholics among the urban (86.2 percent) than the rural wives (81.4 percent). The most Catholic of regions is Bicol (96 percent); followed by Eastern Visayas (91 percent); Western Visayas (88 percent); and Greater Manila (88 percent). The highest proportion of non-Catholic wives are in Ilocos (64 percent) and Northern and Southern Mindanao, 70 and 69 percents. There are slightly more wives (20.6 percent) than husbands (15.5 percent) who have had Catholic education at sometime between pre-school to college.

If attendance at religious services is an indication of religiosity, rural wives are less religious (38.7 percent had not attended any religious services in the month preceding interview) than urban wives (23.4 percent non-attendance). The most religious wives would be in Greater Manila followed by Eastern Visayas. The median number of times a wife attends religious services would be slightly over once a month. More than 30 percent of urban wives attended religious services 4 times or more a month while only 12 percent of the rural wives did so. In general, church attendance does not seem to be "religiously" paid attention to by Filipino wives and that rural wives are even less "religious" than their city counterparts.

THE FILIPINO WOMAN AS A FEMALE

International Women's Year of 1975 brought forth such concepts as equality, liberation, emancipation, employment and independence for women. There is also a call for greater involvement and integration of women in development. Since the operational definitions of these "ideals" have so far been unspecified, it is difficult to assess how the Filipino woman stands with respect to these "ideals." Nevertheless, we can explore her status at home, including Filipinos' attitudes toward working women, their perceptions of, and attitudes toward male-female roles and their assessments of equality between the sexes.

The Filipino woman's status at home. In most Filipino homes, the general pattern of task allocation is for the husband to be occupied with income-earning activities while the wife to be primarily engaged in household work. As a recent national study reports: eighty-four percent of the wives do the cooking; 62 percent the washing; 71 percent, the house cleaning; 78 percent, the clothes washing; and 79 percent look after the children. For almost a fifth of the households, relatives help in the chores. Domestic servants are available only in four percent of the 1,270 households studied.

Wives who are employed spend less time doing housework than those who are not. Furthermore, as wife's income rises, as women grow older, and as years of marriage increase, women tend to spend less time in housework. The same trend was observed for women with high education and whose husbands also have high education. Wives in higher income levels do less housework and employ more servants. That husbands' share in the household tasks is evidenced by the fact that 35 percent help regularly, 61 percent help under special circumstances and only four percent do not help at all.

Husbands help mostly in looking after children, cooking, washing clothes and dishes and in cleaning house. Where wives are employed, the husbands tend to share more in the household tasks than when they are not.

The same study attempts to qualify findings of other Philippine studies regarding the egalitarian and joint-with-husband pattern of decision-making by pointing out that although 92 percent of the wives hold the money in the house and in decisions on purchase of items like appliances, furniture, etc., only 16 percent of wives make the decision, while 39 percent of husbands decide the matter alone. In 45 percent of the homes, husbands and wives decide jointly. A similar trend is apparent in business and investment decisions. Although being family treasurer does not confer on the wife the sole right to dispose of the household money, there is no question that joint rather than husband-only decisions are the predominant pattern.

Furthermore, even if husbands make more decisions regarding purchase of appliances and business investments, their wives are consulted when they make decisions. Only six percent of the wives are not consulted. Bautista points out quite aptly that "keeping the money is a source of status only when it is accompanied by the power to make important decisions on money-related matters." Because her data on purchase of appliances and business investments revealed more husband-only than wife-only decision, and although the predominant pattern is joint rather than either husband or wife-only decisions, the interference is that the wife has lower status.

All the previous studies on household decision-making cover several areas of decision-making, and in all of them, the area of household expenses including food, clothing, etc., were the wife's major domain. Since 70 to 80 percent of the family's budget goes to household expenditures in the majority of families, it cannot be said that the wife has no power over money-related matters. There are indications from several studies that "knowledgeability or expertise" affects the decision-making pattern such that farmers exercise more influence in farm-related decisions although wives participate and are consulted.

