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**Marginalization, Resistance, and Communication Across
Generations: Life Stories of Intergenerational
Women Rice Farmers from Northern Samar**

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ACCEPTANCE PAGE

This dissertation titled **Marginalization, Resistance, and Communication Across Generations: Life Stories of Intergenerational Women Rice Farmers from Northern Samar** is hereby accepted by the Faculty of Information and Communication Studies, U.P. Open University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Communication (DCOMM).

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DEDICATION

To my fellow *Nortehanons*,
may we regard the women rice farmers' stories on marginalization,
resistance, and intergenerational communication as a pivotal
source of empowerment and transformation

To *Nay Maye*
Helen and Din-din
for your courage.

ABSTRACT

Magtanao, S. (2018). *Marginalization, Resistance and Communication Across Generations: Life Stories of Intergenerational Women Rice Farmers from Northern Samar*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of the Philippines Open University.

Narrative inquiry and life story were used to analyze the aspects of marginalization that intergenerational women rice farmers experienced, how they resist male domination in their public and private domains and how they communicated stories of resistance across their generations. A purposeful sample of three women rice farmers from Northern Samar who are intergenerational, from one family that has been involved in rice farming for sixty years have been part of the study. The women's narratives of lived experiences were recorded and interpreted to gain deeper understanding of how they resisted patriarchy in a male dominated industry and how they communicated their stories of resistance across generations. Some of the findings validated previous studies. However, three concepts—earning, knowing one's worth and realization as forms of resistance—distinguished the present study. These three emergent themes are remarkable for their significance in strengthening positive intergenerational communication. (Keywords: intergenerational communication, resistance, and marginalization)

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Background of the Study

Agriculture constitutes the main source of livelihood for most people in the developing countries. In this male dominated industry, the role of women is often not limited to manage complex household and family. The international accounts largely portray a woman farmer as the first one to get up in the morning and the last to bed at night. In rice cultivation alone, documents have it that women globally have historically played a dominant role.

For decades, however, women in Philippine agriculture have been marginalized and muted in the agricultural sector. This alarming situation led to implementation of feminist-oriented development programs and to some extent have privileged their voices. Consequently, the significant roles of women in rice-based agriculture in the nation had been recognized since the 1990s. For instance, the Women in Rice Farming System (WIRFS) Network in the Philippines addressed the concerns of women in specific major rice ecologies and showed much evidence from several studies that women contribute to agriculture.

The emerging changes in the roles of women in rice-based farming systems in the country is an apparent indication that women and men in legislation, grass root movements, government reforms and academic discourse have largely won the fight for equal female participation,

opportunities and control in rice-based agriculture. However, following Salwen and Stacks (2008) tenet that feminist enquiry is complex, comprehensive and fluid, this breakthrough should be taken with caution and vigilance.

Feminist communication, notably, being considered as a tool in aid of development was instrumental in this significant change. But although women have been key participants in agricultural production from time immemorial, relatively little research has been done that attempts to explore substantively whether or not farm women have identified with feminism concepts. Limited data that narrate the stories of women farmers exist, particularly accounts of women from different generations. This view then supports the need to intensify research interventions in popularizing the stories of women farmers specifically within the turf of communication.

Notwithstanding the pervasive recognition of the important contribution of women in the agricultural sector, female farmer sector is still largely disenfranchised and disempowered in rice-farming setting. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), based on their various consultations and studies has clearly articulated disempowerment issues and concerns faced by women farmers. Feminist research on farm women has documented the extent of women's work, and has shown the ways in which it is invisible and unvalued (Sachs, 1983; O'Hara, 1994)

Also, research has confirmed gender inequalities within farming families, in agricultural industries, organizations, and in rural communities (Alston, 1995; Fink, 1992; O'Hara, 1998; Sachs, 1983, 1996). It has shown how the patriarchal power structure and masculine dominance structure women's lives (Shortall, 1992, 1999; Whatmore, 1991). As formulated by

Sachs (1996), although women do the majority of work in agriculture at the global level, elder men, for the most part, still own the land, control women's labor, and make agricultural decisions in patriarchal social systems. It has also been pointed out that agrarian ideology and discourses have produced romanticized narratives of rural life that legitimize the subordination of women.

However, it cannot be said that there is a dearth of feminist-based studies on the roles and voices of women in rice farming. The Filipino Women-in-Rice Farming Systems Program report (1988) states that in many instances, it is probably fair to say that women at work in agriculture are "physically visible," but "conceptually or culturally invisible" even to those who actually see them. Fortunately, the visibility is improving and therefore the research must go beyond being "sensitizing". Research must be critical and analytical, which considers social structural inequalities. It should ask then "how" the situation is affected by power and class and "what" should be done to challenge power relations aiming toward surfacing male domination, emancipation and transformation.

Meanwhile, current national and local data provide insufficient account of how woman farmers are denied access to communication fora and how their perspectives are dismissed for being different and irrelevant. When researches do manage to capture a picture of woman farmers, little is known about how they are cut off from opportunities to speak and the respect to be heard. Hence, questions are left unanswered. Are rural women farmers well-versed with basic feminist notions? How are they marginalized and silenced? What are their lived experiences?

In the case of Northern Samar, a province that has been consistently one of the 20 poorest provinces in the Philippines where rural poverty is high with 61% rate in spite of having vast agricultural lands (DA Report, 2016), generally speaking, women often see themselves as incompetent with low level of participation and exposure to communication environment; and their farming roles are marginalized. Their 'voices' are repeatedly muted in decision making, organizational participation, and farm labor that has been a continuing challenge among feminist researchers in the field of communication. In the study of Corocoto and Sales (2015), it showed that there is a need in Mondragon, Northern Samar for extension services units to consider women as part of the beneficiaries of communication projects not only because they are interested to learn but as integral parts in rice farming development and to be gender neutral in introducing new farming facilities and equipment.

On that note, the properties of feminist communication theory identified by Rakow and Wackwitz (2004) served as the foundation in constructing the objectives of the study, to wit: explanatory—it speaks of and to experience; political—and because it is political it is personal; polyvocal—is generated by multiple voices and experiences, with sometimes conflicting interpretations of reality; and transformative—contributes to intellectual and spiritual growth by providing different perspectives through which to conceptualize experiences and the structure of society.

This standpoint supports the researcher's belief that a feminist communication study is concern with transformation and social duty. As opined by Cirkseña (1996), the definition of feminist paradigm converge on

the following points: communication studies should foreground and make explicit the inequitable power dimensions of gender relations in all human communication; should put women at the center of research; should not attempt to abstract gender from other aspects of identity; should be action-oriented—part of the research should be linked to improving the status of women; and the researched should have input into the framing of the issues and research process.

To also better understand the epistemological and ontological hold of the study, it is framed based on two themes with feminist communication leaning—lived experiences and intergenerational communication. In exploring the themes, narrative and life story approaches were employed presenting with depth these women's dimensions.

The ontological claims of feminist approach include collectivism, women-centered and grounded in lived experiences. As claimed by Weedon (1997), feminists, like other critical theorists, also base their theorization within lived experiences and oppositional social movements. Feminist theorization, as in the case of all critical theories, is emancipatory in intent and is seen by feminists as a contiguous site for the struggle for social justice. Feminism therefore occupies a position at the critical end of the critical/mainstream axis.

Also, as in the case of intergenerational communication, it serves as a link between the past, the present and the future. It is through mutually responsive communication to the relational that mothers, daughters and granddaughters establish patterns of relational communication that link them to one another, shaping each women's sense of "self" (Michelle Miller-Day, 2004). This dissertation is interested in unfolding how intergenerational

communication encourages mutual empowerment. Betty Freidan (1942) reasoned that through participation and sharing information, the women would restore their self-worth, regain a sense of personal power and energized one another (Rosener, 1992). In 1974, Barbara Bovee Polk sums up the transformational nature of shared experience by stressing that the most prevalent activity in women's resistance or movement is the small consciousness-raising group in which women across generations piece together an understanding of their oppression, and challenge their assumptions about themselves, other women and men.

Consequently, knowledge as subjective and inductive is the epistemological hold of this feminist-oriented study. In this aspect, feminism assumes knowledge production to be an important site in the struggle for social justice. There is also an acknowledgment within feminist theory of multiple ways of knowing. Rather than validating literate, "academic," and positivist ways of knowing only, feminists accept the knowledge that is derived from everyday experience as it is reflected in song, art, personal narratives, etc. (Trinder, 2000).

Thus, this feminist communication study considers knowledge to be value laden and partial in nature situated within the assumptions of the privileged and in the interest of maintaining patriarchy. When conducting research, feminists do not define the reliability of their analysis to consist of statements that are measured by the degree to which they are seen to be objective or neutral. Rather, they seek to make their own biases and values transparent, consistent with their epistemological assumptions (Lather, 1991).

This work likewise attempted to counter the contention that through nearly four decades of current feminist scholarship, it was learned that female farmers, along with minorities of both gender, have been silenced in mainstream research. Notably, feminist researches in communication have helped to reveal the need to be mindful in future research of actively refusing to continue the silencing, drawing out instead and making visible those who have been silenced, revealing their voices in social and historical contexts (Hughes, 2002). Thus, the un-muting.

The “un-smuting” is conceptualized in this study as a manner in which women farmers are positioned not as traditional respondents of research but as equal collaborators or co-authors. This research is from, by, and with the margins. In the compelling words of Brown and Estrega (2005) in their book *Research as Resistance*, Research from the margins is not research on the marginalized but research by, for, and with them/us. It is research that takes seriously and seeks to trouble the connections between how knowledge is created, what knowledge is produced, and who is entitled to engage in these processes. This present study is an attempt to incorporate the personal and political context of knowledge production; implicitly challenging relations of domination and subordination. This is essentially about making space for women rice farmers in Northern Samar in the academic world.

The foregoing discussion rationalized the use of critical approach to research; taking a closer look at the marginalized roles and muted voices in intergenerational communication setting. Notably, the impetus of this work originated from the principle that the personal is profoundly social and

political—that purely looking from the lens of woman-participants is in itself a form of resistance.

This work was also drawn from Kincheloe and McLaren's (in Kuntz, 2015) notion of the "criticalist" which emphasizes that "critical" must be connected to an attempt to confront the injustice of a particular society or public sphere within the society. In this sense, the critical engagement of this work, as Kuntz (2011) has succinctly expresses, becomes emancipatory action through exposing the inherent contradictions and gaps in contemporary social formations.

It is likewise grounded on the tenet that critical approach to research sees research as part of an emancipatory commitment and seek to move beyond a critical social science to establish a position of resistance (Ristock and Pennell, 1996; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). Hence, this research is aimed at empowering the resistance through the stories of those in the margins, which is hoped to make a contribution to changing the conditions of women rice farmers in Northern Samar.

That said, this study worked on central assumptions within the critical tradition forwarded by Brian Fay (1987). First, prevailing knowledge is viewed as being structured by existing sets of social relations which constitute social structure. Second, structure is seen as oppressive in so far as there is unequal relation between groups within it and in so far as one or more groups exercise power over others. Third, the inequality, power and oppression are rooted in class or gender or combination of both. Fourth, the aim of critical analysis is not to take prevailing knowledge for granted or to treat for some "truth", but to trace back such knowledge to structural inequalities.

Another supposition is that communication is central and critical to feminist movement building. As feminist communication research, it will make women farmers' voices perceptible, louder and put their agenda and realities to the spotlight. It is further grounded on the tenet that communication is a purveyor of change—amplifies women's voices, shifts public opinion on women's issues, shakes things up by provoking those in power to make decisions that impact women's lives, generates knowledge and understanding to emancipate women from prevailing notions that silence and marginalize them, builds movements, moves people to work together for women transformation and urges immediate actions just to name a few. Notably, for real change to occur in the lives of women and across generations, it is important for communication to encourage the sharing, expanding and reflecting on each other's experiences.

However, research cannot challenge relations of dominance and subordination unless it also challenges the hegemony of current research paradigms (Brown and Estrega, 2005). In research context, the purpose of critical research is really about focusing, about thinking critically, about reflecting on things, about being strategic (Smith, 2002) for it acknowledges that knowledge production has long been organized, as have assessments of the ways producing knowledge can be "legitimate," so that only certain information, generated by certain people in certain ways, is accepted or can qualify as "truth." Brown and Estrega further argued that historically speaking, this has meant that those on the margins have been the objects but rarely the authors of research, and the discomfort that those on the margins feel about adopting traditional research processes and knowledge creation has been

interpreted as their personal inability or failings. It is in this sense that this undertaking overtly appropriated methodology which is not obscured by objectivity, neutrality, and gender-blindness.

The landscape of inquiry, therefore, is reflexive or self-reflexive. Research participants are considered to be subjects at the heart of the research project, which is itself viewed as emancipatory in nature (Smith, 1990). In this study, intergenerational women rice farmers are considered to be the heart of the study. The women rice farmers are not viewed as a repository of knowledge, an object of the research intervention used to "collect data" (Lather, 1991). The researcher and the women-participants are engaged in self-reflexive activities where their collaborative efforts at making meaning reveals to both the different possibilities of ways of understanding social realities (Stanley and Wise, 1983).

Due to the epistemological and ontological assumptions of this study, it purely used qualitative research methodologies that include, narrative research methodologies, in-depth interviews and life stories. These approaches to research use inductive reasoning and are more conducive to feminists' attempts at undertaking theory in order to understand rather than predict the multiple meanings and patterns that emerge from the narrative of people's lives (Lather, 1991).

On the whole, the study is framed with specificity—detailed narratives of the "truths" of Northern Samar's women rice farmers including intergenerational communication experiences for the findings to provide alternative understanding and reading to challenge prevalent knowledge. The use of the life stories underscored the human elements of the research topic;

capturing and surfacing the thoughts, nuances, and depth in women rice farmers' lives.

Rationale and Significance of the Study

A quick search on women in agriculture results in hundreds of articles, books, and researches written about the activities of women farmers, their access to basic resources, and government and organizations working to address gender issues. Most of the research in the Philippines about female farmers is focused on statistical representation which leads to mere generalization and comparison of numbers. While these works have helped raise awareness about the situation of women farmers, insufficient studies are available that really go beyond quantification of women's place and numerical value or assessment of the magnitude agricultural setting—produced through quantitative methods. Thus, through this qualitative research, it is hoped that surfacing the “voice” of the research subject—woman, would provide words or images how it means to be a woman rice farmer.

Ritchie and Wilson (2000) confirm that telling one's own stories and to see what they mean is a courageous and revolutionary act, far from the marginal position it occupied in the research community. The beauty of storytelling is that it allows storytellers to use their own voices and tell their own stories on their own terms.

This study then rests on the feminist claim that to deeply understand the life of women farmers on a daily basis, they should be positioned at the center of the research. There is no better way to understand their struggles

and movements than by telling their stories. This feminist approach helps to answer the question of women's subordination to men: how this arose, how and why it is perpetuated, how it might be changed and (sometimes) what life would be like without it (Acker, 1987). It acts as a guide to understanding gender inequality and a guide to action. It is a form of awakening.

Furthermore, rural folks of Northern Samar think in story form, speak in story form, and bring meaning to their lives through story. The beliefs, culture, and traditions are passed down through storytelling from one generation to the next and so on. Since storytelling has been part of the culture of rural farmers for centuries, it is apt to tell the life experience of women farmers in the form of narration. This research endeavor believes that through stories, the experiences of these women will be passed down to young women and girls. As posited, when we listen carefully to the stories people tell, we learn how people as individuals and as group make sense of their experience and construct meanings and selves (Chase, 2003).

Also, the stories of Northern Samar's women rice farmers have never been told. Storytelling in this sense is an act of resistance (Robina Thomas in Brown and Estrega, 2005), thus, these stories simply must be told. It should be acknowledged that in some communities, like Northern Samar, there were little, if any, written records about these women. These will serve as counter-stories to dominant stories about women in agriculture in the province.

Worthy to note also is the choice of intergenerational women rice farmers. This study believed that it is essential to feature the stories of women of different age to create multiple "voices", highlighting varying experiences

and ways of looking at things. Surfacing the variations of lived experiences deepened the analysis.

Unequivocally, this work was intended to gain insight on how women rice farmers' lived experiences in rice farming context with their mother, grandmother, daughter, and granddaughter and as a mother, grandmother, daughter, and granddaughter and the meaning they make of are communicated across generations. This dissertation, thus, is focused on the individual stories of women who regularly engage in informal intergeneration conversations.

It is likewise rationalized by the belief that the critical scholar has two interwoven tasks: (1) to understand the means by which otherwise common-sensical rationales, producing a host of legitimated practices; and (2) to imagine or enable new practices that extend from newly possible forms of knowing (Kuntz, 2015). Harvey (1991) writes,

In order to change the world, we have first to understand it. In order to change the world, we have to create new human practices with respect to the realities around us...It is, of course, the task of critical and reflective thought to understand our condition and to reveal the potentiality for the future imminent in the present.

Thus, the researcher is optimistic that this work will not only inspire women farmers, young and old, in the rice farming community of Northern Samar to amplify their voice, but that it will open a dialogue, discourse or debate throughout the Philippines and the world on the lived realities of women farmers in rural setting. Their stories might help policy makers in the local and national levels and other stakeholders with valuable insights that may be enable them to review, recognize and change rigid gender roles and

differences. Also, it is hoped that it may help local, national and international organizations that are working to alleviate the quality of life of women farmers in numerous developing countries.

The knowledge, henceforth, that this study may significantly contribute is a construct of the oppressive structural arrangements that woman-farmers experienced which underpin it and sustain it. Part of the motivation of this scholarly endeavor is the critical stand to construct reality by asking “what” should be done within the sphere of intergenerational communication research to empower and transform women in a male dominated industry.

Ultimately, this attempt to tell the lived experiences of the few women participants is aimed at providing opportunities to women rice farmers from Northern Samar to break their silence—enabling them to share their stories in their own voices. The courage of women participants in sharing their personal lives would not only bring meaning to their lives but to the readers as well.

Research Problem and Objectives

Working from the supposition that “invisibility” of the role and voice of women are deeply entrenched in the context of rice-based farming in Northern Samar—making it difficult to document their lived experiences account for a narrative approach to have a closer look into their realities.

In recent years, there has been a pervasive interest in telling the life stories of women farmers. This research is part and devoted to this kind with intergenerational and communicative leaning. It arises from the recognition that there is a need to have a deeper grasp into the intergenerational and

communicative experiences of women as a rice farmer, grandmother, mother, daughter and granddaughter in the context of Northern Samar

Their stories were interwoven presenting a sort of tapestry of women rice farmers' life. They provided insight into each of the women's story of marginalization and resistance and how their experiences are communicated across generations. They also contributed to an understanding of the meaning each woman made of her story.

Narrative and life story were perfectly apt to this investigation of how the patriarchal world is embedded in their stories and how they make sense of, resist and transform their lives. These approaches contributed to answering the dissertation's research questions, areas that as yet have gained little attention. Women resist and communicate acts of struggle differently.

This study then sought to analyze how intergenerational women rice farmers from Northern Samar resist patriarchy in their public and private domains. Hence, the following research questions: What aspects of marginalization have these intergenerational women rice farmers experienced? How do these women resist male domination? How do these women communicate stories of resistance across the generations? Specifically, its objectives are:

1. to describe the aspects of marginalization that intergenerational women rice farmers have experienced;
2. to explore the means of intergenerational women rice farmers in resisting male domination; and

3. to analyze how stories of resistance to male domination are communicated across the generations of these women rice farmers.

Scope and Limitations of the Study

This feminist communication qualitative research explored the life stories of selected women rice farmers from Northern Samar. Resorting to critical approach to research, it enabled to surface women's accounts on how they are sidelined and resisted in a world dominated by men. The stories told were interpreted through the lenses of feminist communication, muted group and grounded theories.

Moreover, narrative and storytelling methods were used—as the women farmers' stories unfolded, the researcher turned to a narrative genre, specifically personal narratives, to situate the study. According to Lindlof and Taylor (2011), narrative inquiry is concerned with the study of thorough in-depth stories. Hence, this study did not have several women participants because of the exhaustive transcription and interpretation required.

The study did not delve on the evaluation of women farmers of communication programs they were exposed to or involved with whether it is gendered or not. There was also no attempt in doing a comparative analysis of intergenerational stories.

Its sample size is limited to three women rice farmers from Northern Samar. This small-scale study in terms of participants was suitable in extracting in-depth responses. Gay and Airasian (2003) contended that small-

scale studies are useful in exploring deep understandings of the research questions.

The profile of the women rice farmers was likewise limited to the following categories: should be intergenerational; all should belong to one family; and such family has been involved with rice farming for at least 10 years. These characteristics were used as basis in the selection of informants. Finally, the in-depth interviews and inclination for women rice farmers in Northern Samar limits the extent to which this study can be generalized to all women farmers.

Definition of Key Terms

Empowerment—is term that refers to the process of increasing the capacity of an individual to make choices and transform those choices into desired actions that will improve his/her life status.

Feminism—is a concept that refers to the belief in the social, political, and economic equality of the sexes.

Intergenerational Communication—communication across generations that takes into account a person's lived events.

Intergenerational Women—is a term relating to three women rice farmers in this study who are not designated by specific age range, but rather as a span of time that separates a mother from her daughter, grandmother from her granddaughter and auntie from her niece

Marginalization—is a concept that refers to the context in which those who routinely experience inequality, injustice, and exploitation live their lives.

Resistance— those behaviors by subordinate groups that contest hegemonic social formations but threaten to unravel the strategies of domination. 'Consciousness' need not be essential to its constitution. It is covert, spontaneous and hence not planned.

Un-muting—is act of un-covering stories of women rice farmers in their act of sharing their standpoint of "women's place" in society and telling their lived experiences surfacing aspects of marginalization of women's role and manners in which their voice is muted communicative forum.

Voice—is a feminist concept that refers to the means and ability to speak and to have one's speech heard and be taken into account in social and political life.

Women Empowerment—is concept that suggests giving official authority, reach full potential, to promote leadership and to increase opportunities for women.

Chapter II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The theoretical and epistemological foundations of this study is largely rooted in critical philosophies. Its substantive area—feminist communication perspective may be characterized as theoretically diverse with “shifting voices and oppositional discourse”. From neglecting examination of the relevance of message content, policy research, institutional analysis of agencies and cultural or behavioral research to privileging the voice of the marginalized in researches which has been muted for the longest time, the shift certainly recognizes the qualitative perspective.

In the words of Putnam (2001), through this paradigm shift, the research field that used to offer us a unified theory, a set of common constructs, or a coherent perspective now serves as a means of discourse for the discovery and application of ideas. The small cracks in such research orientation serve as a gaping hole that opens broader subjects of inquiry such as feminist communication. Hence, this emancipatory study.

Since narrative is inherently multidisciplinary—an extension of the critical approaches in social sciences that lends itself to a qualitative enquiry in order to capture the rich data within stories and critical paradigm in communication is quite complex, probing into the life stories of women rice farmers warrants the employment of qualitative methodology. Maykut and Morehouse (1994) posited that the researcher should find about complexities of the problems and persons through a framework which they call ‘indwelling’.

the 'human-as-interest' approach. Simply put, the story itself of each woman rice farmer is the object of the study.

Equally distinguishable which has gained popularity and continued to grow in influence in the communication discipline is Lindlof's (1995) assertion that communication research community as a whole has more understanding of the purposes and methods of interpretive and critical approaches. Several communication scholars now recognized that the complexity of the field encourages diverse voices and paradigm shifts. Therefore, these precepts across disciplines putting feminist communication at the center that have shaped the theoretical conceptual and operational framework of the study have been explored.

Meanwhile, using critical stance, the standpoint of intergenerational women rice farmers concerning "women's place" in rice-based agriculture, their lived experiences on how they are marginalized and muted; and how they confront domination of men are seen in the context of the study. Basic concepts of feminism and Filipino feminists works using life stories as an approach are likewise laid out as the platform of the central purpose of this study.

Fundamental Concepts of Feminism

Since feminism is the foundation of this study, it is imperative then to outline the fundamental conceptualization of the term. Hence, this section covers feminist thoughts and their beginnings with focus on the following themes: equity/equality; difference and representation.

Philosophy of history stood ground in patriarchy, the ideology which postulates the idea that men are more equal than women. History itself is gendered bias – a compendium of narratives using the male perspective resulting to women's invisibility in history books. Simon de Beauvoir¹ in her book, *The Second Sex* explained the patriarchal phenomenon. Man is the first sex. Woman is the second sex. She is also the other to man.

Albina Peczon Fernandez (1996) elaborated, thus: she is the passive as man is active; she is weak because man is strong; she is emotional because man is rational; she is a follower because man is a leader. This specific consciousness of herself, enables to affirm the construct that it is a man's world.

In the concept of work and production, works were classified into distinctive categories. In the context of capitalism, there is a marked distinction between production and reproduction. The former which is "paid work" is generally assigned to men while the latter which is confined to "giving birth and domestic work" is attributed to women. Shulamith Firestone, a feminist scholar and activist, argued that the materialist interpretation of patriarchy makes sense in explaining the 'invisibility' of women in the production but does not fully expound the "woman question", the "problem without a name" or the "subjection of women" as the devastating effect of patriarchy was called. In her book, *The Dialectic of Sex*, she contended that private property which has produced an exploiting class of people, is not the root

¹ In this section, the feminist research format of spelling out the complete names of authors is adapted. For the rest of this paper, the standard of indicating only the family names of authors.

cause of women's oppression and invisibility. The real root cause of it all is division of labor based on sex.

But this is not until feminists intruded. With the coming of feminist movements, a new way of looking at woman emerged. The beginning of the movement of women is grounded on the basic concept of entitlement. The popular tagline, "anything a man can do a woman can do too," encapsulates the equity concept of earlier feminisms. Juliet Mitchell (1987) contended that feminism, as a self-conscious protest movement, arose as part of a revolutionary bourgeois tradition that had equality of 'mankind' as its highest goal. Equality-as-sameness became an easy principle that brought women together in the pursuit of liberation. This has been the foundational philosophy of a brand of feminism called Liberal Feminism. Liberal Feminism rests on a conception of the human being as rather individualistic. Women can be equal with men with determination and the right amount of personal enlightenment. Alison Jaggar (1983) explained that since this is how liberals see it, freedom or progress is often taken as a solitary undertaking. The standard of being equal with something is the standard of being equal with men. Definitions of concepts like strength, for instance, are that of men's. This naturally extends to definitions of knowledge and knowledge-building. Most present-day feminists believe that such an equality-as-sameness notion of feminism should be expanded, if not, altogether overcome (Cubelo, Julianne Thesa, 2016).

Meanwhile, feminist communication theory identified representation as one of its themes. The term *representation* can be used in at least two ways. It can be used to mean standing in for or providing a likeness or replica for that

which is its subject (Ganguly 1992). The latter use has its greatest implications for the meanings ascribed to people and things—representations stand not for the original subject but for its meaning. The other use of the term is that of a part that stands for the whole, as in the case of one person holds the place for or speaks for the rest of the group (Rakow, Lana and Wackwitz, Laura, 2004).

Further, women-centered standpoint highlights the uniqueness of the representation, “woman”. For instance, right-brain attributes like intuition, emotionality, nurturance, and relationality are magnified to be important characteristics of being a woman. These supposedly predominant female characteristics which have long been considered inferior or left-brain characteristics identified with males like objectivity, logic, reason, mental linearity, etc., are celebrated by standpoint feminists. This does not mean that males do not use their right-brain hemispheres. However, by virtue of biology and social upbringing, they do not tend to use these abilities as much as women do. Furthermore, some feminists reject the biological determinism of women’s uniqueness to men since, according to them, this becomes an additional burden to being females—society expecting more from women as being primary care-givers, for instance.

Moreover, women-centered stand-point becomes an important feminist thought since it is yet another departure from traditional fare. By upholding its importance, it becomes a feminist critique of mainstream society’s claim to universality. At the heart of feminist theory, therefore, is the role of standpoint in understanding women’s place and women’s means of resistance. Alongside these insights are feminist views on the “politics of meaning-making

and the structure and consequences of discourse within which women are spoken to or about or must stake their claims as persons who have a right to be heard" (Rakow, Lana and Wackwitz, Laura, 2004).

As elucidated by Joan Scott (1992), "What could be truer, after all, than a subject's own account of what he or she has lived through?" Likewise, according to Christina Hughes, the quintessential sign of importance for standpoint is the slogan, "the personal is political." Quoting C. MacKinnon (1982), she cited what was originally explained by the former: "the personal is political" means that women's distinctive experience as women occurs within that sphere that has been socially lived as the personal—private, emotional, interiorized, particular, individuated, intimate—so that what it is to know the politics of women's situation is to know women's personal lives.

Feminist ideologies are further complicated when the issue of equality versus difference is confronted. Beyond the equality debate, there is more to the battle-cry than what is commonly mistaken to be a denial of sexual difference, "men and women are alike; therefore, both deserve equal entitlements." Yet as long as women bear children there is at least one inescapable difference between the sexes and this Liberal Feminist strand is at present often labeled as bourgeois feminism (Cubelo, Julianne Thesa 2016).

Dissecting further the notion of difference, feminists are also confronted with the difference of women from other women in terms of race, ethnicity, social class, and sexual orientation. These are intersecting points of "being" that compound the essentiality of "woman". Consequently, feminists are forced to do the difficult, yet necessary, task of taking in other feminist

perspectives. White feminists, for instance, are expected not just to be aware of their commonalities with women from the third world but to be less ignorant of their privilege over third world women and also over third world men, or vice versa, depending on the site of power and privilege.

Rakow, Lana and Wackwitz, Laura, (2004) capsulize the nature of difference by contending that works on difference question the political and philosophical underpinnings and consequences of difference (a) between genders and (b) among women.

Also, on the matter of the reproductive role of women, feminists are challenged to answer the question: should the emphasis of women's maternal role (as in standpoint, for instance), be minimized so as to end the stereotypical insistence of society to place women in her domestic role?

A feminist considers these different positions in laying out one's politics. And so, because of this, a supposedly weak seam in feminist theorizing is often used against feminism. If "woman" is such a diverse and non-essential category, then how strong is the foundational claim of feminism in the move towards liberation and liberation from whom and from what? Who is a feminist? Can trans-gendered males become feminists if they do not share with women the biological factors of menstruation and pregnancy? What truly sets the "woman" gender apart from the rest for it to have a strong claim against patriarchal dominations? What is the usefulness of finding commonalities among women? Is it necessary to do so in order to have a theory and a politics that will be genuinely for and about women? Or as Naomi Scheman (1993) asked, "... is the very attempt necessarily either falsely essentializing or spuriously universalizing?" Truly, answering these questions

is not just a one-time affair for most feminists but, rather, a lifetime of clarifying perspectives.

Gender performativity is a stylized repetition of acts; thus, gender is just a performance. More from Judith Butler (1999):

...gender is not the expression of a seamless internal identity, the essential ground of action, rather, the gendered self is structured by repeated acts that seek to approximate the ideal of a substantial ground of discontinuity, reveal the ... groundlessness of this ground.

However, she admitted that for its emancipatory value, she may call herself a feminist, but only for now. She warned feminists from reifying the category "woman" and instead offers a different way of seeing feminism as just coalitional; meaning, that the liberation of women should point towards the ultimate goal of ending labels of women and men or heterosexual and homosexual, because each label creates for itself certain expectations and standards.

This is, obviously, the extreme end of the difference debate, one that is highly postmodern. For many feminists, Butler's contentions may be too intellectual and abstract and not very much grounded to the real world. For these feminists, the label "woman" is a social rather than an essential taxonomy. In the words of Naomi Scheman (1993),

... while arguing that without some unified account of gender, without some universal claims about what it is and how it operates as social taxonomy, we will lose the political point of doing this work; our theories will fail to be usable.

She added that the main challenge in the conceptualization of difference is the question, "...power of which men over which women?" She warned against the depolitization of gender theory. Instead it should be more responsive to the demands of inclusive politics --- one that argues for politics of equality that does not deny diversity. It is important to look for commonalities. However, to go further than this, it is better to look at the web of interconnections instead of just commonalities to do justice to the complexities of women's lives.

In fact, according to Satya Mohanty (1993), theory offers a grounded respite from the friction between the "essentialism of identity politics and the skepticism of post-modernist position".

Feminists studies get strength also from Delia Aguilar's (2012) idea of difference via "intersectionality". According to her, "intersectionality" is perhaps feminism's most enduring concepts, but one that cannot be oversimplified. She traced "intersectionality" to Third World feminists' coining of the term "triple jeopardy". Women are not only oppressed by men but by the triple jeopardy of sexism, racism, and capitalism/imperialism. Each form of oppression is equal in weight and pain. Aguilar argued for the revitalization of feminism fighting these three. For her, feminism must not stop at individual discontent but must also work at resisting societal acceptance of the economic default of capitalism and imperialism.

The aforesaid feminist themes play an important role in the understanding of, particularly the complexity, profoundness and richness of feminism that has been, in the words of Cubelo, greatly deracialized especially in popular discourse.

Feminism and Critical Qualitative Research

Since feminism is an apparent component of critical theory and qualitative study; and is central to this study, it is but logical to expound the integration of feminism and qualitative study with critical stance. Having a controversial status and great contribution to qualitative research justifies a discussion in this chapter.

Like critical theory, feminism is not a single theory or methods but a highly charged field of competing narratives about the nature and consequences of gender identities (Eichler, 1977). The two share some similar core elements like emancipation from oppressive structures, hence, there is apparent affinity between feminism and critical qualitative research. Critical tradition tries to understand social actions from the actor's point of view through interpretive approaches. Qualitative methods are uniquely suited to feminist research goal (Olesen, 2005). The reasons can be briefly summarized into six points elucidated below.

First, that since the production of knowledge is an act of power, researchers and their participants should ideally be equally partners in that process (Gergen, 1988).

Second, feminist qualitative researchers are decidedly not objective (Mies, 1981) which means that they are committed to critique the suppression of the voice of the women, thus reflecting their stance in the research arena and by rejecting objectivity has led feminist researchers to develop alternate narratives of validity that support their claims without falling back into positivist standards that measure acceptability of knowledge in terms of some ideal,

unchanging body of language (Olesen, 2000) qualitative research. Feminist researchers generally reject objectivist premises that guise of scientific rationality and detachment (Mies, 1981).

Third, qualitative research assists feminists in grappling with the politics of diversity; they frequently cite the importance of achieving adequate understanding of the relationships between the elements of class, race, nationality, and so on, and gender (Olesen, 2000; Ollenburger and Moore, 1992).

Fourth, feminist qualitative researchers are profoundly concerned on how studies are affected by sexism, racism and class discrimination that inhibit the achievement of feminist ideals. They are sensitive to the ways that all forms of research may be affected by the corrosive forces of sexism, racism, homophobia, and class discrimination (Lindof and Taylor, 2011).

Fifth, Olesen (2000) posits that since qualitative data are produced in the context of a relationship, the feminist stance should be recorded and interpreted accordingly. Feminist researchers hold that research methods such as the interview are not simply a transparent means of producing data but are themselves data (Kauffman, 1992). Lastly, feminist commitments dramatically influence the form of qualitative research narratives. In the words of Lindlof and Taylor (2011), qualitative research narratives are often explicitly personal.

The strong resemblance of feminism and qualitative research is comprehensively capsulized by Lindlof and Taylor (2002) by postulating that feminist theory and methods influence qualitative communication research in at least four ways, to wit: (1) they reinforce the interpretivist commitment to

collaborative and inductive research that preserves situated accounts of human experience; (2) they direct commitment to serving the real needs of women; (3) feminist theory and methods expose taken for granted research practices so that gender differences may be considered at every opportunity; and (4) the feminist emphasis on the relationship between representation and lived experience has encouraged qualitative researchers to experiment with the form and content of their research narratives.

To further explain the epistemology of feminist research, it should be noted that a feminist epistemology questions old notions of conducting research. M. Griffiths (1998, cited in C. Hughes, 2002) summarizes feminist epistemologies in the following terms: (1) because all feminist analyses of experience are responding to women's position in society as devalued, silenced or oppressed, they all have a moral and political stance; this means that although there is disagreement as to how they might be conceptualized or what is "important", values and power are organizing concepts in any analysis of experience; (2) there is no view from "nowhere"; there is no "outside", "objective" position that can be taken—all knowledge is situated in the knower; the self, or a particular subjective position is, therefore, the first step in formulating a feminist perspective; (3) despite considerable debate within feminism about the role of theory, all analyses of experience require engagement with theorizing—this may be no more than systematic reflection or it may lead to grand theory; and knowledge is not fixed, static, or stable but should be seen much more as a spiral from which new knowledge, principles and structures emerge in a never-ending process.

Finally, feminist communication qualitative research highlights the ideas of power and control. This tradition asserts that sociological change through communication is essential (Littlejohn, 1999). It is premised on the following: theory and practice are connected—not separate—phenomena; critical theorizing is not concerned with merely describing and explaining social action, because those traditional pursuits can depoliticize topics by excluding relevant evidence, critical theory and research opposes “instrumental” reasoning; and disinterested “reason” should be recovered as an empowering resource (Lindof and Taylor, 2011).

