

LET THE WOMEN SPEAK
Engendering Community-Based
Resources Management



Betty C. Abregana

Interdisciplinary Research Unit
College of Arts and Sciences
Silliman University
April 1997

CONTENTS

		Page
	<i>Executive Summary</i>	i
Chapter 1	INTRODUCTION	1
	Women are People	2
	Assumptions	2
	Organization of the Report	3
Chapter 2	METHODOLOGY	4
Chapter 3	FINDINGS	7
	The Women Fishers of Baybay	7
	Women and Mangroves in Cogtong Bay	13
	The Fishers of Talangban and Women's Roles	18
	Women and the Bulolakaw Project	20
	Women and Farming in the Upland of Magdungao	25
Chapter 4	ANALYSIS	31
Chapter 5	KEY ISSUES	37
Chapter 6	RECOMMENDATIONS	39
	Bibliography	41

Executive Summary

This report argues for the inclusion of gender concerns in the design, planning, implementation and evaluation of local resources management programs. Three objectives are pursued in this desk study:

- To identify gender-oriented development initiatives that are already operative in the Philippines.
- To gather lessons learned from these experiences.
- To suggest ways to apply the lessons learned to the environmental programs and projects of the USAID.

Four cases are selected for presentation in the section on Findings. One case is based on a primary research employing a qualitative approach. To the extent possible, findings of each study are organized around the specific exploratory factors of the Gender Information Framework (GIF): division of labor, sources of income, spending patterns, availability of time, access to resources, social capital, stakeholders' perspective and decision-making which is considered to cut across all the other factors. In describing the process of each study, five criteria are followed: method of data collection; sample size, when possible; location of the study; perspective of the study and its interpretation; and, purpose of the study.

The chapter on Findings reports the following studies:

1. *The Women Fishers of Baybay*. This is a primary research utilizing the GIF in a focus group discussion last December 1996 with women fishers in Barangay Baybay, Malalag, Davao del Sur. Malalag is one of the GreenCOM project sites. The study reported here was done out of the writer's personal interest in the topics explored.

2. *Women and Mangroves in Cogtong Bay*. This study, done in Bohol in August 1992, was collaboratively undertaken by the International Center for Research on Women and the World Wildlife Fund to examine women's roles and involvement in a coastal management project. The Cogtong Bay Mangrove Management Project was initially funded from January 1989 to September 1991 by the USAID/Philippines through the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) as part of the larger Rainfed Resources Development Project (RRDP). This case study was undertaken almost a year after the termination of USAID funding.

3. *The Fishers of Talangban and Women's Roles*. This case study, published in 1996, analyzed the social and gender roles in a fishing community in Batan Bay, Aklan involved in a community-based coastal resources management program set up in July 1992. The project was assisted by the Canadian International Development Agency.

4. *Women and the Bulolakaw Project*. This case was prepared in 1991 based on information reported and discussed in 1987 to

1990 about the participation of women in the integrated social forestry program of the Bureau of Forest Development in Bulolakaw (Nug-as, Alcoy, Cebu), launched in 1984.

5. *Women and Farming in the Upland of Magdungao.* Magdungao, an upland farming community in Passi, Iloilo was declared in 1985 as a special project area for agro-forestry development by the DENR through the RRDP, a USAID-funded project. The case focused on the role and involvement of women which emerged out of the necessity to complement the efforts of men. Women's participation in this case is said to be neither planned nor directly assisted.

The five cases show that there are local resources management projects in the Philippines that take into account gender concerns. Most gender strategies, however, are not integrated in the design stage of the development program. Some projects (such as the Bulolakaw project and its credit scheme) looked into the gender dimension when difficulties in the implementation came up; others examined the participation of women in a traditionally male occupation (as in the case of the women in Baybay) as a point of interest and learning without any set agenda to influence the program's direction; still others (such as the case of women in Cogtong Bay) tried to examine retrospectively how women played a significant role in the project development.

Generalizations

The cases demonstrate that women manage their activities relative to the tasks of other members of the household. Thus, to understand women's role, one has to understand the family context, particularly the role played by spouses and other men, sons and other male relations, daughters and other female members. The cases illustrate that, given the economic situation of the families, women are into many things (child care, domestic chores, fishing or farming, poultry raising, backyard gardening, laundry service or keeping a sari-sari store). In the home, women are the *taga-salo* (alluding to the catcher in a game who has the ball in one's hands, and whose decision how and where to throw the ball inevitably decides how the game proceeds) and the adage "the buck stops here" applies to them.

In general, the findings recognize the positive role women play in community development efforts and admonish that not taking women's role into account results in missed opportunities. In particular, the studies agree that:

- Women are the household managers who see to the smooth operation of household tasks and farm or fishing activities by planning for the workers' provisions (such as sourcing and providing food supply, farm implements or

fishing gears) and assigning members, especially children, to specific tasks.

- Women do traditional roles of housekeeping and child care but are also active in farming or fishing operation.
- Women play active role in generating cash income for the family.
- Women generally decide purchases for basic needs. In cases of cash shortage, women face the burden of borrowing money to meet basic food needs. Husband and wife jointly decide on purchases of items that are expensive or require borrowing with collateral.
- Women attend meetings on behalf of their husbands who are the official members of local associations. Decisions made in meetings, even those arrived at with wives attending, are generally carried by the organization. No report has been made of decisions reversed because of a husband's objection.
- Being non-official members of organizations, women cannot directly access loan benefits, stewardship contracts, or planting materials sourced through the association. Wives access benefits through their husbands.
- Local women's groups are characteristically involved in projects that provide immediate economic benefits for the family.
- Drinking alcohol and gambling among men are viewed as socially acceptable. Women point to these practices as wasteful of family's meager resources.

The differences in the results of the study are principally brought about by the difference in the location of the resource base. Upland communities, in general, are geographically less accessible than coastal areas due to problems of transport and communication facilities. This reality differently impacts on women and men.

Folk beliefs that are inhibitory to the participation of women in development work are commonly noted in upland areas than in coastal communities. These beliefs are associated with women's menstrual cycle and genitalia.

Gaps

Across studies and between resource bases, the data gaps include:

- Lack of a common framework for gender analysis that makes it difficult to do direct comparisons across project experiences.
- Women's view of the environment and the changes taking place is not documented and therefore not given due consideration in project design, resource management planning, program implementation, and impact assessments.

- Despite a clear need for the household as a unit of analysis in understanding women's role in community-based resources management, an intergenerational perspective (male and female grandparents, male and female children) is missing.
- There is not enough documentation on the role of women as resource managers.
- There are emerging patterns denoting women's entry into spheres of activities commonly associated with men such as fishing out in the sea or planting major crops such as corn. However, men's taking on home chores and child care when women work is not clearly established in the literature.
- In a country where population growth is still high, there is no literature dealing on the factors that influence decision of reproductive-age women in upland and coastal communities who are active in the economic sphere to limit and/or space the number of children.
- Sources of information and channel of communication as well as information needs of local residents are not usually indicated in project reports and research studies.
- The seasonality of work in fishing and farming operation as it relates to gender roles is not adequately explored in the studies.

Key Issues

The studies reveal that women are doing many aspects of reproductive and productive responsibilities as their ways of meeting the needs of members of the household. When development projects are introduced in the community, wives are usually called upon to attend meetings although their husbands are the official members of local associations. Due to basic need for food and other essential things, immediate economic return serves as the primary motivating force for participation in projects. The key issues, therefore, to be addressed in involving women in community resource management activities are:

- Women's multiple roles
- Reducing time conflicts
- Immediate economic benefits

Recommendations

At the level of project implementors and field personnel, the recommendations are:

1. Training on gender sensitivity and awareness with special focus on the socio-political, economic and cultural context of gender roles, and the identification of factors limiting women's participation in the development process.
2. Developing skills on gender planning, implementation and evaluation.

3. Acquiring research skills and approaches that build on locality-specific gender-disaggregated data, render gender analysis, and utilize and disseminate research results.
4. Networking with local associations and government agencies and mobilizing organization members in the conduct of gender-sensitive, environment-friendly activities.

For the program beneficiaries, a general program of training on gender sensitivity and awareness is recommended. Community organizing, livelihood projects, continuing education, networking and mobilization work, and technology adoption are program strategies that can integrate gender concerns in local resource management efforts.

