

Elite Women as Public Servants: A Study of Female Local Chief Executives in the Philippines

PROSERPINA DOMINGO-TAPALES
AND EDEN V. SANTIAGO*

This research investigates the political participation of women as local chief executives during the period between 1995-1998. Assessment zeroed in on the following criterion: factors contributing to political winnability, specifically the role of family background; awareness of women's issues and concerns; constraints against women politicians and how to overcome these constraints; and relationship between the awareness by women local chief executives of women's issues and their responses to these issues through programs. This appraisal of 80 women local chief executives and case studies of six outstanding among them gives insights on what makes women win during elections. It also delves on some of their undertakings once they are elected.

Women and Politics in the Philippines

While the ascent of a woman President through people power revolution in 1986 placed the Philippines in the global political map, the Filipino woman's influence in society has long been acknowledged by political observers. At the height of her husband's power, Imelda Marcos held actual political power as Minister of Human Settlements and Governor of Metropolitan Manila, and was acknowledged as influential behind the scene.

Imelda's power, of course, eroded with the overthrow and eventual demise of her husband. But barely a decade after the political upheaval at Epifanio Delos Santos Avenue (EDSA), the Marcos heirs returned to power as Congressional representatives and Governor in elections held at the local level, though they still could not win in national elections.

*Director and Researcher, respectively of the Center for Local and Regional Governance, National College of Public Administration and Governance (NCPAG), University of the Philippines (UP). The assistance of Ms. Cynthia Paralejas is gratefully acknowledged.

The authors also acknowledge the financial support provided by the Center for Leadership, Citizenship and Democracy, NCPAG-UP.

The Marcos phenomenon is not unique in Philippine politics, especially in local level politics. Agpalo's (1969) generalization about elite politics at the local level has been reiterated by political observers of Martial Law and post-Martial Law regimes (Kerkvliet and Mojares 1991). Elite families dominate the local political scene, and many politicians go on from local to national politics. Political family names are often equated with provinces or cities, such as the Gordons of Olongapo City, the Singsons of Ilocos Sur, the Defensors and Lopezes of Iloilo.

The same observation was made by Aguilar (in Tapales 1992) about women politicians. Based on her study on women in electoral politics, Aguilar concluded:

The women politicians in local governments come from families considered prominent and well-to-do in the locality where they were elected to office. Most of these families are considered the elites of the community (Aguilar in Tapales 1992: 27).

Aguilar added:

Most women career politicians . . . enter politics upon the encouragement of male relatives or friends who have access to politics or are in politics themselves . . . Some women politicians were assured of mass support through their relatives in politics who have access to well-organized political machines and party support (Aguilar in Tapales 1992: 29).

Family political experience seems to be the main factor which make Filipino women who, while aware of their own influence from the sidelines, transcend the covert area of politics (defined by Tapales in 1984 as participation in policymaking levels in the bureaucracy and by Reyes in 1995 as participation in advocacy groups) to the overt political domain of elections. While Aguilar (1992) acknowledged that not all women politicians come from elite families and many of them had been recognized as community leaders before entering politics, very few women actually enter electoral politics. The participation of women in the Philippine legislature has remained at ten percent (UNDP 1997). At the local level, low proportions of women elected officials have also remained.

Figures of the Commission on Elections (COMELEC) are not yet complete for the local elections of 1998 (as of 31 July 1998). In the 1995 elections, COMELEC figures showed that eight out of 75 listed provincial governors were women, four out of 68 city mayors, and 125 out of 1,536 municipal mayors. Total women local chief executives (LCEs) totalled 137 only (See Table 1).

The Study

This study sought to assess the political participation of women as LCEs in 1995-1998. Assessment focused on the following: (1) factors contributing to political

July-October

Table 1. Male and Female Local Chief Executives, Comparison of 1992 and 1995 Elected Officials

<i>Level of LGU</i>	1992						1995					
	<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>		<i>Total</i>		<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Province	70	93.3	5	6.6	75	100	67	88.0	8	12.0	75	100
City	65	97.0	2	2.9	67	100	64	94.1	4	5.9	68	100
Municipality	1,425	92.7	111	7.2	1,536	100	1,411	91.9	125	8.1	1,536	100
Total	1,560	92.9	118	7.0	1,678	100	1,541	91.8	137	8.2	1,679	100

Source: COMELEC 1992 and 1995.

winnability, specifically the role of family background; (2) awareness of women's issues and concerns; (3) constraints against women politicians and how to overcome these constraints; and (4) relationship between the awareness by the women LCEs of women's issues and their responses to these issues through programs.

The study limited itself to LCEs because they have the capacity not only to provide policy direction but also to see their policies through, unlike the members of the local legislatures.

Funds for the survey and the case studies were provided by the Center for Leadership, Citizenship and Democracy (CLCD), National College of Public Administration and Governance (NCPAG), University of the Philippines (UP).

Methodology

Questionnaires were sent to all 137 LCEs in office by January 1998. The survey instrument contained questions on the respondents' socioeconomic background, political experience, awareness of constraints against women politicians, and suggestions on how to overcome these constraints as well as on how to encourage more women to run for public office.

Follow-up interviews and observations were conducted in March 1998 with selected respondents. Selection was based on known outstanding abilities of the women, availability of documentation about their projects or themselves, and relative proximity of existing project areas to the Center for Local and Regional Governance.

Despite still incomplete COMELEC reports, journalism accounts show the persistence of local elite politics in Mindanao which propel women to elective posts.

An account in the *Inquirer* said that (by March 1998) four of Mindanao's 23 governors, nine of its 49 representatives and one of its 16 mayors are women. (One Governor took over only in January 1998 after she won an election protest.) The *Inquirer* (1998: 7) also said that "except for a few, most of the women leaders are wives or daughters of politicians." Compared with COMELEC statistics, this shows that all women governors by March 1998 were from Mindanao and only one is not – the Governor of one Central Luzon province who also comes from a political family.

These statistics call for an assessment of the political participation of women in elective positions at the local level as well as their accomplishments.

Another set of follow-up interviews were conducted in July 1998 among outstanding women LCEs who lost in the May 1998 elections when they ran for other posts, to further understand this phenomenon in Philippine politics.

It must be noted that, in the course of the study, some aspects of the research were deemphasized (such as administration party affiliation) and others given more emphasis (like career paths) because initial findings of the survey pointed to the importance of career path more than party membership, since politicians at the national and local levels often switch parties.

Women Elites in Local Politics

The first set of questionnaire was mailed to all women LCEs in January 1998. Each questionnaire was sent with a self-addressed stamped envelope. Some were followed up personally and by phone. Of the total 137 women executives, 80 (58.4%) returned the questionnaires by fax or by mail within the prescribed period (until April 1998).