Life Stories in Filipino Feminists Works

This part takes off from the aforementioned tenets and features the reason of its use in Filipino feminists works, particularly self-narratives or life story approach which is viewed as a highly feminist technique. Accordingly, the present study puts high value in its employability.

As Sylvia Guerrero² (1997) would put it, feminist research aims to transform and empower women. Patricia Maguire (1987), likewise opines that there is a consensus among feminist scholars and researchers that research should move beyond knowledge for its own sake. The goal is to generate knowledge about women that will contribute to their liberation and empowerment. Research from this perspective becomes an instrument towards improving daily lives and influencing public policies and opinion. It is in this research stance that the study is related with.

² In this section, the feminist research format of spelling out the complete names of authors is adapted. For the rest of this paper, the standard of indicating only the family names of authors.

A plethora of studies conducted by Filipino feminist researchers used qualitative means to generate stories that serve as main sources of their narratives to explore women's realities.

For one is the research of Ma. Theresa Tungpalan (1995) which focused on feminist pedagogy or how women learn, participatory and feminist methodologies were utilized. The study started with the concept of learning as the subject of scientific inquiry. But as the process unfolded, interactive learning became an approach to data gathering and analysis. The interactions focused on the process, on the dynamic unfolding of the narrator's views and perceptions of the world. Snapshots were obtained from the *kuwentong buhay* of the resource women's lives.

She further stated in her reflections on the methodology that feminist research, in whatever level of participatory approach, must locate venues for interactive learning: from sharing, problem identification synthesis, to knowledge reconstruction. The life stories of resource women made her rethink of her own feminist views and as a researcher, she came out from the experience with substantial answers related to the research problem and other concerns, and with further questions and challenges of feminist views (Tungpalan in Guerrero, 1997).

According to Thelma Kintanar and Grace Aguilin-Dalisay (1997), the use of qualitative methods and techniques to study women's health problems and concerns was able to surface a barrier that prevented the women in Argao from acting together in women's issues. Same is true in the study of Athena Casambre, Leah Enkiwe, Nancy Florendo and Nela Florendo on Indigenous Women and Health that employed a combination of participatory

and qualitative methods. The substantial findings would not have surfaced using traditional methods (Guerero, 1997).

In the study on families with OFW mothers by Ma. Lourdes Carandang et. al (2007), narratives were also placed at the center of the methodology. These are the stories of ten families which represent the stories of hundreds of thousands of Filipino families today—stories of fathers, young children adolescents—facing daily life and the future without the usual source of strength and stability in the home, the mother. In the words of Sylvia Guerrero and Clemen Aquino (1997), life stories reveal varied routes to achieving feminist consciousness.

In addition, the significance of telling personal stories surfaced in the exploratory research of Ma. Rosario Ballescas (1992). The unraveling of the stories of 28 Filipino women entertainers in Japan gave profound insights on the lived experiences of women entertainers. Through their stories, the women have unconsciously unmasked an entertainment world that is known well by only few. Their tales provide an in-depth understanding on how innocence can be lost and corrupted for selfish ends; how their female bodies have been packaged and commodified for the sake of male play and pleasure across two nations, the Philippines and Japan. Likewise, their personal self-narratives chronicled transient joys and the permanent woes created by government policies and private business practices in both countries that thrive on the remittances and the profits from the women.

Considered likewise as an empowering source, life stories were used primarily by Maruja Asis (2002) to draw a picture of the realities of women migrants. Drawing from the life stories of 10 women migrants who had

returned from working abroad, her study examined the individual-family nexus in terms of migration decision-making processes, how women and their families cope as transnational families, and how women migrants themselves view and assess their migration experience. The life stories indicate the significance of women's agency in initiating and carrying out their decisions, with support from their families. Among other purposes, the use of life stories provides a window to appreciate the internal changes that women attribute to their migration experiences.

Grounded on the concept that life story which is a "record of one's inner life" from the individual's point of view is another useful approach (Sylvia Guerrero, 1999), life stories were employed too by Angelita B. Broncano (2013) to describe and highlight women's everyday forms and methods of resistance in her feminist analysis on role of the Church as it contributes in the reproduction of gender biases, as well as a site of resistance to the reproduction of gender biases. She asserted that through life stories, specific issues and aspects of women's experience were thoroughly explored and analyzed. There were six women workers who shared their personal experience of gender biases in the local church.

The claim was affirmed by Lucy Arellano (2007) by stressing that the narratives of her book which were based from real life stories of families in poor urban communities where the mother is the migrant worker clearly illustrate the realities faced by the left behind families and mothers.

Further, the arguments of Glenda Lynna Anne Tibe-Bonifacio (2003) in her research on Filipino women in search of political space in Australia is laid out: The choice of the life story method is premised on the idea that

'knowledge' is grounded in the everyday, common-sense world, and in the constructions and explanations members of that world use to describe their reality and actions. Specifically, the life story approach, she explained, is a very appropriate technique in feminist studies because women's experiences are personal and individual. She likewise theorized that the life story strategy draws out the voice of women long silenced in political discourse and academic research. Consistent with the feminist aim of making women visible, the experiences of Filipino women told in their own voices serve as a major aspect in this study.

Another local literature on life story method is Delia Aguilar's (1991) "*Filipino Housewives Speak*", which utilized the life story method in surfacing the plight of Filipino housewives. It was based on ten in-depth interviews conducted on the summer of 1984. Aguilar used a Marxist feminist framework in the analysis of data. The personal narrations of the research participants showed very concrete pictures of the power structures of families within the household setting. It captured nuances that were simply impossible to be encapsulated by quantitative research methods. The whole research process became a very liberating experience not just to the author herself but also to the research participants (Cubelo, 2016). It is an confirmation of what Karina Constantino- David (1992) had said in the prologue of "*Hugot sa Sinapupunan -- Stories from the Womb*":

The interviews became the means for them to reflect on their own experiences, to clarify what was disturbing to them, to pour out what they used to keep to themselves, in order to close a chapter

in life, for those interviewed as well as for us (cited in Ofreneo, 2010).

To end this section, the explanation of Rosalinda Ofreneo (2010) about the significance of life story in the analysis of the social construction of gender is laid out. In her article, *"How to Make Women Visible in History,"* she enumerated several feminist research methods in order to put women in history. She included personal narratives/life stories, genealogy, testimony and interview, exchange stories and other indigenous methods, and *creative* focus group discussion as examples. All of these methods put the researcher responsible in drawing out the "web of feelings, attitudes, and values" from research participants that give meaning to research activities. She challenged the researchers,

...to listen to different channels: to the strong ones which agree with the dominant discourses, and the weak ones which go against the standards of these discourses. Part of this is paying attention to the stoppages, to the silences, to what remains unsaid.

Further, she clarifies that as a woman passes through the different stages of her life—infancy, childhood, pre-adolescence, adolescence, married life, motherhood, widowhood, etc., she has different people to interact with, different tasks to do and roles to play, different experiences and powers". Rosalinda Ofreneo then cited important local research works which have applied feminist research methods. She also included pointers on how to go about research concerns such as, a.) how to get data in the research process and what are the possible relations between the researcher and their research

subjects; b.) how to analyze and interpret data; and c.) how to write the report, what language or form and whose voice will prevail.

She likewise shared her personal reflections on the life story approach she did on her dissertation. She showed how being reflexive helped her in clarifying difficulties in drawing out narratives from research participants that somehow were reluctant to open-up in the first few sessions with her. Quoting Anderson and Jack (1991), she shed light on this unique method and the challenge it might offer to researchers:

Realizing the possibility of the oral history interview demands a shift in methodology from information gathering, where the focus is on the right questions, to interaction, where the focus is on the process, on the dynamic unfolding of the subject's point of view.

These constructs presented by Rosalinda Ofreneo guided this present study as it clearly displayed how actual feminists conduct feminist research and how they confront the challenges in producing knowledge; allowing a discursive and deep space in the reproduction of knowledge without being captivated in the trappings of patriarchy.

The aforesaid suppositions support the use of self-narratives or life story approach in the study in the production of knowledge.

Aspects of Marginalization

This part reviews works relating to the status of women in society. It includes also the aspects of women's marginalization in order to provide a broader perspective on the subject.

In socio-economic aspect of women's marginalization, feminists argue that the gender division of labor in contemporary society has confined woman to the position of house wife which chains her to unpaid household work, dependency on man, lower social status and gender discriminations. It is concluded that the burden of household activities along with other socio-economic factors have generally hampered her income-generating capacity. Women are also placed at a disadvantageous position in the income earning activities they venture into, because of sex discrimination.

The liberal feminists believe that the sex specific attitudes on women and the division of labor in the society is mainly based on the informal customs which violate the liberal political values (Jagger, 1983 and Welby, 1992). Channeling of women into preparation for the lower-paying and more feminine occupations since childhood lead them to poverty and dependence, which make most women unequal to most men. It becomes a vicious circle, as poverty makes it difficult or impossible for them to exercise their formal or legal rights in society. The situation, according to liberal feminists, is worse for those women who do unpaid housework. Their dependency on husbands make it extremely difficult for them to exercise their autonomy.

Traditional Marxists conceive that dialectical relations in the capitalist mode of production has forced women to two forms of oppressions. Firstly, the women wage laborers are exploited and subjected to alienation as a part of the working class. Second, women who are excluded from wage labor are suffering from a special form of oppression, that is rooted within the specific sexual division of labor (Jagger, 1983). It also consists of woman's unpaid procreation of next generation for the work-force, which itself leads to her

dependency on men. So, women became the original proletariat in the first form of class oppression (Engles, 1985).

Marxist feminists maintain that women are in the oppressed class and the relation between men and women are class relations (Bensten, 1970 and Rowbotham, 1973). It is mainly because women as a group have a distinct relation to production and property in almost all historical societies. The socio-sexual division of labor of private and public domains, they argue, has been the basis of division of labor, setting men to work and women to homes to provide free labor for caring and rearing of children. They believe that women therefore, are brought into paid work only when boom conditions in the society increase the need for labor (Beechy, 1977).

For radical feminists, the concept of patriarchy has been the main factor for the sexual division of labor in the society. It defines women in a way specific to their sex, as beings whose special function is to gratify male sexual needs and to bear and raise children (Jagger 1983, Burris, 1970). Rich (1976) and Firestone (1977) have analyzed the psychic, sexual and ideological structures that differentiate the sexes, setting up an antagonistic relation of dominance and subjugation between them. The domination of men according to radical feminists has been the root of women's oppression in society and their exploitation in the family.

Gender, in socialist feminist's view is related to the systems of organizing social reproduction and it has been an important element in maintaining male dominance in the society (Jagger 1983). The sexual division of labor in the family has been structured by this male dominance and is manifested in the exploitation of women. The concept of sex effective

production has been used by socialist feminists being vested to point out how women are attributed to their mothering role, resting them to work outside the family. Further, such male-biased gender relations in society also determine the wages of women's labor.

Meanwhile, the theory of feminization of subsistence agriculture points out that the commercialization of small holding agriculture and other activities involving men, imposed upon women the double burden of household and farm work, as women were forced into subsistence agriculture and other economic activities in addition to their household work. When prices for commercial crops dropped, men migrated for wage labor and women had to get involved in petty trade or wage labor to cover the family expenses, leaving them with a triple burden (Boserup, 1990). A number of studies have noted that development of a system of wage labor made women more dependent on men, undermining traditional systems where women had a certain amount of control over production and reproduction (Moore, 1988). Boserup (1970) also argued that the role-played by women both in the productive and reproductive sphere is very high, however, the place given to women in the society is very little.

In terms of ideological aspect of marginalization of women, every society holds certain values and beliefs regarding women which have a link with the disadvantageous situation of women. These ideological factors seem to be the outcome of beliefs shared by a particular society or values implanted from other societies. Those ideological factors can be examined in terms of misconceptions regarding the work of men and women.

Even though there is no significant biologically visible difference

between men and women, various misconceptions about women prevail in society, which have assigned them in weaker positions. Women are viewed as a part of private, domestic world that is disassociate from politics and public purposes (March and Taqqu, 1986). The private and domestic dichotomy has been constructed on the basis of existing values about culture and nature. Culture attempts to control and transcend nature, to use it for its own purposes. Therefore, culture is superior to the natural world. The women are identified or symbolically associated with nature while men are associated with culture. Since culture seeks to control and transcend nature, then it is natural that women, by virtue of their close association with nature, should also be controlled and maintained (Moore, 1988).

The reproduction and natural functions of women such as child bearing and child rearing have been linked with the domestic, as separate from the outside world. Historically, their role in biological reproduction has generally restricted women's participation in mainstream of development of social economic and political process (Kaushik, 1994). Such views have contributed to the marginalization of women from traditional inheritance such as land ownership. The dominant view that men are the bread winners and women the dependents; strong male vested interests in all land, including public land and the belief that land distribution to women further decreases farm size and fragments cultivated holdings, in turn reducing agricultural productivity (Agarwal, 1994). Consideration of women as housewives is also linked with these misconceptions and it has been a basic factor to the invisibility of women's economic contribution to the society.

Relative to misconceptions on women's work, though women's labor

contributes much for the well-being of the family and the economy, various ideological factors have obscured this reality. It is noted that the actual extent of women's unwaged work, and their consequent contribution to household income has been consistently underestimated (Moore, 1988). One of the basic reason for this is the very concept of labor.

One general attitude of women that has long been observed is confirmed in the study of Montiel and Hollnsteir (1976). It theorized that female labor is marginal, dispensable, and seasonal. Women are usually considered "first out" and "last in" in case of insufficient demand for labor. When seasonal demand for production output is high, women are also more often regarded as expedient labor group. This stems from traditional attitude that men are the principal breadwinners and women's economic role is only secondary.

In the Philippines, empirical data provided by Aleta, Silva and Eleazar (1977) reveal that the cultural distinction between men's and women's work are as follows:

(1) prescribe occupational sex role—societal discrimination starts at birth and continues with the early acquisition of sex roles; this attitude and sex role differentiation in the home is further extended in early education and carried on in the society's treatment of women's place in general; (2) feminization of traditional male fields—some occupations are clearly male-dominated i.e. engineering, forestry, geology, architecture and female-dominated professions are those in the medical field i.e. nursing, nutrition, midwifery etc.; agriculture specifically is a field traditionally associated with men; (3) sex difference in aptitude—the male-female role segregation is apparently a universal

phenomenon, with slight variations in each culture; in the Philippines, the evolution of female participation in several male-dominated professions seems to be encouraging, however, it should be noted that Filipino women in the professions represent the elite, the small minority of women in the country; one realistic argument against this demarcation is the very limited notion of work "suitable by its nature for women"; and (4) attitudes toward segregation in work roles—the chosen occupations of females are those culturally approved for females in the Philippines.

Traditional Marxists interpret labor as the production of the means of satisfying human material needs such as food, shelter, clothes etc. They consider child bearing and child rearing as non-productive. Social feminists claim that the conception of women as primary sexual beings and/or as mothers is an ideological mystification that obscures the contribution of women's labor (Jagger, 1983).

The capitalist concept of private domain along with the perception of home as men's refuge from world of work also mystifies women's work in the home (Smith, 1977 and Benston, 1969). The inferior economic value given to the women's work has made some theorists consider women as a category excluded from the labor force. Accordingly, women are put into reserve army of labor which can be brought into paid work when boom conditions increase the need for labor (Beechy, 1977).

Labor economists of the human capital school argue that women get paid less than men because they have less skill, labor market experience and fewer qualifications than men. This is mainly due to the fact that women's work as "carers" of children hinder their acquisition of these qualifications and

as much labor force experience as men (Welby, 1992). Prevalence of such misconceptions on women's work resulted in the underpayments and under remuneration for women's labor. Much of women's work is unpaid and whenever they are paid wages, they receive less than men even for similar types of jobs and wages as they are rarely paid according to the minimum wage act (Verma, 1986).

In the context of political aspect, Liberal feminists believe that the violation of liberal political values of equality, liberty and justice has resulted in discrimination of women on the basis of sex (Jagger, 1983). For them the existence of sex biased in contemporary society has aggravated this injustice and the discrimination of women. Women are easy victims of legal and political discriminations since their absence from powerful positions in the state and central decisional areas (Welby, 1992). Men and women have different relationship to the state and are, therefore, different sorts of political subjects under the state. The state structures and policies have a differential impact on women and men, and women and men have an unequal influence on state actions (Heyzer, 1987).

In Philippine historical context for example, the women had been agitating for participation in elections. But perhaps because of indifference of the majority of women still steeped in the idea that women's place is only inside the house or because there was no organized or concerted action among them (Guerrero, 1996).

Men's dominance over women, as traditional Marxists conceive, is a by-product of political economy of the capitalist. domination over the labor, which determines the nature of gender relations. Further narrowing down this

explanation, Marxist feminists maintain that women are an oppressed class and suggest that the relation between men and women is a class relation, that sexual politics are the politics of class domination (Kelly, 1986).

Radical feminists view patriarchy as a system of male dominance which exercise male power to marginalize women in the society. According to patriarchal analysis, the political institutions in the capitalist society employ patriarchal ideologies in their actions. State is the main political institution which has a systematic bias towards patriarchal interests in its politics and actions (Walby, 1992). They maintain that every area of life is the sphere of gender politics and all gender relations are institutionalized relationships of power. Socialist feminists conceive gender relation as a means of exercising men's power over women. The ruling group in the production of children and of sexual and emotional satisfaction has always been predominantly and always exclusively, composed of men and that the laboring group in the production of these goods has always been composed predominantly and always exclusively of women. Therefore, so long as men as a group control and derive primary benefit from the labor of women as a group, socialist feminists view men as a group or class that exploits women as a group or class (Jagger, 1983). These concepts laid out in this section are the take-off point of the following topic reviewed.

Women in Agriculture

Review of earlier studies on women in agriculture is presented in this part, emphasizing the latter's marginalized roles including, but not limited to

decision-making, participation (in productive and reproductive activities), control and power as they form part in the study. Although the concept of muted voice is essentially a form of marginalization, this portion aims to emphasize the areas and manners in which women in the context of agriculture are silenced in communicative fora.

The roles of women in agriculture are described in the study of Aleta, Silva and Eleazar (1977). It states that one half of women, ten years and above, are classified as housekeepers by type of activity, although close to three-fourths (74%) regard themselves as housekeepers. An average married rural female farmer undertakes her main activity at home. She spends at least 29 days a month and at least eight hours a day on her main activity which is housekeeping. Though it is her full-time job, she does not get paid for this. Aside from housekeeping, she takes part-time farming and other income generating activities. For these two types of activities she would usually be considered as an unpaid worker.

In another study on Philippine rural women (1975), a general description of rural women in Luzon, however, states that they spend most of their time in the fields. Thus, the general picture portrays rural male farmers taking on the earning role, while females take on the subsistence part of farm work in addition to their home-making responsibilities.

In terms of decision-making, Rutsaert et. al (2017) revealed in their study that women do not play a major decision-making role in some farm activities where they have a high labor participation rate and that decision-making roles in farm activities varied according to gender-based control over the means of production. Women's major decision-making concerns though

are the household daily food requirements and medication in times of illness in the family.

In similar vein, Bannawe (2004) found out that women are not to be trusted with major decision, since they operate not by reason but by intuition. Hence, they are as fickle as the weather. She further states that women are still to be liberated from subsidiary roles implying their docility and domesticity. Even as more succeeded in breaking the cultural wall that defines their personalities and life directions, women still have to battle societal impositions that restrict as self fulfilled individuals.

On accessing and borrowing capital, with little or no savings to speak of, the women are compelled to access farm capital through borrowing. Yet, in deciding where to allocate the farm capital, it is the men who exercise decision making especially in areas such as the purchase of farm inputs, rental of farm implements, and hiring labor as shown in the study of Leyesa (2008). Her study further showed that on "pawning of the land", it is a shared decision between the men and the women in most cases. Family planning is a shared decision-making task as well. However, women said that the shared decision arrived at was the one approved or favored by the husbands which clearly suggests that prevailing gender relations when it comes to family planning remain biased in favor of men.

In the 1998 paper of International Rice Research Institute (IRRI) on Filipino women rice farming systems, it is reported that women are not only involved in the care, maintenance and marketing of swine but also in decisions pertaining to milling of *palay* from which the bran is derived.

Notably, while the women in agriculture enjoy a certain level of autonomy in the domestic arena as well as in some production areas, they have yet to experience full empowerment. But it is also possible that such autonomy could further evolve, or in some cases have already evolved, as an outcome of conscious power-and-responsibility-sharing among the household members (Leyesa, 2008).

On the area of participation, two decades of research have largely supported Boserup's (1970) insights in terms of variations in women's participation in different farming systems. But by analyzing in more detail the less visible work activities (such as domestic production and seasonal wage labor), the research has also shown that women's contributions to agriculture are greater than those postulated by Boserup. It is well accepted nowadays that women make substantial contributions to food production and agricultural wage labor, even when they are secluded or in male-dominated farming systems.

However, subject to considerable socioeconomic and agroecological variations, a traditional division of farm work by sex still exists. Women are particularly active in growing food for subsistence, in weeding, post-harvest storage and processing, small-scale marketing of agricultural produce, and the care of livestock. Men grow cash crops for sale in local, national, and international markets. There are "female crops" and "male crops" (Buvinic and Mehra, 1990).

Despite women's extensive and varied participation in agriculture, they continue to have less access than do men to modern agricultural inputs. As a result, their farm work is labor intensive and yields meager economic returns.

Moreover, evidence shows that rural women in Asia contribute significantly not only to the physical production process but also in labor participation which may vary considerably between countries. With the exception of Bangladesh, women generally supply the bulk of the labor for transplanting, weeding and harvesting (Unnevehr and Stanford, 1983).

Coontz (1986) also asserted that rural women particularly in the developing countries exercise hardship by undertaking triple roles, that is, productive role, reproductive role and community participation role in their day to day life.

Similar observations are noted in another study which claims that women have a triple burden: maintaining their own contributions to the household income (including food production, firewood and water collection, and any additional activities to supplement household income); seeing to their reproductive responsibilities (e.g. childcare and care for the elderly and sick, feeding, cleaning, maintenance); and supporting men's productive responsibilities (Kes and Swaminathan, 2006; Carr and Hart, 2010).

Nonetheless, many are primarily involved in the production of family food supply and domestic work, many work intensively in the fields only during the peak labor seasons (Duggan, 1991).

In general, women are primarily involved in processing and marketing. Rice production, land preparation, transplanting, and threshing are mainly done by men while pulling of seedlings is a women's task. Harvesting, buying of inputs, conveying *palay* to the mill, and marketing are done jointly. For farms growing mungbeans, women were more involved in broadcasting, harvesting, threshing, marketing, and buying of inputs (IRRI Report, 1998).

Meanwhile, according to Borah (1999), because the social system prescribes that women play multiple roles as child bearer, child rearer, homemaker, farmer, worker, and community manager, women have to make constant tradeoffs in allocating their time, labor and productive resources among the household, farm and other obligations. Participation of women is very intense at the time of harvesting paddy. Women are engaged in all of the activities connected with harvesting including cutting the harvested grain, carrying the harvested sheaves, threshing, winnowing, and all of the post harvest activities, though they may also be carried out by men. The household, therefore, is regarded entirely as women's area of work and however active a woman may be economically, she is expected to do all of it, all by herself.

In fact, in the study of Buvinic and Mehra (1990), it was revealed that women's time allocation patterns are less fixed than those of men. Men's use of time does not vary much during their adult working lives. In contrast, time allocation by women and children is flexible, changing with the number and ages of children in the household and the annual cycle of agriculture and schooling (if children go to school at all). As the demand for childrearing time and for cash income increases over the household's life cycle, the burden of meeting this demand falls primarily on the wife and, as they grow older, on the children.

In the rural Philippines, fathers' time spent in domestic chores is 1 to 2 hours daily, whether there is one child or seven. Filipino women spend about 2 1/2 hours per day in market production (wage employment, farming, fishing, and income-earning work at home) and 7 to 8 hours in home production.

Older children often substitute for father's time in home chores and care of siblings. When there are seven or more children, men actually reduce their child care time (to about 10 minutes a day) and increase their leisure time (King and Evenson, 1983). In rural Peru as well, it is mothers and children who substitute for each other in cooking, hauling water, and animal care (Deere, 1983).

Likewise, FAO (2004) reported that women's economic participation is further limited following socially ascribed roles and responsibilities for women and men. Women's work was seen largely as an extension of their reproductive and domestic functions in the home. Rural women undertake variety of production and caring activities. Of the total work force, women comprised 27.3 % of 10.4 million workers employed in the agricultural, hunting and forestry sector. In *palay* farming, about 35% - 49% of the farming households hired women workers in pulling and bundling of seedlings and in planting and harvesting activities.

Also, Bannawe (2004) asserted that in traditional farming, females do the weeding and harvesting. There is also an inequality in terms of participation in rice production activities and that women are perceived to have more responsibility.

Doss (2005) highlighted that general weeding and harvesting were predominantly female activities. Their activities typically include producing agricultural crops, tending animals, processing and preparing food, working for wages in agricultural or other rural enterprises, collecting fuel, and water, engaging in trade and marketing, caring for family members and maintaining their homes.

In another study, it is emphasized that women are involved in over half of the farm activities in many developing countries but bear most of responsibilities for household food security and contribute to household well-being only (Etenesh, 2005).

As regards control, women's power over production and income, may vary independently across and within communities (Mason & Smith, 2003). Gender division of labor varies from one society and culture to another, and within each culture external circumstances influence the level of activity (Nigist, 2004). It means that in some communities, women may enjoy considerable control over household income while they are disempowered with respect to labor or vice versa. This could also mean they can have control over both or none at all.

For instance, rural women play important roles in rice-based farming systems but still form part of the unpaid family labor. In Asia, the prevailing rice cultivation practices demand heavy manual labor inputs and drudgery, particularly on women (Paris, 2014).

Borah (1999) emphasized that the greatest importance in various agricultural and non-agricultural activities is given to what is considered "the core productive activity" over which women have no control. Ploughing and operating the potter's wheel, for instance, are taboo for women in India.

With the exception of this activity, women perform most of the tasks in rice cultivation. From their earliest introduction, through out Europe, the Middle East and Asia, and later on in the New World, animal-drawn ploughs have normally been handled only by males, which perhaps forms the basis for the sexual division of labor in agriculture (Borah, 1999).

The study Lal and Khurana (2011) also noted that majority of the rural women are uneducated, unskilled and tradition- bounded, therefore their productive capacities are also low, and counted as unskilled labor. Though rural women also help to produce the staple crops like rice, her contribution is secondary in staple crop production, however, in legumes and vegetables, her role is instrumental. It is also revealed that rural women have very hectic life. Her work starts from dawn and ends at dusk. The daily routine work begins from house cleaning, fetching drinking water, dish washing, laundry, preparing food for family, care of children, tailoring and sewing clothes. In most of the developing countries, both men and women farmers do not have access to adequate resources, but women are even more constrained because of cultural, traditional and sociological factor.

Meanwhile, highlighted in the study is the Multi-Dimensional Role of Women: (1) agricultural activities: sowing, transplanting, weeding, irrigation, fertilizer application, plant protection, harvesting, winnowing, storing etc.; (2) domestic activities: cooking, child rearing, water collection, fuel wood gathering, household maintenance etc; and (3) allied activities: cattle management, fodder collection, milking etc. Overall, the findings disclosed that despite the huge involvement of rural woman farmer, her role and dignity has yet not been recognized. Women's status is low by all social, economic, and political indicators.

The study further revealed that woman farmers spend long hours fetching water, doing laundry, preparing food, and carrying out agricultural duties. Not only are these tasks physically hard and demanding, they also rob girls of the opportunity to study. The nature and sphere of women's

productivity in the labor market is largely determined by socio-cultural and economic factors. Women do not enter the labor market on equal terms when compared to men. Their occupational choices are also limited due to social and cultural constraints, gender bias in the labor market, and lack of supportive facilities such as child care, transport, and accommodation in the formal sector of the labor market.

Similar study theorized that women's labor power is considered inferior because of employers' predetermined notion of women's primary role as homemakers. As a result of discrimination against female labor, women are concentrated in the secondary sector of labor market. Their work is low paid, low status, casual, and lacks potential upward mobility. It is concluded in the study that women are treated as sub-servant.

Related findings surfaced in a FAO report (2010) on gender roles in agriculture stating in particular that men often perform tasks that require physical strength like preparing land and planting or technical know-how like pruning, pest and disease control. Women are responsible for household chores, on top of the work in the coffee. They also take care of their vegetable gardens or grow food crops for household consumption and food security. It further states that women play a major role in agriculture both in food and cash production. But they are not visible and often overlooked.

In furtherance, the establishment of Women in Development (WID) approach, better known as the 'anti-poverty approach', which was developed as a result of the rising concern by academic research which revealed 'gender blindness' in the design and execution of development projects resulting in women being overlooked, sidelined and even harmed by such interventions

(Moser, 1993) was criticized by Kihoro (1992) by pointing out that the approach has taken little account of the long work hours and onerous nature of the work undertaken by recipients in their triple role as domestic workers, farmers and wage-laborers.

Studies have shown that in developing countries women, especially poor women, work an average of 12 to 18 hours a day compared to an average of 8 to 12 hours a day for men (Jacobson, 1993; Momsen, 1998). Most women in the Third World have a longer working day than men and are often used as a reserve supply of labor that can be called on at periods of peak demand in the agricultural calendar.

In addition, income-generating projects for women have actually increased the workload for many of them and the additional workload for women has been ignored. Also overlooked is the low status put on women's lives which in turn greatly affects the women's families and communities. For women, this limits their access to land, resources, credit, machinery, markets for their products and control over income raised.

Notably, with increased mechanization, which favors male labor, the demand for female labor has decreased (Mixon-Mueller and Anker, 1988; Mitter, 1994). Hence, despite the growing importance of the women farmers' role in agriculture, as well as in overall rural development, the lack of access to and control over productive resources deprives them of opportunities for their own capacity building and improved quality of life (FFTC ASPAC Report, 2009).

In terms of control over income, according to Linda (2005) men have more power to control on the income made by women and often decide to

finance their own personal interest instead of the households because women have less power /right/ to make decision on the household income independently.

International Labor Organization (2008) recorded that in agriculture women labor on family farms but rarely control farm income. When women are employed, they are usually paid less than men, even for the same tasks.

Additionally, although women may be consulted in a number of different capacities within the household, they often lack decision-making powers when it comes to spending, and lack control over their own income. For instance, a research in Ghana shows that even where women may disproportionately (in comparison to men) control the production, processing and marketing of certain crops, women very rarely control the income from those crops (Doss 2002).

Interestingly, the results of the study of Rutsaert et. al (2017) showed that in all four countries (Myanmar, Thailand, Vietnam and the Philippines, women make majority of the household expenditure decisions alone but still men only occasionally take part in decision-making when a decision about a large spending is involved. In the Philippines and in Thailand, women are also generally custodians of the household cash (White, 1984; Acharya and Bennett, 1981; Ministry of Agriculture, Philippines, 1983).

In the context of pastoral society, the study of Neyew and Mengistu (2013) has confirmed that women suffer from gender inequality by many standards. Women have lower educational status, fewer livestock, and less land due to discriminatory access and unfavorable attitudes. It is also evidenced that the probability of households falling into poverty is higher for

households headed by females than males. The frustrating event is that many of the challenges and burdens on pastoral women will remain invisible and unnoticed and are likely to be perpetuated from generation to generation through societal values and norms.

In reference to the “voice” of female farmers, several local studies and abroad have shown that women’s assertions in any communication setting are commonly belittled, discriminated or dismissed.

For instance, women are the casualties of the world’s capitalist system and of economic progress and they remain invisible and inaudible in communities throughout the world despite of the string evidence that in addition to caring for families and homes, women are the powerhouse of developing countries. They produce a staggering 60 % of all food, run 70 % of small- scale businesses and make up a third of the official labor force (Oxfam, 2000). Women constitute two-thirds of the exploited workforce, own just one percent of the world’s resources, and earn one tenth of the world’s income. Less than one seventh of administrators and managers in developing countries are women and they hold only 10% of seats in the world’s parliaments (Oxfam, 2000). This means that women have very little say in the political and decision-making platforms of nations and communities around the world and are far from equal with men.

FAO (2010) claimed that because of cultural attitudes, discrimination and lack of recognition in their role in food production, women enjoy limited to no benefits from extension and training in new crop varieties and technologies. Women have considerable less access to agricultural resources than their husbands and fathers. This is not only true for women’s access to

extension services, but also for their access to land, seeds, fertilizers, technologies and credit. This is a strong indication then that women have little or no access to technological-communicative fora.

As argued by Jayawardena (1986), Mohanty (1991) and Aguilar (1998), a persistent problem for Third World women around the world is the deep-rooted mainstream ideology and institutions of colonialism and imperialism that is incompatible and foreign to their social and political experiences and context. This problem has been highlighted by the works of noted Third World feminists such as Kumari Jayawardena (1986), Chandra Mohanty (1986, 1991) and Uma Naraya (1997) all of whom integrate issues of race, class, colonialism, and imperialism into their view of the struggle for gender equality and empowerment. Mohanty (1986, 1991) is well known for her decades of engagement with feminist struggles. She has, through her belief in the power and significance of feminist thinking, brought to the international arena the particular struggles of Third World women as she interrogates and deconstructs the notions and processes of decolonization, anti-capitalism and feminist commitments to economic and social justice. Naraya (1997) focuses on the notion of nation, identity and tradition to show how Western and Third World scholars have misrepresented Third World cultures and feminist agendas. Jayawardena (1986) is another noted Third World feminist who reconstructs the history of women's rights movements in Asia and the Middle East from the 1800s to the 1980s. Her research illustrates that feminism was not a foreign ideology imposed on Third World countries, but instead, was indigenous to Asia and the Middle East as women struggled for equal rights and against the subordination of women in the home

and in society in general. Much has been achieved through the works of these feminists to be the voice of Third World women in international agendas of social progress and economic development.

In spite, however, of three decades of attention by state government and international agencies to 'integrate women into mainstream development, women especially from the Third World women have either been left out of the development processes or have derived little benefit from these projects. Women throughout the Third World face enormous socio-economic and political challenges that are external to their local communities while other challenges are deeply inherent in their local socio-economic and political cultures and institutions.

For instance, the mainstream development policies and infrastructures of rich and powerful countries promote only economic growth and profit which often bypasses and ignores the national interests and needs of Third World countries. On the other hand, in most Third World countries, local cultures and indigenous ideologies have deep rooted values, beliefs and practices that discriminate women which has made them invisible and inaudible. For example, in the highly patriarchal social system in Fijian villages women may be present at village meetings but are not expected to voice their opinions. They can only voice their opinions outside this forum within their family household (Yabaki, 2006).

In relation to the use of spare hours, it has been observed that most rural male farmer are involved in political activities during leisure hours, while most of the female farmers are engaged in economic or income-generating activities. Because of this, they hardly have any time left to participate in any

communication forum (Aleta, Silva ad Eleazar, 1977). This position of women still holds true at present, specifically in the context of rural farming. The critical questions thrown by Carmer Nakpil years ago still confront the society today—*Are women really better seen than heard? And if to be heard, should it be better be in the backrooms of power chambers rather than at than center stage?*

In sum, all the studies reviewed in this section share one common finding—the low status of women is rooted in the male dominated traditional institutions and socio-economic infrastructures where power and decision-making has remained in the hands of men in all communities throughout the world.

Resistance to Male Domination

First part of this section takes a Philippine historical perspective in the belief that the nature of defiance, small or massive, of women “then” and “now” have strong resemblance in challenging patriarchal power and control.

Several attempts were made by women’s organizations to correct traces of inequality of roles between men and women through Philippines laws from the pre-colonial period to the present Civil Code. A number of bills were filed and approved in Congress removing discriminatory provisions against women through the concerted efforts via lobbying and close monitoring of women advocates (Myrna Feliciano, 1996).

In the paper of Dr. Romeo Cruz (nd), women are reflected as revolutionaries fighting in the front or side by side with men. *Babaylan* was

considered as a central personality in religious and agricultural rituals. Dr. Cruz posited that most rebellions in Philippine history has a *babaylan* portion, a religious and cultural portion, until a political evolution came into being. The *babaylan* was usually a woman. She is considered as the first specialist in the social sciences and humanities in our history. The *babaylan* "is still with us today" according to Dr. Cruz. In his words, *many Filipino women have gravitated towards babaylan type occupations.*

The paper of Sofia Logarta (nd) shows that women during the Japanese occupation were likewise engaged in armed struggle. She claimed that in the post-war guerrilla movement male and female were equal; women not only fired guns but also served as military leaders.

