

# Work as Key to the Social Question

The Great Social and Economic Transformations and the Subjective Dimension of Work



## **Towards Social Power or Fishing Village Women: Organizing Paid Work by a Catholic University**

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*It is characteristic of work that it first and foremost unites people. In this  
consists its social power: the power to build a community.*  
(Laborem Exercens, 20)

### Abstract

The paper is a synthesis of three themes: poverty and women, social responsibility of a Catholic university in a developing country, and organizing paid work among village women by a Catholic university.

Through an iterative process of interaction with the community, an interdisciplinary team from the Social Research Center of the University of Santo Tomas (UST) has organized a livelihood project among a core group of fishing village women. These elements marked their approach: the prerequisite of a savings club, “shared work, shared gains”, sales of processed food to fisherfolks, flexible work schedule, integrated learning.

From a project initially started to augment family incomes, the fishing village women grew in social power slowly and gradually. Their personalities blossomed, leading them to exercise power in its most positive sense. They were volunteers for university medical and health education missions, taught a wider circle of women on techniques of processing fish, eggs and meat, included the participation of their husbands and sons in more long-term livelihood ventures.

The paper will be organized along in this manner:

- A. Fishing Village and a Catholic University
- B. Fishing Village Women
- C. Collaboration between Village Women and a University Research Team
- D. Fruits of Human Toil: Social Power of Fishing Village Women
- E. The Search for Life: *HANAPBUHAY*

Regina Estoquia served as community organizer. The project was initiated by the University of Santo Tomas and later on supported by the International Federation of Catholic Universities.

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#### A. A Fishing Village and a Catholic University

Denden is a fish vendor with some elementary schooling. Besides selling her husband's catch, she is said to possess special "powers". Hence, she heals muscle pains for payment in cash or kind. She used to do manicure and pedicure but had to give this up because of poor eyesight. She has three teenage sons. Occasionally, she receives gifts of cash for schooling expenses or clothing from a sibling already based in the USA. She has a special friendship with two women who also married the brothers of her husband.

Denden lives in Garreta, belonging to the municipality of Palauig, province of Zambales. Palauig is one of the most depressed municipalities in the entire Central Luzon Region, which includes Zambales.

Fishing and fish vending are usual sources of income in Denden's village. Low fish prices mean low incomes for fishing households (cf. Philippine Fisheries Profile- wholesale and retail prices of selected fish species, 1999). Of those who fish for livelihood, eighty-three per cent are full-time fishermen. Three-fourths have motorized boats while the rest have non-motorized boats.

An average of eighteen typhoons a year in the Philippines make fishing a precarious occupation. During monsoon rains, it is customary for women and their children to gather crustaceans, mollusks and seaweeds to enable the family to eat. Yet, roughly one third of country's total fish production comes from the municipal fishing[1] these villagers do.

A fishing village is typical of the Philippines, an archipelago of 7,100 islands. Seventy per cent of its more than 1,500 municipalities are coastal. Among Southeast Asians, Filipinos

eat the most fish (Philippine Government Social Reform Agenda, 1995). Fish provides thirty per cent of their total protein intake.

Fishing production grew only at 1.3 per cent from 1994-1999. Decline in fish catch is a manifestation of overfishing. Seventy per cent of coral reefs have degenerated. This degeneration is due to siltation because of erosion, coral mining, and cyanide and “muro-ami” fishing.[2]

The municipality of Palauig is a microcosm of the Philippines. There is clearly a pyramid of wealth, income and opportunity in Palauig as it is in Filipino society. Within meters of each other, colonial design houses and dwellings of very light materials are found. A number of sturdy houses are owned by retired personnel of the US Navy. Until the early nineties, the US government had a naval facility in Subic, a neighboring town of Palauig. Owners of ricelands or mango orchards likewise constitute the local economic elite.

