

**An Evaluation of the Performance of the Women Legislators in the
Philippine Senate's Eleventh Congress**

**An Undergraduate Thesis Presented
to the Faculty of Department of Social Sciences
College of Arts and Sciences**

**In Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
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Presented by

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Approval Sheet

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background of the Study

With the reconvening of the Philippine Congress on July 1987, the legislature became a venue to address people's needs and demands. The reconvened Congress provided hope for a more stable economy and a revived aspiration for political maturity. In this light, the researcher is making a limited evaluation of the 11th Congress of the Senate of the Philippines from the need to review the performance of the women in the Senate.

The Senate of the Philippines is a nationally elected body. It is composed of 24 senators, popularly voted by qualified Filipino citizens as specified by the Constitution. Half of the senators are elected every three years for a term of 6 years. The Senate has investigative power, oversight power, and taxing power among powers vested by the Constitution. The Senate possesses the power of concurrence to treaties, power to confirm presidential appointees, budgetary power among their other functions. The Senate has working committees, which deal with specific issues relative to their sectoral or functional jurisdictions.

The Senate 11th Congress commenced on *July 27, 1998*. Only four women took seats in the Senate. There is a clear disparity between the number of women and men legislators in the Senate. Though these women legislators are lesser in number, they have nonetheless, exercised great influence over the country's policy making and overall governance. Their

accomplishments reflect the said influence. With due respect to the accomplishments of male legislators in the Senate, the study strived to evaluate the performance of their counterpart.

It is a known fact that masculinism dominates politics. Philippine politics have historically, an explicitly masculine identity. Women's role has been deemed to be in the private stratum where activities are undertaken to answer to the daily needs of household members and perpetuate human life.

In the political arena, women have come a long way since they acquired the right to vote. These developments seem to gear towards the equality of sexes and the changing role of women seem to indicate complete emancipation for the women. But in reality, there are still areas of discrimination and social inequality in the norms and cultural apprehension of society regarding the roles women play.

This difference in gender roles is attributed to socialization. Gender role socialization begins in the family, the basic unit of society, where human relations are started and nurtured. Children are socialized into their appropriate gender roles very early in life – even at the age of infancy. This extends from the home to the school and even as far as the community. Socialization continues until adulthood. Along with other factors such as biology and psychology, these hinder women from competing and occupying top level and executive posts. More men occupy key positions while most women are relegated to subordinate positions.

Women play as much as important role in policy-making as men do. We know that in a democratic country such as ours, equal representation is required in the legislature –that all sectors are represented It is also fair to say that women are more cognizant of their own needs and are therefore better able to press for them. Women policy-makers have more often

than man initiated legislation concerning women and other disadvantaged sectors as part of their political participation. It is with no doubt that balanced participation of men and women in policy-making will produce balanced and not biased policies for the welfare of the whole nation. . There will be no genuine democracy if women were forfeited of occupying public offices.

With that knowledge on hand, an important and interesting area to delve with is the evaluation of the performance of women elected to the Philippine Senate during the 11th Congress. Though it is a notion that the entry of more women into policy-making will improve politics, participation is not enough. This study will look at the broadening participation of women in policy-making through evaluating their performance qualitatively as legislators of our country.

Statement of the Problem

Philippine politics is traditionally a man's domain. But over the years, the Filipina has come a long way in the field of politics. More and more women are able to run for public office in the country's legislature. Women policy-makers have asserted notable influence over the process of legislation.

In the commencement of the 11th Congress in 1998, four women took seat in the Senate of the Philippines. These Lady Senators were *Honorable Anna Dominique M.L. Coseteng*, *Hon. Miriam Defensor Santiago* — both having terms from 1995 to 2001, and *Hon. Teresa S. Aquino-Oreta* and *Hon. Loren Legarda-Leviste* with terms from 1998 expiring in 2004.

With the increased presence of women legislators in the Senate of the Philippines, the study intended to probe into the question of evaluating their performance as legislator of the country. Their performance will be examined qualitatively relative to their advocacies with their accomplishments. Their accomplishments will be measured by the bills and resolution filed; principally authored and co-authored laws; and programs/projects they launched to carry out their corresponding advocacy. It is also important to examine if their performance is consistent with their political roles and functions as Senators of this country.

The study strived to look at the accomplishments of women legislators in the Senate during the 11th Congress to measure how much they have contributed. The study posed the following questions:

1. What is/are the advocacies/concerns espoused by the women legislators in the 11th Congress?
2. What significant bills did women legislators file during the 11th Congress? What significant laws did they principally author?
3. What programs have they launched during their term?
4. Did gender play a factor in becoming a legislator?
5. Is there a correlation between their gender and their legislative measures?

Hypothesis

The study assumed the significant political role women legislators in the Senate play in the field of policy-making.

The study asserted that the women legislators have participated in legislation of measures correlated with their advocacy / concerns. They have acted upon the advocacy / concerns spoused by spearheading projects correlated with such concerns.

Objectives of the Study

The study primarily aimed to evaluate the performance of the women legislators during the 11th Congress, focusing on the correlation of their advocacy and accomplishments. The researcher further aimed to:

1. determine the bills and laws passed in the 11th Congress with the participation of the women legislators;
2. examine the objectives of the programs they have initiated; and
3. determine the relation of their gender to their legislative measures.

Scope and Limitation

The study focused on the 11th Congress of the Senate of the Philippines. This covers the period from July 27, 1998 up to June 7, 2001. The study included the evaluation of performance of the aforementioned women legislators except Gloria Arroyo and Nikki Coseteng. Though Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo was elected for a Senate seat in 1995 with her term expiring last year, she was not be included in the study. With the 1998 elections, she gave up her Senate seat and run for Vice Presidency, which she eventually won. Thus, in the commencement of the 11th Congress, she no longer was a Senator. Hon. Anna Dominique Coseteng was not also included in the study due to data inability. The study did not

extensively discuss the profile of the women legislators. A short reference to their socio-economic status was included.

The study did not cover all the bills filed by the women legislators in the 11th Congress. A criterion was set in determining what bills the researcher will probe at stress the advocacy of the Senators. Principally authored bills/laws passed were prioritized. The study did not discuss the progression of the passage of the bills. The study only included evaluation of the general provisions of the laws, citing its major points.

Review of Related Literature

Women, traditionally playing a subordinate role to men, have already occupied dominant positions in a variety of fields long considered as male domains. Such example is the field of politics. The study, since it principally focused on women legislators must touch on the concept of gender. There are two theories explaining how we acquire our gender roles. For a fact, gender is a social construct, rooted in culture.

The cognitive social learning theory is derived from behaviorist psychology. According to the behaviorists, we learn attitudes and behaviors as a result of social interaction with others. (Strong & de Vault 1996:115) The cornerstone of cognitive social learning theory is the belief that consequences control behavior. We learn our gender roles through socializing agents such as our parents, teachers, peers and media influences.

The cognitive development theory focuses on the child's active interpretation of the messages he or she receives from the environment. This theory stresses that we learn differently depending on our age. (Strong & de Vault 1996:116)

It is important to note that women have broken away from the role of nurturer as part of the changing gender roles. Two chapters in Nancy Mandell's book entitled "*Feminist Issues: Race, Class and Sexuality*" focused on relevant gender issues. Chapter 7, 'Men in Feminism: Reinterpreting Masculinity and Femininity', talked about accepting men as colleagues in the areas that primarily concerns feminism such as racial and class inequality. The chapter also talked about the cultural aspects of gender in a changing world. Meanwhile, Chapter 8, 'The Paradox of Feminist Engagement with Law', discussed the development of women participation in the field of law.

But all developments do not deny the fact that there is a continuing inequality in the opportunities in the field of work between men and women.

The inequality between women's and men's positions results from and is perpetuated by a complex combination of factors. Such factors include not only material variables such as wages, but also a range of ideological determinants, among which gender is particularly important. An analysis on the interrelationship of these factors is necessary. Comparative analysis of the conditions under which women work for and the ways in which their work is defined is necessary both for explaining inequality and for shedding light on the ways in which women's inferior position in the workforce is reinforced or can be challenged. "*Working Women: International Perspectives on Labour and Gender Ideology*" edited by Nanneke Redclift and M. Thea Sinclair provided such analysis by providing concrete examples of women in the labor force and incorporating theories.

Over the years, there still exists a salary gap –women earn less than men for performing the same tasks and some fields of work remains virtually closed to women. These facts were explained by an article of Monica B. Harris, "Inequalities in the Labor Force:

Three Sociological Explanations” from the book edited by Ann H. Stromberg and Shirley Harkess titled “*Women Working: Theories and Facts in Perspective*”. Such explanations were derived from discussions of sociological approaches – functionalism, the exchange theory and conflict theory.

The book offers theoretical approaches in explaining inequalities in the labor force based on somewhat different assumptions about the nature of humankind and about what constitutes reality

Functionalism is the leading sociological theoretical model in describing society. In a system, several subsystems exist. Subsystems are healthy as long as they contribute to the maintenance of the system as a whole. This theory applies to the biological and organic analogy of system to society. In a functionalist approach, the system to be maintained is the society. According to functionalists, social phenomena exist because they are ‘functional for’ society or for certain segments of society.

The functional theory, when used to explain the unequal position of women in the labor force, suggests that: (1) If girls and women are not encouraged to enter rewarding careers, they will be easily persuaded to leave the labor force, marry and raise families. The family is considered the backbone of society. (2) Society is served better if women are not financially independent. The family needs women to lead it. High paying occupations, which might attract women away from their natural function of running the home, are not functional.(3) Women are less stable than men, more emotional. When their work or social relationships become difficult, they are likely to cry, scream, faint or become inefficient. It is clearly less functional for society to place women rather than men in positions of

responsibility. The functional theory concludes that the inequality of women in the work force is functional for the maintenance of civilized society.

Proserpina Domingo Tapales talked about four theories in the study of women. In her book on *Women in the Philippine Bureaucracy: Toward an Alternative Approach to the Study of Political Participation* finished in 1984, she talked about four paradigms –cultural dualism, social evolutionary theory, developmentalism and dependency theory. Cultural Dualism is exemplified by Jean Jacques Rousseau’s admonition that women should be educated differently from men because of the different roles they play in the society. Simone de Beauvoir traced women’s subordination to physical differences between the sexes, contending that males have an ambivalent attitude towards females because of social needs. Social evolutionary theory incorporates modernism and Marxist paradigms. Modernism links specialization and technology and relegated women to jobs in the backward sectors of the society. Marxists assert that women are confined to the domestic economy. The developmentalist approach looks at women as rational decision-makers. Dependency theory takes off from Marxism in that it asserts that female labor force participation is restricted by the economic position of the whole community, and consequently, women in the third world countries participate more in the informal labor market. (Tapales, 1984: 4)

An article by Luz Coop in *Igorota* (Vol, 8. No. 3, 1995) titled “*Why Women in Politics*” talks about the need for women in politics. Summarizing, women are necessary in politics for democracy and legitimacy, as democracy requires representation from all sectors. In a true democracy, women must have the right to be elected in positions of power. There is a need for women in politics because they will be better to press for their own needs. Women are important because they comprise half the potential talent and ability of humanity and

their under-representation in decision-making is a loss for society as a whole. Lastly, women are needed for reform in politics. Another article in the magazine *Igorota* entitled “*Women in South Asian Politics*” dealt with women leaders in South Asia. Rounaq Jahan, the author, talks about two types of leaders in South Asia. First, those who are recognized as women’s leader — leaders of women’s organizations or heads of women’s sections of mass political organization. Second, those who are recognized as populist leaders such as head of government or mass political organizations. Another article from *Igorota* – “*Women in Mainstream Politics*” (Vol.8 no. 3, 1994) talks about the impact of the emergence of large number of women leading in South Asia on women’s participation in mainstream politics.

To summarize, women generally participate in high numbers in one single political activity, that is, voting, but in other activities such as attendance at public rallies and membership of social and political organizations, their participation is very low. Women’s representation in national and local legislative bodies is marginal. The few women who succeed in being elected generally come from affluent, urban, educated family background and have very little contact with rural and small town politics. Women’s presence at decision-making levels in mass organizations such as political parties and trade unions is also nominal. But the absence of women in positions of leadership in the established political structures and institutions does not mean that women do not participate in politics.

Two books acquired in the UP Manila College of Arts and Sciences Library talked about women in politics in the Philippine setting. Articles from magazines discussing the role of women in politics were reviewed. The book “*Women in the Philippines*” published by the Asian Development Bank talked about Filipino women’s participation in the public sphere. Summarizing, Filipino women’s participation took a broad course. From formal

participation, or involvement in politics as a voter, candidate, elective or appointive officials; organizing or mobilizing activities in support of against a particular political or public issue; legal education; to public information campaigns. Generally, women who successfully run for office are members of families with established political base. A study of women politicians in the Philippine suggests that because political interaction remains gendered, official power is exercised differently by the sexes. Men continue to dominate elective positions. Despite of this fact, there had nonetheless been a slight improvement in women's political representation.

The book *“Her Stories: investigative reports on Filipino women in the 1990s”* edited by Cecile C.A. Balgos and published by the Philippine Center of Investigative Journalism talked about the case of ‘Gloria and Miriam’ as an example of women participating in politics in the 1990s. Summarizing, the author, Johanna Son compared Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo and Miriam Defensor-Santiago. Both have been in public office only since the late 1980s. Both are packaged as strong, competent individuals in their fields. Arroyo as hard-nosed economist and Santiago as tough-talking lawyer.

