# Encircling Movements: Filipina Visual Artists and Kasibulan, 1970-2000

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## ABSTRACT

This paper explores "movements" and their resonances with the works of Filipina visual artists Brenda Fajardo, Anna Fer, Julie Lluch, and Imelda Cajipe Endaya, co-founders of the feminist art collective Kasibulan. Referencing the *alimpuyo*, the title of an exhibit by the collective as well as an evocation of a whirling pattern, Kasibulan's activities in their initial stages are annotated in this study, which offers a critique of women's subjection and emphasizes collective actions to support and empower women. This paper also contextualizes the artists' works via Kasibulan and situates these within women's movements, socio-political upheavals, and the shifting discourse in contemporary art. It exemplifies how artists themselves expand the parameters of art through their work in advocacy, discourse and pedagogy, outreach, and collectivity.

*Keywords*: feminist art collective, women artists, contemporary art, feminism, feminist art criticism, movement, *alimpuyo*

*Alimpuyo* is a Filipino word for the movement of spiralling in or out of a natural element. Dictated by gravity, it is graphically represented by the spiral, an ancient spiritual symbol. Allusions to cycle—birthing and passing away, the waxing and waning of the moon and such images abound. The cyclic nature of the human experience is mirrored in the universe as well. Planets spin on an axis around the sun as part of a galaxy that swirls in space.

Built into the spiral as a symbol is a myriad of reflections of daily life. The stirring of a *sandok*, the shaping of pottery on a wheel, the spinning of thread, the motion of water as it drains down the sink. These images are mostly seen in the tasks done by women. (KASIBULAN, *Proposal for Exhibit Grant*)

Alluding to the *alimpuyo* or the spiral, this paper reflects on "movements" and their resonances to the works of women artists in the Philippines who were active from 1970-2000. Elaborating on the socio-political upheavals and women's movements which shaped the works of artists during the period, this discussion will focus on visual artists Brenda Fajardo (b. 1940), Anna Ferrazinni (b. 1941, from here on Anna Fer), Julie Lluch (b. 1946), and Imelda Cajipe Endaya (b. 1949). Having feminist inclinations, they founded the all-women arts collective KASIBULAN (*Kababaihan sa Sining at Bagong Sibol na Kamalayan*; translated as Women in Art and Emerging Consciousness)[1] in 1989. Their formation is considered as a "major turning point in Philippine feminist art history" (Datuin, "Views from Now/here" 2). According to its founding president Imelda Cajipe Endaya, Kasibulan as an organization is also a "spiral, working in circles and clusters instead of hierarchies. It is a continuing *pagsibol* or emergence" ("Kasibulan" 20). In 2019, Cajipe Endaya revived the imagery of the spiral through her paintings of snails, creatures that emerge "patiently after a rainfall." The description alludes to movement as well: "Slow, quiet, but persistent, the snail is an auspice … 'moving us to hope and act'" (qtd. in Acuin and Cabrera, par. 5). The comparison of the *alimpuyo* to repetitive tasks usually done by women in the home as well as the gestures of making forms often disparaged as "women's art" offers a feminist critique of women's subjection. The statement above, extracted from an exhibit proposal to the Cultural Center of the Philippines (CCP), exemplifies one of the many attempts of Kasibulan to foreground women's experiences into the mainstream art practice and resist being effaced or rendered merely supplementary to the experiences of men. The spiral is also interpreted as a reference to consistent and lateral ways of working, emphasizing collectivity to support and empower women.

Movement, likewise, refers to how these women artists—whether as individual practitioners or as part of Kasibulan—have been at the forefront of expanding parameters through their works and multi-faceted practices that are tied to advocacy, discourse and pedagogy, outreach, and collectivity. Having a circuitous relationship, such practices are tied to their involvement with Kasibulan and their feminist leanings, which are honed by what may be considered as the second wave of women's movement in the Philippines. According to Carolyn Sobritchea, its starting point can be traced to the Martial Law period (1972-1986) (69). During this time, women's groups marched against the dictatorship and called for structural reforms. The nomenclature of Kasibulan's activities pertaining to advocacy, outreach, and community were, at some point, aligned with the work of women's organizations, many of them having the status of non-government organizations (NGO), which rose significantly in the late 1980s. It was considered as an important decade for feminism when women's organizations flourished (Torres 324) and self-identifying feminist groups emerged (Sobritchea 69).

