Women, Religion And Social Change In The Philippines

:Refractions of the Past in Urban Filipinas' Religious Practices Today

by

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CANDIDATE DECLARATION

I certify that the thesis entitled:

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: Refractions of the Past in Urban Filipinas' Religious Practices Today

submitted for the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** is the result of my own research except where otherwise acknowledged, and that this thesis in whole or in part has not been submitted for an award including a higher degree to any other university or institution.

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Abstract

This research is an exploration of the place of religious beliefs and practices in the life of contemporary, predominantly Catholic, Filipinas in a large Quezon City Barangay in Metro Manila. I use an iterative discussion of the present in the light of historical studies, which point to women in pre-Spanish 'Filipino' society having been the custodians of a rich religious heritage and the central performers in a great variety of ritual activities. I contend that although the widespread Catholic evangelisation, which accompanied colonisation, privileged male religious leadership, Filipinos have retained their belief in feminine personages being primary conduits of access to spiritual agency through which the course of life is directed. In continuity with pre-Hispanic practices, religious activities continue to be conceived in popular consciousness as predominantly women's sphere of work in the Philippines. I argue that the reason for this is that power is not conceived as a unitary, undifferentiated entity. There are gendered avenues to prestige and power in the Philippines, one of which directly concerns religious leadership and authority. The legitimacy of religious leadership in the Philippines is heavily dependent on the ability to foster and maintain harmonious social relations. At the local level, this leadership role is largely vested in mature influential women, who are the primary arbiters of social values in their local communities. I hold that Filipinos have appropriated symbols of Catholicism in ways that allow for a continuation and strengthening of their basic indigenous beliefs so that Filipinos' religious beliefs and practices are not dichotomous, as has sometimes been argued. Rather, I illustrate from my research that present day urban Filipinos engage in a blend of formal and informal religious practices and that in the rituals associated with both of these forms of religious practice, women exercise important and influential roles. From the position of a feminist perspective I draw on individual women's articulation of their life stories, combined with my observation and participation in the religious practices of Catholic women from different ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds, to discuss the role of Filipinas in local level community religious leadership. I make interconnections between women's influence in this sphere, their positioning in family social relations, their role in the celebration of All Saints and All Souls Days in Metro Manila's cemeteries and the ubiquity and importance of Marian devotions. I accompany these discussions with an extensive body of pictorial plates.

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Introduction

Beginnings and Research Focus

In a review of over twenty five years involvement in the study of women and religion, Gross (1994:327-330) recounts how she first became involved in 1967[1] in this area of study through a desire to find out whether the position of women in other contexts was as poorly represented in scholarship pertaining to the study of religion, as is the case in Western religions. Although my own foray into this area of scholarship comes three decades later, my initial interests had some similarities to those of Gross. I had lived and worked in Papua New Guinea for over a decade[2] during which time I was in close contact with Melanesian women who were very actively involved in Christian religious practices, and who indicated in differing ways a certain discomfort with Western beliefs and concepts in the spiritual domain. Thus I became interested to know more about what was the pre-Christian spiritual base and heritage of these Melanesian women that informed and enriched their present spirituality. Initially, I turned to what had been written about Melanesian religion, to examine the conclusions of the experts, so to speak, and found as Gross (1987:41) did, that the prominent anthropological texts were either silent with respect to women's religious lives or concluded that women were peripheral and not significantly involved in that which pertained to the religious domain. I found this difficult to accept at face value, and all the more so after becoming familiar with Annette Weiner's (1976) work, which was conducted half a century after the completion of Malinowski's classic fieldwork, and in many ways was a 'reconsideration'[3] of this work from the alternative perspective of sustained attentiveness to the perceptions of women, as well as men, of Trobriand Islands' culture. What began as an initial cursory interest developed into a more scholarly one during my honours year as I did an in-depth reading of Melanesian ethnography throughout this century. In this I sought to

[1]Through writing a graduate studies paper concerned largely with the role of women in tribal religions in Aboriginal Australia and to a lesser extent with women in Melanesian religion.

[2]During the years 1979 to 1991.

[3]"Reconsideration" to the limited extent that such is possible within the confines of a significantly different historical time frame and changed social and economic environment.

examine the inter-relationship between the way in which women are represented in ethnography with respect to religious practice, who does the representation, and whether evidence exists to suggest the possibility of Melanesian women themselves holding alternative perceptions to the conclusions drawn in the main reference texts in the literature on religion in Melanesia. I found that much of the early ethnography, particularly that written by women anthropologists like Powdermaker ([1933] 1971),[4] Blackwood (1935), Wedgwood (1934; 1937-8), Kaberry (1941) and Reay (1959) contained a wealth of information about women's lives and the ways in which they participated in religious activities, sometimes in co-operation and at other times, in domains separate from that of men's religious practice. Significantly, these ethnographers reported that their information had been obtained from men and women. A careful reading of the work of these female anthropologists and other concurrent ethnography by male anthropologists such as Fortune (1935), Hogbin (1939) and Bateson ([1936] 1958) led me, (see Drum, 1993), to question the claim, that in the Melanesian context it is men who have "ultimate control over all major ritual", which Lawrence and Meggitt (1965:15) made in their text *Gods, Ghosts and Men in Melanesia*.[5]

As my honours research had been a study of the place occupied by women and the ways in which they had been represented in the literature on religious beliefs and practices in traditional Melanesian societies, I was planning to do further in-depth fieldwork on this subject in Melanesia. I had made application for a scholarship to do a higher degree by research and submitted a research proposal to conduct this work in Papua New Guinea where I already had eleven years experience. In connection with these plans I had been invited to address a conference of women religious[6] in Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands on the theme of "Women and Religion in Melanesia from an Anthropological Perspective". This conference was in preparation for the tenth Asian-Pacific Meeting of Religious

[4]Where double dates appear with the earlier one enclosed as follows [ ], the date so enclosed refers to the date of initial oral presentation of later published work, or more commonly to the initial publication of later republished work as here in the case of Powdermaker's ethnography.

[5]A text which had frequently been cited as a standard reference work on traditional religion in Melanesia, (Aerts, 1980:364, 396n.11; Ballini, 1991:1230; Guiart, 1991:1224; Habel, 1979:1; Hughes, 1993:314; Stephen and Herdt 1989:8; Trompf, 1988:157; 1991:13-7, 30-31 n.16ff.; Whiteman, 1984:87, 116 n.1).

[6]Women who are members of religious institutes of consecrated life in Catholicism are commonly referred to as "women religious", in differentiation from the term "religious women" used more broadly to refer to women of any background and state of life who are perceived to be devout followers of certain religious beliefs and practices.

women (AMOR X)[7] to be held in Manila in May 1994 on the theme of "Self-empowerment of Women" which I, and others, had been invited to attend as part of a delegation from Papua New Guinea. In a sense these conferences pointed to a deepening juncture in my life where experiences sometimes gelled reassuringly but other times collided violently leading to fragmentation and disorientation. This was because although I was an aspiring anthropologist about to embark on my 'rite of passage', this was not my sole, or even primary identity at this point in my life's course, I was also a member of a women's international religious community.[8] Other female fieldworkers, (Behar, 1993b; Bell et al. (eds.) 1993; Ganguly-Scrase, 1998; Golde (ed.) 1986a; Hughes, 1989; Panini (ed.) 1991; Whitehead and Conaway (eds.) 1986), have written about their identities as mothers, wives or partners; as married women unaccompanied by partner, husband or children; as divorcees, widows and single women; or even as sisters, daughters, granddaughters and elders; and how these affected their establishment in the field and the lines of inquiry they could and could not pursue. Likewise my identity as a religious sister is of import here as it influenced in both positive and negative ways my choice of a research locality, the ways in which I commenced my work and subsequent developments. This was particularly so in respect of my choice of a research locality, as my personal circumstances changed before I came to attend the Manila conference. I was requested, rather unexpectedly, by my religious community's central administration to accept an appointment in charge of the establishment of a new international community in Manila. Given that my move into anthropology had been from a desire to gain a deeper appreciation of cultural differences as a basis for more respectfully and equitably negotiating the realities of cross-cultural living, I accepted the appointment, notwithstanding that I had reservations about the timing and my preparedness for such an undertaking. With this turn of events I arrived in Manila, not simply to attend a conference, but to make my home there for the indefinite future.