Profile of Respondents

Of the 80 respondents, eight were Governors, four were City Mayors, and 68 were Municipal Mayors. Governors represented ten percent of the total respondents; City Mayors comprised five percent. The municipal mayors comprised 85 percent of the total respondents (Table 2).

Table 2. Respondents by Position

<i>Position</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage to total respondents</i>	<i>Actual no. of women LCEs in office</i>	<i>Percentage of respondents to total women LCEs</i>
Governor	8	10.0	8	100.0
City Mayor	4	5.0	4	100.0
Municipal Mayor	68	85.0	125	54.4
Total	80	100.0	137	58.4

The responses, although comprising only 58.4 percent of the questionnaires sent are fairly representative of the women chief executives. All the Governors and the City Mayors returned their replies. For the municipal mayors, only 68 replied out of 125 (54.4%). A few mayors encountered at seminars said they never received the questionnaires sent by mail. In one rural town where a researcher followed up one request, the researcher found that our questionnaire was neatly filed, but apparently was never given to the mayor.

Responses were received from all regions in the country. As can be seen in Table 3, all of the few women LCEs in Regions XI and XII (Eastern and Central Mindanao) sent in their questionnaires. Eight of the ten women LCEs in Region II gave their responses. Region VI (Western Visayas) respondents comprised thirteen out of 18 women local chief executives, while Region V (Bicol) respondents comprised four out of six. In Region III (Central Luzon) four out of seven women LCEs replied; two out of four responded in Region IX (Western Mindanao) and the Cordillera Administrative Region. The lowest response rate came from Region I, where only four out of twelve responded.

Table 4 shows their distribution by age. Two are very young, belonging to the 21-30 age bracket. One was a 27-year old Governor of her province. Four belonged to the 31-40 age group (5.0%); 18 (22.5%) belonged to the 41-50 age bracket, while 16 (20.0%) were over 61 years old. Half of the respondents (40 or 50.0%) belonged to the 51-60 age group.

Table 3. Respondents by Region

<i>Region</i>	<i>F</i> (1)	<i>Percentage to total</i> (2)	<i>Actual no. of women LCEs in the region</i> (3)
CAR	2	2.5	4
I	4	5.0	12
II	8	10.0	10
III	4	5.0	7
IV	11	13.8	21
V	4	5.0	6
VI	13	16.2	18
VII	8	10.0	17
VIII	11	13.8	19
IX	2	2.5	4
X	4	5.0	7
XI	6	7.5	6
XII	1	1.2	1
CARAGA	2	2.5	5
Total	80	100.0	137

Table 4. Age of Respondents

<i>Age Bracket</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>%</i>
21-30	2	2.5
31-40	4	5.0
41-50	18	22.5
51-60	40	50.0
61 and above	16	20.0
Total	80	100.0

Most of the respondents were married (59 or 73.8%); thirteen were widowed, two were separated or divorced, while six were single (Table 5). Many of them had five or more children (29 or 36.2%); 28 had 3-4 (35.0%). Only two among the married women had no children (2.5%) (Table 6).

Table 5. Civil Status of Respondents

<i>Civil Status</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>%</i>
Single	6	7.5
Married	59	73.8
Separated/Divorced	2	2.5
Widow	13	16.2
Total	80	100.0

Table 6. Respondents by Number of Children

<i>No. of Children</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>%</i>
0	2	2.5
1-2	15	18.8
3-4	28	35.0
5 and over	29	36.2
Not applicable (single)	6	7.5
Total	80	100.0

While many among the respondents had several children, this was compensated for by the fact that their children were no longer very dependent on them when they assumed their current posts, since more than half of them are beyond child-bearing age.

Career Path

Their local elective posts is not the first job for all the respondents, as they had held jobs outside the home before holding their current posts.

A number of respondents had previous local government experience, and did not enter politics for the first time to run as mayor or governor.

Twenty-one of the respondents (26.6%) served as provincial or municipal legislators before becoming mayor or governor, while two (2.5%) served as *barangay*¹ officials. Seventeen practiced their professions as lawyers or doctors, some for as long as 30 years before running for public office. In fact, one governor had a thriving practice as medical doctor before being enticed to go into politics. Others served government in various capacities. Eleven (13.8%) were school teachers and six (7.5%) were school administrators. Seven (8.8%) were businesswomen while two were NGO leaders (Table 7). As the table further shows, most of the women LCEs have had lengthy work experiences – some for as long as 30 years – before assuming their current posts.

Table 7. Positions/Occupations Held by Respondents Before their Current Office

<i>Position(s) Held Before</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No. of Years</i>
1. Teacher	11	13.8	5-29
2. School Administrator	6	7.5	2-20
3. Legislator (prov'l, municipal)	21	26.2	3-9
4. Businesswomen	7	8.8	14-30
5. NGO Leader	2	2.5	4-15
6. Local Chief Executives	2	2.5	3-9
7. Nat'l Government Administrator	8	10.0	2-32
8. Private Practitioner (doctor, nurse, midwife, lawyer, banker, etc.)	17	21.2	1-30
9. Barangay Official	2	2.5	3-5
10. Others (housewife, law student, administrative asst.)	3	3.7	
11. No answer	1	1.3	
Total	80	100.0	

Eight of the respondents were former vice-mayors while one was a former Vice-Governor, thus serving as local *sanggunian* chair and apprentice local chief executive before assuming the mayoralty or governorship post. Nine served as *sangguniang panlalawigan* member while two served as *sangguniang bayan* member. Two were former *barangay* chairs.

Thus, while many ran for mayor or governor for the first time, they were not strangers to the ways of government.

Entry into Politics

Many of the respondents entered politics after the collapse of the Marcos regime; 22 (28%) ran for office in 1992 while ten (12.5%) ran in 1988; nine (11.2%) entered politics in 1986 (Table 8). Nine entered only during the 1995 elections, and are relatively new in politics, but as the preceding table has shown, they had worked in other capacities before.

Table 8. Year of Entry into Politics

<i>Year of Entry in Politics</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>%</i>
1957*	1	1.2
1960	1	1.2
1963	1	1.2
1967	1	1.2
1972	1	1.2
1976	4	5.0
1980	6	7.5
1982	1	1.2
1986	9	11.2
1987	4	5.0
1988	10	12.5
1989	7	8.8
1992	22	27.5
1995	9	11.2
No answer	3	3.8
Total	80	100.0

*School Politics only.

They entered politics in various ways. They were drafted by the party (41); they came from political families (34); or they had husbands who came from political families (30). Thirty-three (33) acknowledged the prominence of their families in the local area (both social and political prominence); 39 said they were drafted by friends and relatives; while 27 said they were drafted by their socio-civic organizations; seven (7) say they ran on their own (Table 9).

