

**THE INFLUENCE OF WOMEN POLITICIANS ON IMPROVING
WOMEN'S RIGHTS: A CASE STUDY OF FILIPINA SENATORS'
BILL PROPOSING SINCE 2000S**

AHHYEONG LEE

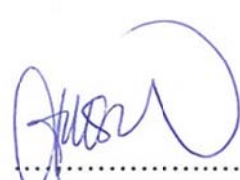
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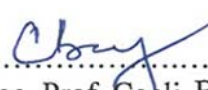
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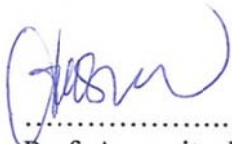
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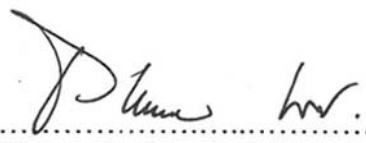
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Ahhyeong Lee

THE INFLUENCE OF WOMEN POLITICIANS ON IMPROVING WOMEN'S RIGHTS: A CASE STUDY OF FILIPINA SENATORS' BILL PROPOSING SINCE 2000S

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ABSTRACT

Women have had the same right to vote as men for over one hundred years; however, most of the political sphere is still perceived as the domain of men. There has been much research looking at the correlation between numbers of female politicians and the state of women's rights. The scholars who advocate that it is necessary to have female politicians for the development of women's rights insist that women can advocate their rights. In this regard, the reason that women should participate in the political arena is not only because women make up half of the world's population, but also because women in positions of power can advocate for their rights, women's rights. However, there are those who suggest that female politicians do not always represent women's rights. Female politicians can represent their own interests and the interests of their political party, not only women's rights.

This thesis tries to assess the impact of female senators on women's rights in the Philippines. This thesis analyzed the bills related to women's issues proposed by female senators in the Philippines, from the 13th Congress to the 17th Congress. Based on this analysis, the extent of the influence which female senators had in improving women's rights was discussed. Additionally, this thesis also analyzes the correlation between female senators' background related to women's rights before entering politics, and their proposed bills relating to women's rights.

The results show that overall female senators proposed more bills than male politicians. However, except for one congress, less than 10% of their proposed bills were related to women's issues. In addition, there are fewer male senators who proposed bills on women's issues than female senators. This shows that female senators are not only working for women's rights, but they are doing so much more than male politicians. However, female senators' background of women's rights before entering the political arena do not affect their legislation.

KEY WORDS: FEMALE POLITICIAN / PHILIPPINE POLITICS / WOMEN'S RIGHTS / WOMEN IN POLITICS

61 pages

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

On September 19, 1893, New Zealand granted women the right to vote, becoming the world's first nation to do so. Following New Zealand were Australia in 1902, Finland in 1906, Norway in 1913, the Soviet Union in 1917, Canada in 1918, the United States of America in 1920 and the United Kingdom in 1928. Despite women having the same right to vote as men, most of the political sphere is still considered to be the domain of men. According to the data of the Inter-Parliamentary Union in 2018, except for Rwanda (61.3%), Cuba (53.2%), and Bolivia (53.1%), there are no other countries where women occupy more than half of the parliament. For instance, in Sweden, the world's first and most well-known feminist government, is only 46.1% women; Finland's government is only 42% women; and the United States' lower house is only 23.5% women. In 2019, the percentage of female parliamentarians is 17.1% in South Korea and 10.2% in Japan. It has been over a hundred years since the first women's suffrage, yet it is still difficult for women to take their rightful share of the political arena. The reason for some countries having over 50% female senators, is the use of a gender quota system in the Congress. Female candidates would find it difficult to get a foothold in politics if gender quota systems did not exist.

Then why is it important for women to participate in politics, and in what form should they participate? It is not just a symbolic gesture for women to make up half of the political arena. According to Jang (2008: 36), the political realm is mostly monopolized by men, which means that the resources are partially distributed according to gender. In other words, the more male politicians there are, the more favorable the society is for men. For that reason, it is important to change the power structure of gender in politics, such as through increasing women's participation in the decision-making process and increasing the representation of women.

Also, there can be a correlation between gender neutral law and presence of female politicians. According to Pamela (2007), most laws are gender neutral and elected politicians consider all their legislation equally. However, this gender neutrality hides substantial gender inequality. If there are only male politicians in the political arena, then women are not equal but rather invisible. If women are not there when lawmakers enacted the law, women's interests would not be reflected. In other words, female politicians are essential for women's rights.

The experiences and the responsibilities that female politicians have as women influence their attitudes and behaviors when they enter the political arena. In addition, in the study of the correlation analysis between the number of women elected and the establishment of women-friendly policies in the 50 states of The United States of America, it was found that the number of women-friendly policies increases in proportion to the increase in the number of elected female politicians (Caizza 2004; Kim et al. 2007). Furthermore, in a study of the House of Representatives and Senators in the United States, female legislators have changed the legislative agenda, and the biggest change is the increase in legislation related to 'women' (Carroll 2001: 6-10, Kim et al. 2018: 71).

There are also analyses that women politicians contribute to support for women's interests. In the 17th National Assembly in South Korea, there is a clear gender gap between male and female politicians in their 'first priority policy issue'. While male politicians have prioritized economic growth (28.6%); and diplomacy and security (24.1%), female politicians cited polarization (45.8%) as the most urgent policy issue, including women and labor issues (8.3%) and education (8.2%) (Kim et al. 2007: 38).

In other words, while policies for women are influenced by complex and diverse factors, the most important factor is that the participation of women in the process of legislation or policy formation has a significant influence on the policy setting for improving women's rights.

Political participation of female politicians results in policy priorities on women's rights. However, there are opinions that a certain percentage of women must be reached in order for women's political participation to lead to policy for women's rights. Dahlerup (2002) found that a "critical mass" would occur when the percentage

of women in politics reached about 30%, which could trigger change. Similar results were obtained in the study of women's legislature and policy prioritization in 12 State Legislative in the United States (Thomas and Welch 2001; Kim et al. 2018: 71). In this study, in states where the percentage of female members is less than 10%, or the number of female members is very small, female members are less likely to prioritize women, children and family issues. On the other hand, in states where the proportion of female members is more than 20% to 30%, it is evident that female members put emphasis on women, children and family issues (Thomas and Welch 2001: 171-172; Kim et al. 2018: 71-72)

In other words, it is difficult to work on women's agendas in public office if the number of women does not reach a certain level, but it can be seen that when the number of female members reaches such a level, such restrictions are largely eliminated.

However, there is an ongoing and heated discussion as to whether political representation for women and women's rights simply means increasing the number of female politicians. There is also some opposition to the suggestion that female politicians always work for women's rights, and that male politicians do not work for women's rights. Scandinavian national studies have shown that the similarities between male and female politicians in policy communication have been increasing over the past 30 years (Kim et al. 2007). Furthermore, Dahlerup (2002) insisted that her study, based on Nordic experience, should not be generalized as a model for increasing women's political participation.

There is no gender difference in legislative activities in South Korea. The ideological tendency of the political parties or the individual member were a significant factor in the voting process of the regular session. However, the results of this study also showed a relatively low vote in favor of legislation relating to gender discrimination and women's political participation (Jeon 2009; Kim et al. 2018: 73). In addition, Lourdes (2008) argued that there are differences among female politicians based on their ideological, ethnic, religious, economic, social, and other differences. Moreover, female politicians often prioritize policy issues related to their party policies and party disciplines not women's issues.

However, most of the studies on the correlation between women politicians and women's rights are based on developed or advanced countries. Currently, the treatment of women's rights differs according to the cultural, political and economic situation of each country. For that reason, research on the relationship between women's rights and female politicians based on the situation in developed countries may not be consistent with the situation in developing countries.

Additionally, Matland (2002) argues that a country's level of development is one of the most important indicators of women's representation in national legislative assemblies. The constant level of development should be assumed for female participation in the political arena because this constant level of development increases women's political resources. Hence, in developing countries, none of the variables found significant among established democracies, nor several other plausible variables, are found to have a consistent effect (Iwanaga 2008).

For that reason, this thesis aims to identify if the presence of female senators has an effect on women's rights in the Philippines, based on previous studies mostly looking at developed countries. This study will try discover if the findings, or which findings, of previous research on developed and advanced countries are consistent with the political situation in the Philippines, as a less developed country in Asia; or if inconsistent, to identify the situation in the Philippines and where the inconsistencies occur.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The social status of Filipino women is known to be higher than in other countries. According to the *World Economic Forum*, the Philippine's 'Global Gender Gap Score' is:

Table 1.1 Global Gender Gap Score of the Philippines

YEAR	RANK
2006	6 th
2007	6 th
2008	6 th
2009	9 th
2010	9 th
2011	8 th
2012	8 th
2013	5 th
2014	9 th
2015	7 th
2016	7 th
2017	10 th
2018	8 th

Source: World Economic Forum

Looking at other South-East Asian countries: Lao PDR is ranked 26th, Singapore is ranked 67th, and Thailand is ranked 73rd in the 2018 Global Gender Gap Score. Although Lao PDR is also ranked quite highly, most South-East Asian countries still have a significant gender gap by global standards.

With the Philippines ranked 8th in the 2018 Global Gender Gap Score; this shows that the Philippines is the best country in Asia for women's rights. This score includes four major parts: Economic Participation and Opportunity; Educational Attainment; Health and Survival; and Political Empowerment. Among the gender gap sub-indexes of the Philippines, it is only those within Political Empowerment for which none received a rank of 1st (See Figure 1). Although the Philippines' Political Empowerment was ranked 13th overall, the sub-index of Women in Parliament was ranked 43th and Women in Ministerial Positions ranked 39th, which are significantly lower.

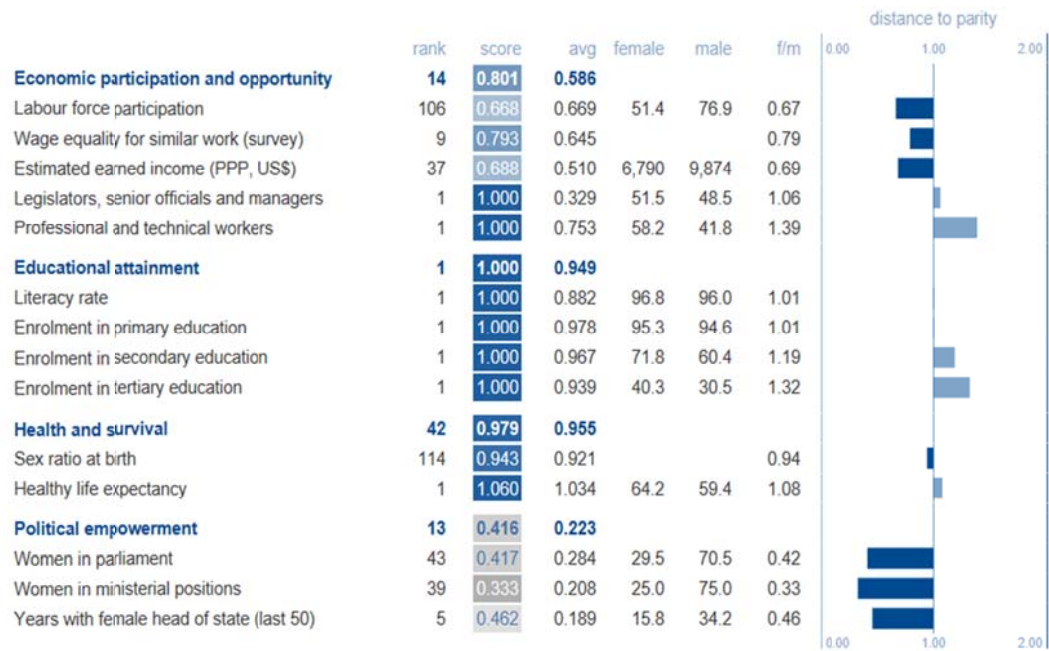


Figure 1.1 Gender Gap Sub-indexes of the Philippines

Source: World Economic Forum, 2018

Furthermore, the number of female representatives among the 290 seats in the House of Representatives in the Philippines is 79 (27.2%), while among the 24 seats in the Senate, there are six seats occupied by women (25%). As of the 18th Congress of the Philippines, among the 24 seats in the Senate, female senators have still acquired only 7 seats (29.17%).