The 1997 Family Income and Expenditures Survey for the Philippines shows that the richest ten per cent of Filipinos have forty per cent of income while the poorest ten per cent have only two per cent of income. This inequity is reflected nationwide and is likely to be more severe in the countryside. Thirty- four families dominate rural economics and politics (McBeth, 1989).

It is to help uplift the lives of women and their families like Denden that the University of Santo Tomas through the Social Research Center has chosen to engage in this action-research project. Some of the underlying impulses for the study were:

1. God’s action in history is on behalf of the poor (Ruether, 1989). The poor are those who lack what they need (Gutierrez, 1973). Associated with this sense of deprivation is the feeling of deep shame, misery and humiliation (cf. Condorcet, as quoted in Rotschild, 1995). The poor suffer from social exclusion since they are unable to buy what human dignity requires and society deems as basic goods and services. For famished and idle people, the form that the face of God could take is work (Gandhi as quoted in Quizon, 1999).
2. Among the poor, women are worse off. Women have lagged behind men in “power, wealth, and opportunity” (Javier Perez del Cuellar, Preface to UN Survey of World’s Women, 1970-1990). No country treats its women as well as its men (UNDP, 1994). Jesus had a special love for women: outcasts, prostitutes, widows. Women’s struggle is both crucial and central to the transformation of exploitative social and economic structures, global and national, and the creation of a more just society (Asia-Pacific Centre for Women and Development, 1979). Since women are on a whole less privileged than men, any attempt to improve working conditions could help bring about more equality (Giddens,1995). Regardless of form, direct productive assistance brings significant gains to poor women ( McGee, 1989).

3. In a developing country, a university has to share its wealth of human and physical resources with those at society's margins e.g. women. This call is unique to a Catholic university, born from the heart of the Church, who in turn has a preferential option for the poor. In *EX CORDE ECCLESIAE*, a Catholic university is called to courageous creativity in responding to problems like the social, economic, and cultural exclusion of women. It has the duty to speak "uncomfortable truths" since its "basic mission is a continuous quest for truth through its research" (EC 30).  
Moreover,

*The Christian spirit of service to others for the promotion of social justice is of particular importance for each Catholic university, to be shared by its teachers and developed in its students.* (EC 34)

If the Church is the "expert on humanity" (Pope Paul VI), Catholic universities concern the "very future of humanity" (Pope John Paul II).

The research team kept their minds and hearts open on the shape of the project.[3] The only definite goal was to help support rural women who fulfill multiple roles in the family and community. These multiple roles are parallel to development goals: adequate income, nutrition, and health, among others.

The team used the following criteria for the decision on the research site:

- **Needy community:** Palauig is the fourth most depressed municipalities in the entire Central Luzon region as indicated in Figure 1. Fish catch in Zambales to which Palauig belongs, continuously declined from a high of 9,422 tons in 1992 to a low of 1,467 tons for 1999. The value of the 1999 catch from municipal fishing was less than half of the 1992 figures. The remote location of the town, 263 kilometers from Metro Manila, served only to challenge the research team. This meant leaving the city on midnight of Fridays and returning evening of Sundays. This went on for the first two years of the project. Now, travel times have become more convenient with an added station of the provincial bus providentially across the university gate. Garreta, a village in Palauig, was chosen as a unit of the study. The Catholic parish priest, the initial contact of the research team, pointed out this needy area. It had more recent migrants and there was less social cohesion than the more established neighborhoods.
- **Visibility of the university:** Palauig, the area chosen, served as an ecological station of the College of Science in the early nineties. The students used to gather specimens regularly during the school year. Therefore, the university was already known in the area. Some prominent residents are also university alumni e.g. a doctor, the vice-mayor.
- **Sustainability of the project:** A local group must be identified who could carry the project forward upon the departure of the research team. The team first

introduced themselves to the parish priest who was very helpful in identifying the village of Garreta for them. The researchers thought that it would be the parish leaders who could sustain the project.<sup>[4]</sup> It was eventually the elected political leader who fully supported the project and mobilized the residents to do the same.