Significance of the Study

The Senate of the Philippines have the primary functions to enact laws and legislation consistent with the ideals and aspirations of the country; pass bills or resolutions to be enacted into law, including the General Appropriations for the ensuring fiscal year; conduct inquiries in aid of legislation following its duly published rules of procedures, including declaring the existence of a state of war; and to judge all contests relating to the election

returns and qualifications of their respective members. The study focused on the evaluation of the performance of women legislators in the Senate consistent to these functions.

By concentrating on the research problem, the researcher was able to observe if these women legislators are actually doing their jobs. By conducting the research, the researcher was able to evaluate whether the women legislators in the Senate are complying with the ideals and aspirations of the country. The study was a form of investigation to what the Senators are doing to improve the quality of lives of Filipinos.

The study can provide for a deeper understanding of the accomplishments of women legislators in the Senate. This study is of help in the dissemination of public policies the Senators created as they serve the people. It can be an aid to a deeper awareness of the public about the policies their government have formulated for them. In relation to this, the public can have a better understanding on how they will be benefited by these measures. Consequently, the study serves as a feedback on the Senators' performance.

Also, realizing and proving that men and women possess equal potentials for leadership will encourage women to participate actively in different fields of accomplishments widely dominated by men, most specially in politics.

Lastly, the study will open for further researches for those who aspire to pursue an in-depth study on the Philippine legislature.

Methodology

Theoretical Framework

The study utilized the “*systems analysis*” framework of David Easton in identifying the role of women legislators in political system. Using several feminist paradigms in the

study of women, the political role they play will be analyzed in the context of a gender framework.

Political functionalism emphasizes on the conversion subsystem, an important functioning of the political system, which transforms the inputs from the societal environment or from within the political system itself into outputs that may also result to changes in the environment, which may also affect the political system through the feedback mechanism.

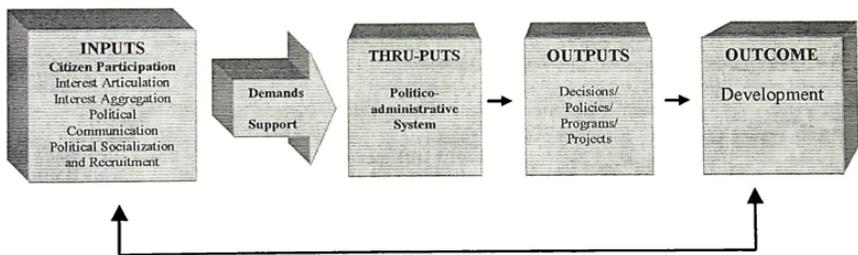
In David Easton's book entitled *A Framework for Political analysis*, he discussed two types of inputs into the political system. These are demands and supports coming from the citizenry. Summarizing, these demands include demands for allocation of goods and services such as demand for wage laws, educational opportunities, etc.; demands for regulation of behavior such as provisions for public safety, controls over markets, and rules pertaining to marriage, health and sanitation; demands for participation in the political system such as the right to vote, hold office; and, demands for communication and information. The support from the citizenry includes material supports, such as the payment of taxes; obedience to law and regulations; participatory support, such as voting; and attention paid to governmental communication.

Demands affect the policies or goals of the system, while supports such as goods and services, obedience, and deference, provide the resources which enable a political system to extract, regulate and distribute – to carry out its goals.

Within the conversion system, the various functional activities such as interest articulation and aggregation, and rule making, execution and application, and adjudication are communicated both within the political system, and between the political system and the

societal environment. The political system starts with citizen participation. They put out inputs through interest articulation, interest aggregation, political communication and political socialization, and recruitment. Interest articulation involves all cause-oriented groups articulating their respective interests. Interest articulation includes lobbying and policy advocacy. Interest aggregation involves political parties unifying sectoral interests. Political communication involves information dissemination. The mass media have important role on this. Political socialization involves the participation of the youth.

Figure 1. Easton's Model of Democratic Governance



The politico-administrative system is the conversion system. This is nothing but the governmental system. This includes the three branches of government – the executive branch, the legislature and the judiciary branch. The governmental system changes/transfer inputs into outputs. The Executive branch takes the demands of the citizens and turns them into executive orders and other programs implemented by the different executive departments. The legislature, meanwhile, changes the demands of the citizens into laws and policies.

The “systems analysis” effectively depicted the importance of the legislature in the conversion system. The study focused on the policies created by the legislature. The study emphasized on the important outputs of the politico-administrative system produced within the political system —and in this study, the women legislators of the Senate of the Philippines. The envisioned outcomes in a system includes improvement of the quality of life, provision of basic needs, economic growth and efficient social justice delivery – all embodied in the women legislator’s advocacy/concerns.

The legislature is not the only variable in the study. The study also dealt with the gender aspect since the study specifically focused on women legislators.

Politics, in a broad sense, is about differential access to power – both material and symbolic – about who gets what and how. Thus, the social construction of gender – what constitutes masculine qualities and what constitutes feminine qualities is actually a system of power that assigns greater value to the activities associated with masculinity.

Gender ideology is often expressed in terms of biological features that is inborn or genetic or natural. Gender ideology views women as weak, emotional, passive and ‘soft-headed’. Because of this, the society has lowered its expectations about women’s leadership capability and roles.

Differences in feminine and masculine traits became the traditional basis for women’s secondary position in the society. Biologically, we rely on sex characteristics, such as sex organs, on bone structure and height to differentiate a male from a female. Clothing and other aspects of appearance exaggerate the physical differences between women and men. Furthermore, society encourages us to accentuate psychological, emotional, mental and behavioral differences.

To address this inequality, politics should be addressed through gender sensitive lens. That entails learning about men and women and the interdependent nature of masculine and feminine characteristics. To draw up a reliable theory about woman's political participation, women must be viewed as a person able to utilize her feminine attributes when she participates in politics.

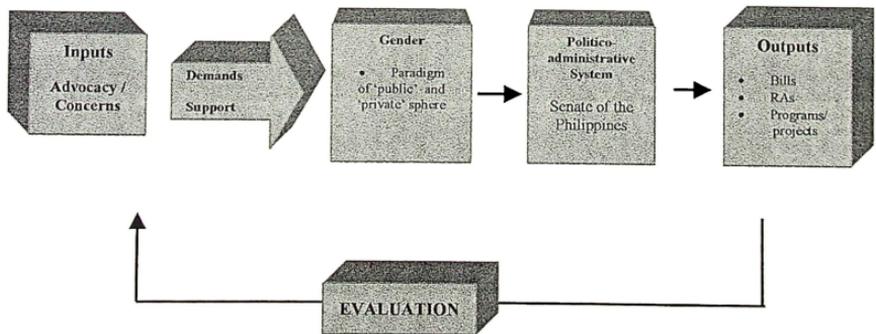
“Feminist theory is that part of the new scholarship on women that implicitly or formally presents a generalized, wide-ranging system of ideas about the basic features of social life and of human experience as these can be understood from a woman-centered perspective. Radical feminists insisted that gender is “the fundamental division in society, to which all other differences, such as social class or race are mere secondary”. (Randall 1982: 6 cited in *Filipino Women and Public Policy* 1992:14) Feminist political scientists have sought an alternative view of politics, which sees it, not just an activity by which resources are allocated, but as a manner with which to work out power relationships. (Tapales in *Filipino Women and Public Policy* 1992:16)

In the book *Filipino Women and Public Policy* edited by Proserpina Tapales, she wrote an article on the participation of Filipino women in politics and public affairs. Talking about women in political studies, traits said to characterize a proper citizen in a liberal democracy include those qualities identified as masculine –independence, aggressiveness and competitiveness. Political scientists “have explained women's lack of visibility in politics as the direct consequence of their implied domestic roles and therefore, a direct consequence of their reproductive functions. (Hunter College Women's Collective 1983: 533 cited in *Filipino Women and Public Policy* 1992: 14)

Carolyn Elliot asserted that studies on women should examine the political role of women “with the expanded notion of politics.” Such studies must also explain change, or lack of change, in women’s roles as well as the relationship between sex and class. (Tapales 1984:5)

The view that the household is degrading to women was contended by Jean Bethke Elshtain in *Public Man, Private Woman: Woman in Social and Political Thought*. She asserted that throughout the history of western political thought, politics have been considered as public and also the man’s domain, while woman’s roles have been relegated to the private aspects. She underscored the need to reconstruct what is public and private. (Tapales 1984: 17)

Figure 2



In feminist theory except for radical feminism, distinction between public and private activities is accepted. (Tapales in *Filipino Women and Public Policy* 1992:16) In both the traditional Eurocentric political thought and Eurocentric feminism, the dichotomy between

private and public spheres is a key-ordering construct. “Going all the way back to the Greeks who contrasted the household and economy with the superior “polis”, and in continuing up to the present, this conceptualization relegated women to the domain of the private, the irrational, the intuitive, the reproductive, and the inferior. The public sphere, on the other hand, was the domain of the rational, bureaucratic, the formal- a “naturally” male and therefore, more superior enclave.”(Datuin 1999:95)

The public realm is assigned to the man and the private realm to the woman. The public domain involves vital aspects of life – the polity and the economy – where decisions are made which affect the lives of all the society. The Private realm covers those limited areas in the domestic sphere – the home and church. From this perspective, the powerless, limited areas are assigned to the woman, while the powerful areas are reserved for the man. (Rosaldo 1974 in *Women in PA: the Case of the Phil.* 1992: 2)

Thus, in any contentions of politics would see the institutions of the government as assuming to be unquestionably having a male character. The study focused on women legislators with the legislature being delineated as part of the public sphere. Though only a small proportion of women make it to vital positions in the area of policy-making, they have gone beyond the public realm which has so far been shown as reserved for the male.

Conceptual Framework

As the problem of evaluating the performance of women legislators during the Senate’s 11th Congress emphasizes on the policies and programs created by the legislators and response of people, the study suggested a framework, which viewed the success of women in the field of policy-making. Correlated are the women’s contemporary and

traditional gender roles. These gender roles are a contributory factor to the Senators' performance.

Policy inputs are based on the needs and demands of the stakeholders as defined by their respective interests. They may be expressed in the form of direct participation in the electoral politics. In the study, the stakeholders are the public. (Reyes 1995:6)

Legislative advocacy is a vehicle for conveying to the policy mechanism, particularly Congress the sentiment, preferences and positions of advocates on specific issues. This may be done through initiating legislative proposals, testifying as expert witnesses in committee hearings, providing research-based information and mobilizing its mass membership to support or oppose moves in the legislature. The policy mechanism in the study is the Senate of the Philippines particularly.(Reyes, 1995:6)

Policy outputs or tools maybe in the form of laws, ordinances, executive orders, implementing rules and regulations, and judicial decisions. They express an intention to lessen or resolve social, economic or political problems through a settled course of action to be followed by a government body or institution and backed up by both incentives and sanctions. (Reyes 1995:7)

Policy outcomes reflect the efficiency and effectiveness of the policy mechanism in addressing the needs of the public. (Reyes 1995:8)

Studying gender and gender roles is important in incorporating the gender dimension of the evaluation of the performance of women policymakers. Some terminology on gender and gender roles will make the discussion more clearly.

Gender is our femininity or masculinity, the social and cultural characteristics associated with our biological sex. (Strong & de Vault 1996:110)

Gender roles are the roles a person is expected to perform as a result of being female of male in a particular culture. Biological males are expected to act out masculine gender roles. Biological females are expected to act out feminine gender roles. (Strong & de Vault 1996:110)

Our male or female anatomy usually coincides with our belief that we are male or female. And as male or female, we more or less act out the masculine and feminine gender role dictated by our culture.

The traditional view of masculinity and femininity sees men and women as polar opposites. Men are aggressive, women are passive. Men embody being task-oriented while women embody demonstration of emotions. Men are rational and women are irrational. Men want sex, women want love. Men are assertive and women are nurturing.

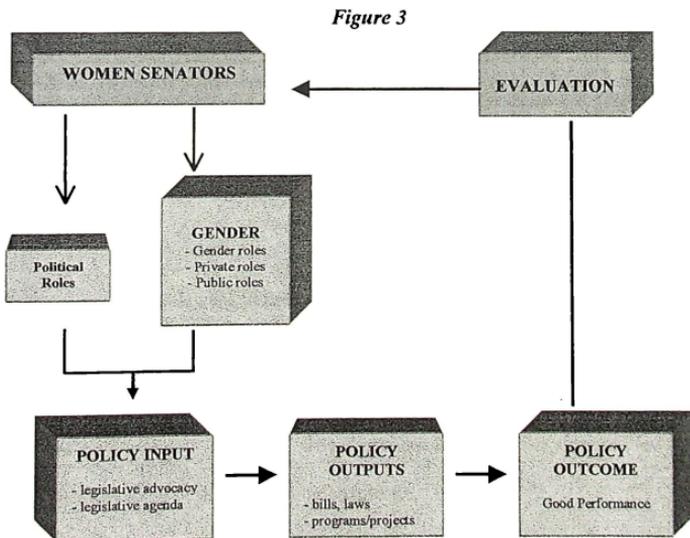
The traditional male role's central personality traits include aggressiveness, emotional toughness, independence, feeling of superiority, and decisiveness. Males are generally regarded as being more power-oriented than females. Men demonstrate higher degrees of aggression, especially violent aggression, dominance and competitiveness.

The traditional female gender role centers on women as wives and mothers. When a woman leaves adolescence, she is expected to get married and have children. In recent years, though, the traditional role has been modified to include work and marriage. Traditionally, women subordinate themselves to men. They are viewed as submissive, naïve and somewhat childlike. "In some cultures, gender roles are affected by age roles, where the young subordinate themselves to the old. Older women are treated with great deference than younger women." (Strong & de Vault 1996:122)

Within the past decades, there has been a significant shift from the traditional toward a more equal gender roles.