The expansion of these organizations and the renewed focus on collective actions have been interpreted as the public's effort to restore the democratic sphere after nearly two decades of authoritarian regime under Ferdinand Marcos, Sr. Although Kasibulan identifies itself as a feminist art collective rather than an NGO, it might be productive to revisit its genesis alongside women's movements during the period or its interactions with NGOs, people's organizations, as well as select government institutions. This could offer valuable insights on how the collective enhanced the artistic persuasions and production of its founding members and in turn, how they steered the initial direction of the collective, challenging patriarchal norms and values within art circles as well as beyond it. This reading offers the possibility of cross-referencing sources not necessarily connected to art as an institution and as a discipline, an approach also influenced by feminism.

The women artists' involvement in Kasibulan as well as their respective works from 1970-2000 suggest shifts in artistic practice and discourse. While reflecting on the direction of the collective, one of the co-founders asked, "Were we confusing art with social work? Did we actually help solve problems of those we purported to benefit with our outreach?" (Cajipe Endaya, "Kasibulan" 21). This inquiry points to the nature of activities which Kasibulan initiated during its early years. Moving beyond the strictures of the so-called "Fine Arts," their projects were collaborative or participatory in orientation. Engaging with issues of marginality, they problematized the woman question. On the ground, they worked with people outside of conservative art circles, such as migrant women or with *taka* (papier-mâché) makers and carvers in Paete, Laguna, whose work would normally not be embraced within the Fine Arts category, but rather as "folk art" or craft. Moreover, the inquiry above may well have to do with the changing content of the artists' works which became increasingly articulate with the language of social comment and protest, most notably, works that were informed by the socio-political ferment of the 1970s up until the new millennium. Aside from the figurative modes of expression by artists producing individual work, artists also engaged in collective activities, whether through collaborative pieces such as mural paintings or through projects that professed to benefit certain communities not necessarily belonging to the usual publics of art. Such projects may prioritize the creation of immediate experiences and exchange rather than object-based productions that are intended to occupy institutionalized spaces for art. They are usually responses to what artists perceive as insufficient and thus may take on experimental and radical approaches. These activities, which will be outlined shortly, make palpable the conditions of the contemporary where there is a "distinctive sense of presentness, of being in the present, of beings that are present to each other and to the time that they happen to be in while also being aware that they can be in no other" (Smith, "The State of Art History" 369).

While movement can suggest time passing and linear progression, movement can also allude to contemporaneity. Implicated in it are the forces which enabled art to change dramatically, especially in the last decades of the twentieth century. The late art historian Hans Belting elaborates on the notion of contemporary art as the "most recent art" by stating how art production has shifted significantly following changes in world politics and world trade in 1989, which challenged Eurocentric views of art (cited in Turner and Webb 2). In Southeast Asia, the period following World War II and the strains of Cold War politics propelled newly independent nations to reflect on identity as they engaged in the project of decolonization. The tendency to revisit local interests and identities gained further momentum with the encompassing change brought about by globalization. This renewed focus on local traditions has informed much of contemporary art practice and served as a significant topic of inquiry within local and international art circles. The Australian scholar Terry Smith identifies this "postcolonial turn" as a "current" in contemporary art, most remarkably from artists coming from former colonies who engage both local and global issues in their works (151-71).

As a compelling imagery in many of the artists' works, movement as a trope may evoke the displacement or exodus of people from their native land. This pertains to struggles over indigenous land rights, as well as the massive feminization of labor migration observed in the 1980s, when women from developing Asian countries like the Philippines sought greener pastures abroad as care and maintenance workers (Saloma 14). Philippine feminist scholarship in the 1970s which examined the conditions of women in relation to development cites the economic crisis as one of the sources of women's oppression, with women being exploited for cheap labor while undermining the work expected of them at home. The emphasis on export-oriented industrialization was said to have worsened the conditions of women in the rural areas, while women engaged in the industrial sector received low wages. The rising poverty and unemployment thrust women in jobs as prostitutes, domestic helpers, and entertainers abroad (Torres 326). According to a sociological study published in 2015, one out of four Asian migrants in the 1980s was a woman. Filipina Overseas Workers found jobs in various places, such as Japan, Singapore, and Hong Kong. They also worked in Europe and the Middle East as domestic helpers, hotel staff, retail or manufacturing workers, and entertainers or sex workers (Saloma 14). Sociologist Saskia Sassen attributes this drastic movement to the expansion of global cities and the rise of middle-class professionals which created a demand for outsourced services from migrants coming from low-wage countries (cited in Saloma 14). Although they are hailed as "new heroes" for the remittances they bring to their

home country, the dire conditions of Overseas Contract Workers (OCW) pervaded national news in the 1990s.