To address the issue of women's multiple roles:

- through gender awareness and continuing education, sensitize men particularly to the imperative of crossing over the "public"- "private" divide to ease women's burden;
- explore the clan-based daycare system for working women with toddlers and infants;
- educate wives and husbands on the aspect of planning the desired number of children and spacing births to ensure good health of mothers and children.

To address the issue of time conflicts:

- introduce appropriate technology to save women time and energy in doing household chores and work production roles;
- schedule meetings or community assemblies based on local women's time availability rather than time convenient for project personnel.

To address the issue of immediate economic benefits:

- introduce short-term livelihood projects that are compatible with the goal of local resource management;
- launch special economic projects that require from beneficiaries adoption of an environment-friendly behavior such as providing credit assistance only to those who have planted a specified number of trees.

All the above are tentative suggestions subject to people's validation. In the cases presented, women constitute the minority in meetings where project plans are presented. They are not just the minority they also do not have the legal personality since they are in meetings as proxy for the husbands. When given a chance to have their voices heard, women air views that are grounded on the realities in the kitchen and they echo the cries of the children. To do community-based resources management is to aim at improving the lives of people at the household level. Over the years, women in the rural communities have devoted their lives precisely to achieve this goal. So, let the women speak.

- 1 -

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

Women and men play different roles in any given community. Yet, rural development programs are generally packaged in a way that do not account for the differences between men and women in their ideas and practices related to the use and management of local resources. One even has to be reminded that women and men do not have equal access to resources (Li 1993:3).

Republic Act No. 7192, promulgated in July 1991 by the Philippine legislature, promotes the integration of women as full and equal partners of men in development and nation building. This legal mandate known as the "Women in Development and Nation Building Act" has an accompanying set of implementing rules and guidelines to provide guidance and measures that will mobilize and substantially enhance the participation of women in the development process in ways equal to those of men. At the community and household level, however, many development programs--coastal resources management programs included--have not instituted measures to ensure sufficient implementation of this Act (Abregana et al 1996). Indeed, legislation does not necessarily translate into action.

Deliberate efforts to address the gender concerns in local programs and projects are sorely missing despite an increasing trend towards community-based participatory approaches to development in the Philippines. Community-based resource management has been defined as "a process by which people themselves are provided the opportunity and/or responsibility to manage their own resources, define their needs, goals and aspirations, and make decisions affecting their well-being" (Fellizar 1993:5).

It is generally recognized that community participation is crucial to local resource management. However, in the fishing

communities, for example, women are still less visible in the significant aspects of the fishing process and that participation of men and women in coastal resource management is still unequal (Abregana 1991:16; Lachica 1993:19; Tanchuling 1993:9).

Women Are People

Consciously integrating gender considerations makes development planning more people-oriented or people-focused. Fully integrating women's needs into the development process opens windows wider for new and creative opportunities that would equally benefit both women and men (de la Cruz 1994:13).

This study is primarily a task of putting together the pieces of information from available literature. It aims to mark paths consistently taken, spot trails that lead to danger, or open new roads to a place that holds a better promise for more women.

This study is committed to the principle of utility and practicality. It seeks to gather answers to the following questions:

- What are some gender-oriented development initiatives that are already operative in the Philippines?
- What are the lessons that can be learned from these experiences?
- How can these lessons be applied to the environmental programs and projects of the USAID?

This examination of women's role is limited to development projects in upland and coastal communities.

Assumptions

This desk study takes several assumptions.

First, women are regarded as the subjects as well as the objects of development. Women are people who are much more than mothers, wives and daughters whose place in the development process cannot just be taken for granted.

Second, the inequality between men and women in the development process arises not only from differences in their culturally ascribed roles but also from the unequal distribution of economic resources and political power between sexes (Dionisio 1991:56; Moser 1993:38).

Third, the focus on the situation of women in the development process is not simply to improve their personal lot and worth in the society but more as starting points for broader gender and social transformation (Dionisio 1991:56; Moser 1993:39). As an illustration, while traditional gender roles assign household chores to women and introducing women-appropriate technology, such as a dishwashing machine, may lighten women's load, one has to question the basic assumption that housework is women's work.

Organization of the Report

The present chapter introduces the rationale, objectives and assumptions of the study. The second chapter deals on the methodology of the study. Chapter Three opens with the results of the focus group discussion with women from a coastal barangay of Malalag in Davao del Sur, and presents sample studies on the application of gender analysis in development projects implemented in two coastal areas and two upland communities. Chapter Four offers an analysis utilizing a gender information framework. Chapter Five highlights important issues for consideration by program planners and project implementors that aim to integrate gender analysis and planning in their rural development efforts. The final chapter outlines recommendations or courses of action to pave the way for the full and equal participation of women in projects that impact on their lives, their family and the general community.

Chapter Two METHODOLOGY

This is principally a review of available literature on women in development, specifically topics related to natural resource management in coastal and upland communities. The sources of information include relevant books, journal articles, research reports, and other publications and documents that essay the role of women in coastal and upland development programs. An added feature of this paper is the output of a focus group discussion conducted in one of the project sites of GreenCOM.

The desk study covers two environmental resource bases: coastal communities or the fisheries sector, and the upland communities or the forestry sector. Due to time limitations (actually three weeks given to this writing project), only two research reports are chosen to depict the participation of women in coastal communities, and another two to showcase the involvement of women in projects done in upland communities. Selection was primarily dictated by the extent to which the chosen study can lend itself to the tool for gender analysis suggested by the requesting agency as indicated in the writer's Scope of Work (SOW).

Five criteria served as guide in describing the process and substance of studies amply discussed in the section on Findings (Chapter Three): method of data collection; sample size; location of the study; perspective of the study and its interpretation; and, purpose of the study.

To the extent possible, findings of each study are organized around the specific components of the modified Gender Information Framework (GIF). The modified GIF outlines seven exploratory factors, including the cross-cutting factor of DECISION-MAKING: *Who makes what decisions for the family or the community?*

The other factors are:

DIVISION OF LABOR

Who does what?

How are the resources managed now?

INCOME SOURCES

Who receives wages or other kinds of revenue?

What are the possible ranges of income sources?

SPENDING PATTERNS

Who is responsible for what expenses?

AVAILABILITY OF TIME OVER SEASONS

Who is available to work in project activities and when are they available?

ACCESS TO RESOURCES

Who controls different essential resources?

(e.g. education, training, information, new technologies, access to extension services, access to administrative and governmental services, land, credit or capital or collateral, access to infrastructure, markets or transportation)

SOCIAL CAPITAL

What are the relevant existing neighborhood and community-level institutions?

STAKEHOLDERS' PERSPECTIVE

How do women and men conceptualize the environment and perceive changes? How do children participate in and learn about resource management?

On the whole, a rapid assessment method was utilized in this writing project. The writer availed of published studies, university and professional theses and reports or papers, as well as unpublished research reports and documents. Direct observations, actual discussions with women in farming and fishing communities, and discussions with program implementors and experts aided the writer in the synthesis of data.

In the presentation of selected studies, the intention is not only to divulge the nature and extent of women's involvement in upland and coastal ecozones, but to use these experiences to

illuminate the discussions in the section on Analysis, Key Issues, and Recommendations.

In the course of the GreenCOM activity in the Philippines, the writer has twice visited a learning site in Davao del Sur and had opportunities to run informal conversations with women active in the affairs of their coastal barangay. In one visit, this writer together with two other project-related personnel, conducted a focus group discussion with seven women from Baybay, a barangay of Malalag in Davao del Sur. The section on Findings will take off from the clear voices of women in this fishing community.

Chapter Three
FINDINGS

One early morning, along the beach, I asked a fisherman who was examining his fishing boat if women go fishing with men. He replied, "No, women bring bad luck." Towards mid-morning of the same day, I chatted with a group of women and asked if some of them tag along with men to fish. Three of the seven women, I learned, go out with men in their fishing trips and they spend long night hours with men on sea. While waiting for a school of fish, men kill time by drinking alcohol with the crew while women keep watch and wake men up when a likely catch appears. Women help in casting the net and they claim they can swing the net farther because they think of the debts they have to pay (*Layo ang labyog kay naghuma-huma ng bayad sa utang*). All women are involved in the preparations for fishing (e.g., procuring oil and gas for the boat's engine, providing food for crew, getting fish nets or multiple hook and line ready) and in the post-harvest activities (e.g., selecting fish for home consumption, putting ice on fish, pricing fish catch, delivering fish to market).

