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Gender Office**

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UP Diliman Gender Review

Ang Diliman Gender Review (DGR) ay opisyal na dyornal ng UP Diliman Gender Office (UPDGO) na inilalathala isang beses bawat taon. Bilang pagsasagawa ng mandato nitong *gender mainstreaming*, naglalathala ito ng mga pangkasariang pananaliksik, mapanlikhang sulatin, rebyu ng mga tesis, disertasyon, aklat, at produktong pangmidya. Layon nitong magtanghal at magpalaganap ng mga bagong kaalaman at mapalakas ang talastasang pangkasarian na maaaring gamitin sa gawaing pagtuturo, administrasyon at ekstensyon. Umaambag ito sa layunin ng Unibersidad na maging mayabong ang gawaing pananaliksik at paglalathala sa usapin ng kasarian.

Tungkol sa Pabalat

Pag-alaala sa makabayan at mapagpalayang sining ni Prop. Leonilo “Neil” Doloricon, na pumanaw noong Hulyo 16, 2021, ang pabalat ng isyung ito. Si Prop. Neil Doloricon ay batikang artista sa sining at naging Dekano ng College of Fine Arts sa Unibersidad ng Pilipinas, Diliman. Bagamat nakaaantig sa damdamin ang imahen, may mapanlabang diwang ipinapabatid sa pabalat na pinamagatang, “Ang Bahay ay Buhay.” Palaging mapanghamon, naninindigan, at sinasalamin ng sining ni Prop. Doloricon ang kalagayan ng kababaihan, katulad ng ikalawang imaheng nakapaloob sa dyornal – larawan ng paglaban ng kababaihan, kaisa ang komunidad, sa harap ng mistulang pagsagasa sa kanilang espasyo para bigyang daan ang mapangwasak na “pag-unlad.” lilan lamang sa mga nabanggit ang mga sining biswal ni Prop. Doloricon sa mahabang kasaysayan ng kanyang paglikha bilang Artista ng Bayan para makialam, makilahok, at lumaban sa ngalan ng malawak na sambayanang Pilipino.

DILIMAN GENDER REVIEW

DILIMAN GENDER REVIEW BOL. 4

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PASASALAMAT

Taos puso naming pinasasalamatan ang mga kababaihan, kabataan at lahat ng kasarian na nag-ambag ng kanilang buhay at lakas para makatawid sa matinding krisis dulot ng pandemya.

Binibigyang-pugay din ang mga dakilang martir sa kasaysayan ng pagpapalaya sa kababaihan at ibang kasarian na sumakabilang buhay sa taong 2021-2022.

Panghuli, lubos na pinasasalamatan ng Lupon ng Tagapagpaganap sa mga rebyuwer, ang pamilya ni Prop. Neil Doloricon, at pati na rin kay Angela Espinosa para sa disenyo at lay-out ng aklat.

PATNUGUTAN
DILIMAN GENDER REVIEW

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

We extend our heartfelt thanks to all the women, men, and all genders, including the young generations of today, for contributing knowledge and solutions, giving each other strength, and risking their lives so that we may all get through the pandemic together.

We also pay tribute to all the martyrs in history and the heroes of women's and genders' liberation who lost their lives in 2021 and 2022.

Finally, the Executive Board would like to thank the reviewers, the Advisory Board of the Diliman Gender Review, the family of Prof. Neil Doloricon and, of course, Angela Espinosa for the book design and layout.

THE EDITORIAL BOARD
DILIMAN GENDER REVIEW

NILALAMAN

- 10 PAMBUNGAD**
Judy M. Taguiwalo, Ph.D.
- Ang Bugtong at Talinghaga sa Peminisasyon ng Halimaw sa Imahinasyong Pampelikula sa Pilipinas
Jay Jomar Quintos
- “Numismatikong Pag-aaral sa Kababaihan sa mga Salaping Pilipino at Indones sa Panahong Post-Kolonyal: Isang Panimulang Paghahambing”
Axle Christien Tugano
- Articulating the twin burden of class and gender: Oppression and liberation in the poetry of women grassroots organizers
Mary Grace R. Concepcion, Ph.D.





- 155** "Madness" in Peasant Communities
of North Cotabato, Mindanao, Philippines
Kenette Jean I. Millondaga

- Assessment of Barangay LGUs Level of
Gender-Responsiveness in Selected BIDANI
Catchment Barangays in Laguna, Philippines
189 *Ma. Charina P. Maneja, Arnold T. Abuyog,
Guien, Eidrefson P. Garma, Ana B. Castañeda,
Pamela A. Gonzales, Belinda A. Lalap,
Angelina dR. Felix*

PAMBUNGAD

Ito ang ikaapat na bolyum ng *Diliman Gender Review* (DGR), ang upisyal na dyornal ng University of the Philippines Diliman Gender Office (UPDGO). Ang UPDGO ang “nangangasiwa sa pagpapatupad ng bisyon at misyon ng Unibersidad sa Diliman para sa malay-sa-kasariang edukasyon, at komunidad na may pagpapahalaga sa pagkakapantay-pantay at katarungan para sa lahat, anuman ang kasarian” (Kimuell-Gabriel 2018)¹. Ang DGR ay *bilingual* at *refereed journal* na tumutugon sa mahalagang tungkulin ng unibersidad na manaliksik at magpalaganap ng bago at makabuluhang kaalaman, sa partikular, sa usapin ng kasarian at kaunlaran.

Ang isyung ito ay isyu para sa taong 2021, ikalawang taon ng pandemya dulot ng COVID-19. Katulad ng DGR Bol. 3, na saklaw ang taong 2020, wala tayong natanggap na kontribusyong tumatalakay sa paksang kababaihan, kalusugan, at pandemya. Hindi naman ito nakapagtataka dahil ang pangkalahatang panawagan naman ng DGR sa kontribusyon ay mga pag-aaral kaugnay ng kasarian at kaunlaran. Umaasa tayo na sa susunod na isyu ng DGR ay may mga ambag nang artikulo kaugnay ng kasarian at ang pandemya na nagpalala pa sa mahirap na ngang buhay ng ating mamamayan.

Limang artikulo ang laman ng kasalukuyang DGR. Dahil *bilingual* ang *journal*, dalawa sa mga ito ay sa Filipino at tatlo ang sa Ingles. Ipinamamalas ng mga artikulo ang “diversity” ng araling kababaihan at kasarian

¹ Kimuell-Gabriel, Nancy. 2018. “Pambungad.” *Diliman Gender Review* Bol. 1, 2018. UPDGO: Quezon City.

sa punto ng disiplina at lapit: kasaysayan, literatura, pelikula, antropolohiya, at *gender mainstreaming*. Gayunpaman, binibigkis ang mga artikulo ng pagkilala sa opresyon ng kababaihan at ang manipestasyon nito sa iba't ibang larangan.

Representasyon o kawalan ng representasyon ng kababaihan ang pangunahing tinatalakay ng tatlo sa mga artikulo.

Representasyon ng babae sa pelikula bilang halimaw ang sinuri ni Jay Jomar Quintos sa **“Ang Bugtong at Talinghaga sa Peminisasyon ng Halimaw sa Imahinasyong Pampelikula sa Pilipinas.”** Inaral ng may-akda ang anim na episodeyo ng serye ng mga pelikulang “Shake, Rattle and Roll” (SRR). Dalawang manananggal, isa sa nayon at isa sa maralitang komunidad sa lungsod, at tatlong aswang ang mga babaeng halimaw sa mga episodeyo ng SRR. Gamit ang mga konseptong “peminisasyon ng halimaw” at “gahom”, iniuugnay ng may-akda ang representasyon ng babae bilang halimaw sa “kolonyalismo, urbanisasyon, at patriarkiya”. Aniya, “nanatili ang babae bilang buslong pinagkukunan ng mga kahulugang masama, maninila, mapang-akit, at makasalanan na nakabatay sa namamayaning kaayusan ng isang lipunang hindi ikinalulugod ang patas na gahom para sa lahat-anumang kasarian, sekswalidad, lahi, etnisidad, at uri” (Quintos 2021,49)².

Kakaunti ang representasyon ng kababaihang Pilipino sa salapi ng bansa habang sa Indonesia, mayaman ang pagsalarawan ng kababaihan sa kanyang kaperahan. Ito ang detalyadong pagtalakay sa **“Numismatikong Pag-aaral sa Kababaihan sa**

² Quintos, Jay Jomar. 2021. “Bugtong at Talinghaga sa Peminisasyon ng Halimaw sa Imahinasyong Pampelikula sa Pilipinas.” *Diliman Gender Review Bol. 4*, 2021. UPDGO: Quezon City.

mga Salaping Pilipino at Indones sa Panahong Post-Kolonyal: Isang Panimulang Paghahambing

ni Axle Christien Tugano. Naging tulak sa may-akda sa pagsusulat nito ang ginawang pagpalit sa mga imahen ng mga bayaning Pilipino noong Ikalawang Digmaang Pandaigdig sa PHP 1,000 pera ng bayan ng larawan ng agila. Binura ang isa sa kakaunti na ngang representasyon ng babae sa ating salapi – si Josefa Llanes-Escoda. Ginagabayan ng mga teoretikal na *framework* ng Feminismong Bayan at Araling Kabanwahan, ginamit ng may-akda ang “numismatiko” (pag-aaral tungkol sa mga barya at salaping papel) (Tugano 2021, 57)³, bilang perspektiba sa kanyang pagsusuri. Para sa kanya, ang kawalan o napakalimitadong representasyon ng kababaihan sa materyal na kultura ng bayan ay palatandaan ng mababang posisyon ng kababaihan sa lipunan; ang pagpapalit sa mga bayani sa salaping Pilipino ay bahagi ng lumalaganap na “*historical forgetting*” o “*historical amnesia*” na nagsisilbi sa kasalukuyang nasa poder.

Representasyon ng kababaihang maralita at kanilang danas sa pamamagitan ng mga tulang isinulat ng mga babaeng nagmula sa uring anakpawis o ng mga aktibistang babae na nag-oorganisa sa kanilang hanay ang siya namang laman ng pagsusuri ni Mary Grace Concepcion sa kanyang **“Articulating the Twin Burden of Class and Gender: Oppression and Liberation in the Poetry of Women Grassroots Organizers.”** Materyalistang feminismo ang lenteng gamit ng may-akda at “*feminist literary criticism*” ang kanyang metodo para suriin ang mga tula sa magasing *Laya* at sa aklat na tinipong mga tula ang *Pangarap at Hinagpis*, dalawang publikasyon ng GABRIELA, ang militanteng koalisyon ng kababaihan sa Pilipinas. Pinansin ng may-akda ang

³ Tugano, Axle Christien. 2021. “Numismatikong Pag-aaral sa Kababaihan sa mga Salaping Pilipino at Indones sa Panahong Post-Kolonyal: Isang Panimulang Paghahambing.” *Diliman Gender Review Bol. 4, 2021*. UPDGO: Quezon City.

limitasyon ng marami sa mga tula sa paghinto hanggang sa paglalantad sa iba't ibang porma ng opresyong danas ng kababaihan o kaya'y 'di malinaw na alternatibo sa kasalukuyang tagibang na relasyon ng kasarian. Kasabay nito, kinilala niya na maituturing din na pag-unlad ang pagsusulat ng mga tula ng kababaihang karaniwa'y lubog sa gawaing bahay at paghahanapbuhay. Kailangang matulungang mahasa at mapaunlad pa ang kanilang kakayahang sumulat bilang kontribusyon sa patuloy na pagsusulong ng kilusang kababaihan na ang gulugod ay ang kababaihang anakpawis na siyang bumubuo ng mayorya sa ating bayan.

Tumutok naman sa paksang kalusugan ng kababaihang pesante ang akda ni Kenette Jean Millondaga. Nakatuon ang artikulo sa *bughat* o ang tawag sa sakit na pisikal at mental na karaniwang nararanasan ng mahihirap na kababaihang pesante pagkatapos manganak at kung paano ang ganitong sakit ay itinuturing na normal at pangkaraniwan at hindi lamang dahil produkto ng dobleng pasanin ng kababaihan at kakulangan ng serbisyong medikal. Iyon ang pinapaksa ng **“Madness in Peasant Communities of North Cotabato, Mindanao, Philippines.”** Sa pamamagitan ng *field work* sa isang bayan sa North Cotabato at mga *key informant interview*, naiugnay ng may-akda ang konsepto ng *“embodied disruption”* o ang pagturing na “normal” lamang ang mga nararamdamang sakit sa katawan ng kababaihan bilang bahagi ng kanyang pagiging babae. Kung ang orihinal na konsepto ng *“embodied disruption”* ay mas nakatutok pa sa indibidwal at personal na dahilan ng sakit, mas pinalawak ng may-akda ang pagsusuri sa *bughat* hindi bilang indibidwal na bayolohikal na sakit ng kababaihan kundi nakaangkla din sa kultural at sosyal na inaasahan sa kanila ng lipunan.

Sinusukat ng **“Assessment of Barangay LGUs Level of Gender-Responsiveness in Selected Catchment Barangays in Laguna, Philippines”** ang inabot sa pagpapatupad ng *gender mainstreaming* sa 24 na barangay sa tatlong bayan ng Laguna gamit ang *gender assessment tool* para sa mga lokal na pamahalaan, ang “Gender-Responsive LGU (GeRL) Ka Ba.” Ilan sa mga natukoy sa pagtatasa ay ang mga pagsulong sa pagharap ng mga barangay sa ilang mga isyung kababaihan tulad ng serbisyong pangkalusugan kabilang na ang pangangailangan ng mga nanay at mga bata, *daycare centers*, ligtas na tubig na inumin at iba pa. Gayunpaman, tinukoy ng pagtatasa ang limitadong pagharap sa mga problemang tulad ng HIV-AIDS, pasilidad para *lying-in* at karahasan sa loob ng tahanan at kakulangan ng mga pag-aaral at pagsasanay sa kababaihan. Partikular na binigyang pansin ang kakulangan sa serbisyong pangsuporta sa kabuhayan ng kababaihan tulad ng pagtatayo ng mga kooperatiba, pasilidad sa pagpapahiram ng pera at pagpapaunlad ng mga produkto.

Isang katangian ng araling kababaihan ay ang sabay na pagpapahalaga nito sa iskolarsip at adbokasiya. Mahalaga ang pagpalitaw ng bagong kaalaman batay sa pananaliksik at kasinghalaga o mas mahalaga pa nga ay ang katuturan nito sa pagbabago sa kalagayan ng kababaihan. Sa kasaluyang DGR Bol. 4, may mga rekomendasyong direkta o hindi direkta ang mga artikulong nakapaloob dito kaugnay ng pagharap sa mga partikular na isyung tinalakay tulad ng kawalan o negatibong representasyon ng kababaihan. Kabilang sa makatuturang punto ay ang pagbabago ng pananaw sa kababaihan sa pamamagitan ng paglantad at paglaban sa representasyon bilang halimaw o kaya pagturing na normal ang sakit na “bughat” ang isang paraan para baguhin ang negatibong representasyon sa kanila. Ang isa pa ay ang pagtiyak na

may pagpapahalaga sa kababaihan sa mga imahe ng kulturang materyal tulad ng salapi, selyo, monumento, atbp, ay isang hakbang para mawakasan ang kanilang “invisibility” sa kasaysayan at sa araw-araw na buhay.

Ang DGR Bol. 4, na isyu para sa 2021 ay lalabas sa kalagitnaan ng 2023 bunga ng iba’t ibang dahilan. Habang bumagal na ang pagdami ng mga kaso ng COVID, ang krisissakabuhayan, kalusugan, at edukasyon, na pinalala ng pandemya at ng palpak na opisyal na pagtugon sa pandemya, ay hindi nawawala. Samantala, ang pinagkakaabalahan ng mga nasa kapangyarihan ay pagbabago ng Konstitusyon, pagbibigay ng dagdag na pisikal na base sa mga sundalong Amerikano, malawakang tanggalan ng mga dyipni sa kalsada sa ngalan ng “modernisasyon” at kung anu-ano pa. Hindi rin nawala ang atake sa mga karapatang pantao ng mamamayan kabilang na ang atake sa kalayaang pang-akademiko, karapatang mag-organisa at maglunsad ng sama-samang pagkilos at karapatang magprotesta. Sa totoo lang, lalong hirap ang buhay ng mamamayan bunga ng implasyon, kawalan ng trabaho o kung may trabaho man ay walang katiyakan at hindi sapat ang sahod. Kung gayon, lalong bumibigat ang pasanin ng kababaihan sa pag-atupag sa gawaing reproduksyon at produksyon at ang nakaambang karahasan sa kanila.

Katulad sa kanyang kasaysayan at sa nakaraan, umaasa tayo na ang araling kababaihan at kasarian sa pagtuturo, pananaliksik, at adbokasiya ay maging katuwang at kakapit-bisig ng kababaihang Pilipino sa pagmulat, pag-organisa, at pagkilos ng mamamayan para sa lipunang malaya, masagana, demokratiko, at may pagkakapantay-pantay. Harinawang ganito ang isa sa maging mahalagang silbi ng kasalukuyang DGR.

Judy M. Taguiwalo, Ph.D.
Punong Patnugot

INTRODUCTION

This is the fourth volume of the *Diliman Gender Review*, the official journal of the University of the Philippines Diliman Gender Office (UPDGO). The UPDGO “oversees the implementation of the vision and mission of the University in Diliman for gender-aware education and a community that values equality and justice for all, regardless of gender” (Kimuell-Gabriel 2018, translated)¹. The DGR is a bilingual and refereed journal that is in line with one of the university’s important functions, which is to conduct research and disseminate new and significant knowledge. For the UPDGO, it is research and research dissemination on topics related to women, gender and development.

This volume is the issue for 2021, the second year of the COVID-19 pandemic. As with DGR Vol. 3, which covers 2020, we received no submission on women and the pandemic - which is not surprising because DGR’s general call for contributions is for studies that are broadly related to gender and development. It is our hope that the next issue of DGR will contain research contributions on gender in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, which has worsened the already difficult lives of our people.

The current DGR issue contains five articles: two of them are in Filipino and three are in English. While the articles demonstrate the diversity of women’s and gender studies in terms of disciplines and approaches (history, literature, film, anthropology and gender mainstreaming), they are nevertheless bound together by their recognition of women’s oppression and its various manifestations.

¹ Kimuell-Gabriel, Nancy. 2018. “Pambungad.” *Diliman Gender Review Bol. 1, 2018*. UPDGO: Quezon City.

Three of the articles examine primarily the representation of women or the lack thereof.

Jay Jomar Quintos analyzes the representation of women as monsters in films in the article **“Ang Bugtong and Talinghaga sa Feminisasyon ng Halimaw sa Imaginasyong Pampelikula sa Pilipinas.”** The author studies six episodes of the “Shake, Rattle and Roll” (SRR) series of films. Two *manananggals*, one from a rural village and another from an urban poor community, and three *aswangs* are the female monsters in the SRR episodes. Using the concepts of “feminization of the monster” and “power”, the author links the representation of women as monsters to “colonialism, urbanization, and patriarchy”. According to him, “women remain to be the main source of evil, predation, seduction, and sinful meanings based on the prevailing order of a society that does not enjoy equal power for all - regardless of gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity and class.” (Quintos 2021, 49, translated)²

Representation of Filipino women in the country’s currency is scarce, whereas in Indonesia, women are richly depicted in its legal tender. Axle Christien Tugano provides a detailed discussion of this in **“Numismatikong Pag-aaral sa Kababaihan sa mga Salaping Pilipino at Indones sa Panahong Post-Kolonyal: Isang Panimulang Paghahambing.”** The replacement of the images of Filipino heroes during the Second World War on the PHP 1,000 national currency with the image of the eagle motivated the author to write this article - particularly the disappearance of Josefa Llanes-Escoda, one of the few representations of women in our currency. Guided by the theoretical frameworks

² Quintos, Jay Jomar. 2021. “Bugtong at Talinghaga sa Peminisasyon ng Halimaw sa Imahinasyong Pampelikula sa Pilipinas.” *Diliman Gender Review Bol.* 4, 2021. UPDGO: Quezon City.

of Feminismong Bayan and Araling Kabanwahan, the author uses *numismatiko* (the study of coins and paper money) (Tugano 2021, 57, translated) as the perspective in his analysis. For Tugano, the absence or very limited representation of women in the material culture of a country is symptomatic of the subordinate status of women. Furthermore, the replacement of the images of heroes in Philippine currency is part of the conscious efforts at “historical forgetting or historical amnesia” that serve those currently in power.

On the other hand, the representation of poor women through poetry written by grassroots women or female activists organizing them is analyzed by Mary Grace Concepcion in **“Articulating the Twin Burden of Class and Gender: Oppression and Liberation in the Poetry of Women Grassroots Organizers.”** The author uses materialist feminist lens and “feminist literary criticism” to analyze the poems from *Laya* magazine and the collection of poems in *Pangarap at Hinagpis*, both publications of GABRIELA, a militant coalition of women in the Philippines. The author notes the limitations of many of the poems as these conclude in exposing the various forms of oppression experienced by women without clear alternatives to the current unequal gender relations. However, she also acknowledges that writing poetry by women, who are generally burdened with housework, child-rearing and earning a living, is a positive development and should be nurtured. It is necessary for women’s organizations and women writers to help hone and further develop grassroots women’s ability to write. Such efforts and such development contribute to the continued advancement of the women’s movement, the backbone of which are the poor and working women who comprise the majority of Filipino women.

Kenette Jean Millondaga's work focuses on the topic of peasant and indigenous women's health. **"Madness in Peasant Communities of North Cotabato, Mindanao, Philippines"** pays close attention to *bughat* or the physical and mental pain that poor women commonly experience after giving birth. The author notes that *bughat* is considered normal and commonplace and is not viewed as a product of women's double burden and lack of access to adequate and affordable medical services. Through fieldwork and key informant interviews in a town in North Cotabato, the author relates the concept of "embodied disruption" or the regard of physical pain associated with *bughat* as merely "normal" and part of being woman. While the original concept of "embodied disruption" is more focused on the individual and the physiological cause of the illness, the author expands the analysis of *bughat* as an illness rooted in a woman's biology but is also anchored in the cultural and societal expectations of women.

The **"Assessment of Barangay LGUs Level of Gender-Responsiveness in Selected Catchment Barangays in Laguna, Philippines"** measures the implementation of gender mainstreaming in 24 barangays in three towns of Laguna using the gender assessment tool for local governments, the "Gender-Responsive LGU (GeRL) Ka Ba". Some of the positive gains identified in the assessment are the progress made by barangays in dealing with several women's issues such as health services, including the needs of mothers and children, daycare centers, potable water for drinking, and others. However, the assessment also pointed out areas of limited response to pressing problems and concerns, such as HIV-AIDS, facilities for lying-in and domestic violence, and the lack of education and training programs available for women. The study pays particular attention to the lack of women's

livelihood support services, such as the establishment of cooperatives, money lending facilities, and product development.

A key characteristic of women's studies is its dual emphasis on both scholarship and advocacy. The release and popularization of new knowledge based on research is significant but equally or even more important is its contribution towards changing and improving the condition and position of women. In the current DGR Vol. 4, the articles provide direct or indirect recommendations for dealing with issues such as the absence of or negative representation of women. For example, transforming negative perceptions of women through exposing and challenging their representation as monsters as well as the regard of the disease "*bughat*" are steps towards changing women's representation. Another concrete step is to ensure the appreciation of women through positive images in the material culture of society such as money, stamps, monuments, and the like, as well as opposing moves to erase the already limited visibility of women in these media.

The DGR Vol. 4, the issue for 2021, is being released mid 2023 due to various reasons. While the increase in COVID cases has slowed down, the crises in livelihood, health, and education, all exacerbated by the pandemic and the inadequate and militaristic government response, continue to plague our country. Meanwhile, those in power are preoccupied with changing the Constitution, expanding US military basing in the Philippines, the removal of jeepneys from the road in the name of "modernization," and so on. The continued attacks on people's human rights, including the attack on academic freedom, the right to organize and launch collective action, and the right to protest, have not disappeared. People's lives have become more difficult due to inflation, unemployment, or - for those who

have work - job insecurity and salaries that are scarcely enough. These have all served to severely increase the burden of women in carrying out both reproductive and productive work as well as increased their vulnerability to violence.

The strengthening of the women's movement to achieve gender equality and to work for a prosperous, democratic, and egalitarian society remains a major challenge. We hope that contemporary women's and gender studies, in its teaching, research, and advocacy, continues to uphold the tradition of its origins, supporting the women's movement and being a vital part of it.

Judy M. Taguiwalo, Ph.D.
Editor-in-Chief



This artwork was dedicated by
Prof. Neil Doloricon to
the Lumads

ANG BUGTONG AT TALINGHAGA SA PEMINISASYON NG HALIMAW SA IMAHINASYONG PAMPELIKULA SA PILIPINAS

*(The Conundrum and Trope of the Feminization of
Monster in Philippine Cinematic Imagination)*

Jay Jomar Quintos

ABSTRAK

Sinisiyasat ng sanaysay na ito ang iba't ibang diskursong nakapaloob sa kababaihan at "aswang" sa imahinasyong pampelikula sa Pilipinas. Nakatuon ito sa anim na episodyo mula sa pinakamatagal at pinakamatagumpay na serye ng pelikulang katatakutan sa bansa - ang Shake, Rattle, and Roll (SRR), 1984-2014. Maaaring ipagpalagay na inilalarawan ang babaeng aswang sa anim na episodyo ng SRR sa iba't ibang kakayahan at pagkabagabag. Ninanais suriin ng sanaysay ang iba't ibang batis at impluwensiya sa tinatawag ni Herminia Meñez Coben na "peminisasyon ng halimaw." Sa huli, may pagtatangka ang sanaysay na magbigay ng ibang lente sa pagbasa sa dakilang naratibo ng kolonyalismo na kaugnay ng kinagisnang sistema ng paniniwala, at suliranin at pakikibaka ng kababaihan.

Susing-Salita: Pelikulang Filipino, representasyon sa kababaihan, araling katatakutan, araling pampanitikan, araling kultural

ABSTRACT

This essay investigates the discourses attached to women and the viscera-sucking “aswang” in the Philippine cinematic imagination. It focuses on six episodes from the longest-running and most successful horror film franchise in the country - the Shake, Rattle, and Roll (SRR), 1984-2014. It can be surmised that the six SRR episodes have rendered the feminized “aswang” in various capacities and vicissitudes. The essay probes the congeries of sources and influences of what Herminia Meñez Coben calls “feminization of monster.” Finally, it offers a different lens in reading the grand narratives of colonialism vis-à-vis the Philippine indigenous belief systems, and women’s issues and struggles.

Keywords: *Philippine cinema, women representation, horror studies, literary studies, cultural studies*

Tila iisa o kaya ay nagsasanga at nagkakaparis ang imahen ng babaeng halimaw sa popular na imahinasyon sa Pilipinas. Tila palasak ang inilalarawang hitsura ng babaeng halimaw sa tuwing itinatampok ito sa gumagalaw na imahen sa madilim na kuweba ng mga sinehan. Sa simula ay isa itong *magandang babae, mahaba ang buhok, kayumangging kaligatan ang kulay*, at *katamtaman ang taas*. At sa mga susunod na sandali, unti-unti nang mapapalitan ang imahen nito na ihuhulma na ng ibang hugis at anyo ng takot at sindak. Mababanaag sa mga pelikula ang karakter ng babaeng halimaw bilang aswang, engkanto, at kaluluwa ng mga namayapa na at hindi matahimik sa daigdig ng tao. Mula sa mga pagpapakahulugang ito, makabubuo ng tila nagkakaisang larawan ng babaeng halimaw sa mga pelikulang katatakutan: *mabangis, maninila, at mapanganib*.

Kung papaanong humantong sa ganitong pagharaya na tinawag ni Herminia Meñez Coben (1996) na “peminisasyon ng halimaw” ay sinasabing maaaring maugat sa hatid na impluwensya ng kolonyalismong Espanyol. Kadalasan, itinuturing na malaking bahagi ang dakilang naratibo ng kolonyalismo sa “demonisasyon” at pagbabago sa kinagisnang sistema ng paniniwala ng sinaunang pamayanan sa Pilipinas. Ngunit, kalimitan din, mababanggit ang pagbasag sa mga ganitong dakilang naratibo na kolonyalismo lamang ang siyang sanhi ng antagonistikong pagtingin sa kinagisnang sistema ng paniniwala. Sa sanaysay na ito, layon ko ang tukuyin ang iba’t iba pang salik na kaugnay ng kolonyalismo na siyang maaaring sanhi sa tinatawag na “peminisasyon ng halimaw.” Magiging lunsaran ang ilang episodyo mula sa pinakamahaba, at marahil pinakamatagumpay lalo na sa antas ng kita sa takilya at pag-iwan ng marka sa imahinasyon ng manonood, na pelikulang katatakutan sa bansa - ang *Shake, Rattle, and Roll (SRR)*.

Kung sisipatin, mula sa 45 episodyo sa 15 pelikula sa serye ng *SRR*, anim ang nagtatampok sa babaeng halimaw na masasabi ding tuwirang sumasalok sa balon ng kaalamang-bayan sa Pilipinas: “Manananggal,” *SRR 1* (1984); “Aswang,” *SRR 2* (1990); “Ang Madre,” *SRR 4* (1992); “Lihim ng San Joaquin,” *SRR 2K5* (2005); “Yaya,” *SRR 8* (2006); at “Emergency,” *SRR X* (2008). Sa anim na episodyo, tatlo sa mga ito ang idinirek ni Peque Gallaga, naging katuwang niya bilang direktor si Lore Reyes; at tig-iisa naman ang idinirek nina Richard Somes, Topel Lee, at Mike Tuviera. Maaaring sipatin na pawang kalalakihan ang direktor ng mga pelikulang susuriin kung kaya’t maaaring gawing tuntungang balangkas ng sanaysay ang binabanggit ni Laura Mulvey (1989) na “male gaze” kung saan ang mga babaeng karakter ay nasasadlak sa pagtanaw na makalalaki. Sa ganitong pagbasa, maaaring sabihin na hinuhubog

ng makalalaking naratibo ang pagharaya sa “babae” bilang “halimaw” sa mga pelikulang susuriin. Ngunit sa sanaysay na ito, layon ko ang gumawa ng pagdalumat kung papaanong ang “peminisasyon ng halimaw” ay isang talinghaga sa pagtanaw sa kababaihan sa isang lipunang mapanimbang sa kakayahan at kabatiran ng mga mamamayan nito.

Kung papansinin, mahihiwatigan sa anim na episodyo ng *SRR* ang muli’t muling paglitaw ng imahen ng babaeng *mabangis*, *maninila*, at *mapanganib*. Mula sa nagkakaisa ngunit nagkakasalabid na imahen ng dalagang laging nakatanghod sa bintana ng bahay-kubo, mga taumbayan na ang nakaatang na tungkulin sa komunidad ay pagluluto, matulunging madre, kasama sa bahay ng gitnang-uring pamilya, at buntis na nais isalba ang sanggol na aswang, mababago ang mga imaheng ito sa naratibo ng pelikula patungo sa karakter na mayroong pangil, sumisipsip ng dugo, at kumakain ng lamang-tao. Sa saray ng pananagisag sa tradisyong pangkultura sa Pilipinas, mapapansin na sumusunod ang imahen ng karakter na ito sa “aswang.” Sa ganitong mapanglaw na pagharaya sa babae bilang aswang, masasabing isang payak na bugtong kung bakit nga ba ang “aswang” ay kalimitang babae? Kung gayon, maaaring siyasatin ang talinghagang nakapaloob sa nabubuong konstelasyon ng babae, aswang, at lipunan na iniinugan ng nililikhang sistema ng kahulugan na takot at sindak.

Ang Aswang sa Kaalamang-Bayan

Tila isang buslong sisidlan ng maraming pagpapakahulugan ang nilalang na “aswang” sa aralin at lipunang Filipino. Kung titingnan ang lingguwistikong pagdulog sa terminong “aswang,” malalantad ang mga sinasabing pinagmulan nito. Halimbawa, ipinagpapalagay na ang “aswang” ay

may kaugnayan sa masalimuot na paniniwala ukol sa “keswange” na nagmula sa arkipelago ng Mollucas. Kaugnay nito ang “suangi” na tumutukoy sa isang anyo ng mangkukulam na may taglay na pambihirang kapangyarihan (Koentjaraningrat 1972, 114; Tan 2008, 71). Kung mapapansin, mayroong pagkakatulad ng baybay ang “aswang” at ang unang dalawang pantig ng “keswange.” Marahil, ito ang sinasabing batayan ng pag-uugnay na ito. Ayon naman kay Francis Lynch (2004), ilang impormante mula sa Magarao, Camarines Sur ang nagsabi na maaaring ang salitang “aswang” ay nanggaling sa salitang “kaguwang.” Ang “kaguwang” ay tumutukoy sa isang uri ng hayop na ang hitsura ay kawangis ng lobo, isang hayop na kumakain ng mga kapwa hayop na mas maliit kaysa kanya (185). Maipagpapalagay na ang hitsura ng “kaguwang” at ang gawi nitong kumain ng maliliit na hayop ang nag-uugnay dito sa nilalang ng “aswang.”

Liban sa lingguwistikong pagsusuri sa terminong “aswang,” maikakabit din dito ang iba-ibang kolonyal na kahulugan na ibininyag ng mga naunang historyador at mananaliksik tulad ni Miguel de Loarca sa *Relacion de las Yslas Filipinas* (1582), Francisco Ignacio Alcina sa *Historia de las Islas de Indios de Bisayas* (1668), Juan de Plasencia (1589), Juan Francisco de San Antonio sa *The Native Peoples and their Customs* (1738), at Tomas Ortiz sa *Practica del Ministerio* (1731). Maging sa mga sumunod na pag-aaral ng mga lokal na mananaliksik, lumilitaw ang kultural na pagdulog sa nilalang ng “aswang.” Sa espekulasyon ni Alicia Magos (2005), ang dalumat ng “aswang” ay maaaring nagmula sa mga karakter sa mga *sugidanon* sa Panay. Ang karakter ni Paglambuhan ay tinatawag na aswang sa isa sa mga episdyo ng *Hinilawod* dahil sa pangongolekta nito ng mga buto at bungo ng kalabang napupuksa niya (37). Tanda ng pagiging isang magiting na mandirigma ang gawing ito ni Paglambuhan.

Itinuturing din bilang isang aswang, ng mga editor ng *Antolohiya ng mga Panitikang Asean: Mga Epiko sa Pilipinas* (Castro 2009), ang karakter ng hari ng araw na si Saragnayan sa *sugidanong Labaw Donggon* ng mga Tumandok¹. Sa talababa ng mga editor, inihahayag na “pinaniniwalaang si Saragnayan ay isang aswang o mangkukulam na nangangain ng mga biktima” (154). Umuulit ang taguri na “aswang” sa isang karakter sa isa pang *sugidanon* ng mga Tumandok na *Tikum Kadlum* (2014) na inawit nina Federico “Tuohan” Caballero at Teresita “Abyaran” Caballero-Castor at inirekord at isinalin naman ni Alicia Magos. Sa *sugidanon*, itinuturing ang karakter ni Buyong Makabagting bilang “aswang” o “tagubalbal.” Sa talababa ng tagasalin, sinasabing “sa konteksto ng epiko, ang *aswang* o *tagubalbal* ay isang nilalang na maaari ring isang “buyong,” isang marangal na tao sa komunidad na kilala rin sa pagiging magiting na mandirigma na nakatikim o nakakain na ng lamang-loob ng tao” (akin ang salin) (11). Mahalagang sipatin sa puntong ito ang pagpapakahulugan ni Magos sa “aswang” na ikinakabit din sa “tagubalbal.” Tila hindi sumusunod sa dikta ng mga naunang dayuhang historyador ang pagpapalagay na ito ni Magos dahil nagiging sisidlan ng ibang pagpapakahulugan ang karakter ng aswang at hindi nalilimitahan sa kasamaan at kabutihan lamang. Kumakain ito ng lamang-tao sa isang banda, ngunit isang marangal at magiting na mandirigma naman ito sa kabilang banda. Lagpas sa eksotiko at barbarong pagtanaw sa kultura, maaaring

¹ Sa bahaging ito, gagamitin ko ang “Tumandok” bilang katawagan sa isa sa mga pangkat ng mga sinaunang tao sa isla ng Panay. Bagaman higit na popular, palasak, at institusyonalisado ang katawagang “Panay Bukidnon” (ginamit ni Alicia Magos), kalakip ng katawagang ito ang mapang-api at mapagsamantalang pagharaya ng estado sa karapatan at pagkakakilanlan ng mga Tumandok. Didistansya rin ang sanaysay sa katawagan na ginamit ni F. Landa Jocano na “Sulod” lalo na’t marami ang nagpapalagay na si Jocano lamang ang gumamit nito bilang pantawag sa mga Tumandok. Sa Sugboanong Binisaya, ang “sulod” ay nangangahulugang “loob.” Marahil, ginamit ito ni Jocano bilang katawagan sa grupo ng tao na nakatira sa “loob” ng bundok.

ipagpalagay na, marahil, ang “pagkain” ng lamang-tao ay hindi itinuturing na masama sa sinaunang kultura. Mapapansin, kung gayon, na tila naiipit sa dalawang nagbabanggaang diskurso ang dalumat ng aswang sa kultura at lipunang Filipino.

Mula sa mga inilatag na katangian at larawan ng nilalang na “aswang,” mahihiwatigan ang pag-iral nito sa kinagisnang sistema ng paniniwala. Tila nagkakatulad ang bawat imahen ng aswang na kumakain ng lamang-tao at sumisipsip ng dugo ngunit nagkakaiba-iba naman, mula sa tala ng mga misyonerong mananakop at lokal na mananaliksik, lalo na sa makatuwirang dahilan kung bakit pumapatay ang mga aswang. Umaalingawngaw sa mga pagpapakahulugang ito ang pagdidigmaan ng dalawang mundo ng “kinagisnang sistema ng paniniwala” at mga “kolonyal na naratibo.”

Ang Panlipunang Takot Bunsod ng Kasarian at Seksuwalidad sa Pelikulang Katatakutan

Mahalagang bigyang-pansin ang tuwinang paglalarawan sa imahen ng “aswang” bilang babae sa mga pelikula. Kung ang babae ay hinaharaya bilang nakakatakot at nakasisindak na aswang at halimaw, anong sistema ng kahulugan ang gustong ipahiwatig ng pangyayaring ito? Sa saray ng makalalaking pananagisag sa bansa, ang babae ay ipinapalagay na simbolo ng puri, dalisay, at kadakilaan. Iniuugnay din ang imahen nito sa Inang Daigdig, Inang Bayan, at higit sa lahat, Inang Kalikasan, na kung titingnan, sa imahinasyong makalalaki, ay lumilikha ng diyalektikang pagpapakahulugan ng pagpopoon sa kababaihan sa isang banda, ngunit kaakibat naman ang pagiging biktima ng pananamantala, panggagahasa, at panunupil, sa kabilang banda. Malimit na inilalarawan ang “bayan,” “daigdig,” at “kalikasan” na sinisira at winawasak bilang babae at ina na kinakailangang iligtas at isalba.

Sa pagtataya ng mga iskolar at kritikong sina Lilia Quindoza Santiago (1997) at Rosario Cruz Lucero (2007), malaki ang impluwensiya ng kolonyalismong Espanyol sa pangyayaring ito. Kung babalikan ang tradisyong pangkasaysayan at pangkultura sa Pilipinas, mayaman sa magiging at matatayang na bayaning babae ang ating mga ninuno, ngunit napalitan ito ng dalawang mukha ng babae na nagtatagisan: ang una’y larawan ng babaeng “nanunukso, nagtataksil, naglalandi, naiinggit, nanlilibak, at kung ano-ano pang kahinaan at kasalanan sa mundo” (2007, 26); ang pangalawa nama’y larawan ng babaeng “malinis, marangal, mayumi, malumanay ang kilos, mapagmalasakit (na ina), santa at poon” (2007, 51). Inugat ng dalawang babaeng iskolar ang imahen ng babae sa ating mga epiko at tinunton ang pagbabago ng mga ito sa panahon ng kolonyalismong Espanyol. Sa isang banda, ang babae ay naging imahen ng kasamaan at “demonyo,” marahil bunsod na rin ng katangian ng mga babaylan na pilit sinusupil ng mga mananakop. Sa kabilang banda naman, ang babae ang naging larawan ng “birheng kalinis-linisan at mapagmalasakit” na sumusunod sa imahen ni Birheng Maria. Sa bahaging ito, mapapansin na maaaring mahulog sa anakronistikong balangkas ang pagharaya hinggil sa “prekolonyal” at “kolonyal” na pagpapakahulugan sa babae. Kung kaya naman, dumidistansya ang sanaysay sa natibistikong pagdulog at pagharaya hinggil sa “prekolonyal” na Pilipinas bilang sagrado, payapa, at banal. Tinatanaw ng sanaysay ang nagtatalastasang panahunan ng pangnagdaan, pangkasalukuyan, at panghinaharap na nakaugnay sa nagsasala-salabid na paghubog at pagpapakahulugan sa babae. Kung gayon din, mahihiwatigan na kung mayroon mang pagpapakahulugan sa babae mula sa prekolonyal na yugto sa bansa bilang matatag, magiting, at malaya, hindi naman ito tuluyang nalusaw at nawala sa pagdating ng mga mananakop. Mahalagang sipatin na ang siyang pagdalumat sa babae sa kolonyal na yugto sa Pilipinas ay nakasandig sa piyudal at patriyarkal na daigdig.