In the article of Mary Grace Ampil Tirona *Panuelo Activism*, it was emphasized that women resistance took the form of replicating and popularizing the efforts of *grandmothers or mothers, sisters and daughters in the larger women's movement, campaigns, propaganda and conferences...* She showed in her work how the Filipino women fought for suffrage during the Commonwealth period. In context, she forwarded telling the stories of Filipina struggle is a resistance in itself.

Sofia Logarta is on the same page in her paper by stating that women showed resistance by being part of the Huk Movement intelligence network which included old women vendors, children tending carabaos, and traveling merchants. From this view, it presents the realization that although women performed the traditional tasks of females, they did things also not tied to their sex role to show resistance.

During the dictatorship regime, Aurora De Dios observed that women's group displayed an unprecedented level of commitment in many critical political periods throughout the years of the regime. In numerous instances, they spearheaded concrete forms of resistance against the dictatorship where men felt intimidated. Her paper also mirrored that women as givers of life are inherent nurturers of children, the environment, the family, and the nation—one that does not tolerate prostitution, low intensity conflict or any other strategies that foist conflict over peace. Women in this regime were advocates of many nationalist causes and were active in the struggle against dictatorship.

The same continued during the country's democratic period, Socorro Reyes shown in her paper women's political participation as candidates for political office, and voters. Women became active lobbyists to advocate women's causes.

In contemporary Philippines, the notion on the nature of women (as the weaker sex, half-human and destined to be domesticated) still persists. Studies have shown evidence on this regard. In politics, Luzviminda Tancangco contended in her paper that Filipino women, in general, still shy away from the political arena. She noted, however, that what seems to be the bright spot is the existence of established women professionals who have the educational training, competence, and organizational base.

International literature on women resistance is rich. For one, vast studies have confirmed that education has empowered women to use different platforms to resist oppression. Literature, poetry, song and symbolism are used by women to resist patriarchy in their own ways. Highly

educated women with university degrees may use their writings to protest oppression. James Scott's book, titled *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (1990), provides a theory for feminists who write about women's lived experiences of patriarchy in a world that is dominated by male ideas. Scott uses the term "public transcripts" to describe the "open interaction between subordinates and those who dominate" (1990) and "hidden transcripts" to describe the "discourse that happens 'offstage' beyond direct observation by power holders" (Scott, 1990).

According to Haddad, PWLs use prayer to God as a means where women express their burdens in the absence of the "sites of the struggle in their own safe space" (Haddad 2004). Similarly, Gemma Tulid Cruz (2015) uses Scott's hidden and public transcripts theory to analyse Asian women's hidden transcripts from a theological and pastoral perspective. Scott (1985) says that the dominated find a place that may serve as a private sphere in which cultures of resistance are learnt. In those private spheres the dominated feel safe to share their experiences and views on how to survive in that context.

Women may conform to religion and culture while resisting in their own way. Tamale (2004) articulates how women use their sexuality to resist patriarchy. She further states that, as much as silence may be a catalyst for oppression, it can also be a tool of resistance and struggle particularly for the marginalized. According to Tamale (2004) silence may work to the benefit of the oppressed since it is "unengageable" and ambiguous. In agreement, Motsemme (2004:917) reflecting on the silences of women in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission argues that "silence within a violent everyday can

also become a site for reconstituting 'new' meanings and can become a tool of enablement for those oppressed."

The strength and weakness of silence as a tool of resistance is commonly researched by education researchers in understanding the different silences of learners in the classroom (Bosacki, 2005). These forms of silence are similar to the silences women use to resist patriarchy in their marriages and communities. According to Jack (1999), women use different forms of silence to mask control or anger and at times to hurt others. The different forms of silence include hostile silence, controlling silence, resisting silence, political silence, and safe silence (Bosacki, 2005; Jack, 1999). Jack (1999) argues that the different forms of silence have psychological consequences such as depression, though some are safe and can be liberative for the weak and vulnerable.

Hostile silence is observed as a façade that masks aggression; this form of silence plays a critical role in a relationship because it carries forceful and powerful threats (Jack, 1999; Bosacki, 2005). Hostile silence is a strategy that is used to control the other person or people because it does not grant space for dialogue that could resolve disputes (Bosacki, 2005). In studying learners in the classroom, Bosacki (2005) agrees with Jack (1999) that hostile silence creates anxiety about the security of attachment, because silence may assume that someone is physically present but absent emotionally and mentally. Jack (1999) asserts that silence by women in relationships is sometimes associated with depression, whereas controlling silence is "self-protective and regulates emotion in relationships without direct engagement" (Bosacki, 2005). This form of silence is used to create a safe space for

compliance or rebellion or to create a neutral space within an uncertain and hostile relationship (Bosacki, 2005).

In addition, there is resisting silence. Jack (1999) says resisting silence is commonly used by women who grew up in socio-cultural and religious communities and families where silence is stereotyped as "good" femininity (Bosacki, 2005:). Thus, Jack (1999) says women who are socialised not to be outspoken use silence as a strategy to preserve their agency and sense of self (Bosacki, 2005).

Another form of silence is political silence, which is used by the weak and vulnerable to strategically suspend their voices in the broader community where the majority outnumber them (Bosacki, 2005). Bosacki (2005) discusses this silence from a sexual orientation perspective and argue that it is commonly used by "some transgendered or lesbian adolescents to express their message within a community where the majority are heterosexual". These girls use political silence to conform to what the community expects of them and when in their safe community they share what they have learnt and confirm the accuracy of their observations (Bosacki, 2005). From a marriage perspective women may conform to accepted gender roles and resist the prescribed gender roles in private and safe spaces. Jack (1999) identifies political silence as different from self-silencing which causes depression.

Political silence is categorized under safe silence. Safe silence is used by the weak and vulnerable when they feel they are not safe and are fearful. In public the person will comply and conform, while behind the mask there are conflicting emotions and inner confusion (Bosacki, 2005; cf. Jack, 1999). Highly educated married black women may go through conflicting emotions

and inner confusion because of the different conflicting worlds they are exposed to. While highly educated women are expected to be independent and authoritative in their careers, tradition on the other hand expects them to conform to patriarchal customs. Thus, women in marriages may use these forms of silence to resist and survive in a patriarchal order. Some feminists such as Cruz (2015) and Lewis (2003) agree that silence is not an indication of submissiveness, subservience and obedience but rather a hidden transcript used by women for survival in a patriarchal society (Cruz, 2015). According to Lewis (2003) [T]he women's understanding and use of silence not as a self-internalized expression of submission but as a means of resistance has allowed them to experience a sense of freedom and liberation. They interpret their silence as disagreement and as resistance to the treatment they receive in their church, *communities and marriages* ... Consequently, learned silence as adopted by "churched" Korean women and *highly educated married black women* needs to be understood not in terms of submission but rather in terms of resistance, and as a strategy of survival [emphasis added].

In addition to women's politics of resistance, certain women's movements and feminist movements emerged in an attempt to resist patriarchy. The first noted feminist publication is by a British writer Mary Wollstonecraft (1792). Her study titled *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* advocated women's rights. She argues in this book that women should receive education and rights similar to men. Her argument is that women are important members of every community rather than just mere wives to their husbands and that they should be treated as partners and companions (Botting & Carey, 2004).

Feminist theories regard patriarchy as an ideology of social and gender injustice. In the 1970s, the central argument of feminist movements in the USA was that the "personal is political" (Firestone, 1970). The common assumption by feminists is that women who have knowledge will become "self-emancipated" (Denny, 1994). For the purpose of this study, strategies of resistance employed by women rice farmers both in public and private spaces are looked into.

Intergenerational Communication

This being a study on communication, the core element of this study is how resistance is communicated across generations of women rice farmers. The following is a collection of literature with this regard.

Research that is intergenerational and communicative has for the most part been scattered sporadically across a number of texts, outlets, and disciplines" (Williams & Nussbaum, 2001). The earliest investigations of cross generational communication were focused on the elderly and how stereotypes affected them (Giles & Williams, 1994). More recently, researchers have assessed communication by and directed at young adults and adolescents (S. Jackson et al., 1998; Morgan & Hummert, 2000; Ng, Liu, Weatherall, & Loong, 1997), thus broadening our understanding of intergenerational dialog.

Intergenerational relationships formed within the family are generally both positive and productive. Although the intergenerational communication that defines the familial relationships may at times seem to be quite destructive and marginalizing, for the most part, intergenerational

communication within the families is caring and life enhancing. Unfortunately, the same is not always true for intergenerational communication outside of the family. The vast majority of the research and theory dedicated to the intergenerational communication... has concentrated on non-familial interactions and has consistently shown that intergenerational communication can be problematic. (Williams & Nussbaum, 2001).

Families are a natural setting for the study of cross generational relations, and it is from studying familial relationships that researchers and scholars have come to better understand the ways in which intergenerational communications develop. Nillaer-Day's (2004) research provided insights on how functional and dysfunctional processes are transmitted between generations. Other researchers (Carlson et. al., 2004; Ennett Bauman, Foshee, Pemberton, and Hicks 2001; Miller-Day & Kam, 2010) have studied how communication within families has contributed to or reduced addictive and at-risk behavior in young adults. Outside of the family context researchers of intergenerational communication have studied college students' perceptions of communication with the elderly (Garrett & Williams, 2005). Williams and Nussbaum (2001) cautioned ageism is a growing problem in our society, and the third great 'ism' in the United States behind racism and sexism. A fuller understanding of everyday communication between generations is necessary before issues inherent in ageism can be adequately addressed and used to promote more positive and constructive intergenerational dialog.

The delineation of age categories and the concomitant segregation of people by them is a socially- constructed phenomenon rooted in the 19th and

20th centuries. According to Williams and Nussbaum (2001), ageist constructs “have emerged from a complex of events including responses to socio-structural needs such as those of industrialization and the growth of social programs designed to protect more vulnerable members of society. (e.g. the very young as well as the very old). As age categories have become more narrowly defined (e.g., toddler, ‘tween, teen), there has been an increased inclination to attach stereotypic qualifiers, subjective characterizations limiting objective reality. Sociolinguists recognize that “language shapes the thought of its speaker” (Kay & Kempton, 1984) or in even more personal terms Miller-day (2004) wrote “talk does identify work”. The English language is full of ageist (e.g. geezer, golden ager, punk) and emotionally laden (e.g. middle age crises, college girls gone wild, the rebellious teen years) descriptors which in conjunction with media- perpetuated imagery have contributed to the idea of a “generation gap”. Recent research has shown that perception of problematic interactions between those categorized as young and those as old are not limited solely to the West. In their studies of Thailand, Japan, and the United States McCann, Ota, Giles, and Caraker (2003) found “that beliefs about intergenerational communication discord abound internationally”.

The challenge should not be simply to identify sources of miscommunication and misunderstanding, it should include studies of positive communication and the development of theories of positive communication in order to promote meaningful and satisfying and dialog between generations. Given this vast and generally unsettled generational landscape, positive communication offers the possibility of a bridge across the intergenerational divide, and study of communicative experiences of women across generations

within family and with nonrelated women would contribute to better understanding of how to promote positive communication.

An extensive literature search was undertaken to review extant research and theories of intergenerational communication. Much of the literature pertaining to communication processes appeared to be directed toward understanding negative, conflict-generating, or unsatisfying conversation. Drury et al. (1998), for example, surveyed adolescents to ascertain what they identified as negative communication under what circumstances such communication typically took place. In their conclusion, Drury et al. (1998) proposed that the researchers assess peer-to-peer conversations in order to identify what features of communication young people find "meaningful and salient" this suggestion provided a frame for the study of positive communication.

Although most people have an intuitive sense of what positive communication is, scholarship requires something more substantial. In particular, it requires that a definition be given so a common understanding is possible. The literature provides numerous conditions as requisites for or outcomes of positive communication. Among the most common are satisfaction, competence, accommodation, low conflict, and openness; however, it is insufficient to present a list of terms as a mean of defining positive communication. One reason is that each constituent must also be defined. More importantly, these definitions are singularly or as a list no more than a "sterile portrait stripped of many of the complexities we often experience in our relationships their paradoxes, inconsistencies, and contradictions" (Baxter, 1988). Furthermore, four of these (i.e., competence,

accommodation, low conflict, and open communication) are themselves constituents of satisfaction, and it is debatable whether any one of them on its own is sufficient for a completely satisfactory experience. However, it is necessary to recognize each of these components in order to have a fuller comprehension of what positive communication is.

Satisfaction. Hecht (1978) was interested in the role of communication as a facilitator of relationship. He observed, based on a study of Midwestern college students, "that concerns for substance and openness transcend the specifics of the conversation and are general dimensions of the satisfaction response". He concluded "one's own and other's predispositions and disclosure are important determinants of satisfaction" (Hecht, 1978). Satisfaction is important in the promotion of intergenerational understanding (Williams, 1996a); however, the constituents of communication satisfaction vary across generations as a result of different life experiences. In their survey of adults aged 20-59 Garrett and Williams (2005) found that non-communication and self-promotion, two behaviors previously under investigated, may be core properties in satisfying communication for adolescents. These same attributes did not appear to contribute to elder interlocutor's satisfaction. Garrett and Williams (2005) concluded "these are interesting findings and suggest that properties with satisfying communication may vary across the lifespan". Giles and Williams (1994) found satisfaction to be reduced in intergenerational conversations when younger participants perceived an older person as being underaccommodative in their behavior. "Under-or over accommodation (under-or over attuning) occurs when one participant or other deems the interactional strategies of his or her partner to

have been under-or overplayed (Williams, 1996b). Inattentive, disinterested, and interrupting behaviors are examples of underaccommodative strategies. Drury et al (1998) suggested parents would have more success in conversations with their children if, instead of spending a lot of time explaining their own positions, they listened, and tried to understand the other's point of view. S. Jackson et al. (1998) suspected parents and their children would experience more satisfaction in situations "where adolescents feel they can communicate their point of view to their parents and that their parents express the reasons for their parenting approach". Thus, listening has been shown to be a key element in satisfactory intergenerational communication and credited with a number of positive outcomes (e.g., increased self-esteem and willingness to engage in continued interaction).

Satisfactory communication has the potential to be transformational. B. Jackson and Parry (2010) describe discursive transformation as "careful listening, careful transmitting, and open communication". D. Comstock et al. (2008) theorized that the identification and deconstruction of obstacle to mutually leads to "mutually emphatic, growth-fostering relationships". This definition for transformation is similarly descriptive of the transformation that accompanies the identification and destruction of obstacles to satisfactory communication. In this same vein, Baxter (2004) wrote, "selves and relationships are constituted in communication". The mutuality of communicative relationship is transformational because partners expose "each other to different perspectives, interests, and approaches thereby helping one another's selves to become". Miller-Day (2004) characterized communication as a "vehicle of social definition; participants develop their

recognized or not “all verbal and nonverbal behavior (including silence) either directly or indirectly comments on the nature of the relationship between interactions” (Miller-Day, 2004). The transformative growth of self through the awareness of another is not, however, a given. It requires interlocutors to share a common meaning during an exchange and the competence to react appropriately, otherwise the satisfactory nature of the outcome is doubtful.

Competence. Escandell-Vidal (1996), in her exploration of politeness, illustrated the pitfalls of communication when interlocutors do not share meaning and in doing so she demonstrated that politeness is not a universal concept but a social construction. What may be a neutral exchange in one context may elicit a strong emotional response in another. Component communication requires each participant to be aware of the other's perspectives. Escandell-vidal exemplified this point with a scenario in which a speaker asks: “Can you pass the salt?” this request might seem innocuous enough to an American, and the expected response would be the presentation of a salt shaker: a straightforward response to a straightforward request. Escandell-Vidal, however, reported the case would be different if the request were made to Russian. Escandell-Vidal explained that interrogatives made in Slavic languages are received, not as polite requests, but as genuine questions. The Russian would find the request “Can you pass the salt?” odd, because it should be evident.

Williams and Nussbaum (2001) suggested that many individuals belong to different developmental cultures and that some features of intergenerational communication can be linked to intercultural communication”. The idea that language and culture are interrelated is not

new. The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, named for anthropologist/linguists Edward Sapir and his student Benjamin Whorf, dates back to the first half of the 20th century. The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis suggest that the structure of a person's native language strongly influences their world-view, and as a consequence people who speak different languages are likely to interpret the world differently (Kay & Kempton, 1984).

Communication across generations, therefore, should take into account a person's life events. A reasonable question then is how to define a generation, in studies of human development ten years is commonly used to identify a cohort (Williams & Nussbaum, 2001). Experience rather than age may have more impact on a person's cultural frame. It is common in historical contexts, particularly in the last hundred years, to delineate time periods as eras.

Openness. It is characterized by intentionality to control discourse, appropriateness of language used, and approachability. Baxter (2004) said "being open to another person, one is willing to listen to him or her from that person's perspective, to display receptivity to what that person has to say, to be open to change in one's own belief and attitudes. S. Jackson et al. has positive outcomes (e.g. self-esteem, well-being, and general satisfaction) for adolescents.

The literature on communication and relationship is vast, spanning many decades and multiple disciplines, yet Burleson, Metts, and Kirch (2000) lamented the lack of an articulated board theoretical framework that organizes and integrates the literature on communication in close relationships. If the purpose of any good communication research is to improve the lives of

participants, as Allen (2011) suggested, then the overarching purpose of a body of work is well used if it assists in the development of ways to improve communication and, in terms of intergenerational research, across generations. A multiplicity of interacting factors makes the job of describing intergenerational communication a complex one, but as Williams and Nussbaum (2001) observed, this the function of theories.

The theories help us to organize a wide variety of variables—both relationships and experiences—into an integrative whole. They provide the potential to extend knowledge as when two or more theoretical conceptions are combined to produce new predictions and hypotheses or when underlying theoretical understandings are challenged by new knowledge. In this way, then, theory should both stimulate and provide an organizing framework for future research.

Communication, Women, and Connection

Communication serves as an important role of connection for women. This connection is what House et al. (1998) call social support. In the 1970s, John Cassel and Sidney Cobb observed that when basic human need of relationship is fulfilled there is a corresponding sense of well-being, both physical and psychological. Their interest in the literature was situated in the times and the changing roles of women. Various societal shifts were taking place, including women's expanding role and numbers in the workforce.

Scholars from multiple disciplines recognized that the way people communicate with one another contributes to how well they deal with

negativity in their lives. The amount and characteristics of intergenerational support within families depend upon a variety of factors, including socio-economic, cultural, and family structure.

With examples of new growth in women leadership opportunities for women, it is an appropriate time to conduct research into the interrelatedness between sense of connectedness and intergenerational communication. Study that looks into how intergenerational communication can contribute to the transformation and empowerment of women situated in the margins.

Chapter III

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The decision of narrating these women rice farmers' stories instead of mere outlining the events surrounding their lives was driven from by the paper's intention to provide deep understanding of their lived experiences. There is a need to understand why and how these women made their choices in life and make sense out of their stories through theoretical lens. Thus, as interpretation and sense-making of the narratives of women began, few theories were resorted to that enabled a complementary understanding of the stories. This study is informed by the following theories with feminist communication theory as the broad-spectrum.

Critical Tradition

Within the social sciences, the Critical tradition owes much to Marx or to reworking of Marx by other writers. Critical research which is shaped, motivated and influenced by this source deals with social structural inequalities and struggles. While it is not definitive what constitutes a critical research for there are multiple critical social sciences paradigms, all are leading to the examination of structures founded on race and gender inequality. Critical theorists share prevailing features, to wit: they seek to construct through power relations; ask "what should be?" to improve, transform and disrupt power relations; consider social class and powerful

structures; study history of power and class; point out domination of traditional authority; and aim for emancipation and transformation.

Such diversity, nonetheless, points out that critical tradition is concerned with analysis at a societal and structural level, a focus on social conflict, emphasis on power and control, an interest in ideology as a means by which existing social arrangements are legitimated; and a commitment to not taking for granted what is said (Harvey, 1990).

Feminism

Feminist scholarship is immersed in personal undertakings but is often in part a political act that challenges both the constitution and acquisition of knowledge. It offers critical criticisms of established thoughts and constructs new theories that place gender in its appropriate place. Feminist philosophy sees the historically dominant western man-made version of universality and objectivity as conspicuously lacking depth and account (Cubelo, 2016).

While the field of feminist theory is inconsistent, complex and varied, there are shared precepts that set the theory in communication studies apart from other theories in the social sciences. It focally underscores the theorizing of gender, communication and social change; focuses consequently on gender analysis that is instrumental in the context of this study in structuring and constructing new communication framework based on authentic woman rice farmers experiences in rice-based agriculture.

Central also to feminist thought is power. But it has evolved beyond the question of who is “in” power and who is not for this inevitably lead to a rather

cynical contest of who is “most oppressed in contemporary society” (Mouffe, 1992). Along this is the universally accepted fact that feminism theory heavily rests on the feminist tenet which is a philosophy with no identified founder, accounting the use of a distinct approach to research that places women experiences and standpoint and subjectivity of the subject and the researcher at the center. In the words of Marilyn Frye (1996), fundamental to the emancipation of women is granting ourselves authority as perceivers and we accomplish that act by discovering agreement in the experiences and perceptions of women. Thus, part of the political act of this scholarly endeavor is the construction of a progressive theory utilizing the aforementioned feminist communication constructs.

Feminist Communication Theory

Feminist communication theory was likewise influential in the conception of the paper which places women and their experiences at the center of the study of communication, production of theory and offer explanations and speculations about the communicative strategies used to oppress women as well as those used by women to overcome that oppression (Foss and Littlejohn, 2009).

Also, central in this theory is the stance that feminist communication researches help to grasp the complex and systems of difference in the complicated world of women. Alongside this is the fact that feminist communication theory according to Wackwitz and Rakow (2004) lies on the concept that the place of women in traditional society is not a fixed or inherent

condition, but one that can be changed when we have models from other times and places. Likewise, this study worked on the properties of communication theory as outlined by Wackwitz and Rakow (2004): (1)

Feminist Communication Theory is Explanatory

It speaks of and to experience. It seeks to make connections between concepts and lived experience, between observation and 'knowledge', between thought and action... it helps [people] make sense of the significance of communication...while locating and challenging the structures and meanings that shape the very identities and experience;

(2) Feminist Communication Theory is Political

...we can and must look to the meanings and experiences of women and others who have been invisible in order to understand our subordination... it attempts to give voice to experience while recognizing that experience is not innocent, to expand the realm of political struggle, and to foster multiple understandings and reimaginings of our worlds;

(3) Feminist Communication Theory is Polyvocal

It is generated by multiple voices and experiences, with sometimes conflicting interpretations of reality.... [It] is characterized by multiplicity of perspectives, methods, forms, and forums. It allows for the exploration of individual stories, complex relationships, personal interpretations, and multiple realities; and

(4) Feminist Communication Theory is Transformative

...[It] promotes transformation of thought and inspires action by helping individuals and groups make sense of communication practices and realities they engender. It promotes reflexivity between knower and known. The

process of knowledge building also becomes empowering not just to the knower but also to the known.

Accordingly, these properties which are also possessed by Feminist Rhetorical Criticism and Feminist Standpoint Theory were utilized as supplementary scaffolding to approach the study.

Feminist Rhetorical Criticism

Feminist Rhetorical Criticism is another theory which the study found support. The theory first and foremost recognizes that the symbolic construction of women and gender is central to the study of communication. Below is the elucidation of the theory by Foss and Littlejohn (2009).

The theory is primarily grounded in the assumption that, historically and currently, women and men often have different access to channels and positions of powers. Because this differential access can affect the communication styles and strategies used by women, feminist criticism is used to understand, validate, and theorize about those communicative differences.

Also posited that traditional texts such as interpersonal or organizational structure will help provide the critic with important examples of the use of communication to identify and resist oppression. Similarly, the theory may also consider texts from a single woman, a particular group of women, a mixture of groups of women in combination with other groups of women.

Standpoint Theory by Sandra Harding and Julia T. Wood

The study likewise was guided by Feminist Standpoint theory by Sandra Harding and Julia Wood which is one theory in the group of standpoint theories with emphasis on social ideologies (e.g. gender roles and sexism) and hinges on realizing that the conditions and experiences common to girls and women are not natural but are a result from social and political forces. To develop a feminist standpoint, individuals must engage in an intellectual struggle to recognize, analyze, and contest broad power relations that account for the subordinate status of girls and women and the activities they are expected to pursue (Foss and Littlejohn, 2009).

The theory is an epistemology, an account of the evolution of knowledge and strategies of action by particular collectivities in specific social relations in given periods (Cockburn, 2015). Dorothy Smith and Nancy Hartsock both began working on this theme in the 1970s, spelling out significant differences between men's and women's life activity. On this premise, it was theorized that women's life activity, then, might be considered the source of a specific feminist standpoint.

Accordingly, feminist scholars working within a number of disciplines but in the communication realm, Sandra Harding and Julia T. Wood are the most prominent standpoint theorists, therefore the theory is mostly attributed to them in most communication studies literature (Griffin, 2006).

Though the theory is grounded on the Marxist term of standpoint—achieved through collective identity or consciousness, there is a consensus among feminist standpoint theorists that a standpoint is not merely a perspective that is occupied simply by dint of being a woman (Harding, 2004)

but is earned through the experience of collective political struggle, a struggle that requires, as Nancy Hartsock succinctly put it, both science and politics.

In a nutshell, this theory mainly posits the following: (1) knowledge is socially situated; (2) dominant and non-dominant groups have different accounts of reality; (3) subjugated groups are socially situated in ways that make it more possible for them to be aware of things and ask questions than it is for the non-subjugated; and (4) research, particularly that focused on power relations, should begin with the lives of the subjugated group.

Muted Group Theory by Cheris Kramarae

Muted Group theory was originally conceptualized by Oxford University social anthropologist, Edwin Ardener (Meyer, 2001). It postulates that language works in a kind of hierarchal system controlled by men. This creates an uncomfortable world for females. It makes women seem silenced (Littlejohn, 1999). Ardener concluded that our language favors men. Since men created the meanings of the words, women are said to be muted. That is how the term "muted group" was coined.

Since its inception, a lot of feminist theorists have expanded on it, but the person who has done the most is Cheris Kramarae. The theory begins with the premise that women's speech and ideas are stifled and belittled by those who consider them as "outside" of the privileged circle. When the focus is on women, men and communication, the muted group theory suggests the following: in many situations, women are more constrained than are men in what they can say, when, and with what results; accepted language practices

have been constructed primarily by men in order to express their experiences—this means that women are constrained (muted); and interest and concern are about not just gender differences, but a range of other marginalizing differences as well.

In sum, muted group theory lies on three principal assumptions, to wit: (1) men and women perceive the world differently because they have different perception shaping experiences and those different experiences are a result of men and women performing different tasks in society; (2) men enact their power politically, perpetuating their power and suppressing women's ideas and meanings from gaining public acceptance; and (3) women must convert their unique ideas, experiences, and meanings into male language in order to be heard (Kramarae, 1981).

Grounded Theory

The final theoretical concept that addressed the narrative and life story aspects of this study is the notion of grounded theory. Grounded theory was first introduced by Glasser and Strauss in 1967 (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). They believe that theories can be generated from a systematic collection of data.

Further, the theory “seeks out not only to uncover relevant conditions, but also to determine how the actors respond to challenging conditions and to the consequences of their actions” (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). Glasser and Strauss (1967) suggest that the data collection process and data analysis

should occur simultaneously, making the interpretation and gathering of data more complete and systematic.

Grounded theory is considered a qualitative research methodology for inductively generating theory (Patton, 1990). It is among the most common methodological approaches taken to qualitative research in the communication studies discipline. Akin to other forms of qualitative research, the researcher is deemed the major instrument of data generation and analysis; taking an inductive stance for sense-making.

It is an approach that specifies an emergent rather than predetermined research design through an atypical sequence of activities for building and developing theory; it is an approach that arguably runs counter to traditional notions of scientific method as developed initially in what is referred to as the natural sciences.

The major purpose of the grounded theory approach is to offer an alternative solution (or theory) to help explain the complexities within the social sciences that is anchored on data, thus, grounded theory. What sets it apart from other types of qualitative research is its emphasis on theory building (Corbin and Strauss, 2007).

Chapter IV

METHODOLOGY

Henning (2004) refers to the term 'methodology' as a coherent group of methods complementing one another, that have the 'goodness of fit' to deliver information that will reflect the research question and suit the purpose of the research. This section presents the general methodology and specific approaches used in the study providing an overview of the research design including data production and analysis as well as ethical considerations related to the research process. The methodologies were drawn from qualitative approach, feminist communication research principle, critical stance, narrative analysis and life stories.

The purpose of this paper is to study women across generations with emphasis on how they are marginalized, how they face oppression and how they communicated their stories through generations. The intention of designing this research was to use the narratives of the women rice farmers in Northern Samar within one family to gain insight into the meaning making of their intergenerational and communicative experiences.

Research Design

This feminist-oriented study employed a pure qualitative approach taking a critical stance. The approach is deemed appropriate for this type of study since it aimed to surface women's voices as part of women's empowering process in the realm of communication. According to Patton

(1990) in Guerrero (1997), qualitative inquiry allows the researcher to study a phenomenon with depth and detail. This is likewise based on Lindlof (1995) who strongly suggested the use of qualitative approaches when the focus of the study is more on details. Qualitative research is often explorative and open-ended which allows for discovery and understanding. McLeod and Balamoutsou (1996) state that "the aim of qualitative, human science research is to construct a representation of an area of human experience and action, a 'local knowledge' that promotes understanding within readers at a particular historical and cultural time and place." This approach is no doubt appropriate for in meeting the goal of this study, which is not to generate causal propositions, but to surface "local knowledge" and suggest frameworks for making meaning.

Consequently, the decision to take a pure critical stance is grounded on the belief that there are specific areas of affinity between feminist theory and qualitative research, to wit: qualitative researchers and subject should be equal partners; both are decidedly not objective; qualitative research assists feminist in grappling with the politics of diversity; feminist qualitative researchers are profoundly sensitive to the ways that research forms are affected by sexism and class discrimination; mutual process of meaning making between researchers and subjects should be recorded and interpreted accordingly; and feminist largely influence the qualitative research narratives.

Specifically, since the study focuses on "making sense" of scene from the women participants' stories with the aim of emancipation, critical approach is the most suited design of inquiry. Integrated in this research design are questions which raise consciousness of the participants and researcher on

issues surrounding the marginalization and resistance of women and their manner of communicating their stories across generations.

Research Method

a. Narrative and Life Story

Narrative and life story methods were used in carrying out this study. The researcher has stumbled upon this praxis-oriented field by reading Filipina feminists work and by being a constant informant or participant of her colleagues' researches situated in narrative genre. They present the stories of the people and use quotes to ensure that the voices of the subjects are present throughout the story. Needless to say, this study is inspired by how these authors narrate powerful stories of women and girls facing prejudices, stereotypes, disenfranchisement and disempowerment. By using narrative stories to talk about women who belong to the marginalized sector, they awaken or reawaken and invite readers to take action. These tenets laid the groundwork for the use of these research techniques.

Life stories are biographical techniques used to "examine how experience is assigned meaning". In a sense, life stories are autobiographical accounts about a person that can be obtained through an oral communication or through written accounts (Detzner, 1992). Life stories usually cover a person's entire life and they help researchers gain a holistic perspective of the person under study (Wallace, 1994).

The life story approach was useful in obtaining knowledge about intergenerational women rice farmers' past to gain a better perspective of how

they are now. Their life stories enabled the researcher to discern various systematic levels in each of women's life (Schroots, 1996).

Narrative research, according to Josselson (2003) is up close and personal in that it involves in-depth study of particular individuals in social context and in time, and it requires a highly sensitized and self-reflective inquirer rather than a set of objective impersonal skills. The women farmers in this study narrated their personal experiences and became intimate with the researcher as they shared openly deep emotions and recollections. A narrative methodology for this study is further supported by Chase (2009), who notes that narration is a major way in which people make sense of experience, construct the self, and create community meaning.

Gay, Mills & Airasian (2006) point out, narrative research is a highly personal, intimate approach . . . that demands a high degree of caring and sensitivity on the part of the researcher. During the interviews, women farmers showed glimpse of sorrow and suffering. Through sharing their stories with a wider audience, this study is emancipating them. Connelly and Clandinin (1990) also suggest that it is important for the researcher-participant relationship to be mutually caring, respectful and characterized by an equality of voice. The gesture of taking their stories first hand and letting them narrate in their own terms without being intrusive and demanding were efforts to establish and maintain respect and equality.

Holloway and Freshwater (2007) explain that there are many reasons why individuals would want to tell stories. People tell stories to come to terms with their lives and to share their emotional experiences. Moreover, the story-telling process allows individuals... [to] take control and subsequently feel

empowered. The process of telling their stories, essentially is an awakening experience to the researcher and participants.

Further, Bird, Wiles, Okalik et. al. (2009) define narrative analysis as a form of interpreting a conversation or story in which attention is paid to the embedded meanings and evaluations of the speaker and their context. Rosenweld and Ochberg suggest that narrative analysis disrupts the traditional social scientific analysis, which has realist assumptions and a focus on information collection. Instead the focus shifts to look at the very construction of narratives and likewise the role they play in the social construction of identity.

Thus, the life stories of woman rice farmers are regarded as instrument of social construction subject to interpretive analysis. According Rabinow and Sullivan (1979) the interest of narratives is a part of a wider move within social sciences towards a more 'interpretive turn'.

Grounded on feminist communication theory forwarded by Rakow and Wackwitz (2004), feminists recognized the significance of women telling stories as a means of naming and asserting women's experiences. Along with critical view, acknowledging the voice of those in the margins like female farmers; making them realize that they have a voice is one of the most useful and logical concept for feminist communication research.

Why voice? Because what this study hopes to achieve through woman farmers' stories could lead to another active "resistance" in theorizing feminist communication within the realm of agriculture. In the former's context, "voice" is defined as the means and ability to speak and to have one's speech heard

and be taken into account in social and political life (Rakow and Wackwitz, 2004).

Important consideration also in this method is the question—*whose voice?* In this work, it is the “voice” of female farmers from Northern Samar that is being heard. For the longest time, rural women did not have an opportune time and potent venue to give accounts of their lives. Through the life story technique, women participants made sense of their experiences and with optimism, it is anticipated that the farming community and the country as a whole can make sense out of the stories.

Speaking what? Is another question pondered on. Blisky's (1998) descriptions of situations in which women cannot speak of experiences that do not have readily available names and stories lead to an assumption about women's voice—the assumption about experience. Joan Scott (1992) asked, *what could be truer, after all, than a subject's own account of what he or she has lived through?* Thus, the use of such method surfaced the lived experiences of woman farmers as told by them. Experience taken as the origin of knowledge from the viewpoint of the individual subject “becomes evidence...a fact...” (Scott, 1992). In this sense, the voices of Northern Samar's woman rice farmers are highly valuable and should be given meaning.

Another reason in employing these approaches is the supposition that self-narrative and storytelling approaches are considered highly feminist and pervasively favored in studies that explore specific experiences of individuals or producing information that is life changing. Being positioned as critical research, part of inquiry involved the inclusion phase asking about women's

personal experiences of marginalization. Another part of inquiry focused on how they face male domination, which is the revisionist stage.

Notably, the narratives of the women rice farmers are the most possible way to surface the complexity of woman's life. As complexity does not surface in numbers and short sentences (Cubelo, 2016), engaging both the researcher and women participants in an in-depth dialogue is useful in constructing meanings about the latter's lives and experiences.

Simply put, narrative inquiry takes the story itself as the object of study (Riessman, 1993), apt to study subjectivity and identity largely because of the importance given to human involvement in constructing a story (Mitchell and Megudo, 2003), and goes beyond describing what happened for narratives also express emotions, thoughts and interpretations (Lindlof and Taylor, 2011).

The core activity in narrative method is to reformulate stories presented by people in different contexts and based on their different experiences. Therefore, this method provided a profound understanding on how and why woman rice farmers talk about their lives as a story or a series of stories as enhanced and presented by the researcher in a revised shape to the reader—to get a bigger picture of what the self-narratives mean. In this type of research, the story is the outcome of the research (Gay, Mills & Airasian, 2006), and that is what this study has presented in the next chapter: the stories of intergenerational women rice farmers from Northern Samar.

b. In-depth Conversations

In-depth conversation was found ideal for this study for it principally explored lived experiences. It is claimed that conducting this type of interview

in qualitative research helps gather information about things or processes that cannot be observed effectively by other means; inquiring about occurrences in the past; verifying, validating, or commenting on information obtained from other sources; achieving efficiency in data collection (Lindlof and Taylor (2000). Similar principle by Gubrium and Holstein (2002) supports the claim by arguing that the overarching goals of in-depth interviewing are to derive interpretation of the informants' experiences. This form of interview helped the researcher to become informed about the nature of social life for a particular group, the women rice farmers, in this case, and to learn what people perceived and how they interpreted their perceptions.