Table 9. How Respondents Entered Politics

<i>Manner of Entering Politics (Multiple Response)</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
I came from a political family	34
My husband comes from a political family	30
Our family is prominent in the area	33
I was encouraged by friends and relatives	39
I was drafted by my socio-civic organization	27
I was drafted by the party	41
I ran on my own	7
Others:	9
1. desire to share with the community her nursing skills	1
2. her husband said "yes" first to friends and relatives	2
3. she ran on her own after the death of her husband mayor	1
4. appointed as OIC in 1986	2
5. people's support/endorsed by the masses	1
6. was drafted by the indigenous people	1
7. was appointed by DILG secretary	1

Of those who checked "others" as means for joining politics, two ran after the death of their husband or father who was then mayor; two were appointed as OIC mayor in 1986. This brings to mind our own analysis that Philippine politics opens readily to widows of politicians, such as the cases of President Corazon Aquino, widow of slain former Senator Benigno Aquino, Jr., and Senator Magnolia Antonino, widow of Senator Antonino.

These may also assert Aguilar's treatise on the recruitment of women into politics by virtue of their family background whether by birth or affinity. However, while family connections established the direct link to politics, this could be very useful in that it can be said to have helped in exposing the women chief executives to the realities of politics. Therefore, Filipino women politicians did not just watch from their elite towers, but were in fact exposed to the problems of the community.

Data above shows that while family background is an important factor in getting women to run for public office, for many women LCEs, the path takes a longer course. Except for the two cases found, the women LCEs served earlier in local government as councilors or the government in administrative positions before running as mayor or governor, providing more observation posts to assess the community's needs.

Contributions to the Community

The respondents were asked to list three programs which they consider to be their most important contributions to the community. Infrastructure led the list, mentioned by 19 respondents. Most elected officials feel that infrastructures are readily seen by their constituents as their output; health and nutrition followed (17); environment (10); and peace and order and justice (10) (Table 10).

Table 10. Three Most Important Programs of Respondents

<i>Three Most Important Programs</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
1. Literacy/Education	5
2. Livelihood	9
3. Infrastructure (water, roads, bridges, power, comm.)	19
4. Health and Nutrition	17
5. Welfare/Day-care, etc.	8
6. Environment	10
7. People's participation	5
8. Women	1
9. Economic Enterprises	6
10. Peace and Order, justice	10
11. Agriculture	7
12. Housing and Resettlement	5
13. Moral recovery	3
14. Skills training	2
15. Delivery of basic services	5
16. Cityhood	1
17. Socioeconomic/development projects	9
18. Higher income of the LGU	3
19. Tourism development	1
20. Human Resource Development	1
21. Leadership by example	1

Among these, only health and nutrition are stereotyped as women-oriented projects. Two other women-stereotyped projects are literacy/education (5), and welfare (8).

In health and nutrition, the respondents cited several innovative projects: establishment of a mini-hospital out of local funds, putting up an LGU-initiated

medicare in the form of health and retirement pension, assistance to indigents, re-education of people to include health in their budgets, outstanding implementation of nutrition program, provision of dental/medical missions to different barangays, fund allocation for the purchase of medicines and dental items, and population management. Welfare projects mentioned were provision of day care centers and services in all barangays, programs on child care and protection.

What comes out from these is that women LCEs are not gender-tracked into women-oriented projects. They respond to infrastructure needs of their community like water supply, power, roads and bridges, as well as livelihood programs, economic enterprise, peace and order, agriculture, housing and resettlement.

Asked why they thought the projects to be the most important, the respondents said that these respond to felt needs for more efficient delivery of basic services (35), improve the quality of life (21), sustain human development (15), and alleviate poverty (14) (Table 11).

Table 11. Why Respondents Considered Projects Cited as Most Important?

<i>Reasons</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
1. Basic needs/Service delivery	35
2. Employment	8
3. Protect the area/Encourage investment	4
4. Increase local income	4
5. Alleviate poverty	14
7. Improve quality of life	21
8. Sustainable development/progress	15
9. Protect life, property, peace	7
10. Change in the people's attitude	2

Job Satisfaction

Most of the respondents were happy with their jobs. When asked if they would run for office again if they were given the chance, 74 (92.5%) said they would, and only five, said no (Table 12). Furthermore, most of the respondents (78 or 97.5%) said they would recommend that women should run for public office (Table 13).

July-October

Table 12. Will Respondents Run Again?

	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>%</i>
Yes	74	92.4
No	5	6.3
No Answer	1	1.3
Total	80	100.0

Table 13. Would you recommend to other women to run for public office?

	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>%</i>
Yes	78	97.5
No	1	1.25
No Answer	1	1.25
Total	80	100.00

In their opinion, women possess positive qualities that will make them good mayors (29), women power is needed in government (16), and women are good managers (11). The good qualities of women are their diligence and dedication to their work, their service-orientation, perseverance, honesty, passion for detail, patience, and adherence to moral values. Women are generally considered to be more afraid to commit crimes and corruption (Table 14).

Table 14. Qualities of Women that should Encourage Them to Run for Public Office

<i>Reasons</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>%</i>
1. Good qualities of women	29	36.2
2. As capable as men	9	11.2
3. Women power needed in government	16	20.0
4. Women are qualified to lead	5	6.2
5. Good managers	11	13.4
6. No Answer	10	12.5
Total	80	100.0

The respondents agreed that women should be encouraged to run for local public office. This could be done through role modelling (32), that is, good women leaders should be made known, and advocacy (finding ways of making women run for office). One very positive way of motivating women to go into politics is by involving them in government-initiated or implemented programs (19). If women are exposed to programs for the local populace, they may be interested in being part of the decisionmaking process for those programs. Women power is needed in government, they said, because gender balance is part of nation-building. Although not all women are gender conscious, women in political posts could also push for pro-women policies (Table 15).

Table 15. How can we encourage more women to run for local office?

	<i>Frequency</i>
1. Fund assistance	3
2. Training/Seminars	6
3. Role Modeling	32
4. Advocacy	19
5. Recognition of works	4
6. Sharing of experiences	5
7. Involvement in programs	19
8. Provision of incentives	1

Women as Local Politicians

The results of this survey of 80 local chief executives in office from 1995 to 1998 show the elite political and economic backgrounds of a majority of the respondents. These reaffirm conclusions of earlier studies on women's political participation.

Nonetheless, family background, while important as far as getting women elected into local office, is not their only qualification for public office. Except for one case, all the women surveyed have served the community in administrative posts in government or in professions which touch base with the community. In a sense, they are not completely ignorant of the problems faced by the community and act to meet those problems.