The 1st Congress of the Philippines (Filipino: Unang Kongreso ng Pilipinas) began on May 25, 1946, with the 17th Congress currently underway. The women of the Philippines were granted the right to vote in 1937 through a movement for female suffrage. The political activities of Filipino women began with Elisa Rosales-Ochoa being elected in the congressional elections in the province of Agusan in 1941. The first female senator, Geronima Tomelden-Pecson, was elected in 1947. The Philippines has so far had two female presidents: Corazon Aquino and Gloria Macapagal Arroyo. Since 1937, when women gained the right to vote, the participation of women in the Philippines has only slightly increased. More specifically, the female senators in the history of the Philippines, beginning in 1946, include the following women:

Table 1.2 Female senators in the Philippines

Senator	Congress
Geronima Pecson	1st, 2 nd
Pacita Madrigal-Warns	3rd, 4 th
Maria Kalaw-Katigbak	5th, 6 th
Tecla Ziga	5th, 6 th
Eva Estrada-Kalaw	6th, 7 th
Magnolia Antonino	6th, 7 th
Helena Z. Benitez	6th, 7 th
Nina Rasul	8th, 9 th
Leticia Ramos-Shahani	8th, 9th, 10 th
Gloria Macapagal Arroyo	9th, 10 th
Nikki Coseteng	9th, 10th, 11 th
Miriam Defensor-Santiago	10th, 11th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th
Tessie Aquino-Oreta	11th, 12 th
Loren Legarda	11th, 12th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th
Loi Ejercito	12th, 13 th
Jamby Madrigal	13th, 14 th
Pia Cayetano	13th, 14th, 15th, 16th
Nancy Binay	16th, 17 th
Grace Poe	16th, 17 th
Cynthia Villar	16th, 17 th
Leila de Lima	17 th
Risa Hontiveros	17 th

Source: Senate of the Philippines during 13th – 17th Congress

Looking at the percentages of female senators; in the 10th Congress, female senators took 4/24 seats (16.67%); 4/23 (17.39%) in the 11th Congress; 3/24 (12.5%) in the 12th Congress; 4/23 (17.39%) in the 13th Congress; 4/23 (17.39%) in the 14th Congress; 3/23 (13.04%) in the 15th Congress; 6/24 (25%) in the 16th Congress; and 6/24 (25%) in the 17th Congress. The Philippines is also the 32nd of the 79

countries that have adopted the bicameral system (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2019/02/01). In the Philippines, the number of the female senators does not seem to match their high ranking in the Global Gender Gap Score.

This raises the question of how female politicians in the Philippines step into politics. The political system of the Philippines differs from those of other countries, with some family dynasties considered to be ruling the politics, economy and society of the country. This power structure began in the Spanish colonial period. Prior to the colonial era, indigenous women had approximately equal power to men. That period was the most gender-equal society in the history of the Philippines, where women were able to be economically independent in their family relationships, and actively participated in community work. In addition, women could participate in the political arena, and in religion, women played the role of priests (*babaylan*) who performed official ceremonies (Lee 2000). However, during the Spanish colonial period, from 1571 to 1898, the Philippines' society was influenced by Spain. The name of the Philippines originated from the Spanish king *Philip*, and most of the people converted to Catholicism. The traditional elites, the ruling classes of the Philippine society, and the merchants who emerged with the development of commercial agriculture in the 18th century, were guaranteed social and economic status by Spanish government (Park 1996; Simbulan 2005; Kim 2006). The Spanish colonial government gave the right of electoral participation to the local elites. Later, during the period of American rule from 1898 to 1946, the United States gradually allowed the Philippines to become more autonomous. However, in this period, the Americans also guaranteed the role of the elites, as the Spanish colonial government had done, to govern. The elites enjoyed a monopoly position as the subject of a modern political system which was used to secure the elite's exclusive status and to build their wealth (Kim 2006). Under this form of politics, however, women did not have equal political power to men. The equality of women and men which existed before the colonial period has changed due to the long colonization of the society. For example, the indigenous population were relegated to non-citizens, and women were placed lower than the lowest status. The Spanish and American colonial governments impose their biases on women, including removing the right to vote of women (Lourdes 2008). Even though Filipinas took part in the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial struggles

alongside like men and participated in the *National Democratic Revolution*, women gradually lost their equal status to men.

After World War II, the Constitutional Council, composed of 20 members in 1943, drafted a new constitution, but no women were convened in the Congress. In addition, the highest percentage of women in the House of Representatives from 1946 to 1992 was 12.5% in 1946, and in the Senate, 25% in 1967. The average percentage of women elected between 1946 and 1992 was only 6% (Lee 2000). Moving on to the present situation; in the senatorial election in 2019, there were 62 candidates. Despite the high number of candidates, there were only 11 female candidates, whereas there were 51 male candidates. Although 72 years have elapsed since the first female senator was elected in 1947, the number of female candidates is still significantly lower than the number of male candidates. Women are still placed in the periphery of politics after all this time.

Why is it that the female politicians in the Philippines do not participate politically in proportion to the level of women's rights in the country? It results from prevailing patriarchal norms and values and gender stereotypes. The political arena is considered as an area for men, because politics is treated as dirty and elections and campaigns are organized with violence in the Philippines. Hence, the political system of the Philippines is characterized by 'guns, gold and goons'. Moreover, the existence of stereotypes toward women affect the female politicians in two ways. Firstly, female politicians cannot get the favor of political parties or groups more than their male counterparts, because stereotypes about women deter voters, as female candidates are considered weak, emotional and indecisive. Secondly, voters do not prefer female candidates, so female candidates who are willing to participate and work in congress cannot receive sufficient financial support (National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women, 1998).

Francine d'Amico (1995: 15-30) classified "Path to Power" for women's politics into three tracks through comparative studies: 1) Political surrogate: inherited from family members, 2) Outsider/Activist: which is introduced into politics through other political channels and parties, and 3) Insider/Climber: which is recruited through grassroots movements or opposition politics. Women generally follow the track of political surrogates and outsiders, while men generally follow the track of

insiders/climbers. Most female politicians, particularly in the Philippines, enter the political arena through their own families' influences. For example, the previous female presidents of the Philippines, Corazon Aquino and Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo came from family dynasties. Corazon Aquino is the widow of a prominent political leader and Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo is the daughter of a previous president. Additionally, the female senators from 13th Congress to 17th Congress Nancy Binay, Cynthia Villar, Jamby Madrigal, Loi Estrada, and Pia Cayetano, are also part of family dynasties.

This Philippine family dynasties system and political surrogate path have a strong impact on women. The political surrogate path opened the way for women to step into politics more easily, but on the other hand, it made women dependent on the male-centered political culture of the family. For instance, women enter politics on behalf of their male family members to secure their political power in case the male members cannot participate in politics. Women enter politics because of family consanguinity and often have a father-daughter or husband-wife relationship with male politicians. In the period of the 12th Congress, an estimated 45% of the female politicians elected were replacements of relatives previously in the House of Representatives; while in the 14th Congress, 15% of the congresswomen were wives of congressmen who had just served their third and final terms (Palatino 2010). In the case of the Senate, Loi Estrada worked together in the Senate with her son, Jinggoy Estrada, after he was released from prison for his plunder charge. However, they only worked together in the Senate for three years until 2007. Loi Estrada retired after finishing her first term in 2007, while her son took his senatorial position for six more years until 2010. Female politicians who are from political dynasties tend to have a position as benchwarmers for the male members of their families.

However, this political dynasty applies not only to women but also to men. Male politicians also get closer to the political arena through their political family backgrounds. However, rather than focusing on the ways in which the Philippines' female politicians have gained political power through political dynasties; this thesis is focused on the relationship between the number of female politicians and the status of women's rights legislation in the current political situation in the Philippines, where

the women's rights ranking is one of the highest in the world but the number of female politicians is fewer than in many other countries.

1.3 Research Questions

This study considers the results of research into why women politicians are needed for women's rights, and discusses how female politicians can work for women's rights. Based on this existing research, this thesis aims to identify if the presence of female senators has an effect on women's rights in the Philippines. There are three questions which this thesis aims to answer:

- 1) Of the bills proposed by female senators, what is the ratio of those related to women's rights issues?
- 2) Does the background of female senators have any effect on the number of bills related to women's rights which they propose?
- 3) Do the proposed bills which are related to women's issues differ based on the gender of the senator who proposed them?

1.4 Methodology, Scope and Limitations

The main analytical subjects of this thesis are the female senators who have been elected to the Senate in the 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th and 17th Congress in the Philippines. Since 1947, there have been 22 female senators in the Philippines. Since 2000, there have been 6 Congresses, from the 12th to 17th, although as the 12th Congress started early in the 2000s, it will not be included in this research.

The research methodology will involve several stages; firstly, the proposed bills of the female senators will be examined and categorized. Table 3 shows the number of bills proposed by all senators during each Congress.

Table 1.3 Number Bill Proposed in Each Congress

Number of Congress	Senate Bill Number (SBN)
13 th Congress	2,682
14 th Congress	3,596
15 th Congress	3,405
16 th Congress	3,227
17 th Congress	2,235
Total	15,145

Source: Senate of the Philippines during 13th – 17th Congress

There were four female senators in the 13th and 14th Congress, three female senators in the 15th Congress, and six female senators in each of the 16th and 17th Congress. The number of proposed bills that each female senator submitted during their tenure are as follows:

Table 1.4 Name of Female Senators and SBN

Number of Congress	Name of Female senator	SBN
13 th Congress	Miriam Defensor-Santiago	506
13 th Congress	Jamby Madrigal	27
13 th Congress	Loi Ejercito	184
13 th Congress	Pia Cayetano	62
14 th Congress	Miriam Defensor-Santiago	838
14 th Congress	Loren Legarda	242
14 th Congress	Jamby Madrigal	46
14 th Congress	Pia Cayetano	92
15 th Congress	Miriam Defensor-Santiago	876
15 th Congress	Loren Legarda	174
15 th Congress	Pia Cayetano	77
16 th Congress	Miriam Defensor-Santiago	917
16 th Congress	Loren Legarda	210
16 th Congress	Pia Cayetano	79

Table 1.4 Name of Female Senators and SBN (cont.)

Number of Congress	Name of Female senator	SBN
16 th Congress	Nancy Binay	119
16 th Congress	Grace Poe	81
16 th Congress	Cynthia Villar	209
17 th Congress	Loren Legarda	209
17 th Congress	Nancy Binay	183
17 th Congress	Grace Poe	151
17 th Congress	Cynthia Villar	99
17 th Congress	Leila de Lima	147
17 th Congress	Risa Hontiveros	101

Source: Senate of the Philippines during 13th – 17th Congress

As the total number of bills proposed in each Congress is substantial, comparing the total numbers of bills proposed by female senators and male senators from the 13th to 17th Congress would take considerable time. Thus, this thesis will only study the proposed bills related to women's issues which are presented in the primary committees 'Youth, Women and Family Relations' and 'Women, Children, Family Relations and Gender Equality'. Among the primary committees in the Philippine Congress, these are the two committees most closely related to women's issues. From the 13th to 15th Congress, the name of the primary committee was 'Youth, Women and Family Relations'. However, from the 16th Congress, the name of the primary committee was changed to 'Women, Children, Family Relations and Gender Equality'. The committee added 'Gender Equality' to also give focus to anti-discrimination based on gender for women's rights.

CHAPTER II

FEMALE SENATORS AND THEIR PROPOSED BILLS RELATED TO WOMEN'S RIGHTS

2.1 Category of women's Issues Bills

This chapter will carry out two tasks related to the legislation submitted by the female senators. First, identify how many women's rights bills were submitted by female senators, and in which categories. The categories include: Women's Health; Family/Marriage; Violence Against Women (Including Sexual Abuse); Women's Rights in the Workplace; and Women's Empowerment and Equality. Second, calculate the percentage of women's rights legislation which is submitted by female senators. The details of women's rights issues in each category are as follows:

Table 2.1 Women's Rights Category and Detailed Content

Women's Rights Category	Detailed Content
Women's Health	Reproductive Health (breastfeeding, pregnancy, counselling and education on sexuality, etc.), Women's Health
Family/Marriage	Single Parents, Mother's Role, Adultery and Concubinage, Maiden Names
Violence Against Women	Child Pornography, Comfort Women, Trafficking of Women, Video Voyeurism, Sexual Harassment, Violence, Cybersex, Prostitution, Security (from sex offenders, etc.), Mail-Order Brides, Domestic Violence, Early Marriage

Table 2.1 Women's Rights Category and Detailed Content. (cont.)

Women's Rights Category	Detailed Content
Women's Rights in the Workplace	Workplace Gender Discrimination, Sexual Abuse in the Workplace, Women's Empowerment Related to Work, Child Daycare, Family Leave, Maternity Leave, Pre-Natal Leave, Paternity Leave, Menstruation Leave
Women's Empowerment and Equality	Manga Carta of Women, Women's Day Celebrations, Education for Empowerment, Equality (Anti-discrimination), Politics

To further discuss the above categories, the relationship between women's rights and the categories of legislation are as follows:

2.1.1 Women's Health

International discussion on pregnancy and childbirth rights has developed through: *Tehran human rights conference* in 1968, *Bucharest world population conference* in 1974, *Mexico World Conference on Women* in 1975, *Cairo International Conference on Population and Development* in 1994, and *The Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing* in 1995. The rights related to pregnancy and childbirth discussed at the *Cairo International Conference on Population and Development* and *The Fourth World Conference on Women* in Beijing were designated as 'Reproductive Rights', and defined as 'Reproductive Health' within social rights. At these two conferences, women's rights to pregnancy and childbirth were based on 'Gender Equality' and 'Empowerment of Women'. Thus, pregnancy and childbirth are related to women's health, but they are also considered to be women's rights.

In the Philippines, women's pregnancy and childbirth are not considered to be related to adult women solely. According to the results from the 2013 National Demographic and Health Survey (NDHS), 10% of female teenagers between the ages of 15 and 19 have begun having children. Of these, 80% are already mothers and 20% are pregnant with their first child. In addition to teenage mothers, young mothers also exist in large numbers in the Philippines. From the age of 20 to 24; 43% of Filipino

women are already mothers and 4% of them are pregnant with their first child. Among the young mothers aged 20 to 24, 44% have only elementary education, while 21% have a college education. In addition, 15% of those young mothers got married and started living with their husbands. When these young women get pregnant at an early age, they often abandon their studies as well as their health, and their child's health can suffer as a result.