This brief narrative brings home a point. Not only has the fisherman of Baybay missed out on the contribution of women in the fishing activity, he has imputed to women a negative cultural belief of *malas* or bad luck.

The Women Fishers of Baybay

A focus group discussion was conducted with seven women in Baybay, a coastal barangay of Malalag in Davao del Sur. The Gender Information Framework guided the flow of the discussion and helped identify the salient points to be covered in the conversation. The occasion served as an opportunity to know in greater detail the nature and extent of women's involvement in the fishing industry, as revealed by the women fishers themselves.

Two of the women were officers and the rest were active members of the local women's association. All were engaged in the fishing process--four were primarily involved in pre-harvest and post-harvest fishing activities and three did fish harvesting out in the sea. Except for one widowed, all were married. The number of children per family ranged from three to six, who were mostly attending local primary school. Except for two, all women came from households that depend primarily on fishing for cash income.

Division of labor. In general, women prepare the provisions for fishing trips: food, water, gas, extra clothing, rum and cigarettes. If the household has no cash, the woman secures provisions on credit, or negotiates with a local capitalist or moneylender.

Men prepare the fishing boat and fishing gears. They contact other men who will constitute the crew for the fishing trip. Men generally handle tasks that require mechanical ability or strenuous physical activity such as checking the boat's engine or hauling in the big nets. Tasks that demand finger dexterity, such as mending nets with fine holes, are usually handled by women.

Women play significant role in the post-harvest phase. They decide which fish to sell, at what price, and whom to sell. Women check on the volume of fish catch, select fish for giving away to crew or for home consumption, pack with ice the fish to be sold, and deliver the fish catch to the market or to a pre-identified buyer. In some cases, women have preferred customers or they have *suki* (or regular buyers with whom they have informal, quasi-contractual relations).

Women who go out to sea make sure that the men are alert and ready for the task, talk men out of heavy drinking while at sea, and remind them (nag them even, as women say) that they need to have a good catch to have cash for basic food needs and to pay off debts. Women help catch fish by using multiple hook and line (*mag-andak*) or by casting the net. Women also do the *otso-otso*

(literally meaning number 8), a way of pulling the rope in an efficient and organized way so as not to entangle the long rope. Contrary to the opinion that women are bad luck in fishing trips, women assert that their presence ensures good fish harvest because they help and they closely guard the males against the tendency to sleep, drink, or take things easy.

Women observed that men think of fishing as a means to buying rice (*pang-bugas lang*) while women regard fishing not to have money simply for rice but also to have something more to buy sugar, laundry soap, milk, and to be able to give to their children school allowance.

While parents are out at sea, older siblings take care of the younger ones at home. In households where the children are all young, relatives, usually grandparents, help in the care of the young.

Income sources. Fishing households depend on the resources of the sea for cash income. Those with motorized fishing boat and gear hire local people to serve as fishing crew. Owners and fishing operators receive one-half of the net income, i.e., after deducting all expenses. Hired workers share among themselves the other half of the revenue. Hired workers usually give an extra basket of fish to the boat owner or fishing operator. Women who accompany fishing trips closely examine the manner in which expenses are incurred and the way deductions are made. Women also monitor the volume of fish catch and see to the proper reporting of fish harvest.

In addition to getting income from fishing, women earn extra from livestock raising or from having a small retail (*sari-sari*) store.

Spending patterns. Given a meager income, the woman's role as a family treasurer becomes a burden. She knows exactly what basic items to buy for the family but she has a problem as to how she can buy them all. Rarely does an average fishing household have savings from the fish harvest. A typical list of items women spend money on include:

- food needs: rice, viand, salt, sugar, spices, vetsin (MSG), coffee
- laundry soap
- school expenses, children's allowance
- debt payment
- medicine, usually for cough and colds, muscle pain

A purchase of a household appliance like a transistor radio, requires a joint decision of the husband and wife. Borrowing money that requires collateral and exacts interest needs the approval of the husband.

Availability of time over the seasons. Women make time for activities they find worthwhile. Any activity that promotes family interests is to them worth their time. On a day-to-day basis, women have "free time" after lunch. This is the time when they can sit or lie down while listening to a soap opera over the radio. This is also the time to mend clothes or read komiks and other illustrated materials. This time is usually suggested as a good time for women to attend meetings or assemblies. For women who lack sleep because of a late-night-to-early-morning fishing trip, they said that they are used to light sleeping (*medya-medya ang pag-tulog*), just like any mother who is concerned about what goes on around the house even when her eyes are closed.

Husbands usually send their wives to attend meetings. When decision points require a vote, women would request for time to confer with their spouses before registering a vote.

The women of Baybay said that when their husbands are with them in a meeting, they listen to their ideas but they do not hesitate to disagree if their ideas go against their family's best interests. They said they would do the same thing in regard to project implementation or solving problems. In all instances, however, they would not want to put their husbands to shame in front of many others.

Access to resources. Women, in general, have more years of schooling than men. In their community, the females who finished college education worked as schoolteachers. They noted that the

males in the same age group as the females who became teachers, did not finish college and became habitual drinkers.

Trainings for livelihood programs and skills acquisition sponsored by government and non-government agencies are attended more by women than men. Women have more access to information coming from the informal sector (e.g., housewives, market vendors, neighbors) while men receive information directly from government technicians, political leaders, or project implementors who seek men out when they visit the community.

The women had been exposed to new technology like the use of biogas as a fuel for cooking. Extension services provided to fishermen in the barangay include artificial reef construction, marine sanctuary establishment and fish caging. Women received extension services in the area of handicraft making, swine dispersal, and seaweed farming. Purchases of land and other properties are done by both husband and wife. Both spouses have access to credit, capital or collateral as well as infrastructure, markets and transportation.

Social capital. Barangay Baybay has a number of existing neighborhood and community-level institutions. Some of the all-women associations are:

Federation of Malalag Peasant Women Association
 Kababaihan Kabalik sa Kaunlaran ng Malalag, Inc.
 Baybay GATT-SEA Association
 Rural Improvement Club
 Barangay Health Workers Group
 Girl Scouts of the Philippines (Adults)
 Philippine National Police (PNP) Ladies
 Lady Teachers Association
 Women and Economic Development
 Nagkahiusang Gagmay'ng Negosyante sa Baybay

The other associations which have male and female members are: Multi-Purpose Cooperative
 Fishermen's Association
 Mosque Kris
 Baybay Catholic Seaside Association (BaCSA)
 Kumintang Homeowners' Association
 Nagkahiusang Pundok sa Gagmay'ng Mangingisda (NAPUGAMA)
 Gagmay'ng Kristohanong Katilingban (GKK)

In the organizations where men and women are members, most of the officers are men. Meetings, however, are attended mostly by women. It is observed that women's groups, in general, are more active in the affairs of their organization.

Stakeholders' perspective. According to the women of Baybay, they view the environment differently from the men. To the women, men look at the environment as almost bare (*halos hubo na*) while women see the present environment as being draped with care and concern (*naay kurtina*) for it to survive the ordeal of rape and destruction. In a sense, men are perceived to view their immediate environment as a lost case, with little hope for recovery. The women in this group look at the environment as a fragile being that needs continuing care and believe that all is not lost in this earth, and that it can survive.

To the women in this group, men think that there are enough changes introduced (*igo na*) to improve the local natural resource and there is nothing more they can do to reverse the state of the environment. To the women, the activities to improve the local environment are not sufficient (*kulang pa*) and more actions need to be taken. The women feel that their maternal and reproductive role taught them to be patient in waiting for desired results. The women think that their men do not have the patience to wait for things that are to happen in the distant future.

The women's children participate in and learn about resource management at home and in school. Parents and teachers serve as models of good behavior toward the environment (*madala sa kalihokan sa ginikanan ug magtutudlo*). The children have been involved in mangrove planting and solid waste management. Aside from parents and teachers, children learn about the environment from other community members, other children, local leaders, books and other printed materials, and from radio and television.