[7]Although officially these referred to Asian Pacific meetings held in different venues, the majority of the participants came from Asian countries on the Pacific rim with minority representation from Pacific Island countries and thus the meetings held on a two to three yearly basis were referred to in abbreviated form as AMOR (Asian Meetings Of Religious) events, with a roman numeral signifying chronology. The tenth meeting, AMOR X, was held from May 7th-19th, 1994 in the Philippines partly in Metro Manila, (MM), and partly in Tagaytay approximately 50 kms to the south of Manila.

[8]See later in this chapter p. 12 ff. for further detail.

Given my interest in women and religious contexts, questions again arose for me in terms of contemporary women in the Philippines, "How did they see their own lives and in what way did these perceptions intersect with religious and spiritual concerns?" These questions seemed particularly pertinent as, in the Asian context, the Philippines has been somewhat of an anomaly for the last four centuries in terms of the widespread acceptance of Christianity among its peoples, an attribute to which attention is frequently drawn.[9] According to 1990 Census data,[10] 93.88% of the Philippine population claimed Christian affiliations, while 4.57% indicated their religious affiliation was Islam. Of the remaining 1.55%, only 0.33% did not state a particular religious affiliation, leaving 1.22% having other religious affiliations (refer Figure 1: at end of this introduction).[11] Filipinos[12] are ranked "No. 1" in their religiosity according to a social survey bulletin, (Mangahas, 1996a) discussing the findings of a 1991 International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) studying religious beliefs in several countries (Greeley, 1993a). But what do these claims really mean? What is known about the religiosity of contemporary Filipinos? What is known about the influence of religious beliefs and practices in the Philippines particularly at the level of an individual's lived experience and worldviews? Has there been work done on gender differences in religiosity, and where are contemporary urban women located in terms of religious beliefs and practices? What is the nature of the influence of religion in their lives? These are the questions with which I am primarily dealing in this thesis.

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[9]For example, Ramirez (1984:44), Catalan (1995:2), Perdon (1998:55), Obusan (1991:72), Beltran (1987:2), Johnson (1987:20), Von der Mehden (1986:44), Mendoza ([1983] 1984-86:55), Miranda-Feliciano (1990:95), Lascano (1985-86) and Zaide (1994:2, 24)

[10]I have worked on the basis of the 1990 census figures (National Statistics Office, 1992:22) because although a national census was conducted in 2000, communications with NSO, prior to examination of thesis and up to the time of the library copies being prepared at the end of 2001, indicate that detail on the breakdown of the religious affiliations of the population in the Philippines, NCR and Barangay All Holies will not be available for release until June 2002. The 1995 intercensal data was not able to be used because the questionnaire used in the 1995 intercensal survey of population was of an abbreviated format to that used in the 1990 census of population and did not include a question asking respondents for information on their religious affiliation.

[11]See p. 21.

[12]By way of clarification, throughout this thesis I use the term 'Filipino' in four distinct ways depending on context. It is used as a noun referring to both male and female citizens of the Philippines, i.e. in a non-gender specific manner. At other times it is used as a noun referring to a male citizen of the Philippines in contrast to the term 'Filipina', the noun for a female citizen of the Philippines. In other contexts the term 'Filipino' is used as an adjective meaning of, or belonging to, the Philippines. Further the term 'Filipino' is also used to refer to the national language of the Philippines.

Christianity was introduced to the islands that form the present day nation state of the Philippines as an integral part of the social change process precipitated by colonisation. For over four hundred years there has been a continuous Christian missionary presence in the area (Phelan, 1959; Bolasco, [1990] 1994a). There have been anthropological studies on the religious beliefs and practices of non Christian peoples in the Philippines and on various indigenous religious movements.[13] While there has been some anthropological analysis on religion and change in the Philippines,[14] there has been little anthropological analysis of the religious beliefs and practices of contemporary urban Christian Filipinos, and particularly not specifically from the perspective of women's experiences.[15] This is despite the evidence from historical studies that in pre-Spanish 'Filipino'[16] society women were the custodians of a rich religious heritage and the central performers in a great variety of ritual activities, (Infante, 1975; Salazar, 1989; Mananzan, [1987] 1991; Santiago, 1995; Geremia-Lachica, 1996; Andaya, 1994), in addition to having had an active role in a variety of capacities in the social change process in the Philippines, (Policarpio, [1924] 1996; Gonzalez, [1987] 1993-1994; Cruz, [1989] 1991; Camagay, 1996; Apilado, 1996; De la Cerna, 1996). Although I only make passing reference to these historical studies here, my discussion of ethnographic material in chapters four to seven is preceded by a discussion of this work and related literature in chapters two and three. This wide ranging discussion of literature forms a necessary backdrop for drawing out the refractions of the past which exist in the religious practices of contemporary urban Filipinas as I illustrate in connecting the present to threads of the past in my four

[13]Some examples of research on the religious beliefs and practices of non Christian peoples are the work of Barton (1946), Eggan and Scott (1965), Jocano (1968), Magannon (1972), De Guzman and Pacheco (eds.) (1973), Hislop (1971). While some instances of anthropological studies on indigenous religious movements and forms of religious practice are the work of Lee (1971), Covar (1974; 1977), McAndrew (1983-84), Marasigan (1985), Obusan (1991), Quibuyen (1991), Balajadia (1991), Pesigan (1992) Dagmang (1995) whereas Sturtevant (1976) and Ileto's (1979) work are more studies from an historical perspective.

[14]See for example the work of Lewis (1970), Arens (1982), Lawless (1983), Lopez-Gonzaga (1984-86), Pertierra (1988), See (1990), Gonzalez (1991b), Sontonot (1994), all of which are concerned with ethnography in localities outside of MM. Jocano's (1981; 1978) work provides a general overview of change and continuity in Filipino religious beliefs and practices incorporating very brief snippets of ethnography, some of which pertains to the MM milieu while McCoy's (1982) research provides an overview of the subject of change and continuity in the religious beliefs of Filipinos and other Southeast Asian peoples principally from an ethnohistorical perspective.

[15]Lynch (1975b), and Jocano's (1981) work on Filipino religious beliefs and practices touch briefly on the urban milieu but do not specifically focus on women's experiences. While Mulder (1992), pays some attention to gender issues in his comparative study of 'Thai, Javanese and Filipino interpretations of everyday life' he does not specifically explore the religious experiences of Filipino women and the ways in which they articulate meaning in their lives.