## B. Fishing Village Women and Work

Paid work is not an alternative for poor women. A study among self-employed women in India showed that women began to work because of desperation due to shrinking family incomes, rather than a growing sense of emancipation and status (Banerjee, 1981).

There are several hypotheses about women's work in low-income households, where fishing village women belong:

- They engage in simultaneous, diverse economic activities.
- In such households, there are multiple sources of income. Women often engage in low-paying, steady work while men engage in high-risk, relatively high-return work e.g. construction work. Children often are forced to have paid work to make ends meet.
- Returns from such income sources are usually regular, though marginal for women. In the case of women mat and hat weavers in Visayas, Philippines, they are willing to be paid subsistence wages whether they belong to households of landed or landless cultivators.
- The poorer the household, the more likely it is for women to engage in low-return activities like trading (Grown and Sebstad, 1989)
- They engage in paid work or change their income sources as a result of:
  - marriage/childbirth
  - husband's fortunes/misfortunes
  - response to market forces, both at the micro and macro levels (Illo and Uy, 1990)
- Women who earn money for the family usually work alone. In contrast, a male head has a command of the labor services of the household members (e.g. among the Bassi in Naples in Goddard, 1981).
- When women in rural households earn incomes, their children are able to consume more calories and proteins (Garcia, 1991).

- Work of low-income women benefits equally low-income families who are in need of basic goods and services e.g. affordable, nutritious food. Ms. Babe, a woman selling food in Jamaica, has wisely remarked: "The Hungry feed the starving" (Beuter and Spaeth, 1981). Jamaican women practised an ethical price scheme. Women could charge low prices for foodstuffs since they charge zero costs for their labor.

Fishing village women usually sell the fish catch of their husbands. The following hypotheses are specific to women in selling or distributive trades:

- In Southeast Asia, where women are involved in agriculture, they sell farm products (Boserup, 1970). This holds true for fishing village women.
- Women contribute to rural economies through the distributive trades, a means which generates and equalizes incomes (Hayami and Kawagoe, 1993). Their male spouses concentrate on farming. The women are in the time-and labor-intensive work of selling since they have lower opportunity costs than men (ibid.). Opportunity cost refers to the value of the best foregone alternative. For fishing village women who have lower levels of schooling and narrow work experiences, their opportunity cost is seen as zero.
- Women who earn income from street food trade not only provide for family needs but invest as well in their children's education (Tinker and Cohen, 1985). Fishing village women make unspeakable sacrifices to send their children to school, including borrowing money. Filipinos see education as a passport to social mobility.

Fishing village women are certain to have 24-hour workdays. Meeting their male spouses at the break of dawn to be able to sell their catch at favorable prices, preparing breakfast for schooling children, doing the day's laundry would be typical early morning activities for fishing village women. Household chores and activities for earning money belong to their daily rhythm of life. Like their neighboring sea, these women roll with the waves and are able to flow with the ebb and tide of life.

Worldwide, it is the unpaid household work of women that undergirds and subsidizes all paid work in the economy (Somavia, World Social Summit, 1995). The UN survey of the world's women for 1970-1990 show that women work more hours than men in the house. Ironically, men in developing countries do less work in the house than their brothers in the developed world.

In a study in two towns of Zambales, the present research area, women spent more time in household chores than men regardless of their civil status and the stage and level of modernization of the communities (Miralao, 1980). Twenty-one years after, a study of Talim Island in Southern Luzon revealed that men do 2-3 hours of household work while women have to put in 6-7 hours daily (Bunuan, 2001).

Given this pattern, the core group organized by the university research team has a very narrow profile of paid work, typical of low-income women. The modal age of the women is forty-eight. Majority reached high school level. All are married with an average of four children. The mean monthly income of the family is P2000 (P42-\$1).

Being a cook for hire is common among them. Filipinos, whole neighborhoods included, enjoy feasts and celebrations e.g. weddings, funeral wakes, needing the services of cooks. Therefore, it is possible for cooks, often the older women in the group, to earn regular income.