Contemporary gender roles are becoming more androgynous, that is incorporating both masculine and feminine traits. *Androgyny* is the unique and flexible combination of instrumental and expressive traits in accordance with individual differences, situations and stages in the life cycle. (Strong & de Vault 1996:114) Traditionally, instrumentality as a trait is identified to males. *Instrumentality* refers to being oriented towards tasks and problem solving. (Strong & de Vault 1996:112) *Expressiveness* refers to women gender roles, that is revealing or demonstrating one's emotions. (Strong & de Vault 1996:112)

Contemporary gender roles are evolving from traditional hierarchical gender roles where one sex is subordinate to the other to more egalitarian roles, in which both sexes are treated equally.



The legislature is an overtly political venue for policy formulation where women play an important role. Filipino women play both private and public roles. Such roles include the arenas of home, family and church; business; government bureaucracy; elective public offices; interest groups; electoral campaigns and voting. An inquiry on the private and public roles of Filipino women was included in this study. For this, some other definitions are necessary.

Private roles are attached to status and activities outside the public domain, found in arenas such as the home, family and the church. (Tapales 1984:23)

Public roles are attached to status and activities that are political in nature, as voting in elections or referendums, participating actively in interest groups, campaigning for candidates, and running for public offices. (Tapales 1984:23)

Political roles are those which deal with public policy formulation and implementation. (Tapales 1984:24)

Operational Framework

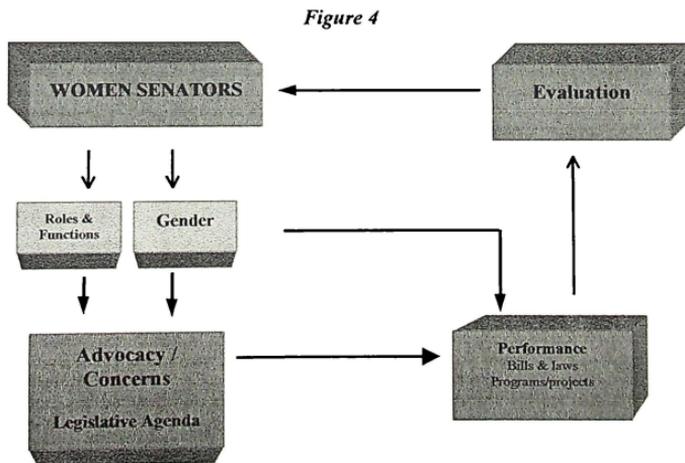
To operationalize the variables utilized by the researcher, the illustration (See Figure 4) is helpful.

The performance of the women legislators were indicated by the bills introduced, principally authored laws, and the programs launched.

Firstly, the number of bills filed individually in the 11th Congress must be specified. The researcher cited the intent of several bills deemed by the Senators as pertinent basing from the questionnaire. The same procedure was done with the authored laws. The intent of such laws was cited in the proceeding chapters.

Secondly, the bills were tabulated into categories. Their advocacies served as heading for such categories. A table was made to establish the congruence of the bills filed to their advocacy. A summary was prepared to form generalizations on such indicator. The researcher also identified programs the Senators spearheaded as a response to their advocacy.

Thirdly, the researcher tried to determine if there is a relation between their gender (if their being a woman became a contributory factor in the passage of bills and laws) and the bills sponsored. The researcher also analyzed their performance using the paradigm of public and private sphere. The researcher described the different traditional and contemporary roles Filipino women play.



Lastly, the researcher viewed the performance of the Senators holistically. Qualitatively, a relation was made between the indicators of their performance and their functions as legislators and public servants. By looking at the indicators in relation with their advocacy, the researcher determined if the public has been served this being a primary political role of the legislators.

Research Design

In attaining the research goal of evaluating the performance of woman legislators in the Senate during the 11th Congress, the researcher used evaluation research. Evaluation research is designed to measure the output and outcome of a program or policy. If summative, the time frame is usually in the past. (Baker1999: 307) With this design, the study examined performance of the women Senators after they have finished their term in the 11th Congress.

Data Collection

The data utilized in the study was collected from primary and secondary sources of information. Such sources include books, periodical/magazine articles, previous studies about the topic such as thesis and dissertations, copy of bills and laws, and the Internet. Statistics were also cited.

Library research was done in the offices in the Senate of the Philippines. The Senate ‘Bills and Index’ section was visited to obtain copies of bills filed by the women Senators during the 11th Congress that were re-filed in the present Congress. The Senate ‘Records and Archives Division’ was accessed to acquire copies of bills filed during the 11th Congress.

Copies of laws, bills and data on programs initiated provided for the measurement of the accomplishments of the women Senators. The general provisions of the bills and laws reflect the objectives of the policies and the advocacy of the women legislators.

Self-administered interviews with the Senators were also employed. The researcher visited the Offices of the persons concerned and gave out a cover letter and the questionnaire to be filled out by the Senators personally or by her staff. The questions asked about their agenda for the 11th Congress, their accomplishments and overall performance in the Senate. These interviews provided the researcher with a deeper insight in the advocacy of these women legislators and in the analysis whether their performance reflected their advocacy for the 11th Congress. The researcher used an interview schedule using a set of fixed questions for all the women legislators to be interviewed. (See Appendix)

From the content analysis of the self-administered interviews given to the Senators and other materials, the researcher was able to draw an impression on the their advocacy/concerns

Data Analysis

Since the main methods utilized in this study were self-administered interviews with women legislators in the Senate of the Philippines their response was analyzed consistent with the problem of the study whether the women legislators have performed well consistent with their function as policy-makers and public servant in the country.

Also, content analysis of the bills filed by women legislators and authored laws were undertaken. The researcher reviewed their participation in the respective committees they chaired to show how actively have they pushed for the causes they have advocated.

Their individual performance was divided into components of the study —bills filed, laws authored, and programs/projects launched. These components are the main indicators of the performance of the women legislators. Each component has specific objectives. The researcher was analyzed each component relative to its accomplishments in achieving the desired objectives. The researcher will look at each of the Senators' accomplishments and see how much each part of the Senator's performance is meeting its objectives. The researcher also looked at gender as a contributory factor to their performance. The researcher looked at the traditional and contemporary gender roles Filipino women play and see how much these roles have changed and helped in policy formulation.

CHAPTER II

THE IMAGES OF A FILIPINA

The Filipina Throughout History

Patriarchy – dominates world history. From history books, one could conclude that women do nothing but watch while the men single-handedly make history as conquering heroes, national liberators, victorious generals, benevolent monarchs, wise law-givers and; some women on a few occasions, assist men in history-making as when they sew a flag made out of their skirts which the men raise over a conquered territory or when they use their feminine charms on the enemy to ferret out military or state secrets. (Fernandez in Women’s Role in Philippine History 1996: 1)

This much is true as far as Philippine history would narrate. The status of the Filipina had undergone various transformations throughout Philippine history with the entry of foreign rulers and the changes they brought in the structure of our longheld institutions.

In the pre-colonial times, women enjoyed a relative sense of equality with men. Before colonization, primitive Filipino communities considered as true the myth of “Malakas at Maganda” in their narration of the creation of man and woman – coming out of the same bamboo. Customs then, upheld the principle of equality of the sexes owing from that myth that presented men and women as equal.

“Women enjoyed substantial equality with their menfolk. They had the right to own property. They could obtain divorce and remarry. In case of separation, they were entitled to a share of the conjugal earnings and to a share of the children. Prior to marriage, of course,

they were in tutelage of some sort. They could not own property in their own right. They could not leave the household residence and make their home elsewhere. But once married, they were virtually imancipated, to the extent that they could trade with their own money and maintain an independent income from their business.” (E. Blair & J.A. Robertson, the PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, 1493-1898 cited in Feliciano 1996: 23)

Chores were divided between husband and wife. The husband cleared the field, plowed the field or built field walls while the wife planted and helped in harvesting. The household was the women’s natural domain, while the men supplied the firewood. She was vested with rights over her children equal to those of her husband. (Author quoted in Reyes, 1984: 36) A woman could become a chief of the barangay or a *babaylan* (priestess). (Feliciano in Women’s Role in Philippine History 1996: 23)

The arrival of the Spaniards brought laws and customs that put restrictions on women’s freedom. All institutions were transformed to accommodate a patriarchal culture. The family, religion and schools became instruments of such culture.

Spanish law restricted the rights of married women. It deprived them of their right to dispose of their paraphernal property, to engage in business without the consent of their husbands or to hold any public office except that of a teacher. (Benavides 1971:5-6)

An education decree passed in 1863 mandated the establishment of a complete system of education in the country consisting of elementary, secondary and tertiary levels. Spanish was made the official instruction in all levels. (Sobritchea in Women’s Role in Philippine History 1996: 80)

The Spanish colonial education molded the consciousness of the Filipina woman through differentiation in the curriculum between as early as in the elementary level. At a

young age, boys were taught a basic training in agriculture while girls in home crafts and needlework. “Education given to women were minimal. Formal training beyond the primary grades was generally a male privilege. For the most part of the Spanish period, the majority of secondary and vocational schools as well as colleges were exclusively for males.” (Sobritchea in Women’s Role in Philippine History 1996: 82)

Education for women was given less importance because of the colonial notion that a woman’s sphere of work revolves around the house, her husband and children, and the church. Spanish style of education concentrated in developing skills for women that would make them subservient to males –these obedience meant excellence in their roles as daughters, mothers and wives.

Economically, wives and daughters of peasants and working class families remained economically active either as farmers or workers in tobacco and handicraft factories because at that period, education was accessible only to elite families. Writers suggest that cigar factories established as early as the mid-18th century relied heavily on female labor.

It is likewise important to state the important contributions the Filipina women made during the Revolution of 1896. Women were made members of the *Katipunan*. Famous Katipuneras were Josefa Rizal and Gregoria de Jesus. Katipuneras as they were called had as much important tasks to do as with their male counterparts. They recruit new members for the organization, record meetings and were tasked in the safekeeping of important documents. In the outbreak of the Revolution, they were there in the battlefield, with their husbands and brothers. But the names of these women were not reflected in our history books. They remained invisible.

The public education system introduced by the Americans increased the level of literacy and provided women with new opportunities in pursuing careers. Though, all these did nothing to improve the status of women but upheld the structure of patriarchy implanted by Spanish colonialism. “The public school system did not actively promote gender equality, on the contrary, they peddled the same patriarchal ideas and systems of gender relations that Spain brought to the Philippines. (Sobritchea in Women’s Role in Philippine History 1996: 79)

With the establishment of public schools, boys and girls were segregated in training activities preparing them for livelihood along the careers of agriculture and manufacture of exportable products for the colonial economy. Vocational education was formalized. Girls specialized in home economics, including activities such as weaving, embroidery, sewing and cooking while boys were trained in activities involved in agriculture. After years of such practice, these caused grave imbalance and stereotyping in the line of work between men and women.

American colonial education increased the level of literacy in the country from a low ten percent for females and 30 percent for males in 1903 to 57 percent for females and 60 percent for males in 1948. (Philippine Republic, Bureau of Census and Statistics 1960 in Sobritchea: 80)

In terms of school attendance, there were more female students than male in the elementary level. But fewer women enter high school and college. The lower attendance is attributed to the patriarchal structure of the colonial Philippine society that gives the man greater importance because they provided for their family. Parents then, would rather see to it that their sons attend school than send their daughters for formal education. Girls would only

be given the opportunity to attend higher education if the parents have money left after prioritizing the son's education. This would then lead to the small statistics of women having careers during those times.

These small statistics would equate to more women still in manufacturing, mechanical industries and domestic service rather than clerical services. There is a clear discrepancy in the number of men and women in public service. They also get a relatively lesser income than men.

Table 1. Participation of Males and Females in Various Occupations, 1939

Occupation	Total Number	%	
		Male	Female
Agriculture, Fishing , Forestry and hunting	3, 663, 759	75.40	43.71
Domestic and Personal Service	332,321	2.90	18. 96
Professional Service	103,415	1.52	3.46
Public Service	49,620	1.16	.02
Mining and Quarrying	47,019	1.10	0.05
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	601,335	7.90	24.27
Transportation and communication	203,596	4.80	.10
Clerical service	48,899	1.10	.37
Trade	270,766	4.15	9.06
Total	5,320,730	100.00	100.00

Source: Philippine Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics. *Yearbook of Philippine Statistics*, Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1940, p. 18. (lifted in *Sobritchea's essay in "Women's Role in Philippine History"*)

The Filipina woman then is a product of her “Asiatic ancestor, the Spanish friars and the Americano”. Taught to excel in professional pursuits, she is likewise taught to remain an obedient daughter, a doting mother, an understanding, forgiving wife who must project her husband's career over hers. (Reyes 1984: 38,39)

We see a changing of role patterns for the Filipina woman brought about by colonization. In the modern Philippine society, patriarchy is still strong though Filipina women are called upon to perform multiple roles within and outside the house.

Women in the Philippine Politics

The Filipina started to actively participate in the realm of politics at the turn of the 20th century. Her political participation was then limited to the exercise of suffrage.

Assemblyman Melicio Severino introduced in the 3rd Philippine Assembly in November 1912 the first suffrage bill. It failed to arouse the interest or sympathy of the women and it was practically ignored by the Assembly. The distinction of presenting a woman suffrage bill in the 1st House of Representatives under the Jones Law belonged to Representative Gregorio Nieva of Tayabas. Not only did the legislature ignore the two bills, but also made no move to support them. The Filipino women did not show any enthusiasm for the acquisition of suffrage until 1918. (Benavides 1971: 10)

In Luzviminda Tancangco's article in the book *Women's role in the Philippine History*, her intent of investigation is to probe into the extent and quality of political involvement of Filipino women while introducing the gender factor, which has long been glossed over into the analysis of the country's political development.