However, abortion is not included in the category of reproductive health in the Philippines. Abortion was criminalized in the Philippines through the Penal Code of 1870 under Spanish colonial rule, and again in 1930 under the U.S. occupation. Moreover, with the Philippines being a catholic country, the church has a strong influence on issues of abortion, evident from the involvement of Catholic bishops and leaders in the development of the 1987 Constitution, which recognized a government obligation to protect "the life of the unborn from conception". One survey states that the abortion ban was estimated to have resulted in the deaths of at least 1,000 women and caused complications for 90,000 more in the Philippines (Guttmacher Institute 2009). Yet still abortion is prohibited in the Philippines, and there have been bills related to punishments for doctors, nurses and midwives who support and assist in the process of abortion.

In the category of Women's Health, breastfeeding is included because breastfeeding is a mother's right and a woman's right. Breastfeeding/Breastmilk is well known to protect and improve the baby's health; but additionally, breastfeeding also protects the mother's health. Breastfeeding reduces the mother's risk of ovarian cancer, heart disease, breast cancer, and diabetes (UNICEF 2018). However, the right to breastfeeding is not only related to women's health but also women's decisions. Mothers face various difficulties when breastfeeding in places including their home or workplace, and a wide range of public places. The decision to continue or stop breastfeeding should be the mother's decision, but social barriers could violate women's decisions. Hence, the nation should protect and ensure women's choice to continue or stop breastfeeding in public.

Moreover, education and counselling on sexuality will be included because in the proposed bills related to sexual education for teenagers, the aim is to prevent

teenage pregnancies which may lead to mothers leaving education after giving birth. Moreover, sexually transmitted diseases also affect women's health.

In the category of Women's Health; Reproductive Health, which is related to pregnancy, including teen pregnancy, giving birth, breastfeeding; and sexual education, which is related to prevention of pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases, are also included. All-round women's health problems related to women's diseases will also be included in the Women's Health category. However, in this category, baby's health or unborn child's health will be not included. If the baby's health affects the mother's health, it is related to women's health; thus, it will also be included in this category. However, fetal health alone will be excluded from this category.

2.1.2 Violence Against Women

Violence against women by men is referred to as 'Gender-based violence', due to men having a dominant role in society, while women's role is considered to be subordinate to men. Therefore, violence against women is based on the unequal gender distribution of power (National Statistic Office 2008). The Republic Act No. 9262 or the "Anti-Violence against Women and Their Children Act of 2004" is one of the Philippine government's initiatives in addressing the issue of violence against women. Under this Act, violence against women is classified as a public crime and all forms of abuse and violence within the family and intimate relationships are penalized. However, violence against women is still a pervasive social problem in the Philippines.

According to the Philippine Commission on Women, based on the 2008 NDHS survey conducted by the National Statistics Office, one in five of the group of 15 - 49 year-old Filipinas had experienced physical violence since the age of 15. According to NDHS research in 2018, one among four married women aged 15 to 49 had experienced domestic violence, while one in five of these women had experienced emotional violence. Additionally, among these married women aged 15 to 49, 14% had experienced physical violence, while 5% had experienced sexual violence, from their current or most recent husband or partner. Women who are divorced, separated, or widowed are more likely to have experienced all forms of violence from their most recent partner, compared to women who are married or cohabiting, with 53% of

divorced, separated, or widowed women having experienced physical, sexual, or emotional violence.

However, violence against women is not limited to physical violence in the home. It could be experienced in public in diverse forms. For that reason, the category of Violence against Women includes prostitution, pornography, cybersex, video voyeurism, and trafficking of women; all of which can result in physical violence and sexual abuse against women

According to the 2016-2017 Philippine Cybercrime report from the Department of Justice Office of Cybercrime, there were had been an increase in reports of photo and video voyeurism, with 116 reports in 2014, 111 reports in 2015, and spiking to 329 reports in 2016. In addition, acts of violence against women and children were committed 10 times in 2014, 8 times in 2015 and 31 times in 2016. Similarly, reports of trafficking of women doubled from 3 in 2015, to 6 in 2016.

Pornography also exhibits many asymmetric power relationships between women and men. Such pornography reinforces sexual commodification and devalues women. Many women are also victims of secret photography and distribution. In addition, child pornography, which commits sexual exploitation of children, is not only violating the child's rights, but is also related to child sexual predators. Based on the 2017 Global UNICEF report, the Philippines has become one of the top international sources of child pornography.

Protection from prostitution can also be a protection of women's rights. It is arguable if prostitution in and of itself is a violation of women's rights or not; however, prostitution is generally a result of economic constraints and often leads to violence against women. Moreover, UNICEF National Statistics Office showed that an estimated 60,000 to 100,000 children are also working in the sex industry.

Mail-order brides and early marriage are also included in the category of Violence against Women. These phenomena can often overlap with trafficking of women. The industry behind mail-order brides utilizes the postal services, tri-media, and various modes of recruitment and advertising activities to target male foreign nationals as customers (Philippine Statistic Authority 2017). This can be considered as human trafficking, through paying money to buy women, and places women at risk of being subjected to forced marriage. In addition, if the bride happens to be a young

woman, this early marriage is also a violation of woman's rights, based on the thinking that women are secondary or subservient to men. 15% of Filipino girls are married before they are 18 years old, and the Philippines has the 12th highest number of child brides in the world, at 726,000. Women in ARMM, Mimaropa and Socargen marry earlier than those in other regions, and many early marriages are the result of the trafficking of women and mail-order brides. Young girls from rural areas of Visayas and Mindanao are taken to big cities like Cebu, Metro Manila, etc. for marriage; whereas, in Mindanao, following Islamic Sharia law, young girls can get married after the onset of puberty (UNICEF State of the World's Children 2017; Girls not brides 2018). The Philippines has no law to facilitate divorce since the country is predominantly Roman Catholic; thus, young married girls are defenseless and unable to leave.

The welfare of comfort women is also an issue of violence against women. During World War II, in December 1941, Luzon Philippines was invaded by the Japanese Imperial Army, leading to the establishment of a military government in the Philippines on 3 January 1942. The Japanese military government suppressed the Philippine guerrilla fighters and resistance movement to oppose them. According to the Comfort Women Issue and the Asian Women's Fund, there were 12 houses of comfort stations in Manila. Filipina women were kidnapped by the Japanese military to be raped in the comfort-houses. This is considered to be trafficking of women and sexual abuse by the Japanese military, so the compensation for their suffering could be used as support for the victims of sexual violence.

Sexual harassment, which is any unwanted sexual action or attention, is a common occurrence for women in the Philippines. According to the Philippine Statistics Authority (March 3, 2008), the different forms of sexual harassment are as follows: 1) Physical; including malicious touching, overt sexual advances, and gestures with lewd insinuations; 2) verbal; such as but not limited to, requests or demands for sexual favors, and lurid remarks; 3) use of objects, pictures or graphics, letters or written notes with sexual underpinnings; and 4) other forms of analogous foregoing. It can happen in any place such as schools, workplaces, and public spaces. According to the report of National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women; although research and studies in the United States show that 95% of sexual harassment

involves both men and women, most sexual harassment, 75% percent, is perpetrated by men. Sexual harassment can result in serious consequences for victims. According to the data compiled by Equal Rights Advocates, female victims of sexual harassment suffer from anxiety, depression, headaches, sleep disorders, low self-esteem and sexual dysfunction.

2.1.3 Family/Marriage

According to female senator Rissa Hontiveros, based on the research of the Philippine Statistics Authority, there were three million households with only one parent in the Philippines in 2015. Among these households, two million were single or solo mothers. Republic ACT 8972 defines solo parents as: 1) a woman who gives birth as a result of rape and other crimes against chastity even without a final conviction of the offender, provided that mother keeps and raises the child, 2) a parent left solo or alone with the responsibility of parenthood due to the following circumstances: death of spouse; spouse is detained or is serving sentence for a criminal conviction for at least one year; physical and/or mental incapacity of spouse as certified by a public medical practitioner; legal separation or de facto separation from spouse for at least one year, as long as he/she is entrusted with the custody of the children; declaration of nullity or annulment of marriage as decreed by a court or by a church as long as he/she is entrusted with the custody of the children, 3) unmarried mother/father who has preferred to keep and rear her/his child/children instead of having others care for them or give them up to a welfare institution, 4) any other person who solely provides parental care and support to a child or children, and 5) any family member who assumes the responsibility of head of family as a result of the death, abandonment, disappearance or prolonged absence of the parents or solo parent. When people choose to become solo parents, the burden of caring for the child rests only on one person. This can cause solo parents to suffer from problems related to money, work, health, housing services, and so on. Hence, many solo mothers suffer from a range of these hardships. As a result, financial or other support provided for solo parents could be considered as a women's rights issue.

In the Philippines, divorce is prohibited by law, but nullity, annulment and legal separation are possible. However, these all take time and money, so it is difficult

for many people to legally separate from their spouse. This may make the large number of solo parents difficult to understand. The high number of solo parents is attributed to reproductive health being taboo, and abortion being illegal, both stemming from the predominantly conservative society in the Philippines. In addition, most of the solo parents' roles are taken by women. The Philippines is the only country where divorce is prohibited by law other than the Vatican City. 'Annulment', 'legal separation' and 'voided marriage' exist in the country instead of divorce. For a marriage to be annulled, the couple must prove that either or both of them are psychologically incapacitated. Infidelity, physical or mental abuse, and physical violence are not considered grounds for annulment. Alternatively, legal separation allows the two parties to live separately, without legally ending their marital union, thus prohibiting them from remarrying. Through voided marriage, the marriage is considered as having been invalid from the beginning. A marriage may be voided based upon reasons such as either party having an incurable sexually transmitted disease, or for cases of mistaken identity.

Women are the worst affected by the lack of divorce legislation. The majority of women rely on their husbands for financial support, which can make them reluctant to file for an annulment or legal separation due to the practical and financial implications, and results in many separated women finding it hard to support their families. However, if they were able to get a divorce, they could receive alimony from their husbands, and would therefore be able to cover child-rearing expenses if they had custody of their children. It also allows the husband to be responsible for the finances and to distribute property rights when women are responsible for their childcare. Additionally, women exposed to domestic violence could opt for divorce instead of complicated and costly annulment or legal separation. For these reasons, the availability of divorce is considered to be a women's rights issue. Despite divorce currently being illegal in the Philippines, there are still proposals for it to become legal. Although not being related specifically to divorce, politicians propose that a wife and a husband should have the same rights in relation to annulment or legal separation.

2.1.4 Women's Rights in the Workplace

Married women are required to perform many roles, both as employees in the workplace and as wives and mothers in the home. Of course, there is much discussion and debate about the roles of men and women in the home, but in reality, care for the family, especially parenting, is considered to be the responsibility of women (Son and Kim 2014). The burden of such care often takes women away from their careers and, as a result, weakens women's rights. In addition, Chung et al. (2012), through analysis of female family panel data, found that 23.2% of married working women with children under the age of 18 expressed an intention to abandon their career. The survey also found that over 50% of working mothers in the Philippines stated that their professional careers influenced their plans for having children. In addition, approximately 19% of women in the Philippines said that they had been asked if they planned to have children during a job interview (Chung et al. 2012; Son and Kim 2014: 2).

According to Son and Kim (2014), there are two ways in which working mothers can overcome the burdens of working and raising children simultaneously. One of which is through government support and provision of leave for working women. These policies include maternity leave, pre-natal leave, paternity leave and family leave. They allow working mothers to leave their workplace for giving birth and caring for their newborn babies. The other solution proposed by Son and Kim is to create a system to mitigate the burdens on the family caused by mothers needing to work. Child daycare services are one aspect of this solution. Through this system, the government can share some of the burden placed upon working women in nurturing their children, so that women can concentrate on their careers. Policies which are supportive of women as both workers and mothers (Co-work and family system) have a significant impact on many women's decisions to continue working while raising preschool children. Protection from sexual harassment in the workplace is also a women's rights issue. Based on studies of the data compiled by the Advocates for Human Rights; in the USA, female victims of sexual harassment lose US\$4.4 million from their salaries. This is through women losing their jobs after reporting incidents, often due to companies' conservative cultures or reputations, or a tendency to blame female victims. This could necessitate the requirement by law of companies having a

‘women’s desk’ for dealing with reports of sexual harassment, as well as implementing both government and company policy aimed at protecting women from sexual harassment in the workplace.

For this reason, child daycare, maternity leave, paternity leave, family leave and menstruation leave are all factors which contribute to women’s rights in relation to their careers. In addition, employers’ attitudes towards women’s healthcare, breastfeeding at work and the prevention of sexual harassment can all help to protect women’s rights in the workplace.

2.1.5 Women’s Empowerment and Equality

Institutional systems are important for improving women’s rights, but it is also important to develop a society without sex stereotypes. However, the individuals who are generally considered to be ‘great people’ are most often male. For example, when identifying a representative of the technology industry, many would choose Bill Gates or Steve Jobs; whereas not many people know that the person who made one of the first computer programs, Mark 1, is a woman named Grace Murray Hopper. Society creates male-centric role-models, which also affects adults and children. In other words, the social atmosphere, which is dominated by male heroes, despite the presence of both male and female heroes, can under-represent women’s lives and contributions, as well as present children with biased depictions, showing men as superior. Establishing holidays centered on female heroes is a breakthrough in overcoming gender stereotypical role-models.