Kung ang babae ay hinaharaya bilang masama at kaugnay ng demonyo, maaaring iugnay dito ang nauna nang nabanggit na konsepto ni Herminia Meñez Coben (1996) na “peminisasyon ng halimaw.” Tinitingnan na malaking bahagi ang impluwensyang dayuhang kulturang Hispaniko sa pagpapakahulugan sa babae bilang halimaw. Maaaring nagsimulang umiral ang pagtingin na ito sa pagtatagpo ng magkasalungat na paniniwala ng mga “bailan / babaylan” at mga misyonero’t prayle sa panahon ng pananakop ng mga Espanyol. Lumilitaw na pangunahing layunin ng mga misyonero at prayle ang pagwasak sa nakagisnang paniniwala ng mga sinaunang tao sa bansa (Meñez Coben 1996, 87; McCoy 1982, 155). Ang makapangyarihang “bailan / babaylan” ay pinaratangang kampon ng demonyo at kinakailangang sumailalim sa pagbabagong-loob patungo sa ibinibinyag na relihiyon ng mga Espanyol. Sa kasaysayan ng pagbabagong-loob sa panahon ng kolonisasyon, masasabing inuna ng mga misyonero at prayle ang pagbabagong-loob ng mga “bailan / babaylan” patungo sa bagong ibinibinyag na relihiyon ng mga dayuhan. Sa imahinasyon ng mga dayuhan, “ang pagbabagong-loob ng mga babae (bailan / babaylan) ay nangangahulugan ng pagbabagong-loob din ng buong komunidad” (Santiago 2005, 17). Sa madaling sabi, ang mga historikal na pangyayari ang itinuturing na ugat sa pagbabagong imahen ng babae sa kasaysayan ng bansa.

Kaakibat ng kolonyalismong Espanyol ang pagpapalaganap ng dominanteng ideolohiya ng Europeong patriyarkiya sa sistema ng kasarian sa mga nasakop na bansa tulad ng Pilipinas. Sa imahinasyon ni Quindoza Santiago (1997), masasabing nagmula ang ugat at estruktura ng kulturang patriyarkal sa dapithapon ng kolonyalismong Espanyol. Ang pag-iral ng patriyarkiya ay mauugat sa wikang bitbit ng mga mananakop. Kung susuriin, ang pag-iral ng wikang

Espanyol sa bansa ang siyang hudyat ng pag-uuri at pagtatakda ng kaibahan sa kasarian ng babae at lalake. Kung sa wikang Espanyol, matatagpuan ang dalumat ng *el* at *ella* na tumutukoy sa lalake at babae, sa mga wikang laganap naman sa bansa bago ang pananakop, mahihiwatigan na walang ibinibinyag na kasarian sa mga panghalip. Sa ganitong pagbasa, ang kasarian ay hinaharaya bilang salik na hindi gaanong pinagtutuunan ng pansin sa katutubong sistema ng paniniwala (43-68). Maaaring muling mahulog sa anakronistiko at esensyalismong pagbasa ang ganitong pagdulog lalo na't tila lumilikha ito ng banggaan sa pagitan ng "ideyal" at "hindi ideyal" na kasarian at seksuwalidad mula sa hinaharayang prekolonyal at kolonyal na mga yugto sa Pilipinas, kung kaya't sinisipat ng kasalukuyang sanaysay na ang diakronikong pagtanaw sa pagpapakahulugan sa babae ay kinakailangang nagsasalikop din sa sinkronikong pagtanaw dito.

Sa yugto ng kolonisasyon, masasabi ring naging laganap ang tema ng "biktimisasyon sa kababaihan" sa iba't ibang anyong sining partikular sa panitikang-bayan (Meñez Coben 1996, 102). Tingnan, halimbawa, ang isang *komposo* sa Aklan na pinamagatang "Komposo ni Juanita." Ang *komposo* ay isang uri ng awiting Ilonggo na ipinapalagay na nagmula sa anyo ng korido mula Europa (Lucero 2007, 126). Tampok sa *komposo* ang isang babaeng nagnangalang Juanita na naiipit sa pag-ibig ng dalawang lalaki na sina Pedring at Luding. Sa pagsasalaysay sa buhay ni Juanita sa *komposo*, binabanggit (Meñez Coben 1996):

Sa banwa't San Carlos sakop sang Nacayan
 Probinsya Ilocos, Bohol kag Bulacan
 May isang natabu si Juaning ang ngalan
 Didto naga puyo sa baryong Nalok-an. (111)

(In the town of San Carlos, part of Nacayan,
Provinces of Ilocos, Bohol, and Bulacan,
Something happened to a woman named Juaning (Juanita)
Who was living in the barrio of Nalok-an.)

Mahalagang pansinin ang mga binabanggit na lugar sa *komposo*: ang “bayan” ng San Carlos kung saan naganap ang mga pangyayari sa *komposo*; at ang baryo ng Nalok-an, ang lugar na pinagmulan ng karakter na si Juaning (Juanita). Maikakabit sa diskursong ito ang dambuhalang pagkakahati sa pagitan ng “taga-bukid / taga-bundok” na naganap sa panahon ng kolonyalismong Espanyol. Ang mga “taga-bayan” ang mga sinaunang tao sa bansa na mas piniling magpailalim sa gahom ng dayuhang mananakop at manatili sa “pueblo” at “bayan” habang ang mga “taga-bukid / taga-bundok” naman ang piniling labanan, sa pamamagitan ng pagsupil sa kaaway at pagbubukod sa sarili - malayo sa sentro, ang panibagong kulturang bitbit ng mga mananakop (Lumbera at Lumbera 2005, 37). Sa ganitong pagbasa, masasabing naganap ang mga pangyayari sa *komposo*, sa panahon ng kolonyalismong Espanyol kung kailan unti-unti nang sinasakop ang kultura’t paniniwala ng mga sinaunang tao sa bansa. Dagdag pang patunay dito ang pangalan ng bidang babae sa *komposo*, “Juanita” o “Juaning,” hiram sa pangalang Hispaniko.

Ang kinahantungan ng babaeng si Juanita sa naratibo ng *komposo* ay patunay sa naunang pahayag tungkol sa “biktimisasyon sa kababaihan” sa panahon ng kolonyalismong Espanyol. Hinati ng dalawang lalaking mangingibig ang katawan ni Juanita sa dalawang bahagi nang sa gayon ay maaari na nila itong paghatian. Ang pagtataksil ni Juanita, sa pagkakaroon ng dalawang mangingibig, ay nangangahulugan ng kaparusahan lalo na at labag ito sa koda at moralidad

na sinusunod sa bagong relihiyong ibinibinyag sa mga sinakop na komunidad. Ang pagpataw ng parusa sa babaeng lumalabag sa sinusunod na koda at batas ay masasabing impluwensya ng mga kultura sa labas ng bansa.

Kung sisipatin, tila mayroong pagkakatulad ang sinapit ni Juanita sa karakter ni Kapinangan sa *Maragtas* o ang Kasaysayan ng Panay na likha ni Pedro Monteclaro. Sa *Maragtas*, pagtitilad-tilad sa katawan, tulad kay Juanita, ang kaparusahang ipinataw kay Kapinangan dahil sa pagtataksil nito sa asawang si Sumakwel (Carillo-Gomez, 1951). Ang grupo ni Sumakwel ay ang unang agos ng mga datu mula Borneo na sumakop sa lupain ng Panay. Sa puntong ito, maaaring sipatin na ang marahas na kaparusahan sa babaeng itinuturing na taksil dahil sa paglabag sa koda at batas ay mayroong malaking impluwensya mula sa kultura sa labas ng bansa.

Ang trahedyang sinapit ni Juanita sa *komposo* ay maaaring pagkunan ng iba't ibang diskursibong pagpapakahulugan. Una, masasabing may transpormasyong naganap sa imahen ng babae mula prekolonyal hanggang kolonyal na yugto sa bansa, patunay dito ang matalinghagang pagpatay sa karakter ng babae, tulad ni Juanita. Pangalawa, ang mga babae sa "katutubong epiko" na inilalarawan bilang malaya, matapang, at bayani ay napalitan ng babaeng taksil at makasalanang (ayon sa sinusunod na bagong batas mula sa bagong paniniwala) sa *komposo*. Mahalagang bigyang-diin sa puntong ito ang pagbabagong anyo ng panitikan mula epiko patungong *komposo* (na humihiram ng anyo sa korido mula sa Europa). At pangatlo, masasabing hindi lang naman kolonyalismo ang siyang naging dahilan ng pagbabago ng kultura lalo na't naging palasak din ang pakikipag-ugnayan ng mga sinaunang tao bago pa man dumating ang

mga may balak sakupin ang Pilipinas bilang bahagi ng kanilang imperyo. Patunay dito ang realidad ng pakikipagkalakalan ng mga sinaunang tao sa arkipelago sa mga karatig bansa nito na maaaring tingnan bilang proseso ng pagluluwal sa pagtatambisan ng mga kultura na iba sa paniniwalang umiiral ang “puro,” “taal,” at “katutubong” kultura.

Ang Babae at Halimaw sa *Shake, Rattle, and Roll*

Kung sisipatin naman ang imahen ng babae sa panahon ng kolonyalismong Espanyol, maikakabit sa naratibo ng *komposo* - lalo na ang pagkakahati ng katawan ni Juanita - sa pagiging “makasalanan” ng babaeng halimaw na nahahati ang katawan. Kung gayon, ang trahedyang sinapit ni Juana, ang pagkahati ng katawan, ay hindi nalalayo sa anyo ng “manananggal.” Sa kasaysayan ng pelikula sa Pilipinas, masasabing kauna-unahang pelikulang katatakutan na humalaw sa karakter ng aswang ang *Ang Manananggal* (1927) ni Jose Nepomuceno. Nagtatampok ang pelikula sa isang uri ng aswang na nahahati ang katawan sa dalawa, ang ibaba ng katawan ay nananatili sa isang lugar habang ang itaas na bahagi naman ay lumilipad upang humanap nang bibiktimahin. Kung susundan ang kategorisasyon ni Francis Lynch (2004), sumusunod ang karakter ng manananggal sa “asuwang na layog” o lumilipad na aswang kung saan nahahati ang katawan at tanging ulo nito at pang-itaas na bahagi ng katawan ang lumilipad (186).

Sa serye ng *Shake, Rattle, and Roll (SRR)*, dalawang episodyo ang masasabing gumamit at humiram ng karakter ng babaeng manananggal na walang-awang pumapatay ng mga inosenteng tao. Sa episodyong “Manananggal” mula sa *SRR 1* (1984), tampok ang babaeng manananggal sa isang liblib na lugar malapit sa mapanglaw na kagubatan sa panahon ng kuwaresma

habang sa episodyong “Madre” mula SRR 4 (1992) naman, ipinapakita ang dalawang manananggal na nagkukubli sa pagbibigay ng tulong sa batayang pangangailangan sa isang maralitang lungsod ngunit sa huli’y malalantad din ang tunay na layon.

Suriin natin ang isang tagpo sa episodyong “Manananggal” (1984) kung saan hinarana ng isang binata ang babaeng laging nakatanghod sa bintana ng bahay-kubo. Lingid sa kaalaman ng binatang nanghaharana, isang manananggal pala ang babaeng kanyang nasilayan. May balon at tradisyong pinagkukunan ang elementong “babaeng-laging-nakatanghod-sa-bahay-kubo” sa imahinasyong pampanitikan at pangkultura sa Pilipinas. Paboritong eksena ang babae na lagi’t lagi’y nakatanghod at nag-aabang sa bintana ng bahay-kubo sa mga akdang pampanitikan sa Pilipinas mula iba’t ibang “katutubong epiko” hanggang sa anyo ng nobela at maikling kuwento. Popular na halimbawa nito ay ang imahen ni “Salome” sa *Noli Me Tángere* ni Jose Rizal (1887). Isinasalaysay sa kabanata ang karanasan ng dalagang si Salome, na namamalagi sa pinakamataas na baybayin sa isang lawa habang nag-aabang sa kaibigan at katipang si Elias. Lagi’t lagi, nakatanghod at nag-aabang si Salome sa bintana ng bahay-kubo at tumatahi ng makulay na kamisa. Naiipit si Salome sa pagitan ng pananabik at pangangarap sa kinabukasan nila ng kaibigang si Elias. Malimit, nakatanghod si Salome sa bintana ng bahay-kubo, nag-iisip kung itutuloy ang paghihintay kay Elias na abala sa paghihiganti, o kung uuwi na lang sa Mindoro upang makapiling ang kanyang pamilya at humanap ng ibang lalaki na maaaring magmahal sa kanya nang higit sa kayang ibahagi ni Elias (Rizal 2006, 210-217). Lumilikha si Salome ng diyalektikang larawan ng babae. Sa isang banda, maaari siyang basahin bilang babaeng martir, pasibo, at matiisin; isang babaeng lagi’t lagi’y naghihintay. Tulad ni Juanita sa *komposo*, masasabing tila

biktima rin si Salome, sa punto ng nobela, ng pananaw ng makalalaking naratolohiya sa kasaysayan ng mismong may akda na si Jose Rizal. Tila ipinapakahulugan na si Salome ay isang babaeng walang magawa maliban sa pagmamasid sa lahat ng nagaganap sa loob at labas ng bahay-kubo, kinakailangan pa ng isang lalaki tulad ni Elias na magpamulat at magpaunawa sa kanya ukol sa mga kailangan niyang gawing desisyon. Ngunit sa kabilang banda, maaari rin namang basahin ang karakter ni Salome lagpas sa imahen ng babaeng martir at nakatanghod lamang sa bintana kundi bilang larawan ng babaeng matatag at handang itaguyod ang kanyang mga ipinaglalaban. Ang pagtingin sa babae bilang martir at pasibo, sa katauhan ni Salome, ay mahihinuhang bunsod ng paninimbang ng lipunan sa kung papaano dapat kumilos ang babae batay sa itinatakda nitong kumbensyon at pamantayan.

Samantala, kung babalikan ang imahen ng “babaeng-laging-nakatanghod-sa-bahay-kubo” sa episodyong “Manananggal” (1984), ang pagsunod ng babae sa binatang nangharana sa kanya ay maaaring tingnan sa punto de bista ng paggambala ng binata. Ang panghaharana ng binata, na kanyang ginagawang trabaho, sa mga kabahayan sa bundok ay nakapagdulot ng hindi magandang epekto sa manananggal na hindi tinigilan ang paghabol sa binata maging sa tinutuluyan nitong bahay. Bahagi ng tradisyon ng panliligaw at pamamanhikan ang “harana” sa ilang probinsya sa Pilipinas. Itinuturing itong ritwal ng pamimitagan at pagbibigay-galang sa babaeng minumutya. Kalimitan, inaawitan ng lalaki ang hinaharanang babae sa saliw ng gitara. Kung gitara, maaaring may impluwensiya ito ng mga Espanyol lalo na’t ang ritmo sa mga harana ay sumusunod sa *Habanera* at *Tango*. Maaari itong tingnan bilang mataas na pagbibigay-pugay at pagdakila sa kababaihan sa isang banda, ngunit sa kabilang banda, tila nanghihimok ito ng pagkilala sa halaga ng babae

na itinuturing bilang isang mataas at mahalagang premyo na kinakailangang paghirapan bago makamit. Ang mga ganitong pagharaya, ang paghihiganti dahil sa paggambala at pagturing sa babae bilang premyo, ay sumusunod sa nauna nang pahayag ukol sa paglalarawan sa babae bilang “biktima” pa rin.

Ngunit maaari rin namang ipagpalagay na sumisilip sa “pemenisasyon ng halimaw” sa episodyong “Manananggal” (1984) ang katangian ng babae hinggil sa paglulugar sa sarili nito sa lawas ng kagubatan at karatig na pamayanan. Tulad ng katatagan ni Salome sa pakikipagbuno sa oras, mapagpasya rin ang paghabol ng manananggal sa binatang nanghaharana upang maisagawa ang paglulugar at pagtatakda ng espasyo ng sarili sa madilim na kagubatan. Ang patuloy na paghahanap sa espasyo ng babae ay higit na lumilitaw sa huling bahagi ng episodyong “Manananggal” (1984) nang tuluyan nang bumuka ang sikat ng araw at nagapi na ng binata ang manananggal. Sa isa sa mga huling eksena sa episodyo, kasama ng binata ang kanyang pamilya sa pagsunog at pagsilab sa katawan ng babaeng halimaw. Sa tagpong ito, isang kapitbahay ang daraan sa kanilang harapan at magtatanong kung ano ang kanilang sinusunog, agad itong tutugunan ng binata: “manananggal lang.” Kung susundan ang ganitong pagsipat, mapapansin ang pagtingin sa manananggal bilang “lang” at “lamang” na tila hindi ito sapat at nagtataglay ng kakulangan. Umaalingawngaw sa ganitong pagbasa ang nananatiling pagtingin sa babae bilang Iba sa nililikhang katauhan at konstruksyon ng Sarili sa antas ng makalalaking pagtingin.²

² Lubos ang pasasalamat ko sa dalawang tagasuri ng sanaysay na ito na nagbahagi ng matalas na mga komento at mungkahing kung papaano ko pa maaaring hubugin ang anyo ng sanaysay. Malaki rin ang pasasalamat ko sa isa sa mga tagasuri na nagbigay-diin hinggil sa diskursibong kahulugan na nakapaloob sa huling eksena ng episodyong “Manananggal” (1984). Makabuluhan din ang mga ibinahagi ng tagasuring ito hinggil sa talinghaga ng babae na tinitimbang ayon sa makalalaking naratolohiya ng kasaysayan.

Kung susuriin naman ang episodyong “Ang Madre” (1992), litaw na litaw ang ironya sa katauhan ng babaeng manananggal bilang “madre” at “manananggal.” Sapin-sapin ang mga elementong nakapaloob sa katauhan ng karakter: babae, madre, manananggal. Maaaring sabihin na tila kakabit ng pagiging “madre” at “manananggal” ang karakter ng pagiging babae. Sa kasaysayan ng bansa, sinasabing matutunton ang binhi at ugat ng mga babaeng namamahala at nagsisilbi sa sinaunang pamayanan at relihiyon sa mga “bailan / babaylan” (Salazar 1995). Ipinapalagay ng ibang historyador na ang tungkulin ng mga “bailan / babaylan” ay pambabae lamang ngunit marami nang mga tala at datos ang tumaliwas sa ganitong pahayag sapagkat mayroon ding mga lalaking gumagawa sa tungkulin ng “bailan / babaylan,” tinatawag nila ang kanilang mga sarili bilang “asog,” “bayoguin,” at “binabayi” (Quirino at Garcia 1961). Ang kasaysayan ng mga “bailan / babaylan” ay mababago pagdating ng kolonyalismong Espanyol, sapagkat sila ang isa sa mga unang tuon ng pananakop na pinangunahan ng mga prayle. Sa punto ng pagbabalik-loob ng mga “bailan / babaylan,” mahalagang bigyang-pansin na sila ang bibinyagan bilang mga unang beata at nang maglaon, madre (Santiago 2005). Kapansin-pansin sa bahaging ito ang gahom na inilalakip sa mga batayang tungkulin ng babae sa iba’t ibang uri ng pamayanan.

Kung babalikan ang naratibo sa episodyo ng “Ang Madre” (1992), ang mga naninindak na manananggal ay ang mga karakter na nagbabalat-kayong madre at doktor na nagsasagawa ng misyong medikal sa mahihirap na komunidad sa siyudad. Kung sa gabi’y kumikitil ang mga manananggal ng buhay, sa umaga’y gumagawa sila ng pagkakawanggawa sa pamamagitan ng libreng konsultasyon sa sakit na maaaring iniinda ng mga bata, matatanda, at mga babaeng nasasadlak sa prostitusyon. May ironiya muli sa paglalarawan sa

manananggal na babae sa episodyo, mistula itong mapagkalingang madre, ngunit sa tuwing sasapit ang dilim, nababago ang imahen nito sa pagiging kasuklam-suklam, kakila-kilabot, at kasindak-sindak. May hatid na pangamba at takot na ibinibigay ang pelikula sa karakter ng “madre,” na sa tuwina’y katu-katulong sa mga gawain sa simbahang Katoliko. Sa episodyong “Ang Madre,” ang manananggal na madre ay inilarawan din bilang katu-katulong ng manananggal na doktor na mapang-abuso sa mahihirap na nangangailangan ng tulong.

Isa pang mahalagang bigyan ng pansin sa episodyong “Ang Madre” (1992) ay ang matandang babae na pinaghihinalaang manananggal sa komunidad ng mga maralitang taga-lungsod. Sa kabuuan ng pelikula, ang pag-uusig hinggil sa pagiging manananggal ay nakatuon sa matandang babae at hindi sa mapagpanggap na madre. Sa tambisan ng hitsura ng dalawang karakter, ang matandang babae ang masasabing kabaligtaran sa hitsura at antas sa lipunan ng madre. Ang una’y matanda, kulubot ang balat, kayumanggi ang kulay, gusgusin, at nagtatalo ang uban at itim sa mahabang buhok habang ang pangalawa’y higit na bata, maputi, makinis, at malinis tingnan. Ngunit ang siyang pinaghihinalaang manananggal ang siyang tumutulong sa mga maralitang taga-lungsod sa pamamagitan ng pagbibigay ng pagkain at damit sa tuwing sasapit ang gabi, habang ang siya namang inaasahang kakanlong sa mga maysakit at magpapagaling gamit ang gahom mula sa Judeo Kristiyanong paniniwala ang siya naman palang kumikitil sa buhay ng mga mamamayan. Sa nililikhang diyalektika na ito, lumilitaw na ang lipunan mismo ang siyang lumililok ng pagharaya sa kung sino ang maaaring tanawin bilang halimaw.

Ang nakasanayang anyo naman ng “aswang” ang siyang tinatampok sa “Aswang” mula *SRR 2* (1990), “Lihim ng San Joaquin” mula *SRR 2K5* (2005), “Yaya” mula

SRR 8 (2006), at “Emergency” mula *SRR X* (2008). Tila magkaugnay ang mga episodyong “Aswang” at “Lihim ng San Joaquin” lalo na’t mga tinatampok nito ang liblib na baryo na pinamumugaran ng mga aswang. Nasa modernong lunan naman ng subdibisyon at hospital ang “Yaya” at “Emergency.”

Sa “Aswang” (1990) at “Lihim ng San Joaquin” (2005), ang mga tradisyunal at esteryotipikal na tungkulin bilang tagahanda, tagapaggayak, at tagapagluto sa mga okasyon sa komunidad ang ginawang paglalarawan sa babaeng aswang. Mapapansin ang litaw na litaw na piyudal na relasyong pangkasarian sa mga episodyong binabanggit: ang mga lalaki ang siyang itinuturing na pinuno at sinusunod habang ang mga babae naman ang siyang nagsisilbi sa mga pangangailangan sa komunidad. Sa “Aswang,” mayroong isang eksenang naghahanda ang buong komunidad sa paparating na pista. Nakaatang na trabaho sa mga babaeng aswang ang paggagayat ng rekado sa ilulutong ulam at ang mismong pagluluto ng iba’t ibang putahe. Ang trabaho namang nakaatang sa kalalakihan ay ang paghahanda sa ritwal ng pagsapi ng kaluluwa ng pinopoong panginoon ng komunidad. Ang pagsapi ng pinopoong panginoon ay nakalaan sa lalaking lider sa komunidad at ang ibang babaeng taumbayan naman ay sumasayaw-sayaw habang nagaganap ang ritwal. Mahalagang bigyang-pansin ang hitsura ng pinopoong panginoon ng mga aswang sa pelikula na tinatawag nilang “Impo” na ang wangis ay hindi nalalayo sa “Bulul” ng mga taga-Cordillera sa Hilagang bahagi ng Luzon. Ang estatwa at imahen ng “Bulul,” maaaring babae o lalaki, ay nagsisilbing patnubay ng iba’t ibang etnolingguwistikong grupo sa Cordillera upang magkaroon sila ng masaganang ani.

Bagaman maaaring sabihin na higit na mahalaga ang nakaatang na tungkulin sa kalalakihan kaysa

kababaihan sa episodyong “Aswang” (1990), lalo na sa punto de bista ng patriyarkal na lipunang nakasandig sa piyudal at materyal na aspekto, maaari ring tingnan ang gawain ng paggagayat ng sahog at pagluluto ng putahe sa antas ng lawak at lalim ng gahom sa komunidad. Kung hinaharaya ang mga aswang bilang nilalang na kumakain ng lamang-loob ng tao, lohikal na pagtanaw na ang paghahanda sa mga putaheng mayroong lamang-loob ay isang mahalagang gawain. Nagiging makabuluhan, kung gayon, ang pinanghahawakang gahom ng mga babaeng aswang sa episodyo.

Kung titingnan naman ang “Lihim ng San Joaquin” (2005), tila hindi naiiba ang tinatahak na landas sa paglalarawan sa babaeng aswang. Tulad sa “Aswang,” walang mahalagang tungkuling ginagampanan ang babae sa komunidad liban sa pag-iral nito sa mga gawain. Ang lalaki ang siyang punong lider ng San Joaquin habang ang kanyang asawa at iba pang kababaihan naman ay nanatiling dekorasyon lamang sa komunidad. Hindi rin naman nalalayo ang relasyon ng mag-asawang aswang sa mag-asawang bida sa episodyo. Ang babaeng bida na buntis ay wala rin namang magawa sa mga utos at kagustuhan ng kanyang lalaking asawa. Gustuhin man ng babaeng buntis na lisanin na ang San Joaquin dahil sa takot at pangamba, nilalamon lamang siya ng pinal na desisyon ng kanyang asawang lalaki. Umaalingawngaw sa naratibo ng dalawang mag-asawa ang pananatili ng batas ng patriyarkiya sa kaayusan ng bawat pamilya.

Samantala, mapapansin naman na tila prominente ang paggamit sa babaeng buntis sa mga episodyong “Lihim ng San Joaquin” (2005) at “Emergency” (2008). Masasabing ang pagbubuntis ang isa sa pinakapalasad na paboritong gamitin bilang simbolo ng kababaihan sa mga likhang-sining. Kung tutuusin, dalawang magkaibang babaeng buntis ang ipinapakita sa dalawang magkaibang episodyo: ang isa’y mortal na tao na nakukulong sa dikta ng asawa at lipunan habang

ang isa nama'y itinuturing na halimaw. Sa episodyong "Emergency," bunsod ng pagtatangkang pagpatay ng isang tanod sa babaeng aswang na nagdadalantao, nagbunga ito ng hindi maayos ng panganganak ng aswang, dahilan upang mamatay ang inaasam na sanggol nito. Ito ang nagtulak upang paghigantihan ng lupon ng mga aswang ang isang ospital kung saan isinugod at nanganak ang babaeng aswang. Kung papansinin ang tunggalian ng kapangyarihan sa episodyo, tila hindi ito naiiba sa naunang hirarkiya na ang lalaki ang nasa itaas at sinusunod habang ang babae ang ipinagtanggol at sumusunod. Tradisyunal ang mga ganitong paglalarawan sa mga tungkuling isinasagawa ng babae at lalaki sa pamayanan. Tila dalawang beses namang paglupig sa karakter ng babae ang ginawa sa mga episodyong binabanggit. Una, nag-aambag diskurso sa "peminisasyon ng halimaw" ang paglalarawan sa babae bilang "aswang" at "halimaw." At pangalawa naman, ang babae pa rin ang siyang nasa ibaba sa hinaharayang estruktura ng pamayanan ng mga aswang.

Kung tutuusin, tumutulay ang talinghaga ng paghahanda at pagkain ng lamang-loob sa episodyong "Aswang" (1990) - ibig sabihin ay nagkakaroon ng laman ang tiyan - sa talinghaga ng nagdadalantao na aswang sa "Emergency" (2008). Kapwa maiuugnay ang naratibo ng dalawang episodyo sa dalumat ng gahom: ang isa'y hinggil sa paghahanda ng lamang-loob na maaaring magbigay ng dagdag na kapangyarihan bunsod ng mana na taglay ng kakaining lamang-loob habang ang isa nama'y hinggil sa dinadalang laman/sanggol sa tiyan na maaaring talinghaga ng pagiging ganap nitong babae/aswang. Lumilitaw sa ganitong pagbasa ang binabanggit ni Toril Moi (1989) hinggil sa heuristikong pagsasalungat ng "feminismo," "babae," at "pagkababae" na naghahayag hinggil sa nagsasalit-salitang diskurso ng politika, biolohikal na katangian, at panlipunan at pangkulturang konstruksyon hinggil sa

pagtanaw sa babae. Nililikha ng mismong lipunan ang “ideyal” na imahen ng babae batay sa hinaharayang katangian nito kung kaya’t ang lipunang ito ang siyang nagtatakda at tumitimbang sa pagkababae ng babae. Sa madaling sabi, maaaring sabihin na ang mismong suliranin sa paglalarawan ay wala sa katangian ng babae kundi nasa mismong representasyon ng mga manlilikha ng pelikula at mismong iniinugan nitong lipunan.

Kung susuriin naman ang episodyong “Yaya” (2006), nagpapanggap bilang kasambahay (kasama sa bahay) ang aswang. Ang babaeng aswang sa kuwento ay ipinapalagay na nagmula sa probinsya at lumipat sa isang subdibisyon sa siyudad upang mamasukan bilang “yaya.” Namasukan ang aswang bilang kasambahay upang mas mapalapit sa sanggol na maaari niyang alagaan at malaon ay kainin. Ang trabaho ng pagiging “yaya” ay nangangahulugan ng pagsisilbi at pagsunod sa lahat ng utos ng “amo” na nagbibigay ng suweldo. Sa naratibo ng pelikula, kapalit ng pag-aaruga sa sanggol na naiwan sa tuwing aalis ang “among babae,” binibigyan ng sahod ang babaeng aswang na nagpapanggap na “yaya.” Hindi nalalayo ang pangyayaring ito sa pelikula sa pangyayari sa bansa lalo na sa usapin ng paggawa at kasarian.

Dalawang babaeng nagpupursugi sa kani-kanilang trabaho ang itinatampok ng “Yaya” (2006), ang “yaya” na aswang na nag-aalaga sa sanggol sa bahay at ang “among babae” na siyang nanay ng sanggol na nagtatrabaho sa umaga at umuuwi lamang sa gabi. Nakapaloob sa banghay ng pelikula ang diskurso ng modernisasyon at urbanisasyon ng dalawang babae: ang isa’y mula sa mahirap na probinsya at nagtiyagang pumunta sa siyudad upang doon humanap ng trabaho; ang isa nama’y nagmula at namumuhay sa siyudad at abala sa trabaho. Maaaring basahin ang pangyayaring ito bilang “daluyan” sa mga panlipunan, pampolitika,

at pang-ekonomiyang pangyayari sa bansa. Hindi nalalayo ang estado ng lipunang ito sa binabanggit ni Rolando Tolentino (2016) na “vaginal economy” kung saan nagkakaroon ng matinding “peminisasyon ng paggawa” na dulot ng mapang-abusong sistema ng pamumuhay. Tumutukoy ang “vaginal economy” sa nagtatalastasang daigdig ng mga manggagawang babae na iniaalay ang kanilang paggawa sa loob ng bansa at ang mga manggagawang babae sa katauhan ng mga Overseas Filipino Worker (OFW) na nag-aalay ng paggawa sa kabilang ibayo. Ayon kay Tolentino, malaking ambag ang mga salaping nakukuha ng mga babaeng manggagawa lalo na ang ipinapadalang salapi ng mga OFW, sa paghubog ng ekonomiya ng bansa (312-313). Kung dati rati’y mga produkto tulad ng prutas o isda ang ineeksport ng Pilipinas para sa ibang bansa sa daigdig, ngayo’y ang mismong katawan na ng mga babae ang nagiging “kapital” para sa paggawa, na kilala rin bilang penomenon ng “warm-body export” (Tadiar 2009). Sa bahaging ito, lumilitaw ang kahindik-hindik na tagpo ng “peminisasyon ng paggawa” na naglalantad sa pagiging bulnerableng biktima ng babae sa pang-aabuso ng sistema ng estado at mundo.

Mapapansin din sa episodyong “Yaya” (2006) ang realidad na ang “biktimisasyong” nagaganap sa kuwento ay maaaring basahin sa dalawang suson: una, ang babaeng aswang na nagpapanggap na “yaya” ay ang mambibiktima at ang sanggol, kapatid, at “among babae” naman ang mga biktima; at pangalawa, kung babasahin ang pelikula bilang “daluyan” ng panlipunang pangyayari, ang babaeng aswang na “yaya” ay maaari ring tingnan bilang biktima lalo na’t ang pisikal na katawan niya ang kanyang nagiging “kapital” sa paggawa kapalit ang kakarampot na sahod. Ngunit sa pagpapalagay naman ng ibang mananaliksik, ang kritika ng pagkaratay ng babae sa loob lamang ng bahay, halimbawa’y ang pagiging kasambahay o “yaya,”

ay maikakabit sa kawalan ng motibasyon sa panlipunang pakikipag-ugnayan sa mas malaking lunan ng lipunan. Kung gayon, wala nang pinagkaiba ang “babae” sa “aswang” dahil ang mga ito ay kapwa wala nang pakialam sa nangyayari sa takbo ng lipunan. Ang “babae” at “aswang” ay pareho nang itinuturing bilang taga-labas sa estado na pilit pumapasok sa ipinapalagay na maayos at organisadong estruktura ng lipunan (Pertierra 1983, 319-227). Sa ganitong pagbasa, tila nakakaligtaan ang materyal na kondisyon na pinanggagalingan ng mga mamamayan at tila nawawalan ang “babae” ng “ahensiya” upang makapag-isip at magdesisyon sa mga panlipunan, pampolitika, at pang-ekonomiyang pangyayari sa kanyang paligid. Patuloy na tinitimbang ang babae ng patriyarkiyang lipunan at kahit na maging sapat man ito, higit na pinagtutuunan ng pansin ang hinaharayang kakulangan nito.

Ang Peminisasyon ng Halimaw

Mula sa mga sinuring episodyo, nag-iiba-iba ang paglalarawan sa mga babae sa iba't ibang panahon, espasyo, at sandali. May mga pagkakataon na tradisyunal ang imahen ng babaeng inilalarawan sa pelikula, kung minsan nama'y moderno. Ngunit, masisipat ang tila ugnayan ng babae at mga kalakip nitong pahiwatig ukol sa “peminisasyon ng halimaw.” Kung dati rati'y hinaharaya ang mahalaga at makabuluhang tungkulin ng kababaihan bilang sinaunang babaylan sa prekolonyal na daigdig sa bansa, nagkaroon ito ng malaking pagbabago bunsod na rin ng iba't ibang hugis at anyo ng pananakop. Ang mga malaya, magiting, at mandirigmang babae sa kinagisnang sistema ng paniniwala ay mag-iiba ng anyo patungong tahimik, umiiyak, walang magawa, at kung minsan nama'y tila halimaw na babae. Ngunit sa mga sinuring episodyo mula sa *SRR*, lagpas sa dakilang naratibo ng kolonyalismo, maituturing din na sanhi ng “peminisasyon ng halimaw” ang tambisan sa hindi pantay na gahom na nakakamit ng tao at mga institusyong umiinog dito. Sa talinghaga

ng aswang, itinuturing ang gahom bilang bahaging namamana mula sa makapangyarihan. Ito, marahil, ang siyang pangunahing sanhi na nagbubuklod sa iba't ibang salik ng kolonyalismo, kasakiman, at personal na interes na naglalayong manatili sa tugatog ng istruktura ng lipunan. Maging sa mga karakter ng aswang na sinuri mula sa mga episodyo ng *SRR*, kapansin-pansin ang tila makalumang pagharaya sa mga ito bilang indibidwal na inaasahang gumawa ng popular na gawaing inilalalaki sa tradisyunal na imahen ng kababaihan: nakatanghod sa bintana, tagaluto at tagahanda ng pagkain, mapagkalinga, kasambahay, at bahagi ng reproduksyon sa lipunan. Maging sa “peminisasyon ng halimaw” ay nagkakaroon din ng hindi pantay na digmaan sa gahom para sa hinaharayang istruktura ng lipunan.

Sa isang banda, maaaring basahin na ang kakulangang inihahayag at iniuugnay sa pagkakasadlak ng babae patungo sa “peminisasyon ng halimaw” sa pelikula ay maaaring bunsod ng simbolikong pagiral ng gahom at representasyon ng makalalaking pagtanaw (*male gaze*) na binabanggit ni Laura Mulvey. Mahalagang bigyang diin na pawang kalalakihan ang siyang direktor ng mga sinuring episodyo na kung minsá’y naglalarawan kung papaanong ang patriyarkal na lipunan ay hayagang lumililok sa istruktura ng anyo at nilalaman ng pelikula. Hindi rin maisasantabi ang lunan ng *Shake, Rattle, and Roll* sa tradisyong pampelikula ng Pilipinas bilang bahagi ng popular na kultura na kung minsá’y nagpipinid sa mapagpalaya nitong potensyal sa mga suliraning pampolitika, pangkultura, panlipunan, at pang-ekonomiya. Ngunit, sa kabilang banda, hindi rin naman maaaring itatwa ang sumisilip na kakayahan at kabatiran ng mga pelikulang sinuri lalo na sa antas ng pagpapaalala na wala sa babaeng isinasadlak sa dusa ang kakulangan kundi nasa isang lipunang patuloy na tinitimbang ang mga mamamayan nito at hindi nakukuntento sa pagiging sapat. Tinitimbang ngunit lagi’t lagi’y kulang.

Kung susumahin, patunay dito ang siyang danas ng babae mula sa mga imperyalistang bansa, hindi sila liban sa mismong pang-aapi at pananamantala bunsod ng patriyarkiyang nagpapalaganap ng makalalaking gahom. Sa pagtataya ni Benedict Anderson (1991) noong aralin niya ang kultura ng Java, Indonesia, napansin niya ang ganitong pagdalumat sa gahom na tinutukoy bilang isang kabuuang enerhiya na pinaghahatian ng lahat ng tao. Tinatanaw ni Anderson ang gahom bilang hindi maapuhap at malirip ngunit sagradong enerhiya na nagpapagalaw sa daigdig. Ang gahom na ito ang siyang pinagsasaluhan at pinagbabatayan ng bawat isa, lalo kung gaano ang lawak, laki, at timbang ng nakuhang bahagi mula sa kabuuang enerhiya. Ito ang masasabing naging lunsaran ni Reynaldo Clemeña Iletto (1979) ng aralin niya ang dalumat ng “loob” at “liwanag” na maiuugnay sa paglirip sa kamalayang Filipino ng iba’t ibang kilusang panlipunan mula 1840 hanggang 1910. Sa obserbasyon naman ni Fenella Cannell (1999) sa rehiyon ng Kabikulan, ang iba’t ibang tao ay nagkakapareho at nagkakapantay sa antas ng pagiging tao, mapa-mayaman man o mahirap. Nagkakaiba sila sa bahagdang nakukuha sa kabuuang gahom na umiiral. Hindi isinasantabi ang gahom sa materyal na bagay ngunit mahalagang sipatin na kahit ang siyang nagkamal ng malaking bahagi ng gahom ay nakararamdam pa rin ng kakulangan.

Sa mga pelikulang katatakutan, tulad sa mga episodyo ng *SRR* na sinuri, animo’y naging daluyan ang mga halimaw na babae ng dominanteng pagpapakahulugan na bitbit ng nagsasanga-sangang kontradiksyon ng gahom na pinagbubuklod ng kolonyalismo, urbanisasyon, at patriyarkiya. Kung tutuusin, marahas ang pagdalumat sa “peminisasyon ng halimaw” lalo na’t kaugnay nito ang pagharaya sa babae na hindi hiwalay at nakapaloob sa pagpapakahulugan sa halimaw. Sa puntong ito, may kasidhian ang pagturing

sa kababaihan bilang halimaw na hinuhubog ng makalalaking naratolohiya sa kasaysayan. Nanatili ang babae bilang buslong pinagkukunan ng mga kahulugang masama, maninila, mapang-akit, at makasalanan na nakabatay sa namamayaning kaayusan ng isang lipunang hindi ikinalulugod ang patas na gahom para sa lahat – anumang kasarian, seksuwalidad, lahi, etnisidad, at uri.

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NUMISMATIKONG PAG-AARAL SA KABABAIHAN SA MGA SALAPING PILIPINO AT INDONES SA PANAHONG POST-KOLONYAL: ISANG PANIMULANG PAGHAHAMBING ¹

*(Numismatic Study of Women's Representation in
Philippine Peso and Indonesian Rupiah During the
Post-Colonial Period: A Preliminary Comparison)*

Axle Christien Tugano

ABSTRAK

Sinasagot ng artikulong ito ang kamakailang isyu na tatanggalin o papalitan ng “agila” ang tatlong personang nakamarka sa PHP 1,000 na sina Jose Abad Santos, Vicente Lim, at Josefa Llanes-Escoda na mga bayani noong Ikalawang Digmaang Pandaigdig. Sinisipat din nito ang pag-alis kay Escoda na isang babae. Para sa mga nahirati sa distorsiyonismo at *fake news*, posibleng walang talab ang isyung ito at ipinagpapalagay lamang nilang simple at walang kabuluhan. Hindi lingid sa kanilang kaalaman, direkta itong pagbubura

¹ Unang binasa sa Research Congress ng De La Salle University noong Hulyo 8, 2022. Nagpapasalamat ang may-akda kina Dr. Mary Dorothy Jose at Prop. Atoy Navarro na kapwa nagsusulong ng *Feminismong Bayan* at *Araling Kabanwahan* na naging batayang teoretikal ng pag-aaral na ito.

ng kolektibong gunita (*collective memory*) na kadalasang nakaumang sa mga kulturang materyal katulad ng salapi. Kaya't dapat lamang na maiharap sa argumentong ito ang saysay ng Indonesia bilang halimbawa o panabla sa irasyonal na pagtingin ng ilang Pilipino sa isyung ito. Isa ang Indonesia sa mga lipunang may hitik na pagpapahalaga sa representasyon at identidad ng kababaihan sa mga salapi. Bagaman sumasalungat rito ang kasalukuyang pagtugon ng mga Pilipino, angkop namang paghambingin ang Pilipinas at Indonesia sapagkat sa maraming pagkakataon sa kasaysayan, nagkakatulad sila. Gamit ang perspektibang numismatiko (pag-aaral tungkol sa mga barya at salaping papel), bibigyan ng tinig at pagsusuri ang identidad ng kababaihang Pilipino at Indones sa mga salapi. Tatahiin ng artikulong ito ang paggamit ng (1) *Araling Kabanwahan* sa interkultural na ugnayan ng Pilipinas at ibang bayan at (2) *Araling Pangkababaihan* gamit naman ang *Feminismong Bayan* bilang mga batayang teoretikal.