They are also aware of constraints against women in politics. From their own experiences, however, the women local chief executives surveyed think that women should run for local elected positions and in fact should be assisted and encouraged in running for public office.

It must be said that projects initiated by the women respondents are not necessarily aimed to meet women's concerns as much as those of the community. This is very similar to findings of our earlier studies on women in the bureaucracy (Tapales 1984, Aguilar 1992) which saw no correlation between gender and women-directed projects, since projects initiated by women were more influenced by the public posts held by the women bureaucrats than by their gender. To find out more about projects initiated by the women LCEs and their management styles, we conducted case studies on selected women from our survey.

Women Elites as Local Public Officials

The results of the survey of women LCEs showed commonalities in socioeconomic backgrounds, presence of projects aimed at meeting community problems, a sense of well-being as public officials, and a perception that more women should be encouraged to run for public office. The second phase of this study aimed at looking deeper into the achievements, and management styles of selected respondents and determining their linkages with women advocacy groups in the community.

Follow-up interviews were scheduled with ten women, but by March 1998, some of them were already busy campaigning for the May elections, and we could no longer keep up with them. We were able to follow up only six women chosen because we believed that they were outstanding LCEs. Interviews with them were substantiated with observations of their day in office and visits to their projects. Where possible, materials written on them and their projects were also studied.

We finally interviewed four municipal mayors, one city mayor, and one governor, and observed their projects.

Governor Remedios L. Petilla
Leyte

Governor Petilla popularly known as "Matin" was first elected in 1995 and now on her second term as governor of Leyte. Coming from a prominent and political family in Leyte where her husband was her predecessor, Gov. Petilla wanted to carve her own niche in the political arena by cautiously trying to acquire her own identity as a public servant. Definitely, while she listens to the advice of her husband,

she has a different style of handling things and insists that her decisions shall prevail.

She administers the province by spending most of her time being with the people. She moves around the province a lot, goes to as many activities as she can and personally endorses the programs/projects of the provincial government. Her style of going from one barangay to the other has enabled her to personally touch the lives of many of her constituents drawing her closer to their hearts. An incident related by one of her staff is that an old woman from a far-flung barangay could not control her tears upon meeting her and said that in her ripe age, that was the first time she saw a governor visiting their place.

The program of government being adhered to by the Governor is hinged on LOVE and CHARITY:

- L – Livelihood
- O – Opportunities for Women
- V – Vital Health Care
- E – Ecological Balance

&

- C – Cooperatives Promotion
- H – Human Resources Development
- A – Agricultural Productivity and Social Forestry
- R – Rehabilitation & Construction of Infrastructure Facilities
- I – Incentives for Investors in Industry
- T – Tourism and Cultural Promotion
- Y – Youth Empowerment

Letter "O" in LOVE spells out the opportunities her administration provides for the women of Leyte. The governor is currently strengthening the Provincial Federation of KALIPI (*Kalipunan ng Liping Pilipina*) which she initiated. It was already registered with SEC and has a set of officers from the provincial/federation up to the barangay level. It practically covers every barangay in the province and has become a strong and huge organization of women. The members are women in the barangays and many of them are barangay health workers (BHWs), Barangay Nutrition Scholars (BNSs), and members of livelihood programs in the depressed areas. Most of them are also active participants in other programs of the governor.

The governor is especially keen in organizing the people especially the women since they implement her programs in the barangays. An organized community, especially the women is the reason why she believes that all her programs are implemented properly down to the barangay level. Her full support to programs and projects encourages the implementors as well as the beneficiaries to respond well to her projects.

Aside from the provision of health care, where the province of Leyte won in the Most Outstanding Health Board category in 1996, she also promotes livelihood activities, ecological balance, agriculture and aquaculture productivity particularly in the coastal barangays and municipalities.

The province is very supportive when it comes to provision of financial support. Funds for livelihood projects are normally given to women's cooperatives in interior barangays which before were not only depressed areas, but were also NPA- and squatter-infested. The province has this livelihood assistance under the Self-Employment Assistance-Kaunlaran (SEA-K) of the DSWD which made them won the Gold Award as the Most Outstanding LGU in Livelihood Implementation for registering 100 percent returns. The governor monitors if the beneficiaries religiously pay their loans and usually attends programs/graduation ceremonies related to the activity which is also a way of encouraging the women. For her, seeing their enthusiasm is fulfilling enough. She is not happy though for not having a big amount that can be lent to these women (only P100,000 is loaned per cooperative).

Joining the organization and becoming beneficiaries of livelihood activities empower the women according to the governor. These also give them the responsibility and the encouragement to join in other activities. Like in the case of BHWs who actively implement health activities in the barangays, they have the opportunity to attend a seminar/training at least once a year to update their knowledge. Giving them responsibilities and recognizing their efforts really encourages and motivates them to do better; according to her.

Gov. Petilla considers her being a woman as an important factor in her success as a local chief executive. She always finds it easy to convince people, she does not really know why, but according to the people in the barangays, they see her sincerity. She can easily bring her projects to the lower level as well as in the higher echelons of the bureaucracy.

For example, since she became president of the Regional Tourism Council (there are six provinces and three cities in the region), and for the first time in the history of the region, she was able to convene the governors together in Tacloban and staged a good show about "travel mart." She feels that she was able to inspire

and encourage even the persons whom before, has not focused their attention on tourism development.

She views her job as mostly administrative in nature. Sometimes she feels frustrated because there are many unsuccessful programs during the process of implementation because of inefficient department heads. Thus, she focuses her attention on departments that do not perform well by employing a hands-on supervision and meeting them regularly. On the other hand, she praises the departments which do not need much supervision and able to function on their own.

Delegating her function is not her style. She personally attends to things from the beginning to the end. This she believes is the secret to the success of her projects.

In maintaining balance between her career and family, there were not so much adjustments on the part of her children because they are already grown-ups. Not having so much domestic responsibilities is one of her advantages. Three of her children are in Manila and three are living abroad, but she's always in constant communication with them. She tries to involve them in what she does but she thinks that they are not interested in politics. Though they are also concerned with what she does particularly about her safety.

Her first term in office (1995-1998) has brought awards and recognition to the province. In fact, the province has been elevated to the Hall of Fame status for garnering the Best Destination Booth, Philippine Travel Mart and, the Best LGU in Population Management Program for three consecutive years (1995-1997). These indeed, are concrete proofs that attest to the governor's transformation as a public servant with an identity of her own.