One example of overcoming these stereotypes is the Magna Carta for Women, aiming at “eliminating discrimination against women by recognizing, protecting, fulfilling and promoting the rights of Filipino women, especially those belonging in the marginalized sectors of the society. It conveys a framework of rights for women based directly on international law” (Republic ACT 9710). Thus, this bill is working to end discrimination against women, whether done by public and private entities or individuals (Philippine Statistics Authority 2010).

2.2 Criteria of Analysis

There are some women's rights issues which could fit into several categories, these have been categorized as follows:

- 1) Although breastfeeding is related to both Women's Health and Women's Empowerment, due to the importance of breastfeeding promotion for women at work, this study will categorize breastfeeding as Women's Rights in the Workplace.
- 2) Matters which are related to both Women's Health and Women's Rights in the Workplace; including women's maternity-related vacations, such as maternity leave, pre-natal leave, paternity leave, and menstruation leave; are categorized as Women's Rights in the Workplace.
- 3) Discrimination against, and sexual harassment of, women at work are categorized as Women's Rights in Workplace rather than Violence Against Women.
- 4) Early marriage and mail-order brides are treated as Trafficking of Women rather than Family/Marriage.
- 5) Infertility is considered to be a part of reproductive health.

CHAPTER III

COMPARISON OF PROPOSED BILLS BY FEMALE SENATORS DURING THEIR TENURE AND THE CORRELATION BETWEEN THEIR BACKGROUND AND THEIR PROPOSED BILLS

This chapter compares the bills proposed by female senators during their tenure, and studies the correlation between their background and their proposed bills. Chapter 3.1 shows 1) the information on the number of bills proposed by female senators, 2) the women's issues which those proposed bills address, 3) the total number of bills proposed by female senators and the percentage of those bills which address women's issues, 4) a comparison of the bills related to women's rights which were proposed by female politicians and male politicians, and 5) how many bills related to women's issues passed into law. Chapter 3.2, shows the correlation between the female senator's background and their proposed bills related to women's issues.

3.1 Comparison of Proposed Bills by Female Senators During Their Tenure

3.1.1 Female Senators in the 13th Congress

The 13th Congress was held from July 26, 2004 to June 8, 2007. There were 23 senators elected, including four (17.4%) female senators: Miriam Defensor-Santiago, Jamby Madrigal, Loi Ejercito, and Pia Cayetano. The 23 senators submitted a total of 2,682 proposed bills, of which 779 (29.05%) were proposed by the female senators. Regarding the proposed bills related to women's issues of each female senators; Miriam Defensor-Santiago proposed 66 bills, Pia Cayetano proposed 3, Jamby Madrigal proposed 2 and Loi Ejercito proposed 22. Considering the total numbers of bills proposed by the female senators, there were more bills related to

women's rights than expected. The categories of each senator's proposed bills are as follows:

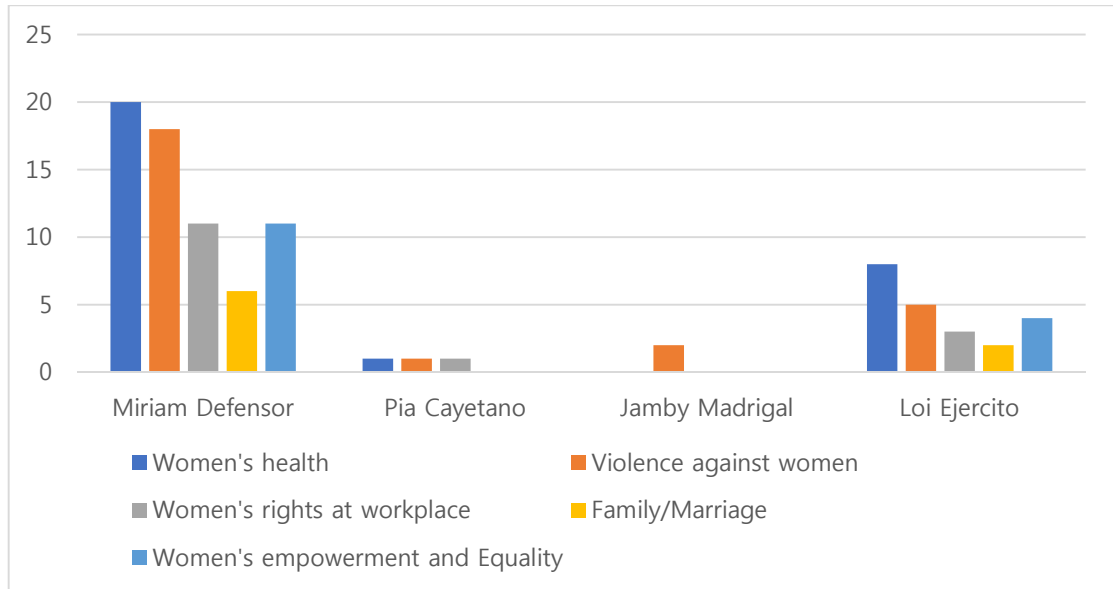


Figure 3.1 The 13th Congress Number of Bills

Looking in more detail at issues address by these bills; Miriam Defensor-Santiago proposed a total of 506 bills, among which 66 were related to women's rights, 13.04% of her proposed bills. In the category of Women's Health, she proposed bills in two categories: women's disease and reproductive health, such as pregnancy and childbirth. Of the 20 bills related to Women's Health, eight bills were related to women's disease, and 12 bills were related to reproductive health. Of the bills related to women's disease, four could be considered 'all-round' women's disease bills, three are related specifically to women's breast healthcare, and one is related to sexually transmitted disease. Within the reproductive health bills, five bills are related to teen pregnancy and three are related to pregnant women. The bills about teen pregnancy are focused on the prevention of pregnancy and providing educational assistance for teenagers. Moreover, there is one bill focused on each of breastfeeding, postpartum depression, and infertility. Based on these results, it can be seen that Miriam Defensor-Santiago is interested in improving women's reproductive health, and primarily prevention and support for teen pregnancy.

In the category of Violence Against Women, Miriam Defensor-Santiago proposed bills related to sexual abuse and protection from violence. In the legislation related to sexual abuse, there are bills focusing on both men and women, however most sexual abuse legislation considers women to be the main victims of sexual abuse, which is consistent with the extensive research on sexual abuse. If a proposed bill seeks to protect both men and women from sexual abuse, this research will classify such bills as being related to women's rights. Including those related to both male and female victims, Miriam Defensor-Santiago proposed thirteen bills related to sexual abuse. Concerning Violence Against Women, there are two bills related to battered women and research on violence against women. There are two bills regarding protection from all forms of violence. The most notable legislation among Miriam Defensor-Santiago's bills on violence against women is 'Death or Physical Injuries Inflicted Under Exceptional Circumstances (SBN-2146)'. This bill creates severe penalties for violence against women. Based on Miriam Defensor-Santiago's proposed bills, she focuses on violence against women as a whole, with particular interest in sexual abuse.

In the category of Women's Rights in the Workplace, Miriam Defensor-Santiago proposed 11 bills. Two proposed bills were related to sexual harassment in the workplace, six were related to working women's welfare, and two bills were related to anti-discrimination. Based on the distribution of her proposed bills, Defensor-Santiago makes working women's welfare a priority in relation to women's rights in the workplace. She especially focuses on women's leave and the promotion of breastfeeding among nursing mothers, which help support women taking the role of both working woman and mother.

There are six proposed bills on Family/Marriage. Among them, two are on the mother's role, and four are related to equality before the law between husband and wife. In the category of Women's Empowerment and Equality, there are eleven proposed bills, of which eight are women's empowerment bills, and three are gender equality. These bills seek to eliminate gender discrimination based on equality before the law for women and men. The salient point is the Constitutional ban on Abortion (SBN-1255), which seeks to prohibit women's abortion, based upon the widespread religious beliefs in the Philippines.

Pia Cayetano, proposed a total of 62 bills. Among these three bills were related to women's issues, making up 4.83% of her total proposed bills. One bill is related to Women's Health, specifically breastfeeding awareness, however this bill is aimed more at improving the health of newborn children, rather than mothers. One bill is in the category of Violence Against Women, related to benefits for comfort women. The last bill, in the category of Women's Rights in the Workplace, is related to mothers breastfeeding at the workplace.

Jamby Madrigal proposed a total of 27 bills, of which two are related to women's issue, making up 7.41% of her total proposed bills. Both of these are within the category of Violence Against Women; one is related to child pornography and the other is related to trafficking.

Loi Ejercito proposed a total of 184 bills. Among these, 22 bills were related to women's issues, 11.96% of her total. Of the eight bills on Women's Health; three are related to reproductive health, two to breast health, two to overall women's health, and one on HIV protection for women. In the category of Violence Against Women, there are five proposed bills. Among them, three bills are related to sexual abuse, and two bills are related to protection from sexual offenders. Significantly, one of these bills seeks the castration of sexual offenders (SBN-183). In the category of Women's Rights in the Workplace, there is a total of three bills; one on gender discrimination in the workplace, one on protection for the working conditions of women, and one on the working conditions of domestic workers. The latter seeks specifically to protect female domestic workers, differing from other legislation which seeks the overall welfare of domestic workers (SBN-202). In the category of Family/Marriage, there is one bill related to the mother's role and one bill about equality before the law between husband and wife. In the category of Women's Empowerment and Equality, there are three women's empowerment bills and one against gender discrimination.

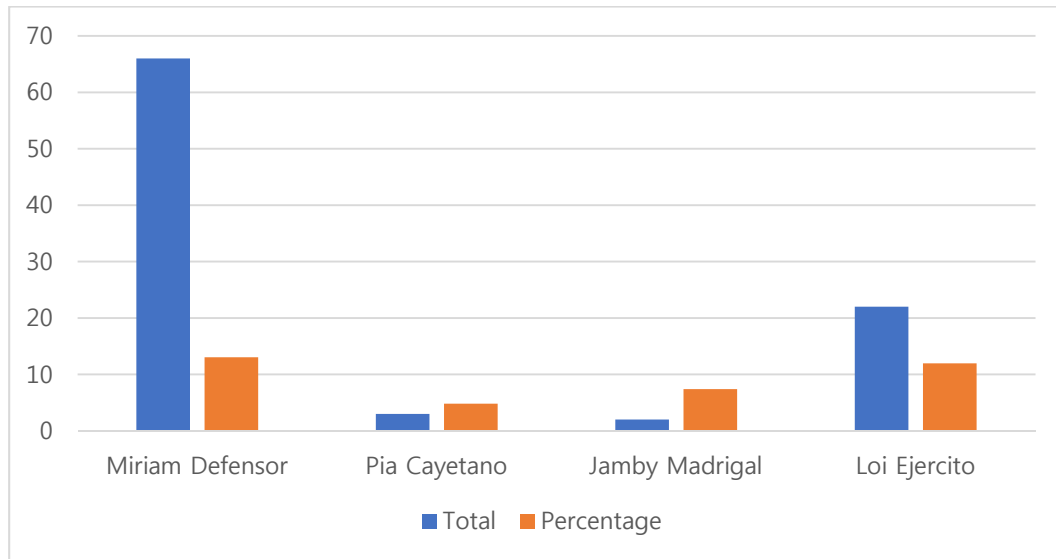


Figure 3.2 The Number and Percentage of Proposed Bills of Female Senators in the 13th Congress

The total number of proposed bills of each female senator, in descending order, are: Miriam Defensor-Santiago, 66 bills; Loi Ejercito, 22 bills; Pia Cayetano, 3 bills; and Jamby Madrigal, 2 bills. The percentages of each female senator’s bills which are related to women’s rights are as follows: Miriam Defensor-Santiago, 13.04%; Loi Ejercito, 11.96%; Jamby Madrigal, 7.41%; and Pia Cayetano, 4.83%. As discussed previously, compared to other female senators, Miriam Defensor-Santiago proposed the highest total number of bills, as well as the highest number of bills related to women’s rights. Across all of the female senators, the total percentage of their proposed bills which are related to women’s rights is 11.94%.

Including male senators who proposed bills related to women’s rights, the numbers of such bills proposed by each senator in the 13th Congress are as follows: Miriam Defensor-Santiago, 13 bills; Manny Villar, 8 bills; Luisa “Loi” P. Ejercito Estrada, Osmena III and Sergio R., 7 bills; and Jinggoy Ejercito-Estrada, 4 bills. There are eleven male senators who did not propose any bills related to women’s issues. In addition, one bill on women’s issues was jointly proposed by four senators including the female senator Pia Cayetano, and two bills on women’s issues were jointly proposed by three senators, including female senator Jamby Madrigal.