The younger ones, like Nova and Imelda, worked abroad as domestic helper and high-speed seamstress, respectively. Overseas contract workers are a current phenomenon in the Philippines, starting with an official policy of labor exports promotion in 1975 under the Marcos regime. The 1997 financial crisis showed that it was more women who went overseas, presumably to earn more for the family (Philippine Department of Labor and Employment).

Most of the women sold fish while a number like Rosanna raised pigs and/or chicken both for family consumption and sale. Like waves in the sea, these women endure abrupt fluctuations in earnings as seen in Figure 2.

Figure 3 shows the income ladder of Barangay Garreta.[5] Sixty-five percent of women are regarded as unpaid family workers. Even in agriculture where rural women are active, national data reveals that only 26 per cent of women were seen as workers. This is the lot of Filipino women as shown in Figure 4. They are considered “not working” in farming where they play indispensable roles e.g. seed selection.[6] For the Philippines, 2001 data indicate that the labor participation rate of males is 81 per cent while it is only roughly 50 per cent for women.

### C. Collaboration between Village Women and a University Research Team

A valuable ally was the former parish priest, who inspired the team with his genuine concern for the poor. He suggested Barangay Garreta because it was the most needy and least socially cohesive and integrated village. Most residents were migrants from other provinces as far south as Visayas and as near as a Central Luzon province like Pangasinan. The social research team followed a very iterative approach to community development.

Although there are five distinct phases of the project, there was often overlapping. To sum up, the process of interaction is seen in Figure 5.

After roughly a year of getting to know the community via home visits and focus group discussions, the research team formally organized a core group of women in June 1999. The

core group adopted a name: KILOSKA, literally meaning “You act!”

At the deepest level, what attracted the core group of women was the caring offered by the university team. The women articulated this, “ We have felt love from the UST team.”

The activities prior to the community enterprise project contributed to a greater self-confidence among the women, who became more ready to cooperate with each other. These include monthly sessions on self-awareness and team building. The “code” method of adult learning by Freire was used as seen in Figure 6. Like most villages, the Barangay Garreta residents have had negative experiences of community projects. Loan defaults from NGO’s, fatigue with “surveys” to find out community needs, dissolution of cooperatives have become part of their history. Yet, the compassion and competence of the university team have helped overcome the doubts the women had at the beginning.

At the pragmatic level, the most attractive element of the project was the possibility of earning income from the project. Clearly, the women saw this advantage for their families. At first, the projected market would be the more well-off members of the municipalities. However, this became no longer necessary as the women themselves sold the food items they produced-salted eggs, cured meat to their own neighbors. Likewise, most of them used these food items for their own family consumption. These food items are practical combinations with rice for their husbands, who were fishing mostly the whole evening up to early morning.

The community enterprise is where all share in the work and in the gains. This has brought the women closer together as they do tasks together. An unwitting gain from this is the sense of cohesiveness and belonging the women have felt among themselves.

A critical element in the collaboration between a city university and a fishing village is the local elected leadership. The Barangay head, the late Alfonso Decano who passed away from pulmonary complications last April 2000, became an invaluable partner. He fully supported the UST team and the KILOSKA members. There was a mutuality of interest. He wanted to help his village residents as mandated by his election as village head while the KILOSKA and UST team initiated projects beneficial to the whole community.[7] Requests, made through Decano, from the other Barangay heads to organize women’s groups in their own areas is an indicator of success of the KILOSKA-UST cooperation.

The community enterprise of food preparation and selling is an optimal form of paid work among grassroots women:

- The women already have skills in cooking and make use of tools and equipment they already possess in their own households.
- The processed food items chosen – such as salted eggs and cured meat, are especially appropriate for the occupation of their husbands who stay in the sea for hours. They need food that is not easily perishable.

- The processed food items serve the needs of their neighbors, where fishing is a major occupation. The more important factor, of course, is the affordability of such food, since the women do not charge anything at all for their labor.