In 1936, the Constitution provided that "the National Assembly shall extend the right of suffrage to women, if in a plebiscite . . . no less than 300,000 women . . . should vote affirmatively on the question. (Alzona, 1937: 95 cited in Tancangco) when the plebiscite was held on April 30, 1937, 447,725 women voted 'yes' to suffrage. (Tancangco in UCWC's *Women's Role in Phil History* 1996: 179) Ever since the Filipino women first exercised their

right to suffrage in the 1937 plebiscite, they have actively participated in deciding the country's destiny through elections. (National Commission 1985: 15-16 cited in Tancangco)

There were more women voters than men in the 18 out of 22 elections from the period of 1947 to 1988. (See Table 2) Realities sync in an inquiry on women's participation in formal politics —though they are greater in number, it is not enough power to put women into public offices. Elective posts are up until now, reserved to those privileged with enough wealth to launch an expensive campaign.

Table 2. Percentage of Qualified Electors who voted by Sex

Election Year	(1947-1988) Voter's Turnout Rate	
	<i>In Percent</i>	
	Male	Female
1947	77.09	77.14
1949	70.58	68.26
1951	92.00	92.90
1953	77.00	77.50
1955	77.37	77.39
1957	75.86	75.05
1959	81.50	82.05
1961	79.45	79.41
1963	79.14	80.11
1965	75.19	76.63
1967	81.29	82.09
1970	68.19	68.02
1971	80.03	81.62
1978	85.05	85.97
1980	76.37	77.10
1981	80.53	81.36
1982	65.89	66.80
1984	88.74	90.15
1986	78.06	79.55
1987	85.22	85.97
1988	78.66	79.15
Average	78.74	79.29

Source: COMELEC (lifted from Tancangco's essay in Univ. Center for Woman Studies' *Women's Role in Phil History 1996: 180*)

Since the right to suffrage was gained in 1937, women have been elected to different political positions in the Philippines.

Carmencita T. Aguilar's article entitled "Filipino Women in Electoral Politics" included in the book *Filipino Women and Public Policy*, looks on the actual role of career women politicians in the national legislature and in local electoral politics. According to Aguilar, women's participation in politics in the Philippines has taken the forms of participation by voting, campaigning for a particular candidate, running in elections as candidates themselves, assuming positions in the cabinet or the bureaucracy and organizing and mobilizing women for political empowerment.

Women participated in campaigning from simple means to the more formal like joining formal organizations. Examples are Women for Magsaysay in 1965, the Blue Ladies for Marcos in 1969 and the UNIDO Ladies for Cory's candidacy in the 1986 snap elections. Women have also penetrated the cabinet and bureaucracy since 1946 though, the traditional position they have held is in the field of social work. She included those women politicians who have both qualifications of high educational training and competence as well as socio-economic resources easily enter politics.

Women Elected in the Philippine Legislature

During the First Congress (1946-1949) there was one woman representative from the lone district of Bukidnon. During the Second Congress (1949-1953), another woman won a seat from the Fifth District of Capiz. For the Fourth Congress (1957-1961), another lone woman won a seat representing a province in the Bicol Region. During the Fifth Congress (1961-1965), there were two women Representatives, one representing the Third District of

Albay and the other the Fifth District of Pampanga. During the Sixth Congress (1965-1969), there were six women winners. The districts that they represented were the Lone District of Batanes, the First District of La Union, the Third District of Iloilo and the Second District of Leyte. For the Seventh Congress (1969-1971), there were two women who won seats, one from the district in Iloilo and the other from a district in Pangasinan. (Aguilar in *Filipino Women and Public Policy* 1992: 24)

The first woman Senator was elected during the 1947 election, a year after a woman was elected in the House of Representatives. Another woman Senator won during the 1961-1967 Senate. A woman senator won for the 1963-1969 term while there were two women Senators who won seats during the 1967-1971 Senate. One woman Senator elected during the 1965-1971 Senate was re-elected in the 1971 Senatorial election. In the May 11, 1987 Congressional election, twenty-one women gained seats in the bicameral Congress, 19 in the House of Representatives and 2 in the Senate. In all these, Aguilar points out that while it was encouraging that women have broken the barriers in national politics, their membership in the National Legislature has not even constituted ten percent of the total membership dominated by the men. (See Table 3)

Out of the 14 women candidates in the 1987 Senatorial elections, only 2 women candidates of the administration banner made it. Leticia Ramos-Shahani obtained a safe rank of no. 7 while Santanina Rasul tailed at no. 23. (Tangcanco in *Woman's Role in Philippine History* 1996: 121)

Table 3. Number of Women Senators and Congresswoman (1946 – 1987)

Election Year	Position	No. of Women Elected	No. of Position to be filled	%
1946	Congresswoman	1	8	12.50
1947	Senator	1	8	12.50
1949	Congresswoman	1	100	1.00
1953	Congresswoman	1	102	.98
1955	Senator	1	8	12.50
1957	Congresswoman	1	102	.98
1961	Senator	1	8	12.50
	Congresswoman	2	104	1.92
1963	Senator	1	8	12.50
1965	Senator	1	8	12.50
	Congresswoman	6	104	5.77
1967	Senator	2	8	25.00
1969	Senator	0	8	.00
	Congresswoman	3	109	2.75
1971	Senator	1	8	12.50
1978	IBP member	9	165	5.45
1984	Mambabatas Pambansa	10	181	5.52
1987	Senator	2	23	8.70
	Congresswoman	19	202	9.41
	Total	63	1,264	4.98

Source: COMELEC (lifted from Tancango's essay in Univ. Center for Woman Studies' Women's Role in Phil History, 1996: 182)

History of Congress

The Philippine Legislature, composed of the Philippine Senate and the House of Representatives, was created under the Philippine Autonomy Act, popularly known as the Jones Law, which was passed by the Congress of the United States and became law on August 29, 1916. It served as the legislative body of the Philippines from October 1916 to November 15, 1935, until it was succeeded by the National Assembly upon the inauguration on November 15, 1935 of the Commonwealth as provided in the Constitution of the Philippines.

With independence from America in 1946, the legislature was called the Philippine Congress, which shared governmental powers with the executive and the judiciary.

In 1972, the President declared Martial Law and Congress was abolished. The bloodless coup of February 22-25 1986 brought forth a new regime and restored the bicameral Congress, which is the present set-up of the Philippine Legislature.

The Present Congress of the Philippines

The 1972 Constitution abolished the bicameral legislature and it instead established a unicameral body under a parliamentary government. The legislative bodies created during the Martial Law were the Batasang Bayan, the Interim Batasang Bayan and the Batasang Pambansa.

When the popular “people power” or EDSA revolution broke out in February 1986, Corazon Aquino was installed as the new president. She issued a proclamation creating a Constitutional Commission convened on June 1, 1986 and finished its work on October 15, 1986. A plebiscite that was held on February 7, 1987 overwhelmingly ratified the present 1987 Constitution.

The 1987 Constitution restored the presidential system of government together with the bicameral Congress of the Philippines. Section 1, Article VI of the 1987 Constitution reads:

The legislative power shall be vested in the Congress of the Philippines which shall consist of the Senate and the House of Representatives, except to the extent reserved to the people by the provision on initiative and referendum.

The present Congress is actually a reincarnation of the Senate of the Philippines under the 1940 amendment of the 1935 Constitution. As mandated by the new constitution,

the upper chamber is composed of 24 members elected at large, who serve a term of six years. Senators cannot serve beyond two consecutive terms.

The Eleventh Congress

The Senate of the 11th Congress Third Regular Session is headed by Senator Aquilino “Nene” Pimentel, Jr., President Pro-Tempore Blas F. Ople, Majority Leader Francisco S. Tatad and Minority Leader Renato L. “Compañero” Cayetano. It had 36 standing committees to fuel the wheels of the legislative mill. The Senate or any of its committee may conduct formal inquiries or investigations in aid of legislation.

Powers and Functions of the Senate

LAWMAKING POWER. As mandated in the 1987 Constitution, the lawmaking powers are vested in the Congress of the Philippines, except to the extent reserved to the people by the provision on initiative and referendum.

INVESTIGATIVE POWER. The 1987 Constitution vests in the Senate the power to conduct inquiries in aid of legislation in accordance with its duly published rules of procedure.

OVERSIGHT POWER. Congress has the power to oversee the activities, programs, policies and actions of the Executive branch, its agencies, subdivisions and instrumentality including government-owned or controlled corporations and their subsidiaries, to determine if the laws are being faithfully executed.

TAXING POWER. The power of taxation is inherent in the State and is generally vested in the legislature.

CONCURRENCE TO TREATIES. The Constitution specifically provides under Section 21, Article VII, that: “No treaty of international agreement shall be valid unless concurred in by at least two-thirds of all the members of the Senate.”

CONFIRMATION OF PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTEES. The appointing power of the President requires, in certain instances, concurrence of the Congress’ Commission on Appointments which consists of the Senate President, as ex-officio chairman, 12 senators and 12 members of the House of Representatives.

BUDGETARY POWER. The Senate reviews and deliberates on the appropriation bills originating exclusively from the House of Representatives.

Other functions vested together with the House of Representatives are:

1. to canvass the presidential elections,
2. to declare the existence of a state of war,
3. to give concurrence to treaties and amnesties,
4. to propose constitutional amendments, and
5. to impeach.

The Women Senators of the Eleventh Congress

No stranger to politics, she being the sister of the late Senator Benigno “Ninoy” Aquino Jr. and Makati Representative Agapito “Butz” Aquino, the Honorable Senator Teresa Aqiino-Oreta served for three terms as congressman of the lone district of Malabon-Navotas, from 1987 to 1998.

Even as a member of the House of Representatives, she had already focused on issues concerning education, women and children, livelihood and employment, food and health, as

well as the improvement of public facilities not just in her district, but also around the country.

As a congresswoman, she authored and co-authored about 280 bills, 79 of which were enacted into law. Of the 101 local and national resolutions she sponsored, 20 were adopted. Shortly after being elected into office in 1987, the then Congresswoman became the first woman Assistant Majority Floor Leader in the history of the Lower House, a post which she would again hold in 1995.

A strong advocate of women's health and empowerment, the Honorable Senator Teresa Aquino-Oreta authored Republic Act No. 6864 that eventually led to the conception of the MAKATAO Center for Women / San Lorenzo District Hospital in March 1998.

She was elected as a senator in the 1998 National elections, under the LAMMP (Laban ng Makabayang Pilipino) political party.

Topping the senatorial race, the Honorable Senator Loren Legarda Leviste was elected to the Philippine Senate in 1998. With an overwhelming 15 million votes, she became the youngest woman ever elected to the Senate. She currently holds the position of Senate Majority Leader and the Chairman of the Committee on Rules. She is also an ex-officio member of all standing Senate committees.

In 1999, she was the only woman in the so-called "Magnificent Five" who voted against the controversial RP-US Visiting Forces Agreement. She has received over 30 awards and citations for her efforts as a journalist, legislator, civic-minded citizen, and advocate of family interests.

Hailed for her moral courage, the Honorable Miriam Santiago was elected as Senator of the Philippines from 1995 to 2001. She is often referred as an anti-corruption senator. As a

world-class senator, she was the keynote speaker at 2000 Brazil global forum on reinventing government and in the 1989 Australia anti-corruption conference. She is the Senate's leading expert on constitutional and international law. She is number one in the filing of committee reports in 1998. She sponsored the passing of the following laws: Access Devices Regulation Act, Agricultural Modernization Act, Automated Election System Act, Domestic Adoption Act, Downstream Oil Deregulation Act, Indigenous People's Act of 1996, Anti-Rape Law of 1997, Seatbelt Law, Intellectual Property Code, Act Banning right-hand steering, Assistance for Rape victims Act, Act Regulating the practice of Mechanical Engineering, Act for General Registration of Voters and the Act on ARMM elections.

CHAPTER III

THE PERFORMANCE OF THE WOMEN LEGISLATORS

Profile of Women Senators in the 11th Congress

The Senate's Eleventh Congress had five woman members. The socio-demographic profile presented in the succeeding sections are those belonging to the Senators whose profile are at hand.

Family Background

The lady Senators of the 11th Congress came from prominent families – their parents and relatives being recognized in their own field. This rich family background became a factor in their choice of career. Senator Teresa Aquino-Oreta is the youngest daughter of Benigno Aquino, Sr. and Doña Aurora Aquino. She is the sister of the late Benigno “Ninoy” Aquino, Jr. and Makati Representative Agapito “Butz” Aquino. The youngest daughter of the prominent Aquino’s of Tarlac, she carries with her the strong family tradition of nationalism and activism. Senator Legarda Leviste was born on January 28, 1960 in Manila. She is the granddaughter of one of the pillars of Philippine Journalism, editor-in-chief of the pre-martial law Manila Times. Former Senator Miriam Defensor Santiago, meanwhile, was born on June 15, 1945 in Iloilo City. Her father is the deceased District Judge Benjamin A. Defensor and the retired Dean Dimpna Palma Defensor is her mother.

Civil Status

All the woman Senators are married. Senator Oreta is married to businessman Antolin M. Oreta, Jr. and they had been blessed with four children – Rissa, Len, Karmela and Lorenzo. Senator Legarda is married to businessman Antonio Leviste, former governor of the Batangas Province and currently a governor in the Board of Investments. They have two children, Lanz and Lean. Former Senator Santiago got married in 1970. She has two children, born in 1971 and 1981; and two foster children, born in 1996.