3.1.2 Female Senators in the 14th Congress

The 14th Congress was held from July 23, 2007 to June 9, 2010. There were 23 senators elected, including four (17.4%) female senators: Miriam Defensor-Santiago, Loren Legarda, Jamby Madrigal, and Pia Cayetano. During this Congress, the 23 senators proposed a total of 3,596 bills, and among them, the female senators proposed a total of 1,218 bills, making up 33.87% of the total bills proposed. Regarding the bills related to women's rights; Miriam Defensor-Santiago proposed the most, with 77 bills; followed by Loren Legarda with 21 bills; Pia Cayetano with 11 bills; and lastly Jamby Madrigal with 7 bills. Relative to the total proposition of female senators, the number of their proposed bills related to women's rights is more than expected. Each of the female senator's proposed bills on women's rights are as follows:

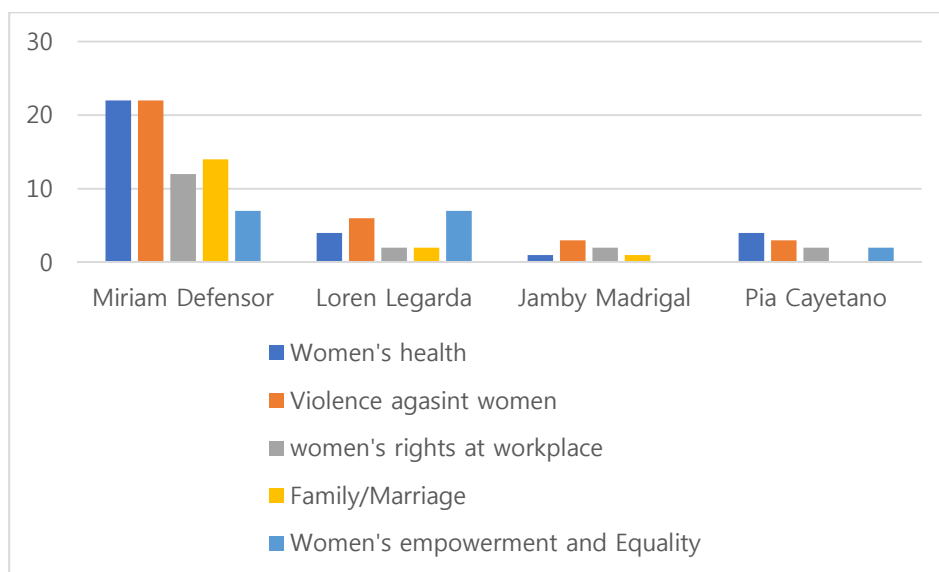


Figure 3.3 The 14th Congress Number of Bills

Miriam Defensor-Santiago proposed a total of 838 bills, among which 77 are related to women's rights, accounting for 9.19% of her total proposed bills. The categories of Women's Health and Violence against Women made up the highest number of these proposed bills, with 22 bills each. Of the bills proposed related to Women's Health, most were concerning reproductive health. Within the category of Violence against Women, the highest number of bills were associated with sexual

abuse, followed by violence and protection/security from violence against women. In addition, she also proposed twelve bills in the category of Women's Rights in the Workplace, which were mostly related to working women's welfare, followed by anti-discrimination, and sexual harassment and protection. Defensor-Santiago also proposed one bill related to women's empowerment in the workplace. In the category of Family/Marriage, she proposed seven bills. Five of these were connected to equality before the law between husband and wife, and the other two were on the mother's role in the family. Lastly, she proposed fourteen bills under the women's empowerment and equality category. Eleven of those were related to women's empowerment, and the remaining three were related to equality between men and women.

Loren Legarda proposed a total of 242 bills. Among them, 21 (8.68%) were related to women's rights. Four bills fall under the category of women's health, of which two were related to women's breast health while the other two bills are related to reproductive health, including pregnancy. In the category of Violence Against Women, there were four bills on sexual abuse. One of these is related to comfort women, specifically positive representation of comfort women in Philippine history books. According to this bill, every Filipino should be educated about the lives and heroism of the Filipino comfort women, in order to understand their justice and dignity. For the other bills on Violence Against Women, one bill seeks to include actions which occur on or through digital or electronic platforms and devices within the definition of sexual harassment; and the other two bills are related to protection from violence against women.

In the category of Women's Rights in the Workplace, Loren Legarda proposed bills related to daycare services for working mothers and the Magna Carta of domestic workers. Normally, there are male and female *kasambahays* (domestic workers) in the Philippines; however, these bills mention that nine out of ten *kasambahays* are female. Thus, this bill can be considered as seeking to protect working women by ensuring safe and healthy working conditions. Another bill related to domestic workers in the Philippines deals with both men and women, but Loren Legarda's bill focuses specifically on women as domestic workers. For these reasons, this bill is related to women's rights. In the category of Family/Marriage, there is one proposed bill related to education, one on solo parents. Finally, in the category of

Women's Empowerment and Equality, Legarda proposed seven bills. Among them, two bills are related to the Magna Carta for women, three bills to women's empowerment, and two bills to equality against discrimination.

Jamby Madrigal proposed a total of 46 bills, 7 (15.22%) of which relate to women's rights. In the category of Women's Health, she proposed one bill related to reproductive health. She proposed three bills in the category of Violence Against Women, two of which concern child pornography and one is related to violence against women. In the category of Women's Rights in the Workplace, she proposed one bill related discrimination against women in the workplace and one bill related to breastfeeding in the workplace. In the category of Family/Marriage, she proposed one bill related to early marriage.

Pia Cayetano proposed a total of 92 bills, of which only 11 (11.96%) are associated with women's rights. In the category of Women's Health, three bills are related to reproductive health, which include pregnancy, giving birth and disease after giving birth. Notably, she proposed the bill, SBN-1368, 'Smoking in Private Conveyances Ban', which prohibits smoking in private vehicles where there are vulnerable persons, such as pregnant women. In the category of Violence Against Women, two bills are related to sexual abuse and one bill is related to violence against women. One of the two bills on sexual abuse is specifically related to comfort women. In the category of Women in the Workplace, she proposed two bills related to breastfeeding in the workplace. These bills support working mothers and seek to create a balance between the roles of mother and worker. In the category of Women's Empowerment and Equality, she proposed two bills related to the Magna Carta for Women. Unlike other senators, she did not propose any bills related to Family/Marriage.

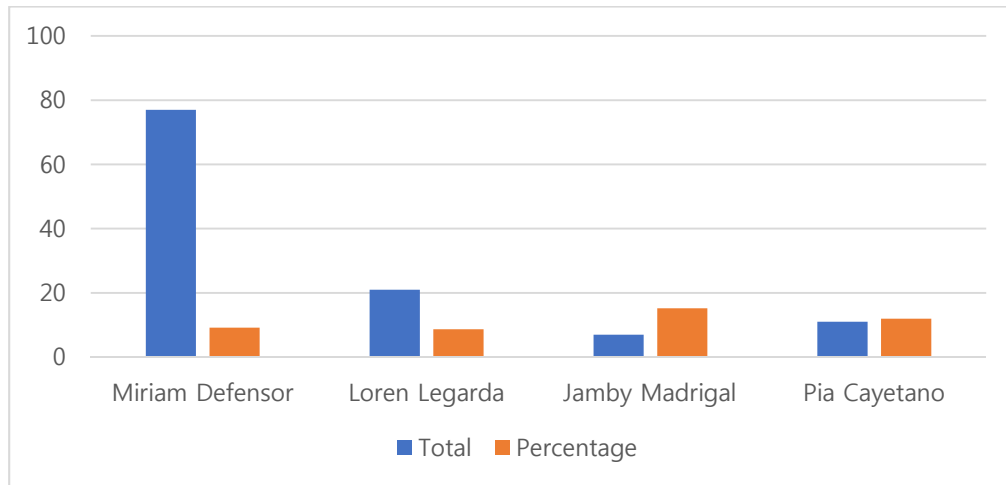


Figure 3.4 The Number and Percentage of Proposed bills of Female Senators in the 14th Congress

The total number of bills proposed by each female senator, in descending order, are as follows: Miriam Defensor-Santiago, 77 bills; Loren Legarda, 21 bills; Pia Cayetano, 11 bills; and Jamby Madrigal, 7 bills. The percentages of proposed bills related to women’s rights are as follows: Jamby Madrigal, 15.22%; Pia Cayetano, 11.96%; Miriam Defensor-Santiago, 9.19%; and Loren Legarda, 8.68%. As shown above, Miriam Defensor-Santiago proposed the highest number of bills related to women’s rights, whereas Jamby Madrigal had the highest proportion of her total bill proposed which were related to women’s rights. For all female senators combined, the total percentage of proposed bills which are related to women’s rights is 9.52%, and the percentage of the proposed bills related to women’s rights or issues by the female senators did not go over 10%.

Among these proposed bills, five bills were passed into a law in the 14th Congress. They include; 1) Republic Act No. 9775, 2) Republic Act No.10028, 3) Republic Act No.9710, 4) Republic Act No.10073, and 5) Republic Act No. 9995.

Republic Act No. 9775 is based on SBN-2317 ‘Anti-Child Pornography ACT of 2008’ proposed by seven senators, including the female senators Jamby Madrigal and Loren Legarda. Republic Act No.10028 is based on SBN-1698, which is the ‘Expanded breastfeeding promotion ACT of 2007’ bill proposed by seven senators, including the female senators Pia Cayetano and Jamby Madrigal. Republic Act No. 9710 is based on SBN-2357 ‘Anti-Image Voyeurism Act of 2008’ proposed by three

senators, including the female senator Miriam Defensor-Santiago. Republic Act No. 9710 is based on SBN-2396 'Magna Carta of Women of 2008' proposed by eleven senators, among them the female senators Pia S. Cayetano, Loren Legarda, and Miriam Defensor Santiago. Lastly, Republic Act No. 10073 is based on SBN-3298 'Girl Scouts of the Philippines Charter of 2009' proposed by eight senators including the female senators Loren Legarda and Miriam Defensor-Santiago.

In the 14th Congress, when including male politicians who proposed bills related to women's rights, the numbers are as follows: Miriam Defensor-Santiago, 14 bills; Jinggoy Ejercito-Estrada, 13 bills; Manny Villar, 11 bills; Loren Legarda, 7 bills; and Ramon Revillar Jr., 5 bills. Nine male senators did not propose any bills related to women's rights.

3.1.3 Female Senators in the 15th Congress

The 15th Congress was held from July 26, 2010 to June 6, 2013, with 23 senators elected, including three (13.04%) female senators: Miriam Defensor-Santiago, Loren Legarda, and Pia Cayetano. Altogether, the 23 senators submitted 3,405 proposed bills and of this total, 1,127 or 33.1% were proposed by the female senators. In terms of bills related to women's rights; Miriam Defensor-Santiago proposed 50 bills, Loren Legarda proposed 18 bills and Pia Cayetano proposed 7 bills. Considering the total number of bills proposed by the female senators, the number of bills relating to women's rights are more than the expected. Each senator's proposed bills on women's rights are as follows:

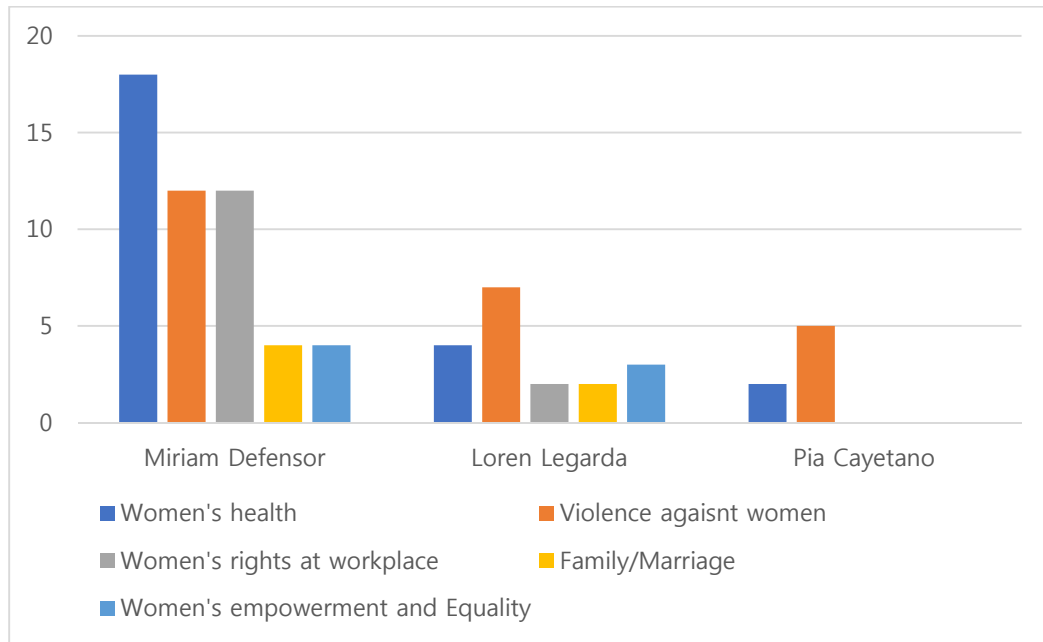


Figure 3.5 The 15th Congress Number of Bills

Miriam Defensor-Santiago proposed a total of 876 among which 50 bills were related to women’s rights, 5.7% of her total. In the category of Women’s Health, she proposed eighteen bills, of which eleven were related to reproductive health, two to breastfeeding, and two to breast problems In addition, three bills were related to Women’s Health. In the category of Violence Against Women, eight bills were associated with sexual abuse, three bills related to violence against women, and one related to protection from violence against women. In the category of Women’s Rights in the Workplace, she proposed twelve bills. Three of these bills are related to anti-discrimination, four to family care, two to women’s benefits, and four to violence against women in the workplace. Among these bills, she proposed one which seeks to secure employment leave for victims of domestic violence. In the category of Family/Marriage, Defensor-Santiago proposed four bills, of which three are related to equality before the law between husband and wife, and one to maternity in the family. Finally, in the category of Women’s Empowerment and Equality, she proposed four bills, two concerning women’s empowerment and two on equality discrimination between women and men.