[16]The term 'Filipino' is used for convenience here while recognising of course that its use with reference to the pre-Spanish period is anachronistic as more properly there is need to speak of Tagalog, Visayan, Pangasinan, Ilocano, Waray societies etc.

core ethnographic chapters. Cross-cultural studies from a feminist perspective relating to women and religion, (Holden, 1983; Carmody, 1989; Bowie et al. (eds.) 1993; Broch-Due et al. (eds.) 1993) have indicated that there exists an overall lack of cultural analysis incorporating data drawn from the experiences of women. In recognition of the need to redress this imbalance, the research presented here centres on women, religion and social change through a back and forth discussion of past religious practices of Filipinos in general, and women in particular, connected to observations of present religious experiences of various urban Filipinas. In this way I explore the nature of the influence of religious belief and practice on the worldviews of contemporary urban Filipinas.

As Carmody (1989:3) highlights, the present has roots in the past, women are influenced in their daily lives by "what their religious traditions think of them". She observes that religious influences impinge on women's lives in so many ways such as, "how they raise their children, attitudes to divorce, whether they would have an abortion, whether they would work outside the home" and one could add, what their aspirations are, why they structure and manage a diverse range of social relations in particular ways, what their image of femininity is, and their conception of good and evil, etc. Therefore, Carmody postulates, "it seems fair to say that if we are to understand where today's women are coming from, we need to include religion among the main objects of our study". This accords with Miles' (1985:2) contention that "the area of intersection of religion and culture provides a fruitful nexus for exploring women's lives" because religious traditions mould the fabric of women's lives and yet at the same time frequently provide avenues through which women are able to critique various cultural mores. Carmody (1989), Miles (1985) and Gross (1994) have all noted that there has been, and still remains in many quarters, a dearth of "primary or secondary sources making available women's own voice", (Carmody, 1989:5). This primary data is considered crucial because a holistic understanding of the place of religion in women's lives cannot be obtained only by a consideration of "the official, usually male voices of the traditional writings and authorities".[17] From a review of the literature on Filipino religious practices, and women's role in them from pre-colonial times to the present, a gap in our knowledge base appears to exist. There is a lack of information pertaining to women's perceptions of the nature of the influence of religion on the worldviews of contemporary urban

[17]I am also citing Carmody (1989:5) here.

Filipinas. It is with a view to furnishing primary data from the life experiences of contemporary Filipino women that this research is directed, so as to shed light on the meaning and place of religion in these women's lives.

There is a growing body of literature, informed by feminist perspectives, that focuses primarily on women's experiences and voices and describes the particularities of women's cultural world in specific social contexts, (Abu-Lughod, 1993; Ardener (ed.) 1992; Behar, 1993b; Belenky et al. 1986; Bowie et. al. (eds.) 1993; Christ, 1986; Gluck and Patai (eds.) 1991; Shaaban, 1988; Wikan, 1990). In my exploration of urban Filipino women's articulation of meaning in their lives via the medium of holding life story conversations with them, I am seeking to contribute to this broad genre of writing focused around personal life experiences. Further, although my research into the lives and experiences of a number of different urban women living in a section of Quezon City, Metro Manila (MM),[18] is very concerned with the micro dimensions of their lives, the work also has a macro focus in that attention is paid not only to the immediate, local, urban Philippine context but also to the wider prevailing global context. There is recognition of how the interplay of historical, political and economic circumstances within the society under study and the life situation of myself as an anthropologist influence and shape the character of the resultant ethnographic text.

Multiple Identities and Research Focus

The women whose day to day lives I shared to varying degrees, some of whom shared with me their life story conversations, were at one and the same time holding together and operating out of a great multiplicity of identities. In one scenario that of mother, wife, grandmother, teacher, administrator, college graduate, student, daughter, in-law, only child, home-owner, neighbour, co-worker, church committee executive, group member of multiple civic and church organisations, cross provincial immigrant, friend, community leader in religious worship, etc.; or in another scenario, mother of six children, deserted wife,

[18]See Map 1: National Capital Region (NCR), taken from Africa et al. (1993:7), given at end of introduction, (p. 23), which shows the geographical boundaries of the eight cities and nine municipalities that constitute Metro Manila, also sometimes referred to as the National Capital Region (NCR).

tricycle[19] driver's Mum, casual domestic help in the neighbouring private subdivision, or interim door to door sales representative, neighbourhood co-operative member, group member of civic and church organisations, school leaver, squatter, friend, sister, buy and sell business operator, neighbour and so on; or in yet another scenario, sister, aunt, single, youngest of thirteen siblings, unemployed, volunteer worker, babysitter, active church group member, friend, confidante, college graduate, interprovincial immigrant, kin of overseas contract workers and so forth. Each of these identities may be understood not just in one stereotypic way but rather there are multiple ways in which women live an identity of mother, wife, neighbour, friend, parent, housewife, sales representative, teacher etc. I cannot go into a lengthy teasing out of the specifics of their identities in this chapter, but I will provide a deeper consideration of it in chapters four, five, six and seven as I move into analysis and discussion of the particularities of my interactions with these women and their interactions with one another and others. Just as the urban Filipinas with whom I worked were each operating out of multiple identities in a state of flux, I also brought to this research a number of identities from which I operated. In acknowledgment of my positionality I will discuss here some elements of my multiple identities as a foreigner, a migrant resident, a Catholic, and a member of a women's international religious community. It is not that these are the only faces of my identity, but they are aspects that may be considered of significance to the focus of this research.

Outsider and Insider Research

I came to my research work as a foreigner, an outsider, a non-Filipino, and an Australian citizen even though in colloquial Tagalog and Filipino[20] I am always, "*Amerikana*".[21] However for those assigning me this identity, it was not always

[19]Tricycle here refers to a Filipino mode of public transport in which up to five passengers ride in a sidecar and pillion behind a motorcyclist. In MM it is usually used to ferry passengers over short distances only.

[20]The term Tagalog refers properly to the common 'lingua franca' of lowland Luzon Filipinos particularly in the locality of Metro Manila and adjoining provinces; whereas the term "Filipino", in respect of language, refers in general to the national language of the Philippines as this became its officially adopted nomenclature in a nationwide plebiscite of February 2, 1987 (Perdon, 1996). However at times the term "Pilipino" (by which name the national language was previously known) is still used, even in recently published literature, e.g. Ramirez (1995). Although the two terms Filipino and Tagalog are occasionally used interchangeably when reference is made to the national language, the entities are quite distinct as Filipino is only partially based on Tagalog, (cf. Perdon 1996:x-xi).

[21]Rarely in colloquial parlance in Metro Manila are the more formal Tagalog terms "*dayuhan*" and "*banyaga*" used in direct reference to Caucasian foreigners.

as I initially assumed. Sometimes I was simply being called "*Amerikana*", to indicate that I belonged to that collective category of white non-Filipinos. For others, however, it did seem that the assignment of "*Amerikana*" identity to me carried with it the assumptions and expectations that I would act like, and have tastes, values and agenda similar to other Americans of their acquaintance and thus for these Filipinos, in particular, I was initially a 'stranger' in ways unexpected. Although I spoke English, I did not speak English in the way most readily understood by bilingual and multilingual Filipinos. I was perceived to be in the world of academia, or rather in the 'academe', but was not well versed in "sophomores, freshmen, frats, hazing, term papers, comprehensives or graduate studies (which for me meant 'postgraduate studies') etc.". Because of my identification as an American at the level of popular consciousness I was also aligned automatically in many people's minds with positive and negative attributes of the American colonial experience in the Philippines. I was assigned expectations, likes and dislikes, capacities, and to be in possession of a certain range of knowledge and experience. I was positioned culturally in the perceptions of others as a citizen of the former colonial power with all the implications attendant upon this in terms of how people interacted with me and how they expected me to respond even though, as an Australian, I lacked the appropriate details of life to synchronise with the identity accorded me. Ashworth (1995:373) writes about this type of problem as being one connected with a lack of "attunement to the others' stock of knowledge at hand". Obviously there is need for non-Asian anthropologists like myself to heed the Asian "emic" perspective, but by the same token no community today lives in isolation from other perspectives and influences. And so attention has to be paid to the transformative effect of perspectives interacting upon and engaging each other. Thus I have had to listen through my own multiple identities to the multiple identities of the women who have entered with me into the research discussed here.