For the university, the experience of collaborating with grassroots women and helping generate paid work among them is likewise optimal from these standpoints:

- The human resources in the university represented by the SRC team are in areas that could be of help to the community: sociology, economics, community nutrition, food technology, and health care. For instance, the SRC played alternate roles in the community enterprise:
  - coaching Nova, the KILOSKA secretary-treasurer on the statement of income and expenses
  - auditing actual income and expenses prior to distribution of gains to the women
  - supervising the production process for salted eggs and cured meat towards quality control
- The lessons generated by the Palauig experience can give more credibility to the possible advocacy on behalf of grassroots women. The university documents this phenomenon to inspire and challenge the government, interested NGO's and academe to dialogue and to commune with the poor majority in developing countries. The university can be an advocate of direct productive assistance that results in more gains for poor women (cf. McKee, 1989). The university can speak with the resonance of experience when it espouses the case of Denden and her KILOSKA companions to government policy-makers, planners and managers. The university can align itself with the academe and NGO's supporting grassroots movements towards self-reliance. However, in her advocacy role, the university should refrain from neither depoliticizing women's issues<sup>[8]</sup> nor instrumentalizing women in development.<sup>[9]</sup>
- A Catholic university, to be true to its calling, has to see society from those who are at the underside of history (cf Gutierrez, 1973). It has to be responsible for analyzing the livelihood sources of the poor and committing its resources for cutting off their bondage to hunger, misery, and deprivation. It is as it were the Catholic university needing the poor to fulfill its vocation of being "born from the heart" of the Church. While it roots itself in the reality of a pyramid of inequality, it has the obligation to start a circle of equals, where all share at the Eucharistic banquet.

The interaction of the university with the KILOSKA members has served only to affirm its role as an educator. Education comes from the Latin "educare", meaning to draw out. Indeed, the journey of the university with the grassroots women has evoked the potentials of

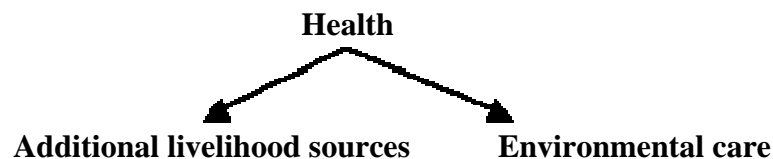
both groups. Both the university team and the fishing village women have come to “know more, have more and be more” (Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio*).

The project was fraught with many opportunities as well as tensions: affirming the human dignity of these women while challenging their productivity, avoiding dependency while at the same time doing works of mercy and charity due to the women’s marginalized situation, advocating the efficacy of local communities in responding meaningfully to their concrete problems versus the prevailing trend towards centralization and globalization.

#### D. Fruits of Human Toil: The Social Power of Fishing Village Women

Figure 7 reflects the growth of the village women into social power. The waves were rhythmically smooth and rough but they have remained afloat.

The initial show of strength by the village women working together with the university team gave an entirely new direction for the action-research. Initially, the social scientists thought that primary health care would be the focus of the project. Following focus group discussions from the four neighborhood areas comprising Barangay Garreta, there was a clear shift in thinking. The women brought about this shift when they spoke about their own situation



They traced the problem of health from its roots: poor health is caused by poverty. They need additional livelihood sources to maintain good health for their families and themselves. Likewise, since fishing, swine and fowl raising, as well as farming are major occupations in the municipality, they needed to take care of the environment to support and sustain their families.

The social power of women grew slowly and gradually. They wrote letters to the more well-off residents for a Christmas caroling campaign to raise money for business capital and projects. Their social power took forms of service to the wider community e.g. acting as volunteers for three medical and health education visits sponsored by the university. At present, the male spouses and children have been included in the wider circle of influence of the KILOSKA women through a long-term livelihood project.

Power in its most positive sense was manifested among the women: internal strength and confidence to face life, the right to determine choices, the ability to influence social processes, and an influence on the direction of social change (cf. Asia-Pacific Centre for

Women and Development, 1979).