Loren Legarda proposed a total of 174 bills, of which 18 are related to women’s rights, which makes up 10.34% of her total proposed bills. In the category of

Women's Health, she proposed two bills on reproductive health and two on women's breast problems. In the category of Violence Against Women, she proposed six bills on sexual abuse, among them, one bill is related to comfort women. Interestingly, the bill seeks to include Filipino comfort women in the history books, insisting that students should be educated about the lives and heroism of the Filipino comfort women to better understand their dignity and justice. In the category of Women's Rights in the Workplace, Legarda proposed bills related to daycare services for working mothers and proposing to prohibit nightwork for women. In the category Family/Marriage, she proposed two bills related to solo parents' welfare and pregnancy education. In the category of Women's Empowerment and Equality, she proposed three bills; two bills on decriminalizing vagrancy, which is related to discrimination between women and men, and one bill on the empowerment of women.

Pia Cayetano proposed a total of 77 bills, of which 7 were related to women's rights, making up 9.09% of her total. In the category of Women's Health, she proposed bills related to reproductive health and pregnant women's welfare. In the category of Violence Against Women, she proposed 5 bills on sexual abuse.

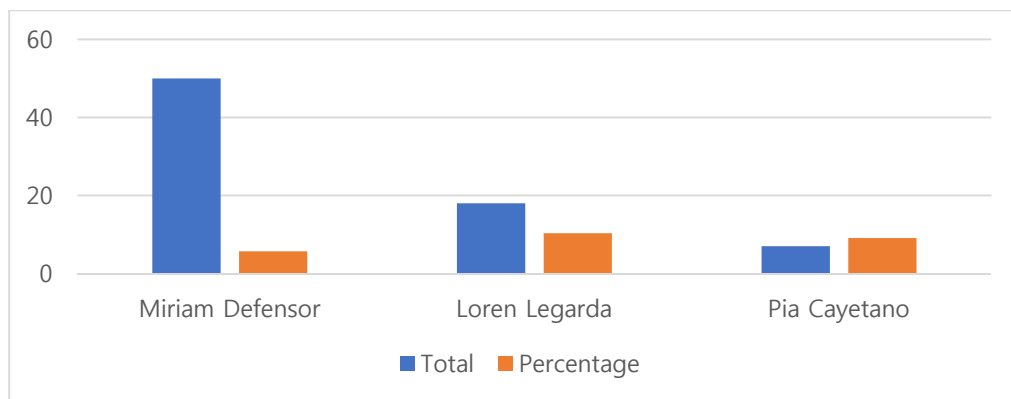


Figure 3.6 The Number and Percentage of Proposed bills of Female Senators in the 15th Congress

The number of proposed bills on women's rights of each female senator, in descending order, are as follows: Miriam Defensor-Santiago, 50 bills; Loren Legarda, 18 bills; and Pia Cayetano, 7 bills. In terms of percentages of their total number of proposed bills which are related to women's rights, they are as follows: Loren Legarda,

10.34%; Pia Cayetano, 9.09%; and Miriam Defensor-Santiago, 5.7%. As shown, Miriam Defensor-Santiago proposed the highest number of bills on women's rights; while Loren Legarda focused the highest percentage of her proposed bills on women's rights, although the difference in percentages is small. Across all of the female senators, the total percentage of women's rights bills is 6.65% and evidently, again the percentage of women's rights bills proposed by female senators could not go over 10%.

Among the proposed bills, five bills were passed into law during the 15th Congress: 1) Republic Act No. 10151, 2) Republic Act No.10158, 3) Republic Act No.10354, 4) Republic Act No.10364, and 5) Republic Act No. 10398.

Republic Act No. 10151 is based on SBN-2701 'Nightwork Prohibition of Women Employees', proposed by seven senators including Loren Legarda and Miriam Defensor-Santiago. Republic Act No. 10158 is based on SBN-2726 'Decriminalizing Vagrancy', proposed by six senators including Loren Legarda and Miriam Defensor-Santiago. Republic Act No. 10354 is based on SBN-2865 'Reproductive Health Act of 2011', proposed by three senators including Miriam Santiago-Defensor and Pia S. Cayetano. Republic Act No. 10364 is based on SBN-2625 'Expanded Anti-Trafficking in Persons Act of 2010', proposed by nine senators including Loren Legarda, and Pia S. Cayetano. Republic Act No. 10398 is based on SBN-2080 'National Consciousness day for the elimination of violence against women' which was solely proposed by Pia S. Cayetano.

In the 15th Congress, when including male politicians who proposed bills related to women's rights, the numbers are as follows: Miriam Defensor Santiago, 10 bills; Manny Villar, 9 bills; Jinggoy Ejercito-Estrada, 6 bills;; Loren Legarda and Antonio "Sonny" Trillanes, 4 bills. There were eleven male senators who did not propose any bills related to women's issues. One women's rights bill was jointly proposed by four male senators, and two women's rights bills were jointly proposed by three male senators.

3.1.4 Female Senators in the 16th Congress

The 16th Congress was held from July 22, 2013 to June 6, 2016. There were 24 senators elected, including six (25%) female senators: Miriam Defensor-

Santiago, Loren Legarda, Pia Cayetano, Nancy Binay, Grace Poe and Cynthia Villar. The 24 senators submitted 3,227 proposed bills in total, of which the female senators proposed 1,615 bills, amounting to 50.05% of the total proposed bills. Each female senator proposed a number of bills related to women’s rights as follows: Miriam Defensor-Santiago, 52 bills; Loren Legarda, 13 bills; Pia Cayetano, 8 bills; Nancy Binay, 27 bills; Grace Poe, 1 bill; and Cynthia Villar, 5 bills. Relative to the total number of proposed bills by female senators, the number of bills related to women’s rights is higher than expected. Each of the senator’s proposed bills are as follows:

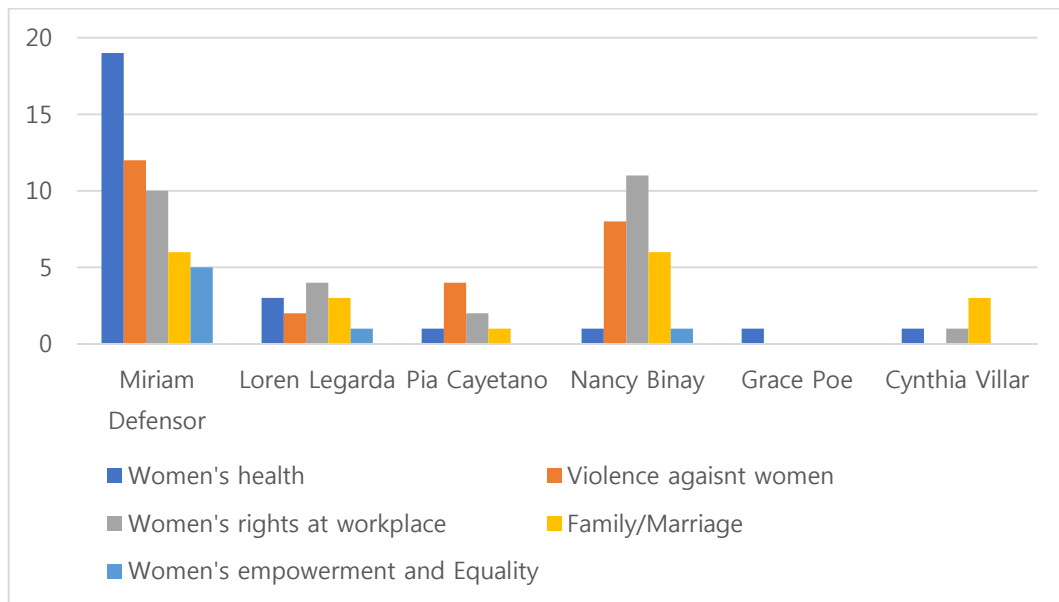


Figure 3.7 The 16th Congress Number of Bills

Miriam Defensor-Santiago proposed a total of 917 bills, of which 52 (5.67%) were related to women’s rights. Furthermore, to specifically analyze her bills, she proposed nineteen bills under the category of Women’s Health, which are mainly related to health, women’s disease, and teenage pregnancy. However, the most prominent proposed bill among them is SBN-1443, Scleroderma Research and Awareness Act. In this bill, she states that scleroderma is predominant in females (97.5%) in the Philippines, and in the United States. It is estimated that 300,000 people suffer from scleroderma, 80% of whom are women, who are often diagnosed during their childbearing years. This bill is therefore considered as being related to women’s rights, and she is the only female senator who proposed a scleroderma bill for

women's health rights. In the category of Violence Against Women, she proposed twelve bills. Among them, ten bills are related to sexual abuse and violence against women and two bills are related to protection against all forms of violence.

In the category of Women's Rights in the Workplace, she proposed ten bills, two of which are focused on assistance or welfare for working women; and two others are about sexual harassment against women. Four are associated with women's leave rights, and among these four, one bill is related to employment leave for victims of domestic violence, which can help working women to break free from the cycle of abuse without the worry of losing their job. One further bill seeks to prohibit discrimination in payment based on gender, and the last of the Women's Rights in the Workplace bills is related to women's protection from work conditions which affect women's health.

In the category of Family/Marriage, Defensor-Santiago proposed six bills. Four bills are related to equality before the law between husband and wife. One is about the mother in jail act, which is related to maternity in the family. The most remarkable bill is SBN-2704, 'Diaper-Changing Station in Restrooms Act'. The bill states that diaper-changing stations must not only be located in women's restroom. Changing diapers, as well as other aspects of baby care, are not only the mother's role, and therefore all major establishments and government offices should provide a baby diaper-changing table or station in both women and men's restrooms or in a neutral space. In the category of Women Empowerment and Equality, she proposed five bills. Among them, three bills are related to women's empowerment and two bills are against gender-based discrimination. In addition, she proposed one bill related to women who underwent abortions. The bill states that women who underwent illegal abortions could report the attending physicians, nurses or midwives who performed the abortion (SBN-2825) and if they do so, the woman will be free from punishment. This bill is based on the religious culture of Philippines which prohibits abortion.

Loren Legarda proposed a total of 210 bills, of which 13 (6.19%) are related to women's rights. In the category of Women's Health, she proposed three bills, of which two bills are related to breast care and one to breastfeeding. In the category of Violence Against Women, she proposed two bills about sexual abuse. One is related to electronic sexual harassment, and the other one is related to protection for and

assistance to sexual abuse victims. In the category of Women's Rights in the Workplace, she proposed four bills. Among them, three bills are associated with women's leave from work and one is about daycare facilities for employees, which is helpful for protecting the rights of working women. In the category of Family/Marriage, Legarda proposed three bills which are related to equality in the family, the welfare of solo parents, and maternity education. She also proposed one bill related to women's empowerment in the political arena.

Pia Cayetano proposed a total of 79 bills, of which 8 (10.13%) are related to women's rights. In the category of Women's Health, she proposed one bill related to midwifery, a component of women's reproductive health. In the category of Violence Against Women, she proposed four bills linked to mail-order brides, anti-prostitution, comfort women's benefits, and cybercrime based on the sex trade and trafficking of women. In the category of Women's Rights in the Workplace, she proposed two bills related to maternity leave. In the category of Family/Marriage, she proposed one bill related to equality of men and women in marriage and family relationships.

Nancy Binay proposed a total of 119 bills, of which 27 (21.85%) are related to women's rights. In the category of Women's Health, she proposed one bill related to assistance for young pregnant women. In the category of Violence Against Women, she proposed four bills on sexual abuse, among which two are related to women in prison. She also proposed three bills on protection from violence against women, one of which is on protection from electronic violence against women. Unusually, one bill seeks to propose a financial benefit as a tax incentive to victims of violence and abuse. In the category of Women's Rights in the Workplace, among eleven proposed bills, seven are related to women's leave, one bill is related to childcare centers for working women, one is related to violence against women in the workplace, one is related to gender education in the workplace, and the last one supports the welfare of working women in the workplace. In the category of Family/Marriage, Binay proposed six bills, one of which is related to solo parents, and five about equality before the law between husband and wife. Binay also proposed one bill on women's empowerment.

Grace Poe proposed a total of 81 bills, of which only 1 (1.23%) is related to women’s rights. This bill is the ‘First 1,000 Days Act’, which seeks to provide maternity care services to pregnant women in order to protect their health and that of their newborn child.

Cynthia Villar proposed a total of 209 bills, among which only 5 (2.39%) are related to women’s rights. In the category of Women’s Health, she proposed one bill related to Ovarian Cancer. In the category of Violence Against Women, she proposed one bill related to internet pornography, however this is more focused on the rights of minors rather than women, so this study did not include this bill. She also proposed one maternity leave bill, in the category of Women’s Rights in the Workplace. She focused on Family/Marriage related bills more than others areas, proposing a total of five bills on Family/Marriage. Three of these bills are related to improving unequal rights between husband and wife. The other two bills advocated on the women’s rights related to early marriage.

During the 16th Congress, female senators proposed a total of 106 bills related to women’s rights, accounting for only 6.56% of the total 1,615 bills which they proposed.