Susing-Salita: numismatiko, kababaihan, Indonesia, Pilipinas, salapi

ABSTRACT

The Philippines faces a contentious issue of replacing the one thousand peso banknote that has sparked a myriad of opinions. Initial plans to redesign it to the Philippine eagle from effacing its three notable figures: Jose Abad Santos, Vicente Lim, and Josefa Llanes-Escoda (a woman) are among the unsung heroes of Japanese resistance during World War II. It interrogates the removal of Llanes-Escoda, as female figures are rarely depicted in Philippine peso. It has brought about a discourse of

overlooking women's representation in Philippine currency. Unfortunately, some people perceive the overall issue as insignificant, pointless, and – worst – irrelevant. Unknown to many, the move to replace the three heroes of World War II with an eagle is an outright repudiation of our collective memory that is anchored with material culture and heritage – our collective identity. We may define currency as a medium of showcasing our overall cultural identity – how we express and represent ourselves on banknotes. This article provides a discourse of comparison to our current 'irrational' view towards the manifestation of women in currency in the case of our geographically closest neighbor in Southeast Asia, Indonesia. Indonesia's currency presents an alternate narrative to how the Philippines turned a blind eye to the importance of depicting the role of women in banknotes. Moreover, the paper illustrates how the Indonesian rupiah values women's identity and crucial role in society. It is deemed appropriate to compare the Philippines and Indonesia in this aspect because they have had the same cultural experience (i.e. colonization, agriculture, economy, etc.) at some points in history. Implementing a numismatic approach that focuses on studying and collecting currency (i.e. coins and banknotes) will express a viewpoint for one's sentiment towards women's paramount role and identity in both Philippine and Indonesian societies by analyzing the concept of femininity on their banknotes. Consequently, the article aims to (1) focus on intercultural relations between the Philippines and other cultural communities and (2) contribute to the flourishing discourse of Women Studies and recognizing intersectionalities.

Keywords: numismatics, femininity, Indonesia, Philippines, currency

Panimula

Hindi mapasusubalian ang paggigiit ng isang lipunang kolonyal sa oras na makamit ang kanilang kalayaan o estado ng ganap na 'pagkabansa.' Para sa kanila, isa itong progresibong transisyon mula sa paniniil ng kolonyalismong Kanluran, kaya't agad na maimamarka ang ganitong 'tagumpay' sa mga kongkretong bagay na kalauna'y magiging luklukan ng gunita at salaysaying bayan. Sa panahon ng kalayaan, nariyan ang pagtugtog ng pambansang awit, pagwagayway ng bagong-tahing bandila, pagpapatayo ng bantayog ng kani-kanilang pinagpipitagang bayani at paglagay ng kanilang mga imahen sa mga selyo, mga barya't salapi, at sa sari-saring *invented tradition* na kinasasangkapan sa ngalan ng 'pagkabansa.' Malapit ang ganitong uri ng paggigiit sa konsepto ng *project identity* ni Weekley (1999) lalo na sa Timog Silangang Asya na naglalayong mapanatili ang tradisyonal na pagkakakilanlan bilang isang bansa. Ani Weekley, "*project identity is built by those seeking to (re)define their social position and to change the overall social structure*" (1999, 339). Kinakailangan aniya na parating gagamit ng isang simbolong bagay upang ipangalandakan ang pagkabansa. Katulad noong 1998 sentenaryong kalayaan ng Pilipinas, kung saan malawakang ipinagbibili at ikinakalat ang ating bandila sa lansangan at kabahayan, pagsusuot ng mala-Katipunerong damit, at ilang pagpaparada (Weekley 1999, 344) bilang representasyon.

Katulad ng Pilipinas ang Indonesia nang ideklara ang 'kalayaan' nito sa Estados Unidos noong Hulyo 4, 1946 sa Luneta Grandstand; ang Indonesia naman ay nagproklama ng kanilang *Proklamasi Kemerdekaan Indonesia* sa kamay ng mga Holandes noong Agosto 17, 1945. Ito ay pinangunahan nina Achmed Soekarno at Mohammad Hatta na kapwa magiging unang pangulo at pangalawang pangulo ng Indonesia - kasabay

ng pagwasiwas ng kanilang bandila, pagbabasa sa saligang batas, at pag-awit ng *Indonesian Raya*. Sa kaso ng Pilipinas, ang pinagbabatayan nating petsa ng selebrasyon ng kalayaan ay Hunyo 12 nang lagdaan ni Diosdado Macapagal ang Republic Act No. 4166 noong 1964. Ginugunita nito ang deklarasyon noong 1898 ng paglaya ng Pilipinas mula sa kolonyalismong Espanyol.

Tila nalalayo ang post-kolonyal na Pilipinas at Indonesia sa kung paano nila ipinagdiriwang taun-taon ang araw ng kalayaan. Sa kasalukuyang Pilipinas, tila *built-in* o nakakahon ang petsang ito bilang *holiday*, malala pa nga'y hindi alam ng ilang kabataan kung anong mayroon tuwing Hunyo 12. Gayumpaman, mahigpit pa rin itong ginugunita ng mga kawani ng pamahalaan: pagpaparada ng mga pulis, sundalo, at mga empleyado, pagtataas ng bandila kasabay ng *21-gun salute*, pag-aalay ng bulaklak lalo na sa mga monumento ni Rizal, at pagsasabit ng mga bandila sa establisimyento at kabahayan. Ngunit ang ganitong realidad ay mababakas lamang sa mga sentro ng pamahalaan at limitadong maoobserbahan sa maliliit na pamayanan at pamilya. Hindi katulad ng Indonesia, bago pa man ang ating sentinaryo, kanila nang malawakang ipinagdiriwang ang *lomba tujuhbelasan* [*tujuhbelas* = 17] (mga kompetisyon sa araw ng kalayaan). "*Indonesians always find new ideas for celebrating the Aug. 17 Independence Day,*" ani Tisnadibrata (2019). Sa mga *urban kampong* (pamayanan), nagtatanghal sila ng *malam kesenian* o konserto samantalang sa *rukun kampong*, sa pamumuno ng mga lokal na lider ay nagsasagawa ng iba't ibang patimpalak lalo na sa mga bata at pamilya (Hatley 1982, 56). Tampok dito ang *panjat pinang* (katulad ng ating *palo sebo* kung saan paunahang makakuha ng bandila ng Indonesia); *sepeda hias* (pagbibisikleta); *gerak jalan* (parada); *gebuk bantal* (paghahampasan ng unan); at iba pa (Fitri et al. 2020, 1-2). Samakatuwid, makatwiran sa kung

paano nagugunita ng mga Indones ang *kemerdekaan* na lagpas pa sa isang pagiging '*holiday*.'

Ang ganitong buhay na kultura ay manipestasyon sa kung paano tingnan ang kasaklawan ng gunita. Halos walampung taon na ang nakalilipas mula nang lumaya ang Indonesia, yumao na ang mga nanguna rito, ngunit patuloy pa rin nilang inaalala ang saysay ng *kemerdekaan*. Kung gagamitin ang *cultural memory* ni Assmann sa "*Collective Memory and Cultural Identity* (1995)," bilang isa sa kategorya ng *collective memory*, madudukal ang alaala kahit na mayroon itong malaking puwang sa nililingong panahon, sa anyo halimbawa ng mga imahen, rebulto o monumento, impraestruktura, at anomang mga simbolikal na aspekto na pagpapaalala sa pagkalipunan ng isang bansa (sinipi ni Guiwa 2019, 253-254). Kaiba ito sa *communicative memory* na inaalala naman ang isang bagay o kaganapan na napakalapit sa sariling panahon at dahil marami pang mga buhay at nakakasaksi, posibleng manipulahin ang konsepto at konteksto nito. May pagkakatulad ito sa maka-Pilipinong pagdadalumat ni Villan (2017, 280) sa konsepto ng pamana o *panublion* (hango sa *subli*) kung saan ang lahat ng bagay, nahahawakan man o 'di nahahawakan ay kinakailangang tanggapin at manahin ng sinomang magmamana nang may karampatang pananagutan. Ang anomang tinatamasa ng kasalukuyang Pilipino ay pamana ng nakaraang panahon at mga ninuno. Kaya't ang lahat ng mga pamanang kaloob ay hindi maihihiwalay sa kasaklawan ng salaysaying-bayan. Ito ay pansambayanang naratibo at kuwentong nakalilok sa lahat ng mga pamanang lahi (Villan 2020, 250-251).

Batayang Teoretikal

Esensiyal ang mga naging pahayag upang buksan ang pinakalayunin ng artikulong ito. Probokatibo ngunit ginagarantiya ang akademikong dalumat upang sagutin

ang kamakailang isyu na tatanggalin o papalitan ng 'agila' ang tatlong personang nakamarka sa Php 1,000 na sina Jose Abad Santos, Vicente Lim, at Josefa Llanes-Escoda na mga bayani noong Ikalawang Digmaang Pandaigdig. Higit sa lahat, ang pag-alis kay Escoda na isang babae. Para sa mga nahirati sa distorsiyonismo, walang talab ang isyung ito kaya't dapat lamang na maiharap sa argumentong ito ang saysay ng Indonesia bilang halimbawa o panabla sa irasyonal na pagtingin ng ilang Pilipino sa isyung ito.

Sumasayapak ang artikulong ito sa magkatuwang na pagpapahalaga sa *Araling Kabanwahan at Feminismong Bayan*. Maituturo kay Mary Dorothy Jose (2021a) ang pagpapayaman sa konseptong pinagtalab ang feminismo at bayan. Ang feminismo ay tumutukoy sa kamulatan ng kababaihang may mahalagang papel sa kasaysayan at lipunan at ang pagkilos upang maigiit ang kamulatang iyon; samantala ang bayan ay tumutukoy sa taumbayan o mamamayan (Jose 2021a, 29). Taong 2010 nang simulan ni Jose, kasama si Atoy Navarro ang unti-unting pagpapayaman sa *Feminismong Bayan*. Ani Jose, bagaman maiuugat sa konseptong Kanluran ang feminismo, maaari itong angkinin sa sariling bayan katulad ng mga naging pagtatangka nina Lilia Quindoza-Santiago at Fe Mangahas (Jose 2021a, 26-27) na naniniwalang may saring anyo at tunguhin ang feminismo sa matandang kasaysayan ng Pilipinas at sa iba pang yugto ng kasaysayan. Binalikan ni Jose ang naging dalumat ni Rodriguez-Tatel sa bayan bilang konsepto at proseso na tumuon sa salik-kultural, at ang bayan ni Navarro na mas tinahak ang panlipunang daloy upang maitampok ang pagkakakilanlan at ugnayang panlipunan. May kaibahan ang *Feminismong Bayan* halimbawa sa *Feminismong Babaylan* sapagkat naisusulat sa wikang Ingles ang pagdadalumat ng huli (Jose 2021a, 30).

Idiniin ni Jose na may dalawang katangian ang *Feminismong Bayan*. Una, ito ay feminismong nagmumula at para sa mamamayan at taumbayan. Pangalawa, ito ay feminismong nagsusulong sa pagpapatibay ng Inang Bayan, bayan, at sambayanan. Kaya't layunin ng *Feminismong Bayan* na masuri ang isyu at suliraning dinaranas ng kababaihang nakaugat sa bayan bagaman hindi lamang din kasarian ang tuon ngunit maging ang uri. Gayundin, naniniwala rin ang *Feminismong Bayan* na ang opresyong pangkasarian ay idinulot ng kolonyalismo at patriyarka na nagpapatuloy pa rin hanggang sa panahong post-kolonyal (Jose 2021a, 29-30).

Binigyan din ng *Feminismong Bayan* ng puwang ang pag-aaral ng kababaihan sa 'labas.' Sa isang artikulo ni Jose sa *Diliman Gender Review Bol. 3*, sinabi niyang:

Sa pagsusuri sa imahen ng kababaihan sa mga akda sa paglalakbay, ginamit ang balangkas ng feminismong-bayan bilang yunit ng analisis upang maitaguyod ang kagalingan ng kababaihan at malabanan ang pagsasagilid at pagsasawalang-kapangyarihan sa kanila sa kasaysayan at lipunan. Bilang isang malawakang lapit sa pag-aaral at pagkilos ng kababaihan sa kontekstong Pilipino, nakabatay ang feminismong-bayan sa pagkilala sa pagkakaugnay at pag-uugnay sa mga nagsasangandaang diskurso't talastasan tungkol sa feminismo at bayan, maging sa loob man o **labas ng bayan** (akin ang diin) (2020, 23).

Ang ganitong katangian ng pag-aaral sa labas ng bayan upang hanapan ng pagkakaugnay at pag-uugnay ay isang katangian ng *Araling Kabanwahan* (Navarro 2012a) o isang maka-Pilipino at maka-Asyanong pag-aaral ng ugnayan at paguugnay-ugnay ng Pilipinas at ibang bayan. Isa itong pananaw na kumakalas sa lente ng *Area Studies* at *Regionalism Studies* na tiningnan madalas ang rehiyon ng Asya bilang pasibong tagatanggap ng impluwensiya ng mga 'naghaharing' sibilisasyon sa daigdig o 'di kaya'y limitado sa ugnayang estado-sa-estado o nasyon-sa-nasyon na walang gaanong implikasyon sa mismong mamamayan nito (Navarro 2012a). Sa payak na paglalarawan, magkamag-anak ang *Feminismong Bayan* na pinagyaman ni Jose at *Araling Kabanwahan* na pinauunlad ni Navarro. Sa isang akda ni Jose (2021b), idiniin niya ang paralelismo at interseksyon ng Kasaysayang Kababaihan at Araling Kababaihan na kailangang pagyamanin tungo sa komprehensibong pagpapahalaga sa Araling Timog Silangang Asya at Araling ASEAN na nasa diwa ng *Araling Kabanwahan* (Jose 2021b). Makikita sa ilang pag-aaral ni Jose (2015a; 2015b; 2021b) ang pagtatangkang ihugpong ang Kasaysayang Kababaihan at Araling Kababaihan sa *Araling Kabanwahan*.

Kaya't kung titingnan, maaaring palitawin mula rito ang *Feminismong Kabanwahan*, isang neolohismong konseptong nag-ugat sa *Feminismong Bayan* at *Araling Kabanwahan* bilang pag-aaral sa kababaihan na may layuning pag-ugnayin ang Pilipinas at ibang bayan. Sa kaso ng pananaliksik na ito—ang Indonesia. Lapat ang pagkakagamit sa konsepto ng *banwa* bilang pagkawaring pampamayanan na matatagpuan sa ilang bahagi ng Pilipinas na makikita rin mismo sa Indonesia - hal. *wanua* = lupa/teritoryo o bansa/bayan ng Bugis sa Sulawesi at *banua'* = lupa/teritoryo ng Toba Batak ng Sumatra (Salazar 2006).

Gamit ang perspektibang numismatiko (pag-aaral tungkol sa mga barya at salaping papel), tatahiin ng artikulong ito ang masaklaw na ugnayan ng *Feminismong Bayan* at *Araling Kabanwahan*. Karagdagang ambag din ang artikulong ito sa ilang naunang pag-aaral (Teodoro 1996a; Teodoro 1996b; Navarro 2012b; Guillermo 2013; Jose 2015a; Victoria 2015; Tugano 2019) na direktang tumalakay sa ugnayan ng Pilipinas at Indonesia gamit ang wikang F/Pilipino.

Tuon ng *Feminismong Bayan* hindi lamang ang kasarian ngunit kasama rin ang uri kaya't maaasahan sa artikulong ito ang pagtatampok ng mga salaping Indones na nagtanghal sa kababaihang nakabilang sa iba't ibang saray at uri. Nariyang makikita ang ilang kababaihang Indones sa sinaunang kasaysayan, mga mandirigmang babae sa panahon ng kolonyalismo, mga babaeng gumiit ng karapatan sa edukasyon, mga manggagawang Indones na tumuon sa agrikultura at handicrafts, mga artista o mananayaw, at kabataang babae. Samantala, gamit naman ang *Araling Kabanwahan*, susuriin ang ugnayan o kaugnayan ng mga salaping Pilipino at salaping Indones; kung paano nagkakatulad at nagkakaiba ang kalagayan ng dalawang bansa lalo pa't kapwa sila bahagi ng Pan-Malayong mayroong katulad ng karanasan sa kolonyalismo at postkolonyal.

Mga Saligang Literatura

Liban kay Assmann (1995), sa *collective memory* ni Halbwachs (1992), at iba pang teorista na nagpadalubhasa sa pag-aaral ng gunita, mahalaga ring lingunin ang *lieux de memoire* o *sites of memory* ni Nora (1996). Para kay Nora, ang bawat espasyong ito ay maituturing na pedagohikal sapagkat itinuturo nito sa kasalukuyang henerasyon ang saysay ng nakaraan, sa anyo ng mga monumento, libingan, mga teksbuk,

museo, at mga kaugnay (Nora 1996 kay Seixas at Clark 2004, 146-147). Sa Europa, matagal na silang nakaalpas sa kasanayang pangdisiplina ng metodolohiyang pangkasaysayan na tumuon sa mga dokumento nang simulan nilang gawin bilang isang disiplina ang pag-aaral sa *material culture*. Isang halimbawa ay ang akdang pinamatnugutan nina Gerritsen at Riello na *Writing Material Culture History* (2015) at naglalaman ng dalawampu't anim na kabanatang tumurol sa kasaysayan ng kagamitan tulad ng tasa, gamit ng mga patay, seramiko, mangkok, basket, salamin, kapote, kama, kampanilya, kandila, at lampara. Bagaman mayroon na rin ganitong ilang pagtatangka sa akademikong Pilipino, malayo-layo pa rin ito sa kahitikan ng babasahing Kanluran dahil karamihan sa mga ito ay tumutuon pa lamang sa mga pampublikong espasyo. Sa abot ng nalalaman, posibleng si Abrera (1992) ay isa sa mga maagang nag-aral ng kulturang materyal gamit ang numismatika, kung saan kaniyang itinampok ang anting-anting.

May historikal at sosyolohikal na paliwanag ang bawat bagay at nakakaapekto ito sa pag-iisip at pagtugon ng lipunan. Sa kabila ng pagpupunyaging ito, maraming sektor ang nakakaligtaan o hindi agarang nabibigyan ng pansin sa usapin ng 'gunita' at 'alaala' - lalo na ang kababaihan.

Halimbawa ay ang mga monumento. Sa akda ni Mayo (1988), partikular na sa kabanatang *Memories of Horror*, mahalaga ang libingan bilang isang halimbawa ng monumento. Sa libingan magugunita ang mga taong nagbuwis ng kanilang buhay. Ginamit ni Mayo ang mga libingang Amerikano na nagkalat sa buong mundo at Holocaust Memorial sa Europa at Israel, ngunit, mapanganib kung hindi lalagyan ng palatandaan ang iba pang makasaysayang lugar. Aniya, mabubura ang alaala, katulad ng Sand Creek Massacre noong 1864 sa

Colorado kung saan maraming kababaihang Cheyenne at Arapaho ang nagbuwis ng buhay. Katulad ng monumento, salat ang representasyon ng kababaihan sa mga mural. Kung mayroon man, nagiging palamuti lamang sila ng patriyarkal na pagdadambana. Sinuri nina Seixas at Clark (2004, 148-149) ang mural sa British Columbia kung saan ang nakahubad na katutubong babae ay tumutulong sa pagpapatayo ng Fort Victoria sa ilalim ng superbisyon ng puting kalalakihan.

Isa pang halimbawa ay ang malabnaw na representasyon ng kababaihan sa mga selyo (*postage stamps*). Umiikot ang mga naseselyohang liham o dokumento sa buong mundo, kaya't mababakas na kaagad ang ibinabanderang simbolo sa bawat selyo. Para sa ilang philatelistang (nag-aaral ng mga selyo), hindi gaanong napapansin sa selyo ang mga babae. Ayon kay Brunn (2000, 322), talamak sa Silangang Europa at Sentral Asya ang mga selyong nabuburdahan ng mga makukulay na kasuotan, magagandang tanawin, mga tanyag na lalaki, ngunit bibihira ang mga babae. Gayundin kina Andreou et al. (2017) na tumalakay sa selyo ng Cyprus mula 1960-2013 - kung saan ang pagsasalarawan sa kababaihan sa kanilang selyo ay sekondarya lamang at ang katangian ay pawang emosyonal, mahihina, at malungkutin.

Hindi katulad ng mga monumento at selyo, kasama sa pang-araw-araw na pamumuhay ng lipunan ang mga salapi—mula sa pagtratrabaho kung saan salapi ang natatanggap hanggang sa pagbili at pagbebenta ng mga produkto at serbisyo. Sa pagdampi nito sa mga palad, masisilayan ang estetika nito at malao'y magmamarka sa alaala kung ano ang hitsura ng mga salapi—kung sino ang makikita sa salapi o anu-ano ang mapapansin sa harap (*obverse*) at likurang (*reverse*) bahagi nito na siyang tatatak sa gunita ng isang indibidwal. Lakip din ng representasyon ng bawat salapi

ang kasarian - babae o lalaki ba ang tao sa pera? Ito ang hatid ng akda ni Hewitt sa kaniyang *Banker's Arts: Studies in Paper Money* (1995) at *Glamour and Glory: The Symbolic Imagery of Women on Paper Money* (2000). Isa sa mga nabungkal na akda niya ang pagkababae ng kababaihan sa salapi - lakip ang suliranin at tunguhin nito sa *Araling Pangkasarian*. Gayumpaman, hindi gaanong napag-uusapan sa Pilipinas ang kababaihan sa pera. Marahil, sa aking pananaw, kung bakit tila hindi isang seryosong isyu para sa iilan ang pagbabago sa PHP 1,000 na inaasahan ngayong 2022, na kung saan isang babae ang posibleng mawala sa ating gunita.

Ang Kababaihan sa Kaperahan ng Timog Silangang Asya

Ayon kay Steir (2016), ang salaping papel ay hindi lamang naglalaman ng halaga, ngunit isa rin itong paraan ng midya (*print media*) na kung saan malinaw na nakikita ng taumbayan kung ano o sino ang nakamarka dito. Karamihan sa salapi ng daigdig ay nagtanghal sa kalalakihan. Subukang basahin ang tinurang "*The World's Authority on Paper Money*" na akdang *World Paper Money: Modern Issues (1961-Present)* ni Cuhaj (2009), isang kalipunan ng mga salaping papel mula Afghanistan hanggang Zimbabwe, makikita ang dominasyon ng kalalakihan sa salapi ng bawat bansa. Ang mailap na imahen ng kababaihan sa salapi ay nakakuyom palagi sa paglalarawan bilang isang manggagawa, mahirap, at sekondarya, katulad ng pagpuna nina Brunn (2000) at Andreou et al. (2017). Malinaw ito sa pagtingin ni Steir (2016), dahil ito ang itinatatak sa panlipunang sirkulasyon - madalas sa anyo ng midya, edukasyon, at pamilya, kung minsan sa anyo ng mga salapi. Ani Steir:

In order to understand why everyday women appear on so many types of notes

in so many places and times, it is important to understand the role that images on money fulfill. On banknotes issued by governments, detailed images can help to make counterfeiting more difficult, but they also provide an opportunity to depict national values in a place that citizens will see every day (2016).

Malaki ang sinasabi ng mga salapi sa estado ng kababaihan sa lipunan. Para kay Hewitt (2000), mahalagang iangat ang estado ng mga babae sa salapi – na sa mga nagdaang panahon ay dominado ng mga monarkiya, pinuno o lider, mga elit na pawang kalalakihan. Gayumpaman, sa isang banda, sa ilang lipunan ay unti-unti na ring nabibigyan ng positibong imahen ang kababaihan. Nariyan ang representasyon ng kanilang hanay sa mga literatura at alegorya – naghahanapbuhay, nakangiti, hindi kaawa-awang tingnan, at ang iba’y mga Nobel Prize Winner pa (Hewitt 2000, 137-152). Sa kabilang banda, sa maraming bansa, hindi pa rin mahuhubdan ang kasalatan ng tinig ng kababaihan sa mga salapi. Kung para kay Steir (2016), isang suliranin ang pagkakahon at tradisyonal na pagtingin sa kababaihan, hindi ba’t mas mabigat pa rito ang kapalaran nila sa ibang lipunan kung saan lantarang inaalís, tinatangal, o hindi inilalakip ang kanilang sektor bilang mga representasyon ng bansa? Iba-iba rin talaga ang pagtatanghal at pagpapahalaga sa kababaihan sa salapi batay sa bansa. Nariyan ang babae na nasa *obverse*, minsan ay nasa *reverse*, minsan ay tila palamuti lamang sa gilid, nasa *watermark* (hindi nakikitang imahen na tanda ng pagiging tunay ng salapi), minsan naman ay pantay ang babae at lalaki o magkasama, at kung minsá’y walang babae. Sa karanasan ng aking mga naging paglalakbay sa ibayong dagat, ang

Australian Dollar (AUD) ang pinakamalapit sa pagiging egalitaryado ng salapi. Ang AUD (10, 20, 50, at 100) ay baliktarang makikita ang babae at lalaki, karamihan pa'y mga katutubong *aborigine*. Kabaliktaran ito ng US Dollar (USD) na puro kalalakihan.

Sa naging paglalakbay sa sampung bansa sa Timog Silangang Asya (ASEAN) (2014-2018), isa sa naobserbahan ko ay ang kanilang mga salapi. Isa ito sa una mong makikilala sa bawat bansa mula sa eroplano at prontera sa imigrasyon, lahat ay dadaan sa *money changer* upang ipalit ang salaping naaangkop sa dinarayong bansa. Mula noon, napagnilayan ko ang bawat salapi ng Timog Silangang Asya. Mayroong mga salaping sumentro lamang sa iisang personalidad at hindi kakikitaan ng imahen ng kababaihan. Katulad ng Bruneian dollar (BND) [1, 5, 10, 50, 100, at 500] na dating ringgit na tanging kumilala lamang kay Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah, ang tanging *absolute monarch* sa mundo; Singaporean dollar (SGD) [2, 5, 10, 50, 100, at 1,000] sa kauna-unahang pangulo ng bansa na si Yusof bin Ishak; Malaysian ringgit (MYR) [1, 5, 10, 20, 50, 100] kay Tunku Abdul Rahman, ang unang pinuno (*yang di-Pertuan Agong*) ng Malayan Federation; Vietnamese dong (VND) [100, 200, 500, 1,000, 2,000, 5,000, 10,000, 20,000, 50,000, at 100,000] sa lider na si Ho Chi Minh (1945-1955); at Thai baht (THB) [20, 50, 100, 500, at 1,000] kay Haring Bhumibol Adulyadej ngunit napalitan na ng larawan ng bagong hari na si Vajiralongkorn. Bagaman may kababaihan sa Thai baht, bukod na nasa *reverse* ito, mga pamilya pa ito ng monarkiyang Chakri-hal. Reyna Srinagarindra at Galyani Vadhana sa 20 THB; asawang si Reyna Sirikit sa 50 THB at kalauna'y nasa 100 THB din kasama sina Prinsesa Ubol Ratana at Prinsesa Maha Chakri Sirindhorn. Bagaman hindi lider-sentrik ang Cambodian riel (KHR) [50, 100, 500, 1,000, 2,000, 5,000, 10,000, 15,000, 20,000, at 50,000] at Myanmar Kyat (MMK) [50 pyas, 1, 5, 10, 20, 50, 100, 200, 500, 1,000,

5,000, at 10,000], wala ni isang babae ang matatagpuan sa kanilang salapi. Samantala, sa Lao kip (LAK) [15, 10, 20, 50, 100, 500, 1,000, 2,000, 5,000, 10,000, 20,000, 50,000, at 100,000] ay mayroong babae ngunit walang pangalan o hindi isang historikal na personalidad. Sa 100 at 500 LAK, naroon ang larawan ng mga babaeng nag-aani ng prutas at ang 1,000 LAK ay nagtanghal ng kababaihang mula sa iba't ibang etnolingguwistikong pangkat - Lao Theung, Lao Lun, at Lao Sung.

Panghuli, ang sentro ng artikulong ito - ang Indonesian rupiah (IDR) [1,000, 2,000, 5,000, 10,000, 20,000, 50,000, at 100,000] at ang Philippine peso (PHP) [20, 50, 100, 200, 500, at 1,000]. Sa kasalukuyan, iisang babae lamang ang nasa *obverse* ng IDR - si Tjoet Nja Meuthia sa 1,000 IDR ngunit ang *reverse* ng lahat ng salapi ay puro mananayaw na babae sa iba't ibang bahagi ng arkipelago. Kasama ng kababaihan, lakip din ang *flora* at *fauna* at tanawin ng Indonesia. Kung papansinin, malapit ang IDR sa salapi ng mga Pilipino. Sa *reverse* ng PHP, naroon ang iba't ibang hayop, halaman, at magagandang lugar sa bansa ngunit ang napakalalaking kaibahan, walang representasyon ng kababaihan ang makikita mula rito. Bukod kay Corazon Aquino (Cory) na nasa *obverse* ng PHP 500, naitampok din si Josefa Llanes-Escoda (Pepa) sa PHP 1,000 na pinaplanong alisin at palitan. Kung tutuusin pa nga, sina Cory at Pepa ay hindi nag-iisa, hindi eksklusibong naitatanghal sa salapi, dahil kasa-kasama pa nila ang kalalakihan.

“Dalawa na nga lang, tatanggalin pa ang isa:” Pagsusuri sa Isyu

Malaki ang naiudyok ng isang Facebook post ng feministang si Mary Dorothy Jose ng U.P. Manila noong Disyembre 12, 2021, kung bakit ko isinulat ang artikulong ito. Aniya—

Dalawa na nga lang ang babae sa pera, tatanggalin pa ang isa? Saka paano na ang “Pera may Tao Workshop” ko sa PI 100 [Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas] (na minana ko pa kay Kuya Abet Mata [Prof. Roberto Mata ng U.P. Los Baños]?) Mababawasan pa ang mga tao/bayang susuriin nila sa pera. Kalokah. (2021c)

Noong kalagitnaan ng Disyembre 2021, inihayag ng gobernador ng Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas (BSP) na si Benjamin Diokno ang paglabas ng bagong disenyo ng PHP 1,000, alinsunod sa aprubal ng BSP Monetary Board at Tanggapan ng Pangulo ng Pilipinas (*Philstar Global* 2021). Mula sa tatlong bayani ay papalitan ng isang agila. May dalawang dahilan dito ang BSP – una, upang ituon ang *flora* at *fauna* bilang simbolo ng Pilipinas at pangalawa, ang *polymer* na materyales ay makatutulong upang hindi mabasa ng tubig at marumihan agad ang salapi na katulad ng nasa United Kingdom, Australia, at Canada (*ABS-CBN* 2021). Ngunit kung gagamitin ang sentido kumon, makapagpapalit naman ng mas ‘de-kalidad’ na salapi nang hindi isinasakripisyo ang mukha ng tatlong bayani. Isa pa, ang tila nilulubid na pagkakasangkapan sa *flora* at *fauna*, hindi ba’t lahat naman ng ating salapi ngayon ay may hayop at halaman sa *reverse* nito? Banaue Rice Terraces at pusang civet sa PHP 20; Taal Lake at maliputo sa PHP 50; Bulkang Mayon at whale shark sa PHP 100; Chocolate Hills at tarsier sa PHP 200; Underground River ng Palawan at parrot sa PHP 500; at Tubbataha Reefs at perlas o kabibe sa PHP 1,000?

Matatandaang tatlumpung taon na ang nakalilipas nang huling inilabas ng BSP ang PHP 1,000. Sila pa mismo ang nagsabing “*at the forefront of the resistance force against the Japanese occupation of the*

Philippines," larawan ang tatlong bayani ng iba't ibang sektor -si General Vicente Lim ay representasyon ng militar; si Jose Abad Santos ng pamahalaan; at higit sa lahat, si Josefa Llanes-Escoda para sa kababaihan (ABS-CBN 2021). Tinutulan ng Departamento ng Kasaysayan, U.P. Diliman ang hakbang na ito ng pamahalaan. Inihalintulad nila ang bagong disenyo ng PHP 1,000 sa Mickey Mouse Money na walang halaga sapagkat ang mismong halaga nito ay nasa taong nakamarka dito (CNN 2021). Mapanganib ang pagpapalimot na ito ng pamahalaan sa tatlong bayani lalo pa't ang salapi ay bahagi ng araw-araw na paggunita ng mga Pilipino. Sa inilabas nilang "Statement on the Php 1,000 Bill Controversy" noong Disyembre 16, 2021, idiniing:

A nation's currency is a potent tool that can be harnessed to project a country's heritage, tradition, and history to the public and the world. For developing countries such as the Philippines where there is limited access to formal classes, books, and historical materials, our currency becomes an accessible platform, especially for the younger Filipinos, to display the best our country has to offer -an everyday reminder of the greatness of the Filipino nation and the Filipino. In the face of the marginal position of the teaching of history in the K-12 curriculum, it is crucial, more than ever, to appropriate the alternative venues to help raise historical consciousness and promote our heritage. Our national currency is a vital yet practical means to disseminate the memory and legacies of these three heroes and to ensure these are kept alive and relevant (CNN 2021).

Tunay ito sa tuwing naaalala natin kung paano unti-unting inaalal sa Philippine History sa kurikulum. Katulad ng isang pag-aaral ni San Juan (2017, 13) kung saan kaniyang idiniin ang mismong 1987 Saligang Batas ng Pilipinas, lalo na ang Artikulo 14 na naglalayon ng isang mahagigpit na obligasyon ng pamahalaan na imulat sa bawat mamamayang Pilipino ang pagkamakabayan at nasyonalismo, *pagpapahalaga sa mga bayani*, pagpapahalagang etikal at moral, at iba pa. Ngunit, kabalintunaan ang ginawang ito sa pagbubura sa alaala ng tatlong bayani noong Ikalawang Digmaang Pandaigdig. Mahalaga si Jose Abad Santos noong siya'y nanunungkulan bilang Chief Justice at kahalili ng n-destiyerong si Manuel Quezon sa pagiging Commander-in-Chief ng Sandatahang Lakas ng Pilipinas. Gayundin si Vicente Lim ng Philippine Army na nagpabagsak sa maraming hukbong Hapones. Higit sa lahat, ang babaeng si Josefa Llanes-Escoda na tagapagtatag ng Girl Scouts of the Philippines na aktibong nagbigay ng tulong sa mga Pilipinong pinahirapan ng mga Hapones.

Kung tutuusin, ang pagtanggap sa kanila ay isang paraan ng pagpapalimot sa kasaysayan – ang *historical forgetting*. Walang kamalayan ang sinumang mga nahihirati sa kahuwaran o mito ng nakaraan, sa kabila ng kanilang kabatiran sa katotohanan ng kasaysayan (*historical denialism*). Sinusugan ito ni Bourdieu sa kaniyang *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977, 78). Aniya, *“the ‘unconscious’ is never anything other than the forgetting of history which history itself produces by incorporating the objective structures it produces in the second natures of habitus.”* Kawangis ni Bourdieu, tinawag din ito bilang *historical amnesia* ni Chomsky (2014); mapanganib sapagkat manipulasyon ito ng kasalukuyan upang baguhin o pasinungalingan ang kasaysayan. Katulad ito sa kung paano isinailalim ng mga Amerikano sa sensura ang mga pahayagang tumatalakay sa Digmaang Pilipino-Amerikano (1899-1913), sinasala

ang mga balita sa pamamagitan ng pagretoke, omisyon, o paglilinis ng kolonyal na reputasyon. Isa itong hakbang ng propaganda. Ani Ablett (2004, 22), "*propaganda is understood here as the deliberate falsification, distortion or tendentious portrayal of events to justify a political cause to the wider public.*" Sa ganang akin, propaganda ang agila na siyang hahalili sa tatlong bayani. Tandaan ang metapora ng *Eagle of the South* (o *Tiger of the North*) upang ilarawan ang kasalukuyang estado ng politika sa Pilipinas. Kuwestiyonable pa nga rin para sa akin ang representasyon ng agila bilang larawan ng pagka-Pilipino. Sa ating kaalaman, pambansang ibon ng Pilipinas ang agila, kaya ba't ilalagay ito sa salapi? Dito mauunawaan ang sanaysay ni Baños (2018) na "The Pinoy Is a Maya, not an Agila" na nagsasabing hindi larawan ng pagka-Pilipino ang agila. Aniya, ang mga maya na noo'y mas naunang naging pambansang ibon, ang dapat maging representasyon ng mga Pilipino sapagkat larawan ito ng pagiging mapagkumbaba (*humble*) na nakikitang nakikihalubilo sa mga tao; matipid (*frugal*) o hindi nag-aaksaya; at mapagbigay (*generous*) sa tuwing tumutuka ng pagkain kasabay ng ibang ibon. Hindi katulad ng agila na mailap, nandadagit ng maliliit na hayop (simbolo ng pagiging sakim at mapang-api); at hindi nabubuhay kung hindi nakatira sa kagubatan (simbolo ng kaharian o kayamanan).

Panghuli, ang pagkitil sa identidad ng tatlong bayani lalo na sa babaeng si Llanes-Escoda ay manipestasyon ng pagbubura ng alaala at gunita. Sa salapi lamang mababakas ang kanilang huling alaala. Walang libingan, ni walang puntod ang nakalaan para sa kanila. Hindi nahanap ng anak na si Pepito ang lugar kung saan inilibing ang kaniyang amang si Jose; hindi rin nakasisiguro kung sa Chinese Cemetery ba inilagag ang bangkay ni Lim sa paniniwalang kasama siya sa maraming gerilyang pinatay ng mga Hapones at inilibing sa isang malaking hukay; at lalo na si Llanes-Escoda na

pinatay at inilibing sa hindi matukoy na puntod, ni hindi siguradong sementeryo (La Loma Cemetery ba o Manila Chinese Cemetery).

Si Llanes-Escoda ay isinilang sa Dingras, Ilocos Norte. Nagsanay bilang guro sa Philippine Normal University at nagtapos ng kursong edukasyon sa University of the Philippines noong 1922. Nakapagturo siya sa Jose Rizal College, Far Eastern University, Philippine Women's College at University of Manila. Liban sa pagiging guro, isa ring suprahista si Escoda na sumapi sa National Federation of Women's Club na naglalayong bigyan ng karapatan ang kababaihan upang makaboto. Kahit isang *pensionada* sa Estados Unidos, aktibo pa rin siyang nagsasagawa roon ng pamamahayag at pakikipaglaban sa karapatan. Sa kaniyang pagbabalik, itinatag nila ni Pilar Hidalgo-Lim ang Philippine Girl Scouts Organization upang turuan ng sibikong karapatan ang kabataang Pilipino. Sa panahon ng Ikalawang Digmaang Pandaigdig, aktibong tumulong si Escoda kasama ang kaniyang asawa na si Antonio sa mga *Prisoners of War* (POW) na inaabuso ng mga Hapones. Naging mensahero si Escoda ng mga bilango para sa kanilang kamag-anak at nagbibigay din siya ng mga pagkain, sapatos, at damit. Tampok sa mga pahayag ni Escoda ay "...*If you happen to survive, and I fail, tell our people that the women of the Philippines did their part also in making the ember sparks of truth and liberty alive 'til the last moment.*" Inaresto si Escoda noong Agosto 27, 1944 at ikinulong sa Fort Santiago. Doo'y kasama siya sa mga minasaker ng mga sundalong Hapones at hanggang ngayon ay hindi pa natatagpuan ang mga labi (Abrera at Santillan 2022, 227-234).

Isang nakakainsultong hakbang na ipagpalit ang kanilang mga mukha para lamang sa isang agila - na hindi naman *flora* at *fauna*, identidad, at historikal ang layon bagkus, isang politikal na propaganda.

Sa ganitong pagkakataon maaaring ipasok ang paghahambing sa Pilipinas at sanggang-dikit nitong Indonesia. Sa maraming pagkakataon, palaging magkatulad ang dalawang lipunan. Halos parehas nga ang disenyo at “larawan sa rupiah at piso - ngunit paano pinahalagahan ng lipunang Indones ang kababaihan sa kanilang salapi? Ito ang aking sasagutin.

Hulagway ng Kababaihan sa mga Salaping Indones

Maituturo noong 1780 hanggang 1800 unang gumamit ng salaping papel ang kolonyal na lipunan ng Indonesia, sa pangunguna ng United East Indies Company. Gayumpaman, walang identidad ng pagka-Indones ang mababakas sa mga salaping ito. Taong 1945 nakamit ng Indonesia ang pagsasarili nito kaya’t ito ang unang pagkakataong nakagawa sila ng sariling sistema ng pananalapi. Siyempre pa, si Achmed Soekarno ang unang indibiduwal na lumabas sa salapi lalo pa’t sa ilalim ng kaniyang ideolohiyang *Pancasila*, naniniwala si Soekarno na ang nasyonalismo ang magdurugtong sa magkakahiwalay na etnolingguwistikong pangkat ng arkipelago. Pinag-ugnay niya ang konsepto ng *mufakat* (pagkakasundo ng lipunan), *perwakilan*, at *permusjawaratan* (ideya ng representasyon) upang mabuo ang para sa kaniya’y isang demokrasya (Butcher 2021, 36-37). Para rin sa kaniya, siya ang utak ng nasyonalismo, kaya’t inilagay niya ang sarili sa salapi. Kakatwang inilagay ng isang nabubuhay pa ang kaniyang sarili sa isang ahente ng gunita. Pagkatapos ng 1945, mahalaga rin ang perang *Djokjakarta* (mula sa Yogyakarta) noong 1947 alinsunod sa *Police Action* (Cribb 1981, 113) ng mga Holandes, sapagkat dito unang nalinang ang salapi, bukod pa, ito ang lugar sa bansa na malimit gumamit nito. Posible nga ito, sapagkat sa maagang bahagi ng dantaon 20 hanggang 1930, ang Yogyakarta ang pinakamataong bahagi ng Dutch East Indies (Kwartanada 2002, 257).