These women were not formal elected leaders. Rather, they were mostly the ones who stayed through formation sessions on self-knowledge and team-building or came upon the encouragement of the team. In a way, within Garreta itself, these women were neither prominent nor influential. In fact, most of them were at the periphery.

Perhaps the woman with the least means in the group was Zenaida. She was chronically ill and no longer earned money from collecting bets for the small town lottery. Neither was she able to sell fish. After two years of regularly attending group meetings and production sessions, she felt very sick and told the team that she will move on to a Zambales city. There, she expected to be taken cared of by a daughter and to receive regular medical attention. Such was her loyalty to the process of collaboration and sense of belonging to KILOSKA that when she said goodbye, she remarked that her children would take turns attending the group meetings in her stead. She eventually passed away in May 2000 and the KILOSKA women expressed in so many ways their solidarity with her bereaved family. With her gone, her husband has come to meetings while her son makes himself available to run errands for KILOSKA.

The fruits from the regular weekly production gatherings were unimagined. Women began to share stories of domestic violence and found comfort as well as strength in each other. They became more ready to express compassion as a community to those in greater need e.g. Zenaida. Their potentials blossomed e.g. Nova, the overseas contract worker served as the group secretary-treasurer while Marilyn, the small town lottery collector became the chief cook. Birthdays were celebrated, conflicts confronted, and the handling of money was made transparent.

The village women have been recognized as a committed and cooperative group of women who have served their community well. Neighboring village heads have asked the university research team to organize such groups in their areas.

Organizing a paid work project has resulted in a growing social power for fishing village women. This experience has affirmed the findings of social scientists on the efficacy of local communities, vernacular groups, and “development from the bottom” as a means of “becoming more.” This community-based project has revealed a convergence of perspectives from scholars, both North and South, on the meaning and value of social power:

- Local communities- Dahrendorf (1995)

With the prevailing trend towards globalization, local power plays a vital role in balancing the forces which tend towards the extremes of centralization and individualization. Local communities combine economic imperatives and social

benefits such as skills training.

- Vernacular groups- Rahnema (in Sachs 1992)

Meaningful macro-level changes are the result of unplanned initiatives at the micro-level which add up and create ripples of change in society. It is within the vernacular spaces and in the presence of kinship networks within their communities that people all over the world are able to fashion meaningful solutions to their problems.

Signals from the grassroots movements include responses from indigenous wisdom, resilience in the face of threats, possible and meaningful changes within vernacular spaces, the spiritual dimension creating contagious enthusiasm among members that increases operational effectiveness.

- “Development from the bottom”- Saniel ( in Talisayon, 1990)

Innovative approaches from sixteen community-based models in the Philippines are autonomous, low-budget, low-profile, and participatory.

Social power as experienced by the fishing village women is imperative given Philippine realities:

- elite dominance of rural economies and politics
- unbridled capitalism and a pervasive monetary culture (cf Ramirez 1996) even in the countryside: It becomes the responsibility of a Catholic university to expose the “perversions of the market “ (cf. Santa Ana, et al, 1990) and work as a community of believers to minimize the social exclusion of the poor.
- geography of an archipelago: Local autonomy is a political necessity. The Local Government Code of 1991 has already set off processes of decentralization and devolution. Local power, then, has encouraged to flourish.

For these women and groups at the periphery of society, self-help is the basis for authentic development (Korten, 1990). However, the poor need help to help themselves.

Helping is an act of restoration (Gronnemeyer in Sachs 1992). Faculty members of Catholic universities, particularly in the poor South, need to have hearts which suggest problems and heads which offer solutions.

#### E. The Search for Life: Hanapbuhay

In Filipino, *HANAPBUHAY* is a very symbolic word for livelihood since it literally means

search for life. “Hanap” means search for while “buhay” means life. This Filipino term connotes the active and productive role the poor fulfill in the search and struggle for life of their families. At the same time, through their livelihoods, the poor produce and distribute goods and services, which are life-giving for the poor like themselves.