As opined by Mack, Woodsong et al. (2005), this interview technique is appropriate for eliciting individual experience, feelings, opinions and in addressing sensitive topic. The strength of the interview process is it draws in-depth responses with nuances and contradictions and gets interpretive perspectives.

Hence, through in-depth discussions, the researcher was able to have an intimate sight and touch about their innermost details. They have provided a plausible account of failures and successes and perspectives on how women are positioned in the rice farming community that they can claim as uniquely their own. In those conversations, their eagerness, albeit, shy, to share their personal stories manifested. An all-encompassing voices and recollections were elicited inscribing nuances of the past and present circumstances that women farmers are into.

c. Narrative as Personal and Connection

Theories believe that narrative is useful, if not indispensable, when it comes to understanding and knowing the self (Sarbin, 1990). Since the self is not constructed individually, but in collaboration with others, the narrative is the principal pathway to understanding the self (Cooley, 2008). Creswell (2007) elaborated further that in the end, the narrative study tells the story of individuals unfolding in a chronology of their experience, set within their personal, social and historical context, and including important themes in those lived experiences.

Human most likely, have always been storytellers. Stories are a way to make sense of the world and to pass knowledge between generations. Researchers are storytellers. Researchers may use specialized method for collecting and assessing their stories, but they nonetheless endeavor to make sense of their observations. The research method is highly formalized and formulaic way to construct knowledge. For a long time, this was the dominant epistemology and has been generally accepted as a logical and objective way to measure a complex world. During the last fifty years, this epistemology has been questioned by social scientists who have cast doubt on whether deductive methods reliant on quantitative data gathering techniques and statistical analysis are suitable for the study of human experience, particularly of the marginalized populations. Allen (2011) contended that feminists have queried the 'male epistemological stance', challenging its ostensible objectivity while not recognizing its 'male epistemological stance' or its subjection of the world it observes. A new method was needed to study women's experiences. The method in contrast to the detached and

analytically oriented approach to science would be a holistic, integrated, and connected approach crafted out of located social-historical-bodily experience (Allen, 2011). Geertz (1995) believed that narrative inquiry was just such a method. Narrative inquiry, he wrote, could account for “connectedness” of things that seem to have happened—pieced-together patterns, after the fact.

It calls for showing how particular events and unique occasions, an encounter here, a development there, can be woven together with a variety of facts and a battery of interpretations to provide a sense of how things go, have been going, and are likely to go (Geertz, 1995).

The connectedness in this study is located in women’s stories of their communicative lived experiences across generations with their own family.

Setting of the Study

This study was conducted in Northern Samar, a province in the Philippines located in the Eastern Visayas region with twenty-four (24) municipalities. Its capital is Catarman and is located at the northern portion of the island of Samar. Northern Samar was part of the Samar province until it became an autonomous province by virtue of Republic Act No. 4221 authored by the late Congressman Eladio T. Balite and was approved on June 19, 1965.

Agriculture is the major source of livelihood to many Nortehanons. *Palay* (rice) is one of the major crops produced by Northern Samar. Largely, the province is suitable for rice production since its soil characteristics both in the lowland and upland areas coupled with suitable weather condition are fit and conducive to rice cultivation.

Participants of the Study

Narrative inquiry is concerned with the study of entire stories as opposed to other types of inquiry such as informant and respondent interviewing that often extracts specific kinds of material (Lindlof and Taylor, 2011). On this premise, narrative studies that employ qualitative and in-depth methods do not need too many resource persons to capture social representation processes (such as feelings, images, and time), to address ambiguity, uncertainty, complexity and dynamism of individuals, and to provide a holistic context.

It is to be noted that they all consciously agreed and consented to use their real names in their stories.

The intensive nature of transcription and analysis of this study then called for a lesser number of participants. Thus, the women cooperators of the study were only composed of three (3) intergenerational women rice farmers in Northern Samar who belong to the Acibar family which has been engaged in rice farming for more than sixty (60) years, to wit:

(a) Maria Liwanag (grandmother/mother), 67 years old;

(b) Helen (daughter of Ma. Liwanag and the aunt of Geraldine), 37 years old; and

(c) Geraldine (daughter of Ma. Liwanag's eldest son), 19 years old.

Conversations with the three intergenerational women farmers allowed for some comparison between life stories, which in turn was used to understand how they communicated their struggles across their generations. No single story provides a full understanding of the women stories of

marginalization, resistance and intergenerational communication in rice-based agriculture, but each provides "pieces for a 'mosaic' or total picture of a concept" (Marshall and Rossman, 1995). Repeated patterns of behavior and repeated storylines were useful in understanding the total concept of stories of marginalization, resistance and communication across generations and shedding light on the women farmers' feminist consciousness.

In ensuring the readiness and availability of each participant, the following were considered:

- (a) she is willing to self-disclose about her life to the public;
- (b) she is committed to be involved in a long process of in-depth interviewing; and
- (c) to be visited frequently and be engaged in exhaustive discourses in their homes or any place convenient to her.

Ethical Considerations

The most important ethical concerns that were considered prior to beginning the research were informed consent and confidentiality. Obtaining informed consent implies that adequate information on the goal, the procedures that will be followed, possible advantages and disadvantages of the investigation, as well as the credibility of the researcher, be rendered to the participants. Participants must fully comprehend the nature of the investigation, and be able to make a voluntary, reasoned decision about their participation (Strydom in De Vos et al. 2002).

As each of the study's storytellers have manifested that they wanted to be involved, informed consent was obtained before engaging them in exhaustive and intimate conversations. A letter of agreement (consent) was signed both by the researcher and storytellers.

In sum, the researcher did the following to address ethical issues in the conduct of the study:

- (a) asked participants for an informed consent;
- (b) informed them about the voluntary nature of the study;
- (c) ensured that they understand the risks and benefits entailed in participation and the nature of the proceedings; and
- (d) provided participants with information on how the interview data will be used, who will have access to the data, and whom they may contact for questions.

Likewise, participants were given the opportunity to set the pace and venue of the conversations and assured that they will be treated as equal partners in making this paper possible. Most importantly, the importance of the stories and why the narrative is worth telling in the first place was explained to the participants.

Selection of Stories and Conduct of In-depth Conversations

Akin with other qualitative methodologies, this study did not follow a strict or prescribed methodical process since by nature qualitative research methods are naturalistic. However, it followed procedures that are customary and inherent in qualitative approaches, to wit:

(a) Selection of Study Subjects

The selection process used the purposive sampling technique. The researcher thought critically about the parameters of the population and chose the sample case accordingly. In this method, clear formulation of criteria for the selection of participants is important (Strydom & Delport in De Vos et al., 2002). Hence, a set of criteria was prepared to guide the researcher in the selection process which generally contained, among others, the level of experience in rice farming and willingness participate in the research. Specifically, the women participants were considered based on the following measures:

- (1) should be intergenerational women rice farmers;
- (2) should come from one family; and
- (3) and such family has been involved with rice farming for at least 10 years.

The women rice farmers, therefore, had all the essential elements for this intergenerational and communicative study.

Further, the method was regarded ideal for it allowed to select participants based on their particular familiarity or experience. The women were chosen primarily because of their substantive familiarity with rice farming. In the words of Lindlof and Taylor (2011), the method allows the researcher to make informed judgments about what to observe and whom to interview.

(b) Conduct of Preliminary Visits and Interviews

Prior to any interviewing or recording, the researcher conducted two initial visits and interviews to establish rapport and gather a general sense of

the women participants' experiences as rice farmers. The researcher met with each of the storytellers individually and explained the purpose, nature, and intended outcome of the research. The informed consent form was read through and signed on that first meeting. From this point on, the storytellers took the lead role. Subsequent conversations were decided based on when and where the women farmers wanted and for the length of time they determined.

Also, the researcher introduced the women participants with the equipment used during discussions such as tape/audio recorder, smartphone, notes, and camera to avoid disruption or technical glitches throughout the actual interviews and to make them adaptable and familiar to the presence of the equipment and researcher.

(c) Schedule and Setting of the Conversations

Schedule of visits for the actual discussions was worked on after selecting the participants and obtaining their informed consent. The timing, time length and frequency of visit depended on the availability and convenience of the participants.

Ma. Liwanag who wanted to be called *Nay Ma-ye* said that she is almost always available for she seldom works now in the rice field due to her old age. Meanwhile, *Helen* specifically requested to have our conversations during her free time from work. Both were interviewed in the home of *Nay Ma-ye*. As to *Geraldine*, she wanted the conversations to take place at her maternal grandmother's small sari-sari store where she works part time.

(d) Conduct of In-depth Conversations

This stage comprised the series of actual face-to-face in-depth conversations sessions in which discussions were recorded with a small digital audio-recorder, accompanied with rough field notes. However, during the last session, Din-Din requested not to be interviewed on record for she preferred this time to write down her responses. The researcher then provided her a copy of the guide question. The conversations were aimed at answering the research questions. An interview guide was used to elicit vivid picture of the women participants' responses on the research subjects. Lindlof (1995) suggest using an interview guide to ensure that all questions were asked to provide responses to open-ended questions. It should be noted that the methodical use of guide questions did not in any way affect the "naturalness" of the conversations for it was merely use as a guide. However, as each interview unfolded, follow-up questions that were not pre-determined were asked to further probe for long uninterrupted narratives.

The conversations were held on different occasions. Each talk ranged from forty-five (45) minutes to one (1) hour per session. Though the method usually involves one source and one interviewer, the first dialogue had *Nay Ma-ye and Helen* at the same for it was the personal request of the former as she felt reluctant in the beginning to be left alone with the researcher. However, the subsequent discussions were conducted separately.

Following the technique forwarded by Mason (2002) and Mack, Woodsong et al. (2005), the researcher engaged with women participants by posing questions in a neutral manner, listening attentively to participants' responses, and asking follow-up questions and probing based on those

responses. Notably, the women cooperators were considered the "experts" during the entire process of the interview.

The last interview sessions with the women were used as means to validate and expand themes that were identified in the previous interviews.

In the early course of the conversations, the awkwardness or reluctance of women farmers was felt. They laughed it off, but when probed, they admitted that it was their first interview experience. As *Nay Ma-ye* succinctly put it, it was the first time that someone outside their community has shown interest in their stories. *Helen* jested that she feels like a "celebrity".

(d) Organizing the Data

The women participants were interviewed separately except on one occasion previously explained in this section. Part of the original plan was to interview each for at least 2 hours per session, but data saturation was reached fairly quickly after about 45 minutes to one-hour interview. Data saturation is "the point of data collection where the information you get becomes redundant" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). Nonetheless, each interview consisted of questions generated from the guide question, which was restructured every now and then to draw the needed data. Below are the main mechanisms used by the researcher in organizing the data.

(1) Transcribing Taped Conversations

All audio recordings were manually transcribed into word document within a week following the interviews. This was done to allow the researcher to recall with ease words, phrases or statements that were difficult to understand like local farming vocabularies and expressions. An "orthographic"

transcript— a verbatim account of all verbal (and sometimes nonverbal [e.g., coughs, laughs) utterances was produced. A copy of the transcripts was presented to each of the women rice farmers for them to review at their any preferred and comfortable time. However, *Nay Maye* declined to read the transcript, she instead requested the researcher to read to her some excerpts.

(2) Cleaning up Field Notes

Field notes were expanded, which were used to serve as backup when recording fails, to capture nonverbal information and when a participant asks to turn off the tape recorder during discussion of particularly confidential information.

(3) Translation of Data.

For practical considerations, the narratives translated from *Ninorte-Samarnon* to English were only those that are included or mentioned in the study.

(e) Consultations

Since it is imperative to surface the "voice" of woman-resources in a feminist study and the core activity in narrative analysis is to reformulate stories presented by people in different contexts and based on their different experiences, the materials were presented to the participants for review and validation of transcriptions and interpretations.

(f) Listening to and Creating the Stories

As narrative was chosen as methodology, how the stories were perceived, documented, and written was a crucial point (Thomas, 2005). It was then imperative that the stories remained the women rice farmers' stories and did not become the researcher's.

After each conversation, verbatim transcription of audio recording followed. This process was incredibly difficult as the transcription was not a single story told from beginning to end, but the many stories that had shaped their lives. Hours, days even, were spent listening to the recordings and then re listening to their voices.

The written transcriptions were given to the storytellers and were asked to verify if they are accurate. They were encouraged to edit, revise or change what was written. Only then did the researcher begin coding and outlining their stories. The story map of each of the three stories was presented to individual storyteller.

The storytellers were deeply involved in the entire process to ensure the stories had to speak in their voices. Meanwhile, the researcher listened to them as they recounted their experiences. As their stories unfolded, narrative genre was resorted to by the researcher with only one task in mind—to compile all the stories into one story while at the same time not losing the intent of the many stories.

Using the *Ninorte-Samarnon* Dialect

One empowering feature of the research techniques used was using the local dialect of Northern Samar. Geertz (1973) posited that the use of local dialect is the first step in gaining access to the conceptual world of village women. Sharing their stories in their own language was reassuring as they were at ease and comfortable to express themselves.

Its use enabled the women rice farmers to be conversant about their private lives and to discuss complex ideas. The use of the local dialect boosted the women's personal ego and improved their self-esteem and dignity, as they displayed a certain boldness and vigor in their conversations and discussions (Yabaki, 2006). It helped establish rapport and trust which in turn facilitated a very open and personal relationship between the women and the researcher. As a result, both the women and researcher invested personal experiences and emotions in the research process, which boosted a sense of connectedness to each other (Oakley, 1988), thereby facilitating the exchange of ideas.

The interview guide questions were all written in *Ninorte-Samarnon*. In developing the story maps, the local dialect was also utilized to avoid relying on translations that have the potential to lose meaning.

As a feminist communication research, the use of the local dialect was conducive to the values of critical approach to research which included critical consciousness, women's empowerment, privileging women's voice and making women more visible and audible in their community.

Narrative Analysis and Interpretations

In a qualitative research such as the present study, the researcher is largely the analytical instrument (Henning, 2004). The analysis and interpretation of the data was based on narrative analysis.

The researcher's analysis was principally guided by the grounded theory, which is deemed a foundation in generating or discovering theories

that begin to explain or describe a concept, process or social phenomenon (Miller and Salkind, 2002). Since grounded theory method is an inductive process of analyzing qualitative data, the use of in-depth interviews was then appropriate for it enabled to discover or build theories grounded on the narratives that are useful in developing new understandings about intergenerational women rice farmers.

On this premise, the researcher felt that the approach offers the best analytical and interpretive tool as regards discovering new ideas and understanding the complexities of women rice farmers' lives in a world dominated by men.

Additionally, the study took keen interest on the lived experiences of women of different generations. Understanding of how women are marginalized, muted and how their stories are passed on through generations was sought. Since narrative inquiry can serve as practice and method, it seemed fitting on this ground to have narrative as methodological analysis. Narration is a major way in which people make sense of experience, construct the self, and create and communicate meaning (Chase, 2003). Polkinghorne described two types of narrative inquiry—descriptive and exploratory. The approach of this study was exploratory in nature because its “interest is to account for the connection between events in a causal sense” (Clandinin and Connelly, 2000). The researcher listened deeply and reflected to the stories women told to learn how they as individuals and as intergenerational family make sense of their experiences and construct meanings and selves (Chase, 2003).

The intention was first and foremost to explore a family of women rice farmers' narratives of marginalization and resistance and experiences intergenerational communication. Communication is the mechanism by which relationships are developed and the glue that holds women together. Relational communication has emphasized that for women, communication is the lifeblood of relationships (Miller-Day, 2004). Context also played a role in the production of meaning because personal narratives, no matter how unique and individual, are inevitably social in character (Chase, 2003).

Further, this work is not structured around a specific hypothesis, and as little research has yet to be undertaken about women rice farmers in the area of intergenerational communication, there are few upon which to build. Hence, narrative analysis is well-suited to new explorations. From the narratives of women making meaning, theoretical foundations were crafted, however the study was mindful that women are not a homogenous group and every woman is unique in her own right. As recognized by Blijczyk et al. (2011), the same theme may be verbalized quite differently by mothers and daughters. Thus, this study was attentive and avoided the search for a unified or coherent voice (Creswell, 2007). In the narrative analysis, the researcher's only role was to collect narratives without preconception and to validate their findings by asking women-participants what things mean to them (Angrosino, 2007). Therefore, the primary functions of the women rice farmers' narratives are discovery, conceptualizations of ideas and observations with the possibility of the development of hypotheses (Wells, 2011).

Consequently, the women's narratives were analyzed in ways that focused on the elements of the research questions. It is in this phase that

narrative moves from story to process. Thematic coding was used to interpret how intergenerational women rice farmers are marginalized and muted in communicative for a, their means in facing male domination and how their stories are communicated across generations. The narrative inquiry process, as Ochberg (2003) described it, is for the researcher to respectfully listen to the narrative and while doing so, listen with underlying purpose—seek meaning that contributes to the research objectives. Analysis to some degree then begins in the interview stage with the anticipation that certain specific information will surface during the analysis phase.

While Ochberg suggested that there is no single, universally valid procedure for reading narrative, Lieblich et. al. (1998), presented two main dimensions for reading, interpreting and analyzing life stories—holistic versus categorical and content versus form. The former refers to the unit of analysis and the latter refers to whether narrative is interpreted in content or form. The units of analysis of this dissertation is categorical and the interpretation is content driven in the form of themes. The analysis of the narrative involved unpacking of women rice farmers' stories, identifying emergent themes related to their lived experiences of marginalization and intergenerational communication, and retelling the stories using the themes, first person narrative and interpretation grounded on critical and communicational context. As opined by Josselson and Lieblich (2003), the primary task of the analytical process is to decipher the meanings inherent in the material and to render them in a form consistent with the research questions. *How this is done is the art of this kind of work.*

The pursuit of the analytical process began in knowing the data, which involved coding of transcripts and outlining of themes. Coding here refers to a process for identifying significant aspects of the story, and as tool for establishing themes or patterns of meaning. This was done by reading through the women's narratives several times, making notes and diagrams and brain storming ideas.

A coding process was developed in this stage. The process as it evolved, was used to independently identify codes and emerging themes before conferring on the study's discoveries.

Also, the researcher worked to find the voice of the participant in a particular time, place or setting (Connelly and Clandinin, 1990). To find the voice in the story, a story map was developed. This was a way to organize women farmers' recounting of their lived experiences within a schematic rubric. The story maps were used then to construct generative themes that "housed" the codes or categories.

As analysis and interpretation began, the researcher returned to the transcripts to revisit the appearance of themes, to look at the excerpts for each category, and think about the meaning if these for each of the women rice farmers. This was the opportune time to think on other ways to articulate the themes. It was time to examine the themes across all interviews and organize the narratives around primary influences, and to identify direct quotes that illuminated the process of meaning making (Chase, 2003).

It was also important to remain mindful that until all stories had been gathered and read sufficiently "themes that seem predominant at the outset might well recede in importance or their role in the overall scheme might

change as the work proceeds (Josselson and Lieblich, 2003). As instructed by Lieblich et al. (1998), narratives were read several times until a pattern emerged. *Read and listen carefully, emphatically and with an open mind. Believe in your ability to detect the meaning of the text and it will 'speak' to you.*

Further, in interpreting the data, which was the final step in the analysis process, an important component was considered—that the researcher reflected on her role in creating the interpretation—reflexivity.

Since these women rice farmers are not used to this form of intrusion to their private lives; they in fact admitted that it was the first time that someone outside their community took interest about their stories, the researcher felt privileged to be interpreting their narratives. Hence, utmost sensitivity in handling their life stories was observed in the interpretation process. Likewise, transcripts were interpreted very carefully while balancing loyalty to the raw data and the intention to surface symbolic substance that may be appreciated by the readers – scholars and lay persons alike (Cubelo, 2016).

Lastly, being a feminist study, alongside the aforesaid modes of analysis and interpretation, the analytical procedure by Tungpalan (1997) in Guerrero, ed., *Feminist Research Experiences: A Casebook* was also considered, particularly the following:

(a) Hearing Women's Voices and Respecting Confidentiality and Privacy

In the analysis and interpretation, the voices of the resource women were privileged. They were consulted thoroughly to confirm translations and

interpretations. The main purpose of this analysis technique is to guarantee that the narratives of the resource women are conveyed clearly on the way that they would want it expressed in this study. Accordingly, researcher asked for their consent in stating their real names in the documentation.

(b) Interpreting Women's lives in Public Discourse

The transition from private lives to public discourse requires serious responsibility and demands sensitivity and understanding of the nuances of the resource women's condition in rice farming. They will entrust their private stories; hence, integrity should be preserved. Interpretation of the study's data employed a multi-layered analytical reference: personal; politico-economic and socio-psychological.

The aforementioned narrative analytical and interpretive tools were not merely regarded as "tools" but a meaning-finding act in itself attempting to elicit better understanding of the women rice farmers' lived experiences of marginalization and intergenerational communication in the context of rice-based industry in Northern Samar. In sum, the whole narrative inquiry process followed a framework which is composed of the following: (1) collect stories; (2) tell stories; (3) analyze the stories (how they say it); and (4) interpret the stories (what do they say)

Validity of Narrative Studies

The long debate among social scientists regarding trustworthiness in narrative studies and at the same time notes the increasing interest among many researchers to put a human face on their research findings have been

acknowledged by Reismann (2008). A leader in the field of narrative research at present, she argued that there are no formal rules for validating narrative studies. However, she added that researchers must make their arguments in order to convince readers of the validity of their data and the validity of their interpretations of the data.

In this sense, trustworthiness is considered a factor of trustworthiness, which involves giving critical importance of making the documents from the data collection and analysis processes easily accessible to others as evidence of what is reported Silverman and Marvasti (2008). In accordance this principle, the researcher-maintained files and documentation of the analysis procedure. Also, the interviews were transcribed verbatim, ensuring that no single information was lost. Transcripts were read to the women participants and verification of the content was sought. Another aspect of trustworthiness suggested by Clandinin and Connelly (2000) is that the researcher has a keen interest and a sense of significance of the study for its implications for larger social concerns. Following the suggestion of Clandinin and Connelly, this study was of great interest to the researcher for she has been part of various efforts in empowering the marginalized sectors like women farmers in Northern Samar. It is to her belief that the findings of the study have broader implications for bigger concerns like gender-based policy, mainstreaming gender issues in agriculture and development of communication programs.

Mishler (1990) claims to "reformulate validation" and describes validation as "the social construction of knowledge". According to Mishler, validity lies in the community of people evaluating the findings and it is these

people who determine whether or not they can rely on the study for use in their own work. It is argued that validity is not assured by following certain procedures; abstract rules and standard procedures cannot be applied. "There are no rules for assessing validity". The goal of validation, continues Mishler, is understanding. Valuation is determined by the available information for the study, information that includes social values and the consideration of the contexts of the study.

Mishler further argues that when trustworthiness of a study is such that it causes us to act, we thereby grant validity to the findings. By focusing on trustworthiness rather than a defined "truth," we move a narrative study to the social world, a world constructed through actions and discourse. Mishler contends that we arrive at validation through social discourses that establish trustworthiness.

As regards the use of stories as evidence, stories of the women rice farmers make possible the observation and analysis of unexpected and changing aspects of peoples' lives. Understanding human behaviors is possible through the reflective stories shared in the teller's own language. Narrative research then is conducted in order for the researcher to "say something to readers about the human condition", in this study, the condition of women rice farmers in rural setting. Polkinghorne (2005) writes, "Storied evidence is gathered. . . about the meanings experienced by people whether or not the events are accurately described". Stories, this author adds, are about personal meanings and not the actual facts of the events; stories are the best evidence available about how people experience their lives.

Validity, according to Polkinghorne (2005), is determined by the believability of claims to knowledge. Conclusions are valid when there is sufficient evidence to believe the claims that are offered. Just as Mishler (1990) suggests, validation is the ability to convince readers that the claim is strong enough to provide the basis for understanding of human experience.

The study's critical stance along with its research methods used particularly the exhaustive and compelling stories of women participants as evidence of the point of the study demonstrate apparent plausibility grounded on trustworthiness.

Presentation of the Results and Interpretations

Central to the study are the life stories of the three intergenerational women rice farmers. Essentially, the stories of the women rice farmers are the results of the study. Narrative description and direct quotes were included in the presentation to surface themes and concepts that have emerged in the stories.

Also, their real names were used in the narratives. In fact, all of them did not want to be anonymous for the purpose of this study. Lipson (1993) claims that researchers should do everything in their power to protect the physical, social and psychological welfare of informants and to honor their dignity and privacy unless they want to be identified. The women rice farmers have shown no qualms in divulging their real names for they actually wanted to use their real names. According to them, these are their stories.

The presentation of the findings was followed by the discussion and conclusion chapter which consisted of interpretation and conclusions. Further, as a feminist communication research, the researcher found it appropriate and necessary to use the personal "voice" in these chapters. Its use strengthened the study's argument, rendering it more immediate, embodied, and compelling. This finds also support from Moskovitz' claim that when scientists use first-person pronouns, they tend to show up most often toward the end of the Introduction and in Findings and Discussion sections. Overall, the decision to deviate from the third-person references in writing academic or scientific papers was founded on the belief that narratives about gender are effectively presented through the first-person reference for it has the potential to strengthen an academic argument drawn from personal stories, provided that it is used sparingly and selectively.

Chapter V

FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATIONS

Three women rice farmers from Northern Samar were invited to tell three stories—about how they are marginalized, how they resist male domination and how they communicate their stories across generations. Essentially, the stories are the results of a narrative type of study (Gay, Mills & Airasian, 2006). Their narratives spoke about their lived experiences of marginalization, resistance and intergenerational communication. Given the relatively difference in age, experiences and milieu each of the women are exposed to, the stories were different as the women, but similarities also surfaced, and, in a few instances, the stories intersected. Both of the differences and commonalities point to elements of women's marginalization, resistance and communication across generations.

One benefit of qualitative research is it allows the voice from the ground to be heard. As to narrative inquiry, it moves the storyteller away from a conversational frame where "the quick pace of ordinary conversation requires that we often revert to cultural truisms or habitual responses" (Miczo, 2012) and into a more reflective frame where stories about the past are accessed and brought forth. Narrative inquiry offers space for intimate and authentic sharing. However, I remained cognizant that recollections, particularly from childhood, are "primarily through the prism of adult reconstructions and integrations of the past (Blijczyk et al., 2011) and are "interviewees' construction of reality as they see it" (Erkut and Winds, 2001). While a story is situated in the past, the sense making forms a bridge with the

present and provides a glimpse into how the narrator is likely to interact with the future.

This chapter is divided into two sections: Telling the Stories and Interpretations.

Telling the Stories

This section introduces the three intergenerational women rice farmers of Northern Samar. Their stories allow the readers to feel as if they are part of these women's lives, to hear each woman in her voice sharing stories intimately and genuinely, and to listen for themes as they emerge. Although the memories shared on these narratives belong to the women rice farmers during the inquiry process, the meaning has become a co-construction of the tellers and the researcher's interpretive lens. As a mindful author, I was aware of my duty to truthfully characterize each of the women's meaning making within my interpretation and to this end the co-authored stories have been shared with each woman to validate the co-construction.

The presentation of the stories is fundamentally guided by dissertation's objectives. They were mapped according to each of the women's life stages but are not projected to be taken linearly and hierarchically for they are expected to overlap and be seen as circular. Also, the order in which the stories are presented is by no means linear, but it does represent a range from experiences of marginalization, resistance and intergenerational communication. I began with Maria Liwanag Acibar's story who is fondly known as Nay Maye, followed by Helen Acibar-Ifurung's and that of Geraldine Acibar's also known as Din-din. Nay Maye is the 76-year old

mother of Helen and the grandmother of Geraldine. While the latter is the niece of Helen, the daughter of her sibling who is the eldest and the only son of Nay Maye.

Nay Maye: The Grandmother

Nay Maye was born in a rural area in Northern Samar on the 10th of May 1951 and started rice farming at the age of nine. The rain was pouring hard when I first met her. It was a gloomy morning, but she greeted me with a warm smile in her small nipa hut, which became rare as we continued to talk about her life. However, she was clearly happy and proud when she shared, "I have five kids. My only son is the father of Din-din". She continued introducing herself to me by stressing, "I have been a widow for fifteen years. My husband passed at the age of seventy. My husband was a farmer until he died".

As a young girl, she was taught and trained by her rice farmer parents particularly her mother, to be hardworking. "That's why I work hard until now. This is also what I always remind Helen of since she was younger, I do the same with Din-din, who is my granddaughter. She told me in a soft voice, "Our family was so poor that's why I only finished fifth grade".

She was left with no choice but to stop for her parents had no ample money to support her pursuit for an education. But according to her, "I don't want my children and grandchildren to have the same fate with mine that's why I really work hard even up to now no matter how old I am. When Helen was growing up, I became more persistent in finding ways to earn."

Sayud siton ak kabataan sa ak mga gin agihan na kakurian ngan kon paunanhua ko gin atubang an mga kuri sa kinabuhì. Mao ada na si Helen ma duruto liwat. Ak mga hi apo, parehas kan Din-din sayud liwat sira siton ky miskan yana na arug na ak kon yaun higayun, nahanap ak pama agi na kumita. Diri ak nag napasibaya pag tutdo sa kanra pano maging maduruto ngan nanu ka importante a pagiging maduruto sa mga kababayin-an. (My children have witnessed my life struggles and how I faced them. Maybe that's the reason why Helen is hardworking too. My grandchildren like Din-din have also seen it because even now that I am old, I still try to earn money whenever I have the opportunity. I try to make it a point to teach them the value of hard work particularly to women.)

I asked her about what she did after quitting school. Nay Maye told me, "I worked as a house help of Uncle Itas and Aunt Ili. Then at the age of thirteen, I was already helping in rice production". Showing me her worn-out hands, she said, "I had no interest other than working since I was a child. I grew up doing nothing but household and farm labor".

At ten o'clock on Monday morning, I was on my way again to the women's place. It is a 30-minute ride from my place. The ride was quite reflective, as the car moved on a highway that did not have car traffic with only occasional motor bikes. The road was quiet, the air was dry and in between small barangays, all I could see were rice fields stretched to the horizon.

As I was nearing the place, the signage which states that the land used to be an agricultural land and is now converted to residential lot greeted me. My vehicle slowly took a halt at the side of the main road. I alighted and

began my ten-minute walk to Nay Maye's home. Her house resembles many houses in the community, being made of *nipa* and bamboo. It is relatively small but has everything that is basic to a home. In an arm stretch from her bedroom which serves also as her living and dining room is the sink. Her toilet made of nipa too is detached from her hut. Nay Mayes lives alone with occasional visits from her children and grandchildren.

Few minutes later, I was at her house. She welcomed me with a smile. It was a sunny day, but I noticed that she was wearing a torn jacket and in between shy coughs, she told me that she has a flu. As I sat opposite her, Nay Maye took a seat next to her only window. As we spoke, I took the opportunity to thank her for allowing me to share her life story in the paper I am writing and to explain again why we are doing this. I said that this work would help the society to understand with depth the life of rural women rice and will serve as her *voice*. Nay Maye nodded and smiled. She said, "I am glad to be part of this work. I have not shared my personal life story with much detail with any other person before".

When settled, I asked to describe her typical day? She paused closing her eyes for a second trying to recall with vividness. Instead of directly answering my question, she told me first about her life circumstances.

Tikang ak sa makuri na pamilya. Ak pamilya sanhi pa nag inuma sa tuna sa iba na pamilya. Waray kami pag tanum sin tuna na amu gud kalugaringon. Tikang pa sa katikang sa panahon pa sa ak ka apuy apuyan sugad na sine amu kamutangan. (I am from a very poor family. My family for time immemorial has worked on other family's land. We never cultivated a

land we can call our "own". We have been in similar situation since my great grandparents.) She further confessed,

Dire ko gin sesekreto an ungod na kamutangan sa ak mga anak. Parehas kan Helen, agsub ko gin iistoryahan sa ak mga naka agi para liwat makabulig sa kanya mga desisyon na makaka pa bag-o sa iya kinabuhi. Paunanhua mag kuri ngan sugad man pano makatalwas. Pag naiistoryahan namu ini ni Helen napapakusog namu an kada tagsa namu na bu-ot. Nag kakayaun kami gahum atubangon an mga kakurian ngan pag tiyupi. Mas nagkakayaun kami makusog na relasyon. Nasabut ak con nanu iya gin aagihan bilang sayu na asawa ngan iroy. (I don't keep my real-life situation a secret from my children. I always share my experiences with Helen that would serve as her guide in making life-changing decisions. I share how it's like to have a difficult a life and how to overcome it. If we talk about these, I feel that we empower each other. We could have the power to face all the adversities and oppression. I feel a sense of strong bond with her. I really understand what she is going through as a wife and mother).

She likewise shared, "My parents instilled in my young mind that women play multiple roles; they are assumed to be involved in both domestic and farming activities". She recalled,

Nahibaru ak pag uma sa ak mga kag anak. Gin tutduan ak nira paunanhua mag uma ngan mag trabaho sa panimalay dire la tungod ky pobre kame, tungod liwat kay babaye kun ak. (I learned how to farm through my parents. They trained me also to do household chores not only because we were poor but because I am a woman.)

I asked again what it entails to be working at the farm, particularly for women like herself. Before she responded, she declared that she seldom works in the rice fields now because she is constantly ill. She recalled though, "When she was still active as a rice farmer, she wakes up at the crack of dawn before anyone else and leaves with her husband at around seven o' clock. We would trail by foot the muddy road for about two hours going to Bangon (name of the place where they farm). We would usually reach the rice field at around 9' o clock".

That is when her work at the field begins. "When I wake up, I do the following—finish all the cooking and send my children to school. In a little later, I work in the rice fields. Upon return, I wash my children's school uniforms and do other household chores kept undone by my daughters. By virtue of being a woman, I do all the work. My total labor allocation is basically about two or three times more than my husband whose work time is only devoted to farming".

Sa kabug-usan, parehas la an oras sa trabaho ko sa ak asawa sa pag uma paray nga iba pa na trabaho na makakakitaan parehas sap ag tanum ngan baligya utanon. (On average, I contribute about as much time as my husband in direct rice production and other income earning activities like growing and selling vegetables.) However, to the outside world, she observed that it appears that the husband spends more time working. To further emphasize, Nay Maye narrated,

"My major tasks were weeding, winnowing, and some rice drying in rice production. For non-rice crop production, I cleared and prepared beds were

vegetables like lady fingers, eggplant, squash and root crops such as camote and cassava were grown".

Ako ta an nagbabaligya sa utanon nga duma nga nakabulig pan dagdag gihapon sa kita sa ak pamilya. (I marketed my grown produce as well which helped in increasing our family income.)

Ako asawa waray iton nahihimu sa trabaho sa panimalay ngan parte sa pangeskwela sa kabataan. Dituy la na oras a gin hahatag sa kalalakin-an o wara gud oras para pag hitsu sa panimalay kay okupado sira pag ataman sa kakarabwan nga mga trabaho sa pag uma. (My husband had nothing to do when it comes to housekeeping and attending the children's school needs. Men spend little or no time at all on home production activities as they are mainly occupied with carabao grazing and rice fields activities.)

When she comes home from the field after another two-hour walk, her daughters have already prepared food for dinner. Beaming with pride, she continued, *"Di ba sanhi waray pa man molinuhan?" Iton sira parehas sa kalalakin-an nag babarayu na sa lusong sa paray.* ("There was no rice mill before, right?" But my daughters, like boys, would also manually pound rice.)

Nay May continued and looking straight at me, she said, *Gin rarakudaku ko na mag duruto ak mga anak na kababayi-an. Ini gud si Helen, pag mayaun siya problema, san bata pa nauli iton nga nag hahaya ky gin susung gud man sa mga klasmets niya ky danay wara balun. Siton na takna hinangkup ito sa ak, ako man gin uuluk uluk ko ngan hangkupan. Pag ako man an my problema pag taga salapi, hasta na manla iton yana nga may asawa na siya, bulig man iton sya pag solbar. Nag bubulig buligay kami pag hanap pama agi. Mahimu kami siton listahan sa kanay pwede mag laba, pira*

a bayad, pira am magagasto sa pamasahi tikadtu. Waray makuri na problema pag nag bubulig buligay an mga kababayin-an ky parihas man gud mag isip. (I really take pride that my daughters work hard. One time, the young Helen, went home from school sobbing because her classmates were teasing her for not having food provisions. That moment, she just hugged me, I did the same as I comforted her. If I am the one with financial problem, she would help me resolve it, she does it until now even if she's married already. We would come up with a plan together. We would make a list of potential families whom we could do the laundry, how much we could earn, fare expenses. There's no problem that can't be solved if women in the family help each other since we think alike.)