Filipino visual artists have represented movements, or modern-day exodus in compelling ways. Women artists have engaged in this issue by depicting their sacrifices as OCWs, dignifying their plight, or offering a critique of institutions of power through their art works. Their labor as surrogate parents for overseas employers and their role as long-distance mothers to their own children, their vulnerability to abuse in workplace settings, and feelings of overwhelming alienation in a distant land, are just some of their struggles that have been touched on by visual artists. Brenda Fajardo for instance made her *Pilipina* (Filipina) series on migrant workers in the 1990s.[2] She lends a deeply personal touch through handwritten stories of women depicted in her drawings on cogon grass paper. The tarot card motifs on top of her compositions foretell both danger and possibility. A more subtle evocation of displacement is present in Anna Fer's painting titled *Lupang Tigang* (Wasteland). A component of a larger triptych, the artist attributes the degradation of land to overdevelopment, where high-rise buildings encroach dense forests. She views the degradation of the land and the oppression of women as interrelated. In a wasteland, women are forced to depart to seek a better future elsewhere. The narrative of women as victims of sexual and structural oppression is drawn against the bleak background. A more sanguine depiction of the woman clutching on strands of grains can be seen prominently on the foreground. Juxtaposing the portrayal of women as both victim and victor, with the latter given more emphasis, resounds to what women's studies scholar Mina Roces refers to as the "double narrative of victimhood and activism" deployed by feminists to achieve ends that are favorable to women (4). In Anna Fer's *Lupang Tigang,* the woman is also the last bearer of hope, an empowering representation that defies the negative construction of the woman as helpless and docile.

On the other hand, Cajipe Endaya's iconic *Filipina DH* (fig. 1) installation lays bare the personal effects of the domestic helper. As she eloquently puts it, "The Filipina as overseas DH [domestic helper] suffers a larger, separate isolation, so her family can tide poverty and her employer can pursue greater productivity" (*Artist's Note*). The work exemplifies a traumatic sort of objectification. Presenting only traces of paraphernalia essential to her labor, the body *in absentia* harbors a sense of estrangement. This absence makes palpable what one leaves behind in order to seek fortune elsewhere for the future and well-being of loved ones. The objects become part of the woman's identity. The woman is not just any other, but a Filipina, and the hardened black *baro* (blouse) emblazoned with the word *dignidad* (dignity) is conveyed as her clarion call. These works by Fajardo and Cajipe Endaya

have been exhibited locally and internationally and have been part of discourses on the plight of women and the global diaspora. As a collective engaged in feminist issues, Kasibulan likewise presented an exhibit in honor of migrant workers aptly titled *Pilipina: Migranteng Manggagawa* (*Filipina: Migrant Worker,* 1993, CCP Main Gallery) which "featured the endurance and pain labor migration entails; the role of women in the peace process, in the (re)telling of history and in the preservation of traditional and indigenous crafts" (Somera). The impetus of the exhibit was Fajardo and Cajipe Endaya's attendance in a conference on Asian Christian women in Hong Kong in 1992. During their trip, they visited volunteer centers which supported Filipina domestic helpers. Touched by their narratives and inspired to create new work in response to their engagement, Fajardo and Cajipe Endaya extended the invitation to colleagues in Kasibulan "in the spirit of sisterhood" (Fajardo, "Sisterhood and Solidarity" 52). The dialogue with migrant women, making of art, and the curatorial process entailed in launching an exhibition are some interventions which might not always be discernible to the public eye but have enriched the artists' works and experiences as well as rendered the OCW's experiences visible. The emphasis on the process of dialogue as crucial if not as important as the final product (art object) is characteristic of many women's art as well as contemporary art. An example is the work of Filipina artist and former Kasibulan president Alma Quinto. In one of her collaborative projects titled *House of Comfort,* she facilitated the exchange of stories of migrant women who designed and sewed patchwork based on their notions of their dream home, a space for dwelling and grounding. Such dialogues bring out mundane experiences and daily struggles of women. These include stories and concerns in personal spaces like the home, subjects of art works which often escape critical attention because they are deemed less important or even irrelevant.


**Fig. 1**. Imelda Cajipe Endaya. (L-R) *The Wife is a DH*. 1995. Installation. 117.5 x 65.5 x 172 cm. *Filipina DH Documentation*. 2022. Video. *Filipina: DH (Blouse of Dignity)*. 1995. Found objects and plaster bonded textile. 80 x 86 x 7 cm. Artist's Collection. Photo courtesy of the CCP Visual Arts and Museum Division and CCP Digital Archives.