Mayor Katherine H. Gordon
Olongapo City

The Gordon name is synonymous with Olongapo City. As Subic Bay Metropolitan Authority (SBMA) long-time chair and former Olongapo Mayor, Richard Gordon, said about his wife running for office, "During your first term, the Gordon name will help you; after that, your record will determine your winning."

And so, Katherine H. Gordon ran for Congress in 1987. She won a second term in 1992. When her husband concentrated on the SBMA, she ran for Mayor of Olongapo City. Richard Gordon credits her for pushing for the creation of the SBMA by authoring the bill and getting it through Congress.

July-October

She says that, aside from the fact that her husband comes from a political family, she was encouraged by friends and relatives to run for office, and was drafted by her sociocivic organization.

She believes that women should enter politics because their representation complements the contribution of men in governance. To encourage other women to run for local office Mayor Gordon says she should show by her example "how one woman can make a difference in the community, to make them realize that women can be as effective in community improvement."

As mayor she counts as her most important contributions: a skills training program to prepare Olongapo residents for jobs at the freeport; furnishing and equipping the James L. Gordon Memorial Hospital (named after her father-in-law); and large scale improvement of park and playground facilities. She considers them most important because those projects "have direct impact on the lives of my constituents." Moreover, "the improvement of facilities in the city is preparatory to the expansion of the Subic Bay Freeport to include the city proper."

She says that, to be able to reach the people, she uses herself as example. To encourage them to go into family planning, for instance, she describes how the effort has helped her plan well for her family's needs.

She also related how, when Mount Pinatubo erupted, she the Congresswoman and he the Mayor called up to their children in Manila to say good-bye, knowing their duty was to help the people of Olongapo and Zambales.

Beyond these, Mayor Gordon's projects have received international recognition. She was awarded the UNESCO Cities for Peace Prize for Asia and the Pacific Region. Receiving her prize of \$25,000 in Stockholm, Sweden, she donated it for her project for the children of the poorest families in Olongapo. She was cited for the excellent work in peace and prevention of urban violence and also for her innovative programs to develop interpersonal solidarity and a new citizenship by pursuing a policy actively involving young people.

Mayor Gordon holds a degree from St. Joseph College in Manila. An effective partnership exists between her and her husband as they embark on complementary activities. While initiating her own programs she has continued her husband's project. However, she has emerged on her own and has kept the Gordon name prominent, with the prizes she has received for Olongapo.

Mayor Reylina G. Nicolas
Sta. Maria, Bulacan

A phenomenon in Philippine politics is that of a widow taking over her husband's political post. Mayor Reylina (Neneng) Nicolas is one such case.

The family of her late husband has held political posts in their hometown. Her own husband was Mayor and became Vice-governor of Bulacan province. When he died, she was appointed by the Governor to take his place in the *Sangguniang Panlalawigan* (Provincial Board). After her stint, she ran as Mayor of Sta. Maria in the next local elections. She has been serving as mayor since then; this is her last three-year term.

Although she has five children, they had all grown up by the time she went into politics. And besides, she said, her first political post as Board Member were not too taxing.

She prides as her contributions to her municipality the waste management project which it embarked on jointly with the private sector and an NGO, her infrastructure projects, and her population management and nutrition program. The waste management projects had won for Sta. Maria a *galing pook* award. The rest have made her town recipient of the *Pamana ng Lahi* (Cultural Heritage) award. Aside from the prestige they brought her municipality, the awards also gave cash awards which she was able to use for other projects.

There are active women's organizations in Sta. Maria. The *Lakas ng Kababaihan sa Sta. Maria* (Women Strength in Sta. Maria) is part of the provincial women's network. The women barangay councilmen have also supported mother's clubs in the *puroks* of the town. The *Lakas* has been active in livelihood and environment projects. Mayor Neneng also explained that the presidents of the Senior Citizens organization and the Tourism Council are women.

The *Lingap sa Nayon* (Caring for the Community) has a chapter in every barangay. They are concerned with health and nutrition.

To support NGO-led projects, the local government provides honoraria for trainers, such as in nutrition or livelihood projects.

Active cooperation between the LGU and the NGO characterizes the day care center and feeding centers for malnourished children. There are 19 day care centers in the community used by 25-40 children each.

July-October

Some NGOs became instrumental for the municipality to acquire equipment from foreign countries like office trucks, garbage truck with compactor, mini-impounding dam, ambulance and medical and hospital equipment.

Mayor Neneng thinks that in running for public office and in running a municipality, being a woman has advantages and disadvantages, but that there are more advantages. For one, she says, "People can't say no to a lady," and that helps in getting projects through. For another, women are also "more inclined to go into details," so it helps a lot in following up matters regarding projects.

On her management style, she said she looks into details. But she is not an arrogant leader. "I always say please," she said.

Mayor Neneng holds a BS Commerce degree, major in management, from the College of the Holy Spirit in Manila. Despite her busy schedule as mayor, she took and finished a master's degree for local officials conducted by the Pamantasan ng Lungsod ng Maynila (PLM) under the sponsorship of the Local Government Academy.

While she started in politics as a replacement for her husband, Mayor Neneng has proven that a woman local chief executive can do much for her municipality. She ran for office for her third and last term after the interview and won, bent on being a role model who serves as inspiration for other women.

The widow who entered politics to continue her husband's tasks has indeed done her job well. She can walk up and down the Sta. Maria municipal building assured that the generations of Nicolas men whose pictures watch her in the hallways are proud of the distinction she has given their name.

*Mayor Agnes VST Devanadera
Sampaloc, Quezon*

Sampaloc, Quezon is a sleepy little town at the foot of Mount Banahaw. Its one claim to fame is the fact that dissidents sought refuge in its forest during the long years of rebellion against the national government. But in the last decade, Sampaloc came to political prominence when the young lady mayor who served it for nine years became a leader among national officials, later becoming President of the League of Municipalities, which organization she also made prominent.

Mayor Devanadera comes from a political family who are also economically prominent in Sampaloc. For many years, she practiced law and later served as Managing Partner of Balgos and Perez Law Office in Makati City. She tried her

hand at politics in 1988 and served as Mayor until the end of her last three year term.

She thinks women are "effective administrators, have the stamina for longer hours of work, are more patient to learn new things, are more sensitive to the needs of others, and have the intuition to anticipate the needs of others." That is why she thinks women should engage in politics and serve their communities.

Sampaloc's *Kapit-Bisig* (Arms Linked Together) program won a *galing pook* award. The program was conceived by Mayor Devanadera as her reentry program after graduating from the seven-week 33rd Local Administration and Development Program (LADP), conducted by the then Local Government Center of the College of Public Administration, University of the Philippines. She envisioned the program as a response to the insurgency problem in her locality. As conceived, the program applies the concept of participatory democracy using "community organizations as administrative tools and provides a venue for discussion of common issues affecting citizens" (Ilago 1995: 10).