An kalalakin-an man dire nakakapamunak para sa iba na pamilya na an kasaliwan salapi. Kaya ko buhaton halos ngatanan para magka salapi. Puydi ak kuhaon na paragbunak...dire iton kaya himuon sa kalalakin-an. (Men can't do the laundry of other families in exchange of money. I can do a lot of things to earn money. I can be hired as a laundrywoman...men could not simply do that.)

The importance of resilience and hard work among women rice farmers was also acknowledged by Nay Maye. *Diri hubya kaurugan sa kababayin-an na kila ko. Bug-os ko na kinabuhi, nagtrabaho ak. Si Helan, mao ta, ngatanan na pwede pagkakitaan gin susulod niya. Dire kami na asa la sa amu mga asawa pag abut sa kwarta kay nabulig kami para madagdagan a kita sa pamilya.* (Most women that I know are not lazy. I have been working my entire life. Helen does the same as she tries every potential income generating

activities. We don't heavily rely economically on our husbands for we help in finding means to augment the household income.)

Pag nag si Helen, gin papabilin ko iya kabataan sa ak para dire makaulang sa iya pangabuhi. Sa ak hi apo man si Din-din, ky diri man ak makakasaliwan kanya pagbantay sa sari-sari store, tub tub nala ak siton pa ngumusta kanya. Ambot ky mas bata si Din-din kan Helen ngan hi apo ko na, diri na gud ak agsub kanya nahatag sin damu na litanya kon nanu angay ngan dire angay himu-on parehas kan Helen. (When Helen sells ukay-ukay [used clothing from abroad], I would tell her to leave her kids with me, so she can focus on her business. With my grandchild, Din-din, since I could not relieve her in manning the store, the least I could do is to reach out to her. I ask how she is...maybe I am like that to her for she is younger than Helen and is already my grandchild. I seldom give advice to her on what she should or should not do unlike with Helen.)

I was about to ask Nay Maye another question when her three young granddaughters barged in giggling. Their mother, Helen, was running after them. I could hear her yelling "would you please stop running, you might trip and hurt yourselves!" When she walked in, she gave me a tired smile and turned quickly to Nay Maye asking to look after her daughters while she trades *ukay-ukay* (used clothing from abroad). I could tell that Helen was in a hurry. With an apologetic look, Nay Maye requested if we could take a break for a while, so she could prepare food for her grandchildren.

As I was engaging the children in conversation, Nay Maye commented, *Kinaiya na sa kababayin-an an bumulig. Miskan nanu ko kapagal o diri maupay ak pamati, diri ak makadiri pag abut sa pag ataman sa ak mga hi apo*

(Women are by nature helpful. No matter how tired or ill I am, I can't say no when it comes to taking care of my grandchildren.)

An kababayin-an madali mag hatag suporta ngan mabuligon gud na daan kon mayaun panga nihanglan an iba. Bisan la ak nag kukuri; bisan dire ak nakakatgamtam sin mga bulig, nakakabulig ak (Women have a strong tendency to nurture others and attend to their needs. Even if I am poor or not privileged, I can still help.) To provide a concrete example, she shared,

Yaun mga pan hitabu na yaun nag kukuri ngan gin aru ako bulig nag aaru sayu ka kilo na bugas, waray na ruha duha, nahatag ak siton. Naiimud man iton nira Helen ngan ak mga hi-apo. Diri na ak siton nasari sa ak asawa ky para nanu? Yaun mag ak ginsusulod na kita miskan dituy sa am pamilya. (There were instances that someone would have a difficult life and would seek my aid, asking for a kilo of rice. Without hesitation, I would lend. Helen and my grandchildren have known and witnessed these. I did not ask for my husband's permission. What for? I had contributed anyway, no matter how small, to our family's income.)

As we went on with our conversations, Nay Maye's brought me down again to her childhood memory lane. "My parents constantly told me when I was young that it is imperative for me as a girl to learn all the housework at an early age for I am expected to assume such responsibility up until I become a grown woman. At home, I was primarily tasked to wash the dishes and clean the house."

An kababayin-an kaurugan an gin papatrabahi sa gin susugad na "pambabayi" na trabahuon sa amo maestro sa eskwelahan parehas sap ag pan limpya. (In school, girls were mostly assigned by the teach to tasks

referred to as "girls' jobs" like cleaning.) While in the farm, she recounted, *San dituy pa ak, ako kag anak susugu-on ak mag dalus and mag tanum utanon. Bagaw nira iton kon na mga buruhatun kanan kababayin-an ky masayun la himu on.* (When I was little, my parents would only ask me to weed and grow vegetables. They told me that such types of work are for women for they are easy to do.)

As she grew up, her participation in rice production occurred mainly during peak season. "My contribution however was only limited to lighter tasks such as weeding and sowing. I was also involved in growing vegetables and root crops".

When I got married, gender division continued to position me as a housewife even though I was lending a hand in rice and non-rice production work, not to mention my other economic efforts. *Ako an mayormente na nanakaput sa responsibiidad pag sa taga balay na hirumu-on parihas san pag pakaupay sa balay nga pag ataman sa kabataan miskan natrabaho man liwat ak sa guwa.* (I was principally responsible for home production like housekeeping and child rearing despite my financial contribution.)

Pag adtu kami siton sa asawa sa hawan kon diin naiimud o nababatian sa mga higripid silhig ak siton sa hawan, panaribu sa tanum na utanon, bukod bukod sa kabataan na sige dadalagan. Ak asawa man siton nag liliningkod la gilid. Gin pabay-an ko nala ky masugad pala am higripid diri ak nag papakababayi ngansi ky daku ak pag respeto sa ak asawa. Dikan pag ako nala sa balay mao na mag liliniya sa ak kabataan ngan sa ak asawa nanu diri na manla siya nabulig labi na gud mahiunong sa panginanu sa am kabataan. (When my husband and I would be at our yard where our neighbors could

hear and see us, I would sweep the yard, water the vegetable garden, and look after our children who would run around while my husband would just sit in a corner. I did not mind it because my neighbors might think that I was not being a dutiful woman and I have high respect for my husband. But once inside the house, I would nag about it in the presence of my children and husband particularly why he could not lend a hand in looking after our kids.

However, she was usually mum about single-handedly managing all familial concerns even if she worked too at the farm for she knew too well that no one would mind doing it other than herself. Nay Maye casually said, *Kaurugan sa panahon diri na ak nag tatari tari pag reklamo sa ak asawa miskan nanu katanglay sa ak trabaho para mamingaw la am mag upod. Pero sa kamatuuran sino mamba siton a naruyag? Diri tama iton na am kamutangan na kababayin-an, nadire la uga kami sa samuk sanglit mamingaw nala kami.* (Most of the time, I did not dare to argue with my husband no matter how tired I was with my work to maintain a peaceful relationship with him. But the truth is, who would really want that? There is something not right with women's situation...I just don't want to cause chaos so usually I keep quiet.)

Kami na kababayin-an kaurugan ta an nagbabaligya sa am mga tinanum na utanon. An pag baligya utanon mao gud a trabaho kauurugan sa babaye didi sa am. An mga kanan panimalay na trabahuon ridor gud iton liwat sa mga kababayin-an. (We women mostly market the vegetable we have grown. Selling vegetables is typically a woman's job here in my community. Domestic work is also the domain of the women.)

Although Nay Maye's role was high in the production and reproduction domain, it was not recognized, instead she was placed in a disadvantage position in terms of income. *Pero gin himu ko ngatanan na ako ako mahihimu para magsakto am kwarta.* (I did everything I could to make ends meet.) She stressed, *Gin pa iimud namu sa kalalakin-an na pursigido kami magtrabaho para kumita.* (We show to men how persistent we are to work to earn money.)

To Nay Maye' belief, "Women can do several things to earn like selling vegetables, laundry making and house help. We contribute a lot in terms of money making for we do everything".

She remarked though, "Household concerns ate much of my time; hence, I could not engage fully in income generating activities. Even my time for farm work was limited." Since my husband largely controlled the economic aspect of the household, I devised a scheme to save from the cash I received from my husband". She contemplated, *Maupay nga nakaka ayad ak kwarta sanhi ky mahiunong siton nakakapalit man ak gihapon sa ak mga panhanihanglan na diri na mayormente mag aaru sa ak asawa.* (It was wise then than I kept money for I was able to buy what I needed without asking my husband first.) She said that it felt good to have your "own" money.

Maupay yaun inayad pirme. Sanhi ky di ba man sugad san kababayin-an, sanhi mayaun "tak-gong" di ba e nanganganak...ak bisyo siton ky tinahe man ak tak-gong, gin susulod ko sa tak-gong akon kwarta...didto akon pag ayad hasta sa napupuno na akon tak-gong. Ma ayad na manla ak bisan la bente (20), balon balon sa ak kabataan an iba tos mapalit sa am ig sura, she narrated. (It is better to save always. Before we had this so called *tak-gong* (the tradition where the belly of the new mother is tied tightly with a cloth) after

giving birth... I hid the money inside the cloth...I kept it there until it's filled. I would usually keep twenty (20) for my kids' provision and the rest would be for our viand.)

Nay Maye handled it that way when she was not earning on her own when availability of on-farm work is limited. "There were times that my husband did not tag me along during planting and harvesting season since I needed to do the housekeeping, hence, I did not earn any."

Iton na mahiunong sa ak pama agi sin pag ayad kwarta sa tak-gong, gin inistorya ko iton kanra Helen ngan miskan kan Din-din kon yaun higayun. Nag titinawa iton na duha kusog pa kakabati siton na istorya tapos masugad, "mao iton ak paghihimu-on in diri kami tagan kwarta sa am asawa". (I would always tell Helen and even Din-din whenever I get the chance that story about how I saved money using tak-gong. We would laugh hysterically every time it is told then they would comment, "We would do the same if our husbands don't give us money.)

I felt the dampness of the soil against my thin slippers as I was seated inside Nay Maye's home. It was a humid day when I visited her next. I found her washing the dishes when I arrived. She offered me to sit on her lone brown mono bloc chair and asked me politely to wait for a while. Nay Maye's hands were still dripping wet when she turned to me. While sitting down facing me, she slowly wiped her hands using the hem of her skirt then she asked me what story I would want to hear for the day, which becomes now a customary prelude. I probed into the roles of women in rice production. By practice, women are assigned to "easier" tasks, Nay Maye observed. She enumerated,

"The major tasks for women in rice farming are weeding and winnowing. Men find these suitable for women". To give me a clear picture, she explained,

An pag tarab sa layhun kanan lalaki gud iton. Mag tatarab iton sira hagmaas ngan madakmul na kabanwaan gamit an sundang. Sa ako kapanahunan, an kababayin-an dire gin papadara sundang ky delikado kuno para sa am. Bagaw pa siton sa mga parag uma na lalaki, bangin masamad ta namu amu kalugaringon. (Land clearing is a man's work. They would cut tall and thick grasses using a bolo. During my time, women were not allowed to carry a bolo for it was too dangerous for us to do so. Male farmers would tell us, you might get yourselves hurt.)

Grinning, Nay Maye went on, *Agsub nag titinawa nala kami siton na ira pag dumara sa am na mala manla diri kami ma aram gumamit purang ngan mag hirot sa am mga lawas. Mala man sira mga uwat (laughing)! Nag sususri kami siton na kababayin-an ngan masugad, "nakakapungkol pa an pagiging babayi?".* (We would just laugh most of the time on how they treat us—as if we have no idea how to use the bolo and could not take care of our own. They are like fools [laughing]! We, women would joke around about and would comment, "does being a woman make us handicap?")

She observed that plowing by carabao is likewise for men as well as threshing for they entail physical strength that only male farmers. To provide a mental image, she described,

Sanhi nga panahon, mayaun kami siton nagamit kami siton na salug-salug. An lalaki siton adtu sa igbaw, ig sasagka an paray mao an magigi-uk mano mano. Sa ilarum man an kababayin-an. Yaun iton banig diin gin huhulog an paray mao mag kakayab. (In the old days, we had this "salug-salug" (make

shift floor made of light wood or bamboo) and below it was a wide mat where the threshed "palay" fell. The male farmer who did the threshing manually was on top of the "salug-salug" while a group of female farmers was positioned right below it who did the winnowing.)

Nay Maye also remembered,

Pag pangindaw sugad siton sa pasakay, na mga parag uma na kalalakin-an pag titiniawan man kami na kababayin-an na parag uma. Titiawan nira ngan susugaran na mag sayaw sayaw muna pag agi san oras. (During lunch break at the farm, male farmers would poke fun at us, female farmers. They would tease women saying, you should dance to pass the time.)

I asked if women farmers would do it. Nay Maye exclaimed, *Dire gad! Ky susri manla. Nakikisuri nala liwat kami kanra ngan masugad man kami "kamo gad an pag sayaw! Hala kamu ky pag tukaran. Adi la kame para man trabaho dire para libangon kam".* (No of course! We just bantered back and would tell them "you are the ones who should dance! We will play the music for you. We are here to work not to entertain you.")

Iton nga mga susri namu, sayud siton an mga bata bata man na kababayin-an. Sayu na siton si Helen sadtu. Bata pa gad udi siya sadtu pero maupay man nga naiimdan niya kon paunanhu kami bumaton sa kalalakin-an para hibaru liwat sira pa unanhu unina. (The younger women farmers, one of them was Helen have witnessed those exchanges of jokes. She was young then, but it was good that she had seen how we faced men, so they'll know what to do later.)

Nay Maye confessed that her participation in rice production is only seasonal. She reasoned, "It was impossible for me to work full time at the

farm like my husband particularly during school days. I had to attend to the demands and needs of my children. How could I farm and at the same time mother my children?"

Diri ak nag liliya pero diri ko gud gin tatapud an mga trabahu-on sa panimalay sa ak asawa ky dire manta ak malilipay sa iya trabaho ambot ky diri man siya higara sa sugad siton na trabahu-on. (I was just silent, but I did not entrust the household duties to my husband for I would not have been satisfied with his performance anyway being not accustomed to doing such work.) She was broadly smiling with her recollection. In fact, amused. I asked why. She shared,

Sayo nga pan hitabu ngani na namunak ak asawa, nalipay ak nga nalangut. Kay nanu? Ky kanihanglan ko utrohon ngatanan. Waray niya ka himu sin tama. (There was an instance when my husband did the laundry, I was happy and pissed at the same time. You know why? Because I had to do it all over again. He did not do it right.)

Getting serious again, she explained,

Sa mga asawa dihan na parag uma, an lalaki an mayormente an nagsusulod kwarta, mao gud iton an naka higad-an. (It is a common practice among farmer couples here for the husband to be the breadwinner." She added, *An babaye na asawa nag bubulig bulig la...gin buligan ko an ak asawa danay pag kanihanglan. Gin papabulig ak sa ak asawa para dire kuno mag iha. Kaurugan na panahon waray ak siton bayad pero sugad siton daku manggud ako nahihibulig. Masugad an kalalakin-an na maluya kami man trabaho dikan na aru man sira bulig para kuno maglaksi an trabaho. Kami am hunahuna sa trabaho gudla.* (The wife would only serve as a "side kick"... I assisted my

farm like my husband particularly during school days. I had to attend to the demands and needs of my children. How could I farm and at the same time mother my children?"

Diri ak nag liliya pero diri ko gud gin tatapud an mga trabahu-on sa panimalay sa ak asawa ky dire manta ak malilipay sa iya trabaho ambot ky diri man siya higara sa sugad siton na trabahu-on. (I was just silent, but I did not entrust the household duties to my husband for I would not have been satisfied with his performance anyway being not accustomed to doing such work.) She was broadly smiling with her recollection. In fact, amused. I asked why. She shared,

Sayo nga pan hitabu ngani na namunak ak asawa, nalipay ak nga nalangut. Kay nanu? Ky kanihanglan ko utrohon ngatanan. Waray niya ka himu sin tama. (There was an instance when my husband did the laundry, I was happy and pissed at the same time. You know why? Because I had to do it all over again. He did not do it right.)

Getting serious again, she explained,

Sa mga asawa dihan na parag uma, an lalaki an mayormente an nagsusulod kwarta, mao gud iton an naka higad-an. (It is a common practice among farmer couples here for the husband to be the breadwinner." She added, *An babaye na asawa nag bubulig bulig la...gin buligan ko an ak asawa danay pag kanihanglan. Gin papabulig ak sa ak asawa para dire kuno mag iha. Kaurugan na panahon waray ak siton bayad pero sugad siton daku manggud ako nahihibulig. Masugad an kalalakin-an na maluya kami man trabaho dikan na aru man sira bulig para kuno maglaksi an trabaho. Kami am hunahuna sa trabaho gudla.* (The wife would only serve as a "side kick"... I assisted my

husband from time to time if the need arose. For instance, he would seek my aid in order to expedite the work. Usually, I was not paid for it, but my contribution was huge in finishing the work. Men would tell us that we are weak/slow then they would ask our help to finish the job quickly. We are more focused.)

It occurred to Nay Maye that one reason why she was unpaid or less paid for her farm labor is because her task was seasonal. Another reason she added is that they have fewer skills and qualifications as opposed to male farmers. Nay Maye said that women farmers cannot bring the physical skills required of a farmer. She admitted,

Dire ak mag tatarab sa lay-hun. Mas hagtaas pa sa ak an sighut. Kadakmul nira ura ura ngan dire ko naiimud ak kalugaringon mag dara sundang ngan mag tarab pira ka oras. Pero diri siton karuyag sidngun na diri na ak maaram kumapot purang. Akon na manla iton desisyon na diri kumapot sugad siton na tranaho. (I would absolutely not help in clearing the farm land. The grasslands are even higher than me. It is so thick, and I could not imagine myself carrying a bolo and cutting grasslands for hours. It does not mean, however, that I do not know how to use the bolo. It is just my personal decision not to do such work.)

She pondered though,

Waray man liwat sira aram pag abut sa panlaba, baligya utanon ngan bugas, pag ataman sa kabataan. Ambagaw ko di ba mas damu sa ungod la an aram na trabaho sa kababayin-an. (Men on the other hand do not have the skills to do the laundry, sell vegetables and rice and taking care of the kids. The truth is, women can perform more work than men.)

As Nay Maye and I continued our conversation, we were interrupted every so often by kids' gales of laughter who were playing hide and seek. Nay Maye yelled at them from her window, *Alayun daw ayaw pag dituy sa iyo tingog o diri ngani pag uyag kam sa iba na lugar! Diri niyo naiimud na yaun ak bisita?* (Would you please keep your voice down or play somewhere else! Can't you see that I have a visitor?) The children giggled and hushed.

Much to my amusement too was the intermittent visits from Nay Maye's neighbors. They took a peek from the window; few stayed a little longer and tried to chat with Nay Maye. During these brief interruptions, I pressed the "pause" button of my audio recorder.

I asked Nay Maye if she would like to hear our recorded interview. She beamed like a child and nodded. She was amazed to hear her own voice. She admitted, *Una ko pala ini sini ma hiagum na butang.* (It is my first time to experience this thing.) "How did you find it?" I asked. "It was nice," she responded. Her answer was short but reassuring.

When growing up, Nay Maye shared that women farmers in her place did not have a chance to speak in any gathering for they were not invited to begin with. Without batting an eyelash, she told me, "We, women farmers then were never invited or had no access to farming production services, irrigation, production how to use the so-called pesticide and seeds. Only men for they work harder. For example, in terms of farming, they would look for men."

An mga parag-uma na kababayin-an san sanhi pa na panahon diri liwat naapi sin mga grupo kay diri man sira gin llista. Pag yaun siton na mga seminar, diri gin aapi kami na kababayin-an. Sa ako manla iton obserbasyon. (The women farmers in the early times did not also join any organization for

they did not get enlisted. If there were seminars, we, women were not invited. That's what I only observed.)

The case was no longer the same when she was in her fifties. "As time went by, women would be asked to participate in those seminars. Not everyone but at least they get invited", she recounted.

It occurred to Nay Maye that the only meetings she had attended were those conducted by the landowner where all the farm workers/tenants were invited. She recalled, "We met twice or thrice a month especially during the rice farming peak season. On those occasions, the male landowner would facilitate the meeting. The agenda would include seeds, wage, fertilizing, pesticide applications and other rice farming-related topics."

Nay Maye acknowledged that the attendees were mostly male. *Mabibilang ko la sa ak tudlo kon pira an na atendir na kababayin-an. Kaurugan sa kababayin-an mas naruyag umuli nala ky damu pa bilin na tarampuson na trabahuon sa panimalay.* ((I could count through my fingers the number of women farmers present. Most of the women would rather go home for they still have several household works left undone.)

As noticed by Nay Maye, the women would always take the backseat; they would not sit beside their respective husbands. Nay Maye confided, "Male farmers would often times dominate the conversations anyway. During meetings with the landowner, they are the ones who would always talk. Men spoke endlessly as if we were not around."

Miskan nanu pa man nanu sugaron sa kalalakin-an para diri kami ma ing-ganyar, nagkakayaun kami danay gihapon kusog sa bu-ot na mabatian man am tingog pag my kakatiriruk na kalalakin-an la an nag mamando sa

iristorya mao kon mahiunong sa pag taga sweldo...masugad kami, "Hoy! Kamo la an pamamati-an? Kami di kami papamatia-an nyo?!" (Despite the abounded discouraging words from male farmers, we have sometimes mustered the courage to be heard during meetings, which were dominated by men particularly on matters that affect labor wage, by contesting, "Hey! Are you going to talk all the time? Aren't you going to listen to us?")

Mismo doon sa pasakay, nag rereklamo kami, labi na gud kon tika kulop na. Nasugad ak, "nanu man yana im sweldo?" Bagaw man sa iba na trabahante (male farmers), "Dire kam pareho sa akon sweldo ky magluya kam. (Even at the rice field, we complained before the sun sets. I uttered, "how's your pay?" Some male farmers said, "your wage is not similar to ours because you're slow/weak.)

Pag nag rereklamo kami o nag papa angbit man sa am mga karuyag sidngun na kababayin-an diri kami gin seseryoso. Mag kikinatatawa la iton sa amo mga gin susugad. Udi ky gin titinaw-an nala liwat namu iton sira sa ira buhat. (They would not take us seriously whenever we, women would complain or share what we thought. They would just ridicule us. We would laugh back at their demeanor too.)

However, despite the obvious exclusion and suppression of voice, women farmers would from time to time express their thoughts particularly about wage matters. Nay Maye herself was not totally voiceless when it concerned unfair wage farm labor. *Iton na pagtamay, pag kinatatawa ngan diri pag hingan sa am mga reklamo pag taga sweldo, waray iton paka ulang sa ak pag sugad sa ak karuyag sidngun na matagan man kami sin tama. Kanihanglan liwat san kababayin-an pangabuhil* (The mockery, ridicule or

dismissal of my wage grievance did not stop me from expressing my demands to be justly paid. Women also need paid jobs!) She recalled,

Durungan kami siton na kababayin-an a nareklamo sa sweldo...pag gin sugaran kami sa mga parag uma na kalalakin-an na dire ka angayan na sweldohan kami or hatas-an an am sweldo, masabat kami na kababayin-an, "mas makusog pa ngani kami sa iyo sa ungod la!". (We, women farmers complained in unison...

when told by male farmer that we don't deserve to get paid or receive a higher pay because we were incapable of performing heavier tasks, we talked back saying, "we are actually stronger than you!")

Nay Maye admitted that for the first time in her life, she was able to tell her story publicly and at the same time reflect on it. *Sa ako pag imud kaurugan sa kababayin-an na parag uma dinhi sa amu nag kukuri ngan natitiyupi san kalalakin-an. Ma aram sira siton ngan naiimud ko man sa yana na panahon nga yaun gin hihimu an kababayi-an parehas kan Helen ngan Din-din na atubangon an kakurian san kinabuhi ngam mga pag tiyupi. Yaun sira mga trabaho ngan miskan paunanho yaun sira kalugaringon na kita. Naimud ko an pagtubo nira, ma aram sa ira kapas.* (From what I see, women farmers here are poor and are dominated by men at some point. They know it and I can see that at present these women like Helen and Din-din are doing something to resist life's adversities and patriarchy. They have jobs and earn money on their own. I have seen how these women evolved so I know what they are capable of.

Helen: The Daughter

One rainy morning, as I approached Nay Maye's humble abode, I ran into Helen who was carrying a huge plastic bag in red and white stripes. In it were her *ukay-ukay*. We smiled and greeted one another. We were introduced for the first time by Nay Maye. She was in a hurry but apologetic for she had to leave at once to sell her "ukay-ukay" (use clothing from abroad) and did not want to miss her regular customers. She asked me to wait for a while for she will just hand the items to her friend and assured me that it will just take a few minutes. I chatted with Nay Maye while waiting for her. When she returned from her business dealing, she breathlessly ranted about how exhausting life could be for women like her who juggle household and economic activities. I just listened as she was venting out.

Helen Acibar-Ifurung is a 37-year old lean and brown skinned woman; always donning a baseball cap and wearing a winning smile on her face. She seems so full of life yet with desolation in her eyes, but definitely the chattiest among the three women.

She got involved in rice production when she was only twelve years old right after finishing 6th grade. *Nahibaru ak pag uma mahiunong sa ak mga apuy ngan kag anak na mga nag uuma liwat paray.* (I learned how to farm through my grandparents and parents who were also rice farmers.) *San bata-bata pa ak bug-os na adlaw nag babanti ak siton, nagtatanum utanon ngan doma na ig babaligya man ni nanay sa merkado. Pag kat tatanum ngan ani ako man mayormente na trabaho an pag gahi ngan pag asyab.* *Mao man an sugad nira na trabaho sa kababayin-an.* (I spent my day at the farm tending to

vegetable and crop farms to be sold by my mother at the market when I was younger. While during the rice planting and harvesting season, I primarily did weeding and winnowing. As told, these types of work are for women.)

In her childhood, she recalled, that she was trained early to perform tasks that are being referred to as "women's job". *Waray gad pag sugad si nanay na yaun pan babayi o panlalaki na trabaho pero mas gin tut-duan ak sa mga trabahuon na bagaw pa ni nanay, "trabaho na diri kanihanglan kusog sa lalaki."* (Though my mother did not tell me straightforwardly that there is division of labor based on sex, she taught me with chores which according to her, "work that needs a man's strength".)

She remembered also that as a young girl, *Sa ako gin bibilin ak duha na na kamanghuran para atamanun. Pag nag uuma sira tatay ako an nag babantay kanira. Diri na ngangalimut si nanay pag tugon sa ak na mag duruto, na bumulig kanya para hiba sa kinabuhi. Susugaran ak siton niya nanu kakuri iya naging kinabuhi san bata pa siya na para diri ak magkuri kahinanghalan maging maduruto ak. Gin tutugon ka siton niya na mag aram sin maupay ngan buligan ak kamanghuran sa ira trabahu-on sa eskwelahan para diri mahinugad am kinabuhi kanya na makuri ky waray pakatampus pag aram.* (I was already entrusted to take care of my two younger sisters. I looked after them When my parents were at the farm. Nanay never forgets to tell me the value of hard work and how it would help me better my life. She would always tell me how hard her life was when she was growing up and that she would not want her daughters to experience the same thus I need to really work harder. She would also remind me to study well and help my

sisters with their school homework to avoid ending up like her who is poor due to lack of education.)

San nag dadaraga ak, bulig ak sa ak kag-anak dayun panrabaho sa balay...ky mao iton ak naiimud na trabaho ni nanay ngan sa mga babayi didi sa am...nag lilimpya sa amo panimalay. (When I was growing up, I helped my parents by doing household chores...because that's what my mother and other women here have been doing...cleaning the house.)

Unlike her mother, Helen reached first year high school. But she reflected that she seemed to still have the same fate with her mother. *Si nanay wara pakatampus elementary ako tubtub gihapon high school pero parehas kanya dara san kakurian tinuok manta ak san 1996 ngan linarga ak pa Manila ngan nagtrabaho liwat kabulig. (Nanay did not finish her elementary. I did and even reached high school, but like her I stopped in 1996 due to poverty. I left for Manila and worked as house help also.)*

In a landscape where the plight of women farmers in Northern Samar lingers, Helen feels way less privileged compared to educated women. *An mga kababayin-an na nag pakatampus sa college mas daku an kita ngan mas yaun kapas mamili nanu ira karuyag himu-on o palitun. Naiindig gud ak siton sa kanra. Si nanay nasuporta iton siya sa ak gin pili na kinabuhi. Pero na abat ak na diri siya naruyag kon nanu ak yana; na mas karuyag niya nga nag tampus ak muna ngan waray pag asawa atab. Siguro naisip niya nga kunta mas naging maupay ak mga desisyon sa kinabuhi. Naiimud ko iton danay sa iya kahimu. Pero waray gud man iton siya tuko pag bulig sa ak abut na manla yana na yaun na ak mga kalugaringon na anak. (College educated women are way more economically gainful and can exercise some freedom of choice*

on what to do or buy. I could not help but feel envious. My mother would support me with how chose to live my life. But I know that she does not like it. She probably thought I should have made better choices in life. Sometimes I can see it in her face. But she never failed to support me even until now that I already have my own children.)

Si Din-din mala ko iton siya bugto sanglit ak pag dara kanya diri parehas sa kan nanay pag dara sa ak. Sayud si Din-din san kakurian sa pamilya labi na gud an mga kababayin-an pero diri gud ak na mamando kon nanu iya dapat himu-on para hingaupay iya kinabuhi kesa sa am ni nanay. Karuyag ko la na makatampus siya sa college ngan buligan siya paunahhu pero diri ko siya didiktahan gud iya dapat himu-on. (Din-din is like a sister to me that's why the way I treat her is different from how my Nanay is treating me. Also, Din-din knows how difficult my life is especially as a woman. Despite being the experienced one, I don't impose to her what she should do to have a better life than me and nanay. I just aspire that she could finish college and maybe help her how...But I won't dictate her on what to do."

She thought and reflected, *An pagkayaun inad-man daku gud na butang para ibahun an kinabuhi san babayi. Mas nagkakayaun an kababayin-an daku na kita ngan kaya buhi-on an kalugaringon.* (Education is critical in transforming women's life. It enables women to possess earning capacity and fend for themselves.) *Parehas sa amo ni nanay na waray man kami gin adman, parag uma tubtub nala kami sine. Na iistoryahan iton namu ni Din-di. Tungod kay waray man siya gin dak-an na iroy gin hihimu ko ak mahihimu na ipaimud ko ak pag higugma kanya sa pag hatag suporta sa iya man mga karuyag. Nag susumat iton siya sa ak parehas san yaun kuno nag didituy*

kanya na klasmeyt na lalaki na nag sugad kanya na diri niya kaya mag uma ky babayi siya. (For instance, since me and my mother were uneducated, we will forever be farmers. Din-din and I have talked about it. Since her mother was not around when she was growing up, I try my best to show that I love her by supporting her life endeavors. She would also tell me stories like when her male classmate ridiculed her saying that "the she does not have what it takes to be a farmer for she is a woman.")

She went on recollecting memories during her late childhood by sharing, *Binalik ak sa Norte san katorse ak dikan nag trabaho ak sa uma, nag banti ngan "part time" na kabulig.* (I was 14 when I returned in Northern Samar then I worked at the rice farm, grew vegetables and root crops, and worked as part time house maid.)

When I asked about her kids, she chuckled and was a little embarrass that her children's age have narrow spacing. *Upat ak kabataan, puro kababayi-an.* (I have four children, all girls.) She beamed with pride and said while pointing at her eldest who was around two feet away from her munching biscuits like nothing else matter, "That one is in 3rd grade, she is eleven years old...my seven-year old is in 2nd grade... then I have a four-year old." Then she looked down to her infant who was comfortably latching on her left breast and jested, "he is already one-year old but has not learned to walk yet".

Ak asawa si Edwin parag uma liwat dikan pag waray trabaho sa uma nag mamasun. Taga Cagayan Valley siya ngan tikang liwat sin pamilya sin parag uma. (My husband, Edwin, is also a rice famer and works part time as mason. He is from Cagayan Valley and also comes from a family of farmers.

Kami mag asawa mag asawa parehas man liwat sa iba na mag

aragsawa miskan mag kaiba an am trabaho parehas man kami nakita. (We may differ in terms of job types that we engage in like other couples, but we are both income earners.)

Halimbawa a lalaki parag isda...an babaye nag titinda. Ak siton pagsabut halos pareho la sira ky parehas man sira nakita. Diri parehas sa panahon nira Nanay nga mayormente gud an nakita la an lalaki. (For example, the man is a fisher folk while the woman is in trading. The way I understand it is that they are equal for both are earning. Unlike during the time of my mother in which the sole breadwinner was the man.)

In rice production activities, she perceived that the case is no longer the same with the old days. Talking from her experience, she said,
Na trabaho ak sin mga durudilain na butang na kaurugan an lalaki an na trabaho sugad san pag tanum, kigi, ani pwera la pag tuk-do sayu kasako na paray ky diri kaya sa ak dituy na lawas. (I engage in an array of activities that are normally performed by men like rice planting, harvesting and threshing except carrying a sack of un-milled rice for it is too heavy for my small built.)

Traditionally, in Helen's farming community, the rice production drudgery namely, winnowing and weeding, were considered to be women's major tasks. But women like Helen do a male farmer's job now and is deemed a breakthrough. To illustrate, she recounted,
Natukdo man liwat ak paray pero dire man liwat la ak sayu kasako...ky kasuol sa li-ug. Trabaho iton sa lalaki pero gin hihimu ko. Trenta minutos iton nga pag tukdo. Nag sasako ngan nag bibinlad liwat ak paray. (I also carry rice on my head as long as it is not one sack for it hurts my neck. It is a man's task, but I can do it too. I likewise do rice sacking and drying.)

Mao man iton an gin sasarihan ni Din-din an pag trabaho san mga trabu-on na pan lalaki la kuno. Naiimud man yana san mga bata bata na kababayin-an na kaya man himu-on san mga babayi and kanan lalaki trabaho kon tagan la higayun. (That what's Din-din is trying to emulate; to perform work that are tagged as "man's job". Younger women can see now that women can do what men can when given the opportunity.) She noted that although women farmers in her community have mixed response regarding the changing farming roles, some of them are now showing interest to engage in rice farming activities that are commonly referred to as "male's tasks".

Helen shared,

Karuyag ko magpaimud na kaya ko na liwat himu-on an mga butang na dati lalaki gudla a nakakahimu. (I want to show that I can now do things that were previously done only by male farmers.)

I asked how men react or perceive her actions. She responded by providing an example,

Edi bilib sira, ky nasugad, "ah kay kaya mo man ngay an"! Halimbawa liwat sugad siton magbaranti kami na puros la kababayin-an na grupo. Pakita namu nga amu pananum na income. Masugad, "uy, kaupay daw sadtu na kababayin-an!" (They are impressed of course, and would state, "ah so you can also do it"! Another example is when we women collectively cultivate vegetables. We try to prove that there's income in growing vegetables on our own. They would say, "wow, look at those women!") Helen pointed out that most men look at them with admiration and acknowledge that nowadays women too have been able to do more things.

She observed though that female farmers, with the help of their

children provide most of the day-to-day domestic labor. *An kababanyin-an damu a trabaho sa panimalay para sa kaupayan san pamilya tikang sa pag "budget", panlimpya sa balay, pag pakaun sa kabataan abut sap ag hagkau-un. Ini halos tanan gin hihimu sa babayi. Kumpara sa lalaki, an kababayin-an dihan damu ura ura an trabaho.* (Women play a multi-faceted role in the household doing everything for the welfare of the family from managing the family budget, cleanliness of the house, the nourishment of children to provisions of meals. All these are generally done by women. When compared to male farmers, women in my community are more burdened with work.) She added,

Pero waray ka siton mababatian na nareklamo tikang sa am na kababayin-an para waray samuk ngan mamingaw la an pag urupod. (But you'll never hear any complaint from women to avoid argument and to maintain harmonious relationships.)

It is to Helen's belief that in terms of labor, men are more inclined to work outside the home while women are domesticated. She uttered with a small laugh,

Mala udi dire la ak natapud pag sira (men) an adi sa panimalay. Masugad sira na diri namu kaya ira trabaho. Mag titinawa la ak siton pag nababatian ko ky ma aram ak na diri man liwat nira kaya an trabaho sa kababayin-an. (I cannot just trust men in managing the household. They would tell us that we could not do their jobs. I would just laugh whenever I hear it for I know too well that there are also things that they could not do.)

Akin to her mother, Helen is proud that she does everything to contribute in the family's economic growth as she engages herself with any

job available. *Yana ako mayormente na trabaho pag diri nag uuma an pag ukay-ukay. Nag lilibut ak siton sa am barangay o con damu damu an baligya napwesto ak siton sa merkado. Kan nanay ko siton gin bibilin ak kabataan. Natuyang man si nanay ky gin hu-ma ko na gad iton siya sadtu. Sinugad ak kanihanglan ko iya bulig ngan suporta ky pag abat ko diri ko gud kaya na ako la. Danay liwat kan ma boluntaryo si Din-din pag bantay siguro ky nasabut man siya sa ak kamutangan. Gin bibilin ko ak kabataan sa iya sa tindahan. Masugad iton siya, "kaupay mo la ky gin hihimu mo ngatanan para saim kabataan".* (My main work if not in the farm is selling *ukay-ukay*. I go around our barangay or I find a place in the market when I have several items. I would leave my kids with Nanay. She would gladly take them under her care. We already talked about the arrangement before. I explained to her that I need her help and support because I don't think I can do it by myself. Sometimes Din-din would volunteer to look after them maybe mainly because she understands. So, I would leave my kids in the *sari-sari* store with her and she would tell me, "it's nice that you do everything for your kids."