## 'Women Working Together' A Prelude to Kasibulan

The image of women working "in circles and clusters instead of hierarchies" (Cajipe Endaya, "Kasibulan" 23) is typified not only by Kasibulan, but also by other women's groups in the visual arts as they aim to carve a space for themselves in a male-dominated scene. To understand this women's collective founded by artists, it is productive to provide some context to the support system in the arts which women had access to. In 1968, the artist and educator Manuel Rodriguez, Sr., along with artists and board members Ivi Avellana, Aurora Calaguas, Mila Enage, Lamberto Hechanova, Imelda Nakpil, and Adiel Arevalo, founded the Philippine Association of Printmakers (PAP). It nurtured the practices of women artists such as Fajardo and Cajipe Endaya who first invested in printmaking before painting. Printmaking as a genre in visual art offers a poetic reference to the matrix as a vessel of both image and ink, a nexus where art comes to life. Print, which has formal qualities quite distinct from those of a painting, is more closely akin to drawing and two-dimensional practices like collage and graphic design, which Cajipe Endaya and Fajardo are also well-versed in. The democratic aspects of printmaking, such as the creation of multiple editions to widen access to art, appeared to have also reared the ethos of sharing and collectivity at that time.

Cajipe Endaya, who began her artistic career as a printmaker and sat as PAP president in the 1970s wrote about the tedious and repetitive processes of printmaking:

> The distinguished art critic Leonidas Benesa once marvelled at why there were so many women printmakers, pointing to their patience with daily housekeeping chores to rationalize this aptitude for repetitious processes. Delight at covering and uncovering the plate with ground, heating it on a burner, cooling so it could be drawn on, swiping ink into the grooves, wiping the negative surface clean, and transferring the intaglio image onto paper can become fetish. . . .
>
> Not only is documenting one's individual graphic output a necessity, it had to be done for the organization. Bookkeeping, fundraising, record filing, collecting dues, setting up, promoting and marketing exhibitions were part of nurturing these selfless women were good at, unmindful that it was mostly men's prints being written about at that time. ("Tirada" 24)

The lengthy quotation above is illuminating because the diligence Cajipe Endaya refers to encompasses both artistic and managerial efforts of keeping the organization afloat, with the latter often rendered invisibly, as with other

housekeeping duties traditionally ascribed to women. There is risk in Benesa's generalization that the adeptness of women in printmaking is due to the practice's kinship to housework. This reinforces the stereotype of the woman as homemaker and regards her artistic aptitude as more of an exception rather than the rule. The quote etches an image of how women practitioners tended to recede into the background in comparison to male artists who, unburdened by the nitty-gritty of organizational work, are placed in the limelight and written into history.

This exposure to the rigor of art making and working collectively is one of the many instances which may have eventually prepared the artists with the task of setting up Kasibulan. At the time of the organization's inception, the founding members had already been credited for having worked in an organization or a collective which may or may not be directly related to their individual artistic practice. This includes Cajipe Endaya's affinities with PAP, Fajardo's involvement in the Philippine Educational Theater Association (PETA) and Philippine Art Educators Association (PAEA), of which she is co-founder, Anna Fer's efforts in organizing Samahan ng Mag-aaral ng Asya (SAMA) (Organization of Asian Studies Students) with activist Etta Rosales, and Julie Lluch's co-founding of Katipunan ng Kababaihan Para sa Kalayaan (KALAYAAN) (Organization of Women for Freedom). An ally of Kasibulan worth mentioning especially during its germination phase is the gallerist and cultural worker Norma Liongoren who, together with her husband, the visual artist Alfredo Liongoren, put up a gallery. An initiator of women-centered programs for the Liongoren Gallery, she was the prime mover of the exhibition *Walong Filipina* (Eight Filipinas), an annual show launched in 1990. According to Norma Liongoren, the exhibit gave "tribute to the creative contributions of women, who often have to juggle the multiple roles of wife, mother, and artist" (qtd. in Ito 24). Its precursor was in fact, an all-women exhibit proposed by Lluch to Liongoren in March 1986, one month after EDSA People Power took place. The *Walong Filipina* exhibit is a pioneer for providing a space for all-women artists to exhibit their work at that particular historical juncture.

Working with others and being acknowledged as a group rather than individually complemented shifts in artistic practice where the merit of the solo artist or producer of the work is given paramount importance. Eileen Legaspi-Ramirez attributes the diminished recognition for the work of women artists to their investments in less glamorous roles of artistic production, such as circulation or reception, as also intimated by Cajipe Endaya's statement above. She avers that "women are not entirely effaced, just playing less visible functions or occupying much less stellar roles in an otherwise compelling story" (Legaspi-Ramirez 25-26). Moreover, women's involvement in women's groups or activist organizations are sometimes deemed extra-artistic. Although creative works are produced by virtue

of their membership in the organization, these works often escape recognition because of the nature and the contexts by which they are presented. For example, an exhibit in the gritty streets or humble dwellings, as opposed to the antiseptic walls of a museum or a proscenium theater.