Although clearly, my work was research abroad, in certain respects it was also paradoxically research at home because I had come to the Philippines, in a sense as a migrant, to stay for the longer term. My contacts were established and relationships formed with a view to long term engagement of myself and others in the local milieu and so this thesis flows out of four years of direct lived experience in the Philippines and another sixteen months of relationships maintained at a distance, even though not all of this time was able to be dedicated fulltime to the research work due to other responsibilities and commitments. This

positioned me differently from anthropologists who come to an overseas country for twelve to eighteen months intense fieldwork and then return to their country of origin to complete and submit their theses (Cannell, 1999; Hilsdon, 1995; Brewer, 1996), or to those doing anthropology at home be that in Australia, (Bruenjes, 1998; Bell, 1983), the Philippines, (Israel-Sobritchea, 1987) or elsewhere, (Panini, 1991; Back, 1993; Gefou-Madianou, 1993).

A focal concern of this research is religious belief and practice, and much of the research has been conducted among Catholic[22] women, mainly because of the large numbers of women in the Philippines, especially in MM espousing a Catholic religious affiliation.[23] Thus being myself a Catholic I was researching essentially as an insider in this context, with a shared heritage of the ritual life of Catholicism. Such a context gives rise to all the dilemmas of the 'indigenous anthropologist' as to how much this very familiarity facilitated or hindered my ability to interpret and analyse levels of meaning. Did our common experience of religious practice bind us per se into a like perspective and dissolve the boundaries between us? Was I any better positioned to understand the meanings derived by my co-participants from this experience than a researcher without any lived experience of Catholicism? Could I even expect in any way that rituals having the same external forms but enacted in differing social, economic, historical, and ethnic milieu may have at base similar meanings for myself and the different Filipino women participating? Was there necessarily any commonality either by virtue of our Catholicity and/or our womanhood? Was there necessarily

[22]Although in terms of categories used in the 1990 Census of the Philippines, the religious affiliation of the majority of the Filipino population is categorised as Roman Catholic, I have purposively used the term "Catholic" rather than "Roman Catholic" throughout this thesis. I have done this for two reasons. Firstly because in my experience when I asked people about their religion those with Catholic affiliation most commonly responded "*Katoliko ako*" (I am Catholic) not "*Katoliko Romano ako*" (I am Roman Catholic). In common usage the term 'Roman Catholic' in the Philippine milieu tends to be coupled with Church, religion or clergy in a way which more usually identifies it (Roman Catholicism) with the clerical, hierarchical governing body of the worldwide Catholic Church institution located in Rome (or those exercising governance in a direct chain of command with this body), rather than with the ordinary Catholic lay person who as Catholic belongs to the broader umbrella of Catholicism. The Catholic laity are linked to the governing body but not completely identified with such an entity, as indicated in articles in the popular press, (see for example, Rodriguez (ed.-in-chief) 1996; Foronda, 1995; Urlanda, 1995; Rodriguez (ed.-in-chief) 1995). This issue of different understandings of "the Church" in the Philippine context is further discussed in chapter three. My second, and in some senses more important, reason for refraining from using the term "Roman Catholic" in reference to the adherents of Catholicism in the Philippines, and in respect of myself, is that the term is potentially internally self-contradictory, depending on the manner in which the word "Roman" is being understood. This makes the term problematic from an anthropological perspective as I highlight in chapter three.

[23]From Figure 1: Religious Affiliations (refer to end of introduction p. 21) it can be seen that almost 91% of the population in the National Capital Region (NCR) which comprises Metro Manila (MM) gave their religious affiliation as Catholic in the 1990 census. Of the Catholics in MM over half (51.5%) were female.

any shared understanding, in this respect, between different Filipino women, let alone between them and me? Was the expectation of commonality simply the consequence of stereotyping experiences, or alternatively was not to admit to the possibility of commonality to fragment unitive experience and seek to establish artificial boundaries constitutive of a researcher / other divide? These questions all have to do with underlying assumptions that bear upon the meanings experienced in social interaction and modes of interpretation. They cannot be answered in the general but have to be addressed in the particular, in the research analysis and discussion in later chapters of this thesis.

Although attention to the detail of certain religious practices revealed that many areas of resonance can be found between my perceptions and those of other women participating together with me in these ritual experiences, there remained many other rituals for which there was no precedent in my experience. What was the "*Salubong*" procession, a "*Pabasa*", or the "*Santo Niño*" fiesta?[24] I was familiar with the practice of communal rosary recitations in May and October but not with "*Flores de Mayo*" or "*Santacruzan*" celebrations.[25] I had an understanding of the meaning and mode of celebration of the Feast of All Soul's Day but the experience of this celebration in MM on November 1st, and its conflation with that of All Saint's Day was different from anything that had previously constituted my experience, with the exception perhaps of the feel of life on Melbourne Cup day in Flemington on the first Tuesday of November.[26] Had I come to this research as a Mexican, or a Mediterranean Catholic, especially of Spanish cultural heritage, then these ritual devotions may have been familiar and the minutiae of my observations have been very different, but this was not where I was positioned. In the context of these particular rituals I was not researching from within but from without. For some of the Filipinos who

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[24]The '*Salubong*' (lit. the meeting) procession is one of the myriad of Marian devotions practiced in the Philippines. It is an Easter Sunday pre-dawn celebration re-enacting the meeting of grieving Mary with Jesus, her risen son. '*Pabasa*' (lit. the reading) refers to a religious practice performed during Holy Week, (see ***Plates 36 and 37*** inserted after p. 239) involving the ritual chanting,
usually over a twenty-four hour period or longer of an indigenously composed text of Jesus Christ's passion (referred to as the '*Pasyon*' or '*Pasiong Mahal*') incorporating various legendary embellishments as discussed in later chapters, (see pp. **78** ff., **93ff, 111 ff., p. 239 ff.)** '*Santo Niño*' devotions
refer to practices honouring the child Jesus, whose image is much revered and celebrated with special fiesta days in the Philippines (see ***Plates 29, 38 and 39*** in chapter six).

[25]'*Flores de Mayo*' (see ***Plate 62*** in chapter seven) and '*Santacruzan*' (see ***Plate 34*** in chapter six) celebrations are religious practices that formed part of the cycle of Marian devotions celebrated in parts of the MM neighbourhood in which my research was conducted, and briefly discussed in chapter seven.

[26]For more elaboration on this point see relevant discussion in chapter five.

participated in this research, especially those with deep devotion to the '*Santo Niño'* and no direct experiential links to the practice of Catholicism outside the Philippine milieu, a Catholicism without the celebration of the Feast of the '*Santo Niño'* is, I expect, inconceivable. Therefore surely if I needed to ask questions about the practice, meaning and significance of this celebration, then clearly I was positioned outside the boundaries of Catholicism from their perspective. Just where I was to be located possibly was problematic, maybe simply an aberration, or perhaps no more than just another of the contradictions experienced daily in Filipino life. Together with other Filipinos, I was living through the contradictory type of relationships that resulted from being inside one group and outside another. In this regard there appear to be some overlapping similarities between my research context and that of Anne-Marie Fortier (1996) who describes herself, in like manner, located on the boundaries and in ambiguity in her work among Catholic Italians in London.