She immediately organized *puroks*² in the barangays "along the lines of both the municipal and barangay development council" (Ilago 1995: 10). It has similar concerns—peace and order, finance, agrarian reform, environmental protection, social services, agriculture, education, youth welfare, and sports.

Through *Kapit Bisig*, she was able to come out with an expanded immunization program, family planning, nutrition, medicare, sanitation, tax collection, herbal garden and backyard vegetable production. The *purok* enforces peace and order and dispenses justice for petty cases within its jurisdiction. An instrument used to monitor compliance with the sub-projects is similar to the Minimum Basic Needs (MBN) data boards kept in each household.

Mayor Devanadera credits LGU-NGO-people cooperation for the success of *Kapit Bisig*. Several NGOs and POs have been assisting – the Federation of Farmers Associations, the Senior Citizens League, the Farmer's Multi-purpose Cooperative, and the Quezon Women's League. Barangay officials also assist the municipality in these endeavors.

She considers *Kapit-Bisig* as one integrated project. Through it, she was able to strengthen government, NGO and PO partnerships harnessing community participation. The project has also re-educated people to include health in their personal budget (they now have a system of community health insurance). Through *Kapit-Bisig* and other related programs, Mayor Devanadera says she has focused on the upliftment of the economic, social, and political status of the bottom poor sector

of the community. *Kapit-Bisig*, she says, has provided the main framework for local governance including delivery of basic services and the participation of the community in local governance.

Women make good managers, according to Mayor Devanadera. To encourage more women to run for office there should be more capacity building programs for them with actual practitioners as speakers or resource persons.

At the time of the interview, Mayor Agnes VST Devanadera was a guest speaker in a *Kapihan* at a local hotel. The room was full, with newsmen and businessmen waiting for what the dynamic lady who served as mother, corporate lawyer, mayor and Municipal League President had to say.

Mayor Edna C. Tabanda
La Trinidad, Benguet

A self-made public servant, Mayor Edna C. Tabanda's entry to politics presents a clear deviation from the traditional mode of entry used by the majority of women politicians. Neither the mayor nor her husband belongs to the political or prominent families in Benguet. Rather, she was encouraged by friends and relatives to try the political arena, first as a municipal councilor, a post she occupied for ten years, before running as mayor of La Trinidad in the 1988 local elections.

The municipality of La Trinidad with Mayor Tabanda at the helm actively provides opportunity for the holistic development of women in the community through the La Trinidad Integrated Women's Program (LTIWP). The program was conceived out of the identified need to give more attention to the women and bring them into the mainstream of local development. It is under the direct supervision of the Office of the Mayor, but it is being operationalized through the Municipal Social Welfare Office, Municipal Agriculture Office, Municipal Health Office and the Population Office. It is in coordination with other barangay officials, national government agencies, nongovernmental organizations and people's organizations. It has four major components: organization/institution building; livelihood assistance; capability building; and health care services. LTIWP is integrated within the existing programs of the LGU.

The creation of the Municipal Women's Federation/Network out of the community-based women's organizations established in every barangay (16 in all) is one of the major accomplishments of the program. At present, the Federation is no longer a beneficiary of the program but now an active partner of the municipality in its various activities.

A staunch advocate of women empowerment, Mayor Tabanda played a significant role in the creation of the Federation. She was the one who encouraged the women in the community to organize themselves and later form into a federation. An NGO that is very much involved with the women's federation particularly on capability-building activities is the Igorota Foundation. The LGU share its resources by giving counterpart funds to capability-building activities. Many members of the organization are health workers. Being a nurse, the mayor is partial to the health programs of the municipality. While the mayor initiated the organization of women, she limited her presence by just serving as a guide, making suggestions as far as programs and activities to be undertaken are concerned. She remained behind the women while letting them act and decide for themselves.

The women are also involved in the environment programs of the municipality. They have their own communal forests where they can plant and take care of their own trees.

The women of La Trinidad also do networking with other municipalities in the province. Through the LTIWP, the women are now aware that they have a role to play in community activities and that they can do a lot for themselves and for their organization, which could redound to the benefit of the community. By realizing their role, it is also like giving them recognition and importance in community development.

As to her management style, her role at home is a carry-over of her role in the municipality. Oftentimes when she gets angry with her staff, it is as if she is getting angry with her own children. She is like a mother to them. She sees her maternal instinct as a plus factor for her and a woman LCE. She cannot detach her personal concern over them because she looks at them not only as her constituents but also as members of her own family. That is how she manages the municipality. Through time, her staff members have learned to understand her attitude.

Based on her experience as a public official, she does not only believe that women have the capacity to lead and become executives but they are "better managers" and are less prone to commit graft and corrupt practices. She noted that in order to encourage more women to run for local office, they should be "informed about their potentials and their advantages as women leaders, that women have qualities that make them better administrators." She even encourages the women that if they think they are capable of running for political position, they should do so. For her, there should really be more women in politics. She said that there is no women's vote up to now, it is yet to be established.

In her ten years as LCE, her achievements did not remain unnoticed. Mayor Tabanda received numerous awards, citations and nominations for her outstanding

performance as public official. Her being an exceptional woman LCE was also recognized by NGOs and women's groups, which give her encouragement and boost her morale. Likewise, the municipality of La Trinidad harvested various awards and citations during her administration.

At first, it was very hard for her to balance her career and family. She felt guilty at times, because there were situations wherein she had to choose between her family and her responsibilities as a mayor. There were times when she was planning for family affairs, her children no longer believed her. They knew that it would be useless since she would go anyway when there were calls from the people. That was the major complaint of her children. But eventually, they have accepted her priority: the people.

Despite her seeming lack of time, all her seven children turned out to be achievers: one is a CPA/lawyer, two are registered nurses, one is a computer programmer and another is a medical technologist. The sixth child is a medical technology student while the youngest is a scholar in the secondary level.

No professional jealousy exists between her and her husband who is a businessman. He does not meddle in her career. He takes care of the family business/corporation where some of their children now work.

The shift in the mayor's profession from being a clinic nurse, to a businesswoman, to an effective politician is backed by her educational achievements: from Bachelor of Science in Nursing and Commerce to Bachelor of Laws.

After serving as mayor for ten years, Mayor Tabanda felt that it was time to move on. Thus, in the last 1998 synchronized elections, she aimed for a higher position. While her bid for the governorship of Benguet failed, her accomplishments for La Trinidad are definitely worth her twenty years in public office.