Activities proposed by women. In the course of the focus group discussion, the women came up with a "wish list" of things that can be done to help augment their income and lessen the pressure on the sea for economic resources:

Stuffed toys
 Bag-making
 Ready-to-wear shirts and dresses
 Snack items like banana crackers,
 fish dilis (crispy dilis, spicy dilis)
 fish ball, squid ball
 T-shirt printing
 Silkscreen printing

 Drift wood as souvenir items

In the presentation of plans, the women noted the seasonality of livelihood projects. For instance, they suggested that T-shirts printing and sewing of uniforms should be done before the opening of classes in June. Also, selling fish balls during affairs in the community would do good business.

As mothers, the women identified some communication strategies and information materials that could prove helpful to the youth and children in the understanding of and appreciation toward the environment:

Draw and Tell
 Video cum News Bulletin
 Community Theater

After the three-hour session, I was left with a feeling that one sure way to do community-based resource management is to do development for and by women.

Women and Mangroves in Cogtong Bay

This case study on women's involvement in the Cogtong Bay Mangrove Management Project was undertaken in August 1992. The objectives of the study were to examine the extent and nature of women's involvement in the project and to identify ways to enhance women's participation in conservation and resource management. A rapid rural appraisal methodology was used to obtain the necessary information. Semi-structured group interviews of women, and some men, were conducted in 4 of the 13 project sites in Cogtong Bay, Bohol. The sections that follow are sets of information taken from the report written by Rekha Mehra, Margaret Alcott, and Nilda S. Baling (1993). The

International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) collaborated with the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) to have this study conducted.

Division of labor. In Cogtong Bay, among the more important subsistence and income-generating activities which involve women are fish and shellfish processing and marketing. Although fishing and firewood collection are regarded as strictly male activities, one woman in the sample reported having done both. The writers speculate that it is quite possible that, when necessary, other women also fish and collect firewood. Women are also involved in farming, backyard gardening and livestock rearing. Women in Cogtong Bay also work at a variety of activities that do not directly involve use of natural resources, such as running sari-sari stores and providing child care and laundry services. Most women, in order to make ends meet, engage in a number of different activities simultaneously and over their life cycles. A 48-year old woman in Cogtong reported having engaged in eight different economic activities during her lifetime: fishing, nipa weaving, snakeskin trade, fish and oyster marketing, organizing a ripa, mariculture, and firewood collection. Declining resource availability, especially lower fish catches, appeared to be an important factor in seeking sources of income which are based off-farm or off-sea. The study also revealed that women with many children seemed to be most involved in economic activities and engaged in a variety of occupations (Mehra et al 1993:13,15).

When the mother's economic activities take her away from home, there is generally a grandmother, other relative, or an older child who assumes responsibility for caring for the younger children. There were some women with children who employed their mothers-in-law to sell their fish, giving them a portion of the earnings as a small commission (Mehra et al 1993:15).

Income sources. Women's economic activities represent a mix of subsistence and income-earning endeavors. Women tend to reserve a portion of the fish harvest for household consumption and sell the surplus. Alternatively, if a harvest yields higher-

valued fish, they may choose to sell it instead of consuming it. Similar decisions are made with respect to other products, some of them being produced and collected partially for household consumption and partially for sale. Other products are used as inputs, for example cassava and *ipil-ipil* (a plant often found in household yards) which are used as pig feed. Activities such as laundering for others, trading, or providing formal or informal day-care services are undertaken purely for income (Mehra et al 1993: 14).

Spending patterns. Consistent with other studies that show that women in general, and women in fishing communities in particular, are the primary financial managers of the Filipino households, the women in Cogtong Bay keep the purse and make the disbursements, often making decisions independently of their husbands. They do, however, consult their husbands on the purchase of expensive items. They are responsible for budgeting money for food, household goods, school fees, clothing, and other household needs. They are also responsible for managing savings. In case of cash shortage, women are expected to obtain supplementary income through additional employment or by borrowing. Small loans are generally taken by women, though men often share in the decision to borrow larger sums (Mehra et al 1993:15).

Availability of time over the seasons. Project staff reported that sometimes more women than men attended meetings of the association. Attendance records, however, would not indicate this fact because women, attending as proxies for their husbands who were the official association members, signed their husbands' names in the attendance sheets. Except for the President, ordinary members and other officials could send their proxy who could participate actively in the meetings. Even when the majority of those present were women, meetings were conducted as if the actual members had been around, and the decision taken at such meetings were later upheld. The most common reason given

for men's absence from meetings was that they were out at sea (Mehra et al 1993:17).

Access to resources. In this study, women recognized that poverty is a critical problem, especially the lack of income for purchasing adequate food supplies and providing for their children's education. They cited shortage of capital as the main constraint impeding their economic advancement and that if they had credit they would be able to undertake or expand ongoing income-generating activities. When asked if they knew how to run a credit scheme, some women claimed that they could, and others said a little training could benefit them (Mehra et al 1993:21).

For not being official members of the local associations organized by the Cogtong Bay Project, the women were effectively excluded from project benefits such as tenure over mangrove areas, membership in association, and credit. The women were particularly eager to have mangrove stewardship certificates (MSC) in their own names because land ownership provide them with collateral that can be used to obtain credit (Mehra et al 1993:23).

Social capital. The Cogtong Bay Project had organized 13 associations but very few women were official members of these. The few women who reported being members in their own right were either widowed or single. One married woman obtained membership herself because her husband, a member of the local police force, had not wanted to join. In one barangay, a group of women belonged to a Rural Improvement Club (RIC) organized by the Department of Agriculture as a counterpart to the fishermen's association (Mehra et al 1993:17,22). Other neighborhood associations reported elsewhere in the study include the Cogtong Young Generation Association and the Parent-Teachers Association.

Stakeholders' perspective. Because women in Cogtong Bay depend both directly and indirectly upon natural resources to meet their economic needs, they are concerned about the depletion of resources. They appeared, however, to better understand the economic rather than the ecological value of natural resources.

The report stated that women were more aware of resource depletion if it had an impact on them economically, that is, if the resource in question was used for consumption or sale (Mehra et al 1993:23).

Lessons learned. The ICRW Report in Brief (August 1993) outlined key lessons learned from the case study applicable to the design of future conservation and development projects:

1. Ignoring women's roles in project design and implementation can result in significant missed opportunities.
2. Linking resource-management efforts to income-enhancing activities that yield short-term demonstrable results allows women's economic needs to be met while longer term goals such as educating them about the need for conservation and resource management are pursued.
3. The views and interests of all stakeholder groups, including especially women, should be sought in the design and implementation of projects. Had this been done in Cogtong Bay, project designers may have discovered early on that many women realized that illegal fishing realistically could not be controlled by the community given that the wrong-doers were mostly rich and powerful and that law-enforcement officials were in collusion with them. Thus, women felt the project focus should have been on developing alternate economic activities that did not rely on access to coastal resources.
4. Women, like men, need direct access to resources and control over them in order to benefit fully from project interventions. Providing access exclusively to male household heads is not sufficient to ensure project success.

The Fishers of Talangban and Women's Roles

Employing a social and gender analysis, Luz Lopez-Rodriguez (1996) reports on the situation of women in the fishing communities of Batan Bay in Aklan, particularly in sitio Talangban of Barangay Camaligan in the town of Batan, Aklan. This case study focuses on the role of women in coastal zone management, particularly among the members of the *Katibyugan it Mangingisda sa Talangban* (Talangban Fisherfolk Association) or KMT. KMT was organized in mid-1992 by the Food Systems Development Project (FSDP) of the University of the Philippines in the Visayas (UPV), assisted by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). In recognition of gender equality, KMT welcomed participation of men and women. Thirteen households composed the organization and each household was represented by both husband and wife. Majority of the member households depend on subsistence fishing utilizing stationary gears along the river. Some household members are occasional wage workers in the fishponds around the area, and few are small owner-cultivators of rainfed rice farms. This study relies on project records and field notes of community organizers as well as follow-up discussions with association members. The article suggests that the experiences of the male and female members of the association can serve to inform implementors in the project's programmatic direction.

Division of labor and sources of income. KMT aims to protect Batan Bay and its tributaries as a source of aquatic and marine products. However, the fisherfolk leaders and the community organizer realize that they have to address the basic economic needs before the people can be involved in long-term environmental programs of action.

Tilapia cage culture was considered a viable economic enterprise as it was less capital intensive than fishpond operation and the technology was readily available. The KMT members engaged in the hands-on training on cage culture--the feeding, sampling, monitoring, and cage maintenance tasks. They

met regularly, especially on financial and organizational management. Households took turns in management. Men, women and children helped in the feeding, sampling, cleaning of cages, and eventually in the harvest.