Religious Positionality and Anthropological Research

A further dimension of my Catholicity was my identity as a religious sister. I belong to the Congregation of the Missionary Sisters of the Sacred Heart, a Catholic women's international religious institute with members originating from twenty-seven different nationalities, serving in eighteen countries on all continents. We most commonly live together in small community households, often comprised of members from different nationalities and different ethnic backgrounds. Worldwide we are engaged in very diverse occupations and spheres of work[27] in a mixture of voluntary service and paid employment, commonly referred to as ministries, where the particular type of work engaged in is not of paramount importance. What matters more than the type of work is the way in which we engage in this work. The process is more important than the outcome. This is because from our initial foundation, one hundred years ago, we never were committed to a specific work, but rather "to respond to the needs of

[27]For example, in health work as doctors, nurses, dentists, radiographers, anaesthetists, hospital chaplains and in health education and training as well as care of the acute, chronically and terminally ill including the aged, aids sufferers, those with mental illness, drug addictions, and physical disabilities. Other fields of work include all levels of education work from preschool to tertiary; spiritual direction/counselling as well as retreat and parish work; also involvement in legal aid agencies, work with various minority indigenous peoples, migrants, refugees, homeless persons and other economically and socially disadvantaged persons as well as prisoners and their families. Others are engaged primarily in home-making and craft activities, and agricultural work.

our day and assume the risks of this challenge"[28] using whatever be the gifts, talents, skills and training of our particular members. Where the particular manner of engaging in our work is a way of 'being' in which we endeavour to be open and welcoming towards others whatever their religious, cultural, ethnic,[29] social, economic, or political background. We seek to live in such a manner that we communicate through our way of interaction our beliefs and values in a way which is respectful of difference and welcoming of interaction, interchange and dialogue while seeking not to be judgemental of others' ways of being even while at times acknowledging a lack of shared vision with others' understandings and perspectives on life. We seek to witness through the manner of our social relations in our own households and in our interactions with the wider community at large, unity in diversity, respect for differences directed towards harmonious relations.

Although the members of women's congregations or institutes of consecrated life do not form an homogenous group, we are nevertheless, in common with other marginalised social groups, still frequently perceived to have a singular, static identity. But there is, in fact, great variation in the life styles, social values, political persuasions and cultural identities of religious sisters today[30] and many religious sisters know at first hand the experience of life in a state of flux and of boundaries constantly shifting. In my own case there has been some degree of diversity in my life experiences as a religious sister in an international congregation in which I have spent over twenty-five years living in cross-cultural communities in Australia and abroad. I have lived in cities and remote rural localities and engaged in a variety of work contexts, including employment in state public service, in private business and in non-government and church based

[28]This refers to an excerpt from article 8 in the section on mission in the constitutions of our Institute.

[29]Although cultural and ethnic are sometimes equated, in my understanding both are frequently inter-related but not necessarily equivalent to each other. People's self ascription of ethnicity and others' ascription of ethnicity to them may vary considerably with criteria such as language, race, culture, religion or nation of origin being used as means by which people designate themselves or others as belonging to this or that ethnic category, (cf. Seymour-Smith 1986:95; McCready, 1983; Jakubowicz et al. 1984)

[30]The change in lifestyle experienced by many religious sisters and some indication of their varied social positions in Australia is indicated in the work of Naomi Turner (1988), McGrath (1994), Birnbauer (1997) and West (1997). Whereas in the Philippine context changes which have taken place in the lives of a variety of women religious and their different social positionings are discussed by Mananzan ([1988a] 1992a:105-109, 115-126, 141-145), Roces (1996:60-62; 1998:163, 78-180) and in work edited by Kristina Gaerlan (1993). Some discussion of the experiences of contemporary women religious in other contexts can be found in the work of Hussey (1989), Neal (1990; 1994), Hunt (1994), Ferraro et al. (1990), Lieblich (1994), O'Connor (1993) and Chittister (1994; 1995). In fact Chittister (1995:34) contends that although the changes have been huge they have been largely unstudied in anthropological circles.

organisations. In addition to my anthropological research, essentially my ministry in Manila, from the perspective of my religious missionary institute, was concerned with administration and facilitation of the process of cross-cultural living at various levels. I was assigned to facilitate the formation of the first international community of our sisters in the Philippines, which meant locating a place in which to live and to carry out, the various negotiations with church and civil authorities, connected with the legal and ecclesiastical establishment of our religious institute in the Philippines. Additionally, my work involved obtaining clearances from immigration authorities etc. for the arrival of other community members from Korea, Namibia, Papua New Guinea and Germany. My ministry involved working together with these community members, most of whom had not previously lived in communities outside of their own countries, to develop a form of living together, respectful of our differences and of the local Philippine milieu. I assisted other community members in learning English as an initial common medium of communication and commenced learning Tagalog myself. I was responsible for establishing contact and networking with various church and government organizations, acting as a representative of our wider international institution in the Philippine context in the general management of business affairs on behalf of our community. In the Philippine milieu I experienced that a number of disjunctures existed between my own sense of self-identity as a religious sister and 'other's' perceptions of who I was, and their expectations about the form of my lifestyle and the values I would hold. I address this issue further in chapter one and cite some examples of these disjunctures. It suffices to say here that certain of my life experiences as a religious sister partially "attuned me to others' stock of knowledge"[31] but by the same token it positioned me outside of other women's experiences as mothers and wives. But my experience of having been stereotyped into a marginal 'other' position, on occasions, left me more sensitised to the insidiousness of such practices with an aversion to putting others too hastily into such boxes, and consciously grappling over an extended period of time with the issue of multiple identities.

Religious praxis in the Philippines is connected intimately and in complex ways, with a colonisation process involving an extended and intensive Catholic missionary presence, (Bolasco, 1994a; Rafael, 1988; Phelan, 1959; Schumacher, 1979; 1990), especially from Spain and America, but also from other parts of

[31]Refer Ashworth's (1995:373) work mentioned earlier, see p. 9

Europe.[32] Australian missionaries have only been in the Philippines from around the time of Word War II and their number has always been relatively small. The assumption has often been made that missionaries have an homogeneous subcultural identity, or at least constitute a united 'other' group perceived to be in cultural opposition to the 'native', the indigenous inhabitants whose culture they are viewed as having come to irrevocably change. This assumption has led to a long running critique of missionary practices by anthropologists.[33] The aforementioned image of missionaries may not have been too far removed from a simplified picture[34] of the context in the colonial era, in locations such as the Philippines where there has been a sustained missionary presence under a long period of colonial governance. But it cannot be generalised that this was the position of all missionaries,[35] and it is often a poor fit for Catholic missionaries today who frequently belong to international communities. Such missionaries come not at the behest and in collusion with the government, but often to take up work which involves aligning themselves with counter hegemonic positions in solidarity with the marginalised, oppressed and exploited social classes, sometimes in ways that certainly do not privilege them in terms of power. Sometimes under these circumstances, missionaries are positioned even more vulnerably than the 'local/home' population. Much of the past long running missionary/anthropologist debate[36] hinged on the mythical conception of the non-subjective, detached, unpositioned status of the non-missionary anthropologist,

[32]Belgium, Netherlands, Germany and Ireland in particular.