Parallel to this, feminist economists have advocated the category of gender in addition to individual and class in economic analysis (Cagatay, et al, 1995). They argue from the standpoint that women are active in the “provisioning for human life.”

This project, a collaboration between the Garreta village women and the university research team, has indeed been life-giving for the women themselves. During a self-awareness session featuring a hand meditation exercise, Paz, a small variety store owner and original core group member, remarked with tears: “ It is only now that we are given a chance to reflect more deeply on our lives.”

The women were an ecumenical group and yet their common work really united them. We can as well reflect on the spirituality of work among them, as stated in *Laborem Exercens*:

- The dimension of the resurrection in their arduous toil in order to nourish and sustain the lives of their families and their low-income communities through reasonable food prices.
- The aspect of becoming more, in the dignity they have found in working together instead of being individualistic and competitive in their small business.
- The women flow with the rhythms of nature since they and their families are very dependent on fishing as their main livelihood.

As Rahnama suggests, the notion of convivial poverty demands a livelihood that is based on the moral principles of simplicity, frugality, and respect for human beings and all forms of life. Work, that first and foremost unites people, (LE 20) creates a web of compassion among them and ultimately lays the basis for planetary ethics.

In the midst of their redemptive toil together with their male partners to nourish their families, fishing women are privileged to enjoy a great blessing. Daily, they are reminded of the immensity and depth of God’s love in their neighboring sea, their source of life. The university team has been grateful to be companions of the fishing village women in their journey towards becoming more conscious that they have to be co-creators for this blessing to be shared with all.

Indeed, it is human work that brings about “not only the fruits of our activity” but also “an increase on earth” of human dignity, neighborliness and freedom (LE 27).

## Notes

1. Municipal fishing is done in coastal and inland waters with or without the use of boats of 3 tons or less (1999 Philippine Fisheries Profile, Department of Agriculture (DA)-Bureau of Fisheries and Aquatic Fisheries (BFAR), p.21).
2. Institute on Church and Social Issues, "Analysis of Contemporary Developments in Philippine Society." Quezon City: Ateneo De Manila University, 1999.
3. The research team really went open-handed, ready to listen to women's voices. They allowed their expertise to be guided by women's experiences.
4. Later on, this cooperation did not materialize from the parish leaders. Rather it was the political leader of the village who gave full support to the project. An ex-military man, Barangay Captain Alfonso Decano was very much respected in the area and was a key to the success of the project. He cooperated all the way: planting ornamentals in time for a visit of the university medical mission, lending kitchen equipment, asking family members to accompany the researchers in their home visits.
5. Barangay is the smallest political unit, existing since the pre-Spanish era.
6. However, the globalization of agricultural transactions has diminished women's roles (Mead in Tinker, 1990). Mead postulates that a pro-male bias has led to the primacy of the harvest before it leaves the field i.e. scientific agriculture. In contrast, the harvest after it leaves the field, being the domain of women, has been neglected.
7. The university team organized activities like weekends for health education and medical services upon the request of the community. More recently, KILOSKA women lobbied for a water system in January 2001 and got it in April, 2001. Likewise they have been successful to have a weekly collection of garbage. All these efforts fall under the community-based resource management phase of the project. Despite the popular tendency to capture these activities under "empowerment", this term is avoided. I would tend to agree with Rahnama (in Sachs, 1992) when he remarks that to use this term implies that one is powerless and the other vests this "powerless" person with power.
8. Goetz, Anna Marie, "From Feminist Knowledge to Data Development: The Bureaucratic Management of Information on Women and Development". IDS Bulletin. Vol. 25. No.2 Sussex: Institute of Development Studies, 1994.
9. Nijehelt a, Geertje Lycklama, "Women and the Meaning of Development: Approaches and Consequences." World Bank Sub-series on Women's History and Development No. 15 and Institute of Development Studies Silver Jubilee Paper No. 7. Sussex, 1992.