Helen said that everyone's issues in the family are women's issues too. She observed that at home, woman plays her "natural" role as care-giver. "I do everything for everyone to ensure that every single member of the household is taken care of and that extends to my mother, nephews and nieces like Din-din".

She quipped, "the naturalness of this nurturing trait can be attributed to women's ability to bear children. *Diri iton kaya himu-on sa kalalakin-an, diri nira kakayahun an suol o kuri a pag anak. Diri nira maiilub an ura ura na su-*

ol.” (Men can never give birth, they could not go through the ordeal of giving birth. They would not stand the excruciating pain”.)

Helen added that this maternal nurturing instinct is often revealed in difficult, tragic times, even. *Tipanganak sadtu am hipid na parag uma. Waray “manaram” siton na gab-e. Kadi kinadtu kami ni nanay ngan gin himu namu amu mahihimu parama mahiguwa an bata. Kon wara kami dayun abut, pwede gud mamamatay an bata...yana daku na kanya anak.* (A farmer in our neighborhood was about to give birth. There was no *manaram* [*a woman who traditionally assists in giving birth] available that night. So I went with my mother and did what we could to help her with her delivery. The baby could have died without our timely intervention...her baby is a grown man now.)

I was early during our second scheduled meet-up. Helen has not arrived yet at Nay Maye’s place. The latter offered me a seat at the living room that actually also serves as bedroom and kitchen. When Helen arrived, she sat on the edge of Nay Maye’s wooden floor bed and while breastfeeding her one-year old child, she continued with her story. “I am the third of five children. I believe I have been the favorite daughter because I am very industrious. As long as I can remember, I cared for my two young siblings, helped my mother with housekeeping, pounded rice by hand, have grown and sold vegetables, worked as rice farmer since I was young”, she shared.

Si nanay san dituy pa ak ngadtu sa ak pag daraga hasta na manla yana na yaun an kalugaringon na pamilya, masurumatanon mahiunong sa iya mga gin pan agihan. Damu ak nahihibaru-an paunan-hu atubangon an kakurian san sayu na asawa ngan iroy. Iton gud na iya istorya hiunong sa pag tago niya kwarta sa tak-gung na gin kukuha niya tikang man sa kita sa am

amay. Nag titinawa gud ak siton. Mala sayu siya sa am pinaka klaro na istorya. Naiimud ko paunanhu siya kahirut pag tago sa kwarta ngan hinay hinay na pag tago sa iya tak-gong. (When I was little until my teen years and even now that I already have my own family, my mother is fond of telling stories about her past. I learned a lot from her stories like how to face the challenges of being a wife and mother. The story about how she hid money that she took from my father in her "tag-kung" is really amusing. It was probably the most vivid conversations we've had because I could see how she carefully took the money and slowly placed in her tak-gong.)

Nahitanum iton na istorya sa ak isip ngan nahihinumduman ko pirmi pag nag aagi liwat kakurian dara san kawara kwarta pati an iya mga tut-do na maging maduruto. Kanihanglan ko bumulig sa ak asawa para kumita ngan diri ak na mag pinangaru o kupit kanya kon yaun ak panga ninghanglan. (That story stays with me and I remember it especially when I go through financial difficulty and her teaching about the value of hardworking.)

"I really work hard" she disclosed. I would not leave without attending first to my children's needs. I usually delegate my housekeeping tasks to my 11-year old daughter who is already responsible being the eldest of her four daughters. She told me,

Ky antes ak siton lumarga pakadtu pasakay...gin tutug-unan ko, pakakaunon muna a digtuy, pamamarigu-an tapos tutugunon ko ak suhag, "didi la kam mun-a ky matukad ak sa uma. (Before going to the rice field... I would cook, then feed the small ones, bath them and instruct my eldest, "you stay here because I'm going to the farm".)

During planting season, "I would stay for almost a week in the farm. Since this is considered as peak season, I could not afford to lose my opportunity to earn even if it is just meager. She revealed, *Masugad ak sa ak duha na dagku na nga bata na "kaun nala kam, kamu nala muna bahala". Halos sayo ka semana kamu siton didtu nag titinaranum, dara ko la ak duha na digtuy.* (I would tell my grown-up children, "eat and take care of yourselves." I bring my two younger children at the farm while we plant for almost a week.)

As she continued to tell me her "all in a day's work" kind of tale as a woman and farmer, she exhibited a tired face. "If I am not farming, I sell *ukay-ukay* and does the same household chores when at home". The important role of Helen in the family economic sphere cannot be negated. Nonetheless, she admitted, "There is a considerable earning opportunity gap between me and my husband; not because of my indolence. As a matter of fact, apart from my traditional domestic role and responsibility, I work to earn cash from sources other than rice farming".

Dituy kasi ak oportunidad kumita daku parehas sa ak asawa ky na hihigut aksa mga trabaho sa panimalay. (I have less earning opportunity compared to my husband because I am constrained with homemaking.)

Pero an importante siton nakita liwat ak sa ak sarili miskan mas dituy. Nasugad nala ak siton sa ak asawa ky ako man a bilen na "hala sa sabado or dominggo nala ak matukad o mag baligya sa ak ukay-ukay o mga utanon. (But what matters is I also earn on my own even if it is less. I would tell my husband since I am the one left at home, "okay I'll go to the farm or sell *ukay-ukay* or vegetables on weekend".)

As we continued discussing the economic aspect of her life, Helen expressed, *Sa kita, mas lamang talaga a kalalakin-an. Pero diri karuyag sid-ngun na labaw na sira sa kababayin-an ky yaun man liwat kami mga hirimuon nga daku an bulig na diri man liwat nira mahihimu.* (Men have higher income; however, it does not mean that they are above because we, women have jobs too that are equally important that they cannot do too). She cited,

Mabulig ak pag tanum sa ak asawa...miskan diri permanente ak pagbulig ngan sayu la siton an pagbayad sa 300 pesos. Ito gin susugad iton nira na "si-ka". Waray ak bulag na bayad, trabaho la ak gihapon ky para makabulig. (I help my husband in planting, for instance...even though the work is not permanent, the so called "si-ka" payment system is applied where our labor is paid as one for 300 pesos and I have no separate pay, I still work in order to help.)

"I am an accomplished woman". To be able to help, in addition to rice farming and *ukay-ukay* business venture, I also cultivate *camote* and vegetables...like gardening" is an accomplishment", she proclaimed.

She added that traditionally, *hurakaw* (weeding), *ganay* (sowing) and *asyab* (winnowing) are considered to be women's major tasks in rice farming. As she was explaining her observed customary tasks for women, I became curious if it is Helen's own volition to limit her rice productive role to those assignments referred to as "women's job", hence, I casually asked. She explained,

Kaya ko gad mag trabaho sa panlalaki para mas nakita ak daku. Nag tarab na ak ngani sa bukid! Pero kay an mag gaan manla an gin hahatag sa am.

(I can do “men’s job” to earn more. I even tried clearing rice fields! But, they would only assign us to lighter work.)

Gin tataw-an ko nala iton in gin tatagan kami sa kanan babayi kuno na trabahu-on. Sino man a pagal, di ba? Sira na kakalakin-an. Kami hayahay. (I just laugh it off when we are assigned to jobs that they consider “man’s work.” Who would get tired, right? The men, while women are relaxed.) On household concerns, Helen takes pride that her husband considers her as the manager of the household. She provided an example,

Kon sa guwa sa uma nasunod la ak kon nanu an nakahigad-an na trabaho para sa babayi, an pag asyab, ganay ngan hurakaw pero dir karuyag sidngun na gin kakarawat koi ton... sa panimalay man, kao an “bosing”. Halimabawa, gin hahatag san ak asawa iya sweldo, “bahala kana mag budget sa balay. (When we are outside farming, I would follow the customary tasks assigned for women but of course it does not follow that I am accepting it. I winnow, weed and sow...but at home, I am the boss. For instance, my husband remits his salary to me and tells me, “you manage our household budget”.)

She elucidated, “I spend the estimated income on household expenses primarily for food and children’s schooling. It is all up to me to know what needs to be done and when. In home-related decisions, like what food to eat, where to enroll the children and their provisions, the upper hand is mine.”

As we spoke about it, Helen suddenly realized that all the household planning and organizing is already a full-time job. While laughing softly, she said,

Ak asawa nasunod nala. Pero gin tatanglayan ak gad danay. Gin susurian ko danay ak asawa gin sisinukutan, “ako tanan a trabaho didi sa balay hain man

ak bayad?". (My husband would only execute my instructions. But it is exhausting sometimes, but I would joke about it and ask my husband for my salary, "I do all the domestic work, where is my pay?")

Shushing her two elder daughters once in a while who were playing outside Nay Maye's house, with her infant resting calmly in the comfort of her arms, Helen reflected that both male and female rice farmers perform equally important roles. And at some women are starting to gradually change things.

When landless farmers venture in *korpo* (sharecropping) for instance, most of the sharecroppers appear to be male and no woman has been a *korpo* leader. As she observed, "it is only assumed that women are ill-suited or not interested at all in leadership position. It is said that it is a man's turf since power and leadership are equated with men. That has been the practice for men are expected to lead. But it is not true at all. Like me, I am interested in becoming a *korpo* leader so as other women around here."

With this prevailing culturally entrenched belief, Helen decides not to openly express her concerns in the presence of male farmers. However, she stated, "We women farmers would usually keep our grievances, criticisms and ideas to manage rice farming particularly when men are around. She disclosed,

Sa totoo la, nag tikang tikang na gad mag plano mag kurorpo didi mga babaye. Sugad siton iristorya kame, "mag sarayo kit nala" ngan masugad sira, "kay hala gad...mag kurorpo kit nala...mag burublig kit". (The truth is, we have started planning to sharecrop with women members only. We talked about it

and agreed, "let's unite" and others said, "sure, let's sharecrop...let us help each other.")

An mga bata-bata man na kababayin-an sugad kan Din-din, ada iton sira nahampang man sa am. Masugad man sira, "ma api man kami ha". Danay nasabat sira sa ira karuyag sidngun para sa pag plano sa am kalugaringon na korpo. (Meanwhile, the younger female farmers like Din-din would be present during the conversation. They would say, "we will join also". Sometimes they would share ideas in planning our own *korpo*".)

Helen admitted that without men's contribution to rice farming, the whole Bagasbas farming economy would collapse for they are the backbone of rice production. She noted that in her community, people are accustomed to having male farmers. However, she took note that, *oo gad mas damu an kalalakin-an na parag uma kaysa sa am. Tungod ky pira pira manla kami, waray nala kami siton liya-liya pag nag iiristorya mahiunong sa pag uma. Gin pipinabay-an namu iton sira mag linata. Dikan pag napansin nira na maiha na kami na diri nag liliya, mao sira mangungutana, "nanu man iyo masusugad"?* (Yes, men here dominate the rice farming industry. And since we, women are outnumbered, we tend to keep quiet when men talk about farming matters. Then when they notice that we don't say a word, that's the time that they will ask, "what can you say"?)

Helen remembered when she was growing up that the contributions of women farmers in rice production were invisible to development planners or programmers. During the time of her mother, there was no single farmer's association that encouraged membership or leadership of women. At present, however, she observed that *Yaun na mga organisasyon na gin*

iimbitar an kakabayin-an. Pag abat ko liwat kaya san babayi mag mando. Kaya ngani niya tanan na trabahu-on sa balay mao pa kon damu an kabataan. Siguro sa yana ada la muna kami siton namimiliw para waray samuk. Mamingaw la muna kami dikan pag kami-kami nala istorya man sa am mga plano para sa kaupayan sa kababayin-an. (There are already organizations that invite women. I think women can lead too. If she can manage a household with several kids, she is capable of leading a group. Maybe as of this time we would just stay at the corner to avoid arguments with men. We stay silent and when we, women are alone, we talk about our plans to better women's situation.)

"Same is true when male farmers would tell us to keep our ideas to ourselves when at rice fields." She recounted, *waray la kami siton liya-liya pag adtu sa pasakay. Trabaho la kami na kababayin-an. Pag may patawag harampang sa mga parag uma, dire la kami gud siton nag lalata.* (We would stay quiet when we are in the rice field. We, women would just concentrate on our work. We would usually keep mum when farmers' meetings are held.)

She continued, *Yaun man liwat mga panahon na mala sobra na, na diri ko na kaya na diri mag lata. Pag gin susugaran gud ak sa guwa na an kaya ko la an man laba, mag ataman bata, manganak... Dyosko! Dayun pag daku tingog sa pagbatun, "ky tadi sarihi daw niyo! Para masarihan gud niyo!"* (There are times though that I would that it is too much to bear. That I would really find the need to speak out. If I am told in public that I am only capable of doing the laundry, taking care of kids and giving birth...Lord! I would loudly talk back, "then why don't you try it? So, you'll see!) In the short span of a

panting rant, Helen clearly articulated what she feels in trying to secure a space in a place ruled by men, "It is really a struggle to have my voice heard...to have women farmers' ideas and feelings recognized, valued and respected but we are getting there".

Sanglit pag ini si Din-din o miskan ak magurang na bata na grade 3 yaun gin iistorya na gin didituy sira, gin kikinatataw-an sa mga kalalakina-an o mahiunong ky babayi sira, nahatag gud ak siton oras mamati, mapadituy o daku man iton na problema. Ngay pag lalaygayan ko iton sira kon ngan paunan-hu nira iton aatubangon. Butang ko siton nanu man ak gin hihimu para mamati sini na kabatan. (That's why I attentively listen when Din-din and even my eldest daughter who is in Grade 3 share stories of being ridiculed or bullied by boys or by being a girl, no matter how big or small the issue is. Then I would lecture them on how to face it. I put aside whatever I am doing to listen to these young kids.)

Looking at her mother for a moment who was seated few feet away from us, she told me, "I am content how *Nanay* took care of me. She gave her all to provide my basic needs, but I don't want my children to experience the impoverished life I have had." *Si nanay sanhi namamati gud iton siya kon yaun ak gin iistorya mahiunong na manla sa ak pag tuk-do tunga saku sin paray, sa ak paki batunay sa guwa sa kalalakin-an nga diri maupay a pag dara sa mga babayi sa uma. Namamati gud iton siya. Sanglit man yana miskan yaun na ak asawa ngan nag lain na istaran, pirmi gud ak napakadtu kanya kon yaun ak ig iristorya parihas sini na plano namu sa kababayin-an na mag lugaring korpo.* (My mother gave time to listen when I told her about my first time to carry half sack of rice on my neck and about how I argued with

men who did not treat women well while working at the farm. She closely listened. As a result, even now that I am married and have my own place, I always go to her whenever I want something to share like the plan of having women's "korpo".)

As I was thanking Helen for graciously allowing me to know intimate features of her life, she politely interrupted and said, "It is my first time to share my personal story with much detail. It's quite liberating for the depth of my personal decision and action to share the things that I thought nobody cares about or pays attention to is emancipatory". Helen described it, *Mala may nagbuhat na iba sa ak mabug-at na gin didinara.* (I feel that someone had lifted the heavy load I've been carrying.)

Din-din: The Granddaughter

Geraldine Acibar, fondly known as *Din-din* is the 19-year old granddaughter of Nay Maye and the niece of Helen. She was reticent at first, worried that her father might object with the idea of letting the public to comment or criticize her story. I advised her to seek his father's permission first. In my next visit, Nay May delivered the news that Din-din's father consented to her participation in the whole storytelling process. I felt a sense of relief.

It was pouring when I went to see Din-din the second time. Armed with an umbrella, I braved the heavy rain and walked for about five minutes from Nay Maye's home. As I approached the third block, I saw the small nipa made *sari-sari* store where she works part time. Din-din was apologetic when she

noticed my feet stained with mud. She quickly offered a jug of water to wash off the dirt.

Din-din and I sat at arm's length inside the constricted *sari-sari* store. The small audio recorder was placed on a small table with bottles of cooking oil atop on it. From where I sat, I could see her intermittent store clients who were mostly kids. She began by telling me a story about her childhood.

Diri naging masayun ak pag daku ky nagbulag man ak kag-anak san bata pa ak. Diri ko na mahinumduman ngani kon pira ak sakto na edad sadtu san nahinabu. Mala waray sarabutan san nag dadaku ak tungod ky wara man si nanay. Diri ngani ak sadtu ma aram sa ak hihimuon o kon diin maistar. (My childhood was not easy for parents got separated when I was just a child. I could not even remember how old exactly I was when it happened. Not having my mother around at a young age made me a bit disoriented. I did not know what to do and where to stay.)

But Din-din had collected happy childhood memories too. With a shy smile, she said, "I was most of the time a happy kid because I got to play a lot. I am the middle child of three and the only daughter. When my mother left for Manila, my maternal grandmother took me in, leaving my father and two siblings behind. I was able to reach 10th grade but failed to finish it. She recalled,

Nagtikang ak pag-uma san sixteen ak; san nag pa Manila ak sayu na bugto pag trabaho. Gin pabulig ak ni tatay pag uma. (I started farming when I was sixteen; when one of my brothers went to Manila to work.)

Ako tatay ngan kurang na lalaki na bente dos na ngan ako disisais mangghud na lalaki puro mga parag-uma. Iba iba amu gin iistaran. Ako

naistar ak sa ako lola, an nanay ni nanay. (My father, eldest brother who is twenty-two years old and younger brother who is sixteen are all rice farmers. We are living separately. I stay with my maternal grandmother.)

She was silent for a while after letting me zoom in to her personal circumstances. To break the silence, I told her that I feel privileged to hear her story first hand. "Thank you, I hope you could find it useful talking to me", she responded.

In the absence of her mother, Din-din grew up surrounded mostly by men and was exposed to a patriarchal system at a very a young age. The dominant figures in her life are men—her father and two brothers. "I was groomed to be compliant. I was told by my father that as a woman, I have to obey him and my brothers", she told me. A playful smile, however, was painted for a while in her face when she reminisced, *Pag adtu ak kana Tatay gin hihimu ko iton para waray samuk ngan pag respeto sa arug pero pag adi na ak kan lola diri gad na gud. Sa ak pag imud diri tama na kontrolon sa kalalakin-an an kababayin-an. Pagnag aagda lakaw ak mga kasangkayan na gab-i na, naupod gad ak. Iristorya manla sa ak mga kasangkayan, danay man nakikisayaw pag patron sa mga barangay.* (I was groomed to be compliant. I was told by my father that as a woman, I have to obey him and my brothers...I do that when I am at my father's place to avoid trouble and because I respect my elders. When I am back at my grandmother's, I would go out on my own volition with my friends at night to just talk or dance in barangay fiestas. I believe it's not right for men to control women.)

Still amused with her recollection, she added, "My aunt Helen was like that when she was at my age. I remember one time she and her female

friends went dancing in a barangay nearby against the will of her father. But she was old enough then to attend such gathering. Nay Maye, covered for them to avoid the ire of my grandfather. I think that was fun...all girls going against an old man's rule."

Din-din went on, "when my parents were still together, his father was spiteful of her mother. He would call my mother *useless*". *Siguro ky waray kita gud si nanay ky dire man daku iya parte sa trabaho sa pag uma. Dire liwat siya nakakahanap extra na trabaho pwera sa pag uma. Pero dire man niya sala kay siya man kasi nag aataman sa am mag burugto.* (Maybe because my mother's income was low since she had limited farm work. She could not also look for an extra farm-off job. But it was not her fault for she was looking after me and my siblings.)

"When I was a little girl, I remember that most women farmers including my mother and grandmother would not express their resentment verbally. They would rather stay silent and take all the oppressive actions and discriminating words. "I don't know...women would normally just take it all in", she wondered then recalled,

Makasayu gin pangutan-an ko si nanay nanu dire siya na atu or nabatun manla kan tatay pag gin iisgan siya. Masugad manla si nanay, "para waray samuk". (I asked my mother one time why she would not reason with my father when they have arguments. She would just tell me, "to avoid trouble".)

Din-din also recounted the day her mother moved to Manila with great emotional memory. *An iba pag gin aaway sa mga asawa parehas sa ak iroy, nalarga nala.* (Others like my mother just left after a huge fight with their husbands.) Din-din narrated,

Nahahaduk gud ak sadto ngan nababaraka pag away makasayu kusog sa ak kag anak. Sobra ak haduk sa isug ni tatay ngan nababaraka ak bangin bayaan kami ni nanay parehas sa mga nanay sa ak iba na kasangkayan nga nagkalarga nga waray na gud balik kahuman pag away sa mga asawa...sugad la siton. Ngan mao ta ginhimu nanay. (I was scared and nervous when my parents had this big fight. I was terrified of my fuming father and anxious that my mother would leave us like with some of my friends' mothers who left and never came back after a huge fight with their husbands...just like that. And my mother did the same thing.)

"I cried for hours, days and even months for losing my mother like that. I did not completely understand before why my mother left. But now I somehow can tell that maybe it was her only way to resist my father's constant unreasonable ire." Today, I have seen few women who would occasionally reason with men or their husbands demanding that they deserve to be respected too.

Continuing on, she told me that she was discriminated by her male classmates because of her gender upon knowing that she would help her father and brothers in the rice fields. She narrated,

Ak mga classmates na lalaki na nag uuma liwat dati gin sugaran ak na dire ko kaya mag tanum o mag uma. Gin sugaran ak, "dire mo kaya mag tanum kay sa linta pala haduk ka na". (My male classmates who are also farmers told me that I'm not capable of farming. They said, "you cannot plant because you are afraid of leech.")

Din-in went on, "if the teasing of young male farmers becomes hostile, my last straw is to be vocally expressive of how I feel especially when they

would remark that the rice field is not a woman's turf and she is incompetent to farm. I would talk back and snort,

Sus mandaw! Kaya ko gad iton...kon kaya niyo, kaya ko gad liwat ada. (It's nothing! I can do it...if you're capable of doing it, I think I can too!)

Speaking at length in an impassioned way, she said, "Male farmers should treat women farmers justly and with respect; they should not underrate women's skills and capabilities. Men should cease from determining and deciding what women can't or can do. We know what we are capable of." Continuing her tirade, she told me,

Parehas pag nagsugad ak "na kaya ko", kanihanglan ig respetar iton. Dire na isipon dayun na dire kaya kay babaye tapos mag pipirit gud na bumulig. Parehas sa uma, gin bubuligan ak sa lalaki miskan sa ak pag imud kaya ko man. Nauuyam ak siton danay kay mala gin mamaliit ak. (When I say that "I can do it", that should be respected. They should not assume that I can't because I am a woman or should not insist to help. At the farm, for instance, men would help me with things that I know I am adept at doing. It annoys me for it makes me feel belittled.)

As Din-din was growing up, she noticed that some women farmers have attempted to cultivate rice lands. She recalled,

Nagsari sira mag araru gamit a carabao miskan gin kukuri-an para mapa imud diin tubtub ira kaya. (They tried to plow by carabao even if they struggled to show the extent of what they are capable of.)

As for her, she worked at the rice fields to prove to her male classmates that she possesses the abilities of a farmer no matter how scared she was of leeches. *Gin sarihan ko gud mag uma miskan gin sugaran ak sa*

ak dati na mga classmates na kalalakin-an na dire ko kaya. Kaya ko man ngay-an! (I really gave rice farming a try even when I was told by my former male classmates that I could not do it. Then I proved to myself that I can!)

"I can see that the farm work roles of women are predetermined", Dindin remarked. Women are commonly assigned to less laborious tasks like planting and harvesting." She continued to tell me about the predestined roles of female farmers by giving examples of farm work that men customarily undertake.

An pag pawa kanan lalaki trabaho, an pag preparer sa sa tuna, pati an pag araru carabao o tractor, pag papataba sa pananum. Urog nga nag uuma kalalakin-an. Kon yaun man babaye ira trabaho pag tanum ngan ani la na bahin dikan kahuman man pag ani parehas san pag baligya paray. (Clearing the land or land preparation, plowing through carabao or tractor, and fertilizing are all considered as "male farmers' job". Rice farming is male dominated and whenever there are female farmers, most of their work are associated with planting, harvesting and post-harvest activities like marketing rice.)

"It has been the tradition and practice in my place...that's what I have witnessed since I was a kid. Men would usually tell women rice farmers that they are weak and slow at rice production activities"

Nanay Maye was okay with it then unlike my aunt Helen who does not conform all the time. At present, I noticed that few women have attempted undertaking "male farmers' job". She used as an example her aunt Helen.

Parehas man sa ak bugto ni tatay, ak dada Helen. Nag tutukdo siya paray pero dire la sayu kasako kay mabubug atan na siya. Nag bulig na liwat iton siya makasayu pag tarab sa pasakay para mas daku daku kita. Mga trabahu-

on iton sa kakalakin-an na parag uma. Sa amu naiimud, kami man na mga bata bata na kababayin-an ma iisip namu na kaya man ngay-an. Kon kaya sa ak dada, kaya liwat namu. (Like my father's sister, my aunt Helen. She carries less than a sack of rice on her head for one sack is too heavy for her built. She once helped too in clearing the land to earn more. These are considered "man's farming job". Seeing that, we, the younger female farmers would think, "we can do it also". If my aunt can, we can too.)

Din-din also shows interest to learn how to use the tractor. "I was inspired by one episode of "Maalaala Mo Kaya", a local television program when it featured a female farmer maneuvering it with ease. She added, *Maupay kunta kon maka training ak parte sa pag uma para mag daku ak kita. Mas damu ada an magiging oportunidad sa mga kababayin-an sa pantrabaho kon maka api sira mga training.* (I wish I could be part of farm-related trainings to increase my earning capacity. I believe these trainings can open up new job opportunities for women farmers.)

As young girl, Din-din observed that during farmers' dialogues with the landowner, men dominate the discussion. Women farmers would just listen, she said,

Mala nahahaduk nala mag bagaw an kababayin-an ky an mga lalaki dagku a boses. Ako nabatian bagaw sa lalaki mas maupay nala na dire magbagaw a babaye kay maiha ngan halaba sira magbagaw. Makakaiha sa meeting. (Women seemed frightened to speak since men talked emphatically. I heard men saying that it would be best if women don't speak for they are too interactional. If they do, meetings would take long.

She recalled the first time she attended a farmers/landowner meeting. "I was around 16 or 17 years old that time and I was a bit excited to participate as one of the farmers. Imagine, I was just observing them when I was little!", she shared. But things have changed a little. She has this to say, *Dire nag titingug an mga nga kababayin-an. Iton sira auntie Helen. Pero yaun nag tari-tari pag bagaw sa kanra mga karuyag sidngun.* (Women often did not utter a word. But few have dared to express their views like my auntie Helen.)

In the same meeting she first attended, few female farmers have tried to express their views. She told me that even if it is an older woman attempts to challenge male domination of conversations, men would not budge. "They would not listen!", Din-din noticed. She continued, *Gin uutod dayun sa mga lalaki a istorya ngan nag kikinatawa la.* (Men dismissed her view and laughed at her.)

I queried, "is it still the same today?" "When women speak in an emphatic and forceful manner, men would pay attention sometimes to what women are actually saying", she responded".

Makasayu ngani na "meeting" ini pala nag sugad ak nga karuyag ko mahibaru mag gamit tractor ngan kunta man pag yaun "training" para siton ig api an kababayin-an. (I openly voiced out my interest in learning how to use tractor in a recently held farmers' meeting and I suggested the inclusion of women farmers when trainings are conducted.)

"My opinion was strongly supported by auntie Helen. I told her that women's collaboration on this idea would help women take up space in rice farming community", she further shared.

As to domestic work, "I have dual roles like most of the women here, — I work at the rice fields and when at home, I still make time for household chores." She shortly narrated her typical day,

Mata ak atab siton para mag hagkaun ngan andam sa pagpa Banika. Mabaktas kami mga 35 minutos. Pag abut siton sa pasakay mapahuway man dali dikan trabaho na magkulop. Napahuway man dali pag masu-ol na a gutok or mangangaun na. Baktas na liwat tibalik katapos mag uma. Pag abut sa balay pahuway dali...dikan tug-on ngan mag huhugas. Katapos pag hitsu sa balay, katurug na para pag andam na liwat sa kinabuwasan. (I get up early to prepare breakfast before heading to Banika (where she farms). We would be on foot for about 35 minutes to reach the rice fields. When I get there, I rest for a while then farm the whole day. In between, I would take a break especially when back aches or if it's time for lunch. After work, we would again walk home. I rest for a moment...then cook food and wash the dishes. After cleaning the house, I would sleep and prepare for next day's grind.)

Din-din added that she helps her father occasionally in Bangon (place where her father farms) during rice planting and harvesting seasons in serving meals to the farmers.

However, she reflected that performing a dual role does make women less than men. *Mala parehas manla kay yau butang na lalaki la pwede yaun man na para la talaga sa babaye. Maupay an babaye mag hitsu sa panimalay, pag ataman bata. An lalaki man sa pan trabaho sa guwa pag hanap kit. (I think they are equal since there are things that only men are able to do and things that are only for women. Women are good at homemaking*

and child caring. While men are fit take on work outside the home.) She elaborated,

Dikan masugad an kalalakin-an mas yaun pulos sira? Hala daw...an babaye puydi manganak sira dire. Babaye puydi mag pa suso. Pag nag iiristorya kami siton na mag sarangkay na kababayin-an nag titini-aw kami siton, "puydi sira mag pasuso pero pina agi sa botilya la...niyan kon waray na sira iparalit gatas? Nanu man? Kairu man sa "babies". (Then men would proclaim that they are more valuable? Let's see...women can give birth, they can't. Women can breastfeed. When me and my girlfriends talk we would joke about it, "men can feed babies too but through feeding bottles only... what if they run out of money in buying formula milk? Poor babies!)

I could tell that Din-din finds the experience delightful. While we were laughing about it, Helen barged asking if Din-din could look after her kids in the afternoon while she sells her *ukay-ukay*, which she quickly consented. When Helen left, Din-din remarked.

Mao man iton ak naruruyagan kan auntie Helen kay kaduruto ura ura mangabuhi para sa kanya kabataan mao nga diri ak nakakadiri pag gin huhuma ak niya mag bantay. (I highly appreciate auntie Helen for working hard for her kids, the reason why I could not say "no" when she asks me to take care of her children.)

"I believe that a woman is embodied as a person who primarily manages a home. Within the bounds of my community, the important contributions of women in domestic spheres particularly in the aspects of child bearing and rearing cannot be negated".

She further shared, "It is innate for women to be nurturers; they can take care of everything. Most of them exhibit orderliness and discipline at home and work. Women know how to pay attention to details. Din-din elucidated this point,

Mahamis a trabaho sa babaye pag dalus sa pag asyab. Urog sa mga kalalakin-an na trabaho sa uma hubog. (A woman is meticulous when it comes to weeding and winnowing. While most men would work at the farm drunk.)

Din-din remembers growing up in the company of women who are "nurturers". *Si Nanay Maye masurumatanon iton siya sa iya kinabuhi sa ak. Sayu na nahibaru-an ko kanya an importansya sa pag kaya-un kalugaringon na kwarta parehas sito iya pag tago sa iya tak-gong. Pero si auntie Helen man mas maisug kan Nanay Maye. Susugaran ak siton niya nanu ak kanihanglan himu-on ngan diri. Ngan karuyag niya sundon ko siya.* (Nanay Maye is fond of telling her life story to me. One thing that I learned from her experience is the value of being economically independent like when she saved money by hiding it in her *tag-kong*. Auntie Helen on other hand, acts like a matriarch. She tells me what to do or to think and expects me to obey her.) Din-din connects her Auntie Helen's behavior to previous generations in their family—hard workers but from a poor family.

"I learned too from their stories that women should not be confined to mothering role. They can be breadwinners too. Their stories made me realize the value of education".

Thinking about not being able to obtain a high school diploma brought sadness to Din-din. She could not help but wonder how college education

would have shaped her life and her family. Apart from financial constraints, she attributed her lost opportunity to continue her education to her father's ideology that restricts girls to pursue their dreams.

Waray na ak pa eskwelaha nira tatay ky babaye man kon ak. Bagaw niya pag mag asawa ak dire manta magagamitan ak gin adman sa eskwelahan ky sa balay nala daw ak siton mag aataman san ak magiging kabataan...kay lalaki kon an obligado mangabuhi para sa pamilya. (My father decided to stop sending me to school because of my gender. He told me that when I get married, my education would not be of use anyway for women ought to stay at home to bear and rear my future children...because men are the ones obliged to be the family's breadwinners.)

"But I fought hard against my father's belief for I wanted to finish school." *Haduk ak kan tatay, narespetar ak kanya pero siton na panahon naka sagbang ak kanya pag esplekar nanu karuyag ko mag aram ngan makatampus. Na mao an paglaum para mag upay upay man ak kinabuhi na diri na laum la sa lalaki. Nadiri ak mag asawa atab ky ma aram man ak na diri la iton mao an para sa ak.* (I am scared of my father and I respect him but, in that instance, I mustered the courage to reason with him explaining why I wish to finish school. That education is the key to a better life and that through it, I will not be dependent on any man. I don't want to get married early for I know that I have other options.)

"I melted down when I told Nay Maye about it. I felt bare, but I did not care as I allowed myself to share pain and disappointment. That was also the time when Nay Maye disclosed to me how she was also pained by her parents when they did not send her to school anymore."

At nineteen, Din-din could not hide her pain and regret about her fate. She said. *Ak pag imud dapat yaun ak kalabutan sa mga dagku na desisyon sa ak kinabuhi. Pero nag lalaum pa ak na masabtan ni tatay ak gin pan sugad kanya ngan mag liwat iya isip.* (I think I should have a say on major decisions if it concerns my own life. But I am still hopeful that my father will consider what I said and change his mind. She was talking more to herself than to me when she uttered, I want to define the life that I want to have.)

Din-din's dimpled countenance lightened up when I asked her about her aspirations in life. The tiny-framed girl has big dreams for herself and even bigger dreams for her family and other girls. She revealed, it is going to be my first time to share aloud what she ultimately aims for. "I never told anyone about these things out of fear of being laugh at; people might perceive me as too ambitious except to Nay Maye and partly auntie Helen".

Din-din was very straightforward when she reiterated that she wants to have access to farm-related trainings to improve her rice farming skills. She said that she has a lot to learn in order to become an efficient farmer. I queried, "do you see yourself working at the rice fields ten years from now?" With, she shared,

Yaun gad ak iba na karuyag ...ito halimbawa sa pasakay kami na mananampit pag tanom, kami na mag papatanom. Naiimud ko pa gad ak kalugaringon parti sa pag-uma pero ito dire na gud kame a mag tatrabaho. I have other dreams, but ...for example, I dream to acquire my own rice farmland. I can still see myself in the farm but no longer as farm laborer but as land owner.

Interpretations

The “realities” of the women farmers in the study were drawn from lived experiences. This endeavor tells the stories of three intergenerational women rice farmers from Northern Samar. Tied by the shackles of poverty, in a patriarchal system and culture marked by subjugation of women, it is remarkable that narratives of resistance and how they conveyed such stories across generations have surfaced.

In this section, my discussion is related to the three objectives of the study. To help me analyze and interpret their stories, I listened to the women rice farmers as they talked while digitally recording their stories. I continued to be attentive as I read their transcripts. I focused deeply, listening for each woman's voice and her meaning-making. I constructed the interpretation through the iterative process of reading and sense making which was shared with each of the women who provided the narrative. Through this, the women and I became co-authors of an enhanced narrative, bringing the meaning to the forefront. I developed codes and themes during the interpretive phase. The emergent themes were reevaluated in the final phase. Since the first storytelling session was conducted with Nay Maye, it was with her story that I began my discovery process and where the first themes commenced to emerge. My investigative lens moved back and forth from an individual perspective to the group of three women and back again as I began the thematic discovery process. Hence, the classification of themes and comparisons of stories across age.

It was in this phase that I feel to be mindful of my obligation to revisit the concept of generation. For this study, the idea is not designated by specific age range, but rather as a span of time that separates a mother from her daughter, grandmother from her granddaughter and auntie from her niece. This context is crucial in understanding the stories of marginalization, resistance and how they are conveyed through generations.