[33]The main lines of the argument are traced in Stipe's (1980) article and associated comments by eighteen scholars, with ongoing debate in following issues of the same journal (Delfendahl, 1981; Feldman, 1981; Delfendahl, 1982; Feldman, 1983; Da Fonseca, 1983; Hvalkof, 1984). See also Whiteman and Headland (1996), Whiteman (1983), Salamone (1983), Van der Geest (1990; 1991; 1992) and Rapoport (1991). A number of other works have been written which make contributions in different ways to the debate, in particular see the following on anthropologists' disquiet with missionaries (Hvalkof, 1981; Beidelman, 1982; Stearman, 1989; Tonkinson, 1974) and for a less critical appraisal by anthropologists, and in some instances very positive assessment, of missionaries contributions see Boutilier et al. (1978), Keesing (1981), Miller (1981), Canfield (1983), Bonsen et al. (1990), Beck (1992) and Clifford (1992).

[34]Some past missionaries have been prejudiced, biased, ethnocentric, oppressive, and exploitative in their actions and attitudes frequently being closely linked and incorporated into the governance structure of the colonial powers. But the recounting of this history is rarely moderated by recognition of the deep empathy and felt experiential understanding of other missionaries borne out of, and imbibed through a lifetime spent immersed in the complexities of intercultural living.

[35]Aragón (1969:18) has demonstrated in his study of the controversy over Spanish rule that "it is clear that there was a divergence of opinion among religious in the Philippines on the temporal or political authority of the Spanish king over the islands. The Augustinians and Jesuits maintained the legitimacy of this dominion, based on papal concession and the opposition of the natives to the preaching of the gospel. The Dominicans, led by Bishop Salazar, rejected this legitimacy as insufficiently established according to law."

[36]Whiteman and Headland (1996) provide an overview of the missionary / anthropologist debate in a recent treatment of both its history and current status, especially in respect of human rights.

vis-a-vis the perceived[37] very biased status of the missionary anthropologist. The myth of the anthropologist's neutrality is exposed for what it is in the changed milieu of attention to reflexivity and the political nature of anthropological research as I discuss further in chapter one. In my experience, post-Vatican II Catholic missionary approaches[38] involve an ever deepening changing understanding of the ways in which people from different backgrounds express the meaning of their lives and the values by which they live. Such approaches necessitate developing a growing appreciation of bi- and multi-directional change, as missionaries and people in the local population interact with one another. In many respects this understanding of mission is very closely aligned with the anthropological enterprise. It has to do with the very considerable complexities of intercultural living and the ethical and moral dilemmas associated with it; dilemmas, which are connected to issues of advocacy, social justice and human rights. Such living involves give and take in such a manner as to try to arrive at a way of living together which allows each person to live out their life as fully and as meaningfully as possible.

A further gloss that is frequently made in the missionary/anthropologist debate is the assumption that missionary equates with being male, especially in reference to Catholic missionaries. Discussion of Catholic missionary activities has proceeded almost entirely with respect to the work of Catholic priests, possibly only reflecting the view of the institutional Catholic Church hierarchy (cf. Goldman 1996).[39] Bowie et al.'s (eds.) (1993) work takes up this issue of the

[37]Although critical of such a position Hughes (1989:105) sums up succinctly the nature of this perception when she writes that: "it is a basic anthropological premise that missionaries change cultures undesirably and that, secondly, any other expertise they may have is neutralised by the fact of their being a missionary".

[38]See for example, Arbuckle (1996), Mananzan (1995b), Harriman (1994), Suess (1994), Amaladoss (1992), Bellagamba (1992), Gittins (1989; 1999).

[39]When Frances Cabrini in 1880 "wanted 'Missionaries' in the title of her religious congregation, she was told only men were missionaries. At that time there was no feminine form of the masculine word *missionari*" in the Italian language, (Goldman, 1996:593). However there were in fact sisters already engaged in 'missionary work', without bearing the official title of missionary, in as far distant places as Australia from Ireland by the year 1838, (Carey, 1996:109). And in the case of the Philippines nuns arrived from Japan as early as 1614, and from Spain from 1621 onwards, (Santiago, 1995:172, 177-8; Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines 1997:577). However, these first religious women in the Philippines lived a cloistered way of life with limited contact with the general populace. From the latter part of the 17th century onwards Filipinas were directed in a semi-cloistered form of religious life by some male clerics. In the subsequent mode of religious life which developed these indigenous women, known as '*beatas*', were more actively involved with the general population in exercising works of mercy than in the case of the more contemplative Spanish religious women, (Santiago, 1995:168). In chapters three and six I discuss how some Filipinas became '*beatas*' as a consequence of the shifts and continuities in women's religious role in Filipino society. The active cross-cultural female missionary type of institutes only arrived in the Philippines during the 20th century.

invisibility and silencing of women's presence and contribution as missionaries and seeks to open the way to alternative anthropological perspectives on mission work, both in terms of accounts of women's work as missionaries and through attention to the effects of missionary activity on women's lives in the 'receiving' or 'targeted' cultures. Bowie (1993) contends that male and female missionaries frequently worked from very different conceptions of what they were about. Usually female Catholic missionaries have been little involved in direct preaching, rather they have been most frequently engaged in various types of service occupations. Bühlmann (1979:161) also identifies similar differences in the modes of interaction with the general populace of female and male members of religious institutes in the Philippines during the period of Martial Law. My own experience was that in the contemporary milieu many of the ordinary people, common '*tao*' (person), seemed to distinguish this type of approach and interaction, in which members of religious orders or congregations immersed themselves more directly in people's ordinary lives, engaging with them in their own homes, along the way, at the market and '*sari-sari*'[40] store, at neighbourhood events as being '*misyonari*', (missionary), in contrast to a more enclosed, or cloistered type of lifestyle wherein interaction normally took place in the institutional settings of the school or the parish church in a highly structured mode which more properly constituted one as being a '*madre*',[41] a nun. However the differentiation[42] was not clear cut, or necessarily exclusionary, as layered conceptions of the '*madre*' identity appeared to exist, sometimes inclusive of activist religious sisters, or those classified as 'missionary', at other times not.

[40]The term '*sari-sari*' is Tagalog for local neighbourhood, small variety store.

[41]Term derived from Spanish used in everyday Tagalog conversation to denote religious sister or nun. Santiago (1995:164, 167) claims that originally the term '*beata*' was used to mean "blessed woman" but that in time Filipinos "began to apply the term 'beata' to any woman who lived a saintly life" and then "in the vernacular languages the word which evolved for both nun and 'beata' is 'madre' (the counterpart of 'pare' or 'padre', the word for priest)".

[42]Possibly the origins of such a differentiation in the Philippines connects in part with the general population observing, with the arrival of various groups of religious sisters whose self identity included within it the missionary title, e.g. Maryknoll Missioners (officially called Maryknoll Sisters of St. Dominic but because they have the congregational initials of MM they frequently refer to themselves as 'Maryknoll Missioners' see Harriman, 1994), or Medical Mission Sisters, a different mode of lifestyle than that previously modelled by the women belonging to women's religious orders established by foreigners in the Philippines. These early religious Congregations (Catholic institutes of consecrated life) of Spanish women in the Philippines lived a 'monastic', 'cloistered' model of religious life and were properly referred to in Spanish as '*monja*', strictly meaning a nun, a feminine equivalent of monk, and implicitly referring to a person who lives in a rather secluded manner. In contrast female members of Catholic institutes of consecrated life who normally live in a setting in which they are more openly engaged with people in the surrounding population are usually referred to as religious sisters rather than as nuns.