Mayor Eva Marie S. Medina
Vigan, Ilocos Sur

Mayor Eva Marie S. Medina belongs to the Singsons of Ilocos Sur. A closer look in her administration will reveal that there is more to her as a public servant than just her name. Moreover, she is one woman LCE who has done many things for her fellow women.

There are three active women's organizations in Vigan. One is *Kalipunan ng Liping Pilipina* (KALIPI) which is being managed by the Department of Social

Welfare and Development (DSWD). Another is the Rural Improvement Club (RIC), which is under the Department of Agriculture (DA) and the *Balikatan sa Vigan* that is a remnant of an organization with another name created by the former First Lady Imelda Marcos. It became dormant for some time but was later reactivated in 1989.

The membership of KALIPI was limited before to mothers who were not working. But it has since adopted a wider scope of membership. Members mostly engage in livelihood activities. RICs on the other hand mostly engage in agri-based income-generating projects (IGPs), the latest of which is the production of hand made paper. *Balikatan* concerns itself more on livelihood activities.

Mayor Medina plays an important role in these women's organizations. When she was still a Provincial Board Member, she served as honorary chairperson of the RIC Federation for Ilocos Sur. She retained her position when she became mayor but her function is purely advisory.

The mayor also serves as president of *Balikatan sa Vigan*. The organization has its own funds, which come from fund raising activities and congressional initiatives of their congressman. Each of the 39 barangays of the municipality has its own *Balikatan* chapter. Livelihood funds gathered from fund raising activities are channeled through them. They are the ones responsible for distributing the funds to the members. Loans are given with very minimal interest rate (i.e., two percent within six months).

KALIPI gets its funds from the LGU through the Municipal Social Welfare and Development Office. The main involvement of the mayor and the LGU as a whole is in the conduct of training programs, e.g., moral recovery programs, and during celebrations/affairs.

Most of the activities of women's organizations initiated by the mayor are in the form of training programs. She targets the multiplier effect of training programs on women. Admittedly, only a small percentage of people undergoing training will practice what they have learned. The mayor is vouching on them – she believes that they are the ones who can eventually improve their lives and that of their families. She really concentrated on giving training programs even when she was still a board member.

The LGU also initiates other training programs for women. There are some, which are in coordination with the province and with other line agencies like DTI, DA, DSWD, among others. There are programs too that transcends any gender. LGU-initiated training programs are solely funded by the LGU, while joint projects are also funded jointly.

Another activity involving the women is the recently held LGU-sponsored training course on physical therapy. Representatives from each barangay who are willing to answer the health/therapeutic needs of the community participated in this. It is too costly to have a therapy but if they avail of the services of the trained PTs, they will only spend minimally. The trainees were usually BHWs or anyone in the barangay who is interested.

As to her management style, the mayor considers her being a woman advantageous since women by nature are "mabusisi" (or meticulous). They inspect things up to the last detail. She acknowledges such trait as good since more often than not, her projects are seen to completion, from the planning stage up to implementation and follow up.

Another trait the mayor is proud to possess is her ability to make fast decisions. If a problem or program is presented to her, she decides on them fast. Since Vigan is a capital town with a big population, she encounters multi-faceted problems — these she thinks need quick decisions otherwise matters will build up on her. She attributes this trait though not because of her being a woman but the way she was brought up by her parents. She exhibited this attitude even if she was still a board member.

Likewise, she requires her department heads to be always on the go and on call, they all work beyond office hours depending on the job required.

Concerning her family, she believes she is lucky to have an understanding family. She explains to them her career, sometimes she brings her children to the office or to the different barangays she goes to. Her husband also understands her, who himself is usually out on field because of the nature of his construction business. There is no professional jealousy between her and her husband. He has no political inclination and is happy with what he does.

When Mayor Medina initially ran in 1995, her detractors said that the number one problem that she will likely encounter was handling peace and order in her municipality because of her being a woman. But it was during her term when the Police Station of Vigan was awarded as the Most Outstanding Police Station in the province of Ilocos Sur. They were also adjudged as the Most Outstanding Peace and Order Council for Region I in 1997. She believes that it depends on how she deals with them. If one gives importance/credit to their work, they will also feel good and be inspired to give their best.

The mayor also introduced several innovations to the municipality. They have a scholarship program for the children of their employees including the PNP and the Bureau of Fire Protection (not devolved). The LGU pays for the tuition and miscellaneous fees of all children of these employees who are going to college provided

they will study at the University of Northern Philippines or any other state-run educational institution.

There is also a scholarship program for their employees who would want to finish college or pursue higher education.

The municipality is also able to give its employees the (unfunded) mandates being issued by the national government like increasing their salaries through the SSL and other incentives due to employees. This is hard for the municipality due to insufficient funds, yet they tried. They are always the first to implement the budget circulars reaching the province. Municipal employees before also did not receive their salaries on time, but this is no longer the case since she assumed office. Even the casual employees receive other benefits being received by the regular employees like productivity, personnel economic relief allowance, additional clothing allowance, 13th month pay.

When she became mayor, the first thing she did was to clean her own backyard. She made innovations to increase the LGU's resources like correcting the defects in fiscal management. At the time, collections were not regularly deposited in the bank and vouchers were paid in cash. She issued an executive order requiring them to deposit collections daily, for easy check and balance. Since the money was just inside the vault, it could be a source of graft and corruption. One of the staff members was engaged in money lending, thus, one will not know anymore which is the money of the government and which is his/her personal money.

The LGU also increased its revenues from market operations through re-measuring of stalls and coming up with correct masterlist. No one is given special favors, everybody pays.

The municipality became a first class city in 1997. In planning for the future of her constituents, she desires for the self-sufficiency of the women of Vigan through more livelihood activities, which could augment their income even if it means not joining in the formal employment sector.

In addition, the LGU plans to introduce loom weaving as part of the elementary curriculum by June 1998 to continue this heritage of traditional craft. There are many home-based loom weavers in Vigan. The current situation is that demand is higher than what they produce. Demands come from tourists and trade fairs. They also bring their produce in Baguio. Many young Vigans now prefer to go to college and find white-collar jobs and leave loom weaving to their parents. They see the strategy as a way of helping their parents, since more weavers means more production. The LGU is now starting to buy looms to be placed in schools.

Mayor Medina positively recommends to other women to run for political office for them to be heard and be equal partners of men in community development. She believes that she can encourage more women to run for office by doing well in her job, thus giving the message that women could also be effective public servants. She believes though that serving the community transcends beyond gender. What is important according to her is the purpose in entering any endeavor.

While the Singson name is admittedly the major reason that catapulted her to power the first time she dipped her hands into the Ilocos politics, the accomplishments and innovations introduced by Mayor Medina to her municipality definitely give reason to the preservation of that name. Her performance as an effective LCE will always be regarded as the pride and honor that characterize her name.