Furthermore, theorists Sandra Harding and Julia T. Wood in their communication theory, Standpoint Theory posit that the objective account of a specific reality can be retrieved from the standpoint of those who are less advantaged (Harding, 2004). This study acknowledges the existence of gender bias, thus, this inherent prejudice places women rice farmers as the marginalized group and the male farmers as the oppressors in the context of rice-based agriculture, a male dominated industry. The latter operates in a culture and farming practice that continues the dissemination of patriarchal ideologies that "mutes" the individual voices of women farmers. This means that the dominant group (male farmers) spreads their ideology to the subordinate group (female farmers).

"Muting" is a communication concept by theorist Cheris Kramarae to which she assumes to be the act of not being able to represent one's state through language for the reason that this state has not yet been named. The remedy she proposes is a continuing uncovering of cultural and institutional processes that make this muting possible (Kramarae, 2005). In this connection, the following discussion is a comprehensive description of such, hence, contributes to the "un-muting" of intergenerational women rice farmers.

By exploring first their stories of marginalization, it would be subsequently revealed how they resisted it and how they communicated stories of resistance across generations. To reiterate, during the interpretation, I continuously changed my focus as I moved from an intimate perspective to a broader social one, from the storyteller's interpretation of 'voice' to their place within the social world. As described by Ferris-Olson (2013), it is as if the story is placed under a dissecting microscope; as the investigator turns the microscope's knob she brings different levels of the story into focus.

Three segment headings related to the research objectives house the emerging themes and sub-themes, to wit: stories of marginalization, stories of resistance to male domination and stories of communicating resistance across generations.

Stories of Marginalization

In the final assessment on stories of marginalization, there are three overarching emerging themes with their respective occurring sub-themes. The narratives demonstrated that at some extent, women rice farmers have experienced certain forms of marginalization. Along with these revelations of oppressive experiences, however, are stories of significant transformation of women.

Women Rice Farmers' Lived Experiences of Socio-economic Marginalization

The storytelling of Nay Maye was dense with historical content of socio-economic aspects of marginalization compared to two younger women. There are two forms of socio-economic marginalization that emerged—double jeopardy and wage gap/less income opportunity.

Double jeopardy

Generally, feminists argue that the burden of household activities along with other socio-economic factors situate women in the marginal place because of the double jeopardy imposed on them. It is confirmed in the story of Nay Maye. The story of double burden surfaced about five times in her narrative. In the beginning, she mentioned,

It was instilled in my mind by my parents that women play multiple roles; we are assumed to be involved in both domestic and farming activities.

It was followed by her account on how her typical day went where her dual role—farmer and mother/household manager was emphasized. While in the middle part, she stressed by implication that she took both household and farming responsibilities,

Household concerns ate much of my time...even my time for farm work is limited and I was principally responsible for home production despite my financial contributions.

Towards the end, she shared that women would rather go home to do the household works left undone than staying in a farmers' meeting.

Meanwhile, in her daughter's story, it emerged only once when she mentioned,

Before going to the rice field... I would cook, then feed the small ones and bathe them..."

Similar circumstance surfaced in Din-din's where she shared that during rice farming season, she would get up early to prepare breakfast before heading to *Banika* then upon return, she is tasked to cook and wash the dishes.

This means that the situation of Nay Maye is worse compared to the younger women. It further suggests that a grandmother's/mother's experience then of double jeopardy—being a woman and a farmer, both lives of unparalleled forbearance is not necessarily her daughter's/granddaughter's.

Wage gap or less income opportunity

Consequently, it was argued that double jeopardy leads to disparity in wage between female and male farmers and female farmers' lack or limited opportunity to earn income. The situation, according to liberal feminists, is worse for those women who do unpaid housework. The worst form of this state commonly referred to as wage gap or less income opportunity is depicted in the story of Nay Maye:

There were times that my husband did not tag me along during planting and harvesting seasons since I needed to the housekeeping, hence, I did not earn any.

According to her, it was impossible to work full-time at the farm like her husband especially during school days for she had to attend to her kids' needs. She also mentioned that as a wife she would only be treated as the "sidekick"...she would help her husband with farm work with no compensation.

A different type of story of socio-economic aspect of marginalization came from Helen for though she admitted that there is a considerable earning

opportunity gap between her and her husband, she stressed that she also contributes financially:

I have less earning opportunity compared to my husband because I am constrained with homemaking... but I still works and earn cash.

In her case, the household activities did not hamper her income generating capacity. It is also supported by her disclosure,

I help my husband in the farm...even though the work is not permanent, the so-called "si-ka" system is applied where our labor is paid as one for 300 pesos.

Apparently, she demonstrates economic independence from her husband making it easy to exercise her autonomy. Thus, negates the supposition of Jagger (1983) that women are highly dependent on men mainly because their contribution to the family's finances is low for her earning opportunities are hampered by the traditional exclusion of women in farm working class.

Her story was clearly the opposite from her mother. It reveals that she believes in the standpoint that "women are equal with men". She cited as an example,

the man is a fisher folk while the woman is in trading. The way I understand it...they are on equal footing for the both earn unlike during the time of my mother, in which the sole breadwinner was the man.

Notably, issue on wage gap/less income opportunity did not surface at all in Din-din's story which denotes that there is a narrower wage gap at present.

Women Rice Farmers' Lived Experiences of Ideological Marginalization

Literature suggests that every society holds certain values and beliefs regarding women which have a link with the disadvantageous situation of

women. These ideological factors seem to be the outcome of beliefs shared by a particular society or values implanted from other societies. From the ideological aspect of marginalization two types have surfaced— prescribed occupational sex role and women as the weaker sex.

Prescribed occupational sex role

The circumstances mentioned in the story of Nay Maye speak volumes about how patriarchal ideology has marginalized her. She recalled,

My parents trained me to do household chores...but because I am a woman.

Her recollection that she was assigned to do weeding, winnowing and rice drying which are deemed by men as “work suitable for women” frequently occurred in her narrative. This is clearly a manifestation of the presence of ideological marginalization commonly termed prescribed occupational sex role. Her anecdote,

When I was little, my parents would only ask me to weed and grow vegetables. They told me that such types of work are for women for they are easy to do

supports how this form of marginalization is depicted in Nay Maye’s story.

Another evidence is her story on how male farmers viewed and treated women:

During lunchbreak at the farm, male farmers would poke fun at women and teased us saying “you should dance to pass the time.

Consequently, the ideological systems embedded in the patriarchal culture Nay Maye was exposed to was subconsciously passed on by her to Helen. The latter revealed that though her mother did not straightforwardly tell her about gendered labor division, she was taught early on by her with

chores like housekeeping, winnowing, and weeding, which were tagged by Nay Maye as "work that requires man's strength". As reflected in Helen's account:

When I was growing up, I helped my parents by doing household chores...because that's what my mother and other women have been doing—cleaning the house.

As a result, she has long believed that she, being a woman, is the household manager—doing everything from managing the family budget, cleanliness of the house and nourishment of children.

Meanwhile, it is revealed in the narrative of Din-din that there is a division of labor based on sex in the rice farming industry. She stated that most of the female farmers' work are associated with planting, harvesting and post-harvest activities made known to her as "less laborious tasks".

Din-din's experience, however, has set a different tone for it was hers alone that demonstrates how she was confined by her own father to mothering role. She has lost her opportunity to continue her pursuit of education because of her father's ideology that restricts girls to realize their dreams. As exhibited:

My father decided to stop sending me to school because of my gender.

She was told by her father that when she gets married, her education would be futile for women are expected to stay at home, bear and rear children. Contained in the stories of Nay Maye and Helen was a different reason why they failed to finish school—poverty. Their narratives lacked outright examples of women's discrimination relative to education.

Both factors though inhibit equal opportunities for women and men. Liberal feminist discourse has been concerned with issues of equal

opportunity in access to resources for women and men, especially in education and employment (Chege & Sifuna, 2006). In terms of education, it is concerned with removing “barriers which prevent girls from reaching their full potential, whether such barriers are located in the school, their individual psyche or discriminatory labor practices” (Acker, 1987). Clearly, from the particular experiences of the women, gender discrimination and poverty are the main factors contributing to inequality in education, which need to be addressed by “working within the system to correct the factors that are contributing to girls not going to school and completing basic education” (Ntaiya, 2004).

Women as the weaker sex

This aspect of marginalization was more pronounced in the account of the youngest storyteller. It should be noted though that her story in this regard was largely in reference to her childhood memories and what she had observed in the older days. She shared a certain experience that happened in her elementary years:

My male classmates who are also farmers told me that I am not capable of farming because of my fear of leech.

This fear is associated with the patriarchal view that women are vulnerable, who need protection and saving from the stronger sex—men. Her observation when she was younger that women rice farmers were traditionally and by practice relegated to lighter tasks by reason of being the weaker sex supports the story of Nay Maye that men in her time would tell women that they are weak and slow. It likewise confirms the story of Helen about “korpo” (sharecropping):

Most sharecroppers are male and no woman has been a "korpo" leader for it is assumed that women are ill-suited in leadership position. It is said that it is a man's turf since power and leadership are equated with men's strength.

Din-din's belief when she was growing up that men in general treat women as weak, less skilled and indispensable could be attributed to the older women's realities she was exposed to early on in her life.

On the other hand, Nay Maye's story of marginalization relative to this was symbolically demonstrated,

In the old days, we had this "salug-salug" (make shift floor made of light wood or bamboo) and below it was a wide mat where the threshed "palay" fell. The male farmer who did the threshing manually was on top of the "salug-salug" while a group of female farmers was positioned right below it who did the winnowing.

This implies that in her time, male was regarded as superior and female as subservient. This is consistent with the feminist standpoint that women's work receives inferior economic value.

Women Rice Farmers' Lived Experiences of Political Marginalization

Liberal feminists believe that the violation of liberal political values of equality, liberty and justice has resulted in discrimination of women on the basis of sex (Jagger, 1983). There is only one form that emerged from this type of marginalization—women as invisible farm laborers.

Women as invisible farm laborers

Nay Maye implicitly indicate in her experience how women are treated as invisible workers. It surfaced in her articulation on how women rice farmers' contributions in rice production were invisible to development planners; based

on her observation women were not encouraged to join farmer's organization, were not invited in famers' seminars/trainings and if not respected, are belittled in communication fora. Simply put, women's voice was "muted".

But it manifested in her stories too that the case is no longer the same when she was in her fifties:

As time went by, women would be asked to participate in those seminars.

This is confirmed in the story of Helen claiming that during the time of her mother, no single farmer's association encouraged women membership or leadership. She further mentioned, *there are already organizations that invite women*. Meaning, women have slowly claim their space during meetings by speaking out.

Voice" as a feminist communication concept is theorized by Rakow and Wackwitz (2004) as a circumstance where women are often either denied access to communicative forums—interpersonal, group, organizational and mediated—or admitted to them only to have their ideas dismissed out of hand as deviant or irrelevant. According to them, to have a voice is to possess both the opportunity to speak and the respect to be heard.

Each of the story of the two older women is a revelation of Rakow and Wakwitz' theories. In Nay Maye's generation, women rice farmers in Northern Samar are silenced by being denied with opportunities to take part in organizations and express their ideas. However, it is represented differently in the younger generation. Helen's narrative signifies significant transformation in the political landscape of women rice farmers in the context of Northern Samar. In essence, silencing women by dismissing their ideas and denying them access/participation to rice farming-related trainings and

associations are no longer the lingering truths of women in the younger generations.

Stories of Resistance to Male Domination

Embedded in women rice farmers' lived experiences of marginalization are their stories of resistance. It is apparent that women have stories to tell about their everyday battle and resistance that rebel, albeit subtle, against marginalization. This is particularly evident in the contemporary period as represented by the two younger women's experiences. The stories of the three women on this matter are their contributions to the act of un-muting this study forwards.

The way these women resist, bold or not, is an indication that they are beginning to create and claim space for women rice farmers. It vividly shows that they want it and most importantly, that they are well aware "how things should be" for female farmers.

As regards generation, although the principal attention of this dissertation is to highlight differences across generations, I have been conscious of the possibility that women's span of time of age may contribute to the variation in their meaning-making. But this does not mean to say that I assumed there would be differences, neither did I assume there would be none.

In the final stage of assessment on stories of resistance, I reassessed emergent themes and were aggregated under overarching themes: Resisting

Male Domination by Liberal Means; Resisting Male Domination by Conformity; and Resisting Male Domination by Secretive Means.

It turned out that there are differences and similarities on how women in the study resisted male domination. Consistent with James Scott's theory (1990), as forwarded in *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, these women developed strategies to survive and to be accepted in a highly patriarchal community. Scott explains, the politics of the subordinates and those who dominate as "public transcripts" and "hidden transcripts". Public transcripts are used to explain the "open interaction between subordinates and those who dominate" and hidden transcripts to describe the "discourse that happens 'offstage' beyond direct observation by power holders". The most common resistance strategy that emerged from intergenerational women rice farmers' experiences is comprised of silence, speaking out, conforming to gender constructions, knowing one's worth, earning, realization, humor and laughter.

Resisting Male Domination by Liberal Means

Women rice farmers' stories have confirmed that radical and liberal ways to resist male domination have been resorted to. There are four strategies that emerged from the liberal strategies—speaking out, earning, humor and laughter.

Speaking out as resistance

Speaking out or refusing to comply is used as a common tool of resistance in both private and public spaces. Nay Maye seemed to be

outspoken on specific issues. Her story revealed that she was involved and outspoken only on concerns that affect her financially. Her experience tells that Northern Samar's farming community is patriarchal where women farmers are excluded from important farmers' discussions. She indicated that she did not mind being excluded from farming activities but insist on being part of the conversations if they involve wage concerns. This is demonstrated by Nay Maye's story below:

Despite the abounded discouraging words from male farmers, we have sometimes mustered the courage to be heard during meetings, which were dominated by men particularly on matters that affect labor wage, by contesting, "Hey! Are you going to talk all the time? Aren't you going to listen to us?"

In the latter part of her story, speaking out on wage concerns have emerged again where she emphasized that the mockery, ridicule or dismissal did not stop her from airing her demands to be justly paid for farm work. Poverty seemed to empower Nay Maye to break down a barrier of male domination by voicing out her opinions around the male farmers.

Helen, on the other hand, tends to voice out her feelings when she finds the humiliation unbearable. She refuses to be belittled in public, hence, resists publicly. It is shown in her particular experience:

There are times though that I would that it is too much to bear. That I would really find the need to speak out. If I am told in public that I am only capable of doing the laundry, taking care of kids and giving birth...Lord! I would loudly talk back, "then why don't you try it? So, you'll see!"

Nay Maye and Helen's stories both mean that although women may conform to some patriarchal tendencies, they openly resist male farmers if it affects issues that they consider pertinent. Literature on gender and Philippine feminism is silent on these forms of resistance.

It is interesting to note that in the narrative of the youngest woman in the study, "speaking out" has been impliedly mentioned five times. The first time was in reference to her observation that at present, women would occasionally reason with men or their husbands demanding for respect. The second time surfaced when she recalled a certain experience from her childhood when she was teased by some male classmates that "she is incompetent to farm". She openly expressed her thought, *I can do it!...if you're capable of doing it, I can too!*

The last three instances pertained to her recent experiences. One was when she voiced out her interest in learning how to use the tractor and two, when she suggested with conviction the inclusion of women farmers in trainings. Both were articulated in recently held farmers' meetings. The last time she spoke of it was the most empowering. She fought hard against her father's ideological belief that it is pointless for a woman to go to school for she is supposed to stay at home, bear and rear kids in the future. She reasoned out loud explaining the specific gains from education. It can be deduced that her higher level of education (she reached 10th grade as opposed to two other women who only reached elementary level) empowers her and enables her to see other options.

From her story, I learned that she did not want to get marry early for she knows very well that she has a choice. This was evidenced in her narration:

I mustered the courage to reason with him explaining why I wish to finish school. That education is the key to a better life and that through it, I will not be dependent on any man. I don't want to get married early for I know that I have other options.

The narrative of Din-din powerfully tells us how young girls can break the patriarchal mentality and fight to achieve their dreams. Overall, the experiences of the three women have shown that through time, women have eased their way to claim their space and seek to redress the gender injustices and imbalances in society by speaking out against male domination.

Consequently, making their voices publicly audible through this dissertation is resistance in itself. As described by Helen,

...it is quite liberating to share the things that I though nobody cares about or pays attention...it is emancipatory.

Earning as resistance

Liberal feminists believe that channeling of women into preparation for the lower-paying and more feminine occupations since childhood lead them to poverty and dependence, which make most women unequal to most men. The lack or less income subjugates women. Hence, financial independence gives women power. This is profoundly explained in the story of Helen. Her experience connotes that women who generate income earn the admiration and respect of men. She stressed that her important role in the economic sphere cannot be negated. It does not matter how much, according to her, *what matters is I also earn on my own...that's why I sell "ukay-ukay" and vegetables*. She in fact considers herself an "accomplished woman" for being able to contribute financially.

Din-din did not explicitly share any experience that demonstrates this point, however, as mentioned earlier, she refuses to be economically dependent on men and this would only be possible if she has a college degree. It is to her belief that education brings economic benefits.

Additionally, managing a "sari-sari" store is a manifestation of resisting by earning independently.

This form of resistance was also exhibited in Nay Maye's. Though, unlike Helen and Din-din, it seemed that she is not conscious that she is actually resisting a patriarchal tendency. It was shown in her narrative that she marketed her grown vegetables and crops, which helped in augmenting the family income. She claimed that she and Helen do not heavily rely financially on their husbands for they help in their own little means to bring money to the household. This means that in older generation, women conform to patriarchal practices and at the same time unknowingly resisting them in their own way. Nay Maye's "tak-gong" experience suggests also that saving money out of her husband's income is a form of liberal or radical resistance.

Humor and laughter as resistance

The narratives of the women prove that humor and laughter are forms of resistance. On similar and different occasions, the women used them to resist male domination in public and private domains. For instance, every time the "tak-gong" anecdote of Nay Maye is told to Helen and Din-din, it would make the three of them laugh hysterically. On several encounters with male farmers where women were discriminately treated, Nay Maye recalled,

We would just laugh most of the time on how they treat us—as if we have no idea how to use the bolo and could not take care of our own. They are like fools! We, women would joke around about it and would ask men, does being a woman us handicap?

Laughing is a complex strategy of resistance; in general, it is associated with happiness. However, there are different forms of laughter—laughter that symbolizes joy, laughter that humiliates, demeans and is

dismissive. Nay Maye's laughter demeans and is dismissive. Meanwhile, Helen uses it as a form of sarcasm.

...I just laugh it off when women are assigned to jobs that they men consider as "man's work". Who would get tired anyway? Men! While women on the other hand are relaxed.

Laughter may seem inappropriate and may invite anger from the person/s laughed at. Nevertheless, when the person laughs at join the laughter he/she will discover that protecting patriarchy is not worth it. It seems that laughter can invite some sort of engagement that breaks the silences on patriarchy (Chisale, 2017).

Nay Maye has also shown this strategy by challenging long-held ideological misconceptions by making the dominant group question and rethink what they thought to be true while laughing. She highlighted this as she said,

during lunch break at the farm, male farmers would poke fun at female farmers. They would tease by asking us to dance to pass the time.

Apparently, men viewed them as entertainers not as co-workers in that instance. But Nay Maye shared,

we did not it of course! We just bantered back and would ask them to dance instead for we are here to work not to entertain you.

Laughter in this scenario was used to embarrass the oppressor. Similar strategy was likewise exhibited by Helen by mocking her oppressor when she kids her husband about her salary for her unpaid domestic activities.

Din-din also had a fair share of experience where she and her girlfriends made fun of male domination. According to her, in reference to men's claim that they are more indispensable compared to women:

Then men would proclaim that they are more valuable? Let's see...women can give birth, they can't. Women can breastfeed. When me and my girlfriends talk we would joke about it, "men can feed babies too but through

*feeding bottles only... what if they run out of money in buying formula milk?
Poor babies!*

Another occurrence proves how humor was used in demonstrating resistance. Din-din recalled one instance when her aunt Helen and some girlfriends went dancing at night against the will of Helen's father. To protect her from his rage, Nay Maye covered for the girls. Din-din in her narrative found "all girls going against an old man's rule" funny.

Chisale (2017) forwarded in her study that making fun of patriarchy and laughing about it has a strong potential of eliminating it, since people will eventually realize that it is not worth protecting.

The above narratives underscored that the oppressed tend to make jokes and laugh off their oppressors as a way of combating male domination. Making fun of patriarchy belittles and weakens it. Humor is commonly used by stand-up comedians to demean and belittle political leaders and systems that are oppressive. Humor is used to get back at oppressive systems. This is highlighted by Arbuckle (2008), who argues that humor deflates pomposity and undermines the rigidity of the status quo. According to Arbuckle, humor is an effective strategy of resistance since it often portrays fraud, hypocrisy and injustice far more powerfully and emotively than the written word. According to him, when humor pokes fun at the oppressive stringencies and conventions of society, people have the chance to re-imagine alternative ways of behaving (Arbuckle 2008).

Prior research confirms that laughter is used by the vulnerable as a hidden transcript of resisting dominance and oppression (Cruz 2015). It is clear from the stories that across the generations of these women, "humor and laughter" are oftentimes used for it maintains the peace while resisting as

opposed to "speaking out" and "earning" strategies which are too bold that it may disturb the peace. Meaning, they prefer to claim women's space using non-hostile approaches.

Resisting Male Domination by Conformity

Although the women in the study have shown in their narratives various liberal strategies in resisting male domination, they acknowledged conformity and submissiveness to male farmers and/or husbands. There is one strategy of resistance that emerged from this standpoint—conforming to gender constructions.

Obedience to gender constructions as resistance

Nay Maye confirmed that she conformed to gender roles in order to resist male domination. Her told experience suggests that she conforms not to protect it but to resist it. It means that she conforms to what is expected of her in public sphere but privately resist. One specific experience emerged with this regard,

When my husband and I would be at our yard where our neighbors could hear and see us, I would sweep the yard, water the vegetable garden, and look after our children who would run around while my husband would just sit in a corner. I did not mind it because my neighbors might think that I was not being a dutiful woman and I have high respect for my husband. But once inside the house, I would nag about it in the presence of husband particularly why he could not lend a hand in looking after our kids.

However, Nay Maye suggests that she genuinely accepts the status quo and conforms out of respect to her husband. Literature is silent on this complicated resistance strategy.

Contrarily, Helen conforms but does not agree with the status quo. She attached a different meaning to conforming. For her, conforming does not mean acceptance. As implied in her statement:

When we are outside farming, I would follow the customary tasks assigned for women but of course it does not follow that I am accepting it. I winnow, weed and sow...but at home, I am the boss.

As regards Din-din, she only exhibits conformity when the oppressor is around. It means that she is conforming for the sake of peace and respect like her grandmother. However, the difference lies on the fact that she is aware that oppressing women is not right, hence, like her aunt Helen, conformity for Din-din is not equated with acceptance. It is suggested in her narrative,

I was groomed to be compliant. I was told by my father that as a woman, I have to obey him and my brothers...I do that when I am at my father's place to avoid trouble and because I respect my elders. When I am back at my grandmother's, I would go out on my own volition with my friends at night. I believe it's not right for men to control women.

A critical analysis of this strategy shows that it is complicated but worth using in the fight against patriarchy, since it demonstrates a safe gender reconstruction. On the other hand, however, the strategy slows gender transformation, since conforming literally means acceptance (Chisale, 2017).

Worth noting is the fact that unlike her mother, Helen shared more experiences demonstrating that she does not conform to gender constructions. She disclosed that she engages in an array of activities that are traditionally performed by men like rice planting, harvesting and threshing. She further stated in this regard:

I also carry half sack of rice on my head...it used to be seen as a man's task, but I can do it too.

Her refusal to conform to gender constructions was likewise exhibited in Nay Maye's tale sharing how proud she was when she found her young daughters

manually pounding rice, which was regarded as a male job that time. Her niece, Din-din, recalled too that in her aunt Helen's generation, women plowed using carabao despite discouragement from male farmers.

Din-din like her aunt Helen, displays strong tendency not to conform to gender constructions. In her story, she mentioned that she got herself to farming to prove otherwise to her male classmates who told her that she does not have the skills to work at the rice field.

We can learn from these women's stories of resistance under the conformist standpoint that the actions undertaken to resist male domination vary from one generation to another. The younger women most likely are non-conformists, which further means that they are conscious that it is unjust to downplay the roles and value of women rice farmers.

Resisting Male Domination by Secretive Means

Secretive strategy compared to liberal and conforming to gender constructions strategies frequently emerged as means of resistance used by women rice farmers in the study, which included the following: silence as resistance; knowing one's worth as resistance; and realization as resistance.

Silence as resistance

In their shared stories of marginalization, it can be sensed that the women are aware that they have "voice"—possess ideas that are worthy or valuable to improve the rice farming and household system. Meaning, they are not "voiceless"; they are only deliberately muted or preferably unheard.

Women's silence is often underestimated as a hidden transcript of resistance against patriarchy. However, as posited by Tamale (2004), as much as silence may be a catalyst for oppression, it can also be a tool of resistance and struggle particularly for the marginalized. According to her, silence may work to the benefit of the oppressed since it is "unengageable" and ambiguous.

Women in the study have exhibited that they used silence to protest against male domination. Silence is the most common tool of resistance to any form of domination. This resonates with the findings of Cruz (2015), Bosacki (2005), Tamale (2004), Motsemme (2004) and Jack (1991) that women perceive silence as a critical tool in fighting power and patriarchy.

Although the three women had at some point used liberal or radical strategies to confront domination of men, they are often silent protestors. Nay Maye, in her story, demonstrates how she resisted "double" jeopardy through resisting by silence. She single-handedly managed all domestic concerns and at the same time work at the farm, but most of the time, she did not dare to argue with her husband on this issue to maintain a peaceful relationship with him. This is consistent with Chisale's (2017) findings that silencing the self is due to concern of the other, other than the self. It likewise confirms Jack's (1999) who says resisting silence is commonly used by women who grew up in socio-cultural communities and families where silence is stereotyped as "good" femininity. Northern Samar's rural culture socializes Nay Maye not to be outspoken; as a result, they are expected not to backchat their elders and husbands (Corocoto & Sales, 2015).

Similar strategy was also shown in May Maye's narrative on how her job was treated as secondary to that of her husband. She used silence to resist this patriarchal ideology:

I was just silent but I did not entrust my household duties to my husband for I would not have been satisfied with his work anyway...

It denotes that May Maye who belongs to the older generation and who was trained not to be outspoken used silence as a strategy to preserve her agency and sense of self (Bosacki, 2005).

Interestingly, Helen used different forms of silence to resist male dominance—controlling silence and political silence. It is displayed in the narrative below:

Yes, men here dominate the rice farming industry...since women are outnumbered, we tend to keep quiet...then when men notice our silence, they will inquire "what can you say?"

As regards farmers' organization, she said that women often stay silent during meetings but when they are alone, they craft plans to better women farmers' situation like her particular story about establishing a "korpo" (sharecropping) where women can join and be given opportunity to lead. Same strategy is utilized by her when in the rice field where male farmers dominate in number. *We (female farmers) would stay quiet when in the rice field and concentrate on our work.* Silence seems to be liberating for Helen rather than oppressive, since she is able to control the situation through her silence.

Controlling silence appears to empower Helen or give her control of the situation, indicating that silence has positive implications for self-control. This finds support from Bosacki's (2005) supposition that controlling silence is self-protective and regulates emotion in relationships without direct engagement. This form of silence is used to create a safe space for

compliance or rebellion or to create a neutral space within an uncertain and hostile relationship (Bosacki, 2005).

Resorting to silence when being outnumbered shows the presence of political silence, which is used by the weak and vulnerable to strategically suspend their voices in the broader community where the majority outnumber them (Bosacki, 2005). Helen and other female farmers use political silence to conform to what the community expects of them and when in their safe community they share what they have learnt and confirm the accuracy of their observations (Bosacki, 2005). Meaning, women may conform to accepted gender roles in public and resist the prescribed gender roles in private and safe spaces.

In contrast, Din-din has not shared any circumstance where she actually uses silence as resistance. What surfaces instead in her narrative with regard to this is her recollection of a childhood memory involving her mother:

I asked my mother one time why she would not reason with my father during their fights. She would just tell me, "to avoid trouble".

Her mother silently put up with her father's frequent abuses; silently left her husband and kids and never returned. Her mother's story speaks how silence can be emancipating. It is implied in Din-din's narrative that she now understands why her mother did it—leaving the abusive husband allows the wife to control the problematic situation; creating a safe space from an aggressive environment. It is a confirmation of some feminists' theory such as Cruz (2015) and Lewis (2003) that silence is not an indication of submissiveness, subservience and obedience but rather a hidden transcript used by women for survival in a patriarchal society (Cruz 2015).

Knowing one's worth as resistance

Literature is silent on this form of resistance. Since it occurred consistently in the stories of the women rice farmers suggesting that they use this as a form of resistance, I included this under the secretive theme. By analysis, knowing one's worth as a woman is consistent with Scott's (1985) description of hidden transcripts—means of resisting patriarchy privately.

Nay Maye's narrative reveals her use of this strategy. She argued that only women are good at doing the laundry, hence can accept a laundry paid job. She said, *men could not that*. This is supported by the following claims, which surfaced from time to time in her story: she is economically viable when given the opportunity; domestic work is a woman's domain; women can do several things to earn and she can do "man's farm work" just that she chose not to. It is to be noted that knowing her value as a woman was implied six times in separate particular experiences.

On one hand, Helen story manifested her awareness of a woman's worth when she articulated,

men can never give birth, they could go through the ordeal of giving birth. They would not stand the excruciating pain.

In one particular experience she narrated, by implication that she and Nay Maye are fully aware of the nurturing value of women.

A farmer in our neighborhood was about to give birth. There was no manaram [a woman who traditionally assists in giving birth] available that night. So I went with my mother and did what we could to help her with her delivery. The baby could have died without our timely intervention...her baby is a grown man now.

Unlike her mother, who oftentimes settles with being acquainted with her value, Helen, translates her awareness into action. This was manifested through the following revelations, to wit: she tried clearing rice field, carrying

half sack of rice on her head, engaging in jobs outside the home and other economic activities that are ideologically regarded as man's work.

In Din-din's narrative, use of the strategy to battle patriarchy was suggested. It surfaced when she proclaimed, *...women's ability of child bearing and rearing cannot be negated*. Apparently, all women have acknowledged this certain woman's value, which strongly implies that across generations, "women as child nurturers" is highly regarded even by men.

Realization as resistance

I learned from the women rice farmers' lived experiences that realization is resistance itself. However, there is a thin line delineation between realization as resistance and knowing one's worth as resistance, hence, they tend to overlap.

One glaring manifestation though of this form of resistance is Helen's consciousness of the concept gender equity/equality. She had this to say:

My husband and I may differ in terms of job types we engage in but still, we are both income earners.

In contrast, Nay Maye suggests that though she was not an income earner in its truest sense like her daughter now, she understands deeply how huge her contribution was as her husband's "sidekick". It is apparent then that through time, the standpoint "gender equity/equality has evolved.

Being the youngest of the three women, Din-din has acquired cultures of resistance from the past generations. Her narrative implies several realizations—it is unjust to belittle or humiliate a person by reason of her gender, that the inclusion of female farmers in trainings could open new opportunities for them, that men and women are equal, that education

empowers women and that women should not be controlled by men. She powerfully said:

...I think I should have a say on major decisions if it concerns my own life... I want to define the life that I want to have.

From these women's stories, we can learn that silence is a critical tool used by women to survive a patriarchal industry and community (Cruz, 2015) and it is as powerful as radical forms of resistance. According to Lewis (2003), women's understanding and use of silence is not a self-internalised expression of submission but as a means of resistance that has allowed them to experience a sense of freedom and emancipation. The women in the study interpret secretive standpoint as disagreement and as resistance to the treatment they receive from community, rice farming industry, and home. Consequently, these women need to be understood not in terms of submission but rather in terms of resistance, and as a strategy of survival (Lewis, 2003).

The liberal, conforming and secretive struggles that women farmers display against patriarchy in their life stories connote a pattern of non-acceptance of hegemony. By unfailingly resisting through generations, they impliedly refuse men's domination unswervingly, which further means that the concept of "men rule" is not the "universal truth" for these intergenerational women rice farmers.

Apparently, communication plays a crucial role in conveying stories of resistance across the generations of these women, which will be focus in the subsequent section.

Lived Experiences of Communicating Resistance Across Generations

Over the course of my conversations with the women rice farmers, I witnessed a sense of connectedness across generations, particularly in instances in which their stories of struggles and resistance are communicated. The act of sharing stories on resistance is a representation of intergenerational communication exchanges between old and younger women.

Much of the literature pertaining to communication processes particularly across generations, has focused on negative or unsatisfactory conversation (Mirivel, 2012). On the contrary, the experiences of women in this study have demonstrated that not all cross generational communication follows negative patterns. Consequently, it provides a deeper understanding on how these women exercise agency to resist oppression and empower other women to act upon by communicating their experiences. Thus, these women's accounts confirm what Jackson, Bijstra et al. has written, intergenerational communication correlates significantly with well-being, self-esteem and coping. This also finds support from Miller-Day's (2004) theory that mutually responsive communication links women "to one another, shaping each woman's sense of self."

The last purpose of this study was to gain insight into how these women rice farmers communicate their acts of resistance. Along with it was the attempt to understand the meaning they make out of it and their sense of connectedness. My dissertation focused on the individual life stories of women who regularly engage in informal intergenerational conversations.

These women ranged in age from late teens, mid-thirties to nearly seventy who all belong to the Acibar family.

In the final examination of stories on communicating resistance across generations, the following overarching themes emerged: Observance of Women's Nurturing Nature; Affectionate Connection and Mutuality; and Intimate Sharing

Observance of Women's Nurturing Nature

There is a tendency for women not to recognize that what they do as mothers, grandmothers and granddaughters, as aunties, as sisters or as friends, is leadership. Leadership can be perceived from various lens but one of the most basic is—leadership is the power of a person to influence another through ideas and by example something mothers, grandmothers, granddaughters do on a daily basis (Olson, 2013). McLeod (2012) also theorized that female leadership voice is gained through the example of role modeling, mentoring and coaching.

While there is much discussion in the literature about whether there is a singular female style of leadership, it is generally agreed that women attend to the growth and development of people around them (Erkut & Winds, 2001).

Two types of leadership emerged in the final examination—mother work and sistership. Both are practices that nurture connection and positive communication, and both share many elements like intimate sharing, affectionate connection, and appreciative practice (Olson, 2013). Maternal

work as a concept has been richly described in the literature before. On one hand, I found only a few number of literature that talks about the concept of sistership. Neither concept is mutually exclusive, so their elements tend to overlap.

Maternal work

Maternal work recognizes the work women do as mothers. According to Porter (2008) motherhood is identified as an expression of a mother's agency and ability to change herself and her child. She stressed that the relationship is one of power which transforms both the child into an adult and the mother into a multi-skilled capable woman in many essential areas of life. This is best represented in the following experiences shared by the three women:

...I was trained to be hardworking as a young girl. "That's why I work hard until now. This also what I always remind Helen and Din-din of..."

Helen in her story likewise mentioned that her mother never forgets to teach her about the value of hard work and how it would help improve her life. It is demonstrated in this particular recollection:

She would always tell me how hard her life was when she was growing up and that she would not want her daughters to experience the same, thus I need to really work harder. She would also remind me to study well and help my sisters with their school homework to avoid ending up like her who is poor due to lack of education.

This resistance by realization of Nay Maye is communicated to Helen using the female leadership voice through mentoring.

Another part of Nay Maye's narrative spoke about instances where someone would have a difficult life and would seek her aid, say, asking for a kilo of rice. Nay Maye reflected that even if she herself is economically

oppressed it does not make her worthless to others. As discussed earlier, "knowing one's worth" is a form of resistance that has emerged in the stories. In this specific experience of Nay Maye, it surfaced that the manner she resisted was conveyed to her daughter and granddaughter by using the female leadership voice through modeling. Same with laughter and humor as resistance. It was told by Nay Maye that the younger Helen witnessed how she and other female farmers would laugh at male farmers' oppressive acts.

Similarly, it surfaced that Helen would show that she can now do things that were previously done only by male farmers. She shared that Din-din is trying to emulate her performing work that are tagged as "man's job". She stressed, *Younger women can see now that women can do what men can when given the opportunity.* This act of resistance was also transmitted through mother work, particularly by modeling. Din-din's admiration for her aunt Helen surfaced in her narrative particularly about the latter carrying half sack of rice on her neck, clearing the land and other works which are traditionally known as "man's job". By Helen's modeling leadership, the young Din-din realized that female farmers, young and old, can likewise do the job. *Seeing that, we, the younger female farmers thought, "we can do it also". If my aunt can, we can too,* she said.

Modeling leadership as a form of communication is again demonstrated in Din-din's experience. She used conforming to gender constructions as resistance strategy, which is shown in her story—she obeys her father but when he is not around she would go out on her volition at night. It appears that she does this by taking the lead of her auntie Helen who used to be like that when she was her age. As revealed by Din-din:

I remember one time she and her female friends went dancing in a barangay nearby against the will of her father. But she was old enough then to attend such gathering.