After three months, members were able to sell the hybrid tilapia (*nilotica*) at a farm gate price of Ps45 per kilo. They decided to have their net income plowed back to production costs until such time that their revenues will be sufficient to declare dividends. Women handled the responsibility of financial monitoring and record keeping. After one year of four production cycles, the group earned a profit of Ps11,000.

KMT decided to sell their produce only by themselves. Individually, women members avail of the tilapia supply and sell the fish at a mark-up price of up to Ps10. This practice provided women cash to buy necessities for the family. The study, however, has not provided information about the spending patterns of households.

The tilapia cage culture is a significant source of protein for member households, although no information is provided as to the nature and extent of providing the food needs of member households. KMT members have considered venturing into vegetable production.

Availability of time over the seasons. The report suggests that the project, being a household-based enterprise that is responsive to the family's needs, is sensitive to the seasonality of small-scale farming and fishing activities. Men, women and children find time to attend association meetings. The report has not indicated the usual time and day of the week when members gather for a meeting.

Access to resources. A key factor in this project is the people's access to a tilapia cage culture technology and the availability of resource persons to train the members of the community. Being beneficiaries of the Food Systems Development Project of the University of the Philippines in the Visayas, they

have access to extension services and linkage with government line agencies.

Social capital. Membership in the KMT has offered an experience of collective action in managing a project. This opportunity is said to have fostered camaraderie and unity among the members, trained them in leadership, organizational, and entrepreneurial skills, especially the women.

Stakeholders' perspective. At the very start of the project, implementors realized the need to involve women--the resource users and resource conservers--in the activities of the project. To bring about the desired change in coastal zone management, the need of the people for food and income was seriously considered and a definite action was made. However, the technology of tilapia cage culture as introduced to the KMT members is deemed to have been successful owing to the conduct of other equally important activities (Lopez-Rodriguez 1996:79-80):

1. Gender-disaggregated baseline data and women-specific studies employing participatory research.
2. Community organizing and continuing education on environmental, economic and gender issues.
3. Networking and advocacy with local government units (LGUS), nongovernment organizations (NGOs) and people's organizations (POs).
4. Gender awareness, equal sharing of responsibilities and decision-making in the home, in production, and in organizational activities.

Women and the Bulolakaw Upland Project

Sitio Bulolakaw (in Barangay Nug-as in the town of Alcoy, Cebu) was one of the sites chosen to develop the needed participatory approaches in social forestry, a people-oriented concept which argues that people and trees can co-exist in a way that would allow them to sustain each other. Rene M. Rivas,

Cecile C. Uy, and Salve B. Borlagdan (1991) prepared a case based on information reported and discussed in Borlagdan (1987), Borlagdan and others (1988), and Uy (1990).

The integrated social forestry program was launched in Bulolakaw in 1984 by the Bureau of Forest Development (BFD), now called the Forest Management Bureau of the Department of Environment and Natural Resources. A community organizing technology was applied in order to develop a farmers' association and impart organizational skills to farmers, help the community manage its resources, and develop its ability to acquire for its residents the social and agricultural services they needed. Two female project field coordinators (PFCs) undertook the community organizing tasks. Based on key informant interviews, the PFCs identified a core group of seven male and one female farmer-leaders. The core group and the PFCs mobilized 18 other farmers to initiate the organization of an upland association.

Division of labor. Bulolakaw households considered land as a main resource in the uplands. Cultivation of land was generally a shared activity. Women did weeding, harvesting, and raising livestock. Women planted rootcrops, vegetable crops, and fruit trees. Because of certain taboos, women were not allowed to participate in the planting of corn and snap beans. Women assigned work to children and supervised them. They occasionally reminded their husbands when to apply fertilizers or pesticides to the field; in cases when men could not do the application, women had been known to do the tasks themselves. Women were observed to work in their farms for as long as 8 hours a day, 6 days a week, and 10 to 12 months in a year. The men worked equally long hours in the farm and usually handled tasks that required greater physical strength such as rockwalling and clearing the land with crowbars.

Very few farming decisions needed to be discussed between the spouses, many of the decisions were routine. Both men and women planted the usual crops. At harvest time, women allocated the produce according to different uses and men brought the

harvests to the market about 20 kms away. The women, however, often accompanied their spouses to ensure that the men did not waste the proceeds on liquor and gambling.

Off-farm employment brought about changes in the gender-based work division. Division of farm responsibilities used to be based on crops--men and the sons grew the major crops such as corn and vegetables, women were responsible for the production of supplementary food crops such as rootcrops, sayote and eggplant. Off-farm jobs usually needed male labor that paid more cash than what they could earn from farming. As a result, farm tasks were left to women and children. Farming households hired workers when family labor was not adequate for the work requirements in the farm. Male workers generally handled land clearing and preparation while female workers did weeding and harvesting.

The care of animals was shared by household members. Men took care of the cows while women looked after the chickens, goats, and pigs. Older boys and girls helped in these chores.

Women and their older children, particularly the daughters, generally performed housekeeping work. They fed, bathed, and attended to the needs of infants and toddlers. They cleaned the house and yard, did the laundry, cooked the meals, washed dishes and cooking utensils, and disposed of the garbage. They were responsible for buying food and other household goods. The men and the boys, for their part, kept the home supplied with water and fuelwood. Men and women shared the task of disciplining the children and teaching them family values.

Husbands usually handled household chores like cooking meals and doing the laundry when the wives were sick or just gave birth. When the family has older children, female relatives or neighbors who could help when the wife is indisposed, the husband is freed of the household tasks.

Sources of income. Men usually looked for off-farm jobs such as reforestation work for the BFD projects, carpentry and others. Women engaged in small-scale trading: selling dried or cooked fish, bread and cookies, sugar, salt, matches, softdrinks,

and liquor including tuba (a local wine from coconut). The residents also earned from weaving baskets, producing corn grinders, and gathering tuba. Since households usually raised one or two pigs, and about one to five goats and/or cows, these animals provided additional sources of income. Husband and wife jointly decided the selling of an animal. In the case of a cow, since the man tended it and the sale usually involved a big amount of cash, the man usually made the decision about its disposal.

No data on spending patterns could be ascertained from the case.

Availability of time over the seasons. Women claimed that their preoccupation with housekeeping and farm work limited the time they could spend on other activities. However, they often attended religious activities and interacted regularly during market days (Thursdays and Sundays) in Bulolakaw. The women came to market principally to sell and to trade news; the men were said to go to market to drink liquor with neighbors and friends or to gamble. Cockfighting and cara y cruz (tossing of coins) were common forms of gambling among men. Card games were popular among women.

Access to resources. Bulolakaw is largely a timberland but land claimants insisted on their ownership rights because they had been paying taxes on their land. As of 1986, there were over 200 land claimants of Bulolakaw land. Of this number, 17 percent were female. Two of these women bought the land from their own earnings while the rest acquired the land through inheritance. The women, however, could lose "ownership" of the land upon marriage, when they turn over the cultivation and management of the land to their spouses. In 1987, BFD had distributed a total of 93 stewardship certificates: 85 to male household heads, 4 to female household heads, and 4 to single males. Of the 49 who had joined the upland association, 46 were male and 3 were female.

While most of the planning, decision making, and other project activities were initiated by the males who dominated the

association, a few women were able to participate in these activities through their attendance in general assemblies. Women went to sessions as substitutes for their husbands, although three consistently attended even when their spouses were present. Some women were quick in asking questions, making comments on the issues being discussed, and giving suggestions. Other women were more enterprising--they went to the session hall to sell food, cigarettes, and tuba.

The association had a farm input credit scheme as an entry activity of the pilot project. One hundred bags of fertilizers and a limited amount of pesticides were made available to qualified members as loans. To qualify for a loan, members were required to practice some soil conservation measures. Nonmembers were allowed access to farm inputs but were charged a higher price and required to pay in cash. Married women whose husbands are the official members of the association could not directly avail of the credit scheme. Women who spent more time farming than husbands who took off-farm jobs had to persuade their spouse to avail of the loan for farm inputs.