In the case of business investments which is an income-generating venture, husbands probably have more "expertise." The same may be the case in purchasing appliances. Undoubtedly, the wife who manages the household has greater "expertise" in household expenses and, therefore, this area becomes her

major domain in decision-making. The larger issue that should be raised in the light of all these observations is whether the woman's participation in decision-making and her being consulted is ceremonial or substantive. Where she has expertise, we would expect her role to be substantive; where she is "naive," perhaps her participation is ceremonial.

An additional clue to the possible existence of these two types of participation in decision-making is Bautista's finding that wives who are employed have a significant effect on the decision to purchase appliances. Education also has a positive effect. Since consultation with the wife is an established practice, the more important issue as far as enhancing her status and role in the home is concerned is to determine the nature of her participation in decision-making. In areas where her involvement is merely ceremonial, the challenge is to provide her opportunities to acquire skills and knowledge so that her participation can be more substantive.

Two other indicators used in the Bautista study to assess relative power of the husband are: winning disagreements and wives' need to ask permission from their husbands. She found that among married couples interviewed, 63 percent of the husbands mostly win disagreements while only 24 percent of wives do. In 13 percent, both husband-wife win equally. Majority of Filipino wives need to ask husbands' permission to do various things such as buying clothes, going out with friends and lending money to relatives. Because husbands were not asked on whether they ask permission from their wives, it is not possible to conclude on the basis of one-sided data that women have a lower status.

Furthermore, when a wife asks permission from the husband to do certain things, is she doing so as a matter of information to the husband or as a case of husband's control or monitoring of wife's behavior? Since the wife holds the money, it is difficult to imagine the husband buying clothes, lending money to relatives or even going out with friends which involves expenses without the wife being at least informed or consulted. Or else how will he obtain the money? Just as greater participation in decision-making and more freedom from asking the husband's permission in doing things is associated with the wife's employment, income and educational attainment, we would expect husbands who have additional earnings or "sidelines" outside of income known to the wife, would also have greater freedom to spend money without consulting their wives.

It is hard to dismiss the notion that wives who hold the money have greater power over money-related matters than those who do not have such a role. In some societies, the role of wife as treasurer is not as prevalent as it is in the Philippines. Although Filipino wives seldom win disagreements and need husband's permission for their activities, they are not without recourse in getting what they want. Indirect means to have their way are resorted to such as: withdrawing their care, crying and sulking, going home to their parents, inflicting punishment on themselves and discussing with their husbands to convince them.

Evidences from this as well as many other previously cited studies reveal that the husband is the acknowledged head of the family but the wife has "institutionalized power" as treasurer and indirect power as a wife-partner in a marital relationship. The jointness and mutual consultation in decision-making leads us to conclude that the Filipino wife is neither subservient nor the female leader of a "henpecked" husband. In many ways she "walks a tight rope" in the exercise of her role as a wife-partner. To be a slave to her husband is regarded as 'kaawa-awa' (a pity) but to have a henpecked husband is to relegate him to the "misfortune" of the USA or under the *saya ng asawa* (under the wife's skirt). Neither one is socially admired in one's community.

Judging from their description of their marriage, Filipino wives appear to be satisfied. Twenty-one percent said they were very happy; 37 percent were a little happier than average; 39 percent just about average and only 3 percent were not too happy. The most important problem facing the majority of wives is financial, centering on household expenses. Husbands being always away from home, disciplining children, and irritating personal habits are their other problems. Bautista notes that the Filipino wife's marital happiness does not seem to be a function of her power in the home and the time they spend doing housework. Although there are some evidences of lower status in certain areas of family life, she appears to be generally satisfied with her marriage. Being able to share in the decision-making, having an upperhand in certain areas, having indirect power to get what she wants and an acceptance of her homemaker's role perhaps combine to make for marital happiness.