By taking her auntie's acts as model too, Din-din realized that men should not control women, which is resistance by realization.

The aforementioned specific narratives of the women show that the relationship between and among the women and intergenerational communication experiences are forms of power that are liberating to all of them. This power, according to Olson (2013) is a link between a "mother's" nurturing practice and her intergenerational legacy. It is to be noted that the link between generations is deeply rooted within the rural community of Northern Samar (Corocoto & Sales, 2015). Kenny (2012) forwarded the principle of generations, which instructs us to reflect on our actions and to be aware of the consequences of these actions in the next generations. As manifested in the study, Nay Maye and Helen's "mother's" actions in the past have implications for present and future generations.

One striking form of mother work which surfaced in the stories is *storytelling*. It is described by literature as a common way to bring teachings forward. Stories provide many of the guiding lights to show us our way. According to Kenny (2012), even on an intuitive level, we know that stories help us learn about life from others as well as our past. We can learn from both positive and negative stories (Kenny, 2012).

Storytelling was a way for Nay Maye to communicate her stories of resistance with emphasis on teaching values to the younger women in the study. She shows a liking to tell stories as a way to convey the positive and

underscore accomplishments that existed (Benton, 2012). It can be best exhibited in her story:

I would tell Helen and Din-din whenever I get the chance my story about I saved money using tak-gong. This manner of communicating resistance surfaced in Din-din's story too. She recounted, Nanay Maye is fond of telling her life story to me. One thing that I learned from her experience is the value of being economically independent like when she saved money by hiding it in her tag-kong.

On the other hand, Helen implied that her mother's story provide a living connection with the past:

The "tak-gong story" is probably the most vivid conversations we've had because I could see how she carefully took the money and slowly placed it in her tak-gong.

Moreover, storytelling was demonstrated as a communication device in sharing means of resisting patriarchy in Helen's memory of her younger years:

When I was little until my teen years and even now that I already have my own family, my mother is fond of telling stories about her past. I learned a lot from her stories like how to face the challenges of being a wife and mother.

It was likewise used to stress lessons. As reveled by Helen:

That story stays with me and I remember it especially when I go through financial difficulty and her teaching about the value of hardworking.

Another experience of Helen reflects a principle that storytelling is important in building connection and communicating powerful messages. In her narration it appeared that she was able to relay to Nay Maye by storytelling how she, for the first time defy a traditional men's turf when she carried half sack of rice and how she argued with men who did not treat women fairly at the rice fields. She told me:

She gave time when I told her about my first time to carry half sack of rice on my neck...she closely listened...I always go to her whenever I want something to share like the plan of having women's "korpo" (sharecropping).

Storytelling, however, could be more than a generational passing of stories for the sake of teaching—it could also be highly entertaining as a manner of telling one's story of struggle. As manifested in the stories of the women, they find the *tag-kong* story hilarious. As described by the three women, *we would laugh hysterically every time the tag-kong story is told.*

Sistership or friendship

The concept of sistership is indicated in the women's experiences of communicating resistance stories. It has more to do with friendship as leadership and as means of connection. Sistership and motherwork as forms of leadership have several commonalities. But according to Olson (2013), mothering as a manner of communicating is not always work; at times the relationship bear more resemblance to friendship than the work of a parents with child. In this study, the work of an auntie with a niece.

Lewitts (1989) theorized that the chemistry that exists between close friends allows them to communicate with ease. Lack of *judgmental communication*, direct or indirect sets sistership apart from motherwork. For instance, Helen's stories contained statements showing how her way of resisting is relayed to her niece without judgment or expectation:

Din-din is like a sister to me that's why the way I treat her is different from how my Nanay is treating me. Also, Din-din knows how difficult my life is especially as a woman. Despite being the experienced one, I don't impose to her what she should do to have a better life than me and nanay. I just aspire that she could finish college and maybe help her how...But I won't dictate her on what to do.

Further, though Helen finds her mother supportive in communicating her past circumstances on facing male domination, the excerpt below shows that she is cognizant of her mother's indirect underlying judgment:

College educated women are way more economically gainful and can exercise some freedom of choice on what to do or buy. I could not help but feel envious. Nanay would support me with how chose to live my life. But I know that she does not like it. She probably thought I should have made better choices in life. Sometimes I can see it in her face. But she never failed to support me even until now that I already have my own children.

This is one isolated case where negative communication has surfaced in transmitting certain experience of resistance. Nonetheless, it appears to have positive effect in the mother-daughter's case.

Affectionate Connection and Mutuality

It is shown in the women' narratives that subjective experiences with solid connections include a feeling of being known or being loved and mutuality (Olson, 2013). The inclusion of affectionate connection as one of the themes explains the interrelatedness of behaviors and communication experiences across the generations of these women. Dutton and Heaphy (2003) posit that mutuality captures the sense that both people in a connection are involved and actively participating. These features of connection are manifested in the women's stories. Further, related elements to Dutton and Heaphy's characterization of mutuality is supported by the following positive communication practices—mutual engagement, appreciation and support, awareness of thoughts/emotions, and intimate sharing that emerged during the women's storytelling.

Roberts (2006) wrote that an authentic sense of connection and mutuality are characteristics of a positive relationship, which commonly results to positive communication. The positive relationship of the three women as mother-daughter, grandmother-granddaughter and auntie-niece is

characterized by mutual sharing. It emerged in their narratives that all of them are well aware of how empowering such connection is.

Mutual engagement

This emerging sub-theme is one of mutual influence in which those engaged shows participation and support of one another. In doing so, a connection exists. I see this idea as a "relational", a common element in intergenerational communication, which involves both the mutual concern for another another's well-being and collaborative participation, say in decision-making. A surfacing example of this relationship is Nay Maye's story about Helen's frustration:

...One time, the young Helen, went home from school sobbing because her classmates were teasing her for not having food provisions. That moment, she just hugged me, I did the same as I comforted her. If I am the one with financial problem, she would help me resolve it, she does it until now even if she's married already. We would come up with a plan together. We would make a list of potential families whom we could do the laundry, how much we could earn, fare expenses. There's no problem that can't be solved if women in the family help each other since we think alike.

The mother and daughter decided together and collaborated in looking for a solution and acted on it. They crafted a scheme for their laundry job that would benefit both of them. This situation engaged the women in a mutual-decision and made them responsible for each other as they resist patriarchy together.

Relational communication is closely connected with participation, which is built from the mutual engagement. It explains that affectionate connection or mutuality is grounded on "perceptions of interdependence from which emerge a sense of respect and responsibility for the welfare of self and

others... [it is] a relationship among the parties involved. As such it is inherently participatory (Perreault, 2005).

This feature of affectionate connection has likewise emerged in Nay Maye's experience about her pre-teen daughters who take care of themselves while she works at the farm. It indicates mutual work involvement of the mother and daughters in bringing money to the family, communicating earning as resistance.

In challenging *korpo* (sharecropping) that is traditionally composed and led by men, Din-din through mutual engagement conveyed her attempt to challenge the patriarchal-oriented sharecropping system, which is demonstrated in Helen's particular experience:

...the younger female farmers like Din-din would be present when women talk about establishing sharecropping with women members...these girls would say, "we will join also and sometimes they would share ideas planning out own korpo."

The same manner of communication is illustrated in Din-din's shared occurrence. It was a story about non-conforming to ideological misconception that women should always stay at home and unlike, men or boys, not traditionally permitted to go out at night. This is a story of power, control and patriarchal structure. Din-din's statement can best explain how such resistance was transmitted:

...my aunt Helen and her girlfriends who were old enough went dancing against the will of her father...Nay Maye covered for them to avoid the ire of my grandfather...I think that was fun...all girls going against an old man's rule.

The defiance to such oppressive concept was transmitted to Helen by her mother and indirectly to Din-din through mutual cooperation. The mother-daughter tandem shows strong bond and responsibility to take care of each other against male dominance.

It is observed in their experiences that mutual engagement created a meaningful connection between the women, which enabled them to communicate empowering messages.

Appreciation and support

Appreciation and support have the power to transform. The recipient of a message of approval and support experiences a positive feeling of identity and an associated sense of well-being while the sender is uplifted by the other's response. Although there may be cultural variations in what is perceived as a positive image (Penington, 2004 and Roberts, 2006) it is not the exact content of message which is important but whether the recipient reacts positively to it. Mac George et al. (2012) define supportive communication as verbal and nonverbal behavior produced with the intention of providing assistance to others perceived as needing that aid. Appreciative and support go beyond appreciative and supportive practices and confer approval and affirms a person's positive value.

There were exemplars of appreciation and support in the women's narrative as a way of conveying resistance stories across generations. Elements of positive communication appear in their respective accounts. However, most of the stories show that approval and/or affirmation was transmitted through supportive communicative practices. Specifically, approval messages of resistance by earning were communicated either through action, language or both.

In the analysis of Nay Maye's story, it is observed that she demonstrated support to her daughter's endeavor to be economically

independent through non-verbal communication and it appears that she does this because she is aware that Helen's needs such assistance:

When Helen sells ukay-ukay, I would tell her to leave her kids with me so she can focus on her business.

This coincides Helen's statement that she would leave her kids to Nanay Maye when she is selling *ukay-ukay*: ...she would gladly take them [children] under her care.

Similar manner of communication is used by Din-din implying also how she understands the need of Helen of such aid . According to Helen:

...Sometimes Din-din would volunteer to look after them [children] maybe because she understands...So, I would leave my kids in the sari-sari store with her and she would tell me, "it's nice that you do everything for your kids".

The last statement of the narration above shows how message of approval of resistance by earning is verbally communicated.

On one hand, Din-din manifested her appreciation and support both verbally and non-verbally:

I highly appreciate aunt Helen for working hard for her kids, the reason why I could not say "no" when she asks me to take care of her children [when Helen is out for her ukay-ukay business].

Further, Din-din spoke of receiving verbal expression of approval. Her auntie Helen would verbalize how she strongly supports her interest in learning how to use tractor and in performing farming work that is traditionally treated as "men's work" and her suggestion for farmers' training to be inclusive helping women to claim space in rice farming community.

On the other hand, Helen talked about how she transmits concept of resistance to Din-din through appreciation and support by making time to listen and giving advice. This shows how a particular form of resistance is communicated through action and language. Helen narrated:

...I attentively listen when Din-din... share stories of being ridiculed or bullied by boys or being a girl, no matter how big or small the issue is. Then I would lecture her on how to face it...I put aside whatever I am doing to listen...

As reflected in the women's stories, appreciative and supportive communication practices lend to motivation and inspiration for an individual's positive identity and is according to Roberts (2006) is a powerful mechanism for transformation. Such communicative experiences enhance the quality of life for both parties.

Mindfulness of thoughts and emotions

Stories about being mindful were less frequent but is reflective of how in so doing would positively connect and transform the women involved in the communicational experience. Mindfulness, as surfaced in this study constitutes "work" and demands recognition that culture and age contribute to different standpoints in generational relationships. This communicative practice reminds women of their past, grounds them in the present, and has positive implications for future relational and communicational experiences.

An example of mindfulness as a means of transmitting grandmother-granddaughter resistance story appeared in the narrative of Nay Helen:

With my grandchild... since I could not relieve her in manning the store, the least I could is to reach out to her. I ask how she is...maybe I am like that to her for she is younger than Helen and is already my grandchild. I seldom give her advice on what she should or should not do unlike with Helen.

Nay Maye's mindfulness is exemplified by descriptions of respectfulness or sensitivity to the culture and circumstances of the youngest generation. The grandmother is mindful that the message of her story may be interpreted differently by her granddaughter thus she does not appear authoritative in upbringing the latter.

Affectionate and supportive connection through mindfulness also surfaced in the story of Helen. It appears in her narration that she is mindful of the past of Din-din. Her support to Din-din's pursuit of education in order to become an economically gained independent woman was communicated by being mindful of Din-din's life background. She shared that Din-din and her talked about how being uneducated like her and Nay Maye hinders progress, she shared:

...Din-din and I have talked about it. Since her mother was not around when she was growing up, I try my best to show that I love her by supporting her life endeavors...

The above experiences exhibiting mindfulness as a manner of communication mean that women connect their inner self and their commitments with the way they engage the world; empowering the recipient/s of the message.

Intimate Sharing

The concept of intimate sharing as a means of conveying experiences of resistance is supported by Nay Maye and Din-din's stories. It is suggestive of the principle that when in an intimate relationship, which in the study is that of nonsexual or unromantic nature, it is easier to share thoughts and feeling without fear and inhibitions.

Revelation of intimate experience

Contained in the stories of Nay Maye is another way of conveying experiences of resistance—disclosure of intimate stories. The intimate

account she shared involved how patriarchy made her life difficult and how she faced it. By implication, she believes that the next generations need to know some of her "secrets" to serve as life lesson and guiding path. As noted, she reflected from her past and pass it on to her daughter by sharing a very personal experience. The particular story below demonstrates this:

I don't keep my real-life situation a secret from children. I always share my experiences with Helen that would serve as her guide in making life-changing decisions. I share how it is like to have a difficult life and how to overcome it...

In her storytelling, Nay Maye acknowledged that intimate sharing resulted to connection and positive communication with Helen. She said:

...If we talk about these, I feel that we empower each other...I feel a sense of strong bond with her.

One particular story of a highly personal nature she is referring to is her "tak-gong" story in which her scheme in saving money was revealed, which was appreciated by the younger women. This intimate disclosure also appeared in Din-din's narrative when she shared that she has never told anyone in detail except Nay Maye about how she aspires to have access to farm-related trainings and to acquire her own farmland like most of the men in her community. The experiences of women in transmitting resistance stories by sharing intimately connotes participation with authentic self (Olson, 2013) and through disclosure connects, communicates and empowers another.

On the whole, all of the aforementioned narratives of women speak a lot about how communication shapes, transform, empower and emancipate women. It is vividly shown that communication is not only a tool but an important explanatory element. What remains now is a discussion on what we can learn more from the women's stories of resistance and intergenerational communication; and what other theories which are not articulated in this

chapter or which can confirm or disconfirm existing theories were built from these stories that can contribute to our understanding of communication in the context of intergenerational women farmers in rice-based agriculture from Northern Samar.

Chapter VI

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Although there have been critical voices in the past that have paid keen attention to stories of women's resistance in the context of communication which has become a field of its own right as evidenced by the plethora of study in feminist communication, little has been done on how women rice farmers in rural setting have communicated resistance stories against patriarchy across their generations. It is within this conceptual frame that my dissertation is positioned. My aim in studying the three intergenerational women farmers' stories was to gain deeper understanding of their lived experiences in challenging male domination and communicating such experiences across the generations of these women. I began with a question—*What aspects of marginalization have these women rice farmers experienced?* Which was intended to serve as a take-off point of the succeeding two main questions—*How do these women resist male domination? How do these women communicate stories of resistance across their generations?*

As less work has been done so far on intergenerational communication in the context of women in rural rice-based agriculture, it is to my belief that this claim of Roberts (2006) is specifically appropriate here— "This chapter should be read as a series of theoretical propositions, intended to spark interest in systematic investigations" of women farmers' intergenerational communication.

Marginalization

Within the four emergent themes during the storytelling of marginalization (i.e. lived experiences of socio-economic marginalization, lived experiences of ideological marginalization, and lived experiences of political marginalization), five sub-themes have provided insights about women rice-farmers' stories of marginalization, particularly the link between the past and present conditions of these women. In this part, I discuss how the five sub-themes relate to the first dissertation question and the major principles that emerged during the study.

The stories of marginalization of women uncover both oppressions done to women rice farmers in Northern Samar and significant transformation through time. Each of the women, one or another, have experienced injustices caused by male domination. Within the feminist theory, different schools of thought explain aspects of women marginalization. In this study, liberal and social feminism expounds the lived experiences of marginalization of the women.

Feminists argue that gender division of labor in contemporary society has confined woman to the position of house wife which chains her to unpaid household work, dependency on man, lower social status and gender discriminations. The liberal feminists believe that the sex specific attitudes on women and the division of labor in the society is mainly based on the informal customs which violate the liberal political values (Jagger, 1983; Welby, 1992; Kanter, 1977). It becomes a vicious circle, as poverty makes it difficult or impossible for them to exercise their formal or legal rights in society. Nay

Maye's story was the most apt illustration of this socio-economic situation. Incidents of double jeopardy in her stories have highlighted that channeling of women into preparation for the lower-paying and more feminine occupations since childhood lead them to poverty and dependence, which make most women unequal to most men.

Under social feminism, the theory of feminisation of subsistence points out that during the periods, the commercialisation of small holding agriculture and other activities involving men, imposed upon women the double burden of household and farm work, as women were forced into subsistence agriculture and other economic activities in addition to their household work. The situation, as claimed by liberal and social feminists made it worst to those women who do unpaid household work, which mostly surfaced in the grandmother's narrative. Wage gap and less income opportunity result from this.

Liberal feminist discourse is concerned with securing equal opportunities for women and men. It also focuses on "issues of equal opportunity in access to resources for women and men, especially employment" (Chege & Sifuna, 2006). Liberal feminists believe that women can correct this socio-economic aspect of marginalization by becoming an economic viable and independent member of the household and society. Helen' story is an exemplar of this in which she ventures in *ukay-ukay* business making her independent from her husband and enabling her to exercise power, control and autonomy. Din-din's story is the only one to lack reference to socio-economic aspect of marginalization, which suggests that at

present, there is most likely less cases of patriarchal structure in terms of gendered division of labor and wage gap.

It appears in the stories of ideological marginalization relative to prescribed occupational sex farm and household roles and women as the weaker sex are misconceptions. Even though there is no significant biologically visible difference between men and women, various misconceptions about women prevail in society that have assigned them weaker positions. This was mostly reflected in the story of Nay Maye about how women were treated as the weaker sex in older period. Din-din corroborated her story by telling what she had seen in her childhood. Apparently, though women's labor contribute much for the well-being of the family and the economy, various ideological factors have obscured this reality. This was largely the case of Nay Maye, the oldest among the women in the study.

Nonetheless, significant transformation through generations is observed, specifically in the aspect of political marginalization. Socialist feminists conceive gender relation as a means of exercising men's power over women. Nay Maye spoke of this—how in her time women farmers were denied with opportunities and access to farming organizations and farming-related activities. On the other hand, in her daughter's anecdotes, it is clearly shown that men now as a group no longer control and derive primary benefit from farming-oriented programs and organized associations.

The stories of the women confirmed previous studies' theory that women in the farming industry are most likely vulnerable to oppressions brought about by poverty and exposure to patriarchal system. However, in the

same narratives surfaced a powerful message that women through time can break patriarchal mentality and fight oppressive acts. These are more pronounced in the women's stories of resistance.

Resistance to Male Domination

The concept of resistance has drawn the attention of the scholars from the fields of history, sociology, political science, cultural studies and anthropology. Lately, representation of resistance in women's narratives is also being explored, just like this study. Within the four overarching themes (i.e. resistance by liberal means, by conformity, and by secretive means) that emerged during the analysis of the women's stories; seven subthemes provide explanation how these women deliberately or not/consciously or not resist male domination.

In this study, the standpoints on resisting patriarchy appear to be much less of a revolutionary activity. What manifested as expressions of resistance is the act of opposing something and trying to stop it from happening; expressing strong disagreement with something; and fighting back when attacked. As observed in the narratives, the acts of liberal resistance of women rice farmers are not to be deemed as "protest" for it did not show conventionally overt, planned, organized/conscious, demonstrated publicly acts. Resistance in the sense of women's stories is covert, spontaneous and hence not planned. According to Haynes and Prakash (1991), resistance should be defined as those behaviors by subordinate groups that contest hegemonic social formations but threaten to unravel the strategies of

domination. 'Consciousness' need not be essential to its constitution. Nay Maye's stories on resistance represented non-consciousness. Contrarily, resistance is demonstrated by the two younger women by consciously turning their attention to "everyday forms of resistance" (Scott, 1985).

In liberal standpoint on resistance, storytellers confirmed that they used radical ways to resist patriarchy, however, it should be noted that Nay Maye compared to Helen and Din-din shows unconscious exhibition of her defiance to patriarchal structure. Largely though, defying and disavowing male-centered structure by speaking out, earning and humor and laughter expressed in the family household and farming community are mostly done without deliberate, meticulous planning or organizing. Resistance, thus, by women in the study is a subtle act and can be expressed covertly by speech, gestures, actions, and mood. As demonstrated in the narratives of the three women, what is usually used among the radical means of resistance is humor/laughter. As Carla Rice (2002) points out, resistance can be humorous and playful.

The stories taken collectively suggest that the notion of radical resistance is different from protest and revolt. One can resist a power-structure by establishing struggles in everyday life. The lived experiences of resistance of these women exhibit that "Resistance cannot be produced on demand to be participated in or written about, but that it is always there as actuality and potential in the everyday structures of life, even in its most seemingly disheartened and depoliticised moments which in turn redefine the future" (Sunder, 1993).

Akin to liberal standpoint, several secondary themes have emerged in the happenings described by women with secretive standpoint on resistance leaning (i.e. silence, knowing one's worth and realization). It appeared that silence is the most common tool of resistance used by the women rice farmers. Most often than not, they are silent protestors.

In the stories, women struggle and try their best to rupture the domination of male authority in order to get their dues and rights in a manner in which they are best at—silence. However, they made it a point that the family and the farming relations of daily existence are entangled and thereby transfigured by resistance. In their resistance as Scott (1985) describes, "They require little or no coordination or planning; they often represent a form of individual self-help; and they typically avoid any direct symbolic confrontation with authority or with elite norms."

Knowing one's worth and realization as forms of resistance demonstrate what Elam (2007) opines, "Resistance does not entail just physical opposition to injustice, but internal and psychological evolutions..."

On the whole, feminist theory is helpful in understanding these means of resistance employed by the women rice farmers. The theory have influenced the studies on resistance. Feminism basically means the assertion of female identity, which is how this dissertation is conceptualized and operationalized. It is a construct by which women have tried to establish parity in all areas of human life. It tries to provide human life to every woman. It is a diverse collection of social theories, political movements and moral philosophies. As a social movement, feminism largely focuses on the issues in the patriarchal society and tries to limit and eradicate gender inequality. As

a political movement, it tries to promote women's rights and their interests. It tries to empower women in understanding themselves, breaking their silence and the tyranny of victimization and to deconstruct power-politics. As a moral philosophy it tries to bring in changes in the lives of every woman through consciousness-raising.

Moreover, Feminist Theory has evolved over several decades. The initial contribution of the Feminist Theory is that it has brought attention to the unique situation of women, generated research about women, and exposed and eliminated discriminatory conditions and oppressive social roles. Thus it necessitated a quest to know and understand what it is to be a woman. Most importantly, it demands resistance to their silencing, invisibility and the non-acknowledgement of their contributions starting from domestic space to the wider ones.

This study is an apt illustration that feminist resistance gets articulated not only through the Women's Movement but also through women's individual endeavors which may range from speaking out by contesting behaviors and actions to the silent rejection of the male domination. This has been the case of the women in the study as reflected in their powerful stories of resistance.

Working through radical and silent battles, women rice farmers in the study learned to know and discover themselves. With all the women's timidity and marginality, the stories of resistance thus have moved women through generations by self-expression and self-questioning towards self-assertion and redefinitions.

Notably, communication across generations of these women plays an important role in creating space where their voice should be heard. By

analyzing how women rice farmers transmit their stories across three generations, it confirms the principle that communication is both a means and end to empowering women by amplifying their capacity to expand their choices in a particular development setting. It is in this sense that power and agency concepts are placed at the core of communication. The next section speaks about how a message of resistance is communicated and by implication how it transforms and empower women.

Communicating Resistance Across Generations

Let me start by confirming that this narrative on resistance is an intergenerational story in itself for the women's lived experiences exhibit connections and communication across generations. The vast majority of the research and theory dedicated to intergenerational communication has concentrated on non-familial interactions and has consistently shown that intergenerational communication has been problematic (Williams and Nussbaum, 2001). Hence, the present study's valuable contribution to feminist communication's body of knowledge is the answer to the question that receive little attention in the literature so far—"How do women rice farmers (from one family) communicate stories of resistance to male domination across their generations?"

Within the three themes (i.e. observance of women's nurturing nature, affectionate connection and mutuality, and intimate sharing) that emerged during the storytelling, six subthemes (i.e. maternal work, sistership and friendship, mutual engagement, appreciation and support, mindfulness of

thoughts and emotions, and revelation of intimate experience) and two secondary subthemes (i.e. storytelling and lack of judgment) provide understanding into the link between the women's lived experiences of resistance, sense of connectedness and communication experience. All of which have implications for positive intergenerational communication. The most salient features in the stories are underscored in this section.

The women rice farmers' narratives relative to communicating resistance across generations show how connectedness and communication are interrelated. It reveals, "A sense of connectedness enhances the possibility for positive communication, and positive communication contributes to feelings of connection between the parties involved" (Olson, 2013).

The findings of the study also confirm Williams and Nussbaum (2001) theory saying, "...intergenerational relationships form within the family are generally both positive and productive... for the most part, intergenerational communication within families is caring and life enhancing." Families are natural setting for the study of cross generational relations and communication, and it is from studying familial relationships like this work that scholars have come to better understand the ways in which intergenerational communication develop.

Nay Maye's particular anecdote represents revelation of intimate experience. Her intimate "tak-gong" story serves a purpose to her daughter and granddaughter. Some may see it of less consequence, but for the younger women, they treat such story as a guiding path to improve their conditions as women. In terms of connection and communication, it is the act of disclosure not the secret that is more important. By telling a very private

story of resistance, it gives sense to both the giver and recipients of the message. Nay Maye had to have her story unwrapped for her daughter and granddaughter to provide meaning to the story. Similarly, Din-din appeared to be sharing an intimate experience to Nay Maye and partly to Helen. There appears to be no consistent generational trend regarding revelation of intimate experience. Disclosure was just as likely to occur at the younger women (i.e. Din-din to Helen/Nay Maye) as at the oldest (i.e. Nay Maye to Helen).

Along with this is being mindful to the emotions and thoughts of the recipients of the message. In both Nay Maye and Helen's recollections, they exhibit mindfulness as a way of communicating resistance—giving consideration to one's life background and present condition. For instance, Helen was mindful of Din-din's circumstance of growing up without a mother, while Din-din and Helen are mindful of Helen's need for assistance in taking care of her kids in order to pursue her *ukay-ukay* venture. This finds support from Socha and Duggs' (1999) theory, "Family communication is a significant context where constructing and managing individual's cultural identity takes place." Nonetheless, other factors such as political and socio-economic background must also be considered.

At the core of participatory connection and communication is mutual engagement and appreciation/support. It is in this connection and communication which permits collaboration. The mother-daughter resistance story about planning out as a team to solve financial problems demonstrate that both have transmitted defiance to socio-economic patriarchal structure by acting on the problem together. Similarly, the aunt-niece narrative describing

their collective effort and mutual support in establishing women's *korpo* (sharecropping) illustrates this theory.

Further, stories of resistance are conveyed through appreciative and supportive practices. As experienced by women, there may be cultural variations in what is perceived as a positive message (Penington, 2004), it is not the exact content of the message which is important but whether the recipient reacts positively to it. Women have reacted positively to the resistance stories as manifested in their approval message, which enables them to experience a positive feeling and an associated sense of well-being while the sender is uplifted by the other's response. This is more pronounced on how Nay Maye and Din-din show support to Helen's endeavor to earn independently by looking after the latter's kids. And how Helen supports the aspiration of Din-din to earn a college degree which they both believe is the key to economic progress and women's independence from men's power and control. As to Nay Maye, appreciation and support is exhibited by making time to listen to the younger women's stories. For instance, listening attentively when Helen shares the women's plan to have their own *korpo* which will provide an avenue for female leadership. Both verbal and non-verbal expressions of approval and support emerged in their narratives.

It is not unexpected that storytelling emerged as secondary subtheme from the women's narratives of communicating resistance. Stories have in time immemorial used to do motherwork, to teach, to mentor, to connect and to communicate. Stories are a verbal tradition that most likely date back to the beginning of the spoken word (Olson, 2013).

It appears that Nay Maye finds affectionate liking and fully understands the purpose and value of storytelling. This is confirmed by Helen's observation of her mother's stories in which, according to her provide a living connection with the past. Helen's experience reflects how storytelling can relay powerful messages of transformation. The younger women likewise had their share of communicating resistance stories through storytelling, for instance, Helen's story about the first time she carried half sack of rice like what men usually do. While the stories may be unfamiliar due to different experiences, by sharing their stories the women come to know each other and to feel more connected through these shared experience.

As opined by Surrey (1991), "Connected learning means taking the view of the other and connecting this to one's own knowledge, thus building new and enlarged understanding of broader human experience. The more numerous and diverse the perspectives one has connected with, the broader the relational context and the more enhanced will be the sense of being both connected to and empowered to respond to a larger "human reality".

As Mc Kee (1997) said about storytelling, "it is the currency of human contact. Storytelling is, as Fletcjhher (1999) characterized, an emphatic way to teach. "It is a way of teaching that takes the learner's intellect or emotional reality into account and focuses on the other rather than on self. It moves from the value of laden motherwork of a power-nuanced teaching to sistership support (Olson, 2013) just like in the case of aunt-niece (Helen-Din-din) connection which lacks judgmental communication in relaying a certain act of struggle against male authority.

Some findings of this study are not new for literature on women and communication spans many decades across various disciplines. However, with the recent increasing interest in gender studies and considerable growth of feminist communication scholarship, there is a potential opportunity to discover new theories or different ways to perceive old principles. This work is an embodiment of this.

It can be deduced that all of the subthemes and secondary themes have implications to the development of positive intergenerational communication. Meaning, how the stories of resistance were transmitted is a validation that their means of communication depicted a positive element—transforming, empowering and ultimately emancipating the three women rice farmers.

It also turned out that intergenerational resistance stories are situated at the intersection of connectedness and positive intergenerational communication. As a scholar of feminist communication, interested in transformational change for women across generations, this study was thought of to add on the work of researchers like Miller-Day (2004), a pioneer in intergenerational communication study between mother, daughter and grandmother.

In addition to Miller-Day's supposition of intergenerational communication as a form of connection, this study posits that intergenerational communication is a way women rice farmers' resist. In this sense, resistance occurs when both the intergenerational receiver and sender of message feel empowered in the whole process; when positive

communicative behavior is passed on to the next generation or when the younger generation connects and initiate a new positive communication.

Another difference from previous studies lies on the three relatively new concepts on women resistance that have emerged, to wit: resistance by earning; by realization and knowing one's worth and the implications of different strategies of communicating stories of resistance to positive intergenerational communication in the context of rice-based agriculture.

I intend to make this dissertation as another take-off point in deeply understanding how positive intergenerational communication can be a tool and at the same time an explanatory element of the dynamics of women empowerment across generations in rural rice farming industry. The emergent strategies employed by the three intergenerational women rice farmers in challenging male dominance and in communicating their stories of struggles can be practically explored by other women from different milieus. Lastly, this piece of writing is a contribution to the scholarship of "women's place" in the farming community both at the practical and theoretical level.

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ANNEX A

Sinurat nga Kasabutan

Ine nga sinurat nga kasabutan ni _____ ngan **SALVIE MAGTANAO** mahiunong sin pag kasayu sin pag himu "Dissertation" nga may titulo nga "Marginalization, Resistance and Communication Across Generations: Life Stories of Intergenerational Women Rice Farmers from Northern Samar". Kon sa panahon, nga bisan sa sayo sa amon dire maupay an pag-abat san karuyag sidngun, pwede kami mag liwat o mag utro.

Ako, _____, natuyang pag api sine nga pag-aradman. Ma aram ak san ako mga katungod na maprotektaran ako ngan akon an pag bu-ot kon gagamiton ungod na ngaran o dire san ak mga igsusumat. An akon mga katungod an mga nasunod: (1) pag dire o pag took sine nga pag aradman sin nano nga rason ngan san-o lat nga panahon; (2) pag ibitar sin bisan sino na upod samtang sa proseso san pagpregunta sin nano man nga rason; (3) pasabtun nga biluntaryo an pag api ko, pasabtun sa mga karat-an, benepisyo nga nakukuha san pag partisipar, an pa maagi san buruhatan, ngan kon nano an gamit san mga gin pregunta, sino an makakabasa, ngan kon sino an pwede ma kontak kon yaun mga pangutana.

Ma aram ak liwat nga an kaupayan ngan katumanan sine nga pag aradman na depende san ako pirme abierto sin pag sumat sa ak kinabuhi ngada sa publiko, komitido ak sin halaba nga proseso sin haglaraum pa nga pangutana, an ak pag karuyagon nga mabisita permi sin pag hurohimangraw sa amo balay o kon diin nga lugar nga waray ak kaulangan. Sanglist, ako man, segun sa kakayahan san ako abilidad, magtutuman san ak pag kumite sine nap ag aradman.

(Pirma)
(Petsa)

Ako, **Salvie Magtanao**, nag aaram sa University of the Philippines Open University (UP OU) sin pag ka Doctor of Communication na programa, magtatagad sin pagtipig sin maupay san mga natagamtam san gin-paambit nga mga estorya. Makikipagtapo ak sa iyo sin lugar ug panahon nga waray kam kaulangan. Kon naabat kam nga dire ipadayuon an pag pregunta sa talaan nga panahon, puede nyo mahimo kon yaun mga rason. Samatang san pag padayon san mga pregunta o puede kit mag pahuway dali, tumook atab. Kada katapos sa mga pag pregunta, ako tatagan kam kopya basi puede pa magdungang o bag-uhon an iba nga asoy.

An ak katuyuanan in pakigtrabaho sa iyo ngan mahimo kunta ine nga pag pakusog sa atu nga mga kababayin-an.

(Pirma)
(Petsa)

Letter of Agreement (Consent)

This is a letter of agreement between _____ and **SALVIE MAGTANAO** about our partnership to work on a DISSERTATION titled "Marginalization, Resistance and Communication Across Generations: Life Stories of Intergenerational Women Rice Farmers from Northern Samar". If at any time, either one of us feel uncomfortable with its provisions, we may revise or amend it.

I, _____, consent to participate in this study. I am aware of my right to confidentiality and have the prerogative whether or not I choose to reveal my real name in the narrative. Further, I have the following rights: (1) to withhold or withdraw from this study for any reason at any time; (2) to invite anybody I wish during the interview process for any reason; (3) to be informed about the voluntary nature of the study, the risks and benefits entailed in participating; the nature of the proceedings; and on how the interview data will be used, who will have access to the data, and whom they may contact for questions.

I am also aware that the success of this study depends on my readiness to self-disclose about my life to the public, my commitment to be involved in a long process of in-depth interviewing, my willingness to be visited frequently and be engaged in exhaustive discourses in my home or any place convenient to me. Therefore, I shall, with the best of my ability, fulfill my commitment to this study.

(Signature of Participant)

(Date)

I, **Salvie Magtanao**, student of the University of the Philippines Open University (UP OU) under the Doctor of Communication program, will exercise utmost sensitivity in managing and handling your shared stories. I will respect your rights stated in this agreement. During the interview sessions, we can break, stop early, or shape the process into whatever is comfortable for the both of us. After each interview session, I will present a copy of what you have told me, so that you may add or revise any statements.

My purpose is to work with you and make this an emancipating experience to both of us.

(Signature of Interviewer)

(Date)

ANNEX B

Conversation Guide

Date:

Time:

Site:

Interviewer:

Interviewee:

Research Topic: "Marginalization, Resistance and Communication Across Generations: Life Stories of Intergenerational Women Rice Farmers from Northern Samar".

1. Kumusta man imo pag-uma?
2. Sino nagdumara saim magin parag-uma
3. San-o ka pa nag tikang pag-uma?
4. Ig saysay daw an imu buruhaton sa kada adlaw?
5. Nanu man a kamutangan saim trabaho bilang babaye nga parag-uma?
6. Mga nano im parte sa paghimu sin mga desisyon sa sulod sa panimalay ngan sa umhanan?
7. Mga nano imu parte san trabaho san pag-uma ngan panimalay?
8. Nanu im mga na eksperyensya pakig trabaho sa mga kalalakin-an?
9. Pa anano a pag tratar saim sa mga lalaki na parag uma?
10. Pano mo gin aatubang an pag ubos o pag tiyupi sa mga babaye na parag-uma?
11. Nanu na imo gin an himo para atubangon an pag ubos/pag tiyopi/pag wara sa gamhanan sa mga babaye na parag-uma?
12. Nano an imo gin hihimo o mahihimo pag pa kaupay pa sa kamutangan san mga kababayen-an na parag-uma?
13. Paunanhu mo gin iistorya sa iba nga kababayin-an na gurang o manghud mo an imu pag atubang sin miskan nanu na porma sin pag tiyupi sa mga kalalakin-an?