Complementing Family Name with Accomplishments

This survey of 80 women LCEs and case studies of six outstanding among them, provided insights on what makes a woman win an election and what she does when she gets elected.

This study validated earlier findings that family name is an important ingredient in winning elections at the local level in the Philippines. Like the legislators studied by Aguilar, the LCEs generally come from political families (whether by birth or by affinity). Family name provides the needed recognition, probably track record, and funds to run for office.

However, the women studied did not really come in without political exposure. Some of them have held other political positions before, as councilors or *barangay* officials. Most of them had careers of their own, some serving the government in other capacities, such as school teachers or employees of government agencies. Many have also been active in organizations.

What is most significant is that Filipino women LCEs, aware of their families' prominence, strive to be worthy of their family's name. Being exposed to politics at an early age, they are aware of the many problems brought to their family predecessor's attention by the people. When their turn comes, they are able to respond to similar problems. This is not to say, nonetheless, that they do not have their own program priorities. In the interviews, the women reflected their own agenda.

The women LCEs studied bring with them their experiences as mothers, and this is often reflected in the welfare projects they fund. But they are not gender-

tracked into such projects; they also espouse infrastructures and economic development projects when they perceive them as the needs of the community.

Because they are happy in the thought that they are able to contribute to the community's well-being through their work, the women local officials want to see other women contribute to their communities in the same way. They wish to encourage other women by their own example.

Indeed, many of them have given good examples to other women. Through their focused efforts for the welfare of their community, they were able to get outsiders to notice their local government units and themselves. Some of them have in fact received awards for their community projects, making their constituents and yes, their families, proud.

Epilogue

Latest election reports based on the May 1998 elections show the increasing trend of female elected LCEs in terms of percentages and numbers. Table 16 shows that there are now 239 female local chief executives: twelve provincial governors, seven city mayors, and 220 municipal mayors. These figures can be compared with those of the two earlier local elections (1992 and 1995). More females are now elected as Governors, City and Municipal Mayors. From five female Governors elected in 1992 to eight in 1995, there are now twelve females among the Governors. From two city mayors in 1992 and four in 1995 there are now seven. At the municipal level there are big increases, from 111 female municipal mayors in 1992 to 137 in 1995, and now 220 in 1998. Altogether, there were only 118 female local chief executives elected in 1992, but the number increased to 137 in 1995, and 239 today. (See Tables 1 and 16.)

Although the numbers may be impressive it is useful to compare these against the number of local government units reporting. In terms of percentages, the trend is continuously increasing, from 7.0 percent female LCEs in 1992, to 8.2 percent in 1995, and 14.2 percent in 1998. There are increases in participation as well as by level of government – provinces, cities, and municipalities. (See Table 17.)

These may call for optimism about the increasing political participation of women as local chief executives. However, there is a need to look deeper into these figures. For instance, from our observations, several municipal mayors who finished their maximum three terms in 1998 did not win when they ran for higher political positions. Some of those who lost (for Governor or Congressional representatives) have been really outstanding local officials; two of them are featured in our case studies.

**Table 16. Elected Female Local Chief Executives, 1998 Elections
(Proclaimed as of 31 October 1998)**

<i>Level of LGU</i>	<i>Female LCEs</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>% to Total Female LCEs</i>	<i>No. of LGUs</i>	<i>% of Female LCEs to Total LGUs</i>
Province	12	5.00	75	16.00
City	7	3.00	77	9.00
Municipality	220	92.00	1,525	14.40
Total	239	100.00	1,677	14.25

**Table 17. Elected Female Local Chief Executives,
as a Percentage of Total LCE Positions,
1992, 1995 and 1998 Elections**

<i>Level of LGU</i>	<i>% of Female LCEs</i>		
	<i>1992</i>	<i>1995</i>	<i>1998</i>
Province	6.7	12.0	16.0
City	2.9	5.9	9.0
Municipality	7.2	8.1	14.4
Total	7.0	8.2	14.2

We interviewed a few of those who did not make it. A common analysis they made is that they belonged to the then ruling LAKAS-NUCD party, which was trounced by the LAMP in the last elections. One who joined LAMP before the elections, however, said she could not match the resources of her opponent.

For us, on the other hand, these reasons only scratch the surface. True, the political arena differs in magnitude and resources according to position. The Governorship and House of Representatives seats certainly provide more powers and require more resources than the Mayorship. Perhaps, it is more difficult for women to muster the resources needed to win elections at the higher levels. Nonetheless, the increase in proportion of female Governors cannot be denied; some women Gubernatorial candidates actually made it.

What perhaps needs to be studied are reasons for the victory of the women who made it, as well as who did not. Do most of them also come from political families? How many in their family ran in the last elections? How many of those who ran made it? How can we account for the results?

These are just questions we can pose for another study.

Endnotes

¹The smallest political unit in the Philippines.

²Clusters of 10-25 households situated contiguously in the barangay (Santiago 1997: 514).

References

- Agpalo, Remigio E.
1969 *The Political Elite and the People*. Manila: UP College of Public Administration.
- Aguilar, Carmencita T.
1992 Filipino Women in Electoral Politics. In Proserpina Domingo Tapales, ed. *Filipino Women and Public Policy*. Quezon City: Kalikasan Press.
- Commission on Elections (COMELEC)
1995 List of Elected Officials. Manila: COMELEC.
1992 List of Elected Officials. Manila: COMELEC.
- Ilago, Simeon A.
1995 Kapit-Bisig for Development: The Sampaloc, Quezon Experience. *Local Government Bulletin*, 29(2) (April-June).
- Kerkvliet, Benedict and Resil Mojares (eds.)
1991 *From Marcos to Aquino: Local Perspectives on Political Transition in the Philippines*. Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Press.
- Local Government Bulletin*
1994 Special Issue on Women in Local Government. January-March.
- Philippine Daily Inquirer (PDI)-Mindanao Bureau*
1998 A Political Season of Wives, Daughters and Even Nieces. 7 March.
- Reyes, Socorro
1995 Women Participation in Politics: A Conceptual Framework. *Journal of Legislative Development*. 1(1) (January): 5-23.

Santiago, Eden V.

- 1997 Primary Health Care Through Purok Initiatives. In Victoria A. Bautista, ed., *A Reader in Philippine Social Development Administration*. Quezon City: College of Public Administration, University of the Philippines.

Tapales, Proserpina Domingo

- 1984 *Women in the Philippine Bureaucracy: Toward an Alternative Approach to the Study of Political Participation*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms.

United Nations Development Program (UNDP)

- 1997 *Philippine Human Development Report*, Human Development Network. Manila.