Taong 1950 ganap na kinilala ang pagsasarili ng Indonesia. Dito rin unang ginamit ang salaping *Republik Indonesia Serikat*; 1953-1954, unang lalabas ang 'Bank Indonesia' sa mga salapi; 1958-1959, itinanghal ang mga hayop sa Indonesia bilang simbolo; 1960, ang mga halaman at ibon; 1961-1964, representasyon ng mga kabuhayang Indones; 1965-1967, muling gagamitin si Soekarno sa lahat ng denominasyon; 1968-1970, si Heneral Sudirman ng Kabupaten Purbalingga bilang pagkilala sa kaniya sa Panahon ng digmaang pangkalayaan; at 1976 hanggang sa kasalukuyang rupiah.

Sa kabila ng lahat, hindi nakalimutan ng lipunang Indones ang kanilang kababaihan na maitanghal sa mga salapi. Lalo pa't bago pa man gamitin ang salapi noong 1945, nagpamalas na ng katapangan ang mga babaeng Indones. Sa parehong taon halimbawa, unang nabuo ang *Persatuan Wanita Republik Indonesia* (PERWARI), samahang nagmula sa noo'y magkahiwalay na *Wanita Indonesia* (WANI) at *Persatuan Wanita Indonesia* (PERWANI). Ito ang samahang pangkababaihan na nagsusulong ng katarungang panlipunan at karapatang pantao ng kababaihang Indones (Brenner 1994, 14, n. 2). Mula noon, ang sunod-sunod na karangalan ng kababaihan ay nagbigay ng daan upang maitanghal sila sa salapi. Hinati ko sa limang paksa ang representasyon ng kababaihang Indones, batay sa tema, panahon, at pananaw -(1) mitikal na kababaihan; (2) historikal na personalidad; (3) kababaihang manggagawa; (4) kababaihang artista; at (5) ang pagtatampok sa kabataang babae.

1. Mitikal na Kababaihan sa Salaping Indones

Sa panahong post-kolonyal, mahigpit pa rin ang paniniwala ng mga Indones sa sinaunang ritwal at paniniwala. Maging si Soekarno ay sumangguni sa mga *pawang* o *dukun* (mga katutubong shaman) upang gabayan ang kaniyang pamumuno (Tugano 2019, 120). Kaya't sa paglabas ng salapi noong Hulyo 1953 hanggang Nobyembre 1954, kaagad nilang itinanghal ang representasyon ng kababaihan mula sa kahalagahang mitikal. Ang Indonesia lalo sa Hilagang Java ay patuloy na naniniwala sa dalawang paraan



Plate I. Mga Mitikal na Kababaihan sa Salaping Indones.

(A) estatwa ni Dewi Sri sa 10 rupiah (1953-1954); (B) estatwa ni Padmapani sa 1,000 rupiah (1953-1954); at (C) isang mural ng Ramayana sa Borobudur sa 10,000 rupiah (1976-1978) (Government of Indonesia w.tn).

ng paggunita sa nakaraan - *dongeng wong biyen* o kuwentong oral na naisasalin sa mga henerasyon at *kethoprak* o *sejarah*, kasaysayang naisulat (Heringa 1997, 359).

Sa lahat ng ito, tatlong mitikal na kababaihan ang naitampok sa kanilang salapi (Plate I). Una na rito si Dewi Sri o Shridevi (Plate 1-A) sa sepuluh rupiah (10 IDR) na inilabas noong 1953-1954. Mahalaga ang diyosang ito sa Sunda, Java, at Bali sapagkat ito ang naggagawad ng kasaganahan sa anyo ng agrikultura at fertilidad. Bigas ang metonomiya ni Dewi Sri, kaya't siya ay pinahalagahan sa mga sumibol na kaharian ng Indonesia tulad ng Mataram at Majapahit, kung saan bigas ang batayan ng kasaganahan. Para sa mga Balinese, tangan nito ang kapangyarihan sa ibabaw ng mundo at selestiyal (Monaghan 2000, 103), kaya't naiugnay din si Dewi Sri sa ahas o *naga*. Bagaman ayon kay Ambrosio (2010, 145), ang mito ng *naga* ay kilala bilang tagapaglulon ng tubig at kalupaan, simbolo rin ito ng fertilidad. Gayumpaman, litaw ang pagkababae ni Dewi Sri bilang malakas at nakapag-iisa (hiwalay sa lalaki.) Ayon sa mitolohiya, nagkahiwalay si Sri at kapatid niyang lalaking si Sadhana matapos nila buuin ang Kaharian ng Medang Kamulan (Wessing 1990, 240) o ang historikal na Medang. Matatandaan ang Medang ay naging bahagi rin ng akademikong pag-uugat sa Pilipinas hinggil sa kaugnayan nito sa Laguna Copper Plate Inscription (*cf.* ang pagtatalo sa Medang ng Java o Sumatera vs. Mdang = Lumban kay Salazar 2010, 452). Ang ganitong matriyarkal na kalakasan ni Sri laban kay Sadhana ay maihalalintulad kina Sita at Rama ng Ramayana.

Sa akda ni Wessing (1990, 224), inihalintulad niya si Sita kay Sri na sentro ng kadakilaan at kalakasan. Si Sita ay manipestasyon ni Lakshmi, Hindung Diyosa ng kagandahan at kasaganahan at matapang na hinarap

ang buhay pagkatapos magsilang ng kambal at humiwalay kay Rama. Ito ang posibleng dahilan kung bakit naitanghal si Sita (Plate 1-C) sa sepuluh ribu rupiah (10,000 IDR) sa isang mural na hango sa Ramayana, noong 1976-1978. Ang mural ay nakalilok sa Candi Borobudur ng Yogyakarta na isa sa representasyon ng Bundok Meru sa India bilang mahalagang pook para sa tagasunod ng Hinduismo-Budhismo. Angkin niya ang tapang nang sumabak ito sa kagubatan sa kabila ng hindi pagpayag ni Rama, kaya't naging dahilan upang dakpin siya ni Haring Ravena. Isa, ang epikong Ramayana, sa katauhan ni Sita, ayon kay Doniger (2009, 232, 671) ay naghawan ng landas upang kalabanin ang opresyon sa kababaihan. Ang imahen ni Sita ay nagbalikwas sa mapanikil na sistema ng Dharmasastra at ilang tradisyong Hindu sa imahen ng kababaihan. Katulad ng naging pagpapahalaga sa 10,000 IDR ang ilang templog inialay sa kaniya. Sa Maharashtra, India, may templo roon na tindig ang nag-iisang rebulto ni Sita na hindi kasama si Rama. Laban ito sa maraming templo para kay Rama ngunit hindi kasama si Sita.

Naimarka rin ang pagkababae ng Budhismo sa salaping Indones. Noong 1953-1954, nailagay sa seribu rupiah (1,000 IDR) ang mukha ni Padmapani (Plate I-B) o Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva na tangan o manipestasyon ng katauhan bilang avatar ni Buddha. Gayumpaman, lalaki ang kasarian ng Avalokitesvara lalo na sa India, Thailand at Cambodia (Lokesvara), Sri Lanka, at kasama ang Indonesia. Ang Kaharian ng Sailendra sa Indonesia na tumanggap ng Budhismo mula sa India ay nagtataglay ng lalaking Bodhisattva. Ang babaeng Bodhisattva ay makikita lamang sa paniniwalang Tibetan Buddhist katulad ng Kuan-yin sa Tsina (Fisher 1999, 159) at Kannon ng Japan. Sa katunayan, noong dantaon 12, may Bodhisattva na nasa katauhan nina Tara at Bhrikuti (Bhikkuhi 2015). Kaya't posibleng babae ang isang Bodhisattva na nasa salaping Indones lalo pa't malinaw

na mga babae rin ang nakalilok sa Templo ng Candi Lumbung sa Prambanan, Yogyakarta.

2. Ang Salaping Indones Bilang Gunita ng Kasaysayan

Sa nabanggit na *kethoprak* o *sejarah*, naipamalas ng mga Indones ang kanilang gunita at alaala sa anyo mismo ng kanilang pagpapahalaga sa multi-etnikong kasaysayan ng kanilang bansa. Bago itampok ang kababaihan, mahalagang ipagsundayag ang holistikong pagtingin ng mga Indones sa kasaysayan. Bagaman dominante ng kalalakihan, nakakamamangha ang representasyon ng Indonesia hinggil rito. Hindi nalimita sa iisang sektor bagkus ay tumuon ito sa iba't ibang personalidad, panahon, sinilangang pook, antas, at kaambagan. Para sa post-kolonyal na Indonesia, napakahalagang magunita ang mga bayaning humarap sa kolonyalismo. Tinawag ito ni Anderson sa kaniyang "Indonesian Nationalism (1999)" bilang mga '*absolutely splendid ancestors*.' Kabilang dito ay mga katutubong lumaban sa mga Holandes sa iba't ibang serye ng digmaan - sina Sultan Hasanuddin Tumenanga ng Makassar sa Digmaang Makassarese (1654-1655) na nasa *watermark* ng 1,000 rupiah (1979-1982); Mahmud Badaruddin I sa digmaang sinimulan ng Sultanate of Palembang (1724-1757) na nasa 10,000 rupiah (2004); Tuanku Imam Bondjol ng Minangkabau, Sumatera sa Digmaang Padri (1803-1837) na nasa 5,000 rupiah (2000); Kapitan Pattimura ng Ambon, Maluku sa Digmaang Pattimura (1816-1817) na nasa 1,000 rupiah (2000); Pangeran Diponegoro ng Yogyakarta na nanguna sa Digmaang Java (1825-1830) na nasa 100,000 rupiah (1953-1954); at 1,000 rupiah (1976-1978); Pangeran Antasari ng Kalimantan sa Digmaang Banjarmasin (1859) na nasa 2,000 rupiah (2009); Teunku Umar sa Digmaang Aceh (1873-1904) na nasa 5,000 rupiah (1985-1988); at Singamangaraja

XII ng Sumatera sa Digmaang Batak (1883) na nasa 1,000 rupiah (1985-1988). Gayundin ang magigiting na kontemporaryong mandirigma na sina I Gusti Ngurah Rai ng Bali sa pangunguna nito sa Digmaang Margarana (1946) na nasa 50,000 rupiah (2004) at Raden Sudirman ng Purbalingga sa Digmaan sa Ambarawa (1945) na kompletong nasa salapi noong panahon ni Soeharto (1968-1970).

Naitanghal din ang mga mambabatas na sina Juanda Kartawijaya ng Cirebon na nasa 50,000 rupiah (2016); Gerungan Ratulangi ng Sulawesi na nagratipika ng saligang batas na nasa 20,000 rupiah (2016); at mga kritikal na politikong sina Mohammad Husni Thamrin ng Batavia na nasa 2,000 rupiah (2016); Idham Chalid ng Kalimantan na nasa 5,000 rupiah (2016); Hamengkubuwono IX na nasa 10,000 rupiah (1992); Frans Kaisiepo na katutubong nasyonalista ng West New Guinea (tinawag niyang *Irian*) na nasa 10,000 rupiah (2016); at Oemar Tjokroaminoto ng Ponorogo na nasa watermark ng 500,000 rupiah (1992). Panghuli, maging ang sektor ng mga doktor ay naitampok sa pamamagitan ni Raden Soetomo ng Ngepeh at kilala sa kaniyang *Persatoean Bangsa Indonesia* na nasa 1,000 rupiah (1979-1982); mamamahayag na si Raden Oto Iskandar di Nata ng Bandung na nasa 20,000 rupiah (2004); gurong si Ki Hadjar Dewantara ng Yogyakarta na nagpasimula ng *Taman Siswa*, isang paaralang pangkatutubo, na nasa watermark ng 100 rupiah (1992); at 20,000 rupiah (1998-1999); at ang kompositor na si Wage Rudolf Soepratman ng Purworejo na nagsatitik ng *Indonesia Raya* na nasa watermark ng 10,000 rupiah (1992).

Higit na pinahalagahan sa mga salaping Indones ay ang kababaihan. Katulad ng ibang lipunang kolonyal, sinikil din ang kanilang karapatan at malao'y gumiiit ng sariling pagkakilanlan. Sa pag-aaral ni Jose (2015a, 42), hinati niya sa tatlong yugto ang pagsisimula ng Kilusang



Plate II. Kababaihang Indones sa Kasaysayan na nasa Obverse

(A.1) Raden Adjeng Kartini sa 5 rupiah (1953-1954); (A.2) Si Kartini sa 10,000 rupiah (1985-1988); (B) Siti Rahmiati Hatta sa 5,000 rupiah (1976-1978); (C) Cut Nyak Dhien o Tjoet Nja Dhien sa 1,000 rupiah (1998-1999); at (D) Tjut Meutia o Tjoet Nja Meutia sa 1,000 rupiah (2016 hanggang kasalukuyan) (Government of Indonesia w.tn).

Feminista sa Indonesia-bago ang 1912, 1912-1928, at 1928-1941. Si Raden Adjeng Kartini (1879-1904) ang kauna-unahang babaeng Indones na nailagay sa salapi (Plate II-A.1), partikular na sa lima rupiah (5 IDR) na inilabas noong 1953. Liban pa rito, ito rin ang kauna-unahang *banknote* ng bansa kung saan mababasa ang *Bank Indonesia*, lakip ang mga eksklusibong simbolo ng bansa (Redaksi 2021). Napakahalaga ni Kartini sa kasaysayan sapagkat itinuring siyang tagapagsimula ng kaisipang feminista sa Indonesia kung saan (1) tinutulan niya ang pagbubukod sa kababaihan upang ihanda sa pag-aasawa; (2) kawalan ng pagkakataon

para sa kababaihan upang makapag-aral sapagkat siya mismo ay saksi sa magandang dulot ng edukasyon sa lipunang Indones-Holandes, at; (3) ang kaniyang pagtutol sa poligamiya (Jose 2015a, 43-44). Naging inspirasyon ng kababaihan ang mga akda ni Kartini kaya't ito ang naghawan ng landas sa pagbubuo ng mga unang Kilusang Feminista sa Indonesia katulad ng *Putri Mardika* (1912) sa Java; *Aysiyah* (1917); *PIKAT* (1917) sa Manado; *Poetri Boedi Sedjati* (1919) sa Surabaya; *Sarekat Kaoem Iboe Soematra* (1920) sa Bukittinggi; *Wanita Taman Siswa* (1922), *Wanita Katolik* (1924), at *Damesafdeeling Jong Islamieten Bond* (1925) sa Yogyakarta; *Ina Toemi* (1927) sa Ambon; at *Poetri Setia* (1928) sa Manado (Jose 2015a, 45-46). Liban sa alaala ng salapi, naimarka rin si Kartini sa ilang awiting Indones kung saan tinawag siya bilang *Ibu Kita Kartini* (Ang Inang Kartini); *Putri Sejati* (Tunay na Prinsesa); *Putri Indonesia* (Prinsesa ng Indonesia); at *Harum Namanya* (Ang Halimuyak ay nasa kaniyang Pangalan) (Woodward 2015, 45). Sa pagdaan ng panahon, si Kartini ay muling naitanghal sa sepuluh ribu rupiah (10,000 IDR) (Plate II-A.2), ang pinakamalaking denominasyon noong 1985 hanggang 1988.

Katulad ni Kartini si Siti Rahmati Hatta na isang elit; nailagay siya sa lima ratus rupiah (500 IDR) (Plate II-B) noong 1976 hanggang 1978. Bukod sa pagiging asawa ni Mohammad Hatta na pinakaunang bise-pangulo ng Indonesia, mailap ang datos patungkol sa kaniya. Ang kaniyang maikling impormasyon ay mababasa sa isang akda ni Mrazek (2010, 18-19) nang kapanayamin niya si Siti Hatta sa Diponegoro, Java noong 1998. Ayon sa panayam, si Siti ay ipinanganak bilang isang mayaman sa Bandung noong 1926. Bagaman mayaman, mas pinili niya ang simpleng buhay sa kanayunan at naging katuwang ng kaniyang ina na isa sa mga tapagtaguyod ng kilusan at nagbukas ng mga paaralang bokasyonal.

Naitampok din sa mga salapi ang kababaihang lumahok sa digmaan laban sa mga kolonisador. Kabilang dito sina Cut Nyak Dhien o Tjoet Nja Dhien at Tjut Meutia o Tjoet Nja Meutia na kapwa nailagay sa sepuluh ribu rupiah (10,000 IDR) noong 1998 hanggang 1999 (Plate II-C) at seribu rupiah (1,000 IDR) noong 2016 hanggang kasalukuyan (Plate II-D) (Halaman Utama VOI 2021b). Si Dhien (1848-1908) ay ipinanganak sa Lampadang, Aceh na kalauna'y naging aktibo sa pakikidigma laban sa mga Holandes. Nang mamatay ang kaniyang asawa na si Teunku Umar (nasa salapi rin, sa 5,000 Rupiah) sa Digmaang Aceh (1873-1904), hinawakan ni Dhien ang hukbo hanggang siya'y madakip ng mga awtoridad (Blackwood 2005, 870). Sa kontemporaryong panahon, binansagan siya ni Soekarno bilang *Srikandi Atjeh* o 'katulad ni Sri Kandi.' Si Nyai Dasima o Sri Kandi ay isang matapang na

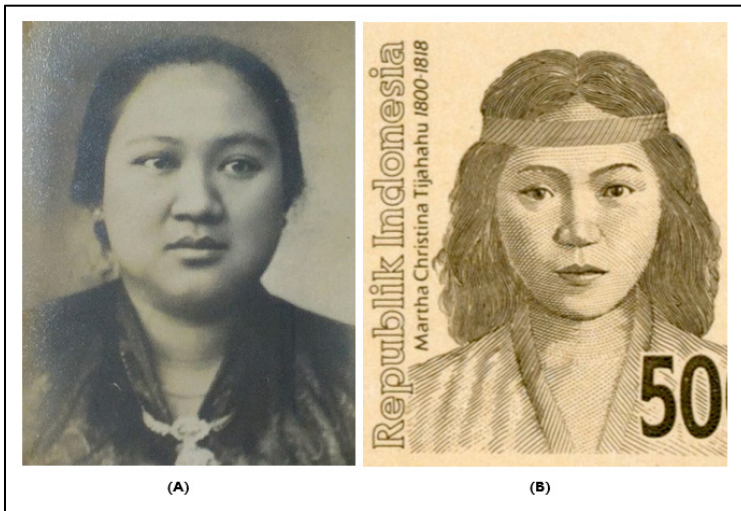


Plate III. Kababaihang Indones sa Kasaysayan na nasa Watermark.

(A) Raden Dewi Sartika sa 5,000 rupiah (1979-1982) at (B) Martha Christina Tiahahu sa 5,000 rupiah (1985-1988) (Government of Indonesia w.tn).

babae mula sa 250 taong gulang na mito sa Indonesia (Blackwood 2005, 869-870). Kapwa tubong Aceh (Perlak) si Meutia at katulad ni Dhien, nakipaglaban din siya kasama ang kaniyang asawang si Teuku Chik Tunong. Ang paglalarawan kay Meutia bilang isang maganda at balingkinitang babaeng nakasuot ng mga mamahaling sutla, ginto, at mamahaling perlas (Zentgraaff 1983, 151-152) ay nababalutan ng katapangan nang pamunuan niya ang hukbong kalalakihan matapos muling mamatay ang kaniyang ikalawang asawa na si Pang Nanggroe. Ang Sri Kandi na si Meutia ay namatay sa Medan noong Digmaang Aceh matapos siyang barilin ng mga Holandes sa ulo at dibdib.

Si Meutia ang may pinakamaraming alaala sa mga salapi. Bukod sa *obverse*, matatagpuan din siya sa mga *watermark* ng lima ribuh rupiah (5,000 IDR) noong 1992 at 2000 hanggang 2001 at seribu rupiah (1,000 IDR) noong 2016 hanggang ngayon. Kung gayon, mahalaga ring maitanghal ang iba pang kababaihang nasa *watermark*. Bagaman hindi literal na nakikita ang *watermark*, mahalaga ang ambag nila sa kasaysayan ng Indonesia. Isa na rito si Raden Dewi Sartika (1884-1947) ng Cicalengka, Bandung na nasa lima ribu rupiah (5,000 IDR) noong bandang 1979 hanggang 1982 (Plate III-A). Kilala si Sartika sa pagtaguyod ng karapatan ng kababaihan sa edukasyon. Sa edad na 18, tinuturuan niya ang mga bata sa likod ng kanilang tahanan kung paano bumasa at sumulat. Nagbukas siya ng kauna-unahang paaralan para sa kababaihan na kalauna'y magkakaroon ng sampung sangay sa buong Indonesia (Google 2016). Gayumpaman, kailangang mapunan ang salat na datos tungkol sa buhay ni Sartika. Ayon sa komparatibong pananaw ni Sawitri (Woodward 2005), mas pangkabuuan ang ginawang hakbang ni Sartika kompara kay Kartini na tumuon lamang aniya sa sariling pagpapaunlad (Sawitri 2005 kay Woodward 2015, 48). Anupaman, kapwa sila mayroong ginawa sa progresong tinamasa ngayon ng kababaihang Indones.

Katulad ni Sartika, sa *watermark* ng lima ribu rupiah (5,000 IDR) din nailagay ang gunita para kay Martha Christina Tiahahu (1800-1818) noong 1985 hanggang 1988 (Plate III-B). Tubong Ambon, Maluku si Tiahahu na sa murang gulang na 18 ay sumapi sa digmaang sinimulan ni Kapitan Pattimura (1816-1817) laban sa mga Holandes. Lagi niyang kasama ang kaniyang ama (isa ring rebolusyonaryo) sa tuwing nagpupulong. Sa kabila ng pagtutol ng ama na sumapi sa digmaan, hindi siya sinunod ni Tiahahu (Zacharias 1984). Ito ang dahilan upang sumapi si Tiahahu sa iba't ibang serye ng pakikipaglaban lalo na sa pagtatanggol sa mga isla ng Saparua at Nusa Laut, Ambon noong 1817 (Halaman Utama VOI 2021a). Nabihag siya ng mga Holandes at ipinatapon sa malayong lugar ngunit namatay sa Banda Sea habang nasa barko.

3. Ang Kababaihan Bilang Representasyon ng Kabuhayang Indones

Ayon kay Hewitt (2000, 147), sa mga taga-Silangan, karamihan sa mga salaping sumasagisag sa kababaihan ay pawang nasusuotan ng mga tradisyonal na damit (*national costume*) habang nirerepresenta ang iba't ibang kabuhayang mayroon ang bansa. Mula 1960 hanggang 1961, unang nagtampok ang Indonesia ng kabuhayang tumuon sa agrikultura kung saan kababaihan ang sagisag. Nasa satu rupiah (1 IDR) (Plate IV-A) at dua setengah rupiah (2 1/2) (Plate IV-C) ang kababaihang magsasaka ng bigas at mais. Muling maitatanghal ang babae at bigas sa lima ribuh rupiah (5,000 IDR) (Plate IV-B) noong 1961 hanggang 1964. Tunay na mahalaga sa lipunang Indones ang bigas at sa maraming bahagi ng arkipelago, gawain ng kababaihan ang magtanim at mag-ani ng bigas. Sa Minangkabau, Sumatera na isang lipunang matrilyal o matrilokal, malinaw ang pagkakahati sa pagsasaka batay sa kasarian. Ang mga babae ay silang namumuno

sa sakahan at nagdedesisyon kung saan at paano magtanim samantalang katuwang lamang ang kalalakihan na nakatokang mag-araro at magbungkal ng lupa (Villamor et al. 2015, 62-63). Gayundin sa Cianjur, Kanlurang Java. Isang pambabaeng gawain ang pagtanim ng palay sapagkat naniniwala silang babae ang Diyos ng Bigas na si Nyi Pohaci o Dewi Sri. Tinatawag na *tandur* o *tanam padi mundur* ang uri ng pagtanim ng mga babae -kung saan umaandar sila nang pabalik habang isinusuksok ang palay sa lupa at gumagamit din sila ng *caplakan*, isang mala-kalaykay na panghawan ng lupa (Partasmita et al. 2019, 24, 28). Kinalaunan, bahagyang mawawala ang papel ng kababaihan



Plate IV. Kababaihang Indones sa Representasyon ng Agrikultura.

(A) Magsasaka ng Bigas sa 1 rupiah (1960-1961); (B) Babaeng magpapalay sa 5,000 rupiah (1961-1964); (C) Babaeng magmamais sa 2 ½ rupiah (1960-1961); at (D) Babaeng namimitas ng tsaa sa 20,000 rupiah (2004) (Government of Indonesia w.tn).

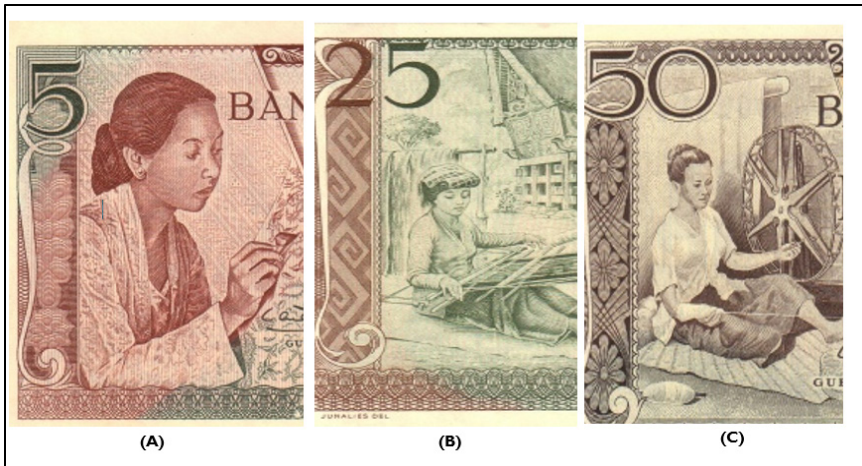


Plate V. Kababaihang Indones at Pagtatampok sa Handicrafts.

(A) Babaeng Javanese at ang Batik sa 5 rupiah (1961-1964); (B) Manhahabing Batak Toba sa 25 rupiah (1961-1964); at (C) Manhahabing Babaeng Timorese sa 50 rupiah (1961-1964) (Government of Indonesia w.tn).

sa pagsasaka sapagkat katulad ng nasa Kubanga-Banyumas, Sentral Java, napalitan ng mga makinarya ang proseso ng pagtatanim. Gayumpaman, umangkop din ang kababaihan sa ganitong uri ng pagsasaka. Sa Paggungharjo-Bantul, Yogyakarta, ang mga *Kelompok Wanita Tani* (Samahan ng Kababaihang Magsasaka) ay gumamit na rin ng makinarya sa pagtatanim (Kushandajani at Alfirdaus 2019, 152). Gayundin sa Bali, pinahahalagahan ang papel ng kababaihan sa pagdedesisyon at pag-aalay (*tukang banten*) sa oras ng pagtatanim at pag-aani (Jha 2004, 554).

Kabaliktaran ng Minangkabau ang Tigabinanga-Karo, Sumatera na isang patrilyal na lipunan. Kilala ang Karo sa malawak na plantasyon ng mais na kanilang pinagkukuhanan ng kita, dalawang beses bawat taon. Ayon sa *adat* ng Karo, lalaki ang may karapatan sa lahat ng desisyon sa pagsasaka at kabuhayan ngunit iginiit ito ng kababaihang magsasaka. Katulad ng

ipinapakita sa dua setengah rupiah (*cf.* Plate IV-C) na nakatindig ang babae sa plantasyon ng mais, hindi lamang sila simpleng tagatanim, taga-ani, o tagalagay ng abono ngunit katuwang din sila ng kanilang mga asawa (Meliala et al. 2019, 119-120). Sa maraming pagkakataon, nag-aani o nagbubuhay din sila ng sako-sakong mga mabibigat na mais upang makadagdag sa kinikita ng asawang lalaki. Liban sa mais, naitanghal din sa dua puluh ribu rupiah (20,000 IDR) noong 2004 ang pakikisangkot ng kababaihan sa plantasyon ng tsaang (Plate IV-D). Ayon sa talaan ni Wal (2008, 82), ang Kanlurang Java, kasama ang Sentral at Silangang bahagi ng Sumatera ang nagsisilbing tagatustos ng tsaang sa Timog Silangang Asya. Halos 1.3 milyong populasyon sa rural na bahagi ng bansa ang umaasa sa kita dulot ng tsaang lalo na ang kababaihan. Ang responsibilidad ng kababaihang mag-tsatsaang ay higit pa sa papel ng isang tipikal na ina. Karamihan sa kanila ay nag-aalaga ng mga anak sa gabi ngunit nasa plantasyon ng tsaang buong araw upang magtanim at mag-ani. Katulad ng Kaliombo-Pekalongan, Sentral Java, nasa 3,000 na kababaihan ang nagtratrabaho sa plantasyon. Minana pa ng *Ngudi Rahayu* o samahan ng kababaihang mag-tsatsaang, ang paraan, kagalingan, at kaalaman sa pagtanim mula sa kanilang mga ninuno (Empowering Women & Sustainable, Solidaridad Asia w.tn).

Liban sa kababaihang nasa agrikultura, naitampok mula 1961 hanggang 1964 ang mga *handicrafts* (gawang-kamay) ng Indonesia kung saan ang mga nagmodelo ay mga babae. Ang disenyo ng salapi ay mas pinaunlad noong 1965. Sa lima rupiah (5 IDR), naitampok ang babaeng Javanese na naghahabi ng batik (Plate V-A). Mahalaga ang batik sa kasaysayan ng sining ng mga Indones. Paraan ito ng pagtitina gamit ang *wax* na kanilang ginagawang disenyo sa mga tela. Isang taga-Java ang modelo sa salapi sapagkat dito nagmula ang industriya ng batik partikular na sa Yogyakarta, Yogya at Solo sa Surakarta, Pekalongan,

Lasem, at Cirebon. Sa sinaunang panahon, kadalasang makikita ang mga babae na nagbabatik sa kanayunan, malapit sa *kraton* (palasyo), at iba pang urban. Ang ilan sa damit na hinahabi ng kababaihan ay *kain panjang* (sa balakang); *selendang* (sa braso); *dodot* (damit pangkasal); *iket kepala* (turban ng mga lalaki); at iba pa (Stephenson 1993, 107, 109). Laganap din ang batik sa labas ng Java. Ang *ikat* na kadalasang disenyo ng mga damit pangkasal ay tampok din sa Flores, Sumba, Kanlurang Timor, at Batak sa Hilagang Sumatera (Rogers et al. 2013, 138) kaya't makikita rin ang pagtatanghal nito sa dua puluh lima rupiah (25 IDR) sa anyo ng isang manghahabing Batak Toba (Plate V-B). Napapalibutan ang Lawa ng Toba ng kababaihang magagaling sa paghahabi na kanilang minana pa sa mga ninuno at patuloy na itinuturo sa salinlahi. Makikita sila sa distrito ng Simalungan, Hilagang Tapanuli, Toba Samosir, Samosir, Humbahas, Karo, at Dairi. Liban sa mga *ikat*, tampok din sa Batak ang tradisyonal na kasuotang *ulos* na bukod sa kultural na kahalagahan nito, ito ang nagbigay sa kanila ng taunang kita (Nugroho et al. 2020, 1165-1166).

Panghuli, sa lima puluh rupiah (50 IDR), manghahabing Timorese naman ang naipakita (Plate V-C). Nakalatag sa isla ng Lesser Sunda ang Timor kung saan mababakas ang kababaihang manghahabi ng makukulay na tela na kanilang natutuhan mula sa mga Kanluraning manglalayag (The Met w.tn). Sa sinaunang kasaysayan ng mga Timorese, ginagamit nila ang telang *Letros* sa paniniwalang espiritwal-pag-uugnay ng kaibabawan at kailaliman. Karaniwang buwaya o butiki ang disenyo ng kanilang tela.

4. Kababaihan Indones at Pagpapahalaga sa Sining

Naitanghal sa napakaraming pagkakataon sa salapi ang representasyon ng kababaihan sa sining ng Indonesia lalo na ang pagsasayaw (*tarian*). Samantala sa ibang mga serye ay hindi nakapag-iisa o may kasamang kalalakihan ang mga babaeng mananayaw. May pagkakahon noon na ang pagsasayaw ay



Plate VI. Ang Kababaihan Mananayaw sa Reverse kasama ang Kalalakihan.

(A) Mananayaw na Balinese at dalawang Gamelan *Player* sa 50 Rupiah (1967); (B) Babae at Lalaking Batak na Mananayaw sa 100 Rupiah (1967); at (C) Mga Mananayaw na Balinese sa 1,000 Rupiah (1967) (Government of Indonesia w.tn).

pambabae kaya't hindi na nila saklaw ang ibang anyo ng sining katulad ng pagtugtog ng mga instrumento. Ayon kay Diamond (2008, 235), pinaniniwalaan na ang pagkababae ng sining ay nalimitahan dahil sa katangiang pisikal nito katulad ng pagiging malambot at kakulangan sa talento (*bakat*). Gayundin, hindi na nila naipapasok ang pagkahumaling sa musika dahil sa mga gawaing pantahanan. Ngunit ang ganitong pagtingin sa talento at potensiyal ng kababaihan ay mapagmalabis.



Plate VII. Kababaihang Mananayaw sa Reverse.

(A.1) Mananayaw na Balinese sa 1 rupiah (1965-1967); (A.2) Mananayaw na Balinese sa 2 1/2 rupiah (1965-1967); (B) Babaeng Balinese na Mananayaw sa 25 rupiah (1967); at (C) Mga Mananayaw na Javanese sa 500 rupiah (1967) (Government of Indonesia w.tn).

Halimbawa, ipinapakita sa lima puluh rupiah (50 IDR) noong 1967 ang larawan ng isang mananayaw na Balinese, kasama ang dalawang lalaking tumutugtog ng *gamelan* (Plate VI-A). Ang *gamelan* ay isang orkestrang tampok sa Indonesia. Bagaman walang espesipikong *caption* ang larawan sa salapi, itinataya itong *gamelan beleganjur* o isang patriyarkal na uri ng pagtugtog. Sumasagisag ang *beleganjur* sa mga lalaking mandirigmang kakikitaan ng katapangan (*keberanian*

= *berani* o *wanen*, cf. Downing 2010, 65); pagkabayani (*kepahlawanan*); at kalakasan (*kekerasan*). Ngunit sa paglipas ng 1967, marami na sa kababaihang Indones ang nag-aral ng *gamelan*, higit pa sa pagsasayaw. Isang halimbawa rito ang pagkakabuo ng *Konservatori Karawitan* o *Sekolah Mengengah Karawitan Indonesia*, isang paaralang nagtuturo sa kababaihan ng pagtugtog (Bakan 1997, 37, 55). Ang pagpasok ng kababaihan (*belaganjur wanita*) sa paghawak ng mga instrumento



Plate VII. Kababaihang Mananayaw sa Reverse (cont.).

(D) Mananayaw na Babae sa 2,500 rupiah (1967); (E) Mananayaw na Babae sa 5,000 rupiah (1967); at (F) Kababaihang Dayak at Tradisyonal na Sayaw sa 2,000 rupiah (2009) (Government of Indonesia w.tn).

ay larawan ng kanilang paglaya at pagiging malaya (*emansipasi wanita*) sa tradisyonal na pagtingin hinggil sa kanilang kakayahan. Sa ilang pagkakataon, maraming kababaihang mananayaw na nasusuotan ng *pakian adat* ay mga anak ng ilang inang natutong tumugtog ng mga instrumento (Diamond 2008, 231-232).

Samantala, ang larawan ng isang babae at lalaking Batak sa seratus rupiah (100 IDR) (Plate VI-B) noong 1967 ay ipinagpapalagay na mananayaw ng *Mangan Horbo Bius*, isa sa mga tradisyonal na sayaw ng mga Batak sa Bolon-Simanindo, Sumatera. Bukod sa patulis na sombrero ng lalaki at katangian ng babae, magkahiwalay sila nang bahagya kung saan sa sayaw na *Mangan Horbo Bius*, hindi nagkakahawakan ang mga babae at lalaking Batak. Mahalaga sa mga Batak ang sayaw dahil pagtawag ito sa kaluluwa ng kanilang mga ninuno, pagtaboy ng masasamang espiritu at epidemya, at pagkakaroon ng magandang ani sa bigas (Knapp 1983, 68-69). Liban sa *Mangan*, may ilang sayaw sa Batak ang sumentro sa kababaihan. Halimbawa ang *Marpantaran* o *Paniaran* bilang alay at dasal sa mga ninuno, katulad ng nasa Huta Sibalahotang, Sumatera. Mahalaga rin ang pagiging matriyarkal na sayaw ng *Marpantaran* sapagkat para sa mga Toba Batak, kailangang magbigkis ang pamilya. Hindi lamang ito pagbibigkis ng mag-asawa ngunit maging ang kani-kanilang mga angkan-ang *paranak* (pamilya ng lalaki) at ang *parboru* (pamilya ng babae) (Octavianna et al. 2021, 5537). Katulad ng *Mangan* ang *Onda-Onda*, isang sayaw ng pananaghoy na pinangungunahan ng kababaihang malapit sa Djandji Matogu, Lawa ng Toba (Lev 1971, 76).

Magkadikit naman ang mananayaw na babae at lalaki sa seribu rupiah (1,000 IDR) noong 1967 (Plate VI-C). Mula sa hitsura ng kanilang pananamit at disenyo ng sombrero, malapit ito sa katangian ng katutubong

sayaw sa Bali na *Wayang Wong*, partikular na ang *Wayang Wong Ramayana* kung saan gumagamit sila ng makukulay na damit, puppet, at pamaypay habang tinutugtog ang *Gamelan* (UNESCO Appointed w.tn; Bali Group Organizer PT w.tn.).

Samantala, bagaman nasa *reverse*, naipamalas ang mga artistang babae nang nag-iisa. Kabilang dito ang satu rupiah (1 IDR) (Plate VII-A.1) at dua setengah rupiah (2 ½ IDR) (Plate VII-A.2) na inilabas noong 1965 hanggang 1967 at dua puluh lima rupiah (25 IDR) (Plate VII-B) noong 1967, na nagtampok sa mga batang babaeng mananayaw ng Bali. Gayundin ang dua ribu lima ratus rupiah (2,500 IDR) (Plate VII-D) noong 1967 at lima ribu rupiah (5,000 IDR) (Plate VII-E) noong 1967, ngunit hindi tinukoy ang etnisidad. Lahat ng kababaihang ito ay ipinagpapalagay bilang mananayaw ng *Legong*. Hindi katulad ng ritwal na sayaw sa Bali na *Topeng Sanghyang Dedari*, kung saan nasusuotan ng maskara (*topeng*) (Youtube 2018), nakikita sa *Legong* ang kanilang mga mukha. Ngunit, katulad naman ng *Legong* ang *Topeng* na isinasayaw ng mga batang nagdadalaga pa lamang o hindi pa nadadatnan ng regla (Davies 2008, 201). Mula sa salitang *leg* (nakabaluktot) at *gong* (gamelan) ang sayaw na ito, kaya't ang pagtugtog ng *gamelan* na sinasabayan ng pagsayaw ay malaong tinawag na *Gamelan Semar Pagulingan* (Bali Group Organizer PT w.tn.). Gayumpaman, ang mga babaeng nag-iisa sa depiksiyon ng salapi ay ipinagpapalagay namang mga *skew* o ekstrang mananayaw sa *Legong*, sapagkat bukod sa wala silang pamaypay na hinahawakan, pangdalawahang babae ang sayaw na ito at (Bali Group Organizer PT w.tn.; UNESCO Appointed w.tn), katulad ng ipinapakita sa lima ratus rupiah (500 IDR) (Plate VII-C) noong 1967. Bagaman mga babaeng Javanese ang nasa 500 IDR, isinasayaw din sa Java ang *Legong*.



Plate VIII. Kababaihang Mananayaw sa Reverse sa Kasalukuyang Salapi (E) Babaeng Sumasayaw ng Legong sa 50,000 rupiah (2016) at (F) Babaeng Sumasayaw ng Topeng Betawi sa 100,000 rupiah (2016) (Government of Indonesia w.tn).

Anim na babaeng mananayaw na Dayak naman ang ipinapakita sa *reverse* ng dua ribu rupiah (2,000 IDR) (Plate VII-F) noong 2009. Animo'y mga ibon dahil sa pakpak na nakapalamuti sa kanilang mga katawan. Ang sayaw ng mga Dayak sa Indonesia, Borneo ay mayroong pagtatangi sa kalikasan. Halimbawa, ang isang panlalaking sayaw na *Sirang (healing dance)* sa West Kalimantan ay isinasagawa nang paikot-ikot sa nakasentrong kahoy na nasasabitan ng mga dahon at prutas (Murgiuanto 1993, 154). Gayumpaman, hindi ito ang itinanghal sa 2,000 IDR, bagkus, ang mga babaeng mananayaw ng *Enggang* sa East Kalimantan ang itinampok dito. Ang mga Dayak Wehea ay kadalasang nasusuotan at sumasayaw na parang isang *Enggang* (Save the Orangutan 2020) o *hornbill* na isang sagradong ibon sa Borneo. Patunay dito ang mga ukit na *hornbill* ng mga katutubong Iban sa Sarawak, Malaysia (Borneo) (Davenport 2000, 127). Ipinapakita rin ng *Enggang* sa salapi ang kahalagahan ng mga ibon sa mundo ng mga Austronesyano. Para sa mga Austronesyano, ang mga ibon at manok ay mayroong espiritwal na kahalagahan dahil sugo ito ni Bathala at iba pang Diyos. Katulad ng mga mananayaw ng *Enggang* ang pamamahalaga sa mga pakpak. Sa katunayan, lagana din sa Austronesyano ang Taong-Ibon (*Bird Man*) (Salazar 2006), na katulad ng *Enggang* ay makikita rin sa ibang isla, bansa, o islang bansa bilang manipestasyon ni Bathala at ibon na kaniyang sugo.