The ephemeral qualities of a work or its lack of documentation can render it obscure.[3] For example, archival records indicate that in 1994, Kasibulan was commissioned by GABRIELA (General Assembly Binding Women for Reforms, Integrity, Equality, Leadership and Action) to paint a mural for their women's rally but documentation supporting the existence of this output is unavailable. Much earlier, Kasibulan worked on a mural on Asian women for the theater caravan Cry of Asia under the auspices of the Asian Council for People's Culture. In 1989, Endaya, Anna Fer, Lluch, and Fajardo painted the mural titled *Sarilaya* on the ground floor of the Film Center in Manila as a "solidarity and collaborative project with Asian performing artists-activists" (Fajardo, "Solidarity and Sisterhood" 51). In the same year, feminists Fe Mangahas, Sr. Mary John Mananzan, and Ma. Asuncion Acuna edited an anthology of women in the arts and media titled after the Kasibulan mural and featured it as the book's cover image. Depicting brown-skinned women gathered around a tree of life, it is a radiant painting celebrating women's vitality. Similar to the GABRIELA mural, there is no further information about the whereabouts of the physical work. These two murals could be substantial examples of Kasibulan's collaborative output; however, the missing information prevents it from being further assessed as part of their body of work. The spaces by which these were presented may have evaded critical scrutiny because the murals were considered backdrops to other public performances. Perhaps these vestiges serve as a reminder of the importance of documentation and re-thinking critical categories to prevent women's art from further historical omission.

## Situating Kasibulan within the Women's Movements in the Philippines

The discourse on women's movements involves the articulation of women's marginality, theorization on the sources of gender inequity, and efforts to call for reforms through protest and activism. The 1970s saw the emergence of activist organizations, with a few gender-conscious groups placing emphasis on the role of women and their stand against the dictatorship. Among them was the Malayang Kilusan ng Kabataang Makabayan or Free Movement of the New Women, more popularly known as MAKIBAKA. Led by University of the Philippines (UP) student leader Lorena Barros, the organization was founded to enable women to engage in student activism

in the 1960s to early 1970s. According to Roces, with the demise of Barros, who was forced to go underground and was killed by the military upon the declaration of Martial Law in 1972, the organization's development from "a feminist movement with a nationalist orientation or a nationalist movement with a feminist orientation" did not progress (6). In 1981 and 1983, the groups Kilusan ng Kababaihang Pilipina (Organization of Filipino Women) or PILIPINA and Kalayaan (Freedom), both attuned to women's issues and national liberation, were formed respectively. The following year, the umbrella organization GABRIELA was formed. Named after Gabriela Silang, dauntless leader of the revolt against the Spaniards after the death of her husband Diego Silang in 1763, the organization endeavored to consolidate women's groups in the struggle against the Marcos dictatorship. Radical nationalism was regarded as a necessary approach to counter it. While various women's movements sought to address the woman question, organizations also asserted the importance of women's role in the national front.

Roces observes that it was in the second half of the 1980s that a significant number of women's organizations espoused a feminist perspective. The period saw the establishment of women's studies centers offering courses based on a feminist framework. Established in 1988, the Center for Women's Studies (now Center for Women's and Gender Studies) based in UP Diliman "evolved from the ideas and commitment to social justice, national development, and women's empowerment of a group of women faculty" ("About CWGS"). It launched the first graduate degree program on women's studies in the Philippines. In the same year, St. Scholastica's College established its own Institute of Women's Studies. Prior to that, the feminist Benedictine nun Mary John Mananzan pioneered a series of workshops on women's studies in 1985. She founded Nursia, which organized women's orientation seminars for grassroots women, including factory workers and the urban poor (Roces 15). This initiative opened doors for collaborators such as Kasibulan, which held its first organizational seminar in the nineties at Nursia Institute of Women's Studies.

The period post-EDSA saw the formation of cause-oriented groups which challenged previous autocracy. Women's groups in the arts and media such as Women in Media Now (WOMEN) in 1982, as well as the women's desks of the CCP and the Concerned Artists of the Philippines were formed. According to Datuin, the "working space allowed by these women in significant positions gave rise to art writers who bloomed during this time." Moreover, it was through these organizations that "feminist theory and practice grew and took shape" (*Home Body Memory* 96). It was in these contexts that Kasibulan was born. In 1987, Fajardo, Cajipe Endaya,