Educational Background

The women of the Senate's 11th Congress is educationally equipped in handling the momentous task of being a Senator of the Philippines. They differ with each other in terms of their previous careers – one is a lawyer, another is a broadcast journalist and the other is not new in the field of politics.

Senator Aquino Oreta finished her primary schooling at the College of the Holy Spirit in Mendiola and finished high school at Assumption College. She then took up Literature and History at the Assumption Convent and received her International Studies degree in Ciudad Ducal, Avila, Spain. She became Lieutenant Colonel (Reserved) in the Philippine Air Force after earning a Master's Degree in National Security Administration from the National Defense College of the Philippines.

Senator Loren Legarda graduated as valedictorian in grade school at Assumption Herran and graduated from high school at the Assumption Convent in Makati City. She studied at the College of Mass Communication in the University of the Philippines, where she graduated *cum laude*.

While working as a broadcast journalist, she obtained a master's degree in National Security Administration from the National Defense College of the Philippines, where she emerged as topnotcher and where she was the youngest in the class. The NDCP awarded her gold medals for Academic Excellence and Best Thesis. She is a Lieutenant Colonel in the Air Force Reserve Corps. She also obtained a Master's Degree on Special Studies towards a Professional Designation in Journalism in the University of California, in Los Angeles.

The former Senator Miriam Santiago graduated as Valedictorian both in elementary and high school, graduating in La Paz Elementary School (1957) and Iloilo National High School (1961) respectively. She graduated as cum laude in the Bachelor of Laws in the University of the Philippines in 1969. She got her Masters of Arts in Religious Studies in Maryhill School of Theology in Quezon City, her Master of Laws (DeWitt Fellow) in the University of Michigan in 1975 with an "A" average. She achieved the title "Doctor of Laws" in Centro Escolar University and in Xavier University in Ateneo de Cagayan de Oro both in 1989.

Professional Background

The two Senators came from different careers, far from the realm of politics, before becoming legislators. One is a previous presiding judge in the Regional Trial Court before entering the government service, the other is a broadcast journalist and is new in the field of politics. There is also a veteran politician in the roster.

Before being elected to the Senate, Senator Oreta already made her mark as a legislator in the House of Representatives for three consecutive terms, from 1987 to 1998, representing the district of Malabon-Navotas.

Senator Legarda brings to the Senate a long and distinguished career in broadcast journalism. For two decades, she devoted herself to critically acclaimed television programs such as the PEP Talk, The Inside Story, The World Tonight and Earthlink. The Senator gained national prominence as a host, producer and anchor of various programs.

Miriam Defensor Santiago is the Senior Partner in the Miriam Defensor Santiago Law Office. She is the president and founder of the People’s Reform Party. She was the first female to hold the post of Commissioner of Immigration and Deportation from 1988-89 and Secretary of Agrarian Reform in 1989. She held previous employment such as columnist, a legal consultant and the Presiding Judge of the Regional Trial Court, Branch 106, Quezon City from 1983 to 1987

Table 4. Socio-Demographic Profile of Women Senators in the 11th Congress

Senator	Term of Office	Age	Occupation	Civil Status	Party Affiliation
Teresa Aquino-Oreta	1998-2004		Politician	Married	LAMP
Loren Legarda-Leviste	1998-2004	42	Broadcast - journalist	Married	Lakas-NUCD
Miriam Defensor Santiago	1998-2001	56	Lawyer	Married	PRP-Gabay ng Bayan

Advocacy/Concerns of Women Senators in the 11th Congress

Politics in an arena wherein women relatively, have a harder time having access to. Running for an electoral office is a monumental feat in itself for this matter. The researcher therefore deemed it necessary to ask the women Senators of their reasons for running in a political office. Asking what their visions were for entering politics, Senator Oreta wanted to work for the reinstatement of democracy. This may be so because she was elected in 1987, a time when the country’s political institutions are in a state of uncertainty.

On the other hand, Senator Legarda, being a neophyte – was full of idealism and determination upon entering the Senate. The senator envisioned a progressive, peaceful and just society. She dreamt of a country that is healthy in the political, economic and social aspects. A country where every child can be nurtured and can grow into responsible citizens and who, essentially, will contribute to the betterment of our society. (Excerpts from the Self-administered interview with Senator Loren Legarda Leviste)

“The superficiality and hypocrisy in the Senate and the House of Representatives.” This was the answer given by former Senator Miriam Santiago when asked as to what problems did she wish to address upon entering politics. The former Senator wanted to use the Senate debates as a means of elevating the level of political discourse in our country. She took up the cause of fighting the culture of corruption in this country.

Advocacy / Causes espoused by Senator Teresa Aquino-Oreta

The Senator placed a premium priority on the education of Filipinos among other national issues. The Senator was also concerned with the rights of women and children. Her advocacies are embodied in a seven-point agenda, which includes:

1.) The Filipino Child First

The Senator pushed for measures that will revolutionize the way Filipino children are raised and educated. Early childhood care begins from age 0 up to 6 years old. The Senator introduced the Early Childhood Care and Development Act bill.

According to most education experts the early care and education given to the young child can significantly predict whether or not the child will successfully

complete schooling. At the same time, there are convincing evidences that with Early Childhood Care and Development (ECCD), a child will be more productive in the workforce, more stable in character and will grow up to be a peace-loving and law-abiding citizen and member of society. (A Progress Report)

2.) Caring for our Teachers

The teachers we acquire for the new age of learning will be facilitators rather than conveyors of knowledge. They are teachers who will help the learner acquire diverse skills through the use of appropriate information and educational technologies. But most especially they are teachers who will keep the learner focused on the highest goal of education and training which is to develop the fullest potentials of every learner so that today he/she can hope for a quality of life tomorrow that will be better than yesterday. No education will succeed unless it is a reform of the teaching –learning process and is focused on helping the teacher become a better teacher. (A Progress Report)

3.) Governing Basic Education

Protect and promote the right of all citizens to quality basic education and to make such education accessible to all. The system of education in the country has been both the object and as well as the subject of much significant education reforms initiated and implemented in the last decade. It is to the credit of the distinguished legislative leaders of the Education Commission that a restructuring of the

Department of Education, Culture and Sports (DECS) into a leaner but meaner agency was brought about. (A Progress Report)

4.) Modernizing Education

The new age of learning will bring fresh views, new looks and different shapes of schooling and schools. New learning technologies and flexible learning delivery will enable the learner to gain access to a wide range of learning materials on-line with the prospects of ‘virtual learning’ in ‘virtual classrooms’. (A Progress Report)

5.) Universalizing Literacy

It is easy to be self-complacent with very high literacy rates that are officially reported to be 94%. Yet it is disturbing to know that the other side of this so-called ‘achievement’ is the fact that almost 11 million Filipinos have very poor or even no literacy and numeracy skills at all. (A Progress Report)

6.) Rationalizing Tertiary Education

Only 16.2 of every 100 students in both public and private schools who began in Grade 1 in any given school year subsequently reached 4th year college. What immediately comes to mind with such discouraging figures are not the faces of those who made it but rather of those who did not. (A Progress Report) “I strongly support a public-private partnership specially at the post secondary level of education for

technical/vocational and higher education programs. (Excerpts from Self-administered interview with Senator Oreta)

7.) Policy Research

There is a need to look for data about education legislation in order to make sure that they are implemented and that they benefit our learners. A program that will institutionalize education research and studies about this and other concerns of the entire education sector will surely craft better education laws. (A Progress Report)

Advocacy / Causes espoused by Senator Loren Legarda Leviste

The legislator's concerns are contained in the acronym **LOREN** – Law and Order; Rights of women, youth and children; Education, environment and employment; and Nationalism. Among the Senator's primary concerns is the state of the environment, especially the alarming rate at which our natural resources are being exploited. The Senator is also dedicated in upholding the welfare of women, youth and other sectors such as labor and addressing the various issues that concern them such as abuse, oppression and various unfair and illegal practices.

Though these concerns seem to be a small part of greater problems, the legislator thinks and believes that these should be prioritized and conscientiously resolved.

Advocacy / Causes espoused by former Senator Miriam Defensor Santiago

The Senator was direct in saying that reforming the culture of corruption was the reason for spousing her concerns during the 11th Congress. She took on the crusade against

the culture of corruption and for transparency in the internal dynamics and accounting of the Senate. The Senator was concerned in using the committee hearings for achieving the broadest possible spectrum of public opinion, and not as a forum for posturing by politicians.

“Training the youth for honest and competent political leadership. Strengthening the family as the basic unit in the formation of social values.” (Excerpts from Self-administered interview with former Senator Miriam Defensor Santiago) These concerns were key factors in choosing her legislative proposals during the 11th Congress.

Performance of Women Senators in the 11th Congress

A. Programs relating to Advocacy / Concerns

Senator Oreta prides herself as championing the cause of education for all Filipinos.

- Early 1999, Project TAO, or Teachers’ Advancement for Optimum Well-being, was launched. This is the nationwide survey of employment status, working conditions, and welfare benefits of public school teachers –the most comprehensive study of its kind the history of Philippine education.

Senator Loren Legarda Leviste has initiated various programs since the start of her term in support of her advocacy. The Senator have assigned specific staff to handle and monitor the activities of developments under the programs cited below but she is constantly involved in the planning and enhancement.

- In 1998, *Luntiang Pilipinas* was launched to raise the level of consciousness of

our people to the value of trees. It is a nationwide tree-growing program that seeks to create 1,500 Forest parks in urban areas – in national and local government centers, school grounds, churchyards, and along roadsides.

- To promote welfare and entrepreneurial skills of women, the Senator launched a livelihood program in 1999 called L.O.R.E.N. or *Livelihood Opportunities to Raise Employment Nationwide*.
- *Libro ni Loren Foundation, Inc.* was established to help improve the literacy level in the Philippines' 20 poorest provinces through book-giving activities to city and municipal libraries and educational institutions, and through a scholarship program called "Balik-Eskwela" specifically for child-laborers and indigent students.

The former Senator Miriam Santiago launched the following in support of her advocacy:

- A youth leadership training called "Summer sa Senado" for interns, consisting of college students.
- Her office conducted free legal aid clinics in various areas in Metro Manila.

B. Legislation relating to Advocacy / Concerns

- *Laws authored/co-authored by Senator Teresa Aquino Oreta (cited by the Senator as pertinent in the self-administered interview)*
 - *Early Childhood Care and Development Act (RA8980)*

The law gives economic, psychosocial and educational support to Filipino children from the womb up to six years old to make them responsible, mature and

productive citizens of the country. The measure is premised on studies made by a number of local and international support groups showing that children provided with early childhood care perform better in school, are able to finish schooling, stay in their jobs longer, perform better at work and pay more taxes.

Among the law's salient features include making poor children and parents priority recipients of ECCD, the provision of basic services to children, parents and caregivers, the activation of the Council for the Welfare of Children, an inter-agency and multi-sectoral group tasked to coordinate programs for the national and local governments to develop conversion of day-care or *barangay* centers to ECCD facilities.

- *Solo Parents Welfare Act (RA8972)*

Senator Oreta was the primemover of this act. The law will provide a package of government support to certified single parents to help them raise their family properly. Among the supportive measures was housing, education for parent and children, health services such as counseling, livelihood and legal services. For single parents who are working, the law will give them leniency in their work schedules.

- *Food Fortification Act of 1998 (RA8976)*

It aims to solve the problem of nutritional imbalance in Filipinos by fortifying the country's staples with the necessary nutrients. The law mandates the fortification of rice with iron, and wheat flour, sugar and cooking oil with Vitamin A. The measure makes it mandatory for the producers of processed food or food items to add these important items to their products.

- *Law Strengthening the Governance of the Philippine High School System (RA 9036)*

The enactment wants all public science highschools nationwide to be placed under the administrative supervision of the Department of Science and Technology in close coordination with the Department of Education, Culture and Sports.

- *Act establishing the Department of Education or DepEd (RA 9155)*

The basic proposition of this is to strengthen the governance of basic education, to establish authority, accountability and responsibility for higher learning outcomes; and to delineate the respective roles and responsibilities at the national, regional, division, district and school levels.

● *Bills introduced by Senator Teresa Aquino Oreta (cited by the Senator as pertinent in the self-administered interview)*

- *Senate Bill 1961(Juvenile Justice Act of 200)*

This seeks to put in place an effective juvenile justice system to address problems in rehabilitating young offenders. The bill seeks to correct the practice of applying the country's penal code to both adult and young crime suspects.

- *Senate Bill 1536(Penalizing the employment of Children)*

It a measure that would penalize the employment of children 18 years old and below. Similarly, the proposed law prohibits individuals or firms from forcing children into slavery or practices similar to slavery.

- *Senate Bill 1192 (Strengthening the National Nutrition Program)*

This aims to address the problem of malnutrition and over nutrition through the strengthening of the country's nutrition program.

- *Senate Bill 1361 (Act Creating the Bureau of Special Education)*

This envisions the establishment of an agency that will make quality education readily accessible to physically and mentally challenged individuals.

- *Senate Bill 1193 (Summary Titling of Public School Sites (SB1193))*

This provides for the summary titling of all public school sites, which have been operating for five years and more in favor of the Department of Education, Culture and Sports. This will enable the DECS to have direct control and supervision over privately owned land occupied by public schools.

- *Senate Bill 911*

It requires the registration or titling of all lands used as sites of these institutions under the name of the respective SUCs.

- *Senate Bill 1431*

This proposal allows the registration of faculty, students, alumni, and non-teaching staff in the Board of Regents, and shall also distribute the functions of university governance to the BoR, the university president and other administrators, and the other university councils.