In the promotion of soil-conserving measures such as construction of rockwalls, vegetative methods of contouring, and boundary tree planting, the PFCs supplied information and tree-planting materials to any farmer who showed interest in the project. During groundwork activities, the PFCs asked the women to relay the information to the men who were not around. This role of women as carrier of information obviously influenced the women's farming practices because many women were found to adopt vegetative contouring (such as hedgerow planting and contour planting) either on their own initiative or upon suggestion from their spouse. Some women availed of planting materials being distributed by persuading the spouse to secure tree seedlings from the project.

Social capital. The Bulolakaw upland farmers association opened opportunities for the provision of basic services such as a water system and free health clinics. A group of women, mostly

wives of association officers, formed an organization to sustain the community activities of the upland farmers association which faced some problems related to its credit project. Some personnel from the Department of Health and the Department of Social Welfare and Development encouraged the women to organize free clinics and run a corn-soya supplemental feeding program for the children. The PFC and the former association president assisted the women in the conduct of meetings, group formation, planning, and implementation of activities. The women's group conducted a raffle to buy a sewing machine from its proceeds. They asked the DSWD for training in sewing as an alternative livelihood. Courses in herbal medicine and beauty culture were also requested by them.

Bulolakaw had two informal systems of work groups: *alayon*, consisting primarily of female and male teenagers; and *bolho-on*, composed of males at least 18 years of age, who were employed principally for land preparation.

Stakeholders' perspective. It could not be deduced from the case study how women and men conceptualize the environment and perceive the changes taking place. How children participate in and learn about resource management cannot be gleaned from the case report.

Women and Farming in the Upland of Magdungao

In general, women know better than men when it comes to needs and well-being. Women are the first to know when the basic supplies such as rice, salt, soap, etc. are already short; they are the ones who scrimp and save to finance the children's education; and they are the ones who sleep least when a family member is sick. To exclude women in the development process is like depriving the very heart of development - the improvement of the family and the community's well-being (Gerardino and Gerardino 1995:122).

In 1985, Magdungao, an upland farming community in Passi, Iloilo, was declared as a special project for an agro-forestry

development by the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) through its Rainfed Resources Development Project (RRDP), a USAID-funded project. Concepcion E. Gerardino and Efren C. Gerardino, wife-and-husband RRDP field implementors documented the importance of women's participation in sustainable farming and focused on women's roles as local planners, managers, and researchers.

The Magdungao Agro-Forestry Project is said to be "men-centered" at the start. The new roles of women in farming emerged out of the necessity to complement the efforts of men. Women's participation, in this case, was neither planned nor directly assisted but a homegrown strategy, which therefore merits a closer scrutiny.

Division of labor. Women in the uplands of Magdungao play important roles in almost all aspects of farming: in planning the farm, in the maintenance tasks (weeding, pest control, etc.), and in household chores that directly support farm chores. With the introduction of agro-forestry, farm operations become continuous, fast-paced and more complex. Necessarily, women have to shoulder more responsibilities in the farm to reinforce men's multiple tasks in the new farming system. In addition to reproductive activities (such as child rearing, housework and cooking), women also engage in farm production work (such as weeding, planting, maintenance of livestock, home gardens). Men generally handle farm production work such as land preparation, farm maintenance, planting, harvesting and post-harvest activities.

There are some traditional beliefs that limit women's participation in farm development. One example is the belief that women should not go near the *ampalaya*, stringbeans, eggplant, tomatoes, squash, and pepper plants during their menstrual period because the plants' growth will be stunted and will not bear fruit. Another belief is that women should not plant *camote* (sweet potato) and tomatoes because the fruits will crack. There is also gender bias in crop preferences - major cash crops are for men while minor crops like vegetables for home

consumption are for women (Gerardino and Gerardino 1995:128; Roquia 1995:116).

Income sources and spending patterns. Farm products are the main sources of income. At a time when farm-to-market road was not available, women were effectively excluded from having control over farm income. Men transported farm produce on a carabao sled, a task which was labor demanding. The report stated that men tended to use the proceeds from the sale on gambling and drinking - vices which are socially acceptable in the community. These occurrences, which resulted in loss of capital, dampened the enthusiasm of women in planning and farm management and aggravated household burdens like food shortages and illnesses due to malnutrition. The construction of access road changed the situation. The inequity was resolved by the participation of women in the marketing of farm produce and in their taking on the role of a financial manager.

Other sources of income include poultry and livestock raising, small-scale business, charcoal making, mat and basket weaving, carpentry work, and tuba (wine from coconut) gathering.

Availability of time over the seasons. This information is not available in the report.

Access to resources. Men generally claimed ownership of land. Women who had direct control and access to land were observed to be more active in planning and management of the farm. As to technology, soil and water conservation strategies introduced by the project were found to be physically laborious and thus, excluded women from being involved in the development process. At a later stage, women's participation increased when technologies that were less physically demanding were introduced, such as direct seeding or the use of bare root seedlings in establishing farm forest and bio-intensive gardening.

In Barangay Magdungao, the female members of the family were given priority for high school education with the hope that they can finish college and obtain jobs in the city. A number of the women who could not enter college became wives of local farmers.

Women's numeracy and literacy skills were helpful in farm planning, record keeping, financial management and other activities.

Social capital. Organizations in the community include the Farmers' Organization, Society of Women for Environment and Economic Productivity, youth organizations and the Catholic Organization (Roquia 1995:108). A traditional system of labor group, *hil-o*, serves as a community-level support institution. Women with infants and toddlers formed themselves into a workgroup and assigned a member to watch over the children while they work in nearby field. This daycare approach is usually clan-based.

Stakeholders' Perspective. From the perspective of the community development workers, the Magdungao Agro-Forestry Project has been successful in the transfer of technologies compatible with the goal of combining appropriate upland farming practices and forest conservation. However, it has to ensure the participation of women in order to sustain project gains.

As observed by the writers, the compelling reasons why women become partners in agro-forestry operation and management are as follows:

1. The best times to plant trees in order to attain a higher percentage of survival are also in the months when men are busy with the major crops (May to July). Thus, women and children plant the trees.
2. Crop diversity and cultural requirements necessitate day-to-day work work and monitoring.
3. Men participate in *hil-o*, a traditional form of cooperation among farmers where they work in groups on each other's farm on a rotational basis. There are certain days when men have to be absent from their own farms.
4. Women have production areas of their own.

Women's participation in farm management have the following advantages:

1. There are farm tasks where women are more effective than men, i.e., weeding, pest control, etc.
2. Women are better managers of the labor resources of the household because of their persuasive influence over the children.
3. Women are more effective in monitoring the progress of the farm. The vegetables they plant in the border of major crops need more attention so they spend more time in the field than men.

The study, however, has not indicated the perspective of women and men themselves with regard to the environment and the changes taking place. There is also no indication as to how children participate in and learn about resource management in the uplands.

Lessons learned. The report outlined the lessons learned from the experience:

1. Women's participation is born out of necessity to augment and complement the men's multiple roles in the new farming system, i.e., soil and water conservation and agro-forestry.
2. Women's participation ensures that farm productivity is directed towards the fulfillment of the basic needs and the improvement of the well-being of the family and the community.
3. Women who are significantly involved in farm planning are most likely to be effective partners in the management of the farm.
4. There are farm tasks (weeding and pest control) and management responsibilities (monitoring and record keeping) where women are generally more effective than men.
5. Sustainability of farm development is not assured without women's participation in planning and management.

6. Women are effective local researchers. Their traditional practice is more compatible to research methodologies; their research agenda is integrative; they are more keen on monitoring and record keeping; and they are more patient and persevering than men.
7. There are critical factors that may either enhance or inhibit women's participation; development workers must take these factors into consideration if they want to effectively assist women's initiatives at farm development.

The Chapter in Summary

Five specific cases were presented. The first case is based on primary data, collected during field visits for the GreenCOM-Philippines. It discussed the role of women fishers in a coastal barangay. The second case talked about women in a mangrove project. This study was collaboratively undertaken by the International Center for Research on Women and the World Wildlife Fund. The third case, about women's roles in a fishing village in Batan Bay, was part of a project assisted by the Canadian International Development Agency. The last two cases covered upland communities. One case was derived from a project assisted by the Ford Foundation and the other case was based on experiences with the Rainfed Resources Development Project, a USAID-funded project.

To the extent possible, all cases provided information about the method of data collection, sample size, location of the study, perspective guiding its interpretation, and purposes of the study. The exploratory factors of the Gender Information Framework (decision making, division of labor, income sources, spending patterns, availability of time, access to resources, social capital, and stakeholders' perspective) served as the organizing criteria in the review of the cases.