Hanggang sa kasalukuyan, itinanghal pa rin ang mga babae sa sining ng Indonesia. Bagaman nasa *reverse*, nag-iisang nakatindig ang mga babae sa pitong denominasyon nito, liban sa isa: ang seribu rupiah (1,000 IDR) na nasa representasyon ng lalaking sumasayaw ng *Tifa*, isang sayaw mula sa Isla ng Maluku na sinasabayan ng orkestrang *tifa totobuang* (CIOFF Indonesia w.tn). Ang mga naipakilala nang sayaw sa itaas katulad ng *Gong*, *Legong*, at *Topeng Betawi* ay kasalukuyang

itinatampok pa rin ng salaping Indones mula 2016. Ang *Gong* ay nasa dua puluh ribu (20,000 IDR) (Plate VIII-D); *Legong* sa lima puluh ribu (50,000 IDR) (Plate VIII-E); at *Topeng Betawi* sa seratus ribu rupiah (100,000 IDR) (Plate VIII-F). Sa dua ribu rupiah (2,000 IDR) ay makikita ang babaeng sumasayaw ng *Tari Piring* (Plate VIII-A). Nagmula ang *Piring* sa Minangkabau, West Sumatera at laganap din ngayon sa Negeri Sembilan, Malaysia. Mabusising proseso ito sapagkat ang mga mananayaw ay kinakailangang mabalanse ang seramikong plato habang ipinapaikot ito sa kanilang mga kamay o 'di kaya'y lumulundag sila habang iniwasang matapakan ang mga basag na banga (Latrell 1999, 255; Nerosti 2017, 387-390). Kadalasan itong sinasayaw bilang pagbati sa mga panauhin (*Piring Dance Explained, Everything Explained Today w.tn*).

Sa lima ribu rupiah (5,000 IDR) naman naipakita ang babaeng sumasayaw ng *Gambyong* (Plate VIII-B), isang klasikal na sayaw mula sa Surakarta, Sentral Java at minsang naging sayaw ng nobilidad sa panahon ni Pakubuwana IX. Malaki rin ang kaugnayan ng sayaw na ito sa babaeng Diyos ng Bigas na si Dewi Sri upang magkaroon ng magandang ani, sumasayaw ang kababaihan ng *Gambyong* kasabay ng pag-awit ng mga *sinden* at pagtugtog ng *Gamelan Tetabuhan* (Sondang 2021). Kadalasang binubuo ng limang babaeng mananayaw ang *Gambyong* na siyang sumasagisag sa saligang pilosopiya ng Indonesia-ang *Pancasila* (Murgiuanto 1993, 157, n. 6), ito ang *kebangsaan Indonesia* (nasyonalismo); *internasionalisme* (humanitarianismo); *musyawarah mufakat* (demokrasya); *kesejahteraan sosial* (katarungang panlipunan); at *ketuhanan yang maha esa* (paniniwala sa Diyos).

Panghuli, kasalukuyang itinampok sa sepuluh ribu rupiah (10,000 IDR) ang *Kipas Pakarena* (Plate VIII-C) o *Akkarena*, isang sayaw na nagmula sa Gowa, South Sulawesi kung saan ang mananayaw na kababaihan ay gumagamit ng pamaypay. Tinawag minsan na *Sere Jaga* ng Makassar bilang bahagi ng tradisyon ng koronasyon sa bagong hari, pagbabasbas, at pagiging alerto (Magfirah et al. 2019, 190). Ang pagwawasiwas ng mga pamaypay ay simbolo ng minsang tagumpay ng Kaharian ng Gowa sa sinaunang kasaysayan (Pacarena Fan Dance, Indonesia.com 2020). Sa kanilang transisyon mula sa animismo hanggang sa Islamisasyon, ang pamaypay ay simbolo ng pagbabago. Bagaman kumalat na ito sa arkipelago at nagkaroon ng mga baryasyon – *Pakarena Gantarang*, *Pakarena Balla Bulo*, o *Pakarena Bontobangung*, at isa ito sa sayaw ng Indonesia na kumonekta sa sinauna at kasalukuyang panahon (The Graceful Pacarena Wonderful Indonesia w.tn).

5. Kabataang Kababaihan sa Tadhana ng Indonesia

Umuunlad ang isang bansang may mataas na pagkilala at pagpapahalaga sa kababaihan at kabataan. Ganito pinahalagahan ng mga salaping Indones ang kanilang sektor. Minsan na nilang itinampok dito ang mga batang babae. Noong 1964, lumabas ang lima sen (5 centavos) (Plate IX-A.1) at sepuluh sen (10 centavos) (Plate IX-A.2) ang representasyon ng *Sukarelawati* (mga babaeng boluntir). Karamihan sa mga *Sukarelawati* ay kabataan. Sa parehong taon, ito rin ang kasagsagan ng *Konfrontasi* (*Borneo Confrontation*), isang digmaang pinasimulan ng Indonesia laban sa Gran Britaniya bilang pagtutol sa pagbubuo ng Federation of Malaysia at ang napipintong neokolonyalismo. Noong 1964, ipinagutos ni Soekarno, sa bisa ng *Dwiroka* (People's Double Command) na magpadala ng 21 milyong mga boluntir sa Borneo upang tulungan ang Malaysia, Singapore, Sarawak, at Sabah na makamit ang kalayaan (The New

York Times 1964; Putra 2012, 328). Kasama ng mga *Sukarelawati* ang mga *Sukarelawan* (kalalakihang boluntir) sa operasyon. Sa katunayan, ang 17-taong gulang na batang si Megawati Sukarnoputri, anak ni Soekarno at malao'y magiging unang babaeng pangulo ng Indonesia ay aktibong nakilahok sa pagrekluta ng mga *Sukarelawati* (Farram 2014, 9). Nabuo ang *Sukarelawati Wanita Marhaenis* (Marhaenist Women Volunteers), samahang nagtuturo sa kababaihan kung paano humawak at gumamit ng baril (Putra 2012, 328).



Plate IX. Mga Batang Kababaihan sa Salapi. (A.1) at (A.2) Batang Sukarelawati sa 5 sen (1964); (B) Babaeng Nakapagtapos sa Unibersidad sa 10,000 rupiah (1985-1988); at (C) Kabataang Indones sa 75,000 rupiah (2020) (: Government of Indonesia w.tn).

Maraming tala ang nagsasabing nakilahok ang mga *Sukarelawati* sa paglusob noon sa North Kalimantan. Sa isang pahayagan na lumabas sa Bali na *Suara Indonesia*, may isang batang *Sukarelawati* ang sumabak sa digmaan at nakabari ng limang kaaway (Putra 2012, 330-331; Farram 2014, 10-11). Siya si Nana Heriantani na tampok sa kuwentong *Sri Kandi* na lumaban sa Kalimantan. Ngunit, walang literaturang makapagsasabi kung si Heriantani ba ang batang nakalagay sa lima sen at sepuluh sen.

Idinikit din ang kababaihang Indones sa edukasyon. Noong 1985 hanggang 1988, nasa *reverse* ng sepuluh ribu rupiah (10,000 IDR) (Plate IX-B) ang isang batang babaeng nakapagtapos sa unibersidad. Mula sa pag-alis ng mga Holandes noong 1950 hanggang 1958, 90% ang iliterasiya sa Indonesia at ilang libo lamang ang nakapagtatapos sa hayskul at nag-iisang kolehiyo sa Jakarta na binuksan noong 1941 (Thoolen 1987, 6). Paglaon, sa pagitan ng 1970 hanggang 1980, tumaas sa 65 mula 42% ang literasiya sa kababaihan (Niehof 1998, 239) at mas tataas sa 78 mula 64% sa pagdating ng 1985 (Deolalikar 1993, 902). Sa ilalim at bisa ng *Rencana Pembangunan Lima Tahun* (REPELITA), alinsunod sa *New Order* (*Orde Baru*) ni Pangulong Soeharto, nabigyan ng pribilehiyo ang kababaihan sa edukasyon. Alinsunod sa Repelita IV (1984-1989), nilalayan ng Indonesia na palakasin ang hanapbuhay sa bansa -lalo na sa kababaihan (Thoolen 1987, 12). Nagkaroon ng hiwalay o eksklusibong plano noong 1980 ang pamahalaan para sa kaunlaran at oportunidad ng kababaihan (Niehof 1998, 237). Kaya dito mauunawaan kung bakit nailagay noong dekada 1980 sa 10,000 IDR ang larawan ng isang nagtapos na babae ay upang maging inspirasyon at tadhana ng bawat kababaihang Indones.

Kaparehas nito ang pagtrato sa kabataan. Sa paggunita ng Indonesia sa kaniyang ika-75 taong kalayaan noong 2020, inilagay nila sa tjuhu pulu lima ribu rupiah (75,000) ang kabataan mula sa iba't ibang bahagi ng arkipelago (Plate IX-C) kung saan Apat sa mga ito ay mga babae. Ayon sa pahayag ni Finance Minister Sri Mulyani Indrawati, simbolo ng kaunlaran at hinaharap ang larawan ng kabataang Indones na napapalibutan ng karangalang namayani sa Indonesia sa mga nagdaang taon (Loasana 2020). Isinasabuhay ang kaisipang *Pancasila*, na ang lahat ay pantay-pantay sa kaunlaran at tadhana ng Indonesia.

Nasaan ang Kababaihang Pilipino sa Kanyang Salapi? Kalagayan, Hinaharap, at Paghaharaya

Mula sa komprehensibong pagtalakay sa itaas hinggil sa simbolo, larawan, o representasyon ng kababaihang Indones sa kanilang salapi, maaari nang ipaghambing ito sa lipunan ng Pilipinas. Niyakap ng kanilang mga salapi ang iba't ibang panahon: mula sa mitikal, prekolonyal, kolonyal, at post-kolonyal o republikang kababaihan. Kung tutuusin, kasing edad natin ang Indonesia sa pagiging republika, kung hindi isasama ang 1898 na malao'y sasailalim sa kolonyalismong Amerikano at Hapones.

'Nawawala' raw ang kababaihan sa kasaysayan ng mga Pilipino. Isa sa mga mitong umiiral sa usaping pangkasarian ay ang paniniwalang magkatulad ang karanasan ng mga babae at lalaki kaya't hindi na dapat pang bigyan ng hiwalay na tuon ang kababaihan (Quindoza-Santiago 2007, 18). Hindi totoong nawawala ang mga babae, hindi kailanman nawawala ang isang personalidad kung patuloy sana siyang gugunitain. Ang gunita ay sisibol lamang sa mga pamanang lahi na may tatak ng salaysaying bayan, at halimbawa nito ang sa mga salapi. Mahalaga ang naging pag-aaral



Plate X. Kababaihang Pilipino sa mga Naunang Salapi.

(A) Si Melchora Aquino o Tandang Sora sa 100 piso (1949-1969); (B) Si Josefa Llanes-Escoda kasama sina Abad Santos at Lim sa 1,000 piso (1991-2010); at (C) Si Gloria Macapagal Arroyo sa kaniyang inaugurasyon noong 2001 sa reverse ng 200 piso (2002-2010) (Philippine Government w.tn).



Plate XI. Kababaihang Pilipino sa Kasalukuyang Salapi.

(A) Si Corazon Aquino kasama si Ninoy Aquino sa 500 piso (2010 hanggang kasalukuyan) at (B) Si Josefa Llanes-Escoda kasama sina Abad Santos at Lim sa 1,000 piso (2010 hanggang kasalukuyan) (Philippine Government w.tn).

nina Halbwachs (1992); Assmann (1995); at Nora (1996) upang maunawaan ang ugnayan ng alaala o gunita sa mga nahahawakang bagay. Malayong-malayo ang tadhana ng Pilipinas sa Indonesia. Bagong republika pa lamang ang Indonesia, kaagad na nilang nililok sa mga salapi ang ‘pagka-Indones’ ng mga Indones. Hindi katulad ng Pilipinas na tila umiiral pa rin ang krisis ng kakanyahan. Noong 1949, sa *Victory-CBP (Central Bank of the Philippines)* unang lumitaw sa salapi ang mga mukha ng indibidwal. Kabalintunaang sa panahong post-kolonyal ay makikita pa rin sa salapi ang mukha ng mga kolonisador: sa 5 Piso (sina William McKinley

at George Dewey); 10 Piso (George Washington); 50 (Henry Ware Lawton); 100 (Ferdinand Magellan); at 500 (Miguel Lopez de Legaspi). Dalawang Pilipino lamang ang lumabas noong 1949, sina Apolinario Mabini sa piso at Jose Rizal sa 2 Piso. Gayumpaman, walang babae.

Sa *English Series* mula 1945 hanggang 1969, unang lalabas ang babae sa pera sa katauhan ni Melchora Aquino o Tandang Sora (Plate X-A). Naging tanyag sa panahon ng himagsikan si Tandang Sora nang makipagtulungan sa Katipunan hanggang sa mapatapon sa Guam. Bukod dito, kinilala rin siya sa mga selyong pang-koreo at nailagay din sa mala-bulaklak na hugis ng limang sentimo na umikot sa sirkulasyon mula 1967 hanggang 1992 (Ong 2012, 132). Liban kina Mabini, Quezon, at Roxas, nakasama si Tandang Sora sa mga indbidwal na noo'y pinagpipilian ng Unang Komisyon ng Estados Unidos para tanghalin bilang 'pambansang bayani'- sina Jose Rizal sa piso; Marcelo del Pilar at Graciano Lopez Jaena sa 5 piso; Antonio Luna sa 50 piso; at Emilio Jacinto kasama si Andres Bonifacio sa 20 piso. Kinalaunan, tatanggalin si Tandang Sora at hindi pa kailaman makikita sa sa *Pilipino Series* (1969-1977) at *Bagong Lipunan Series* (1973-1985). Muling masisilayan ang babaeng Pilipino sa Php 1,000, alinsunod sa Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas Series mula 1983-2015. Unang lumabas sa PHP 1,000 noong 1991 si Josefa Llanes-Escoda (Plate X-B) ngunit hindi katulad ni Tandang Sora na nag-iisa, may kasamang dalawang lalaki si Escoda. Katulad nang nabanggit, mga bayani noong Ikalawang Digmaang Pandaigdig ang tatlong personalidad. Pagkatapos nito, taong 2002 unang lalabas sa *reverse* ang babae. Sa 200 piso kung saan si Diosdado Macapagal ang nasa *obverse*, makikita sa likuran ang panunumpa ni Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo sa EDSA Shrine (Plate X-C) bilang ika-labing apat na pangulo ng Pilipinas noong 2001. Mahalaga ang yugtong ito sapagkat kakatapos lamang nito ng

pagpapatalsik kay Joseph Estrada. Madaragdagan ang mga babaeng Pilipino sa salapi noong 2010 kung saan itinabi si Corazon Cojuangco-Aquino (Plate XI-A) sa kaliwa ng asawang si Ninoy Aquino sa 500 piso. Buo na ang plano ng Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas hinggil dito pagkatapos maging yumao ni Cory (Yahoo News 2010). Gayumpaman, kahit binago ang disenyo ng mga salapi, alinsunod sa *New Generation Currency Series* (2010 hanggang kasalukuyan), hindi nawala si Llanes-Escoda sa 1,000 Piso (Plate XI-B).

Kapansin-pansin ang representasyon ng mga babaeng Pilipino sa salapi - hindi nag-iisa, laging may kasama. Kasama ni Cory si Ninoy sa 500 piso; ni Llanes-Escoda sina Abad Santos at Lim; at gayundin si Gloria ng kaniyang ama. Noong minsang tinanong ko ang aking estudyante, kung sino ang kasama ni Ninoy sa 500 piso, agad nitong sinagot, '*Si Cory, asawa ni Ninoy.*' Nakakagulat na isiping mas una niyang sinagot ang '*pagiging asawa*' sa halip na '*dating pangulo.*' Lumalabas na ang pagkakilanlan ng mga babaeng ito ay nakadikit sa mga lalaki - hal. asawa ni Ninoy si Cory; katulad nina Abad Santos at Lim si Llanes-Escoda na lumaban sa mga Hapones; o anak ni Diosdado si Gloria. Ang ganitong padron ay matagal nang pinuna ni Almario (1993). Tayong mga Pilipino, aniya, ay laging nakapako sa dalawang magkasunod na bantayog kung saan sa dalawang personalidad, isa roon ay mayroong walang pinagkakautangang-loob o anyo. Ginamit ni Almario bilang halimbawa sina Rizal at Balagtas. Dinakila ni Rizal si Balagtas sa pagiging huwaran nito sa '*Tradisyon*' ngunit kinakailangang banggitin muna si Rizal upang makilala ng tao si Balagtas (Almario 1993, xiv). Sa kabilang banda, walang pinagkakautangang-anyo si Rizal kay Balagtas sapagkat kilala siya bilang si Rizal. Ganito ang nakikita ko sa kababaihang nasa salaping Pilipino. Bakit hindi natin hayaang magkaroon ng mga babaeng Pilipino sa salapi nang mag-isa at ipatampok

ang sariling pagkakakilanlan? Nakita halimbawa kung paano humiwalay ang identidad nina Raden Adjeng Kartini, Nyak Dhien, Nja Meutia, Rahmiati Hatta, Dewi Sartika, at Martha Tiahahu sa mga salaping Indones nang nag-iisa. Isa rin palang rason kung bakit maituturing na mito ang 'nawawala ang babaeng Pilipino sa kasaysayan' ay dahil sinasadya itong hindi itampok sa mga materyal na alaala katulad ng salapi.

Maraming paraan upang maitampok ang mga babae sa ating salapi. Kung gagayahin sana natin ang ibang bansa partikular na ang Indonesia, maaari tayong maglagay ng mga babae sa *reverse* o 'di kaya'y upang magmukhang egalitaryo, halinhinang ilagay ang babae at lalaki sa *obverse*. Gayundin, posible ring mailagay ang larawan ng mga babae sa *watermark*. Hindi naman siguro kinakailangan na kung sino ang naitatampok sa *obverse* ay siya ring dapat natatagpuan sa *watermark* nito, katulad halimbawa nina Sartika at Tiahahu na naimarka sa *watermark*.

Sa katunayan, batay sa aking paglilimi, tunay na problematiko ang representasyon ng ating mga salapi sa pangkabuuan. Mula sa *English Series* (1949-1969); *Pilipino Series* (1969-1977); *Bagong Lipunan Series* (1973-1985); at hanggang sa kasalukuyan, ang ating salapi ay androsentrik, elitsentrik, Presidentesentrik-at sa madaling sabi ay sumentro sa kalalakihan. Umikot lamang tayo sa ating mga nagdaang pangulo at nakaligtaan ang multi-etnikong katangian ng Pilipinas. Matagal na itong suliranin na hindi napapansin sa ating kontemporaryong panahon. Ani Weekley (1999, 342), "*there are many communities that do not identify with the democratic Filipino nation because both cultural references and the structures of the dominant community tend to exclude them.*" Ang krisis na ito sa identidad ay hindi ganap na nasolusyonan sa pamamagitan lamang ng paglilagay ng kanilang mga mukha sa salapi. Hindi

nadukal ng kanilang mga mukha ang multi-etnikong kalagayan ng bansa. Kahit sabihin pang isinilang sila sa iba't ibang lalawigan - hal. si Quezon sa Baler, Roxas sa Capiz, Osmeña sa Cebu, Macapagal sa Pampanga, at iba pa, hindi na ang kinabibilangang etnolingguwistikong pangkat (hal. Capiznon, Cebuano, Kapampangan, etc), ang binubuhat nila, ngunit ang nakadikit na sa kanila ay ang pagkakakilanlan bilang mga pangulo. Samakatuwid, hindi pagkakaibang sektoral ang kalalabasan nito, sapagkat mayorya sa kanila ay mga pangulo. Bakit kaya hindi nating subukang tularan ang salaping Indones na nagtanghal sa iba't ibang sektor-may mga mambabatas, aktibista, doktor, guro, imbentor, kompositor, bayani, siyentista, at higit sa lahat ay may babae.

Gayundin, kapuna-puna ang *reverse* na bahagi ng ating mga salapi. Noong 1986 hanggang 2017, mayorya sa larawan ay pawang mga dibuhong sumasagisag pa rin sa gobyerno-hal. palasyo ng Malacañang, Bangko Sentral, Gusaling Lehislatibo, EDSA, at iba pa. Tila isang Manilasentrikong representasyon, liban sa 1,000 piso na nagtanghal ng pamanang materyal - Banaue Rice Terraces, Bangang Manunggul, at Bahay na Langgal. Muling magbabago ang salapi sa kasalukuyang panahon kung saan nagtanghal na tayo ng *flora* at *fauna* at mga magagandang tanawin sa Pilipinas. Ngunit, sa bawat *reverse*, kapansin-pansin pa rin ang pagkiling sa iisang rehiyon. Ang hayop at *tourist spot* ay makikita sa iisang pinagmulang lugar. Halimbawa, magkasama sa 200 piso ang *tarsier* at Chocolate Hills na kapwa makikita sa Bohol; sa 100 piso ang *butanding* at Bulkang Mayon na kapwa nasa rehiyong Bikol; at iba pa. Bakit hindi pagnilayan ang kolektibong paggunita sa ating mga salapi? Yaman lang din naman na naniniwala pa rin tayo sa *portmanteau* na LuzViMinda, bakit hindi nating gawin na ang, (1) hayop o halaman, (2) lugar, at (3) idagdag ang isa pang personalidad ay kakatawan sa tatlong pagkakahati ng bansa? Mas mainam kung

babae ang personalidad, yaman lang din naman na lalaki ang nakalagay sa *obverse*. Halimbawa sa 20 piso, nasa *obverse* si Manuel Quezon samantalang sa *reverse* ay naroon ang *butanding* (hayop sa Luzon); Chocolate Hills (lugar sa Visayas); at si Santanina Rasul (personalidad sa Mindanao), unang babaeng senador na Muslim ng Pilipinas. O hindi kaya’y sa 50 piso, nasa *obverse* si Pura Villanueva Kalaw, isang suprahista samantalang nasa *reverse* si Macli-ing Dulag (personalidad sa Luzon); Visayan warty pig (hayop sa Visayas); at Bundok Apo (lugar sa Mindanao). Hindi imposible ang ganitong paghaharaya. Literal na maluwag pa ang espasyo ng ating mga salapi, maaari bang mailagay ang ating mga babae sa nasabing espasyo? Dahil nagawa ito ng Indonesia ngayon, mapapansin na halos lahat sa likurang bahagi ng rupiah ay kababaihan kasama ang mga halaman, hayop, at magagandang lugar sa bansa.

Kulang sa diwa ng prekolonyal at maagang yugto ng kolonyalismo ang salaping Pilipino, bukod sa mga *baybaying* kamakailan lamang nailagay sa salapi, walang mga personalidad sa nasabing panahon ang naitampok dito. Hindi katulad ng rupiah, naroon ang mga dakilang bayani na sina Diponegoro, Pattimura, Bondjol, at iba pa. Magkakaroon sana tayo ng ganitong pagkakataon sa mga *commemorative banknote* ngunit ang ilan dito ay tumuon pa rin sa mga pangulo. Halimbawa ang 2,000 piso na nagtampok sa inaugurasyon ni Joseph Estrada at pangunguna ni Fidel Ramos sa 1998 Sentenaryo ng Kalayaan ng Pilipinas. Buti na lamang, ang 5,000 piso na inilabas noong 2021 ay nagtampok kay Lapu-Lapu ng Mactan. Gayumpaman, wala pa ring babaeng Pilipinong indibidwal ang naipamalas man lang sa mga *commemorative banknote*.

Ayon sa panukala ni Ong (2012, 132), napapanahon na ang pagdaragdag ng imahen ng kababaihan sa ating salapi. Ang tanong, sinu-

sino ang idadagdag? Kaya't naging mahalaga ang paghahambing sa salaping Indones nang sa gayo'y magkaroon tayo ng ideya. Itinampok sa rupiah ang ilang mga diyosa, mitikal na bayani, at babaeng nasa epiko - katulad nina Dewi Sri, Padmapani, at Sita ng Ramayana. Bakit hindi natin bigyan ng kaunting espasyo ang kababaihang nasa epikong Pilipino? Halimbawa sina Bugan sa *Ang Hudhud hi Aliguyon* ng Luzon; Anggoy Ginbitinan, Anggoy Doroonan, at Nagmalitong Yawa ng *Epiko ni Labaw Donggon* ng Visayas; at si Matabagka ng mga Talaandig ng Bukidnon, Mindanao (Jose 2012a, 108-112); si Prinsesa Urduja, ang mitikal na babaeng mandirigma ng Pangasinan; ang mitikal na mambabatas ng Panay na si Lubluban; at ang mga Diyosa na sina Ildiyanale, Diyan Masalanta, Mayari, Tala, Hanan, Anitun Tabu, Anagolay, at marami pang iba. Makabuluhan ito sapagkat nanganganib na silang mawala sa alaala ng mga Pilipino. Tandaan noong 2018, sa bisa ng CHED Memorandum Order 13 of 2013, ipinaguutos na tanggalin ang Filipino at Literaturang Pilipino sa kurikulum ng mga mag-aaral (Mongaya 2018). Kung maisasalapi sana ang ilang kababaihan sa epikong Pilipino, posibleng magunita pa sila ng susunod na salinlahi. Sa karanasan ko bilang guro, halos hindi na rin kilala ng ilang estudyante sina Lam-ang, mga bayani ng Hinilawod, at kahit na si Mariang Makiling. Katulad ng literatura, inaalís din ng ating pamahalaan ang Philippine History. Mula sa asignaturang ito, makikilala ng kabataan ang mga babaeng nagbuwis ng kanilang buhay sa iba't ibang panahon. Kung tatanggalin si Llanes-Escoda sa 1,000 piso, si Cory na lamang ang pinakamatandang babaeng Pilipino sa kasaysayan ang nasa salapi, na kung iisipin, posibleng palitan o mawala rin dulot ng politika. Kung pag-iisipan sana, marami pang mga indibidwal o grupo ng kababaihan ang maaaring itanghal - nariyan ang mga babaeng lumaban sa mga kolonisador noong 18 dantaon katulad ni Gabriela Silang.

Matatandaang isa si Silang, kasama ni Tandang Sora sa dalawang babae na mula sa siyam na napili noong Nobyembre 15, 1995 upang gawing pambansang bayani. Alinsunod ito sa Executive Order No. 75 na pinasinayaan ni Fidel Ramos noong Marso 28, 1993 (Selection and Proclamation NCCA w.tn). Liban sa kanila, posible ring mailagay ang ilang babaeng sumapi sa Katipunan simula noong 1893; mga babaeng Muslim katulad ni Ichi Jamila; sa Digmaang Pilipino at Amerikano (1899-1902); sa Kilusang Sakdal (1930); mga lumahok sa *Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon* (HUKBALAHAP) o *Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan* (HMB); Kolorum; at marami pang iba (cf. Jose at Navarro 2010). Maaari pa ngang maaring maitampok sa salapi ang grupo ng kababaihang lumaban sa kanilang kalayaan at karapatan - unang welga ng Kababaihang Cigarrera noong 1816; ang Kababaihan ng Malolos para sa edukasyon; at *Junta de la Cruz Roja* at *Asociacion Feminista Filipina*. Katulad ng Indonesia, magagawa rin ito ng Pilipinas kung kaniyang gugustuhin.

Naitampok sa Indonesia ang representasyon ng kababaihan sa paggawa at sining. Kaya't maaari rin itong tularan ng ating mga salapi. Bakit hindi subukang itanghal minsan ang mga babaeng OFW lalo pa't sila ang tinaguriang 'Bagong Bayani'? Bakit hindi ipakita sa salapi ang kabuhayang ginagawa at kayang gawin ng mga babae katulad ng mga pagsasaka, pangingsda, pagnanars, pagtuturo, pagdodoktor, at iba pang manggagawa? Gayundin sa sining na kung saan maaaring itanghal ang iba't ibang sayaw, teatro, awitin, at palakasan na pinapangunahan ng mga babae.

Sa bantang pagtanggap kay Llanes-Escoda sa salapi na papalitan ng 'agila' ay isang seryosong usapin sa kasarian at representasyon. Paraan na ito ng pagbubura ng alaala, hindi lamang sa kababaihan kundi maging sa kasaysayan mismo. Gayumpaman, sa kabila ng dadalawa

na lang ang babae sa ating salapi, patuloy pa rin itong pinag-uusapan at pinahahalagahan sa mga paaralan. Isa na rito ang workshop na *Mga Bayaning Babaeng Nararapat Ilagay sa Pera*. Ayon kay Jose (2012b, 117), layunin ng *workshop* na ito na makapagbibigay ang mga mag-aaral ng mga halimbawa ng bayaning babae na nasa salapi at malao'y maipaliwanag ang kanilang ambag sa pagpapalaya ng bayan. Isipin na lamang ang suliranin ng adbokasiyang ito sa oras na mawala ang mga babae sa salapi.

Nakabuti ang pagpapalitaw ng kababaihan sa salaping Pilipino. Gayumpaman, nananatiling kulang at naisasantabi sa maraming pagkakataon ang mailap na paglabas nila sa mga kulturang materyal katulad ng salapi. May implikasyon din ang mismong sirkulasyon. Nakalagay sa malalaking halaga o denominasyon ang ilang babae - si Cory sa 500 piso at Llanes-Escoda sa 1,000 piso, mga salaping bibihirang hawakan ng kabataan. Kaya't dito rin natin makikita kung bakit mas lalong kilala halimbawa si Rizal na naukit hanggang ngayon sa piso. Ito ang madalas na nahahawakan, hinihingi sa mga magulang, at ipinagbibili sa tindahan. Subalit, may pagtatangka rin namang maibaba ang kaalaman nito sa kabataan. Halimbawa, ang paggamit ng mga *play money* sa loob ng paaralan at paglitaw ng mga akdang pambata na tumuon sa kasaysayan ng salapi - hal. *Cashaysayan: A History of Philippine Money* (Garcia et al. 2018). Dito makikilala kung sino ang mga nasa salapi, sino ang kababaihang nasa salapi. Kung dumarami sana ang kababaihang nairerepresenta sa ating mga salapi, maiiwasan sana ang pagsasantabi o ang mito ng "nawawalang babae sa kasaysayan."

Sa estado ng Pilipinas ngayon, bingi at bulag pa rin ang pamunuan sa usaping ito - na hindi lamang ito basta-basta usapin ng "pangtanggapal" at "pagpapalit" ng disenyo ng salapi, ngunit isa itong ideolohikal na

nakasalig sa kasarian at uri. Higit sa lahat, pagpapalimot sa kasaysayan.

Kongklusyon

Batay sa preliminaryong paghahambing, nasaksihang malayo ang naging post-kolonyal na tadhana ng Pilipinas kompara sa Indonesia sa kung paano nito irepresenta ang kababaihan sa mga yamang materyal katulad ng salapi. Bagaman walang katiyakan kung ano na ba ang estado ng mga babaeng Indones sa kasalukuyang panahon, nagagarantiya naman, batay sa mga salapi, ang kanilang mahaba at malalim na pagpapahalaga sa kababaihan mula sa iba't ibang panahon (prekolonyal, kolonyal, at post-kolonyal), sektor (bayani, manggagawa, at artista) at ambag (sa sariling bayan at ibang bayan). Ang komparatibong pag-aaral na ito mula sa Indonesia tungo sa kahalagahang Pilipino ay isang malaking pagpupunyagi upang maunawaan sa kung paano nag-uugnay ang dalawang lipunang may malapit na karanasan sa nakaraan, kasalukuyan, at maaaring maging sa hinaharap. Mahalaga ang pagbabahagi ng karanasan ng *sarili* sa karanasan ng *iba* upang maging inspirasyon tungo sa kaunlaran at pagbabago.

Sa diwa ng *Feminismong Bayan, Araling Kabanwahan*, at maging ng *Feminismong Kabanwahan*, mauunawaan ang kalagayan ng lipunang Pilipino, sa kung paaano ito nagkakatulad o naiiba sa ibang bayan at ibang kabihasan. Nasuri dahil sa mga tinuntungang konsepto ang usapin ng kasarian at uri sa salapi. Sa kaso ng Indonesia, lumitaw ang representasyon ng kababaihan at mga saray o uri nito sa lipunan. Hindi estatiko ang naging kasaysayan ng Indonesia. Dulot din ng kolonyalismo at patriyarka ang estado ng kanilang kababaihan, ngunit iginiit pa rin nila ang suliraning nararanasan ng taumbayan.

Iminarka ang kababaihang Indones sa mga salapi. Kabaliktaran ito ng nasa Pilipinas - salat na nga, binabawasan pa. Ang ganitong pagpupunyagi ay hindi na kailangan ng mahabang pagdinig sa senado at kongreso, hindi na dapat iwinewelga, hindi na dapat sinasabi, kundi, isa na dapat itong padron ng isang republika - republikang nagpapahalaga at ipinapasok ang kababaihan sa naratibo ng taumbayan.

Darating ang panahon, hindi lamang lahat ng babae ang magkakaroon ng pera ngunit lahat ng pera ay may babae!

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ARTICULATING THE TWIN BURDEN OF CLASS AND GENDER: OPPRESSION AND LIBERATION IN THE POETRY OF WOMEN GRASSROOTS ORGANIZERS

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ABSTRACT

Among the challenges in writing from the grassroots are the low literacy rate, the lack of participants from the peasant class, and the lack of variety in literary form. Moreover, there are also contradictions in writing from the grassroots, in the sense that they also exhibit “conservative” strains, even if guided by progressive theory and praxis.

Using the theory of Materialist Feminism as posited by Catherine Belsey and Michele Barrett, I read some poems published by women from the grassroots to take note of how they render in poetic form their own images of oppression and liberation, and the paradoxes of their conceptions. While materialist feminism would take into account the intricacies of the mediations of ideology and the mode of production in the analysis of literary texts, I focus instead on how gender is represented in these poems. This would also account for the gaps, silences and ellipsis of the text.

The poems are taken from publications spearheaded by leaders of GABRIELA, namely Laya (1993 and 1994), a quarterly magazine

on women's issues, and *Pangarap at Hinagpis* (1991), an anthology of women's writing from the basic masses. These poems are informed by the orientation of GABRIELA, which addresses the double burden that women face on account of class and gender. Among the issues written in these poems are poverty, domestic violence, rape, unequal relegation of housework, and strained marital relations. These are brought about by patriarchy and class inequalities. While the images highlight women's oppression, the resolutions remain unclear and ambiguous in some of the poems. Some poems would suggest an escapist route or joining the system of oppression. On the other hand, some poems would rework traditional symbols towards more progressive ends. Nevertheless, publishing their writings has empowered these grassroots women to articulate their realities. It could also develop their consciousness towards further emancipation.

Keywords: Women's writing, protest poetry, GABRIELA, writing from the margins, women's issues

ABSTRAK

May mga ilang balakid sa pagsusulat mula sa uring masa, tulad ng mababang antas ng pagbabasa, salat sa partisipasyon mula sa mga pesante, at kakulangan sa baryason sa pormang literatura. Bukod pa rito, may mga kontradiksyon sa pagsusulat mula sa uring masa. Kahit na ginagabayan sila ng mas progresibong teorya at praktika, may mga konserbatibong katangian ang ilan sa kanilang mga tula.

Sa artikulong ito, binabasa ko ang mga tula na inilimbag ng mga kababaihan mula sa uring masa, at tinitingnan ko kung paano nila isinasalarawan sa anyo ng tula ang kanilang konsepto ng opresyon at liberasyon, at ang mga kontradiksyon ng mga imaheng ito. Ginagamit ko ang teoryang materialist feminism nina Catherine Belsey at Michele Barrett upang basahin ang mga tulang ito. Kahit na pinag-aaralan ng materialist feminism ang ideolohiya at moda ng produksyon sa pag-aanalisa ng mga teksto, mas nakatuon ako sa representasyon ng kasarian. Tinitingnan ko rin ang mga hindi sinasabi ng mga teksto.

Ang mga tula ay mula sa mga publikasyong inilimbag ng mga pinuno ng GABRIELA: Laya (1993-1994), isang magasing tumatalakay sa mga isyung pangkababaihan; at Pangarap at Hinagpis (1991), isang antolohiya ng mga akdang kababaihan mula sa uring masa. Ipinapakita ng mga tulang ito ang oryentasyon ng GABRIELA, na naniniwala sa dobleng paghihirap na nararanasan ng mga kababaihan dahil sa kanilang uri at kasarian. Kabilang sa mga isyu na tinatalakay sa kanilang mga tula ay ang kahirapan, karahasan laban sa kababaihan, panggagahasa, hindi pantay na gawaing bahay, at mga tensyon sa buhay mag-asawa. Ang mga isyung ito ay bunga ng patriarkal at di pantay na katangian ng lipunan. Kahit na ang mga imaheng ito ay klaro sa pagpapakita ng opresyon sa mga kababaihan, ang mga resolusyon nito ay hindi maliwanag sa ibang mga tula. Ang mga ibang tula ay may bahid ng eskapismo at suhestiyon na pumaloob sa sistema ng opresyon. Samantala, ang iba naman ay binabago ang mga tradisyunal na simbolo para sa mas progresibong hangarin. Gayon pa man, sa paraan ng pagsusulat, nakakaranas ng kapangyarihan ang mga

kababaihang mula sa uring masa na ipakita ang kanilang reyalidad. Ito ay makakatulong para mas mahubog pa ang kanilang kamalayan tungo sa mas ganap na kalayaan.

Susing-Salita: *Panulaang pangkabaihan, tula ng protesta, GABRIELA, panitikan mula sa uring masa, isyung pangkababaihan*

Introduction

Poor Filipino women from the lower classes, in the urban or rural areas, are burdened by multiple roles made more difficult by poverty and the limits placed on women's role in society. Hence, writing poetry is a luxury for them. But given the encouragement of women's organizations, some of the grassroots women who have joined progressive women's groups have written poetry that and have been published. This paper is an attempt at analyzing how grassroots women articulated their oppression and dreams through poetry. Such analysis is guided by the criticisms raised by people's poet Gelacio Guillermo and literary critic Edel Garcellano on the challenges faced by aspiring poets from the grassroots, from the ranks of the peasant and working classes and peasants.

There are many challenges in the production of poetry from the grassroots. Gelacio Guillermo (1990) lamented this in his appendix to *Butong Binhi: Kalipunan ng mga Nagwaging Akda sa Gantimpalang Ani 1989*, which is a literary contest specifically geared towards the peasants. He writes that there is a marked difference between writers from the peasant class and writers from the middle class who are sympathetic towards the peasants, and enumerates these limitations as, namely:

(1) the lack of participants from the peasant class; (2) the lack of variety in the literary forms in the works of the writers from the peasant class; and (3) the lack of particularity and variety in the form and style of these works from the peasant class (47). Guillermo does not attribute these to the innate limitations of these writers, but to the material and historical limitations of the countryside, namely: the low literacy (and, consequently, literary) rate of the people from the countryside; the heightening and tense struggle in the countryside that leads to sloganeering and stereotyping; and the division between mental and manual labor in a class society (48-49).

Similarly, in "Reportage on the State of Class War and Philippine Poetry", Edel Garcellano (2001) warns of the tendency to "idealize" peasant poetry as "authentic". He points out that these texts, though produced by the peasant and working classes (and thus speak of their own realities) also exhibit "conservative elements" since the consciousness of the peasants is also largely affected by the dominant culture informed by neocolonial and feudal relations (29).

Though Guillermo and Garcellano highlight the importance of working-class literature in heightening the consciousness in the advancement of the people's struggle, both acknowledge the contradictions in creating revolutionary literature. Eschewing the essentialist notion that just because one is from the working class, then one can truly create revolutionary literature, Garcellano calls on the "highly advanced practitioners" to "score the conservative elements in the literary works, and at the same time be exultant of revolutionary (although at this time quasi-propagandistic) message/meaning inherent in the material" (29-30).

Guillermo would go so far as to acknowledge the historical necessity of the intellectuals from the middle forces (those in the middle social strata, including the petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia) to the development of revolutionary literature (particularly, revolutionary peasant literature) given their training in intellectual work. This can be done through the active creation of revolutionary literature with the proper grasp of the mass line and exposure to the lives of the masses. Moreover, these cultural workers from the middle forces should impart their skills to the masses by (1) giving them training in literature through workshops, contests, forums, and symposia and (2) polishing, translating, and disseminating these works. More to the point, Guillermo would consider these intellectuals as a new breed of writers in that their concerns and aesthetics have shifted from the colonial and elitist standards to more selfless, mass-based, and progressive standards (50). These writers have developed proletarian outlooks.

Since the development of a proletarian consciousness is a long and continuing process, writing from the grassroots could be one step towards processing and articulating their own material realities, which have been previously unrepresented. Though empowering for the marginalized, the text also presents contradictions that one should be aware of, particularly what Garcellano calls the “conservative elements”.

I take note of such in my reading of some poems published by women from the grassroots and how they render in poetic form their own images of oppression and liberation and the paradoxes of their conceptions. The poems discussed are taken from publications that consist of magazines and anthologies issued by cause-oriented groups from the women’s movement. One is *Laya*, which was published by the Laya Women’s Collective - composed of Sharon Cabusao, Vicky Corpuz, Tita Lubi, and Liza Masa. Some of the collective members,

editorial board, and staff are members of GABRIELA. The other is *Pangarap at Hinagpis* (1991), a groundbreaking anthology published by GABRIELA and the Institute of Women's Studies based in St. Scholastica's College. This anthology includes poems from grassroots women.

Both *Pangarap at Hinagpis* and *Laya* were published during the early 1990s but were not widely available (with *Laya* now defunct and *Pangarap at Hinagpis* out of print). Following the growing interest in women's issues in the late 1980s and the lifting of censorship with the end of the Marcos dictatorship in 1986, print and broadcast media openly discussed activism, human rights, and social problems (Manzanilla 2016, 8-9). Television shows like "Inquiry," "Viewpoint," "Two for the Road," and "Tell the People" featured gender-specific issues such as the women's movement, pornography, prostitution, health, employment, and the family. From 1985 to 1986, Women's Studies courses were instituted at Siliman University, St. Scholastica's College, and the UP Institute of Social Work and Community Development, now the College of Social Work and Community Development (Lanot 1991, 72-73).

Literary works were gathered in women's anthologies such as *Filipina 1 & 2* (1984), *Kamalayan: Feminist Writings in the Philippines* (1988), *Ani 5* (1988), and *Sarilaya: Women in Arts and Media* (1989). In the 1990s, the following anthologies were released: *Kung Ibig Mo: Love Poetry by Women* (1993), *Forbidden Fruit: Women Write the Erotic* (1992), *Songs of Ourselves: Writings by Filipino Women in English* (1994) and *Ang Silid na Mahiwaga: Kalipunan ng Kuwento't Tula ng mga Babaeng Manunulat* (1994).