- *Senate Bill 2191 (Governance of Basic Education Act of 2001)*

The bill redefines the functions of the DECS secretary and the regional, division, district and school offices giving them the function to operate in support of one another, "vesting in each office specific authority, responsibility and

accountability.” (A Progress Report) It devolves more functions to the school principals, making them school managers. Instead of merely receiving instructions , they will be able to introduce new modes of instructions and be involved in school planning.

● ***Laws authored/co-authored by Senator Loren Legarda Leviste (cited by the Senator as pertinent in the self-administered interview)***

- *Republic Act No. 8991, “Batanes Protected Area Act”*

“AN ACT TO ESTABLISH THE BATANES GROUP OF ISLANDS AND ISLETS AS A PROTECTED AREA, AND ITS PERIPHERAL WATERS AS BUFFER ZONES, PROVIDING FOR ITS MANAGEMENT AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES”

The law works toward the end of conserving, protecting and preserving the scenic, cultural, historical and archeological features of the Batanes group of islands including the diverse terrestrial and marine ecosystem for the benefit of the people.

- *Republic Act No. 9003, “Integrated Solid Waste Management Act”*

“AN ACT PROVIDING FOR AN ECOLOGICAL SOLID WASTE MANAGEMENT PROGRAM, CREATING THE NECESSARY INSTITUTIONAL MECHANISM AND INCENTIVES, DECLARING CERTAIN ACTS PROHIBITED AND PROVIDING PENALTIES, APPROPRIATING FUNDS THEREFOR, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES”

The law provides for an ecological solid waste management program, which shall ensure the protection of public health and environment. It utilizes environmentally sound methods that maximize the utilization of valuable resources and encourage resource conservation and recovery.

- *Co-authored Republic Act No. 8980, ““Early Childhood Care and Development Act”*

“AN ACT PROMULGATING A COMPREHENSIVE POLICY AND A NATIONAL SYSTEM FOR EARLY CHILDHOOD CARE AND DEVELOPMENT (ECCD). PROVIDING FUNDS THEREFOR AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES”

The law promotes the right of children to survival, development and special protection with full recognition of the nature of childhood and its special needs, and supports the parents in their roles as primary caregivers and as their children’s first teachers.

- *Bills introduced by Senator Loren Legarda Leviste (cited by the Senator as pertinent in the self-administered interview)*

- *Senate Bill 1539 (“Anti-Child Labor Bill”)*

The bill stipulates the definition of such terms as child labor, employer and hazardous occupations; the minimum wage and requirements of employment of children; the terms and conditions of employment of children; the circumstances which constitute the crime of trafficking and illegal recruitment of children; the special rights and privileges of the working children; and the creation of a National Child Labor Committee.

- *Senate Bill 1000 (Sustainable Forest Management Act)*

The bill addresses the alarming deforestation rate at which we are losing more than 150,000 hectares of forest cover every year. The bill proposes a total commercial logging ban for a period of thirty years.

- *Senate Bill 2131 (National Landmarks Council Act)*

This bill seeks to conserve, promote and popularize the nation's historical and cultural heritage and resources, as well as artistic creations. The bill seeks to establish the National Landmarks Council, which shall undertake initiatives that would preserve and built heritage as part of our tangible culture for the enjoyment of future generations and to foster pride in Filipino artistry and ingenuity.

- *Senate Bill 1185*

Environmental degradation has continued unabated over the years. Despite the creation of a super agency like the Department of Natural Resources (DENR), the environmental situation has gone from bad to worse, nearing crisis proportions. The lack of understanding of the root cause of the problem among those who can affect the needed reforms and of political will to lead institutional changes will again undermine government efforts even as we face awesome tasks in the wake of rapid urbanization, population growth and industrialization. The bill seeks to establish an independent, cabinet-level, self-sustaining environment watchdog called the National Environmental Protection Authority which will unequivocally spearhead the government efforts in protecting the environment, working closely in consonance with the objectives and aspirations of relevant sectors of society.

- *Senate Bill 1197*

This proposed measure provides for the establishment of a literacy program for all expectant mothers in all hospitals, clinics, health centers and other similar establishments. It seeks to help build the capability of expectant parents in

carrying out their responsibilities to their children and to a future generation of intelligent, morally upright, psychologically stable Filipinos.

- *Senate Bill 1293*

The bill provides for the identification of all forest lands by requiring the definition, demarcation on the ground, maintenance, and monitoring of indiminishable and final forest lines by the DENR, as originally envisioned by the Philippine Freedom Constitution.

- *Senate Bill 1459*

Violence against women and children is one of the pervasive forms of human rights abuse in our society today. Victims of violence need a network of assistance which can intervene quickly and effectively. Shelter, employment, childcare support, medical and legal assistance and psychological counseling are the common immediate needs of women and children survivors of violence. RA 8505 provides for assistance and protection to rape victims through the establishment of rape crisis centers. This bill seeks to expand the coverage of these centers to include other forms of gender violence such as trafficked, prostituted and/or exploited women.

- *Senate Bill 1163*

This proposed measure seeks to introduce an Ecology Service Course in lieu of the existing military training courses being offered by high schools, colleges and universities.

- *Senate Bill 644*

There is a need for a collaborative effort between the State and its citizenry to fulfill the constitutional mandate that “the State shall protect and advance the right of the people to a balanced and healthful ecology in accord with the rhythm and harmony of nature. The proposed measure seeks to establish a national committee, which will oversee the implementation of the greening efforts of the government.

- *Laws authored/co-authored by Senator Miriam Defensor Santiago (cited by the Senator as pertinent in the self-administered interview)*

- *Republic Act No. 8759*

“AN ACT INSTITUTIONALIZING A NATIONAL FACILITATION SERVICE NETWORK THROUGH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT SERVICE OFFICE IN EVERY PROVINCE, KEY CITY AND OTHER STRATEGIV AREAS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY”

This strengthens and expands the existing employment facilitation service machinery of the government particularly at the local levels.

- *Republic Act No. 8799*

THE SECURITIES REGULATION CODE. The goal of the Code is to establish a socially conscious, free marked that regulates itself, encourage the widest participation of ownership in enterprises, enhance the democratization of wealth, promote the development of the capital market, protect investors, ensure full and fair disclosure about securities, minimize if not totally eliminate insider trading and other fraudulent or manipulative devices and practices which create distortions in the free market.

- *Republic Act No. 8750*

“AN ACT REQUIRING THE MANDATORY COMPLIANCE BY MOTORISTS OF PRIVATE AND PUBLIC VEHICLES TO USE SEAT BELT DEVICES, AND REQUIRING VEHICLE MANUFACTURERS TO INSTALL SEAT BELT DEVICES IN ALL THEIR MANUFACTURED VEHICLES”

The law pursues a more proactive and preventive approach in order to secure the safety of the passengers and drivers at all times with the mandatory enforcement of the use of seat belt by the drivers and front seat passengers of private and public motor vehicles.

- *Republic Act No. 9006*

“AN ACT TO ENHANCE THE HOLDING OF FREE, ORDERLY, HONEST, PEACEFUL AND CREDIBLE ELECTIONS THROUGH FAIR ELECTION PRACTICES”

The law mandates the Senate to supervise or regulate the enjoyment or utilization of all franchises or permits for the operation of media of communication or information to guarantee or ensure equal opportunity for public service, including access to media time and space and , to ensure that bona fide candidates for any public office shall be free from any form of harassment and discrimination.

- *Bills introduced by Senator Miriam Defensor Santiago (cited by the Senator as pertinent in the self-administered interview)*

- *Senate Bill 293*

An act providing for local autonomy in the determination of State Policy on gambling, amending for this purposes the Local Government Code of the Philippines.

- *Senate Bill 325*

The bills seeks to amend and clarify the two distinct and conflicting rules which govern the revocation of a donation *propter nuptias* in case the marriage is annulled and the donee-spouse acted in bad faith.

- *Senate Bill 313*

There is no law which prohibits government surveys form obtaining incriminatory information from minors on matters concerning the minor's family. This bill protects family privacy on matters such as political affiliations or beliefs, psychological problems, sexual behavior, religious beliefs and privileged communications.

- *Senate Bill 688*

This bill seeks to remedy this prevalent corrupt practice by imposing the penalty of removal from public office on a public official that places any of his/her assets in the name of dummies. A public official who does so shall forfeit all his rights to the property in favor of the dummy.

- *Senate Bill 1213*

The purpose of this bill are (1) to promote the availability and diversity of quality child care services for all children and families who need such service; (2) to provide financial assistance to families whose income is insufficient to pay the full cost of necessary child care services among other goals.

- *Senate Bill 1439*

Women play multiple and vital roles in economic development, but in many developmental activities, their roles have been ignored, overlooked or displaced.

This bill recognizes the role of women in nation building, and their contribution to the development process like in food production.

- *Senate Bill 1808*

The Bill seeks to establish a task force that shall develop a uniform law enforcement strategy in order to protect women against violent crime, punish persons who commit such crimes, and enhance the rights of victims of such crimes.

The women legislators introduced bills with a wide-ranging theme. Summarized in Table 5 are the different themes and the corresponding number of bills the Senators have filed relating to that theme. The themes of the bills and resolutions are based on the names of the committee referrals to which the bills are and resolutions were referred to. These committees are as follows:

- **Committee on Agriculture and Food** – All matters relating to agriculture, food production and agri-business, including agricultural experimental stations, agricultural economics and research; soil survey and conservation; agricultural education; technical extension services; animal husbandry; livestock quarantine; agricultural support price; and fisheries and aquatic resources.
- **Committee on Civil Service and Government Reorganization** – All matters relating to the Civil Service and the status of officers and employees of the government including their appointment, discipline, retirement; their compensation privileges, benefits and incentives; implementation of the constitutional provisions on the rights of government workers to form and join labor organizations; public sector labor-management relations and collective negotiation agreements; reorganization of the government or any of its branches, agencies, subdivisions or instrumentalities; all human resource development programs pertaining to the government; and all other matters relating to the bureaucracy.
- **Committee on Constitutional Amendments, Revision of Codes and Laws** – All matters proposing amendments to the Constitution of the Philippines and the compilation and revision of existing codes and laws; election laws and implementation of constitutional provisions on initiative and referendum on legislative acts; recall of

elective officials; the role and rights of people's organizations; and sectoral or party-list representation.

- **Committee on Economic Affairs** – All matters relating to economic planning and programming; the planning of domestic and foreign indebtedness; general economic development; and coordination, regulation and diversification of industry and investments.
- **Committee on Education, Arts and Culture** – All matters relating to education, schools, colleges, universities; implementation of the provisions of the Constitution regarding the establishment of free public elementary and secondary education, scholarship grants, subsidies and incentives to deserving students; non-formal, informal, indigenous learning systems, and adult education; the preservation, enrichment and evolution of Filipino arts and culture; establishment and maintenance of libraries, museums, shrines, monuments, and other historical sites and edifices; training programs and cultural and artistic programs of international institutions and organizations operating in the Philippines, such as the UNESCO; and special commemorative events such as the observance of the centennial of Philippine Independence.
- **Committee on Environment and Natural Resources** – All matters relating to the conservation and protection of the environment, the regulation of the impact of human activities on the same, the promotion of environmental awareness of our citizens, the renewal of resources in damaged ecosystems and other environment-related issues; and all matters relating to the administration, management, development, protection, exploration, storage, renewal, regulation and licensing, and wise utilization of the country's national reserves including, but not limited to forest, mineral, public land, off-shore areas and the development of industries based on these resources.
- **Committee on Finance** – All matters relating to funds for the expenditures of the National Government and for the payment of public indebtedness; auditing of accounts and expenditures of the National Government; claims against the government; inter-governmental revenue sharing; and, in general, all matters relating to public expenditures.
- **Committee on Foreign Relations** – All matters relating to the relations of the Philippines with other nations generally; diplomatic and consular services; the Association of Southeast Asian Nations; the United Nations Organization and its agencies; multilateral organizations; all international agreements, obligations and contracts; and overseas Filipinos.
- **Committee on Games, Amusement and Sports** – All matters relating to games and amusement, such as lotteries, jai-alai, horse racing, dog racing, wrestling, boxing, basketball and all other sports, as well as matters relating to amateur sports development.
- **Committee on Health and Demography** – All matters relating to public health in general, medical, hospital and quarantine services; population issues, concerns, policies and programs affecting individuals and their families, their effects on national, social and economic conditions.

- **Committee on Justice and Human Rights** – All matters relating to the organization and administration of justice, civil courts, penitentiaries and reformatory schools; probation; impeachment proceedings against constitutional officers and other officers legally removable by impeachment; registration of land titles; immigration and naturalization; the implementation of the provisions of the Constitution on human rights; and all matters pertaining to the efficiency and reforms in the prosecution service.

- **Committee on Labor, Employment and Human Resources Development** – All matters relating to labor employment and human resource development; maintenance of industrial peace; promotion of employer-employee cooperation; labor education, standards and statistics; organization of the labor market including recruitment, training and placement of workers and exports of human resources; foreign workers in the Philippines; promotion and development of workers' organizations; and promotion and development of employment-intensive technology.

- **Committee on Local Government** – All matters relating to autonomous regions, provinces, cities, special metropolitan political subdivisions, municipalities and barangays.

- **Committee on National Defense and Security** – All matters relating to national defense and external and internal threats to national security; the Armed Forces of the Philippines; pension plans and fringe benefits of war veterans and military retirees; citizens army selective service; forts; arsenals; military bases, reservations and yards; coast, geodetic and meteorological surveys; civil defense; and military research and development.