Chapter Four
ANALYSIS

From the five cases examined, one can glean that there are development projects in the Philippines that have taken into consideration the gender variable. Not all gender strategies, however, are integrated in the design stage of the development project. Some projects (such as the Bulolakaw project and its credit scheme) looked into the gender dimension when difficulties in the implementation cropped up; others serendipitously assessed (as in the case of the women of Baybay) the influence of the gender variable in the ongoing development process; still others (such as the case of the women in Cogtong Bay) tried to examine retrospectively how women played a significant role in the project development.

Women and Work

Evidences suggest that women in the coastal and upland communities readily switch roles from reproductive chores to productive responsibilities in the course of a day's work. Women's subsistence strategies are driven by the family's basic need for food and barest essentials. The cases reviewed also demonstrate that women manage their activities relative to the tasks of other members of the family. Thus, to understand women's role one has to understand the family context, particularly the role played by other members of the household. If the father successfully plays the role of the family breadwinner or the children are able to contribute cash for the needs of the family, the mother can devote more time to a specific undertaking, such as hog raising as a family business enterprise, or she can have more time to herself. The cases illustrate that, given the economic situation of the households, women are into many things (child care, domestic chores, fishing

or farming, poultry raising, backyard gardening, laundry service or keeping a sari-sari store). In the home, women are the *taga-salo* (alluding to the catcher in a game who has the ball in one's hands, and whose decision how and where to throw the ball inevitably decides how the game proceeds) and the adage "the buck stops here" applies to them.

For these reasons, women are central to the plan, action and evaluation of any community-based coastal or upland resources management. An analysis of the situation of women is an analysis of the situation of the household and its members. An analysis of the situation of the household is an analysis of the situation of the *barangay* or village. An analysis of the situation of the village leads to an analysis of the situation of the municipality, the province, the country, and eventually the country's relationship with the rest of the world.

Development planners and program implementors of community-based local resources management have to start somewhere--from something small and doable, and one which has a wider audience reach or has a multiplier effect. Researches done in the Philippines (the five cases presented here included) confirm that women, mothers in particular, are doers at the level of the smallest unit of society and are known to work hard, sacrifice even, for the benefit of the family.

Generalizations

What generalizations can be drawn from the findings? In this section, the findings will be classified into convergent and divergent sets of information.

Points of convergence. In general, the findings recognize the positive role women play in community development efforts, and admonish that not taking women's role into account results in missed opportunities. In particular, the studies agree that:

1. Women are the household managers who see to the smooth operation of household tasks and farm or fishing activities by planning for the workers' provisions (such as sourcing and providing food supply, farm or fishing

- gears or implements) and assigning members, especially children, to specific tasks.
2. Women do traditional roles of housekeeping and child care but are also active in fishing/farming operation.
 3. Women play active role in generating cash income for the family.
 4. Women generally decide purchases for basic needs. In cases of cash shortage, women face the burden of borrowing money to meet basic food needs. Husband and wife jointly decide on purchases of items that are expensive or require borrowing with collateral.
 5. Women attend meetings on behalf of their husbands who are the official members of local associations. Decisions made in meetings, even those arrived at with wives attending, are generally carried by the organization. No report has been made of decisions reversed because of a husband's objection.
 6. Being non-official members of organizations, women cannot directly access loan benefits, stewardship contracts, or planting materials sourced through the association. Wives access benefits through their husbands. When the plan for innovation in farming or fishing operation come from the wives, they have to cajole or persuade their husbands to avail of the benefits for them to realize their plans.
 7. Local women's groups are characteristically involved in projects that provide immediate economic benefits for the family.
 8. Drinking alcohol and gambling among men are viewed as socially acceptable. Women point to these practices as wasteful of family's meager resources.

Points of divergence. The differences in the results of the study are principally brought about by the difference in the location of the resource base. Upland communities, in general, are geographically less accessible than coastal areas due to problems of transport and communication facilities. This reality

differently impacts on women and men. For example, women in fishing communities are greatly involved in such post-harvest activities as marketing or trading of fish while women in upland agriculture do not have direct control of the cash proceeds from farm produce because husbands do the trading or marketing of goods. In an area where there is no transport system, goods are carried on people's back (and heavy farm products like rootcrops are usually carried by men) or by using a carabao sled--a transport system that effectively excludes women from being involved in the actual pricing and handling of farm products.

Folk beliefs that are inhibitory to the participation of women in development work are commonly noted in upland areas than in coastal communities. These beliefs are associated with women's regular hormonal changes and genitalia (e.g. women are not to go near certain vegetable plants when they have menstruation as this will stunt growth of plants, or women should not plant tomatoes lest the fruits crack).

Across studies and between resource bases, the data gaps include:

1. Lack of a common framework for gender analysis that makes it difficult to do direct comparisons across project experiences.
2. Women's view of the environment and the changes taking place is not documented and therefore not given due consideration in project design, resource management planning, program implementation, and impact assessments.
3. Despite a clear need for the household as a unit of analysis in understanding women's role in community-based resources management, an intergenerational perspective is missing. How grandparents look at the environment and the actions done toward it as well as children's participation in and learning about the environment are not taken into account. This is particularly important in a country that puts premium on strong family ties through which values are passed on to the next generation.

4. There is not enough documentation on the role of women as resource managers. Literature on gender issues abound in activity profile of men and women but not much on the initiatives taken regarding conservation or preservation (or lack of it) of local natural resources.
5. There are emerging patterns denoting women's entry into spheres of activities traditionally handled by men such as fishing out in the sea or planting major crops such as corn. One wonders if Filipino males readily take on domestic chores and child care work when females handle primary occupation of farming or fishing.
6. In a country where population growth is still high, there is no literature dealing on the decision of reproductive-age women who are active in the economic sphere to limit and/or space the number of children. With more and more people competing over meager resources, it would be wise to examine how religion and other factors influence decisions to space or limit the number of children.
7. Sources of information and channels of communication as well as information needs of local residents are not usually indicated in project reports and research studies. Community-based coastal and upland resources management necessarily call for adequate provision of information to guide action.
8. The seasonality of work in fishing and farming operation as it relates to gender roles is not adequately explored in the studies. This factor has important bearing on the role of women and the decisions they have to make in periods of harvest and off-harvest, in peak season and lean season.

A Note on the Use of the Gender Analysis Framework

The use of exploratory factors (division of labor, income sources, spending patterns, availability of time, access to resources, social capital, stakeholders' perspective and the factor of decision making that cuts across all factors)

identified in the gender analysis framework (GIF) helped in the selection decision that had to be made when the writer was confronted with several possible studies to be included in this desk study. Studies with content that could not be re-classified readily using the GIF factors were excluded as this made comparative analysis difficult to do.

In the field, the GIF can serve as a useful tool in collecting data needed for the integration of gender variable in community needs analysis, project identification and design, planning, implementation and evaluation. From the experience of the conversations with women of Baybay, the GIF appears to work well in a participatory research approach. As there is a tendency for unstructured, free-wheeling, intimate and animated conversations to be off-course, the GIF factors serve as flags to keep the discussion on track.

However, the GIF as a tool assumes that certain conditions are met by its user. One assumed condition is that the user is sensitive to the gender issues in a particular culture. Another is that the exploratory factors are understood in the economic, sociocultural, and political context that participants are in. Thirdly, that the user is sensitive to the location-specific or resource base-specific nuances of gender relations. A limitation in any of these conditions results in a limitation of the GIF application.

Chapter Five

KEY ISSUES

In advocating for women's participation in the development process, one has to bear in mind three primary considerations:

- Filipino women, especially those who are economically challenged in resource-deprived communities, are saddled with a lot of work obligations within and outside the home.
- A basic need for food to feed the children and other family members is of utmost concern to mothers. Other concerns are of less significance to them.
- Understandably for people who have long experience of deprivation, women expect immediate personal gratification from their program involvement. Promises of long-term benefits do not motivate them to engage in desired actions.

From the premises cited above, the key issues in addressing gender concerns in environmental programs are:

- Women's multiple roles
- Reducing time conflicts
- Immediate economic benefits

For purposes of planning and development, and envisioning the participation of women as full partners of men in local resources management, one must be able to distinguish between practical gender needs and strategic gender needs (Moser 1993).