What distinguished *Pangarap at Hingapis* and *Laya* from the earlier women's anthologies that published works by established writers and academics

was how these highlighted women's writings from the grassroots, marking a recognition of the problems brought about not only by gender but also by social class. Moreover, the intertwining of class and gender issues is articulated in poetry, a literary form that is often associated with the educated and the elite.

My critical approach is materialist feminism, which focuses on the workings of ideology in the study of ideas, language, and culture. Catherine Belsey writes in "Constructing the Subject: Deconstructing the Text" (1985) that this theory was propounded by Louis Althusser, who studied the construction of the subjectivity of the individual through the workings of the ideological state apparatuses (46). Moreover, materialist feminism considers the intricacies of the mediations of ideology and the mode of production in the analysis of literary texts. This kind of feminist literary criticism draws from the Marxist theories of literary production, particularly that of Terry Eagleton, who writes in *Criticism and Ideology* that the "categories for a materialist criticism" are: (1) the General mode of production, (2) the literary mode of production, (3) the General ideology, (4) the Authorial ideology, (5) the Aesthetic ideology, and (6) the Text (Belsey qtd. in Barrett 76). In addition, materialist feminists' study what is said and elided in a text, or what Pierre Macherey calls, in his *A Theory of Literary Production*, the "gaps" and "silences" in a text (Belsey, 56). Newton and Rosenfelt write in *Feminism and Social Change* (1985), "The discourse suppressed tells us as much as the discourse expressed, for omission throws the margins of a text's production into relief, allowing us to see the limits and the boundaries of what it posits as real" (xxiii).

My theoretical framework follows Michele Barrett's "Ideology and the Cultural Production of Gender" in *Women's Oppression Today* (1980). A materialist feminist, Barrett analyzes the ways gender

ideology is formed through the modes of production of the literary text. She reformulates Terry Eagleton's "categories for a materialist criticism" and applies these to the study of gender. Though these categories include *production* (how a woman's material conditions control her perception of the world and influence the genre, form, style, and the implied reader) and *consumption* (how these texts are received and valued), I focus instead on *representation* (how gender is portrayed within these texts). Again, this is problematic: just as Barrett writes, "ideology is not transparent," so too can the imagery of gender be misleading and subject to many interpretations (79). One must not examine the imagery of gender superficially, or as mere reflections of the society; rather, one should consider the whole discourse of the ideology of the period and pay close attention to the various layers of the ways meanings are construed. One must then look at the gaps, silences, and ellipses of the text.

Since the poems are by poets with various orientations, class backgrounds, and activities and come from different kinds of publications, the study is divided into two parts. The first discusses the poems written by community organizers associated with GABRIELA, while the second focuses on those from the peasant and working classes. These divisions consider the different contexts of these works given the circumstances of the poets' milieu, class backgrounds, nature of the publications in which the poems appeared, and the various mediations that could arise from these factors.

Poems from *Laya*

A quarterly magazine on women's issues, *Laya* featured poems in its literary section. While some of the contributors were established poets based in the academe, most came from NGOs and grassroots

organizations. The writers I chose for this section are also members of grassroots organizations and cause-oriented groups, mostly from GABRIELA. The poems were published from 1993 to 1994.

According to its website, GABRIELA (or General Assembly Binding Women for Reforms, Integrity, Equality, Liberty and Action) is a broad alliance of over 200 women's organizations that was founded in 1984 ("GABRIELA - National Alliance of Filipino Women Southeast Asia"). Having a clear class-based orientation, GABRIELA organizes specifically among women from the peasant and working classes as well as the urban poor. It recognizes the double burden that women face because of their gender and social class. GABRIELA also spearheads campaigns to fight Violence Against Women and Children (VAWC) and gender discrimination, and to make women aware of their reproductive rights and health. They also conduct counseling services and training for grassroots women to address these issues.

Moreover, GABRIELA also recognizes the oppression faced by majority of the Filipinos as caused by imperialism (foreign control of the country), feudalism (the continuing dominance of landlordism), and bureaucrat capitalism (the use of political positions to gain more wealth and to suppress dissent). Some of the poems from *Laya* are informed by this orientation and have a clear political bent. The intertwining of class and gender issues as experienced by a peasant woman can be found in the poems by Quinciana de Luna, an award-winning poet and vice-chairperson of AMIHAN, an organization of peasant women. Her poem "*Buhay ng Babae*" (1993) articulates the twin problems of class and gender and details the many duties that a woman faces while experiencing the hardships of poverty. As a wife and mother, the woman is expected to attend to domestic duties, as found in the lines "*Laging kahog sa*

trabaho, sa dami ng gawain/ Maglilinis pa ng bahay, magwawalis, maggagarden/ Maglalaba pa ng damit, mamam'lantsang matulin/ Habang ugoy pa sa duyan ang bunso na nahihimbing." As a member of the peasant class, she also has to attend to work in the farm ("*Sa asawa't anak siya'y magsisilbi/ Nagtatanim pa sa bukid, gumagapas, nag-aani*"). Her subject position as a woman doing housework and a member of the peasant class doing farm work is further exacerbated by problems produced by an economically dysfunctional society. The woman has to engage in domestic work for others as a "sideline", particularly doing the laundry and the sewing ("*Kayliit ng kanyang badyet, mataas naman ang bilihin/ At hindi n'ya halos malaman kung paano ang gagawin/ Naisipan n'yang mag-sideline, maglabada at tumaggap ng tahiin/ Kaya sa gabi ay hapo na, sapsap man ay di kayang sambitin*"). The poem takes an ironic turn when even sexual relations with the husband are already denigrated as a form of work and duty. From a materialist feminist framework, sex then becomes a form of uncompensated labor, which must be performed as a wifely duty for the husband. The woman then becomes alienated from her own body, and the sexual act is stripped of romantic bliss in the woman's need instead for repose from any physical activity:

*Pero narito ang siste, ang esposo'y
 naghahanap
 Siya ay kakal'bitin pero 'di na
 makausap
 Walang latoy kung pilitin at parang
 tiniban na bumagsak
 Gusto ng katawan ay pahinga, di
 romansa at sarap! (47)*

In the same vein, the poem "*Babae*" by Quinciana de Luna (1993) portrays the woman from the lower classes as devoid of rights to property ("*Na dahil anak*

kang babae'y/ ni wala nang karapatan/ Na mag-ari niyong lupang/ pag-aari ng magulang"), and education. This deprives her of her chance to be socially mobile ("Sa dahilang ika'y pobre't/ kulang ka sa karunungan/ At ni hindi ka maiharap/ sa mataas na lipunan"). While class is a factor in the woman's exploitation, the poem pinpoints the source of her problems to be patriarchy, which relegates the primary role of a woman to that of a housewife ("Nang ikaw ay lumaki na't/ tumuntong ng paaralan/ Ni hindi ka pinayagang/ magtapos ng pag-aaral/ At ikaw daw ay babaeng/ mag-aasawa balang-araw/ Kaya ikaw ay itinalaga/ sa mga gawaing bahay"). Poverty, coupled with the lack of education, hinders the woman from being upwardly mobile. The poem, however, does not end merely with a litany of exploitative acts committed against her; it also encourages the woman to awaken and fight for her rights:

*Babae, dahil ikaw ay babae
wala ka bang kalayaan?
At ni hindi mo makamit
sa 'yong dapat na makamtan
Lalagi bang ika'y api
sa lahat ng bagay?
Gumising ka, kabaro ko,
ipagtanggol ang karapatan! (47)*

Not all the poems sound the alarm for this call for social change. Some merely expose the problems of patriarchy, the injustices of the current system, and the abuses perpetrated against women. One such writer is Raquel Ignacio, education officer of GABRIELA-Youth. Her poem "*ilang babae pa*" (1993), chronicles sexual exploitation committed against women. While names are given (e.g., Mina, Nati, Neneng and Sali) and the abuses described, the social backgrounds of these women are generalized since their class, roles, age, and work are unidentified. For instance, Mina is a victim of domestic

violence ("*si Mina/ hayun siya sa kusina/ namamaga ang mata/ pagkat sinisisi ng/ asawa/ sa kahirapang/ kanilang dinaranas*"), Nati is a victim of rape ("*kagabi,/ may mga impit na/ hikbi/ sa silid nina Nati/ masama ang/ pakiramdam niya/ pero pinilit siyang/ makipagtalik*"), while Neneng and Sali are victims of physical violence that led to death ("*si Neneng/ ang inosenteng si Neneng/ nabighani lamang sa/ timyas ng gabi/ hinila sa dilim/ hinubaran,/ pinagpasasaan.../ pinatay. [...] ang hapdi/ ng patalim na inihiwa/ sa iba't ibang bahagi/ ng katawan ni Sali/ ang mga paso ng yosi/ sa kanyang mukha't kaselanan/ ang mga suntok at tadyak/ bago siya itinapong hubad/ sa sikat ng araw*"). Except in the case of Mina, who is identified as a housewife, the other women are generic figures ("*sino pa mang babae*") and can be "*maybahay*", "*estudyante*", "*manggagawa*" or "*aktibista*" who have been physically tortured, raped, or killed (55). Physical and sexual abuse could happen to any woman, regardless of her occupation, as the last lines of "*ilang babae pa*" would suggest:

*ilang maybahay pa,
 ilang estudyante,
 manggagawa
 aktibista o sino pa mang
 babae
 ang magiging biktima
 ng karahasan
 ilang babae pa...
 hanggang saan,
 hanggagn kailan. (55)*

While the descriptions of sexual and social abuses are detailed and raw, the call to action is not articulated, rendering the solutions to such abuses open-ended, vague, and abstract.

The same is true for another poem by Raquel Ignacio, *"Ang Babae sa Tulay ng Magsaysay"* (1993), where a crazy woman runs naked along Magsaysay bridge to the amusement of men ("*may sira/ nakangising banggit ng mama sa harapan ng jeep/ 'pwede pa sana/ sambit naman ng driver sa unahan*") and the embarrassment of the women passengers ("*ang mga babae?/ napayuko na lamang/ para bang tinatakpan/ ang kung ano mang pinapangalandakan/ ng babaeng hubad/ sa gitna ng tulay ng Magsaysay*"). The poem illustrates both how dehumanizing conditions may cause one to lose one's mind and, ironically, how a woman can be freed from the strictures of society only if and when she becomes insane. Baring her body might be ("*kaya?*") her way of delivering herself from harsh reality:

*...pero wala man lang nagtanong kung bakit
hinubad niya ang katinuang
nagbigay laya sa kanyang kaisipan
upang bagtasin ang tulay nang hubad.*

*Hinubad ang karahasang kinamulatan
maari din namang ang kahirapan
pero kahit anupaman ang dahilan
lumaya na siya sa realidad ng karahasan
sa paghubad sa katinuan
di na siya huhusgahan (kaya?)
di na siya papatulan (kaya?) [50-51]*

This poem can then be read in different ways. On the one hand, the insane woman's plight may be a symptom of the brutality of poverty that destroys one's senses and reasoning. On the other hand, it could also be an escapist route that preaches a violation of the moralistic symbolic and social order: one achieves liberation by breaking the codes of normalcy and decency in a society governed by an irrational system

that produces violence and poverty. The parenthetical questions (*kaya?*) as in "*di na siya huhusgahan (kaya?)/ di na siya papatulan (kaya?)*" is the poem's critique of "liberation" (Ignacio 1993, 50-51). In spite of the questions in the last two lines, the poem does not present the possibilities of a radical and genuine transformation of society and the woman remains an abject victim of the social order.

Not all the poems written by GABRIELA members depict abuses against women. Some illustrate personal emotions, such as the poem "*Ang Labadang Pag-ibig*" written by Carmela Beltran (1994), who chaired the GABRIELA-Youth chapter of Polytechnic University of the Philippines. Here, she uses the metaphor of laundering clothes as a way of cleansing one's sadness due to love. The washing of the clothes is the objective correlative of washing away the tears in the persona's eyes, as delineated through the instructions at the back of a Superwheel laundry bar:

*--Ibabad nang matagal ang
 pag-ibig na noon pa sana inihayag
 --Sabunin at kusutin ang damdaming
 ilang taon nang inalagaan
 at kung maari gumamit
 ng brush upang matanggal ang
 mantsang sugat hanggang
 sa ito'y maghilom
 --Banlawan ng mabuti upang
 ang natitirang pagsinta
 ay malinis na.
 --Itapon ang pinagbanlawang
 upang ang mga pait at hapdi
 ay tuluyan nang mawala. (41)*

Laundry work, which is downplayed as a strenuous and routinary activity deplored by housewives and given

little compensation for a domestic helper or a laundry woman, is depicted as a catharsis for one's emotions. At most, it shows this tediousness as a necessary chore ("*Sa totoo lang ayokong naglalaba/ lalu na pag super tindi ang araw/ Over sa pagtulo ng pawis ko/ Nakakasunog pa ng balat*"). Limited to a small circumscribed world, the woman uses bittersweet irony to solve problems of the heart. Unlike women with more economic and personal latitude and could therefore dismiss heartache by looking for other men or seeking expensive forms of escape (such as travel), the *labandera* couches her problem and its solution in terms she can understand. Hence, the tongue-in-cheek last line that echoes a familiar strain from television commercials, "*Salamat sa baretang Superwheel*" (Beltran 1994, 41).

There are poems that rethink conventional literary forms for protest and revolutionary ends. For instance, the poem "*Aba Po Santa Mariang Hari*", is a reworking of a traditional prayer towards a new purpose. Written by Ruth Maglalan (1994), a staff member of the GABRIELA Commission on Children and Family, this poem is a subversive adaptation of a prayer. Instead of reinforcing the traditional feudal values of the Virgin Mary as a meek and suffering woman, she is represented as a source of courage, strength, and resistance for women. Mary becomes "*Ina ng pakikibaka*". The poem calls on her to witness the abuses of those in power, particularly in the lines, "*Masdan mo ang dusa na aming pinapasan/ Ang paghihirap ng pamilya ko'y maalpasan/ Militarisasyon, demolisyon at karahasan/ Ito ang parusa ng mga nagdi-diyos-diyosan*". The family also assumes a meaning that departs from its traditional feudal meanings. Instead of seeing children as extra hands or extensions of the family line, they are regarded as part of a new generation of activists who will continue the fight of the previous generation ("*Hayaang ituloy ang pakikibaka ng aming mga supling*"). The poem then acts as a prayer - not to

a mystical deity who would silently witness and merely guide the suffering supplicant, but rather, as an outlet for one's anger and protest, a ritual to gain courage and strength as the woman fights for her rights and her country, and an affirmation of the justness of her revolutionary cause and activity ("*Biyayaan mo kami ng lakas at tapang/ Santang Ina ng Diyos/ Nang aming maipaglaban ang aming karapatan/ at muling makamtan ang kabuhatan ng sambayanan*") (Maglalan 1994, 44).

"*Papaano*" by political prisoner Annaliza Ompoc (1993) problematizes the writing of a poem. Self-reflexive, it questions the *raison d'être* of poetry itself; paradoxically, it won first prize in a literary contest sponsored by the Task Force Detainees of the Philippines (TFDP). Set against the social injustices and abuses both inside and outside the prison walls, it poses the rhetorical question: "*Papaano ka magkukunwaring makata sa loob ng hawlang nilikha/ Ng isang lipunang tulala sa naglipanang mga taksil at timawa?*" She continues: "*Sa pilat na bangungot sa pasang kalamnan/ Ay isang bakas na ngayon ay kimkim na poot at panghihinayang/ Na kung sa lipuna'y umiiral na nga ang tunay na katarungan/ Bakit ang naghahanap nito'y pinahihirapan/ At sinaksak sa bilangguan?*" Freedom is denied behind bars, deconstructing the liberal notion of poetry as a self-expressive act that portrays beautiful and exquisite things. This "failure" to write a poem within the confines of prison of both body and soul affirms the need for social praxis:

*Sabihin mo sa akin kung papaano ako
 gagawa ng tula sa ganitong sitwasyon,
 Hindi ko man nais na biguin kayo, ngunit
 papaano?
 At kahit nasa loob man ng hawla ay tikom na
 kamao,*

*Kamay na hindi sanay humawak ng bolpen
kundi sundang at araro! (46)*

The poems above were written by women who are primarily organizers (most of them officers and members of GABRIELA and other non-government organizations) and are thus recognized for their political activities rather than for their poetry, which mirrors their social praxis in the articulation of issues of women twice marginalized due to class and gender. While not all are explicit in their images of liberation, these poems portray domestic violence due to strained marital relations, unequal relegation of housework, and even sexual abuse (such as rape) amidst the dehumanizing conditions of poverty. The publication's explicit thrust towards women's issues gave these writers an outlet for articulating their own images of oppression stemming from their material realities.

Poems from *Pangarap at Hinagpis*

Rina Anastacio of GABRIELA's Public Information Office writes in the introduction of *Pangarap at Hinagpis* (1991) that the poems in this collection were winning entries in a literary contest sponsored by GABRIELA in 1991 and published by both the organization and the Institute of Women's Studies based in St. Scholastica's College. According to the editor, Aida F. Santos, this contest aimed to "enliven the writing of the women from the basic sectors" and is also a form of "training for their education and propaganda work" (xi). The participants were women from different parts of the country, all of whom belonged to the marginalized sectors—the indigenous peoples, the urban poor, and GABRIELA members of worker and peasant background as well. The poems were written in different regional languages with corresponding translations in English (vi-vii).

Sr. Mary John Mananzan, the Director of the Institute of Women's Studies of St. Scholastica's College, lauds this book as the first of its kind: "The publication of this anthology is indeed historical. Perhaps this is the first collection of writings by women from the basic sectors to be published in the Philippines" (ii). Editor Aida F. Santos writes, "If literature is for the masses, the authentic creation of this will come from them" (xii).

However, one should not forget the mediations that went into the choice of the poems for this book. This is not a random collection of poems from the masses. The works were chosen by established writer Aida F. Santos, who has won the Don Carlos Palanca Memorial Awards for her poetry and whose biographical entry appears in the *CCP Encyclopedia of Philippine Art*. In addition, most of the writers come from women's organizations such as GABRIELA, SAMAKANA, and the Concerned Mother's League (CML). Judging from the people and institutions involved in this book's production, the poems are influenced to a certain extent by a particular form of interest and ideology – that of GABRIELA and its women's liberationist cause.

Given the peasant and working-class origins of the writers and the national liberationist agenda of the organization involved, the poems in this collection give one an idea of the writings that come from the masses and are meant for the masses. However, some of these poems may also still show some strains of a hegemonic backward feudal ideology. Despite the writers also being members of women's organizations, one cannot expect uniformity in terms of the depth of their political awareness and consciousness. The forms that this protest takes could range from the reactionary to the revolutionary. One could work hard, be part of the system, and be one of the moneyed oppressors one day. Or one could dismantle the system from its roots to ensure genuine equality for all.

Some of the poems criticize and resist backward feudal ideology. The poem “*Pangarap*”, which won first place in the literary contest, is written by Arni Mercado (1991), a member of SAMAKANA who did not finish high school. This poem portrays the fairy tale dreams of a woman wishing to be a beautiful queen, awaiting her handsome Prince Charming:

*Ako’y bata pa, kaya isip ko’y maglaro muna
Magtampisaw sa ilog at mamingwit ng isda
Nagbibilang ng bituin kung gabi na
Bago matulog, nangangarap maging reyna.
Ako’y dalaga na, kaya isip ko’y
magpaganda
Mala-Cinderella, kung pwede nga ba
Para makabingwit ng malaking isda
Nagbibilang ng bituin, may ningning sa
mata
Umaasang darating si Prince Charming na
tanging pag-asa. (3)*

The woman’s youthful dream is portrayed through similes and metaphors derived from fairy tales (such as “*maging reyna*”, “*magpaganda/ Mala-Cinderella*” and “*Prince Charming*”) that articulate a feudal and patriarchal set-up. This shows that the woman’s ambition is to transform into a beautiful woman and attract (“*makabingwit ng malaking isda*”) a man. Such are the dreams of a woman within the patriarchal system, which makes her believe that her worth is determined by her outer beauty. However, reality proved otherwise since the husband turned out to be a drunkard, a womanizer, a wife-beater, and a loser (“*Ako’y may asawa pero hindi masaya/ Sa piling ng asawang-haring tomador at babaero pa/ Bigo niyang pangarap na maging karatista/ Kaya’t sa akin na lang inuumang, kamao at paa.*”).

Ironically, the husband is described as *"asawang-hari"*, showing the superior position of man in a patriarchal and feudal society - no different from the Prince Charming of her dreams, her *"tanging pag-asa"*. The similarities of her fantasy and real worlds indicate the hegemony of a patriarchal and feudal ideology. In dreams and in her actual life, the woman unknowingly consents to her exploitation. Her dreams mask the reality of woman's denigration, even though she is already aware of the oppressive nature of her relationship with her loser-husband (Mercado 1991, 3).

Towards the end of the poem, the persona proclaims that she would not want her daughter to experience the same fate with the lines, *"Ako'y may edad na, at si Nene'y magdadalaga na/ Hihintayin ko pa bang kaapiha'y manahin? / Ngayon na ang panahon magbangon at lumaban. / Maging pantay sa lalaki, iyan ngayon ang pangarap ko"* (Mercado 1991, 3). At first glance it may seem liberating, but one wonders at the form which this liberation would take: since this poem only represents the man as an oppressor, would liberation mean being equally oppressive as men? Or would she encourage her daughter to choose, *"mala-Cinderella"*, a Prince Charming who would rescue her?

While the poem evidently details the violence committed against women, the path towards liberation is not clear. The same is true for another poem written by Arni Mercado, *"May Pag-asa ang Bukas"* (1991). Here, a poor mother sings about her misery through a lullaby for her child. The poem has an anti-imperialist theme and locates the woman's oppression in the low wages given by a foreigner (*"dayuhang amo"*) who owns the factory where she works (*"Tahan na bunso, h'wag kang masiphayo/ Babalik ako sa hapon, 'yan ay pangako/ Ako'y magtatrabaho sa pabrika ng dayuhang amo/ Upang pagsahod, may pambili ng gatas mo."*). The

binary oppositions of “sleep” and “wakefulness” show the child lulled to sleep amidst the dark and squalid conditions of poverty (“*Tulog na bunso, umusog ka ng konti/ Para kasya tayo, bumaluktot ka sandali/ Kasya kalye, itong dampa ay maigi/ Marami doong batang lansangan at pulubi.*”), but with the poem ending in wakefulness with a promise of a better future for them through the agency of the child:

*Bangon na bunso, umaga na
Para matupad ang pangarap, mag-aral ka
Sa ngayon makulimlim, sinag ng pag-asa
Liwang ng araw, pantay-pantay na. (5)*

Notwithstanding the optimism at the end of the poem, what this equality really means remains ambiguous, as it does not clearly define for what ends the child should study. Would it be to acquire knowledge to radically change society or to have intellectual capital to gain access to a white-collar, high-paying job? Moreover, whom does the persona aspire for her child to be equal to? Did she want everyone from her class to be given the same opportunities? Or, once given a chance in the playing field because of education, would the child be equal to a capitalist or a professional on the higher rungs of the social ladder?

Although the values of unity and self-sacrifice are lauded and necessary for emancipation, the ends are unclear: is it to work towards social equality or inequality? The poem “*Paglutas sa Krisis*” written by Nilda Madigalejos (1991), a health worker and secretary of a chapter of the CML, is one such poem. This poem bewails the lack of unity among the poor people (“*Hirap na ang ating mga loob, di pa rin/ nagkakaisa ang tao sa kapaligiran*”). Like the poems of Arni Mercado, this poem also sees children as a motivation for instigating social change (“*Kapag nakikita ko ang aking mga anak/*

at mga bata sa paligid/ lalong lumalakas ang loob na baguhin/ ang kanilang kalagayan/ pag-asa'y sumisilay, unti-unting napapawi/ ang ulap sa aking isipan."). The poem enumerates the qualities needed for dealing with life:

*Katulad ng kasabihang
 ang bawat problema'y may kalutasan
 ito ang gabay sa aking gawain araw-araw.
 Hindi lang sa pagdadasal
 at pagtirik ng kandila ang kalutasan
 higit na mahalaga ang ating pagkilos,
 paggamit ng talino sa kabutihan
 at ng sipag, tibay ng loob, pag-uunawaan
 at kapitbisig na paglutas sa krisis na dinaraan.
 Ganyan tayong mga maralita
 nakatanaw sa bukangliwayway. (19)*

It decries the traditional metaphysical values of passively waiting for divine powers to help them out with their abject conditions ("*Hindi lang sa pagdadasal/ at pagtirik ng kandila ang kalutasan*"), and instead affirms human agency for solving one's problems ("*higit na mahalaga ang ating pagkilos*"). Nonetheless, the goal towards this unity is ambiguous as it could mean that the "*bukang liwayway*" in the offing will come with changes in the current system of exploitation. However, it does not implicitly state for what ends "*paggamit ng talino sa kabutihan/ at ng sipag, tibay ng loob, pag-uunawaan*" would be used. What kind of resolution to the crisis is being envisioned? Such values as "*paggamit ng talino sa kabutihan/ at ng sipag, tibay na loob, pag-uunawaan/ at kapitbisig na paglutas sa krisis na dinaraan*" and the symbol of a new dawn ("*Ganyan tayong mga maralita nakatanaw sa bukangliwayway.*") has also been part of the rhetoric of "traditional politicians" in promoting a false unity between the masses and these politicians, who speak of the their dignity and labor without exposing

the workings of the capitalist system that oppresses them (Madigalejos 1991, 19). Such tactics would ally the interests of the working class with the politicians and lead the masses to unknowingly consent to their exploitation.

Finding joy in one's simple work is depicted in the poem "*Ang Abaloryo*" by Dolores D. Samadio (1991), a writer for the local newspaper "*Babae*" and a member of CML in Kamias, Quezon City. The poem hails the beading of a *step-in* (footwear), which according to a footnote, is "a traditional craft that is fast dying" (24). The poem shows the dignity of one's labor and the beauty of the craft ("*Pag-aabaloryo'y nakagiliwan/ malipasan man ako ng gutom/ may engganyo ang kulay nito'y nakahahalina/ dilaw, berde, puti at pula/ may fake na perlas pang kasama*"). Bead-making is also shown to empower the persona through the art of creation, and the poem also lauds the virtues that come even from simple labors:

*Dumaan ang araw, buwan at taon
ang pag-aabaloryo lagi nang kapiling
iba't ibang disensyo ang aking nalilikha
iba't ibang tao sa akin ay humahanga.
Oo nga't kaunti ang kita
pero, huwag maliitin: sukatin ito ng sipag at
tiyaga
nakalilibang, malayo sa intriga, kumikita pa.
(Samadio 1991, 23)*

Pride in one's work is an indication of fulfillment derived from one's "life activity". Yet Marx himself said that alienation is the condition of workers in a capitalist society, and even one's work is alienated from the worker. Thus, the worker is alienated from the product of her labor, her fellow human beings, her "life activity," and therefore, from her "species-being" or what precisely makes her human. It is from within this framework that one can see the limitations of the viewpoint of the poem's persona.

The extolment of the positive values (such as industriousness) masks the exploitation that comes with the low pay for work ("*Oo nga't kaunti ang kita*"). In fact, work is shown as pleasure *despite* the low income received, yet it remains "alienated" labor. The worker is deluded into accepting that her work is good. Such joy and dignity in labor is enough – "*nakalilibang, malayo sa intriga, kumikita pa*" (Samadio 1991, 23).

The critique of capital is clear in "*Sa Pagkamulat Ko*" by Amada de la Cruz, vice-president of CML in Manresa. This poem records the conditions of poverty experienced by several generations – from her parents to her own children – in spite of her parents' hard work ("*Minsan, isang araw, aking nagisnan/ sa pagkakatitig ko sa kapaligiran/ sa hirap ng buhay na aking pinagmulan/ ang paghihikahos ng aking magulang. // Dumating ang araw, ako'y lumaki na/ ako'y nagkaisip, ganap nang dalaga/ magpahanggang ngayon na may pamilya/ paghihikahos ay taglay-taglay pa.*"). In the end, she locates the roots of oppression – the foreign imperialists:

*Di ko maubos-isip ang kapaligiran
 masisipag naman ang aking magulang
 kung saan nag-uugat ang aming kahirapan
 ang siya ko ngayo'y natuklasan.*

*Tayo't magkapit-kamay at magsamasama
 ating itayo ang panibagong EDSA
 nang bayang Pilipinas lumaya na
 sa pagkagapos sa dayuhang imperyalista. (25)*

The next two stanzas praise her comrades for awakening her consciousness (*pagkamulat*), which leads her to impart her newfound knowledge and encourage the continuance of the struggle:

*Utang ko sa mga kasama ang pagkamulat
ang pagkagising ko ay lubos at ganap
aking natutuhan at napag-aralan
maibabahagi ko sa iba, sa aming komunidad.*

*Mabuhay! Mabuhay ang mga kasama!
sa pagkakatutok sa linyang pangmasa
ating ipagdiwang ang nalalapit na
patuloy na paglahok sa pakikibaka. (De la Cruz
1991, 25)*

However, one must note of the symbolism of the “new EDSA” (“*panibagong EDSA*”), which she takes as the metaphor of a new country. While it could suggest unity in toppling the oppressors, it still maintains the current social order. The EDSA uprising kept the current system in place by installing a new set of comprador bourgeoisie (a class from the local ruling elite which acts as an intermediary of big foreign investors and multinational corporations) from the landlord class, which was still subservient to the dictates of the imperialists (Sison and Werning 1989, 131). The use of the EDSA metaphor could denote a unity that cuts across social classes, since the EDSA uprising also includes sectors from the middle and upper classes that have had enough of the Marcos dictatorship. It conceals antagonistic class interests, as the comprador bourgeoisie would benefit from these foreign imperialists.

The poems written by these grassroots women are liberating in that they equipped them with the forms of poetry for articulating their simple joys and woes. One of the writers from this collection said, “It is only now that we have learned to know ourselves as poets. We thought that [poetry] was only for the educated. But now that we have been able to create, we know that we have the ability to create. We feel a sense of empowerment” (qtd. in Anastacio 1991, vii). Self-expression through poetry,

which they previously had no access to due to their lack of formal education, has been embraced by them. These poems protest their current state of poverty and the patriarchy, yet still bear the contradictions and vestiges of a feudal ideology. While the protest against their abject conditions is detailed and clear, the resolutions to their problems are unclear. Nonetheless, these poems show a process of development in women writing from the grassroots: the awakening of their consciousness through community organizing and the expression of their wretched social conditions through poetry can be a first step towards their further emancipation.

Conclusion

The lifting of censorship after the end of the Marcos dictatorship in 1986 resulted in the awareness of activism, human rights, and social issues in both broadcast and print media. As products of the growing interest in women's issues during the 1990s, *Laya* and *Pangarap at Hinagpis* were groundbreaking publications and among the first to publish Filipino grassroots women, whose poems were raw expressions of the issues women from the grassroots faced. These publications were managed by members of GABRIELA, a women's organization established in 1984 to lead campaigns towards recognizing the double burden that women face because of their gender and social class. Among these are the unequal delegation of domestic work, lack of education, strained sexual relations, domestic violence, and sexual abuse.

Though some of the poems published reworked their own images of oppression and liberation, others did not have a clear call to action, or framed their resolutions through ambiguity. They did not interrogate the workings of capital and even suggest the maintenance of the existing social order.

Gelacio Guillermo and Edel Garcellano cautioned against idealizing peasant class and working-class poetry as exhibiting proletarian consciousness since they may still show “conservative strains”. Nonetheless, one’s consciousness is always subject to change, which the act of writing can articulate and develop.

These nascent efforts of women writers from the grassroots should be appreciated, nurtured, and developed. This can be done through the dual steps of continuous consciousness-raising on the roots of Filipino women’s oppression, community organizing among the grassroots women, and the solution and encouraging mentoring on the writing of the artistic requirements of poetry from these sectors as a particular literary form. By doing so, women writers from the grassroots could further pursue their emancipation by defining their own images of oppression and liberation.

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“MADNESS” IN PEASANT COMMUNITIES OF NORTH COTABATO, MINDANAO, PHILIPPINES

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ABSTRACT

Characterized by a recurring or permanent state of madness, chronic *bughat* is a common experience of women in North Cotabato, Mindanao, Philippines. This condition can render one's consciousness abnormal, especially for new mothers after giving birth. To further understand *bughat*, it is important to examine how peasant women understand their bodily processes; and how their bodies become a site of antagonistic elements, such as spirits, *hangin* (air), and power relations. In a rice-farming peasant community with close-knit family relations, *bughat* has become a transformative part of women's lives, hence postpartum care and treatment are practiced. Madness due to *bughat* is described and labelled in various local terms pointing to body parts that malfunction and which affects their capacity to fulfill their motherhood, household, and community roles. Although considered non-life-threatening, *bughat* has the capacity to alter not only women's physical and mental well-being but also their sense of personhood and womanhood.

Keywords: Madness, maternal health, Cotabato, Mindanao, peasant women, personhood

ABSTRAK

Inilalarawan bilang paulit-ulit o permanenteng estado ng pagkasira ng bait o kamalayan o ulirat, ang pabalik-balik na bughat ay pangkaraniwang danas ng mga kababaihan sa North Cotabato, Mindanao, Philippines. Ang kondisyong ito ay maaring magresulta sa abnormal na kamalayan o ulirat lalo na sa mga kababaihang unang beses nakaranas ng panganganak. Upang lubos na maintindihan ang bughat, mahalagang suriin kung papaano naiintindihan ng mga pesanteng kakababaihan ang mga proseso ng katawan, at kung papaanong nagiging lunan ng mga antagonistikong elemento ang katawan katulad ng espirito, hangin, at hindi pantay na relasyon sa kapangyarihan. Sa agrikultural at pesanteng lipunan kung saan mayroong malapit na relasyong pampamilya, may kakayahan ang bughat na mabago ang kalagayan ng mga kababaihan kaya't kinagawian ang pangangalaga at paggamot sa mga kababaihang kapapanganak pa lamang. Ang pagkasira ng bait o ng kamalayan o ulirat dahil sa bughat ay inilalarawan sa iba't ibang lokal na termino, ayon sa kung saang bahagi ng katawan ang apektado at nagiging balakid sa kanilang kapasidad na gampanan ang kanilang tungkulin bilang ina, sa pamamahay, at sa komunidad. Kahit na itinuturing bilang hindi banta sa buhay, mayroong kapasidad ang bughat na baguhin hindi lamang ang pisikal at mental na kagalingan ng mga kababaihan, mayroon din itong kakayahan na baguhin ang kanilang pagkatao at pagkababae.

Keywords: *Pagkasira ng bait, maternal health, Cotabato, Mindanao, kababaihang magsasaka, pagkatao*

Introduction

Women farmers and peasants in communities of North Cotabato, Mindanao experience¹ abnormal bodily behaviors that are often accompanied with changes in their mental well being. This condition brings mental incapacity that results in low performance and engagement levels in productive and reproductive work and community affairs. They have the tendency to display socially unacceptable behaviors. For the community, these conditions are the physical manifestations of what they refer to as *bughat*.

Hart (1965) wrote one of the earliest studies that mentioned *bughat*, describing it as the “most common danger” faced by women “after a normal delivery”, a “sort of postpartum depression” (Guthrie et al 1990), and “a postpartum illness that is feared” (Marshall 2001). The new mother may feel “dizzy and her whole body aches” (Hart 1965, 69-70). Years later, in studies written by Lieban (1978, 1983, 1992), the gendered dimension of *bughat* was underscored and he considered it as a “female ailment” (Lieban 1978, 106) that is related to women’s reproductive system. Women face high risks due to *bughat* experienced in the postpartum stage as childbirth “stretches the muscles of the mother, loosening the ‘nuts and bolts of her body,’ thereby, lowering her resistance to disease from then on” (Lieban 1983, 856). Lieban also argued that *bughat* is a woman’s “wounds of virtue” (1992, 185) due to her multiple roles as a woman. In a study done by Marshall (2001) in a farming community in Negros Occidental, he found out that *bughat* is prevalent among women in low

¹ North Cotabato refers to the Province of Cotabato in Region 12. I will be using North Cotabato in this paper since this is commonly used by the people to delineate North and South Cotabato.

socioeconomic status where unequal gender relations are also stark.

Bughat can further be defined using a Cebuano-Visayan Dictionary where it is described as “sickness which results from leaving a sickbed or rising from childbirth too early, or from the return of a disease” (Wolff 1972, 153) or having a relapse. The Philippine Traditional Knowledge Digital Library on Health (see <http://www.tkdiph.com/index.php>) listed *bughat* as a local ailment, a term used by Hanunuo indigenous group in Mindoro, peoples in Zamboanga in Mindanao, and in Siquijor to refer to a combination of symptoms that include body malaise, insomnia, severe headache, and weakness commonly felt after birth or recurrence of an illness just before full recovery. Among the Tagalog-speaking communities in the Philippines, *bughat* is translated as *binat* and it usually happens when a person who is still recovering from an illness has performed a rather heavy and tedious labor (Tan 2008). It also refers to the recurrence of an illness because of hunger, consuming prohibited food, or overworking in the field (Cabotaje 1971; Fernandez and Guthrie 1984; Payne 1985). This particular meaning of *bughat* emphasizes the vulnerability of both men and women (Lieban 1992) of suffering from such condition.

In Mindanao, indigenous peoples and Islamic communities refer to the same condition as *bughat*. The Obo Manobo in North Cotabato identifies it as *nosennat*; the Tagabawa Bagobo in Davao del Sur uses *sinnit* (Payne 1985) and *sinnat* (Paluga et al. 2013); and the Maguindanaoan-speaking people calls it *nalukat* to describe and explain their experiences of the said condition. In a separate study, I described the five types of *bughat* by examining the varying causes, chronicity, intensity, and duration experienced by different women in rice-farming communities in North Cotabato (see

Millondaga 2018). Common *bughat* refers to a state of recurring ill-health; *bughat sa pagbata* is ill-health associated with pregnancy and childbirth; *bughat sa kusog* is related to the exhaustion of physical bodies after working endlessly in the field; *bughat sa gutom* relates to irregular eating habits and hunger in rice-farming communities; and *bughat tingag* is considered an extreme and chronic type that causes madness commonly experienced by women going through postpartum depression. To understand *bughat*, I argue that it is necessary to locate this bodily phenomenon in the multiple intersecting roles of women as mothers, wives, and farmers in peasant communities that are the offshoot of their economic and cultural situation.

This paper is based on data drawn from my graduate thesis *Suffering Bughat: Gender, Class, and Patriarchy in an Ilonggo Community in North Cotabato, Mindanao* (Millondaga 2017). It will discuss what it means for peasant women in rice farming communities to experience and to suffer from the bodily condition labelled as *bughat*. Although *bughat* is experienced by both women and men, this paper emphasizes the severity of women’s *bughat* as their experiences are more chronic and normalized; and their suffering only becomes visible when they reach the state of madness. It will also scrutinize the enduring importance of traditional care as a strategy to overcome this condition on one hand, and how these treatment/remedies normalized their *bughat* condition, on the other. Furthermore, the idioms people use to describe chronic *bughat* will be discussed as these point to their lay understanding of madness and bodily processes as well as their feelings and emotions in uncertain periods. Finally, the paper will emphasize chronic *bughat* as an embodied disruption (Manderson 2010) that has the

capacity to redefine one's sense of personhood and femininity and the *embodiment* [emphasis mine] of suffering in peasant communities.

The concept of embodied disruption (Manderson 2010) is crucial in explaining *bughat*. Embodied disruption refers to normalized bodily dysfunctions that is part of women's biological processes. Embodied disruption places emphasis on the body as a site of illness that is shaped by one's biology (sex) and society (gender). Among women, bodily dysfunctions are often interpreted as normal biological processes, which in turn reinforce women's femininity and gender expectations. For example, women are expected to menstruate and the associated pain due to dysmenorrhea and menstrual cramps are normalized given the products available in the market to remedy the condition. Menstruation and the associated discomfort serve to reinforce as well as "unsettles women's own sense of womanhood and femininity" (Manderson 2010, 96). Some examples of normalized bodily dysfunctions are early menopause, menstrual cramps, dysmenorrhea, polycystic ovary syndrome (PCOS), and breastfeeding failure that are treated as non-life-threatening conditions but cause unpleasant, debilitating, and lifelong bodily effects among women. These however, also redefine what people consider as normal or abnormal bodily functions.

Bughat is seen as women's normal and natural bodily reaction to pregnancy and childbirth. It is an embodied disruption similar to, and at the same time different from how it was described by Manderson (2010). Manderson (2010) focused her attention on bodily dysfunctions that are often diagnosed by medical practitioners and addressed through medication or medical procedures, while *bughat* is a label used by women to name their own condition.

Unlike Manderson’s (2010) Australian examples where medical infrastructure is readily available to diagnose their condition, women in peasant communities encounter difficulty in accessing medical diagnosis. Gender expectations influence women to endure their condition, and with social and familial support, they explore any available curative measures to address it. Furthermore, Manderson (2010) analyzed embodied disruptions that are often individualized or personalized but *bughat* is an embodied disruption due to the compounding results of internal (physical changes of the body due to pregnancy and childbirth) and external (such as work, natural elements, social productivity, etc.) elements. It can be argued, therefore, that *bughat* is a form of embodied disruption caused by both biological and social elements, made visible when externally manifested such as “madness”.

Lastly, rather than “forcing detours in women’s imagined biographies” (Manderson 2010, 102-103) *bughat* as a form of embodied disruption is a normalized trajectory. Women’s *bughat* is often explained as an expected reaction of the female body to pregnancy and childbirth, influential in redefining one’s sense of personhood and womanhood. Personhood is processual (Bulloch 2016) and a “social status granted - in varying degrees - to those who meet (or perform) socially sanctioned criteria for membership” (Conklin and Morgan 1996 as cited by Bulloch 2016, 196). Pregnancy and childbirth mark certain social status and expectations, while the postpartum stage is marked with complex emotions due to the danger and constant threat of developing *bughat*. These stages shape womanhood and is further validated as women develop *bughat* along with its disruptive, debilitating, and lifelong effects. The normalcy of *bughat* is expressed through gendered idioms. In this sense, *bughat* challenges their wellbeing but it also affirms personhood as a woman and as a

mother. *Bughat* completes rather than “forcing detours in women’s imagined biographies” (Manderson 2010, 102-103).