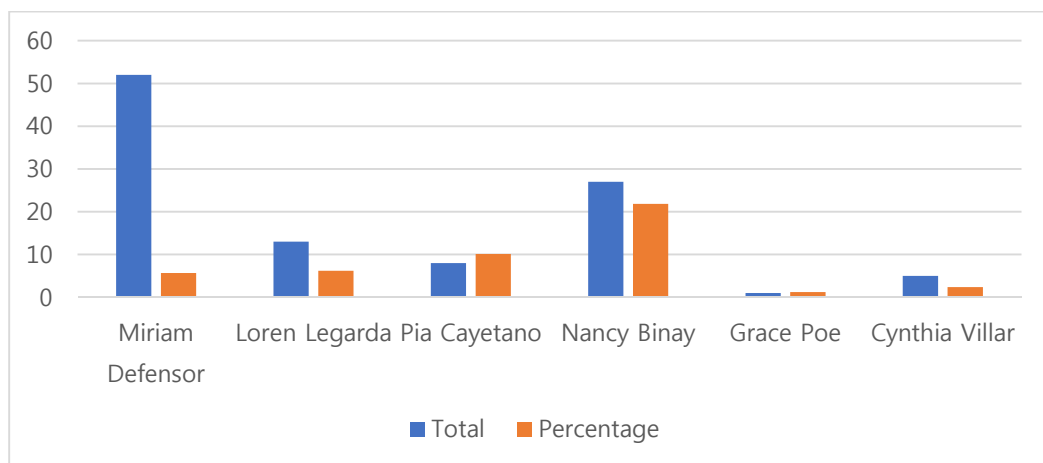


Figure 3.8 The Number and Percentage of Proposed Bills of Female Senators in the 16th Congress

The number of bills related to women’s rights, proposed by each of the female senators, in descending order, are as follows: Miriam Defensor-Santiago, 52

bills; Nancy Binay, 27 bills; Loren Legarda, 13 bills; Pia Cayetano, 8 bills; Cynthia Villar, 5 bills; and Grace Poe, 1 bill.

Converting to the percentages of their proposed bills which are related to women's rights, the results are as follows: Nancy Binay, 21.85%; Pia Cayetano, 10.13%; Loren Legarda, 6.19%; Miriam Defensor-Santiago, 5.67%; Cynthia Villar, 2.39%; and Grace Poe, 1.23%.

The results show that Miriam Defensor-Santiago proposed the highest number of bills related to women's rights, however Nancy Binay had the highest proportion of her proposed bills related to women's rights. All of the bills related to women's rights accounted for only 6.56% of all bills proposed, showing that the 16th Congress had less emphasis on, and did less to further, women's rights than other congresses.

Among the bills related to women's rights proposed in the 16th Congress, only two bills were passed into law: 1) Republic Act No. 10655, and 2) Republic Act No.10906. Republic Act No. 10655 is based on SBN-1647 'Revised Penal code (Crime of Premature Marriage)' proposed by two female senators, Nancy Binay and Cynthia Villar. Republic Act No. 10906 is based on SBN-3209 'Anti-Mail Oder Spouse Act' which was proposed by Pia S. Cayetano alone.

In the 16th Congress, when including male politicians who proposed bills related to women's rights, the numbers are as follows: Nancy Binay, 14 bills; Miriam Defensor-Santiago, 11 bills; Jinggoy Ejercito-Estrada, 7 bills; Loren Legarda, 6 bills; and Pia Cayetano, 5 bills. There were thirteen senators who did not propose any bills related to women's rights, including one female senator, Grace Poe. One women's rights bill was jointly proposed by four male senators.

3.1.5 Female Senators in the 17th Congress

The 17th Congress was held from July 25, 2016 to June 4, 2019. There were 24 senators elected, including six (25%) female senators: Loren Legarda, Nancy Binay, Grace Poe, Cynthia Villar, Leila de Lima, and Risa Hontiveros. The 24 senators submitted 2,235 proposed bills, of which 890 were proposed by the female senators, making up 39.8% of the total. Regarding each senator's proposed bills related to women's rights: Loren Legarda proposed 13 bills; Nancy Binay proposed 25;

Grace Poe proposed 5; Cynthia Villar, 3; Leila de Lima, 10; and Risa Hontiveros, 12. Considering the total number of bills proposed by the female senators, the number of bills related to women’s rights was more than expected. Each senator’s proposed bills on women’s rights are as follows:

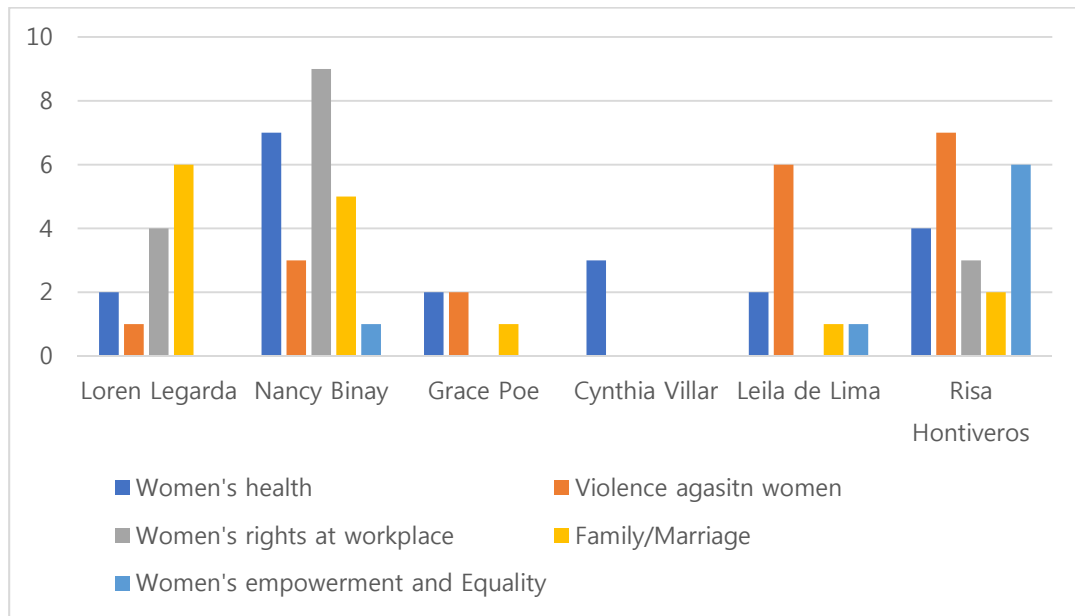


Figure 3.9 The 17th Congress Number of Bills

Looking at the data in more detail; Loren Legarda proposed a total of 209 bills, among which 13 (6.22%) were related to women’s rights. She proposed two bills on Women’s Health, focused on mothers’ health. In the category of Violence Against Women, she proposed one bill related to sexual harassment. This bill seeks to expand the definition of sexual harassment to include electronic communications such as SMS messages, email, and so on. Regarding Women’s Rights in the Workplace, Legarda proposed four bills, three on women’s leave, and the fourth related to daycare services for working mothers. In the category of Family/Marriage, she proposed six bills. Two bills related to solo parents’ welfare, and three bills seeking equality between husband and wife. One of these bills is specifically related to legal separation in situations of serious physical and sexual abuse, which helps battered wives to avoid further abuse (SBN-386).

Nancy Binay proposed a total of 183 bills, with 25 (13.66%) related to women’s rights. She proposed seven bills related to Women’s Health. One bill relates

to women's overall healthcare. The remaining six bills are related to reproductive health such as pregnancy, breastfeeding, mother and unborn or newborn child health. Binay proposed three bills related to Violence Against Women. One of these is a bill about electronic violence against women. Another is related to the age of consent, aiming to prevent rape. The last is related to protection from violence against women. She also proposed nine bills related to Women's Rights in the Workplace. Among them, six bills are related to women's leave, including paternity leave. One bill is related to childcare services for working mothers and working parents. Another one is for working women who are victims of violence. This bill proposes that women who are victims of violence must not lose their job. The last bill on Women's Rights in the Workplace is about women's welfare in the workplace. In the category of Family/Marriage, Binay proposed five bills. These bills are related to equality before the law between husband and wife. One bill is specifically related to a woman's maiden name when she undergoes a legal separation. The bill proposes that women who are legally separated can return to using their maiden name. In relation to Women's Empowerment and Equality, she proposed one bill on establishing centers for helping to develop the skills of women and children in rural areas.

Grace Poe proposed a total of 151 bills, of which only 5 (3.31%) are related to women's rights. She proposed two bills related to Women's Health, both of which are related to mothers' health. In the category of Violence Against Women, she proposed one safe space bill for gender-based streets to prevent sexual harassment, and one expanded anti-sexual harassment bill. She did not propose any bills related to Women's Rights in the Workplace or Women's Empowerment and Equality. She proposed one bill relating to Family/Marriage which is focused on domestic violence and legal separation.

Cynthia Villar proposed a total of 99 bills. Among the 99 proposed bills, only 3 (3.03%) are related to women's rights. All three of these bills relate to Women's Health, two on mothers' health and one on breast care.

Leila de Lima proposed a total of 147 bills, among which 10 (6.8%) were related to women's rights. In the category of Women's Health she proposed two bills, one related to prevention of adolescent pregnancy and the other related to mothers' health. In the category of Violence Against Women, she proposed 6 bills. Two of

these are focused on gender-based electronic violence bills are two. She explained that electronic violence is misogynistic and homophobic, and in attacks on social media most of the victims are female or LGBT. Another one of these bills is related to the increase of the age of consent to prevent sexual abuse, especially, incest. Another of the bills is focused on gender-based safe spaces to prevent sexual harassment in public spaces. Finally, there are also two rape bills; one of which is related to the protection of women in jail from abuse. Leila de Lima did not propose any bills related to Women's Rights in the Workplace. In the category of Family/Marriage, she proposed bills related to inequality in decision-making in the household, and in the category of Women's Empowerment and Equality, she proposed one bill on the Magna Carta for women.

Risa Hontiveros proposed a total of 101 bills, of which 22 (21.78%) were related to women's rights. In the category of Women's Health, she proposed two bills related to mothers' and babies' health, and two bills related to prevention of adolescent pregnancy. The bills related to teenage pregnancy seek to educate both teenage girls and boys about sexual and reproductive health. In the category of Violence Against Women, she proposed seven bills. Six of these bills are related to sexual abuse, one of which is specifically related to girls who are victims of commercial sex and sex trafficking under the name of marriage with foreign husband (SBN-2224). Two bills are related to 'safe spaces/safe streets'. In these bills, she insists that "An overwhelming 88% of women aged 18 to 24 years old experienced sexual harassment in the street" (SWS, 2016; SBN-1326). For this reason, she proposed several bills related to sexual harassment. One bill is related to gender-based electronic violence. According to this bill, "Misogynistic and homophobic attacks on social media are example of gender-based electronic violence", with most victims being either female or LGBT. Hontiveros proposed many bills in different sub-categories of Violence Against Women. In the category of Women's Rights in the Workplace, she proposed two bills related to maternity leave and one bill related to discrimination against women in the workplace. In the category of Family/Marriage, she proposed one bill related to solo parents' welfare. She also proposed divorce act (SBN-2134), and insists that the absence of a divorce law has had a disproportionate effect on women who are victims of domestic violence. She states that divorce allows women to make a fresh

start, which can also result in improved health. This is a prominent bill in the Philippines, as the Philippines is one of the only countries that prohibits divorce, and Hontiveros connects divorce to women's rights. In the category of Women's Empowerment and Equality, she proposed six bills. Among them, one bill is related to women's empowerment in politics, and five bills are related to the establishment of days celebrating and recognizing the achievements of women, specifically: Dr. Fe Del Mundo, Gabriela Silang, Tandang Sora, Francisca Reyes-Aquino and Josefa Llanes Escoda.

During the 17th Congress, female senators proposed 78 bills related to women's rights, amounting to 8.76% of all bills proposed by female senators.

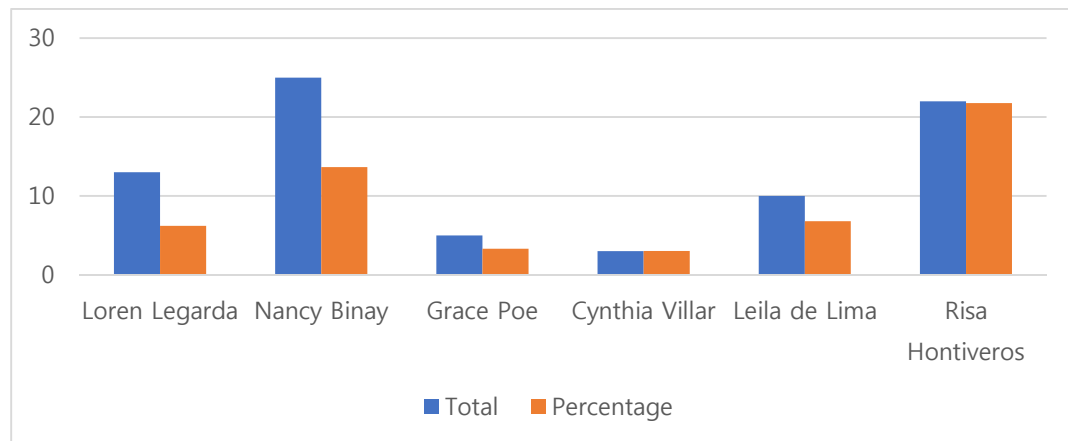


Figure 3.10 The Number and Percentage of Proposed Bills of Female Senators in the 17th Congress

The number of bills related to women's rights proposed by each of the female senators, in descending order, are as follows: Nancy Binay, 25 bills; Risa Hontiveros, 22 bills; Loren Legarda, 13 bills; Leila de Lima, 10 bills; Grace Poe, 5 bills; and Cynthia Villa, 3 bills.

When converted to percentages of their total numbers of bills proposed, the results are as follows: Risa Hontiveros, 21.78%; Nancy Binay, 13.66%; Leila de Lima, 6.8%; Loren Legarda, 6.22%; Grace Poe, 3.31%; and Cynthia Villar, 3.03%.