Practical gender needs are the needs women identify in their socially accepted roles in society. Practical gender needs do not challenge the gender divisions of labour or women's subordinate position in society, although arising out of them. Practical gender needs are

a response to immediate perceived necessity, identified within a specific context. They are practical in nature and often are concerned with inadequacies in living conditions such as water provision, health care, and employment (Moser 1993:40).

Strategic gender needs are the needs women identify because of their subordinate position to men in their society. Strategic gender needs vary according to particular contexts. They relate to gender divisions of labour, power and control and may include such issues as legal rights, domestic violence, equal wages and women's control over their bodies. Meeting strategic gender needs helps women to achieve greater equality. It also changes existing roles and therefore challenges women's subordinate position (Moser 1993:39).

In the Philippine context, and particularly based on the cases reviewed in this report, women's concerns in rural communities are principally practical gender needs. Tackling strategic gender needs would lead to questioning the traditional roles socially assigned to males and females. A move towards strategic gender needs is itself a big issue and challenge to program planners and project implementors.

Chapter Six
RECOMMENDATIONS

How can gender concerns be integrated in the USAID environmental projects? Recommendations at the level of project implementors and field staff, and at the level of program beneficiaries are here outlined.

For Project Implementors and Field Personnel

1. Training on gender sensitivity and awareness with special focus on the socio-political, economic and cultural context of gender roles, and the identification of factors limiting women's participation in the development process.
2. Developing skills on gender planning, implementation and evaluation.
3. Acquiring research skills and approaches that build on locality-specific gender-disaggregated data, render gender analysis, and utilize and disseminate research results.
4. Networking with local associations and government agencies and mobilizing organization members in the conduct of gender-sensitive, environment-friendly activities.

For Project Beneficiaries

A general program of training on gender sensitivity and awareness is recommended. Community organizing, livelihood projects, continuing education, networking and mobilization work, and technology adoption are program strategies that can integrate gender concerns and local resources management.

In response to the key issues identified in the previous chapter, and in light of the findings of the study, the following specific courses of action are suggested:

5. To address the issue of women's multiple roles,
 - through gender awareness and continuing education,

sensitize men particularly to the imperative of crossing over the "public"- "private" divide to ease women's burden;

- explore the clan-based day-care system for working women with toddlers and infants;
- educate wives and husbands on the aspect of planning the number of children and spacing births to ensure good health of mothers and children.

6. To address the issue of time conflicts,

- introduce appropriate technology to save women time and energy in doing household chores (e.g., use of efficient cookstove that saves time and consumes less firewood, water supply made available closer to where people live) and work production roles (e.g., use of manually-operated mechanical weeder for upland rice)
- schedule meetings or community assemblies based on local women's time availability rather than time convenient for project personnel.

7. To address the issue of immediate economic benefits,

- introduce short-term livelihood projects that are compatible with the goal of local resource management;
- launch special economic projects that require from beneficiaries adoption of environment-friendly behavior (e.g., providing credit service only to those who have planted a quota of mangrove trees, giving free vegetable seeds to those who intercrop vegetables with plants with medicinal properties).

The recommendations suggested here are based on written reports, experiences and conversations of different people with different groups of women and men in the community. The chance of being wrong is less when there is actual validation in the field with residents of the village.

First of all, let the women speak.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abregana, Betty C. (1991) "The Weaker Sex (?), The Stronger Force", Lundayan, Vol II No.2, 16-19.
- Abregana, Betty C., Pauline Gardiner Barber, Mikhail Maxino, Phillip Saunders and David VanderZwaag (1996) "Legal Challenges for Local Management of Marine Resources: A Philippine Case Study", ERMP Reports, 32. Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada and College, Laguna, Philippines: Environment and Resource Management Project (ERMP). 112p.
- Borlagdan, Salve B. (1987) Working with People in the Uplands: The Bulolakaw Forestry Experience. Quezon City: Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University.
- Borlagdan, Salve B., Edna M. Alegado, Isabel M. Carillo, and Joselito Francis A. Alcaria (1988) "The Cebu Integrated Social Forestry Project" in Illo, Jeanne F.I. (ed) Gender Issues in Rural Development: A Workshop Report. Quezon City: Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University. 41-54.
- Chant, Sylvia and Cathy McIlwaine (1995) Women of a Lesser Cost: Female Labour, Foreign Exchange, and Philippine Development. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.
- de la Cruz, Quirino L. (1994) "Community-Based Coastal Resource Management", Lundayan Journal, Vol 5 No.4, 6-14.
- Dionisio Eleanor R. (1991) "Beyond Women in Development", in Illo, Jeanne F.I. (ed.) Gender Analysis and Planning. The 1990 IPC-CIDA Workshops. Quezon City: Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University. 53-58.
- Gerardino, Concepcion E. and Efren C. Gerardino (1995) "Role of Women in Sustainable Farming in the Upland: The Magdungao Experience" in Villacorta, Lorraine B. et al (eds.) "Analysis of Gender-Based Activities in Selected Agroecological Systems in the Philippines", ERMP Reports, 26. College, Laguna, Philippines and Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada: Environment and Resource Management Project (ERMP). 121-131.
- ICRW Report in Brief (August 1993)
- Illo, Jeanne F.I. (1991) "Putting Gender Up Front: Data, Issues and Prospects" in Illo, Jeanne (ed.) Gender Analysis and Planning. The 1990 IPC-CIDA Workshops. Quezon City: Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University. 39-51.
- Illo, Jeanne F.I. and Jaime B. Polo (1991) Fishers, Traders, Farmers, Wives: Life Stories of Ten Women in a Fishing Village. Quezon City: Ateneo University Press.
- Lachica, N. Obungen (1993) "An Investigation of Women's Role and Participation in Community-Based Coastal Resource Management". Lundayan Journal, Vol 4 No.1, 19-28.
- Li, Tanya Murray (1993) "Gender Issues in Community-Based Resource Management: Theories, Applications and Philippine Case Studies", ERMP Reports, 9. College, Laguna, Philippines and Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada: Environment and Resource Management Project (ERMP). 75p.
- Lopez-Rodriguez, Luz (1996) "The Fishers of Talangban: Women's Role and Gender Issues in Community-Based Coastal Resources Management", in

- Ferrer, Elmer Magsanoc, Lenore Polotan-de la Cruz and Marife Agoncillo-Domingo (eds.) Seeds of Hope. Quezon City: College of Social Work and Community Development, University of the Philippines. 67-81.
- Mehra, Rehka, Margaret Alcott and Nida S. Baling (1993) "Women's Participation in the Cogtong Bay Mangrove Management Project: A Case Study", Research report submitted to the U.S. Agency for International Development.
- Moser, Caroline O.N. (1993) Gender Planning and Development: Theory, practice and training. London and New York: Routledge.
- Rivas, Rene M., Cecile C. Uy and Saive B. Borlaqdan (1991) "Women and Men in an Upland Project: The Bulolakaw Case" in Illo, Jeanne (ed.) Gender Analysis and Planning: The 1990 IPC-CIDA Workshops. Quezon City: Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University. 75-86.
- Roquia, Felixberto H. (1995) "Barangay Magdungao, Passi, Iloilo (Upland Study Site) in Villacorta, Lorraine B. et al (eds.) Analysis of Gender-Based Activities in Selected Agroecological Systems in the Philippines", RMP Reports, 26. College, Laguna, Philippines and Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada: Environment and Resource Management Project (ERMP). 101-119.
- Shields, M. Dale, Barbara P. Thomas-Slayter (1993) "Gender, Class, Ecological Decline, and Livelihood Strategies: A Case Study of Siquijor Island, The Philippines", ECOGEN Case Study Series.
- Tanchuling, Linnea V. (1993) "Bakit si Filemon lang ang Manangingisda (or why women are not fishers)", Lundayan Journal, Vol 4 No.1, 7-18.
- Uy, Cecile C. (1990) Gender and Household Headship in an Upland Community: Evidence from Selected Life Stories. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Ateneo de Manila University.
- Villacorta, Lorraine B., Esther C. Velasco and Felixberto H. Roquia (eds.) (1995) "Analysis of Gender-Based Activities in Selected Agroecological Systems in the Philippines", ERMP Reports, 26. College, Laguna, Philippines and Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada: Environment and Resource Management Project (ERMP). 177p.