Studies conducted that emphasized specific bodily conditions threatening women’s wellbeing were done by several women anthropologists. For example, Skidmore (2002) analyzed *miyet yawga* (which loosely translates into “women’s illness”) among Burmese, which is connected to blood flow that could lead to madness and death. *Miyet yawga* is conditioned by the hardships faced by women and exacerbated by the political climate and poverty in Burma. Moreover, Scheper-Hughes’ (1988) exploration of *nervios* or *nervos* as a cultural idiom of madness due to hunger in the Brazilian shantytown, Clark’s (1989) study on *nevra* as an idiom of distress due to interpersonal conflict caused by the rapidly changing socioeconomic conditions of Greeks, and Oths’ (1999) Andean illness named *debilidad* that refers to accumulated productive and reproductive stresses are just few of the examples. Similar to these studies, the emphasis on *bughat* offers an understanding of bodily condition as articulated by women. However, unlike the previous assertion of Lieban (1978), it seems *bughat* is more than a “female ailment” as its etiologies coalesce with several factors (e.g., productive and reproductive roles, natural elements, etc.) and its occurrence is foreseen especially in the postpartum period.

Field Site, History, and the People of Mindanao

Mindanao is home to several indigenous peoples and Islamic groups. At the early 1900s, in the height of American colonial intervention in the country, several land and resettlement policies were implemented in Mindanao. One of the policies implemented by the Philippine colonial government and American military

officials included the migration and resettlement of landless peasants from Luzon and Visayas to curb the looming peasant unrest. With a promise of fertile lands to own on the assumption that lands in Mindanao were unoccupied, the Philippine colonial government distributed lands to the settlers (see Cabotaje 1976; Campado 2005; Kramer 2006; Ragsag 2020; Rodil 1994; Tadem 2012). The resettlement programs were used by the government to incorporate the Muslim-dominated and indigenous peoples inhabited territories to mainstream politics using the migrants (Abinales 2020; Kramer 2006; Rodil 1994). The government-sponsored resettlement programs were then followed by individuals, particularly family members and village folks of first settlers, who used their own resources to resettle. The pattern of migration is consistent with linguistic groupings as migrants tend to settle in areas where people speak the same language.

The field site for this research is in Pigcawayan, a town in the Province of Cotabato, Region 12. Majority of the people in Pigcawayan are settlers from the islands of Luzon and Visayas. Although not part of South Cotabato in terms of political territory that is considered as “the heart of Ilonggo Empire” (Abinales 2020, 177), majority of the people in Pigcawayan are Hiligaynon/Ilonggo speakers who trace their lineage back to the islands of Panay and Negros in Visayas.

Bringing their knowledge and traditional practices, settlers changed the landscape of Mindanao. They became the dominant population, thereby determining the political, economic, and cultural processes in the area, displacing its original inhabitants including the Bangsamoro and indigenous peoples

who consider Mindanao as their ancestral domain^{2 3} (Cabotaje 1976; Rodil 1994; Campado 2005). At present, generations of *ugat-dayo* or people who are born in Mindanao whose ancestors are settlers (discussion with Lualhati Abreu, May 2017) continue to dominate the place. This dominance is often seen as the *ugat-dayo*'s leverage in terms of access to social services, economic success, and political influence. Upon closer scrutiny, however, these generations of *ugat-dayo* have different access to these privileges and are also differentiated socially and economically. Although settlers are living in the region that is considered as a "*palay-surplus producing area*" and "considered the traditional 'rice bowl' and one of the top two rice-producing regions in the country" (Tadem 2012, 21), poverty and landlessness are prevalent in the region.

Generations of *ugat-dayo* are agricultural farmers who usually work as tenants, maintainers, farm laborers, and *gapamugon* (which can be loosely translated as "gleaners"). Tenants have rights over the land and its produce; depending on their agreement with the landowner, they may finance the entire process of rice production including the costs of fertilizers, pesticides, and labor. When they do, a sharecropping method is practiced at a ratio of 4:1 - that is, four sacks of rice for the tenant and one sack for the landowner. Meanwhile, maintainers are farmers who cultivate the land, but they neither own nor have any right to the land they till. Maintainers do not finance the farm; it is the landowners who provide all the needed inputs and labor. Their role is to ensure that the farm is free from pests and weeds and that the field is properly irrigated. Every now and then, they report to the landowners to provide updates on the issues in the farm and the status of operations. Farm laborers rely on their labor,

² A collective identity referring to the Muslim peoples of Mindanao.

³ Refers to the ethnolinguistic groups in Mindanao.

for which the landowner, tenant, or maintainer pay P200.00 - P 250.00 per day every⁴ time they work. The ‘gleaners’ are mostly women and their children who collect loose rice or corn stalks leftover in the field after harvest.

The entire process of rice production from land preparation, direct rice seeding or transplanting, hand weeding to rice harvesting relies on the manual labor of men, women, and children. Landless women work as seasonal farmers when the demand for labor is high especially during transplanting, hand weeding, and harvesting. Women from poor households are compelled to work to meet the needs of the family even with low payment and backbreaking work. While they do participate in farm work to earn money, they also must fulfill their obligations in the household as mothers and wives and to participate in community affairs.

The lives of farmers are anchored to their farms and the state of their *palay* (rice). The common topics in conversations involve the state of *palay*, water ration in the irrigation, emerging pests, weather conditions, and the retail price of *palay* in the market. When harvest season is about to come, the availability of work declines; hence, the *konsumo* (food stocks for household consumption, such as rice) - except for the landed peasants and families - becomes depleted. In time of crisis, women have to be resourceful to sustain the basic needs of the family by asking credit from small sari-sari (variety) stores or from rich families, usually middle and rice traders. As a result, their next *palay* harvest serves as their collateral.

⁴ Roughly US \$4-\$5.

Method

The fieldwork began in August 2016 and concluded in January 2017. However, I identified information gaps during the writing and analysis stages, so I decided to conduct further research from April to June 2017. To commence the fieldwork, I sought permission and approval from the local officials of the municipality and *barangay*, the smallest administrative unit, the Municipal Rural Health Unit, and from every informant and their family members I interviewed.

During data gathering, I relied heavily on referrals from people I know. I grew up in Pigcawayan and I am well-versed in the Hiligaynon language spoken by the majority of settlers in the community. I am familiar with the terrain, and I have personal contacts in some *barangays* who assisted me in identifying possible informants. The RHU (Rural Health Unit) nurses and midwives also allowed me to join them during their scheduled immunization in the *barangays*. They introduced me to the Barangay Health Workers (BHWs) and Barangay Nutrition Scholar (BNS) who were helpful in introducing me to possible informants. However, some of the people in the communities mistook me as a Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD) worker who will interview possible 4Ps (cash aid) beneficiaries. To avoid any confusion, I clarified that I was conducting research on chronic *bughat* in the community before proceeding to the key informant interviews and focus group discussions.

I conducted key informant interviews with women and men in the community to understand and consolidate the narratives of those who had suffered and are still suffering from chronic *bughat*. I focused the interviews on their diverse experiences of *bughat*, from the onset to its development, and the traditional cures

they chose to use to address their condition. Aside from those who suffered from *bughat*, I also conversed with their social network, including their immediate family members, neighbors, assigned Barangay Health Workers, and several traditional healers in the community. Alongside key informant interviews, I also conducted focus group discussions among women and mothers to assimilate their experiences and to classify the various degrees of *bughat*. All the interviews were recorded, with the permission of the informants, and were later transcribed for analysis and documentation. From the transcriptions, I analyzed the themes that emerged.

Men and women readily share their *bughat* condition as it is not an uncommon topic. They would comfortably narrate their experiences to the people they know whether they are in crowded marketplaces and public utility vehicles or playing cards during an afternoon siesta. Through this sense of receptiveness, I can say that almost everyone in the community knew someone who suffered from chronic *bughat*. Perhaps, this can also be linked to the natural mobility of farmers and agricultural workers who tend to temporarily relocate from one barangay to another, wherever work is accessible and available. Similar to Farmer's (2004) account of his patients in Haiti, perhaps, talking in public is one of their coping mechanisms in periods of uncertainty and ill-health.

Knowing and interviewing the family members of those who are still suffering from chronic *bughat* is entirely different from conversing with men and women who were able to overcome their *bughat*. On the one hand, the atmosphere was light during the conversations with people whose experiences with *bughat* were mild; they were eager to share their stories and even smiled at the remembrance of their experiences. On the other

hand, those whose family members are experiencing chronic *bughat* showed hints of regret, guilt, shame, and agony in succumbing to the condition, despite remaining hopeful that their condition will soon improve. Clearly, going through *bughat* enables a person to reassess their assumptions about women's pregnancy, childbirth, and motherhood and men's innate and lifelong physical strength.

***Bughat, hangin,* and the disruption of bodily functions**

When a person suffers from a cycle of good and ill health with the same signs and symptoms, or an illness springs from an old illness, it is considered *bughat*. Men experience this kind of *bughat* due to over fatigue, while young children are also susceptible to it when they start to play outside while they are still recovering from an illness. Moreover, a person who got sick after a tooth extraction is said to be *nabughat*. It is an indication that a person did heavy work and was exposed to the heat of the sun for an extended number of hours.

Based on previous studies and my fieldwork, *bughat* among women is often perceived as a natural and normal reaction of women's bodies to physical changes brought about by pregnancy and childbirth. Pregnancy and childbirth mark a transitional state to women's bodies and being. However, during this transitional stage, women are further burdened by their lifelong susceptibility to *bughat*.

There are varying degrees of suffering *bughat*. In this paper, I describe mild and chronic *bughat* and its effects on the body that lead to disruptions. *Bughat* is considered mild when few body parts are affected. It starts to alarm people when *bughat* cripples the body

and consciousness, and the afflicted person may start to behave differently, having the tendency to get physical, hysterical, and mad. By then, *bughat* is already perceived as chronic and the sufferers are temporarily considered unproductive members of the household and society.

May-may, a 26-year-old mother of two, had experienced tolerating her *bughat* for several months until she could no longer bear it. She went to a traditional midwife in the neighboring village who “pushed” her uterus back into position. The traditional midwife explained that May-may’s *bughat* was due to her displaced uterus, which can only be treated by massaging her stomach and abdomen. In truth, May-may intentionally does not seek help from the traditional midwife, because she believes putting her uterus back in its original position would increase her chances of getting pregnant, which she does not want to happen. Along with other women, May-may believes that pregnancy and childbirth alter their bodies, making them vulnerable to *bughat*. Aside from this, there are also other physical changes that many women tend to ignore after delivery such as hollowness of their stomach, searing pain in the head, and weakening of the body. All these changes constitute a challenge that demands women’s bodies to return to their original state, that is before pregnancy in order to avoid *bughat*.

In terms of chronic *bughat*, Tata, who is also a mother of two, has been experiencing recurring *bughat* since her first childbirth. Whenever her *bughat* recurs, she cannot remember anything after. During her lucid state, people would say that she looked like skin and bones as she refused to eat anything. In one of her more distressing episodes, Tata uttered, “if I am going to put my child inside the washing machine, what will happen to her?” She even frantically danced in their house’s balcony where many people saw her. She also talks gibberish and suddenly screams and cries.

In some cases, women tell of experiencing *hangin* (air) forcefully entering their body. This illness-causing *hangin* enters the body through its openings - including the skin pores, vagina, or anus - and slowly moves to extremities such as hands, legs, abdomen, and the solar plexus. If not suppressed, the *hangin* goes to the head and brain, resulting in one's loss of consciousness and in several cases, causes madness among women and men. Men admitted that they also experience the *hangin* moving from their solar plexus to their head. However, compared to women, they only feel it when they are already ill. The *hangin* can also influence women to delay sexual activity for three months after childbirth. They explained that sex allows the entry of *hangin* through their vagina. This rule of delaying sex is possible for the new mothers whose husbands are not drunkards or abusive and are instead understanding of their situation. However, it is not the case for every woman. It is challenging for those whose partners are abusive and force them to have sex. In this case, the new mothers cannot resist, thus violating their self-imposed delay of sexual activity and increasing their susceptibility to *bughat*. Moreover, the illness-causing wind affects women's choices in determining what family planning method to use. Women believe that the *hangin* trapped inside the condom has a possibility of bursting inside their vagina and can turn them *anga-anga* (crazy). The same belief applies to the withdrawal method as it allows the passage of air through their vagina. Women are apprehensive about using condom and withdrawal as methods in family planning. Those who claimed that they are on the verge of losing their sanity start to feel the accumulation of the illness-causing *hangin* in their abdomen/solar plexus, which, in turn, spoils their appetite that ultimately incapacitates them and their productivity. The emphasis of *hangin* in their solar plexus is associated with the hollowed or emptied

abdomen after childbirth and instances of hunger. However, when *hangin* reaches the head, the sufferers may eventually lose their sanity and consciousness. *Hangin* has the capacity to segmentize the body by fragmenting certain body parts that interrupt the whole body's functions and biological processes. Despite knowing the ill effects of *hangin*, *bughat* sufferers resort to available and accessible remedies as the body is their only tool to participate in rice-farming activities and earn money.

Treatment and the enduring importance of postpartum care

In rice-farming communities that continue to rely on manual labor, pregnancy and childbirth are cultural expectations that women must conform to. Pregnancy and childbirth are desired but it becomes undesirable as it also increases women's susceptibility to *bughat*. The phrase "*pag mabata, mabughat ka man gid sina*" (once she gives birth, she will have *bughat*) captures women's sentiment. Interestingly, *bughat* and even madness due to *bughat* are considered normal and even foreseen compared to other forms of madness (such as but not limited to illegal drug abuse) which are frowned upon. The expectation that women develop *bughat* at the postpartum stage, following Manderson (2010), is normalized. Pregnancy and childbirth are the most "transformative times in a woman's life" and the "most complex and vulnerable period" (Meltzer-Brody et al. 2018, 1). In Asian countries, the postpartum stage is marked by vulnerability of women to certain illnesses, causing pressure among women to observe several postpartum practices (Skidmore 2002; Winters et al. 2017). Thus, pregnancy and childbirth are key in understanding, diagnosing, and treating *bughat*.

Bughat, especially chronic *bughat*, can only develop in pregnancies or postpartum. The use of birth control is widely encouraged by health workers but the most accessible is the use of contraceptives. While contraceptives can prevent the recurrence of *bughat* by reducing the chance of pregnancies, it only burdens women as they need to restrict their physical and reproductive functions and needs. The use of contraceptives is also negotiated, with women making the decisions. They frequently choose women-centered contraception such as pills, IUD (intrauterine device), DMPA (Medroxyprogesterone acetate or commonly known as Depo-Provera), and LAM (lactational amenorrhea method). Therefore, as traditional postpartum practices and use of contraceptives protect women, these also emphasize and normalize *bughat* as a naturally occurring condition among women.

If pregnancies are not prevented, women themselves and health workers try to make their pregnancy healthy, especially for those who are known to have recurring *bughat* during their previous pregnancies. This is also connected to the social assistance given to women who are the primary beneficiaries of the *Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program*⁵ –a conditional cash transfer scheme that aims to alleviate the situation of poor Filipino families in terms of health, nutrition, and education by providing small health and cash grants every two months. To avail of these benefits, women must meet the conditions set by the government, such as but not limited to “pregnant women must avail of pre- and post-natal care and be attended during childbirth by a trained professional.”

⁵ Popularly known as 4Ps, this program is implemented by the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD). The conditional cash transfer is inspired by Latin American and African models (Official Gazette, <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/programs/conditional-cash-transfer/>).

The uncertainty of the postpartum stage marked by several cases of unwell mental condition and abnormal behavior encourages women to continue the observance of postpartum practices. In Whittaker’s (1999) account in Northeast Thailand, women resort to traditional postpartum practices as an assertion of their cultural and feminine identity amid the influence of biomedicine and facility-based birth. The continuing observance of postpartum practices has a symbolic significance, a rite of passage that marks women’s mature identity. In Pigcawayan, the adherence to traditional postpartum practices is cost efficient and readily available for women to prevent the development of chronic *bughat*. New and first-time mothers still stress the importance of observing traditional postpartum practices such as *panubangan*. *Panubangan* (from the root word *subang*, meaning first or eldest) reintroduces women’s bodies to housework and food as childbirth marks a new phase in women’s reproductive and productive roles. They only do light housework and eat small amounts of food that are known to cause *bughat*. They also observe post-delivery bath, steam bath, whole body massage, and postpartum sex prohibition. Post-delivery bath, steam bath, and the whole body massage are observed for seven to thirty days after delivery. The processes start when a woman takes her first bath of water mixed with decocted herbal plants called *himughat*. The new mother is wrapped in a blanket and positioned over a pot filled with *himughat*, and a TBA or family member will slowly open the pot so the vapor enters her vagina. The vapor is said to have properties that inhibit the development of *bughat*. She is not allowed to go outside to avoid the *hangin* and she must keep herself wide awake to prevent the vapor from concentrating in her eyes and possibly cause blindness. To keep her from sleeping, family members and neighbors gather in her house to play cards, gossip, or watch a television show. This is an act of solidarity

among women who know the ill-effects of *bughat* to their bodies, a social reinforcement of normalizing *bughat* as embodied disruption. In the evening, just before sleeping, the traditional birth assistant (TBA) massages the woman's body to remove all the dirt, repositions her reproductive organ, and helps relax her body. This three-stage process allows women's bodies to heal and prevent *bughat*. In a steam bath, the patient wraps her head with a blanket (to trap the smoke) and leans her head over the glowing coal and the suspected cause (e.g., jackfruit, fish bones) to inhale the smoke. She is expected to sweat which is taken as a sign of recovery. *Himughat* is another curative resort that sufferers drink whenever *bughat* recurs; it is made from fresh or dried traditional herbal plants saturated in a tonic wine. The herbal plants can be purchased in the market or collected by those who are experts in identifying the herbal plants to be used. *Himughat* is a tradition shared among neighbors who have suffered from *bughat*, and in a way, brings them together. An abdominal girdle/binder is tied around the stomach whenever mothers feel the *hangin* enter their bodies to prevent it from moving to their head. Women also rely on over-the-counter analgesics, such as Saridon (Bayer) and Gardan (Sanofi Aventis), that are said to cure *bughat*. These analgesics have attained the stature of only curing *bughat* and the community believes their use is only for women. The diagnosis and treatment of *bughat* may be sought from traditional healers, *surhano* (derivative of the term surgeon), traditional midwives, and masseuse/masseur. Nowadays, mothers, in-laws, friends, neighbors, and the sufferers themselves have become more attentive to the signs and symptoms of *bughat*. As such, other people can be influential in shaping women's treatment.

Those who are suffering from *bughat* do not seek doctors' intervention to treat their condition. They understand that modern medical practitioners do not

recognize *bughat* as a medical and health concern. “They do not know what *bughat* is” is a common sentiment. Some *bughat* sufferers who consult with medical doctors are only given medicines to treat severe headaches and body pains.

Nurses and midwives are the main actors in monitoring the health and well-being of pregnant and postpartum women. Those who have resources to consult medical doctors do so in the municipal center or in adjacent towns. Women who have the capacity to seek medical help are diagnosed with postpartum depression or postpartum psychosis. They are prescribed medicines that can calm them and aid with sleep. However, most women stop their medication whenever they start to feel better, thereby experiencing relapse. In a study conducted by Yamashita et al. (2015), maternal services and the women’s knowledge of women to postpartum health issues remain substantially low in the Philippines contributing to high maternal mortality rate in the country. Information about these services is also minimal⁶ (Yamashita et al. 2014; Yamashita et al. 2015), meaning women tend to delay postpartum services until their condition is severe.

⁶ In the Philippines, the Department of Health (DOH) implemented Administrative Order 2008-0029⁶ (Implementing Health Reforms for Rapid Reduction of Maternal and Neonatal Mortality) and was updated in 2011 as Maternal, Newborn, and Child Health and Nutrition strategy to reduce the high maternal and infant mortality rate in the country (H. Res 236; World Health Organization Regional Office for the Western Pacific 2018). In effect, traditional birth attendants (TBA) who narrated that they were trained by the government and international Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) are no longer allowed to assist pregnant women in home deliveries. Several local government units in the Philippines, including Pigcawayan, passed their own ordinance prohibiting home deliveries in 2014. In Pigcawayan, Ordinance Number 2012-03 or An Ordinance Setting the Guideline in the Operation of Birthing Center of the Municipality of Pigcawayan, North Cotabato, roughly outlines the implementation of the basic maternal and newborn health care. Two of the prohibited acts stated are 1) Home delivery handled by unskilled birth attendants; 2) Attendance of delivery by Traditional Birth Attendant (TBA) or *mananabang* with corresponding penalty.

Hospitals and modern medical interventions are important in addressing madness as well as in achieving overall well-being. But it is important to recognize that women seldom see medical experts because they do not have enough cash at their disposal to do so. Hospitalization only becomes an option once the available traditional cures have been exhausted, the sufferers could no longer bear their condition, and the illness has turned chronic. In order to manage the expenses, poor farmers turn to micro-finance companies, their relatives, or rice traders. They ask for loans which they must pay back on a daily or weekly basis or during the harvest season with corresponding interest. According to one informant, “Most of those who experience *bughat* are the poor.” Poverty places poor men and women in a more susceptible situation for illness.

Traditional postpartum practices emphasize the agency of women to control their bodies during an uncertain stage as well as underscores the protection needed to prevent and cure *bughat*. The continuing adherence to traditional postpartum practices attests to the normalization of embodied disruptions on one hand and signifies women’s susceptibility to *bughat* that could alter as well as affirm their sense of womanhood.

Inheriting *bughat*, inheriting embodied disruptions

The normalization of *bughat* as embodied disruptions is reinforced through a shared suffering and experience of the family. A family might admit that *bughat* is not normal if only to free themselves from taking care of the *bughat* sufferer by confining her to a health or mental facility, however, they take part in normalizing her condition thinking that it will soon pass if they help manage the most severe symptoms.

Having several family members who start to act violently and display deviant behavior due to chronic *bughat* may develop a feeling of shame among the family. This is rooted in a belief that their genes is already tainted with madness, which can be inherited.⁷

Anna takes care of her mother who, like several others in the family, is suffering from chronic *bughat*. Her three siblings and other relatives are also suffering from recurring *bughat* and she fears that she might succumb to the same condition. To monitor her mother's movement, food intake, and personal hygiene, several family members helped in constructing a small makeshift house adjacent to their home. Most of the time, her mother only stays in the premises of the house. On rare days when she seems well, she sits outside on a wooden chair, singing mixed-up lullabies. When Anna gave birth to her firstborn child, she came to understand her mother, relatives, and siblings, especially when she started experiencing severe and permanently occurring headaches. "All I wanted to do was close my eyes... It was very painful. It occurred several times. I was afraid I would go crazy," she said. She thought it was just a simple case of migraine until her neighbor explained that these are signs of *bughat*.

Anna shared that her "mother has it in her genes." One of her mother's siblings also had *bughat*, but she died because she could no longer bear it. Anna added, "she was extremely trembling, maybe...because of her veins." Chronic *bughat* is believed to be passed down biologically from one generation to another, especially when two or more family members have gone mad due to *bughat*.

⁷ Here, the informant used the term *lahi*, which can be loosely translated to race. In this context, *lahi* refers to genes or bloodline.

In communities where state services are lacking, family members are expected to take care of the ill. They help raise some funds for medical expenses and share their knowledge in addressing the condition. Even if they do not live nearby, family members consult traditional healers and medical doctors about their relative's situation. Moreover, the entire village is also instrumental in taking care of the ill. Neighbors and community members actively assist the household by suggesting possible medications and recommending traditional healers. They also take notice of the whereabouts of chronic *bughat* sufferers who wander around. Everyone is involved in ensuring one's well-being and safety, which strengthens good relations in the community.

However, in the domestic arena, family members are also burdened by the recurrence of chronic *bughat*. In a separate study, I also suggested that sufferers are locked or chained inside their homes to prevent them from wandering away. Drug dependents with symptoms of psychosis are also chained inside the house. Similar to the condition of poor families in Cape Town, South Africa (MacGregor 2018), care by members of the household is the only possible option of poor peasants in the absence of state facility or community-based resources. The responses of each household may not be ideal, but these are the only methods available to poor families. Moreover, the recurring condition of chronic *bughat* and the inability to predict when the state of health returns to normal also place the family in a state of uncertainty. It disrupts the households as *bughat* consumes everyone's energy, time, and resources to respond to their needs. Following Gammeltoft (2018), the postpartum period affected by *bughat* shapes the domestic mood as the maternal condition and household state coalesce. The assumption that the household and the domestic arena can respond to the

needs of the mentally ill person is a “romanticized view of the resilience of kin-based care” (MacGregor 2018). In peasant communities, poor women do not have the luxury to be ill for a long time, since it is not economical for people whose access to health care is also limited. As pregnancy and childbirth have the tendency to “exacerbate pre-existing family problems” (Edhborg et al. 2015), this is even more so in cases of chronic and lifelong *bughat* conditions.

Understanding ‘madness’

Chronic *bughat* sufferers are described using different terms including *buang* (mad, insane, lunatic), *nalisuan utok* (twisted brains), *tingkuling* (crazy), *nasudlan sang hangin* (struck by the wind), *naluag ang turnilyo* (screws loose), *nawad-an sang animo* (lost consciousness), and *anga-anga* (crazy). These labels consider *bughat* sufferers as machine-like components, e.g., twisted brains, screws loose, considering certain body parts are loosened or out of place. Similarly, the expressions *nalisuan utok* (twisted brain) and *nawad-an sang animo* (lost consciousness) also refer to the fragmentation of the body, while *buang*, *tingkuling*, and *anga-anga* are descriptions of people who behave, act, and talk differently. Among these expressions, the influence of *hangin* and its intrusiveness is also evident, i.e., *nasudlan sang hangin*.

Eliciting local understanding of madness (MacGregor 2018) allows us to grasp how *bughat* and its associated expressions seem to turn body parts into portions of a machine, similar to the way agricultural workers perceive their body through their labor as tools that run the entire process of rice production (Millondaga 2018). These expressions also indicate the importance placed by people on certain body

parts such as the head, solar plexus, consciousness, and brain that need to be properly nourished, taken care of, and protected to function properly. The once integrated and operating body disintegrates into loose parts. Women who have *bughat* are considered “mad” and malfunctioning, hence, unable to participate in production, redefining people’s sense of personhood.

The expressions mentioned above are also used to describe people who are insane regardless of reasons, such as illegal-drug use. However, insanity/madness due to illegal-drug use receives less sympathy compared to the support and understanding given to chronic *bughat* sufferers. Perhaps, insanity/madness due to *bughat* seems normal since it is deemed customary and easy to accept and justify.

The recurring and persisting *bughat* also informs us what a chronic illness (Manderson 2012) means in peasant communities. Specifically, new mothers and postpartum women who begin to experience *bughat* must endure their condition because it is perceived as a normal bodily reaction to pregnancy and childbirth. Gender expectations among new mothers compel them to take care of their bodies, be mindful of their activities, and be watchful of their food intake during postpartum recovery. They are also expected to reverse the ill effects of *bughat* mainly on their own although other women’s help is given right after childbirth. Rather than looking at the complex condition of *bughat* sufferers, the dominant community view of *bughat* is that it is a mere biological and normal reaction to pregnancy and childbirth that adds burden to women. It can only be labelled as chronic when *bughat* sufferers start to display deviant behavior and unwell mental states and traditional cures could no longer address the condition, crippling their productivity and capacity to participate in community and livelihood activities.

Conclusion

Bughat is a physical condition embodied through recollection and inscribed in one’s body through diverse experiences and forms of redress. Although experienced by both women and men, *bughat* challenges our preconceived notions of what are normal or abnormal bodily processes and reactions. In particular, women’s *bughat* is anticipated and seen as a normal trajectory due to several intersecting reasons related to biological and cultural expectations and economic status. Women’s *bughat* is normalized; even if it recurs and is lifelong and puts them in limbo, they do not consider their condition abnormal or chronic. It only becomes abnormal or chronic when they reach a certain state of madness.

Here, we can imagine the peasant society as a *lawas* (body)—one that is robust and can endure suffering. The continuing exposure to poverty, elements, and multiple burdens ruptures its body and turns it into a broken and disintegrated system, making it susceptible to *bughat*. In turn, *bughat* is an embodied representation of capitalist activities that engulf people’s life and energy, fragmenting their body parts and making them inefficient individuals. Illness in general and *bughat* in particular can be considered as an embodied reaction of the peasants to the breakdown of their society.

The tendency to reduce *bughat* as an individualistic and biological matter conceals its possible socio-political implications. Perhaps this is also due to the individualized experience of *bughat* that occurs in the body and its varying chronicity and intensity only becomes visible when one is already in the state of madness or psychosis. While Manderson (2010) emphasizes that the individualized and personalized embodied disruptions tend to separate

women from their biological and social identities and sense of personhood, *bughat* in peasant communities is normalized as pregnancy, childbirth, and the associated risks of *bughat* further validate one's sense of personhood and womanhood. The household or the family is the central organization of peasant communities which tends to be very independent and reliant on their own capacities. However, the experience of *bughat* prompts community and group solidarity outside of the immediate family into the larger community. Their shared understanding of the chronic effects of *bughat* and how it disrupts the body especially among postpartum mothers motivates this group solidarity during the postpartum stage and is an important element to overcome the said condition. Getting sick with *bughat* and being able to overcome its effects has become part of women's stories.

Bughat ultimately reveals the underlying paradox of the society where women are culturally expected to bear children, despite the risks and suffering brought about by *bughat* after childbirth and are also expected to perform other gender-based roles associated with motherhood such as child rearing, predetermined household chores, farm work, and community engagement. Clearly, there is a need for better treatment modalities and education and comprehensive, specialized, and inclusive care for all *bughat* sufferers.

This study illustrates that *bughat* cases are indeed normalized for women as we examine women's reproductive and productive roles and the impact of gendered social relations in peasant communities. Women are expected to give birth, be selfless and caring mothers, and perform multiple roles. These roles are rooted in patriarchal relations and breed expectations among women to perform beyond the

limits of their individual capacities. The chronic cases of *bughat* among women are not only due to individual/biological deviations, since pregnancy, childbirth, and mothering are also framed by gendered and patriarchal relations (Bateman 1994). *Bughat* allows us to reassess our assumptions about pregnancy and childbirth as well as the roles of being a mother, a wife, and a member of a peasant community. Hence, *bughat* leads us to rethink socially constructed notions of motherhood and childrearing, and the availability of a healthy and permanent supply of productive labor (Millondaga 2018). Otherwise, women and new mothers will never be able to overcome physical, social, and emotional vulnerability due to a discriminating environment, that is the patriarchal society

Notes

All names used in this paper are not real to protect the identity of my informants.

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ASSESSMENT OF BARANGAY LGUS LEVEL OF GENDER- RESPONSIVENESS IN SELECTED BIDANI CATCHMENT BARANGAYS IN LAGUNA, PHILIPPINES

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ABSTRACT

Republic Act (R.A.) 9710, or the Magna Carta for Women (MCW), is a comprehensive law on women's rights that mandates all government offices, including government-owned and controlled corporations and local government units (LGUs), to adopt gender mainstreaming as a strategy for implementing the law and attaining its objectives. The study aimed to assess the level of gender-responsiveness of Barangay LGUs programs, projects, and activities in selected BIDANI catchment areas. The Gender-Responsive LGU (GeRL) Ka Ba? Self-Assessment Tool was adopted in the conduct of the KII to assess the level of gender responsiveness of the barangay local government units. All 24 BIDANI catchment barangays have Gender Planning and Budgeting and have diverse programs, projects, and activities to address the gender issues and concerns of the

clients and organization. The delivery of services on health, nutrition, economics, and protection of women was among the sectors gearing towards institutionalization of a comprehensive approach in making the LGU gender-responsive. The strong implementation of national PPAs in this sector may be a contributing factor. The study showed that GAD implementation at the covered BLGUs is still in its early implementation even after more than 20 years. The covered BLGUs still need to capacitate the other members of the committee/working group and women's groups and issue gender-related local ordinances and policies and issues to mainstream gender in the development PPAs.

Keywords: gender and development, BIDANI, gender responsiveness, gender mainstreaming, GAD Program, programs, projects, and activities (PPAs)

ABSTRAK

Ang Republic Act (R.A.) 9710 o ang Magna Carta of Women (MCW) ay isang komprehensibong batas tungkol sa mga karapatan ng kababaihan na nag-uutos sa lahat ng government-owned and controlled corporations (GOCCs) at mga lokal na pamahalaan na magpatibay ng gender mainstreaming bilangistratehiya sa pagpapatupad ng naturang batas at pagkamit ng mga layunin nito. Ang pag-aaral ay isinagawa upang masuri ang antas ng gender-responsiveness ng mga programa, proyekto, at gawain (PPAs) ng mga lokal na pamahalaan sa mga piling BIDANI catchment barangay. Ang Gender-Responsive LGU (GeRL) Ka Ba? Self-Assessment Tool ay ginamit sa pangangasiwa ng mga key informant

interviews at focus group discussions upang masuri ang antas ng gender-responsiveness ng mga local na pamahalaan ng barangay. Lahat ng 24 barangay na saklaw ng BIDANI ay mayroong Gender Plan and Budget (GPB). Lahat din ng mga barangay ay mayroong magkakaibang mga PPAs upang matugunan ang client- at organization-focused na mga isyu at pangangailangan. Ang paghahatid ng serbisyong pangkalusugan, nutrisyon, pang-ekonomiya at pangangalaga ng kababaihan ay kabilang sa mga sektor na nakatuon tungo sa institusyonalisasyon bilang isang komprehensibong pamamaraan upang gawing gender-responsive ang isang barangay. Isa sa mga maaring dahilan nito ay ang masidhing pagpapatupad ng mga pambansang PPAs na may kinalaman sa kasariang pangkaunlaran (GAD). Ipinakita ng pag-aaral na ang pagpapatupad ng GAD sa mga sakop na barangay ay nasa maagang pagpapatupad nito kahit na higit sa 20 taon na ang MCW. Ang mga sakop na barangay ay kailangan ding bigyan ng pagsasanay ang iba pang mga miyembro ng kanilang komite / working group at mga pangkat ng kababaihan. Kailangan ding mag-isyu ng mga lokal na ordenansa at patakaran na may kaugnayan sa kasarian upang maipalaganap ang gender mainstreaming sa mga natukoy na PPAs.

Susing Salita: *kasariang pangkaunlaran, BIDANI, kasariang pagtugon, gender mainstreaming, programang GAD, proyekto at gawain*

Introduction

The Magna Carta of Women (MCW) or Republic Act (RA) 9710 mandates all government agencies, including government-owned and controlled corporations (GOCCs) and local government units (LGUs), to adopt gender mainstreaming as a strategy for implementing the law. To advance the objectives of the MCW, the General Appropriations Act (GAA), the annual legislated budget, stipulates that at least 5% of the agency's budget must be utilized for the implementation of the required annual Gender and Development (GAD) Plan and Budget (GPB). Hence, it is very important that agencies ensure that identified programs, projects and activities (PPAs or PAPs) are strategic enough to sustain the integration of GAD into the entire PAPs cycle of planning, implementation, management, monitoring and evaluation (PIMME). The Philippine Commission on Women (PCW) guidelines for the GPB mentions its four elements for implementation: the creation or strengthening of gender and development focal points system (GFPS); the generation and maintenance of gender statistics and sex-disaggregated databases (SDD) to aid in planning, programming, and policy formulation; capacity building of both internal and external clients; and gender mainstreaming and audit.

The joint memorandum circular (JMC) No. 2013-01 (amended in 2016 by JMC 2016-01) of the PCW, Department of the Interior and Local Government (DILG), Department of Budget and Management (DBM), and the National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA) provided guidelines for LGUs on the localization of the MCW. These include mainstreaming policies and procedures in local planning, programming and budgeting, and project development, implementation,

monitoring, and evaluation - all trickled down for implementation at the LGUs from the provincial to the municipal levels down the barangays.

In 2004, the PCW reported several GAD planning and budgeting issues, including low compliance and budget utilization rates among LGUs as well as the Local Chief Executive's (LCE) influence over determining budget priorities that may not be compliant with the guidelines, despite the LGU's fiscal autonomy in the implementation of the 5% minimum GAD budget as stipulated in the JMC.

The Barangay Integrated Development Approach for Nutrition Improvement (BIDANI) is a comprehensive community development and nutrition-in-development strategy emphasizing the need to mainstream improving the nutrition of Filipinos towards achieving community development. It has developed three innovative strategies - Barangay Integrated Development Approach (BIDA), Barangay Management Information System (BMIS), and Participative Nutrition Enhancement Approach (PNEA) - to carry out its vision of promoting nutrition-in-development through community and other stakeholders' participation in an integrated manner facilitated by SUCs' extension programs. BIDA enables local leaders and their people to directly and indirectly intervene in solving nutrition and development problems appropriately. Through BMIS, BIDANI also institutionalizes effective and efficient development program planning and implementation. Regarding its nutrition component, BIDANI contributes to reducing malnutrition prevalence in barangays covered by the network program through PNEA.

Conducted in 2018, BIDANI sought to describe and determine the gender responsiveness of its catchment barangays as reflected in their GAD plans

in the barangay integrated development plan (BIDP) to ensure that its innovative strategies cater to the needs of the community constituents, regardless of their gender.

The main objective of this study is to assess the gender responsiveness of selected barangay LGUs (BLGUs) in Laguna, Philippines. Specifically, the study aims to: (1) describe the most widely implemented client-focused, organization-focused, and attributed PPAs in the GPB of selected BIDANI catchment barangays; (2) determine gender responsiveness levels in the delivery of services for capacitating the organization and the women as well as for implementing the enabling mechanisms; and (3) provide recommendations on how to make the BLGUs' PPAs more gender responsive.

Enabling Policy Environment in Attaining Gender Equality in the Philippines. Several laws were enacted to attain gender equality in the Philippines. Primary among these laws are the Women in Nation Building Act (R.A. 7192) and the MCW.

The Women in Nation-Building Act (1991) recognizes the role of women in nation-building. It ensures fundamental equality of women and men before the law. The law tasks the NEDA and the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women (or NCRFW - now the PCW) to implement development programs that provide employment and opportunities for women to participate in the development process. Moreso, this law also mandates the collection of sex-disaggregated data to be used as a reference for all development planning and policy making.

Legislated in 2009, the MCW recognizes women's rights as human rights and declares the State responsible for "develop[ing] plans, policies, programs, measures, and mechanisms to address discrimination and inequality in the economic, political, social, and

cultural life of women and men.” It stipulates the protection of women during armed conflict, disasters, and other situations where they are displaced. It also has provisions on equal legal treatment, equal marital and familial rights, participation in sports, the portrayal of women in the media, and the right to food security, work, education, representation, and cultural identity. It also emphasizes the necessity of capacity development for government employees and instrumentalities that address gender and women’s concerns and establish Violence Against Women and Children (VAWC) Desks in barangays. Furthermore, government agencies, state universities and colleges (SUCs), government-owned and -controlled corporations (GOCCs), and LGUs are mandated to allot at least five percent (5%) of their respective budgets to GAD programs. LGUs are also each enjoined to craft their local GAD code, which will serve as the basis for implementing their GAD programs. The MCW also requires government instrumentalities to establish their respective GFPS, which is in charge of implementing GAD-related programs within and beyond their respective agencies. Capacity development activities may also be conducted by the GAD Focal Points (World Bank 2014). The MCW also intensifies the call for each government agency to establish a GAD database with sex-disaggregated data as this is essential for planning and policymaking.

During the period in between the enactment of these two major laws occurred the adoption of the Philippine Plan for Gender-Responsive Development (PPGD)1995-2025, a thirty-year commitment by the Philippine government to sustain gender equality and women’s empowerment initiatives in the entire government system (World Bank 2014). Executive Order (EO) No. 273, issued in 1995 by then President Fidel V. Ramos, institutionalized the PPGD 1995-2025

(NCRFW 1998). Clarifying that gender mainstreaming is a major goal for gender-responsive development, “the establishment of mechanisms/structure for gender-responsive policy and program implementation” (35) the PPGD provided instructions on how the government must mainstream GAD programs and ensure the inclusion of gender mainstreaming in development plans and programs, budgeting, and monitoring mechanisms.

GAD Planning and Budgeting (GPB). In order to address underlying issues, concerns, and contexts of gender issues, there is a need to make the planning and budgeting process of government instrumentalities gender responsive. Manansan and Villanueva (2005) also underscored the importance of integrating gender into the budgeting process, describing “budgets” as the “financial reflection of the policies of a government” (1).

The accountability of government agencies in terms of contributing towards gender equality is also reflected through gender-responsive budgeting, where gender equality is both an economic indicator and goal (ADB et al., 2008). Gender-responsive budgeting (GRB) is described by UN Women (2020) as follows:

...gender-responsive budgeting seeks to ensure that the collection and allocation of public resources are carried out effectively and contribute to advancing gender equality and women’s empowerment. It should be based on in-depth analysis identifying effective interventions for implementing policies and laws that advance women’s rights.

Both UN Women (2020) and Budlender et al. clarify that GRB does not mandate separate budgets for women. Budlender et al. further articulated that GRB pushes for gender mainstreaming or making gender an integral part of the planning process across government instrumentalities. However, GRB also recognizes that unless gender and development plans do not have budget allocations, these plans remain just plans that are not executed (Budlender et al.).

In the Philippines, the start of gender-responsive budgeting can be traced back to 1994, when the NEDA, DBM, and the then NCRFW formulated JMC No. 94-1, which stipulates the integration of GAD in the plans of government instrumentalities. The GAA of 1995 (and every GAA after that) has provisions on allocating five percent of the budget of government agencies for GAD programs (Illo et al. 2010). In 2012, the PCW, NEDA, and DBM issued JMC 2012-01 to (1) prescribe guidelines and procedures for the formulation, development, submission, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation, including an accounting of results of agency GPB and GAD Accomplishment Reports (AR), and (2) provide the mechanics for the development of programs, activities, and projects (PAPs) to respect, protect, and fulfill the rights of women at the socio-cultural, economic, and political spheres.