Attitudes toward working women. In a country where the female is practically at par with the male as far as educational opportunities and attainment are concerned and where she shares as a partner in the household, it is surprising that only a third of our labor force is female. It is precisely in this aspect of Filipino life where the male-female disparity or sexual role differentiation seems to be most pronounced. Although there are many possible explanations to female labor force participation, one factor which affects it is the social cultural definition of what is desirable for a woman as reflected for example in Filipinos' attitudes toward working women.

Recent evidences provide that majority of both males and females endorse the traditional roles for women; marriage is a must; child-bearing is a fulfillment of womanhood; and homemaking is a wife's major task in life. That a man should not allow his wife to work if he can afford it is still very much approved of. Preference for a man rather than for a woman, if both are equally qualified, is likewise expressed. Predictably, however, there is a greater endorsement of the traditional roles for women from male than from female respondents. There are some inroads into these traditional sex role definitions as indicated by almost half of the respondents from both sexes who think that people should not think less of man if his wife works. There is also some degree of agreement with the statement that "a mother working outside the home has a good effect on her children." In other words, there is no major condemnation of the "evil"

effects on children resulting from working mothers.

Attitudes toward male-female roles and assessments of quality between sexes. The value statements which found the most endorsement and greatest agreement between husband and wife are:

- 1) The husband should have the most say in family matters.
- 2) The most important qualities of a real man are determination and driving ambition.
- 3) If a man can afford it, he should not allow his wife to work.
- 4) In choosing a husband, a woman will do well to put ambition at the top of her list of desirable qualities.
- 5) Women should take an active interest in politics as well as in their families.

These responses establish quite clearly the norm of husband as padre de familia or head of the household. Because of this role definition, driving ambition and determination are regarded as most important qualities of a husband. The value on "wife is for the home" is quite strong with the implication that financial need is the main reason for the wife to work. That this is in fact the chief justification for taking a job is borne out by the 1976 Philippine Social Science Council study which reported that 91 percent of working wives gave economic considerations (such as to earn money for a living, to supplement husband's income, to help parents and relatives, to be able to send children to school, and to add to family savings) as their main reason for working. Only five percent mentioned desire to practice their professions, to use their training, to avoid boredom and to be self satisfied.

A man is expected to be the family provider and if he does not do that well, he ought to consider himself pretty much a failure as husband and father. (More than 70 percent of husbands and wives feel this way about it.) However, although the "ideal" is for the wife to stay at home, 45 percent of wives and 41 percent of husbands feel that people should not think less of a man if his wife works. It appears that the "ideal" is further reinforced by two-thirds of both husbands and wives who agree that almost any woman is better-off in the home than in any job or profession.

In other words, it is not only the man but also the woman who defines the wife's role as that of staying at home. More than 70 percent of both groups agree that "married women cannot make long-range plans for their job because it depends on their husband's plans." The primacy of the husband even when the wife has a job is again manifested in this statement. But even though the woman is defined as "for the home," this seems to refer mainly to not taking a job

because, practically, three-fourths of both groups think that "women should take an active interest in politics and in community problems as well as in their families." We can, therefore, say that ideally the Filipino woman is expected to stay at home to take care of her family but this does not mean that the home should be her only concern. An active interest in politics and community problems is expected as well.

These husband-breadwinner and wife-for-the-home role definitions find further confirmation from the PSSC National Survey on the Status and Role of Women in the Philippines. When more than 1,800 respondents were asked what the advantages are of being a woman, the most frequently mentioned advantages are: she is expected to stay at home and care for the family; she does not do hard work; she is not employed as laborer; and she is well-treated, respected and placed on a pedestal. Being fragile and physically weak, she easily gains sympathy, more attention and more help from other people; and women are necessary companions of men.

These perceptions of a woman's advantages would be perplexing to the female "libbers" who consider precisely such state of affairs as the existing social disadvantages of being a woman. On the advantages of being a man, the most frequently mentioned are: He earns the bread; he is the source of financial support and the head of the family; he is physically equipped to do a lot of things; he has few restrictions to do what he wants; he can easily get a job; he is preferred in most jobs. The breadwinner role is, therefore, perceived as a man's advantage in life.