and Anna Fer attended a consultation conference to support the drafting of the Philippine Development Plan for Women. This government-initiated conference resulted in a framework which guided the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women (NCRFW) and other women's organizations in encouraging gender sensitivity and in "promot[ing] greater participation of women in politics and decision-making, economic and social development and its benefits" (*Plan Framework* 17). This initial participation in a nationwide consultation on women propelled the founders to form a collective. Fajardo, Cajipe Endaya, and Anna Fer were later joined by designer Ida Bugayong and Lluch to make plans and programs for Kasibulan, which was officially registered in 1989. Cajipe Endaya states: "we came together as Kasibulan, a collective commitment to art practice and exchange that would contribute to our own transformation as women, as Filipinos, and as artists" ("Kasibulan" 20). Its goals were to "provide members with opportunities for creativity, growth, and self-sufficiency; to promote women's arts and crafts; and to expand the social, political, and cultural consciousness of women artists and Filipino women in general through the arts" (21). Although the goals and orientation have somewhat changed since its inception, Kasibulan is active to this day and is joined by over a hundred members on Facebook, where the organization coordinates activities online as a private group.

## *The Critical Years: Kasibulan's First Decade*

The founders of Kasibulan have imparted the importance of solidarity and sisterhood to achieve a common set of goals as well as to foster enduring ties. Harking on the feminist dictum "the personal is political," Fajardo articulates the relationship of these concepts as thus: "In a sisterhood, one feels with and respects those in a group in an atmosphere that has a collective feeling as the core of the experience. In solidarity, one dialogues with others, building a collective intelligence" ("Sisterhood and Solidarity" 47). This section is a brief analysis of Kasibulan's work, read through their archive consisting of notes and other documentation collected by some pioneer members. Presently housed in a women's library, it is where traces of their "collective intelligence" can be sought, especially in reference to the organization's critical years of growth.

Kasibulan's first decade was dedicated to discussions and meetings among members, the production of art works for exhibition, and participation in interdisciplinary forums which focused on gender issues. These enabled them to establish their presence as a women's group which sought to raise the "social, political, and cultural consciousness of women through the arts" as well as to expand their membership. Kasibulan's activities supported the work of fellow women artists

by creating opportunities where the latter could exhibit or sell their work. At the same time, the members took a reflexive stance in addressing the woman question in subtle and overt ways, through the processes entailed in their activities, and the activities themselves (fig. 2). In 1992, Kasibulan organized the exhibit *The Filipino Woman: Myth and Reality* (1992) at the CCP Main Gallery. The exhibit was curated around themes which reflected on the roles of women such as Creator, Nurturer, Healer (Lumilikha); Doer, Worker (Gumagawa); Warrior (Lumalaban); Thinker, Philosopher, Visionary (Nag-iisip); and Lover (Nagmamahal). Opposing the male gaze, these are active instead of passive roles generally attributed to women, a foil to John Berger's famous line "men act and women appear," a stereotype based on how visual culture tended to objectify women.

One of Kasibulan's goals is the revitalization of craft as women's art. Published in the decade of Kasibulan's founding is the groundbreaking work of British art historians Griselda Pollock and Roszika Parker *Old Mistresses: Women, Art, and Ideology* (1981) where they argued how the artificial divide between the arts and crafts have contributed to the misrecognition of women's art. They surmise that art forms like painting and sculpture are exalted in art history and criticism while works that are produced within the "lesser cultural sphere" or those that are used to decorate people's homes are considered less valuable. The latter usually falls under the category "applied," "decorative" arts, or "craft." Such hierarchy is maintained by "attributing to the decorative arts a lesser degree of intellectual effort or appeal and a greater concern with manual skill and utility" (50). The arts and crafts divide generated a distinction between the artist and the craftsman, while sexual division reinforced a hierarchy of values in the arts. The classic debate surrounding the distinction between arts and crafts can perhaps be addressed productively by reconfiguring the latter in the relay of ethnography (or art and craft as material culture) and contemporary art. This could mean situating craft-based practices like stitchwork as part of contemporary art or as an essential product of everyday life and livelihood. Kasibulan's attempts to respond to the distinction of art and craft are exemplified by exhibits such as *Sinaunang Habi, Bagong Habi* (Ancient and New Weaving, 1990) held at the CCP, *BAI Women's Art in Craft* held at Contreras Sculpture (2000), as well as *Tahi-Tagning Talambuhay* at the UP Vargas Museum (1997), which refers to patchwork both as handiwork and as metaphor for the heterogeneity and connectivity of women's lives. In the 1990s, Kasibulan held *taka* workshops in Paete, Laguna. These oriented women artists and participants to the traditional art of *pagtataka,* explored the potential of craft as contemporary art, and importantly, engaged the figurative mode to enable the artists to probe representations of women.[4] More than building a

compensatory history, the task resonates with what Roces describes as "defining the Filipina," analyzing and remaking her representations, which have been part of the agenda of Filipina feminists since the 1980s. This includes the recuperation of defiant and powerful women who have been silenced in historical narratives due to the women's stereotypes such as passive, reserved, and assumes menial roles compared to those of the heroic male. Artists are well-equipped for this task of remaking because of their capacity for expressive language and eventually concretizing their imaginings. Ceramicist and Kasibulan officer Baidy Mendoza reported that:

> Four women designs were made into clay moulds with two rubber stone plaster casts each: Urduja with her code and lance; Mariang Makiling protecting a bird; Teodora Agoncillo sewing the Philippine flag and Marcela Marcelo (Celang Bagsik) with her hands in battle. . . .
>
> One of these eight casts, several *takas* were made in Paete in interactive workshops. Trips to Paete became exposures, exchanges, and sharings of culture, food, points of view, women issues, and visions. ("Babae sa Luad at Taka" 23)

The exposure trip is salient because it is indicative of the group's growth mindset. It was regarded as crucial to the artist's education, her consciousness as a citizen and as a woman. After Kasibulan's first organizational workshop in the early nineties, one of the committees formed was the Artistic Growth Committee which was responsible for planning exposure trips and working on exhibitions and workshops. The Networking Committee was likewise important as they were tasked to "survey the needs of women artists" and create linkages with other women's groups, museums, and galleries. It was concerned with nurturing and strengthening ties with other women, and building relationships with institutions to create a collective presence and space for women. These cluster efforts amplified women's voices as they pushed boundaries in the civil society at large. The committee's plans were thoughtful and deliberate. They became occupied with "image building" specifically, with "raising the consciousness of men as well as women" and initiating dialogues about the "thematic expressions of women's concerns" (*Kasibulan 1992-1993 Activities*).

**Fig. 2.** *Ang Babae* exhibit organized by Kasibulan at the Cultural Center of the Philippines, 1992. In the photo are (L-R): June Dalisay, Laura Catoy, Karen Flores (row 1); Fe Mangahas, Maria Abulencia, Teresita Dichupa, Lia Tayag, Jeannie Javelosa, Imelda Cajipe Endaya, Rhoda Recto, Nadi Xavier, Rocel Valenzuela (row 2 seated); Brenda Fajardo (side view) behind Baidy Mendoza, Arlene Villaver, Ligaya Amilbangsa, Norma Liongoren, Carina David, Gigi Javier Alfonso, Jean Marie Syjuco, Maricor Abellana, Sally Carillo, Paz Abad Santos, Charito Bitanga, Phyllis Zaballero, Julie Lluch, Elenita Ordonez (row 3 standing). Kasibulan Collection. Image courtesy of Ateneo Library of Women's Writing, Rizal Library, Ateneo de Manila University. With thanks to Imelda Cajipe Endaya and Lia Torralba.

What might it mean to be a feminist collective? What were the women artists responding to? Sara Ahmed describes feminism as a practice, interpreting what it means to be a feminist through acts of optimism and defiance. She states that being a feminist might mean:

> . . . asking ethical questions about how to live better in an unjust and unequal world . . . how to create relationships with others that are more equal; how to find ways to support those who are not supported or are less supported by social systems; how to keep coming up against histories that have become concrete, histories that have become solid as walls. (1)

The tasks of asking, finding ways, supporting, and coming up against perceived

asymmetries, are actions that have been historically taken up by feminists. Moving in clusters and circles to address a deficiency or an emergency may be regarded as a feminist response. For Kasibulan, it was the recognition of the "inequities and insufficiency of both state and most organizations in addressing the woman question" (Cajipe Endaya, "Kasibulan" 20). Writing about Womanifesto, a kindred organization in Southeast Asia, artist Varsha Nair observed that at the time it was formed "artists created environments which they perceived were lacking" (8).

Womanifesto is an international women's art event which began in 1997 to commemorate International Women's Day. Its roots can be traced to a project organized by six women artists in Bangkok called *Tradisexion* which initiated a conversation around "the traditional conflicts stemming from being a woman" (Chamnianwai and Ueareeworakul par. 1). Although more international in orientation, their activities bear some similarities with Kasibulan. Their first exhibition held in March 1997 featured paintings, installations, and performance by 18 international women artists. The works engaged with broad sociopolitical and ecological concerns as well as women's issues. An emphasis on cross-cultural dialogue, with the visual arts as a common language can be gleaned from the first two iterations. The third Womanifesto explored a 10-day workshop format in a remote farm. Unlike the previous activities, this project emphasized exchange and process over the exhibition format. Held in northeastern Thailand, it challenged artists, cultural workers, and students to converse with one another as well as with the local community. The focus of this workshop was traditional knowledges and ways of living that appear antithetical to the present urban environment. Aside from the discussion on the position of women, the participants looked at local materials and traditions. In the process, some site-specific works were produced, and artists facilitated workshops to local school children. Keen on exploring other spaces of representation, Womanifesto explored "borders" and touched on notions of nationality and citizenship in a globalized world. Titled *No Man's Land,* the project involved international artists who presented their digital work on an online platform.