- **Committee on Public Information and Mass Media** – All matters relating to public information, mass communication and broadcast services; the implementation of the provisions of the Constitution regarding ownership and management of mass media and the advertising industry; the development and promotion of information technology; and all matters relating to the artistic standards and quality of the motion picture and television industry.

- **Committee on Public Services** – All matters affecting public services and utilities; communications; land, air, river and sea transportation including railroads, inter-island navigation, and lighthouses; and the grant or amendment of legislative franchises.

- **Committee on Public Works** – All matters relating to planning, construction, maintenance, improvement and repair of public buildings, highways, bridges, roads, ports, airports, harbors and parks; drainage, flood control and protection; and irrigation and water utilities.

- **Committee on Rules** – All matters affecting the Rules of the Senate; the calendar as well as parliamentary rules and the order and manner of transacting business and the creation of committees.

- **Committee on Social Justice, Welfare and Rural Development** – All matters relating to rural development and welfare, and the implementation of the provisions of the Constitution on social justice.
- **Committee on Tourism** – All matters relating to tourism and the tourist industry.
- **Committee on Trade and Commerce** – All matters relating to domestic and foreign trade and private corporations; patents, copyrights, trade names and trademarks; standards, weights, measures and designs; quality control; control and stabilization of prices of commodities; consumer protection; handicraft and cottage industries; and marketing of commodities.
- **Committee on Ways and Means** – All matters relating to revenue generally; taxes and fees; tariffs; loans and other sources and forms of revenue.
- **Committee on Youth, Women and Family Relations** – All matters relating to the youth, women and family relations.
- **Committee on Public Order and Illegal Drugs** – All matters relating to peace and order: the Philippine National Police; the Bureau of Jail Management; the BFP; private security agencies; the use, sale, acquisition, possession, cultivation, manufacture and distribution of prohibited and regulated drugs and other similar substances as provided for under pertinent laws, and the prosecution of offenders, rehabilitation of drug users and dependents, including the formulation of drug-related policies.
- **Committee on Banks, Financial Institutions and Currencies** – All matters relating to banks, financial institutions, government and private currencies, capital markets, mutual funds, securitization, coinage and circulation of money.
- **Committee on Accountability of Public Officers and Investigations** – All matters relating to, including investigation of, malfeasance, misfeasance and nonfeasance in office by officers and employees of the government, its branches, agencies, subdivisions and instrumentalities; implementation of the provision of the Constitution on nepotism; and investigation of any matter of public interest on its own initiative or brought to its attention by any member of the Senate.

Table 5. Summary of List of Bills/Res. Filed by Women Legislators in the 11th Congress

THEME	SEN. TERESA AQUINO ORETA		SENATOR LOREN LEGARDA LEVISTE		SENATOR MIRIAM DEFENSOR SANTIAGO	
	# of Bills	# of Res.	# of Bills	# of Res.	# of Bills	# of Res.
Education	34	3	6	7	27	3
Youth	3	2	11	2	17	1
Women	9	5	3	4	17	
Family	4				16	
Constitution	8		2	1	40	
Local Govt.	15		1	1	7	
Civil Service	6		8		4	
Justice	2	1	5	3	24	3
Environment	4		15	16	8	2
Trade	3	1	3	1	21	
Social Justice	3		1		15	
Public Works	2	1	1			3
Health	6	3	7	4	28	5
Public Information			9		12	2
Public Service	4	1	4		15	8
Agriculture	1		7	4	6	2
National Defense			3		1	
Labor	4		4	8	15	4
Rules		1	8	6	1	8
Ways & Means			4	4	1	3
Tourism			3	3	1	
Sports				3	6	1

Foreign Relations		4		5		
Finance			2			
Economic Affairs			1	4	1	1
Banks		1			2	1
Public Order					10	
Public Accountability					29	16
Total	108	22	106	68	324	63

Senator Teresa Aquino Oreta principally-authored a total of 108 bills and 22 resolutions. Senator Loren Legarda Leviste introduced 106 bills and 68 resolutions. Meanwhile, former Senator Miriam Defensor Santiago filed the most bills with 324 bills and 63 resolutions.

Majority of the Senator Teresa Aquino Oreta’s proposals focused on:

- Institutionalizing early education
- Providing benefits for private and public school teachers
- Redefining functions and responsibilities of the Commission for Higher Education
- Creating new agencies such as the National Institute for Science and Mathematics, Education and Development
- Titling of public school sites
- Inquiries assessing the different government agencies’ effective implementation of laws and programs concerning women
 - Senate Bill No. 527 – “An Act to provide a comprehensive program against wife cruelty”

- Senate Bill No. 1340- “An act to institute policies to suppress the trafficking of Filipino Women”
- Inquiries against violations and abuses against children
- Anomalous transactions entered by the DECS

Most of the bills and resolutions introduced by Senator Leviste generally concerned:

- Protection of the environment by providing legal bases for its conservation and establishing agencies to oversee the environmentally-oriented programs
 - Senate Bill No. 1185 – “act establishing National Environment Protection Authority”
 - Senate Bill No. 1307 –“Wildlife Resources Conservation and Protection Act”
- Provision of assistance and protection to underprivileged youth and women
 - SBN 1459 – “Women and Children Survivors Assistance and Protection Act of 1999”
 - SBN 1479 – “Expanding the prohibited acts of discrimination against women on account of sex”
 - SBN 1629 – “Anti-trafficking of Filipino Women and Minors Act”
 - SBN 1647 –“Rights of Daughters against incestuous Rape”
 - Res. No. 25 –Correctional Institute for Women
 - Res. No. 675 – Investigation of alleged operations of Philippine agents of a New York Company accused of running sex tours
- Protection of public health
- Proposals of amendments on the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Law

- Protection of Filipino migrant workers
- Inquiry on the toxic waste contamination on the former US bases

Miriam Defensor Santiago's legislative proposals espoused the following concerns:

- Amendments to existing laws such as the Penal Code, Administrative Code, Local Government Code or RA 7160, Civil Code and the New Family Code
- Empowering the status of the youth and women by providing legislation for their protection
 - Legislation such as Senate Bill No. 1439 or "Women in Development Act"; Senate Bill No. 1159 or "Women's Work Protection Act"
- Upholding the institution of the family by proposing legislative measures such as the "A better Chance to Learn Act" that is now enacted into RA 8980; Senate Bill No. 313 or "Family Privacy Protection Act"
- Measures directed to heighten the accountability of public officials and improve the standards during elections
 - Senator Santiago called for the speedy passage of her bill, Senate Bill No. 280 or the "Code of Professional Standards for Political Public Relations" that seeks to professionalize the practice of political public relations and penalize bribery of media members in order to obtain preferential or guaranteed news or editorial coverage.
- Directing inquiries to investigate anomalous government transactions and corrupt politicians

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION

The study aimed to look at what women senators in the 11th Congress accomplished to see whether they have performed well as a public official – as a legislator specifically.

What then are the tasks /functions of being a legislator?

From the previous chapter dealing with the Background of the Congress, the researcher pointed out the primary functions of the Senate. Thus, the legislative power vested in the Senate is translated in the primary function of:

- **Legislation**

- As mandated by the Constitution, the lawmaking power is vested in the Legislative Department. Section 1, Article VI thereof provides that:

The legislative power shall be vested in the Congress of the Philippines which shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives. except to the extent reserved to the people by the provision on initiative and referendum.

- The Senate, being essentially tasked with law making, the women Senators then, have the duty to make laws. This then, constitutes their political roles. Political role was defined in the introduction as, “those, which deal with public policy formulation and implementation.” This role was derived from the power vested in the people through popular mandate manifested concretely in elections. They enact laws and legislation consistent with the ideal and aspirations of the country. This is why in all instances, the welfare of the people is the paramount concern of all Senators in making laws. It must be noted, however, that the legislative power is

not exclusively vested in Congress in view of the reservation made regarding initiative and referendum.

This would mean that the legislators must function as a policy-maker and a public servant at the same time. The women Senators enact legislative measures that are consistent with the ideals and aspirations of the country by embodying those ideals in their advocacy. They prioritize what they think is the need of the public – this is in fulfillment of their task as a public servant. The public being the stakeholders, the Senate serves as the politico-administrative system while their legislative measures reflect their policy outputs.

Performance was measured in terms of the congruence of the Senator's advocacy/concerns to their orientation/attitudes toward those concerns; programs initiated and some legislative measures authored related to said advocacies.

In the preceding chapter, the advocacies of these women Senators were laid down, citing their orientation toward their advocacy. Also, programs implemented and several pertinent pieces of legislation in support for their advocacy. Summarizing:

In the self administered interview given by the researcher to Senator Legarda, the researcher ascertained that the Senator's advocacies were – law and order, the rights of women, youth and children, education, environment and employment, and nationalism. Senator Oreta, meanwhile focused on the problem of education. Former Senator Santiago, on the other hand, focused on youth, family and good governance.

Within the three years of the 11th Congress, Senator Oreta filed 108 Senate Bills (authored and co-authored) and 22 resolutions. Senator Legarda filed a total of 106 Senate Bills and 68 Resolutions. Miriam Santiago filed the most bills with 324 under her name and 63 resolutions.

Table 6. Summary of Performance of Women Senators of the 11th Congress

Table 6.1 Summary of Performance of Sen. Oreta

SENATOR	PROGRAMS INITIATED	PERTINENT SENATE BILLS FILED	PERTINENT LAWS AUTHORED OR CO-AUTHORED
Teresa Aquino Oreta	Project Tao Teacher's Advancement for Optimum Well-being	SB 1961 "Juvenile Act of 2000"	RA 8980 "Early Childhood And Development Act"
	"Kinder Plus" -corollary project for agenda pt. 5	SB 1536 "Penalizing the employment of Children"	RA 8972 "Solo Welfare's Act"
	"Schools of the Future"-corollary project for legislative agenda pt. 5	SB 1192 "Strengthening the National Nutrition Program"	RA 8976 "Food Fortification Act of 1998"
		SB 1361 "Act Creating the Bureau of Special Education"	RA 9036 "Strengthening the Governance of Phil. High School System"
		SB 1431 "Registration in the BoR"	RA 9155 "An Act establishing the DepEd"
		SBN 911 "Titling of SUCs lands"	
		SB 1193 "Summary Titling of Public School Sites"	
		SB 2191 "Governance of Basic Education Act of 2001"	

Table 6.2 Summary of Performance of Sen. Leviste

	PROGRAMS INITIATED	PERTINENT SENATE BILLS FILED	PERTINENT LAWS (AUTHORED / CO-AUTHORED)
Loren Legarda Leviste	Luntiang Pilipinas -concerned with raising the level of consciousness of the people on the value of trees	SB 1000 "Sustainable Forest Management Act"	RA 8991 "Batanes Protected Area Act"
	L.O.R.E.N. Livelihood Opportunities to Raise Employment Nationwide	SB 1539 "Anti-Child Labor Bill"	RA 9003 "Integrated Solid Waste Management Act"
	Libro ni Loren Foundation -concerned with improving literacy	SB 2131 "National Landmarks Council Act"	
		SB 1185 "National Environment Protection Authority"	
		SB 1197 "Literacy Program for Expectant Mothers	
		SB 1293 "Directing the DENR to mark clearly specific landmarks"	
		SB 1163 "Citizen's Ecology Service" SB 1459 "Women and Children Crisis Survivors Assistance and Protection Act"	
	SB 644 "An Act providing for the Urban and Countryside Greening in the Philippines		

Table 3. Summary of Performance of former Senator Santiago

PROGRAMS INITIATED	PERTINENT SENATE BILLS FILED	PERTINENT LAWS (AUTHORED / CO-AUTHORED)
Summer sa Senado -provides summer training for college students	SB 293 -amending Local Govt. Code	RA 9006 -to enhance holding of freee, orderly and peaceful elections
Legal Aid Clinic -provides free legal assistance	SB 325 -amending the Civil Code of the Phil. SB 313 “Family Privacy Protection Act”	RA 8799 “Securities Regulation Code” RA 8976 (co-authored)
Miriam Defensor Santiago	SB 688 Amending the Code of Ethical Standards for Public Officials SB 1213 “Children and Family Protection Act” SB 1439 “Women in Development Act” SB 1808 “An act to establish a task force for uniform law enforcement on crimes against women”	RA 8759 (co-authored) “establishment of public employment service office

Table 7. No. of bills/res. introduced by the women legislators

Senator	# of Bills Filed	# of Res. Filed
Oreta	108	22
Leviste	106	68
Santiago	243	63
Total	538	154

Assessment of the initiatives introduced by Sen. Teresa Aquino Oreta

The TAO project of Senator Oreta produced a handful of good results.

The success of this undertaking is being parlayed to another study on the computer readiness of all primary and secondary schools, public and private, with the end view of interconnecting them with DECS Central Office database. (TAO CARES)

School heads, principals and schools division superintendents were trained in the effective administration of schools in direct response to the Project TAO findings, as well as the changing needs of the school environment. (TAO LEADS)

A year before the enactment of the ECCD law in 2000, a pilot ECCD project dubbed “Kinder Plus” was launched in Nueva Ecija, Tarlac, Pampanga and Zambales.

The Senator’s “Schools of the Future” project has been piloted in three schools in Central Luzon, namely the Pampanga High School, Bataan National High School, and Marcelo H. del Pilar High School in Bulacan.

As the chairman of the Committee on Education, Arts and Culture, Senator Teresa Aquino Oreta had been credited for enabling the issuance of pay slips for public school teachers for the first time in August 2000 after finding out that the teachers no nothing about their salary deductions because of the absence of this paper. This is a move directly related to her legislative agenda.