The double standard of morality is still a prevailing norm as revealed in high endorsements of two value statements:

- (a) It is a woman's job more than a man's to uphold our moral code, especially in sexual matters.
- (b) The unmarried mother is morally a greater failure than the unmarried father.

It is interesting to know, however, that the statement: "A man should not be expected to have respect for a woman if they have sexual relations before they are married" is not endorsed by 60 percent of the husbands and 55 percent of the wives. Apparently the fact that they got married afterwards makes pre-marital sex sort of forgivable. But in these three statements relating to morality, wives are more disapproving of the women's behavior than the husbands. Wives however, are much more apprehensive of husband's infidelity. Eighty-seven percent of them and only 76 percent of husbands think that "infidelity is the worst fault a husband could have." This high degree of condemnation of infidelity suggests that faithfulness to one's spouse is highly valued.

Side by side with the tradition of sex roles as defined by both husband and wife are three value statements which suggest that some changes in sex role perceptions might be forthcoming. About a fourth of the husbands and a third of the wives do not agree that "women think less clearly than men and are more emotional." As expected, more husbands than wives still hold this view.

A similar trend occurs for the statements: "It is somehow unnatural to place women in positions of authority over men." Forty percent of the husbands and 35 percent of the wives disagree with this but the fact that only half of both respondents still cling to the notion of male superiority indicates the growing acceptance of women in positions of authority over men. Finally, more than 60 percent of both respondents agree that "even today women live under unfair restrictions that ought to be done away with." All these appear to be small indications that traditional sex role definitions are being reexamined.

Further evidences in this direction are provided by the 1976 PSSC survey which found that two-thirds of the respondents think that the position of Filipino women needs improvement. When asked what could be done to accomplish this, the replies centered mostly on increasing job opportunities for women and giving them more education and skills. Others mentioned increased participation in community activities and the need to have high morale.

Among the one-third who said that the position of the Filipino woman does not need any improvement, 60 percent feel that their present status is good and that men and women are already equal. About 20 percent feel that the role of a woman is in the home while that of a husband as breadwinner is how things should be. More than 10 percent think that equality is not proper because women can never be equal to men.

When all the respondents were asked whether men or women are generally treated better in our society, more than half said they are treated equally, a third mentioned that men are treated better but 13 percent said women are treated better. This means that two-thirds do not perceive any sex inequality in treatment. Only a third do. To the question: "Whom did your parents expect to get more education — sons or daughters?" 38 percent said sons more; 47 percent equal; and 15 percent daughters more. This perception however, is not supported by the facts for there is higher female than male enrolment in our colleges and universities.

The career aspirations of women are very pronounced as revealed in answers to the question: "When you were 16, what did you want to become?" Seventy percent dreamed of having a college education and being a professional. Only three percent dreamed of wanting to get married, having a family and keeping house. Ten per cent had no ambition at 16. This pattern of response is contradictory to the well-defined bias in favor of "woman is for the home". Perhaps at 16, marriage and family are still distant. But when one actually gets married, the family and the home takes precedence over career aspirations.

Ilo's study confirms this in her report that marital harmony is a woman's primary concern and has a strong effect on her overall happiness. Other important concerns of women pertain to housing and household possessions; social services or benefits; their own education, job and income and the health condition of the family. All of these preoccupations are directly related to the woman's function as a homemaker responsible for the family's welfare. Since most women studied were engaged in unglamorous occupations such as farm work (usually as unpaid family worker), petty trading, or a clerical job; one can guess that they have low level of education. Ilo thinks that education is perceived as a problem because it is viewed as a means to economically well-paying employment opportunities which require specific types of education. Apparently, their life satisfaction would be enhanced if they were given a chance to obtain work in better-paying enterprises.

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