Summing Up

In this chapter I have explained how I initially came to be interested in the cross-cultural study of women and religion and how I situated my research. This thesis is one effort to discern both particular and general values, different but also similar centres around which life revolves for a variety of contemporary urban Filipinas, and the place of religious belief and practice in their worldviews. I use the multiple lenses of observation and participation in different life experiences; coupled with individual women's articulation of their life stories; a commitment to feminism, and attention to the social, political, economic, historical, ethnic and religious location of those involved in the research including myself. I recognise that another anthropogist undertaking similar research, but differently positioned to myself, might explore other avenues of analysis, utilise different modes of interpretation and reach variant conclusions to mine. I concur with Jackson (1989:2) that all study and analysis of human experience and social interactions is of its very nature partial, because "lived experience overflows the boundaries of any one concept, any one person, or any one society". It is not simply a case of relativity, one perspective being as good as another, but rather that all perspectives in interaction with each other contribute essential elements of transformation of understanding and 'truth' to a whole, which is greater than any particular perspective or the summation of any number of separate perspectives.

Central to my analytical approach in this thesis is the recognition that power is conceived of and operationalised in a variety of ways by people positioned differently in a community and society, in terms of their class, social standing, gender, age, education, occupation and religious beliefs. Additionally, power can also be operationalised in very contrasting ways by the same people in differing contexts in their life situations. Further these varying conceptions of power do not operate in isolation from each other, rather the various relations of power in which each person is engaged have an interactive influence upon each other. Thus, I have, purposely, not confined myself to the analysis of power from a single epistemological framework because I regard such an approach as an artificial theoretical construction, wherein the analyst becomes divorced from the diverse experiential realities of people's actual life circumstances. I readily acknowledge that because I hold that power is so differentially conceived and operationalised, competing and often irreconcilable tensions will result but I also hold that it is with this tension that the great majority of people must live. As I emphasize at many points in discussing my research, people's lives are not lived

out in an '**either/or'** context but in an '**and-and'** milieu. Integral to my analytical approach in this thesis is an ongoing exploration, throughout the text, of varying dimensions of the differing approaches to understanding and exercising power in the Philippine milieu, in particular settings and time frames.

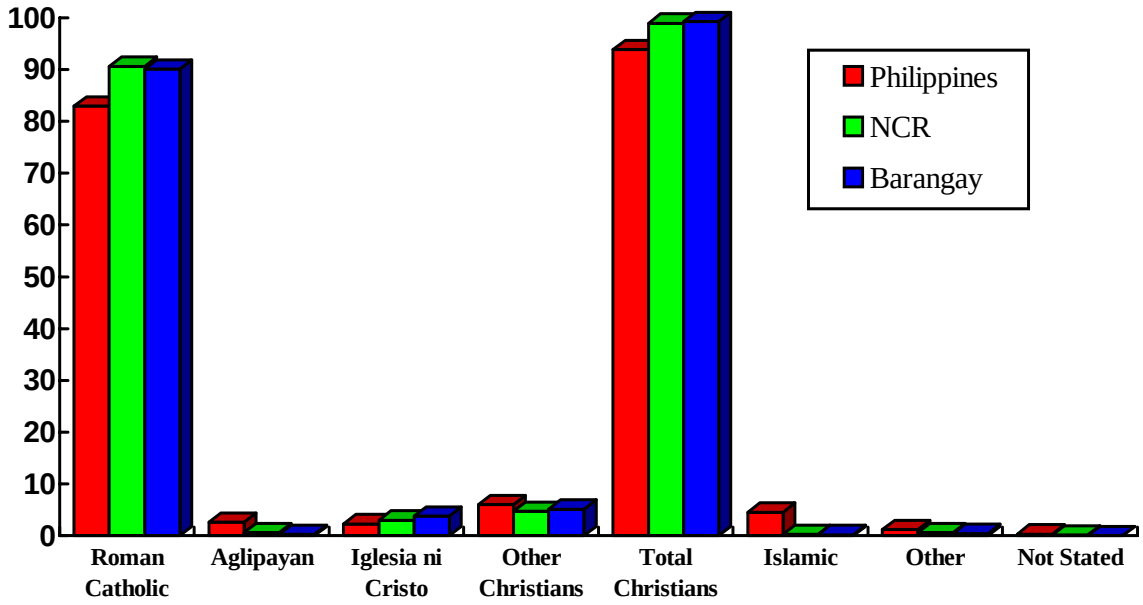
In keeping with this overall backdrop of multiple perspectives, I discuss, in chapter one, ways in which my research was 'located' and various aspects of my methodological approach. In chapter two I discuss what can be gleaned from the literature about Filipino religiosity and the positioning of women in respect of religious beliefs and practices in the Philippines and why consideration of the past is necessary for an understanding of the contemporary milieu. This is followed in the third chapter by a discussion of theoretical issues in connection with the particular situational parameters of my ethnographic research. In particular I discuss the implications for my research of differing understandings of colonial interchange, sources of and avenues to power, gender conceptions and religious cultural interactions. In the fourth chapter I draw on the content of women's life story conversations to illustrate Filipinas' diverse experiences of modes of family relations, and the influence and leadership exercised by women in harmonising familial social relations. In particular I illustrate how women repeatedly connected the influence and inner strength of their mothers and grandmothers to their ability to access and harness spiritual powers. This spiritual empowerment, paradoxically, enabled them to prevail over those whose relations with them were marked by power derived, primarily, from coercive force, material wealth and status. In the fifth chapter I discuss the way in which women's influence in family relations extends beyond the living, to relations with the dead through a description of women's involvement in All Saints and All Souls' Day celebrations in public and private cemeteries in MM. I connect my observations and analysis to both historical accounts of indigenous and pre-Hispanic Filipino beliefs and rituals for the deceased, and other anthropological research on the ritual celebration of death and the regeneration of social life. To complement my discussion in this chapter, and the succeeding two chapters, I use photographs that I have taken[43] in the course of my research. In the sixth chapter, I discuss the role of Filipinas in local level community religious leadership. I illustrate how Filipinos have appropriated symbols of Catholicism by realigning, in part, their

[43]Of the eighty-four pictorial plates used I have personally taken all the photographs with the exception of four black and white photos reproduced from newspapers as acknowledged, and one each black and white and coloured photo reproduced from magazines as indicated.

forms of religious practice, while still retaining their belief in feminine personages being primary conduits of access to spiritual agency through which the course of life is directed. I highlight the way in which women position themselves and exert local level religious influence. I also explore dimensions of women's involvement in formal and informal religious practices. In the seventh chapter I discuss both personal and communal Marian devotions and suggest possible reasons why these devotions have such prominence in Filipino religious practice. In my discussion of local level communal Marian celebrations I illustrate that these practices are an important component of the social relations of the wider neighbourhood, having an important role in both delineating and consolidating community identity. Finally, in the conclusion I draw together my overall findings and major points of emphasis arising from this research. I also point to areas in which future research could be conducted.