The Senator filed 50 bills and 10 resolutions relating to her advocacy/concerns for the 11th Congress, which constitutes 46.3% and 45.45% of the total bills she filed. Almost half of the bills and resolutions she filed relate to her advocacy/concerns. Of the 108 bills, 34 pertains to education, the known advocacy of Senator Oreta.

Table 8. No. of bills filed by Senator Oreta supporting her advocacy

Advocacy	# of Bills Filed	# of Res. Filed
Education	34	3
Youth / Children	3	2
Women	9	5
Family	4	
Others	58	12
Total	108	22

The Senator leaves the final assessment to the Filipino people as to whether she had done her functions well. Senator Oreta personally believes that she had made a difference in the advocacies she had espoused and she finds contentment with that knowledge. “I have staunchly fought for our Constitutional processes even when it was not the popular thing to do so”, the Senator added in her self-administered interview.

Assessment of the initiatives introduced by Senator Loren Legarda Leviste

Senator Loren Legarda Leviste has initiated various programs since the start of her term. These programs resulted to the following accomplishments:

Luntiang Pilipinas, on its third year, has planted more than 1,000,000 trees in approximately 100 hectares across the country which was made possible through the assistance of over 240 institutional partners including corporate donors and benefactors, national government agencies, non-governmental organizations, educational institutions and international/foreign entities. Its North and South Luzon Expressway Greenbelt Project was earnestly supported by various sectors including the local government units.

During its launch on the third of February this year, LOREN for Women was able to extend a total amount of P65, 000 of financial assistance to five (5) members of TWCAA. Another program under the L.O.R.E.N. for Women program was recently launched, which in partnership with TESDA and TESDA Women’s Center Alumni Association (TWCAA), extends financial assistance to women who would like to engage in business enterprise.

Libro in Loren Foundation, Inc. has extended scholarship grants to child miners in Camarines Norte, to indigent children in Batangas and to Aeta children in Zambales. It was also able to distribute around 64,000 books as of the end of 2001.

As the Chairman of the Committees on Economic Affairs, Environment, Natural Resources, and Tourism. During the term of Senator Leviste in the 11th Congress, the Committee was able to pass significant laws ssuch as the Philippine Clean Air Act, Mt. Kitanglad Protected Area Act, Batanes Protected Area Act, and Integrated Solid Waste Management Act.

The Senator filed 56 bills relating to her advocacy/concerns, which amounts to a little more the half of the total number of bills she filed. 52.83% of the total number of bills focused on law and order, women, youth, education, environment, employment and Nationalism. The total of resolutions filed relating to her advocacy/concerns constituted 58.82% of the total number of resolutions. A bulk of the bills and resolutions the Senator filed focused on the protection of the environment. This goes to show the “ecological warrior” that she is known for.

Table 9. No. of bills filed by Senator Leviste supporting her advocacy

Advocacy	# of Bills Filed	# of Res. Filed
Law and Order (Justice, Civil Service, Social Justice)	14	4

Women	3	4
Youth / Children	11	2
Education	6	7
Environment	15	16
Employment	4	8
Nationalism (National Defense)	3	
Others	69	69
Total	106	69

Assessment of the initiatives introduced by former Senator Miriam Defensor Santiago

The Senate internship program, “Summer sa Senado” launched by former Senator Miriam Defensor Santiago was successful because it attracted more and more applicants each summer. The legal aid clinics gained popularity over the years, and led to *pro bono publico* (free) litigation handled by the Senator’s staff lawyers.

Other accomplishments of Senator Santiago include being chairman of the Committee on Constitutional Amendments, Revision of Codes and Laws. She prevented the illegal move to amend the Constitution, and allow the extension of the president’s term, by personally arguing in the Supreme Court the case of *Defensor Santiago v. Comelec*. She raised the level of policy debates in the Senate by insisting on full legal research and scholarship. Her crusade against the culture of corruption was evident in her privilege speeches, in naming names in connection to the said corruption.

The former Senator filed the most bills with the majority relating to public accountability. This may be for the fact that she took on the cause of fighting corruption inside the government. 24.38% and 26.98% make up the total number of bills and resolutions she had filed concerning her advocacy respectively.

Table 10. No. of bills filed by Senator Santiago supporting her advocacy

Advocacy	# of Bills Filed	# of Res. Filed
Family	16	1
Women	17	
Youth	17	
Good Governance (Public Accountability)	29	16
Others	245	46
Total	324	63

The Senator likewise believes that she had performed well in the 11th Congress. She briefly answered, “Yes, judging by the enemies I made among the corrupt politicians and members of the big business.” (Excerpts from Self-administered interview with former Senator Santiago”

Findings

Wholly, the advocacies of the women legislators in the 11th Congress ranged from:

- Youth/children
- Women
- Education
- Family
- Environment
- law and order
- good governance
- nationalism

Common among the three are their high premium on education, the promotion of the welfare of the youth, children and women; and the strengthening of the Filipino family. Summing up all the bills filed by the three senators, it would add up to a total of 538 while the total number of bills filed in the 11th Congress reached 2283.

Gender Issue

Former President Corason Aquino once said, “there is much that a woman can bring into politics that would make our world a kinder, gentler place for humanity to thrive in.”

Philippine politics is masculinized – a view derived from various pieces of literature are reviewed. As patriarchy is still dominant in the Philippine society, this may also hold true in the realm of politics. In the 11th Congress, Only four women won senatorial seats amongst 19 men.

Gender analysis examines he link between gender and the male-female power relations and how these relations affect other variables.

In this study, the performance of the women legislators is the dependent variable while the programs, bills and laws authored are the independent variable. Gender analysis would relate the male-female power relations to the independent variables –if gender is related in their determination of an advocacy / concern?

The male-female power relations are still governed by the feminist paradigm of ‘public and private sphere’. The public realm belonging to the male while the place of the female is in the private sphere – the home.

Talking about gender, Senator Legarda answered, “In a traditionally male-dominated field such as politics in the Philippines, it is an undeniable fact that women who run

especially for a national post, usually gain special attention and the admiration of the public. I believe my capabilities and accomplishment, particularly in my previous career as broadcast journalist, are the principal factor considered by the voting public; and these were even more emphasized by my gender.” (Excerpts from Self-administered interview with Senator Leviste)

The fact that women legislators are fewer than male legislators is a challenge for Senator Legarda. “A woman has a distinct approach, a distinct touch to performing her tasks which may greatly deviate from the management style of male politicians.” (Excerpts from Self-administered interview with Senator Leviste)

Gender is a key factor in her determination of advocacy / concern. “It is my intention to represent and promote the interests of every sector of the society and my instincts as a woman, a wife and a mother are one of the key factors in choosing her advocacy. (Excerpts from Self-administered interview with Senator Leviste)

Senator Oreta acknowledges that the women vote, though not yet visible helped her in winning the position. To add, Miriam Santiago made a good remark on the public view about women politicians. “The public supported the idea of a female who was free to act like a male in terms of courage and aggression when it came to fighting crooks in the government.” (Excerpts from Self-administered interview with former Senator Santiago)

Gender stereotypes on Filipina women are strengthened by historical facts. Despite the gender stereotypes that presents woman as passive, the Filipina can be assertive as well as exemplified by the women legislators in the Senate. While men as seen as having instrumental traits related with problem solving and task-oriented, the women in the Senate can also be described as such.

The study showed interplay of ‘public’ and ‘private’ sphere. The women legislators have a more transcendent role, combining both public and public roles expected of a woman. This is apart from the traditional roles the Filipina played as discussed in Chapter 2 of the study.

Conclusion

The performance of women Senators of the 11th Congress, in terms of bills and resolutions filed showed that they focused on the particular advocacies/concerns they espoused. Their performance reflect their sentiments on the following causes:

- Youth/children
 - Women
 - Education
 - Family
 - Environment
 - good governance
-
- Senator Loren Legarda Leviste focused on law and order, the rights of women, youth and children, education, environment, employment and nationalism. Senator Oreta on education while former Senator Santiago on the crusade against corruption.
-
- They were responsive to the needs of their constituents as reflected by the dominant number of legislation relating to their advocacy among other issues.

- Senator Oreta co-authored several enactments related to her premium priority on education.

Senate Bill 998 – enacted into R.A. 8972, Senator Oreta hopes that the package of assistance of RA 8972 for solo parents would greatly benefit their children.

- Senate Bill 525 – enacted into R.A. 8980, Senator Oreta was able to put forward one of the programs under the first point in her legislative agenda, “Filipino Child First”
- During the 11th Congress, Senator Loren Legarda Leviste filed several legislative measures that have been enacted into law.
 - Senate Bill 912 – enacted into law (R.A. 8479), “Philippine Clean Air Act”
 - Senate Bill 468 – (co-author) enacted into law (R.A. 8759), “Public Employment Service Office”
 - Senate Bill 1510 – enacted into law (R.A. 8978), “Mt. Kitanglad Protected Area”
 - Senate Bill 1592 – enacted into law (R.A. 8991) “Batanes Protected Area Act”
 - Senate Bill 1269 – enacted into law (R.A. 9003), “Integrated Solid Waste Management Act”
- Senator Santiago sponsored the Domestic Adoption Act, which is an amendment of the Civil Code.
 - 1160 - enacted into R.A. 8980, “Early Childhood Care and Development Act”

- At the same time, the Senators pioneered programs supporting their advocacy that at present continue to be implemented.

- Gender was an advantage if not played a neutral role in carrying the task of being a public official. Gender did not hinder their performance as a legislator. It is a factor in taking up advocacies. Being a woman, daughter and mother played a key factor in choosing their advocacy. Gender has a relation to the bills introduced, laws authored and programs launched.

- The women vote is a factor for Senator Oreta's victory. It did not hinder nor became an advantage in her performance of the task of being a legislator and public official. It is a factor in taking up women's issues by the Senator. The Senator filed bills and resolutions relating to gender concerns as expressed in the following:

- Senate Bill No. 527 – An act to provide comprehensive programs against wife cruelty

- Senate Bill No. 1340 – An act to institute policies to suppress the trafficking of women

- Amendments to the New Family Code

- Her gender has been an advantage for Senator Legarda. Gender played a key factor in her determination of advocacies. Gender being a factor for the Senator's determination of advocacy has been reflected in the legislative proposals she filed. She principally authored bills and resolutions relating to women concerns. These includes the following:

Senate Bill No. 1459 – “Women and Children Survivors Assistance and Protection Act of 1999”

- Senate Bill No. 1479 – “Expanding the prohibited acts of discrimination against women on account of sex”

Senate Bill No. 1629 – “Anti-trafficking of Filipino Women and Minors Act”

- Senate Bill No. 1647 – “Rights of Daughters against incestuous Rape”
- Res. No. 25 – Correctional Institute for Women
- Res. No. 675 – Investigation of alleged operations of Philippine agents of a New York Company accused of running sex tours
- Gender has played a neutral role in the career of former Senator Santiago. Though, it did not play a factor in her determination of advocacies.

The women Senators undoubtedly have performed well as a legislator and as a public servant. These women have gone beyond their private roles as a woman. They have acted in conformity with what they think constitutes the best interest of the Filipino people as manifested by their advocacy and the related legislative proposals and programs.

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Appendix

UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES MANILA
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Padre Faura St., Ermita, Manila

TO THE HONORABLE SENATOR I am a fourth year BA Political Science student graduating this April, conducting my undergraduate thesis on the evaluation of Women Legislators in the Philippine Senate's 11th Congress in partial fulfillment of my Political Science course. The study assumes the significant role women Senators play in the field of policy-making. It also assumes that the more participation women have in the field of politics, the more they re responsive to the needs of their constituents. In this context, the performance of the Women Senators must be evaluated to review whether they are effective in the task of being a public official and if they are responsive to the needs and demands of their constituents. For this purpose, I am requesting your help by answering a few questions that would aid the researcher in identifying the advocacy/ies the women Senators spoused in the 11th Congress. Also to measure effectiveness, the researcher will review significant bills filed and laws principally authored with regard to the causes they undertook. **THE RESEARCHER**

I. Background:

A. Personal Information

Name : _____
Age : _____
Residential Address: _____
Residential Tel. No.: _____
Office Address : _____
Office Tel. No. : _____
Fax No.: _____
E-mail Address: _____
Education (Elementary) : _____
(High School) : _____
(College) : _____
Others (eg. Masters/Doctoral Degree): _____
Awards/ Achievements : _____

B. Professional Background

Current Position/ Title: _____
Other positions/offices held before entry to the Senate: _____

Year of entry to politics : _____
Committee Chairmanship/membership : _____

II. Performance and Effectiveness

A. What was your vision for this country when you entered politics?

B. What problems did you wish to address when you were elected for the Eleventh Congress?

C. What was the key points in your legislative agenda for the Eleventh Congress?

D. What were the causes you espoused during your term?

E. What were your reasons for espousing those causes?

F. What programs have you initiated to support your advocacy?

G. Who oversees the implementation of those programs? Can you cite some accomplishments of the said programs?

H. Can you cite pertinent bills you have filed during the Eleventh Congress in support to your advocacy? What is the status of those bills? *(Just write the Bill No.)*

I. What significant laws have you authored in support of your advocacy? *(Just write the R.A. No.)*

J. Can you cite significant accomplishments of the committee/s you have chaired?

K. What other significant accomplishments would you like to add?

L. Do you think you have performed well as a Senator?

M. Do you think you have been responsive to the needs and demands of your constituents during your term in the Eleventh Congress?

Gender Analysis:

N. How do you think did your gender help you in being elected as a Senator?

O. Has your gender been a hindrance or advantage in performing your task as a legislator and public official?

P. Is your gender a key factor in choosing your advocacy/ies?

Thank You. God Bless.

Maricris S. Bislumbre

Dr. Maria Lourdes REbullida