These results show that, of the female senators, Nancy Binay and Risa Hontiveros place the most emphasis on women's rights. However, the total percentage of bills related to women's rights between all of the female senators is only 8.76%.

Thus, it can be seen that the 17th Congress, similarly to the 16th Congress, did not place significant emphasis on the protection and development of women's rights.

Among these proposed bills related to women's rights, two were passed into law: 1) Republic Act No. 11148, and 2) Republic Act No. 11210. Republic Act No. 11148 is based on SBN-1537 'The Healthy Nanay and Bulilit Act' proposed by 15 senators, including six female senators: Grace Poe, Cynthia Villar, Risa Hontiveros, Nancy Binay, Loren Legarda, and Leila de Lima. Republic Act No. 11210 is based on SBN-1305 '105-Day Expanded Maternity Leave Law' proposed by seven senators, including the female senators Nancy Binay, Loren Legarda, and Risa Hontiveros.

In the 17th Congress, when including male politicians who proposed bills related to women's rights, the numbers are as follows: Nancy Binay and Risa Hontiveros, 13 bills; Loren Legarda, 8 bills; Leila De Lima, 7 bills. There were senators who did not propose any bills on women's rights, including one female senator; Cynthia Villar. One bill was jointly proposed by five male senators, and another two bills were proposed by five male senators.

3.2 Comparison Between Activities Background and Proposed Bills by Female Senators

From the 13th to 17th Congress, there was a total of 10 female senators. Over this period, year-by-year there were: 4 female senators, 4 female senators, 3 female senators, 6 female senators, and 6 female senators respectively. For each congress, each female senator's total number of proposed bills, number of bills related to women's rights, and the percentage of their bills related to women's rights; are as follows:

Table 3.1 Each Female Senator's Total Proposed Bills and Percentages.

Name	Total Proposed Bills	Women's Rights Bills	Percentage	Congress
Santiago	506	66	13.04	13
Cayetano	62	3	4.83	13
Madrigal	27	2	7.41	13
Estrada	184	22	11.96	13
Santiago	838	77	9.19	14
Legarda	242	21	8.68	14
Madrigal	46	7	15.22	14
Cayetano	92	11	11.96	14
Santiago	876	50	5.7	15
Legarda	174	18	10.34	15
Cayetano	77	7	9.09	15
Santiago	917	52	5.67	16
Legarda	210	13	6.19	16
Cayetano	79	8	10.13	16
Binay	119	27	21.85	16
Poe	81	1	1.23	16
Villar	209	5	2.39	16
Legarda	209	13	6.22	17
Binay	183	25	13.66	17
Poe	151	5	3.31	17
Villar	99	3	3.03	17
De lima	147	10	6.8	17
Hontiveros	101	22	21.78	17

Of the female senators discussed in this research, three have backgrounds related to women's rights or human rights before they entered politics; Cynthia Villar, Leila de Lima, and Risa Hontiveros.

Cynthia Villar had experience in the Congressional Spouses Foundation for victims of abuse from 1998 to 2000. During her term, she built eleven regional

centers for women who are victims of abuse. Leila de Lima had experience related to human rights as a commissioner of the Philippines Human Rights Commission. Risa Hontiveros experienced working for a socialist feminist organization.

Based on Table 6, the person who proposed the highest number of bills related to women's rights is Miriam Defensor-Santiago, in descending order, in the 14th, 13th, 16th, and 15th Congress. Following Miriam Defensor-Santiago is Nancy Binay in the 16th and 17th Congress; then Loi Ejercito in 13th Congress; and Risa Hontiveros in 17th Congress. However, Miriam Defensor-Santiago proposed a significantly higher total number of bills, which makes it difficult to compare her proposals to those of other senators. Therefore, this research additionally considers the percentages of each senator's bills related to women's rights, to allow a clearer comparison between the work of the female senators' in relation to women's rights.

Ranking the female senators by the percentage of their bills which were related to women's rights, gives the following results: The highest percentage is Nancy Binay in the 16th Congress; followed by Risa Hontiveros in the 17th Congress; Jamby Madrigal in the 14th Congress; Nancy Binay in the 17th Congress and Miriam Defensor-Santiago in the 13th Congress. There are nine female senators in congresses for whom over 10% of their proposed bills were related to women's rights. Only two female senators achieved over 20% on this measure; Nancy Binay and Risa Hontiveros.

The female senators who have women's rights or human rights background are Cynthia Villar, Leila de Lima and Risa Hontiveros. Cynthia Villar was elected in the 16th Congress and 17th Congress, and proposed five bills (2.39%) related to women's rights in the 16th Congress and three bills (3.03%) in the 17th Congress. Leila de Lima took was elected in the 17th Congress. She proposed 10 bills (6.8%) on women's issues. Risa Hontiveros was elected in the 17th Congress, and proposed 22 bills (21.78%) on women's issues.

According to this analysis, except for Risa Hontiveros, no other female senator with a background on women's rights or human rights was included in the top five senators who proposed the highest proportion of their bills in areas of women's rights.

CHAPTER IV

THE ANALYSIS OF THE RESULTS OF FEMALE SENATORS AND PROPOSED BILLS FOR WOMEN

The analysis of the results of this study are as follows:

1) Female politicians' proposed bills relating to women's rights do not exceed 10% of their total proposed bills, except for in the 13th Congress. The percentages are 11.94% for the 13th Congress; 9.52% for the 14th Congress; 6.65% for the 15th Congress; 6.56% for the 16th Congress; and 8.76% for the 17th Congress.

2) Despite the large number of proposed bills related to women's rights, only 14 were passed into law.

3) By comparing the legislation of the Primary Committee 'Women, Children, and Family Relations' or 'Women, Children, Family Relations and Gender Equality', female senators submit more bills related to women's rights than male senators.

4) Among the male senators, there are many who do not propose any bills on the 'Women, Children, Family Relations' or 'Women, Children, Family Relations and Gender Equality' Primary Committee during their session.

5) Among the female senators, there are a small number who do not present any bills relating to women's rights, but fewer than male politicians.

6) Among the male senators, there are some who are active in presenting legislation related to women's rights.

7) Female politicians' backgrounds in women's rights or human rights does not lead to an increased number of bills relating to women's rights once they become a senator.

Examining the reasons for these results, several things are found. Firstly, even if the Philippine society has greater gender equality than many other countries, the ratio of female to male politicians in the senate is lower than many other countries. Although the culture of political dynasties may help female politicians enter the

political arena, it is still chiefly a male-dominated field. In 2019, the percentage of female senators is ranked 32nd out of the 79 countries that have adopted the bicameral system. It is only in the 16th Congress and 17th Congress where the percentage of female senators in the congress is over 25%, and it never reached 30% during this period. However, according to previous studies, including the Dahlerup (2002) 'critical mass' and the American research of Thomas and Welch (2002); female politicians need to exceed a certain proportion in order to undertake work related to women's rights. The critical mass is stated as 30%, and in the United States, 20-30% of policy initiatives have been started. In the case of the Philippines, however, the number of female senators is less than 30%, generally between 10 – 20%. However, with the exception of some female senators, most female senators have been actively working on women's rights legislation, and to a significantly greater extent than that done by male politicians. This is slightly different from the results of the study of Western politics, and it can be seen that female senators are actively proposing bills on women's rights in the Philippines, even if the percentage of female senators is not over 30%. However, it should be noted that although there are many legislative proposals related to women's issues, the number of bills passed into law is still small. In order for women's rights policies to pass into law, it is necessary for male politicians to provide support. According to the analysis, female senators submitted a considerable number of women's right-related bills compared to male senators. However, in the male-dominated political environment of the Philippines, it appears that it is difficult to reach a consensus on women's rights bills.

Secondly, from the 13th to 17th Congress, over 15 years, there were only 10 female senators elected. Compared to male senators from the 13th to 17th congress, the number and diversity of female senators are smaller. In addition, over the period of the 13th to the 17th Congress, there were only 10 female senators who were re-elected; therefore, without any additional female members in the Congress, it is only these people who are able to work on these interests. For example, the bill proposals submitted by female senators tend to be similar or repetitive in some ways. Within women's health issues, there were fourteen bills proposed related to breastfeeding from the 13th Congress to 17th Congress. On the issue of sexual harassment, there were eighteen similar proposed bills from the 13th Congress to 17th Congress. However,

only fourteen proposed bills related to women's issues were passed into law from the 13th to 17th Congress. This is a very small amount, and Philippine female senators should be able to propose more diverse legislation, and further develop legislation related to women's issues. However, even with backgrounds related to women's rights, the female senators did not submit much legislation on women's rights. For that reason, the Senate needs to be more representative, with a higher proportion of female senators, to promote women's rights.

Finally, female politicians are not always interested in women's issues. For example, Cynthia Villar proposed twenty bills in the Primary Committee 'Agriculture and Food' in the 16th Congress. Even if Pia Cayetano worked on women's issues by proposing quality bills, her proposed bills were not related to women's issues. Pia Cayetano proposed twenty-three bills which are related to Environment and Natural Resources in the 16th Congress, compared to seven bills related to women's issues; with Cynthia Villar proposing only five bills related to women's issues. Thus, it shows that female senators are not always interested solely in women's issues, and so the numerical representation of women in politics can be an expression of women's rights but not act for women's rights (Pitkin 1967; Pamela et al. 2007). For women's rights to be represented, female politicians must have the desire to work on women's issues and interests. There are also male senators who propose a lot of legislation on women's issues, such as Manny Villar and Jinggoy Ejercito Estrada. However, female senators have submitted more women's rights bills than male senators, which can be viewed as female politicians representing women and putting greater emphasis on women's rights.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Philippines has always ranked highly in terms of women's rights and global gender gap scores, never having gone below the 10th ranking. However, after analyzing the global gender gap score in detail, there was an evident disharmony between women's rights and women's political power in the Philippines. Based on the 2018 global gender gap score, Philippine women's political empowerment is ranked 43rd, women in parliament is ranked 43rd and women in ministerial positions is ranked 38th. In this situation, how do female politicians affect women's rights in the Philippines?

Through this research, three main points were identified:

Firstly, female politicians are still a minority in the Philippine political arena, making it difficult to implement women's rights policy. For example, until now, Philippines politics is considered as men's domain. Even if female senators are often elected based on their political family, the percentage of female senators does not go over 30%. In 2019, among 62 candidates, there were only 11 female candidates. It shows that there are barriers to women entering the political arena. Additionally, women's rights bills proposed make up only 6% ~ 11% of the total bills proposed by female senators from the 13th Congress to 17th Congress. However, when considering the legislation of the Primary Committee on women's rights, female senators propose more legislation on women's issues than male senators. Furthermore, the study also showed that there were many male senators who did not submit any legislation related to women's rights. This shows that male politicians, who make up more than half of the Senate, are not sufficiently interested in women's issues, suggesting that women's rights cannot be made into law.

Secondly, the Philippine female senators' backgrounds related to women's rights, prior to entering the political arena, does not significantly affect the bills which they propose. There were three female senators who have backgrounds related to

women's rights or human rights, but except for one, Risa Hontiveros, there was a low rate of proposing bills related to women's rights. In addition, only 10 female senators were elected within the 15-year period. This leads to a lack of diversity in the backgrounds of female senators compared to those of male senators. For this reason, similar legislation repeatedly presented on women's issues, yet often not passing into law.

Finally, women are not always interested in women's issues. Female politicians can also be interested in economics, security, agriculture, and so on, not just women's issues alone. There are also male politicians who are interested in women's issues. Some female senators, such as Grace Poe in the 16th Congress and Cynthia Villar in the 17th Congress, did not propose any bills relating to women's issues during their tenure. In addition, there are some male senators, Jinggoy Ejercito-Estrada, Manny Villar, who proposed a high number of bills on women's issues during their tenure. However, there are many male politicians, 11 persons in the 13th Congress, 9 persons in the 14th Congress, 11 persons in the 15th Congress, 12 persons in the 16th Congress and 7 persons in the 17th Congress, who did not propose any bills related to women's rights, which are categorized as those in the Primary Committee of Women, Children, Family Relations/Women, Children, Family Relations and Gender Equality. This research shows that female senators propose more bills on women's rights than male senators do, and that female politicians are working to develop women's rights through legislation in the Philippines. In the Philippines Senate, from the 13th Congress to 17th Congress, there were some female senators who worked towards other interests, rather than women's rights, but overall, female senators worked more for women's rights than male senators during their tenure. For that reason, female politicians are more interested in women's rights and seem to work more for women's rights. However, if female politicians wish to work to further women's rights legislation, they must have a strong desire and interest in women's rights.

This study has found that the lack of proposed bills related to women's rights is due to the low number of female senators. The proportion of female senators has not gone over 30%, which is the critical mass identified for furthering the cause of women's rights. Only 10 female senators were elected within a 15-year period.

Compared to male senators, female senators proposed more bills related to women's rights. However, women's rights policies do not pass into law due to the lack of female politicians who are interested in women's issues. Thus, in order to improve women's rights in the political arena, it is necessary to have female politicians. Regardless of which women become politicians, the greater the number of women elected as politicians, the greater the possibility that women's rights will strengthen and develop. This research also shows that it is necessary to have a compulsory gender-quota system in the Philippine Congress.

However, this research focused on analyzing the proposed bills of the female senators related to women's rights; Thus, to know the correlation between female politicians and women's rights, further study is needed.

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