Research and Policy Gaps

During the development of PPGD, NCRFW (1998) identified five major challenges in GAD. GAD concerns were not yet mainstreamed in the planning processes of the government. Determining fund sources for the implementation of GAD programs was also identified as a challenge. The lack of database systems in relation to GAD remained a concern as well. There was also a need to strengthen GAD policy advocacy, especially in the planning and budgeting processes,

along with the implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of programs. The mechanisms and necessary organizational structures for the implementation and advocacy of GAD remained weak during the time.

The unavailability of data hinders government instrumentalities from making gender-responsive programs, projects, and activities (PPAs), particularly GAD budget formulation (Budlender et al. 2006) even if the enabling policy environment for GPB is available. Sex-disaggregated data are also needed in the GPB to mainstream gender in the development process. For example, local governments need to determine whether men or women benefit more from government programs. Data can also determine the gender of the household breadwinners and who performs unpaid homework (David et al. 2018).

There are services, especially those concerning health, that remain inaccessible to women in isolated areas. Thus, the planning and building of infrastructure should be gender-sensitive as well, in that accessibility of infrastructure and services to women should be taken into consideration (World Bank 2014). Some of ADB et al.'s policy recommendations include enacting local GAD codes as prescribed by the MCW, further gender mainstreaming, incentivization for gender-responsive government instrumentalities, resource generation, further capacity development, and the development of sex-disaggregated databases and GAD monitoring mechanisms.

On the other hand, David et al. (2018) recognized that the Philippines had made much progress in the enactment of enabling laws. However, these must be evaluated based on how various government instrumentalities across various levels, especially LGUs, interpret and implement these laws. It is high time to review the implementation of the MCW law. Similarly,

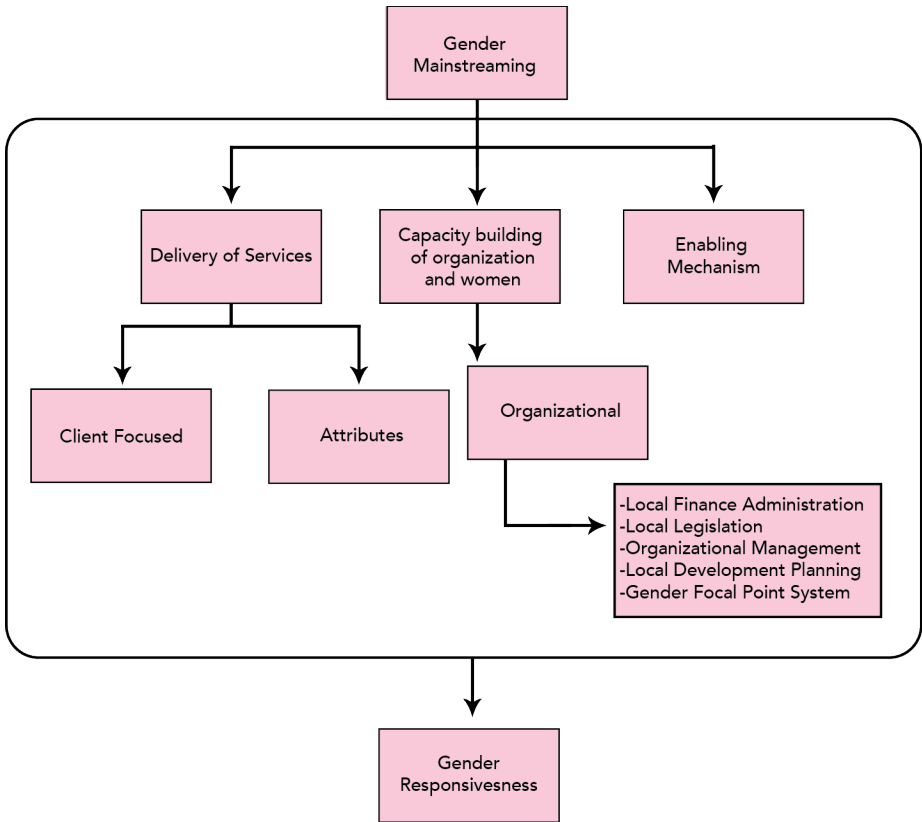


Figure 1. Conceptual Framework for the study.

VAWC implementation should be done (David et al. 2018).

The study

The following conceptual framework illustrates the extent of gender mainstreaming in the local development process covered by this study. GAD is an approach to and paradigm of development focused on social, economic, political, and cultural forces that determine how differently women and men participate in, benefit from, and control resources (Philippine Commission on Women 2006).

Table 1. UPLB BIDANI area coverage by municipality in Laguna, Philippines.

Nagcarlan	Calauan	Rizal
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Manaol 2. Lawaguin 3. Sabang 4. Talahib 5. Yukos 6. Bambang 7. Banilad 8. Banago 9. Talangan 10. Alibumbungan 11. Silangan Napapatid Calumpang 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Limao 2. Prinza 3. Mabacan 4. San Isidro 5. Bangyas Dayap 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Antipolo 2. Paule 2 3. Tuy 4. Tala 5. Pook Laguan

Gender mainstreaming in the local development process encourages LGUs to be gender responsive in delivering basic services through either direct expenditures for client-focused GAD PPAs or attribution of major PPAs of the LGU. Client-focused projects address issues regarding the unequal status of women and men stakeholders, clients, and/or constituents of the barangay. Gender mainstreaming via attribution refers to the inclusion of measures to ensure gender-responsive process/es in the entire PPA development cycle.

Capacity building of organizations and women points to the gap/s in the capacity of the barangay to integrate a gender dimension into its programs, systems, or structure.

The enabling mechanism should be installed in the barangays' local finance administration, local legislation, organization management, local

development planning, and the GFPS organization. The legislation of the GAD Code at the local level will ensure that the 5% GAD budget is properly allocated during the development planning. A well-capacitated organization and GFPS can prepare a good GAD Plan focused on gender-responsive basic services to improve men and women's status and condition.

The study sites are the 24 BLGUs from three municipalities included in the University of the Philippines Los Baños Barangay Integrated Development Approach for Nutrition Improvement (UPLB BIDANI) in the Province of Laguna, Philippines (Table 1). These barangays were selected based on the following criteria: 1) they implement the BIDANI strategy implementation; 2) they have Barangay Integrated Development Plans (BIDPs); and 3) they have GAD Plans for 2017, 2018, and 2019. Nine of the 24 BLGUs were selected for KII and two for FGD.

The study reviewed the 2017 GAD Accomplishment Reports and the 2018-2019 GAD Plans of the 24 BLGUs. The PPAs identified in the GAD Plan were listed and analyzed for compliance with the Amended Guidelines on the Localization of the MCW of 2016. The study used primary data collection tools, i.e., key informant interview (KII) and focus group discussion (FGD). The KII respondents are members of GFPS while the FGD respondents are members of the Barangay Development Council (BDC).

The selection of the BLGUs was based on the GAD budget and income classification, with the highest, lowest, and middle-income barangays comprising the three (3) BLGUs per municipality, totalling nine (9) BLGUs. The middle-income barangay selected had an income closest to the median value.

The *Gender-Responsive LGU (GeRL) Ka Ba? Self-Assessment Tool* (developed by the Local Government Academy or LGA of DILG and PCW) was adapted in the conduct of the KII for the provinces and municipalities to determine the current capacity levels of the LGUs to make their respective localities gender responsive. In addition, the tool enumerates the types of services that address the needs of women and men, the needed processes and mechanisms, and capabilities that should be built within the organization to deliver gender-responsive services. The study modified or localized the GeRL tool according to the barangay's applicability/condition/situation. All of the gender-responsiveness indicators were used for the study. Some of the indicators for gender responsiveness were modified or localized to gather the appropriate information at the barangay level. For example, under the availability of health-related facilities/services in the LGU, the indicators for Day Care Center were 1 - not available in any barangay, 2 - present in less than 25% of the barangays, 3 - present in 25%-50% of the barangays, 4 - available in 51%-75% of the barangays, and 5 - available in more than 75% of the barangays. These were localized to only three indicators for the study, which included 1 - not available in the barangay, 3 - available in the barangay but <50% of children aged 3-5 are enrolled, and 5 - available in the barangay, $\geq 50\%$ of children aged 3-5 are enrolled.

The study used the 5-point GeRL tool to measure the level of gender responsiveness of the local government units. The GAD Plan and GeRL Tool results were arranged in the frequency distribution tables and analyzed accordingly. In this study, the general requirements for gender mainstreaming at the LGUs include delivery of basic services for men and women, capacity building for organizations, and establishment of enabling mechanisms. A sub-scale categorization was provided to identify an indicator for each general

requirement. These are: 1 - does not manifest gender responsiveness; 2 - shows early manifestations of gender responsiveness; 3 - has an adequate manifestation of gender responsiveness; 4 - manifests a systematic approach and moves towards advanced stages of being gender responsive; 5 - has institutionalized a comprehensive approach in making the LGU gender-responsive. However, the scaling system used to assess each indicator varies.

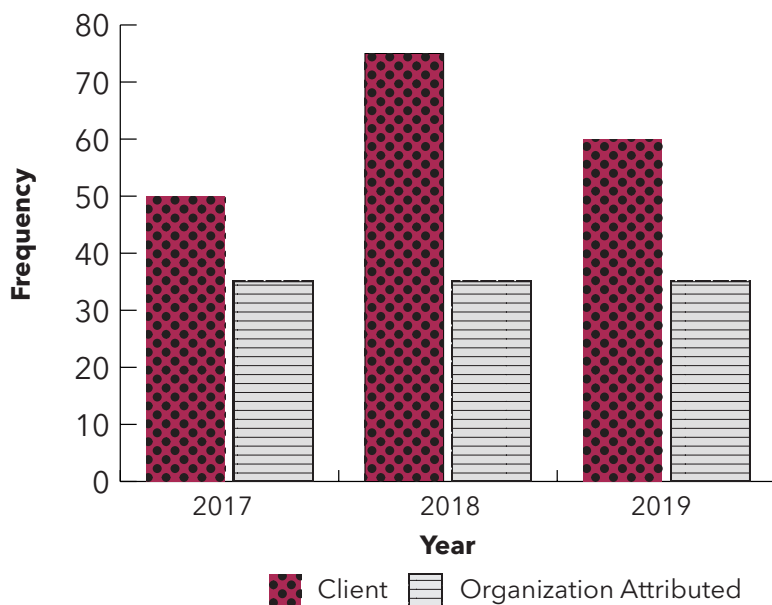
Results and Discussion

GAD Budget allocation. The Circular for the localization of the MCW states that the cost of implementation of PPAs should be at least five percent (5%) of the BLGU annual budget. Two identified municipalities were from the second and fifth income classes. The annual allocation for the GAD budget was dependent on their annual income. Based on the desk review, incremental increases of 10 to 25% were observed in the budget of each sample barangay. GAD budget ranges from a minimum of PhP 60,000.00 to a maximum of PhP 300,000.00 annually.

The FGD results revealed the steps for GAD budget preparation of the BLGUs. They start with consultations with their sectoral committees and members of the GFPS to determine the concerns and issues that can be addressed through gender-responsive projects. The committees then plan the programs while the treasurer prepares the GAD budget. From here, they proceed to the usual implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of their GAD-related projects.

The FGD results identified the presence of budget stipulations for GAD PPAs as a facilitating factor in their GAD planning and budgeting. In addition, the barangay treasurers noted that since they are mandated

Figure 1. Distribution of GAD PPAs according to classification in 24 BIDANI catchment barangays in Laguna, Philippines, 2018.



to allocate at least 5% for GAD PPAs, they can efficiently allocate the budget for GAD-specific programs. However, resource generation remains crucial because of the varying extent of their resources.

GAD PPAs. GAD PPAs identified by BLGUs are client-focused, organization-focused, and attributed. From 2017 to 2019, most of the PPAs of study sites are client-focused (Figure 1). The number of organization-focused PPAs did not change in the past three years, while the number of attributed PPAs fluctuated through the years.

Client-focused

From 2017 to 2019, the most mentioned client-focused PPAs by sector were social welfare for economic empowerment, health sector, and social welfare on protection from violence, marriage, and family protection (Table 2). Economic empowerment was consistently the top PPA in the past three years (62.5% to 58.3%), with the following common PPAs listed in the GAD plan for providing training on livelihood: *tocino* making, beads, and meat processing, among others. The second is the health sector (54.2% to 50.0%), with PPAs including providing lectures and discussions on proper nutrition, nutrition education, and distribution of vitamins and medicines. Finally, the PPAs for social welfare include protection from violence, marriage, and family protection focused on training and seminars on responsible parenthood and cash assistance for victims of violence (33.3% to 50.0%).

Table 2. Client-focused GAD programs and projects by sector in 24 BIDANI catchment barangays in Laguna, Philippines.

Classification/Sector	2017 (%)	2018 (%)	2019 (%)
Social Welfare (Economic Empowerment)	62.5	70.8	58.3
Health Sector	54.2	62.5	50.0
Social Welfare (Protection from violence, Marriage and Family Protection) Sector	33.3	62.5	50.0
Education (Sports) Sector	16.7	41.7	25.0
Peace and Order and Public Safety Sector	16.7	33.3	16.7

Organization-focused

The organization-focused PPAs did not change in the past three years (Figure 1) and were considered to be very low. The study indicated as the topmost sector included in the organization-focused GAD programs and projects (Table 3) “strengthening the efforts of the Violence Against Children Committee (VAWC)” in 2017 (62.5%), 2018 (70.8%), and 2019 (58.3), and the creation and strengthening of the LGU GFPS.

The study showed that the barangays covered continuously conducted capacity development/building for the BLGU respondents from 2017 to 2019. Every year, gender mainstreaming was at the top of the list among the capacity building/development sectors. Capacity development on gender mainstreaming PPAs and services were mostly orientations, seminars, and conduct of activities that could increase participation of men and women in BLGU projects. The study also showed low to no training on the following: gender analysis and gender assessment; gender-responsive planning and budgeting; development and utilization of GAD tools; and institutionalization of a GAD database.

Attributed PPAs

The attributed PPAs increased from 2017 to 2018, and then declined in 2019. The most common attributions mentioned during the KII on attributed GAD PPAs were infrastructure projects on construction, streetlights installation, CCTV installation, and water and sanitation. In addition, the attributed GAD programs also identified environmental and disaster risk reduction programs.

Table 3. Organization-focused GAD programs and projects by sector in 24 BIDANI catchment barangays in Laguna, Philippines.

Classification/Sector	2017 (%)	2018 (%)	2019 (%)
Strengthening of VAWC	62.5	79.2	95.8
Creation and strengthening of the LGU GFPS	29.2	45.8	33.3
Capacity development on gender mainstreaming	33.3	25.0	25.0
Information and Communication Sector	16.7	8.3	16.7
Capacity development on gender analysis and gender assessment	0.0	12.5	4.2
Capacity development on gender-responsive planning and budgeting	8.3	4.2	4.2
Capability building on development and utilization of GAD tools	0.0	0.0	4.2
Institutionalization of GAD database.	4.2	0.0	0.0

Assessment of the Level of Gender Responsiveness Availability of Health-related services

The KII revealed that barangays included in this study were institutionalizing a comprehensive approach towards gender-responsive health-related services. Almost all KII respondents claimed that more than 75 percent of households in their barangays have sources of/access to safe drinking water and sanitary toilets, and also practice garbage disposal systems. On the other hand, only 6 out of 9 barangays have daycare centers with enrollees that total 50 percent of the 3-5 year-old children of the area.

Table 4. Attributed GAD programs and projects by sector in 24 BIDANI catchment barangays in Laguna, Philippines.

Classification/Sector	2017 (%)	2018 (%)	2019 (%)
Public Works and Infrastructure Sector	16.7	79.2	37.5
Environment, Water and Sanitation Sector (Protection and security in times of disasters, calamities, and other crises)	4.2	25.0	20.8

The barangays covered have volunteer workers totaling 69: 11 Barangay Nutrition Scholars (BNS) and 58 Barangay Health Workers (BHWs). The three barangays that lack health centers have nutrition and health volunteer workers. The health-related service that fell short on gender responsiveness was caused by the absence of a multi-purpose hall that women could use for recreation and other functions/activities.

Accessibility of health services. The KII results indicated that health services are accessible. The gender responsiveness of accessibility relies on the provision of maternal care and family planning services using the reproductive health framework. The Barangay Health Center conducted and offered relevant seminars, such as *PABASA sa Nutrisyon* and Infant and Young Child Feeding Counseling. However, more than half of the respondent barangays do not offer disease control capacity programs regarding sexually transmitted diseases or HIV AIDS in the BHC. PAP smear testing in the nine barangays interviewed was done in DOH hospitals in the CALABARZON Region located in Batangas City.

Availability of health facilities. Aside from the gender-responsive health services, the BHCs also provides supplies and facilities. Centers distribute

medicines and offer blood pressure monitoring, medical check-ups, immunization, feeding programs for preschoolers, and care for pregnant teenagers. In addition, some BHCs organized Medical Missions, Operation *Bukol*, pre-natal check-ups, TB treatments, Vitamin A supplementation, artificial prosthetics, blood sugar test, deworming, and *Kiti-Kiti* Brigade. Ambulance assistance was the health service most availed of in the respondent's barangays. The barangay used their vehicle patrol or service to ferry patients from the barangay to the hospital that did not have an ambulance.

The respondent barangays have existing referral assistance to support the medical needs of their constituents. The barangay issues certificates of indigence and referral letters to the Rural Health Unit, congress representatives, and provincial government entities for medical assistance.

The respondent barangays met the highest level of gender responsiveness in the availability and accessibility of comfort rooms and sources of water. In addition, each BHC has a midwife. However, some barangays do not manifest gender responsiveness in some health facilities. For example, more than half of the respondent barangays do not have private counseling and physical examination rooms, and all nine barangays do not have lying-in facilities.

Presence of safe environment and protection services and facilities

Availability of safety and protection services. The study results indicated that only a few of the respondent barangays had institutionalized a comprehensive approach to making the LGU gender responsive in providing safety and protection-related facilities/services. They stated that crimes such as human

trafficking and domestic violence are rarely reported or do not occur in their areas. Most of them have adequate lighting of streets and public places to deter crime. Some of the activities they conducted related to domestic violence prevention were counseling, mediation, and wellness exercise activities such as zumba dancing, and livelihood activities. All of them have regular patrolling and strictly implement curfew hours. The majority needs separate toilets for men and women in BLGU-owned facilities, VAWC rooms for interrogation of women victims, services and mechanisms to prevent human trafficking, and Crisis Center for Women.

Rehabilitation/Development/Crisis Center for Women services. Rehabilitation/development/Crisis Center for Women services were not available in the majority of the respondent barangays. In most, the productivity/livelihood program was available given their partnership with other institutions or people's organizations. Some of them have partnerships with people's organizations and women's groups, and planned to put up a help desk at the barangay outpost to address the concerns of women. The unavailability of these services corroborates the lowest level of gender responsiveness in the availability of safety and protection services and the stated reason that reported domestic violence rarely or does not occur in their barangay.

Capacity building programs. Most of the training programs for women constituents were not regularly funded programs of the LGU. However, they initiated or partnered with other agencies/organizations for training commonly offered by institutions like TESDA or PESO. Budget allocation for GAD capacity-building activities is very limited since their budget ranges from PHP60,000.00-PHP300,000.00 for all GAD PPAs. The barangays can do resource generation activities, which is part of the LGU planning process. Nevertheless, the

results show that most respondent barangays manifest early gender responsiveness in training women on functional literacy and livelihood.

The low manifestation of gender responsiveness in some of the activities of the respondent barangays may be linked to the number of GAD-related training programs conducted by the barangays. For example, almost all the respondent barangays have not yet conducted/sponsored training/orientations on gender sensitivity, domestic violence, Sexual Harassment law, and gender-responsive planning. On the other hand, the ones that had were women, youth, GFPS, and non-government organizations.

The level of GAD knowledge and awareness of the Barangay Development Council members may also explain the low gender responsiveness of the barangays' PPAs. The results of the study show that only one-fourth of them attended GAD-related training programs (i.e. *Katarungang Pambarangay*) in the last three years (Table 13). Furthermore, the FGD perception also shows that they believe GAD is solely about the welfare of women, and that their projects have been mostly focused on women, with little to no PPAs on the other areas of the gender spectrum.

Availability and access to financial resources.

Majority of the respondent barangays have limited to no economic support services for women. The credit programs/ facilities, e.g. private cooperatives and banks, were present but not initiated in the barangay, with less than 25% of target clientele having accessed/benefitted from these credit programs. Members avail themselves of access to economic support services for women of Samahan ng Kababaihan in the Barangay. However, not all the women in the barangay are members. Most of the economic services women avail of are offered not

by the BLGU but by private micro-finance institutions, e.g., CARD, SIKAP, AHON, and the like. The common economic activities provided for women are cow dispersal, distribution of seeds to farmers, and training on meat processing, with funding either solicited or donated by the barangay officials.

Enabling Mechanisms. Another measure of the gender responsiveness of the BLGU is the presence of working groups to address specific gender issues and concerns. For example, the Committee on Protecting Children and Women is manifesting the institutionalization stage because it is one of the regular functions of the barangay council. Some of the respondents barangays indicated early gender responsiveness because their Barangay Councils appointed people and allocated resources to keep their committees working. However, most of them did not organize the committee on decorum and investigation and presence of anti-domestic violence. The study shows that the barangays need to exert more effort in organizing committees/working groups to be gender responsive.

CONCLUSIONS

Community partnership compensates for LGU's low priority for GAD plan and budget. The allocated budgets of the barangays in this study range from PHP60,000.00-PHP300,000.00 for all GAD PPAs. Barangay treasurers have indicated that the mandated 5% budget allocation for GAD PPAs makes their budgeting easier. The barangays undertake the steps for developing their GAD plans and budgets, which include budget preparation, planning, implementation, and monitoring and evaluation of GAD PPAs. However, resource generation remains a challenge

Gender mainstreaming is primarily present in client-focused PPAs but low in organization and attribution initiatives. From 2017 to 2019, most of the PPAs in the study sites were client-focused (51 in 2017, 73 in 2018, and 56 in 2019). The number of organization-focused PPAs was steady, with 32 to 35 PPAs in the three years. Attributed PPAs fluctuated from 3 in 2017 to 25 in 2018 and 15 in 2019.

PPAs are limited in gender responsiveness as they address gender issues but not in much needed current concerns. PPAs like health-related services, daycare centers, safe drinking water, access to sanitary toilets, garbage disposal, barangay health centers, and maternal and child health care and family planning services are established essentially to address the usual practical gender needs of women. However, many of them do not have programs that address the gender issues and concerns of other genders as well. Majority of the respondent barangays do not provide programs for sexually transmitted diseases, HIV, and AIDS and human trafficking. Lying-in facilities for pregnant women are also absent in many of the barangays, with only a referral system as a substitute.

Gender responsiveness in safety and protection services is low. For example, most of them have adequate street lighting and a Women's Desk, but only a few have facilities addressing domestic violence. In addition, none of them have implemented programs to deter human trafficking. Despite this, most of them have rehabilitation, counseling, trauma treatment, temporary shelter, and legal services for victims of violence against women.

Client-focused capacity development is low in most barangays. Client-focused training is being implemented in partnership with people's organizations and other entities. Gender responsiveness manifestation

is present only in the few training and livelihood programs conducted for women. Almost half did not conduct or hold GAD-related training for constituents. In contrast, those that did conduct such activities have high gender responsiveness in this aspect. On average, 23.27% of the officials interviewed for this study attended various GAD-related training.

Low gender responsiveness is recorded in economic support services, as not all barangays have credit facilities, cooperative formation, and product development programs.

The gender responsiveness regarding presence of enabling mechanisms vary. For example, while most have established committees on the protection of children and sectoral committees on women and children, not all have a committee on decorum, investigation, and programs addressing sexual harassment in the workplace.

Overall, the study results concur with the PCW findings that there were still several issues regarding the GAD plan and budgeting as mentioned in the study of PCW (2004), even after almost ten years of implementation. Nevertheless, in a Commission on Audit (COA) report in 2017, the gender-responsive PPAs of the DILG were included and maintained in the regular programs of the agency, amounting to a total of 1.523 billion pesos. The GAD allocation of the LGUs is at least 5% of the total budget in the General Provisions of the Annual General Appropriations Acts (GAA) since 1995.

Recommendations

1. **Strengthen organization-focused PPAs through regular capacity development on GPB, gender sensitivity, and gender analysis**

Capacity development is always a part of the development of any programs, projects, and activities. Periodic capacity development (through which the step-by-step procedures and the pros and cons are learned and applied) is imperative to ensure gender-sensitive planning, budgeting, and analysis. Although there are policies to guide them, it cannot be denied that they usually change over time. Moreover, the dynamism of LGUs, especially the barangays as the implementers, is another factor to consider.

There is a need to build the capacities further and expand the knowledge of barangay officials on the HGDC and gender-responsive planning. Offices in barangay development planning in general, and GAD planning in particular - both at the municipal and barangay LGU levels - should be further trained to become more attuned to various GAD concerns. Barangay officials should also be capacitated, and constituents should be empowered on the role of HGDC in mainstreaming GAD in the implementation of current PPAs. They should also be actively involved in preparing proposals and developing new PPAs to address emerging GAD concerns. Capacity development enables them to articulate and identify more PPAs that are attributed to GAD PPAs. It will strengthen gender mainstreaming at the BLGU level.

2. Establish a GAD database to prepare data-driven, client-focused, and attributed projects

Sex-disaggregated data are an important component for developing gender-responsive planning, programming, and policy formulation. They reflect the gender gaps and issues faced by program/service beneficiaries, women and men constituents, and employees. However, barangays need to also have gender aggregated data to make their GAD plans more inclusive for all other stakeholders in the gender spectrum. The barangays recognized that continuous training in GAD planning would greatly help to further improve their GAD plans. In addition, the most common programs and activities in the GAD plans are focused on women. Thus, capacitating barangays on including the LGBTQIA+ sector in their GAD planning is still needed.

3. Development of barangay level GeRL Ka Ba? Self-Assessment Tool for a more gender-responsive plan

The GeRL Ka Ba? Self-Assessment Tool was designed for provincial and municipal LGUs. It can be adapted by localizing the items in the scaling system to fit the barangay LGUs. The indicators can be applied or customized to fit the barangay. The government can institutionalize the appropriate GeRL tool for the barangay to check whether their plans, programs, and activities are gender-responsive.

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TALA UKOL SA MGA KONTRIBYUTOR

Arnold T. Abuyog (atabuyog@up.edu.ph) is a University Research Associate II, Barangay Integrated Development Approach (BIDA) Coordinator, designated Assistant Program Leader, and Officer-in-Charge of the Barangay Management Information System (BMIS) component of the BIDANI Network Program, Institute of Human Nutrition and Food (IHNF), College of Human Ecology (CHE), University of the Philippines Los Baños (UPLB). He assisted partner local government units in preparing their development plans, ensuring that they were comprehensive, up-to-date, and evidence-based. His research interests include social technology, human ecology, and program management.

Ana B. Castañeda (abcastaneda@up.edu.ph) is a University Research Associate II and Barangay Integrated Development Approach (BIDA) Coordinator of the BIDANI Network Program, Institute of Human Nutrition and Food (IHNF), College of Human Ecology (CHE), University of the Philippines Los Baños (UPLB). Her tasks focus on the continuous capacity building of partner local government units (LGU) through community planning and organization. Her role is to coordinate, conduct training activities, provide technical assistance, and monitor the overall implementation of the BIDA component training and activities in the BIDANI partner LGUs, state college and universities (SUCs), and other planning functionaries in support of the adoption and implementation of the BIDANI strategy at different levels.

Mary Grace R. Concepcion (mrconcepcion1@up.edu.ph) is Associate Professor at the Department of English and Comparative Literature, University of the Philippines Diliman. Her research interests include autobiographical writing, memory studies, literature during the Philippine

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Angelina dR. Felix (adfelix2@up.edu.ph) is an Associate Professor at the Institute of Human Nutrition and Food (IHNF), College of Human Ecology (CHE), University of the Philippines Los Baños (UPLB). Dr. Felix is actively involved in research linking food and agriculture to nutritional outcomes and has authored 25 articles in refereed journals. Her interest and commitment to contribute to the improvement of the food and nutrition systems are honed by her participation in three key research areas, namely: food production and consumption system among sweet potato farming families; dietary and nutritional status of farming families and at-risk population groups; and evaluation of consumer quality-oriented characteristics of rice. She also networks with researchers, scientists, and policy makers at the local, national, and international levels, including non-government and civic organizations.

Guien Eidrefson P. Garma (gpgarma@up.edu.ph / gegarma@devcom.edu.ph) is an Instructor at the Department of Development Broadcasting and Telecommunication (DDBT), College of Development Communication (CDC), University of the Philippines Los Baños (UPLB). Research interests include media studies, development broadcasting, development journalism, nutrition communication, nutrition-in-development, and extension and rural advisory services. Before becoming an instructor, he spearheaded the development communication operations of the program, as a University Research Associate I of BIDANI. This included: the program's web, social media, and broadcast presence; information, education, and communication (IEC) materials development and production; and

the management and production of two broadcast programs, *BIDANI VirCons: Virtual Conversations on Nutrition* and the school-on-the-air *BIDANI NutriLive*.

Pamela A. Gonzales (pagonzales2@up.edu.ph) is a University Research Associate II and Network State Universities and Colleges (SUCs) Coordinator of the BIDANI Network Program, Institute of Human Nutrition and Food (IHNF), College of Human Ecology (CHE), University of the Philippines Los Baños (UPLB). Research interests include nutrition-in-development, program management, and community development. As a Community Development Specialist, she was involved in the capacity building of partner local government units. In addition, she is the coordinator of the eight-member network of State Universities and Colleges implementing BIDANI. As the coordinator, she makes sure that the corporate identity of the BIDANI Network Program is implemented by the Core Team partner SUCs.

Belinda A. Lalap (balalap@up.edu.ph) is a University Extension Associate II and Participative Nutrition Enhancement Approach (PNEA) Coordinator of the BIDANI Network Program, Institute of Human Nutrition and Food (IHNF), College of Human Ecology (CHE), University of the Philippines Los Baños (UPLB). Research interests include nutrition and extension services, volunteerism, and local nutrition program management. Ms. Lalap obtained both her Bachelor of Science in Human Ecology - major in Community Nutrition and Master of Science in Family Resource Management - minor in Extension Education from the University of the Philippines Los Banos.

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Research interests include local nutrition information management, nutrition program management, and community development. She obtained her Bachelor of Science in Nutrition and Master in Public Affairs - major in Strategic Planning and Policy Studies degrees at the University of the Philippines Los Baños (UPLB). As a researcher, she was engaged in research and extension projects related to nutrition education, community nutrition, community development, bottleneck analysis, community baselining, fishery, local governance, and gender as a study leader and project management officer.

Kenette Jean I. Millondaga (kimillondaga@up.edu.ph) is a faculty of the Department of Social Sciences, University of the Philippines Mindanao, where she teaches peoples and cultures of Mindanao and major courses in Anthropology. Her research focuses on settler and migration, children and youth, and women studies. She works with community-based organizations primarily advocating for gender justice and peace.

Jay Jomar F. Quintos (jfquintos@up.edu.ph) is an associate professor of literature and Philippine Studies at the University of the Philippines, Diliman. He is currently taking his PhD in Indigenous Studies at the University of Otago in Dunedin, New Zealand. With cinema, folklore, and Mindanao and Sulu Studies as research interests, his critical and creative works have already appeared in various national and international publications.

Axle Christien J. Tugano (ajtugano1@up.edu.ph) is taking his MA Philippine Studies at the Asian Center, University of the Philippines Diliman. He is a faculty member of the Division of History, Department of Social Sciences, University of the Philippines Los Baños, Laguna. He has been published in *Diliman Review*, *Plaridel: A Philippine Journal of Communication, Media, and*

Society, Asian Studies: Journal of Critical Perspectives on Asia, Likhaan: A Journal of Contemporary Philippine Literature, Saliksik E-Journal, Katipunan Journal, Mabini Review, Tala: An Online Journal of History, Dalumat E-Journal, Kawing Journal, Bisig Journal, Talastasan: A Philippine Journal of Communication and Media Studies, Hasaan Journal, Entrada Journal, International Journal of Transdisciplinary Knowledge, and Social Sciences and Development Review. His research interests include travel studies, Filipino diaspora/migration, Philippine intercultural relations, local history, and Southeast Asia.

DGR Editorial Team

Judy M. Taguiwalo (jmtaguiwalo@up.edu.ph) is a retired Professor of Women and Development Studies of UP Diliman's College of Social Work and Community Development. She was Director of the then UP Women's Studies Center, now the UP Center for Women's and Gender Studies. She also served as UP Faculty Regent. She has edited books and journals and published articles on women. Among her publications is the book *Babae, Obrera, Unyonista: Ang Kababaihan sa Kilusang Paggawa sa Maynila (1901-1941)* published by the UP Press.

Ma Stephanie Joy Andaya (maandaya2@up.edu.ph) is the Research and Publications Officer of the University of the Philippines (UP) Diliman Gender Office. She is currently pursuing her Master of the Arts program of Araling Pilipino (Philippine Studies) at the UP College of Arts and Letters, the same college where she finished her Bachelor's degree (Cum Laude) in *Malikhaing Pagsulat sa Filipino (Creative Writing in Filipino)*. Since 2018, she started working for UPDGO's academic journal, the *Diliman Gender Review* where she was the Managing Editor in 2018; since 2019, she has served as one of the Associate Editors. Her work for the *DZUP GENDERadyo*, UPDGO's official radio program, has received recognition from UP Los Banos' *Gandingan Awards*, where she and her co-host were awarded *Gandingan sa Kababaihan* for two consecutive years (2019-2020). She is currently the Secretary General of the All UP Academic Employees Union, the official negotiating agent of the rank-and-file faculty and non-teaching academic personnel with the UP management. Her experience as a new mother has inspired her to pursue and push for the welfare and rights of nursing mothers and mothers struggling amidst the pandemic.

Cindy Cruz-Cabrera (crcruzcabrera@up.edu.ph) is a teacher of English Studies, gender specialist, and Media Studies scholar. She is the Senior Gender and Development Officer at the UP Diliman Gender Office, Associate Editor of the Diliman Gender Review (an academic journal at the University of the Philippines Diliman) and two-time Gandingan ng Kababaihan Award-winning host of the DZUP radio program GENDERadyo. She completed her degrees in BSE English Literature and Language Teaching and MA Women and Development Studies at the University of the Philippines Diliman, and is now taking her PhD in Media Studies at the UP College of Mass Communication. She has given research presentations at local and international conferences here and abroad, and is a fellowship awardee at the KRITIKA 2016 National Workshop on Art and Cultural Criticism for a paper on the political economy of subjectivity in Philippine underground rock music. Her university work involves implementation of national legal gender and development (GAD) mandates and GAD mainstreaming, education, and organizing in the academe.

Ma. Angela Luz L. Espinosa (espinosaangelamnl@yahoo.com) is a full-time Marketing Officer in an international renewable energy solutions company and a freelance Graphic Designer/Illustrator. She graduated Magna Cum Laude from the University of the Philippines Diliman College of Fine Arts. She has produced graphics and illustrations for The International Rice Research Institute, The UP Diliman Gender Office, JT's Manukan, Barrio Fiesta and other local businesses/organizations in the Philippines. She has been the layout artist and illustrator for the UP Diliman Gender Review for the past 4 years. Aside from her freelance work, she creates educational campaigns in her full time work to promote renewable energy in the Philippines.

PANAWAGAN PARA SA MGA PAPEL

Tumatanggap ang DGR ng mga artikulo sa wikang Filipino at Ingles. Bukas ito sa anumang artikulong pangkababaihan at pangkasarian mula sa iba't ibang disiplina, at larangan tulad ng pagtuturo, pananaliksik, gawaing ekstensyon at administratibo. Bukas din ito sa mga artikulo tungkol sa iba't ibang sektor, mga napapanahong isyu, mga rebyu ng aklat, tesis, disertasyon, pelikula mga produktong pangmidya, malikhaing akda kabilang na ang mga tula, dula, sining biswal, komiks at iba pa. Sumasailalim ang mga artikulo sa double-blind review. Para sa mga susunod na isyu, ipangunguna ang mga artikulong may kaugnayan sa:

TEMA:

1. Kababaihan/kasarian sa panahon ng pandemic/ COVID-19
2. Sexual Orientation, Gender Identity and Expression (SOGIE)
3. Mga usaping pangkalalakihan (masculinities)
4. Mga karanasang pang-akademikong nilalapatan ng perspektibang pangkasarian
5. Edukasyon at serbisyong pampubliko
6. Pananaliksik (food and water security, health sufficiency, bio-diversity, sustainable community)
7. Social scripts: paniniwala, kumbersasyon, dayalog sa pagitan ng mga henerasyon, relasyon at kasarian
8. Karanasan sa GAD mainstreaming
9. Prostitusyon
10. Instutusyong panlipunan: pamilya, barkada, simbahan, paaralan, midya, gubyerno
11. Misogyny
12. Migrasyon at pandaigdigang sitwasyon
13. Midya, social media, fake news, fraud, pabrikasyon
14. Kalusugan at isyung medikal, reproductive health,

Times New Roman ang font; 12 ang sukat;

1. May bilang ng pahina sa kanan, itaas na bahagi ng pahina;
2. May margin na 1" sa lahat ng gilid ng papel at justified sa kaliwa at kanan ang format ng teksto;
3. Gamitin ang Excel sa mga talahanayan.

**IPADALA ANG KONTRIBUSYON AT MGA
KATANUNGAN SA:**

Patnugot, genderreview.updiliman@up.edu.ph

Para sa iba pang katanungan, maaaring ipadala ito sa e-mail address sa itaas o kaya sa updgo@up.edu.ph

DGR CALL FOR PAPERS

The Diliman Gender Review is accepting submissions (in both Filipino and English). We invite researchers, scholars, and academics to submit original papers on women and gender research from various disciplines within the fields of teaching, research, extension, and administration work. Articles on different sectors, current events, and timely issues as well as reviews of books, theses, dissertations, and media forms and products, creative works such as poems, plays, visual art, comics, among others are also welcome. All submissions to the DGR are required to undergo a double-blind review.

Articles on the following themes shall be given priority:

THEME:

1. Women/gender in the time of pandemic/ COVID-19
2. Sexual Orientation, Gender Identity and Expression (SOGIE)
3. Masculinities
4. Academic experiences and reflections on gender perspective
5. Education and public service
6. Researches (food and water security, health sufficiency, bio-diversity, sustainable community)
7. Social scripts: beliefs, conversations, dialogue in between generations, relationships, gender
8. Experiences in GAD mainstreaming
9. Prostitution
10. Social institutions: family, friends, church, school, media, government
11. Misogyny
12. Migration and the Global Situation
13. Media, Social Media, Fake News, Fraud, and Fabrication
14. Health and Medical Issues

15. The Church, Religion, and Spirituality
16. Research on Muslim Women and Indigenous Peoples
17. Teenage Issues and Problems (Teenage Marriage, Teenage Pregnancy, Sexuality)
18. Laws and Legislation
19. Sexual Violence, VAWC, SH
20. Neoliberalism and the National Situation
21. Feminism and Feminist Movements and Struggles
22. LGBT Issues and Struggles
23. Nature, the Environment, and Calamities

AUTHOR INSTRUCTIONS:

1. Submissions must be original and unpublished;
2. Papers should be double-spaced and up to 25-30 pages long (6,000 to 8,000 words);
3. Papers should be formatted following the Chicago Manual of Style (author-date system);
4. All photos/graphics must be captioned and properly attributed to their sources;
5. The author is responsible for securing informed consent and permissions required for all texts and/or graphics utilized in the submission;
6. Author names and affiliations shall not appear on papers submitted for review, and their 300-500 word author bionotes should be submitted separately;
7. Authors should provide English titles and 300-500 word abstracts for submissions in Filipino. For submissions written in English, an extended abstract in Filipino (single-spaced, 1-2 pages long) is required;
8. Abstracts should be accompanied by five (5) keywords in both Filipino and English;
9. Submissions must be in Times New Roman font, size 12;

10. Papers must be paginated at the upper-right corner;
11. Papers must have one-inch margins on all sides and text format justified/aligned on both left and right sides; and
12. All tables must be made using Excel.

EMAIL SUBMISSIONS TO:

The Editor, genderreview.updiliman@up.edu.ph.
For inquiries, e-mail us at updgo@up.edu.ph.

PUBLIKASYON NG UP DILIMAN GENDER OFFICE (UPDGO Publication)

UP Diliman Gender Office Website Downloadables
(<http://dgo.up.edu.ph>)



Situationers/Reports



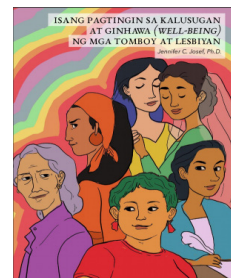
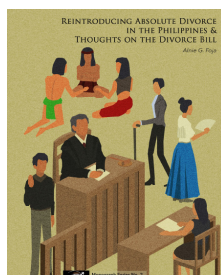
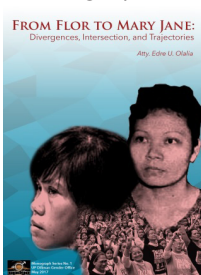
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Law/Policy Primers



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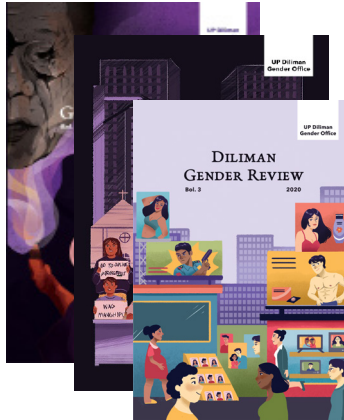




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Diliman Gender Review



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