Figure 1: Religious Affiliations

Percent of household population by religious affiliation in Philippines, National Capital Region (NCR),[44] *and Barangay All Holies*[45] *as per 1990 Census figures, (National Statistics Office, 1992:22) base data used to construct chart.*[46]



PERCENT OF HOUSEHOLD POPULATION PER RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION								
Population Base	Christian Religious Affiliations				Total Affiliated Christians	Non Christian or no given affiliation		
	Roman Catholic	Aglipayan	Iglesia ni Cristo	Other Christians		Islamic	Other	Not Stated
Philippines	82.92	2.63	2.34	5.99	93.88	4.57	1.22	0.33
NCR	90.62	0.59	3.05	4.71	98.97	0.31	0.59	0.13
Barangay	90.07	0.25	3.79	5.16	99.27	0.22	0.44	0.07

[44]NCR comprises 8 cities and nine municipalities that constitute Metro Manila, (MM), see Map 1, p. 23.

[45]For further information on this Barangay name see p. **34.**

[46]Plus unpublished data from 1990 Census in respect of *Barangay All Holies* obtained directly from National Statistics Office, Sta. Mesa per Ms. Elizabeth Go. My presentation of data here reflects the manner in which information obtained from the Census has been summarised during analysis. The religious affiliation of the Philippine population was broken down into 34 categories (refer also to the notes on the page following Figure 1) of which the greatest proportion were classified as 'Roman Catholic', followed by 'Islamic', 'Aglipayan' and 'Iglesia ni Cristo', of the remaining categories those 27 which can be classified as Christian in orientation I have grouped together under the one umbrella of 'Other Christians'. This leaves three other categories - those who classified themselves as being Buddhists and those who indicated that they had another religious affiliation but were not specific as to what it was and those who did not state whether or not they had any religious affiliation. The first two of these remaining categories I grouped together as 'other' outside of Christian religious affiliation. However no clear indication was given in the Census as to the number of adherents of Filipino indigenous religious movements and whether in some instances people consider themselves to have more than one religious affiliation.

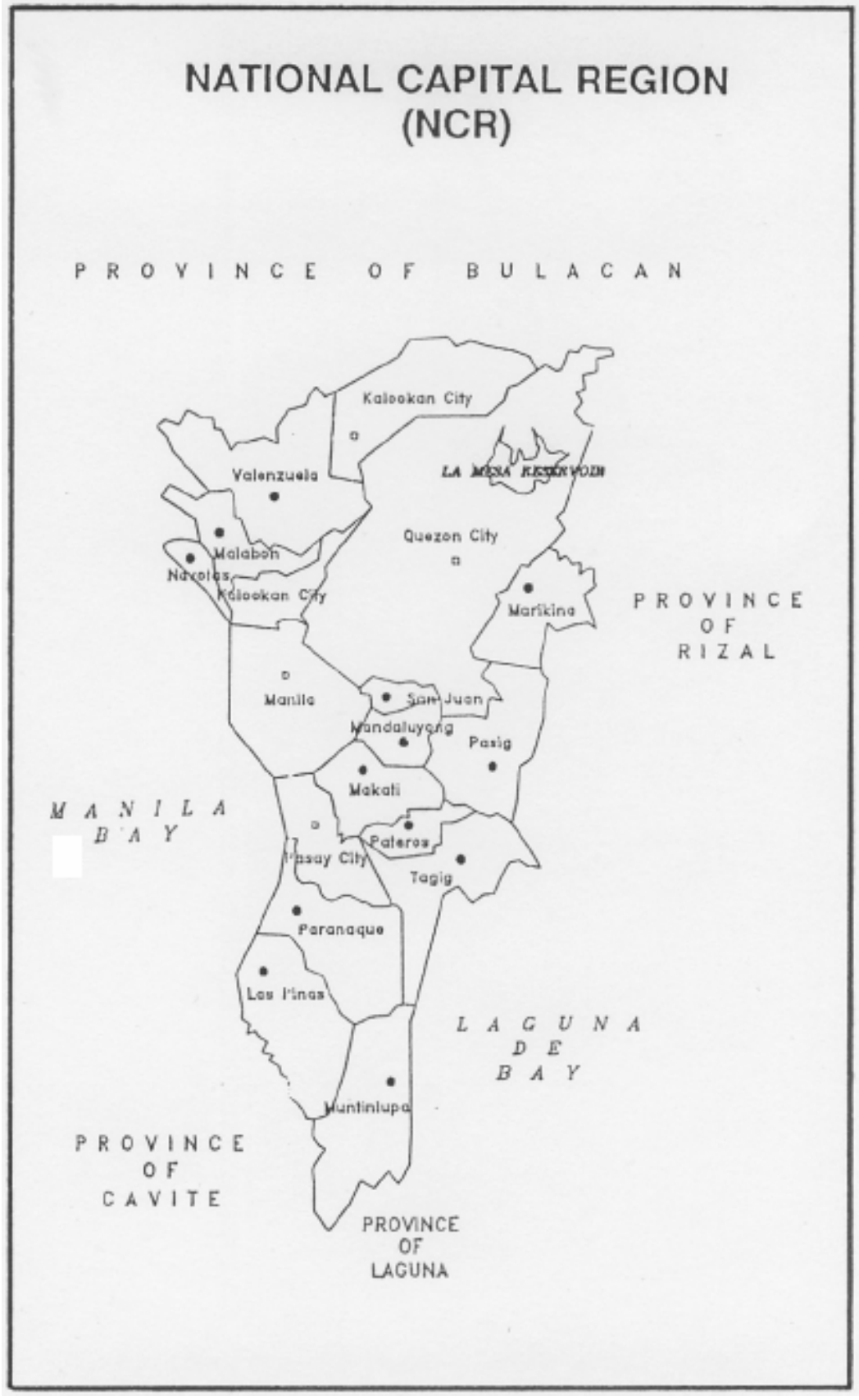
Notes:

1. Aglipayan refers to the Iglesia Filipina Independiente founded in 1902 and headed initially by Fr. Gregorio Aglipay.
2. Iglesia ni Cristo[47] founded by Felix Manalo Ysagun in 1914.
3. The category "Other Christians" refers to those having the following religious affiliations:
   United Church of Christ in the Philippines, Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints, Jehovah's Witness, Lutheran Church in the Philippines, Philippines Benevolent Missionaries Association, Seventh Day Adventist, Born Again Christians, Philippine Episcopal Church, Presbyterian, Baptist Conference of the Philippines, Bible Baptists, Southern Baptists, Other Baptists, Iglesia Evangelista Methodista en Las Filipinas, Lutheran Church, United Methodist Church, Wesleyan Church, Other Methodists, Alliance of Bible Christian Committees, Assemblies of God, Christian and Missionary Alliance, Four Square Gospel Church, God World Missions Church, Nazarene Church, Salvation Army Philippines, Other Evangelical Churches, Other Protestants.
4. The category "Other" refers to those who either gave Buddhism as their religious affiliation (0.04% nationally), or classified themselves as belonging to another, but unspecified, religious affiliation as distinct from those who did not state whether they had any particular religious affiliation or not.

[47] *Iglesia ni Cristo* spelling as used in 1990 Census of Population and Housing Report, (National Statistics Office, 1992) which Elesterio (1989:n.1 p.110) claims is more commonly in current usage even though *Iglesia ni Kristo* is the spelling used in the organization's Articles of Incorporation.

Map 1: National Capital Region (NCR)

The National Capital Region (NCR) of Metro Manila (MM) consisting of the eight cities of Kalookan, Makati, Mandaluyong, Manila,Muntinlupa, Pasay, Pasig and Quezon City together with the nine municipalities of Las Pinas, Malabon, Marikina, Navotas, Paranaque, Pateros, San Juan, Taguig, (occasionally also written Tagig, as in map below), *and Valenzuela.*



(Africa et al.1993:7)