The examples of Kasibulan and Womanifesto[5] show how women artists effected transformations through consistent, experimental, and cluster efforts. Both collectives actively sought out spaces where they can represent themselves while engaging in discourses on women and art. They were intent on initiating dialogue and exchange, not only among artists but also among members of the community, who would normally not be considered part of the art world public. They also took interest in the regions or locations beyond centers of artistic production. The privileging of process over product and knowledge exchange and collectivity over

individual expertise challenges the parameters of art and art making, moving the boundaries of art itself.

## Women Artists: 'Social Realism' and Beyond

Fajardo, Anna Fer, Lluch, and Cajipe Endaya produced figurative expressions that have been aligned with what is known as Social Realism, which gives importance to the communicative value of the work and its political message. Art historian Patrick Flores eloquently describes the process: "[Social Realism] wrought the image or the figure ideologically and linked it up with archival material to create the necessary nexus between the contemporary and the historical" (66). The works of the four women artists represent a feminist trajectory strengthened by their affinities with Kasibulan and organizations drawn to notions of nationalism of the period. This final section of the study offers individual profiles of the women artists and discusses how they have translated the customary and mundane to contemporary, or the indigenous to feminist, from the perspectives of women.

Brenda Fajardo's works are deeply rooted in Philippine history, culture, and society. Her works could be seen as radical, considering the word's Latin etymology *radicalis,* meaning "root." In her germinal text *Decolonization through People's Art* published in 1990, Fajardo expressed her aspiration to return to our roots as a Filipino people by way of studying the form, function, and content of traditional and people's art. This was a provocation to analyze art's relation to our life and culture as a people. She wrote that it was a way "to counter the colonial consciousness that we have" (92). Under the chairmanship of Fajardo during this period, the Department of Humanities in UP Diliman changed its name to Art Studies to reflect expansions in the field, among them, the integration of the local and regional, or non-western paradigms in the study of art.

Fajardo's works are shaped by enduring practices in Philippine culture. For her, tradition is also contemporary. This is exemplified by her work on folk narratives, such as her series on myths and epics that impart timeless lessons. These stories are part of cherished oral narratives of ethnolinguistic groups in the Philippines. Her folk narratives have also been depicted in her tarot card series (fig. 3) where she recasts the figures featured in the cards into Philippine imagery. For instance, in Fajardo's work, the sun (*Ang Araw),* a component in the tarot deck, is illustrated as part of the Philippine flag. These, along with other deck of cards form a border around the central panel which incorporates a narrative on current events. Recurrent in many of Fajardo's works is the figure of the ancient priestess and healer *babaylan*. The figure resuscitates the important role of women in the sociocultural life of a community.


**Fig. 3.** Brenda V. Fajardo. *Ako ay Babae, Ako ay Pilipina* (I am a woman, I am Filipina) *(from Cards of Life-Women Series)*. 1993. Pen and ink with gold leaf on handmade paper. 52.5 x 72 cm. Queensland Art Gallery | Gallery of Modern Art Collection. Copyright Brenda Fajardo. Image courtesy of QAGOMA.

Coinciding with Fajardo's production of art works, from prints to drawings, and paintings are her lively collaborations. Her membership in various organizations strengthened her practice in visual arts, theatre, and the academe. Fajardo, together with visual artist and art educator Araceli Dans, established the Philippine Art Educators Association (PETA) in 1968. This organization pioneered teacher training in the arts nationwide. Moreover, Fajardo was also an actress, stage and production designer, and educator. As one of the curriculum developers of PETA, she contributed to the Integrated Theater Arts Workshop, where art exercises involving basic expressive elements led to a drama improvisation. This exercise, which became an important part of PETA's pedagogy, explored the connection, rather than the distinction, of the various art forms and the creative impulse needed to sustain them. This implies a keen sense of self-awareness on the one hand, and a strong sensitivity towards one's surroundings on the other. In her *Aesthetics of Poverty*, practitioners are re-oriented to the "art of improvisation" in production design. Her work as a curator and academic is also strengthened by her impressive ability to work with a community. These are seen in her work for the Balay ni Tan Juan community museum in Negros, her hometown in the Visayas Islands and her extensive research on the folk arts of Paete, Laguna.

The works of Anna Fer are also informed by her activism. She was involved in producing propaganda materials for cause-oriented groups, conveying strong sentiments against the oppressive regime of Ferdinand Marcos, Sr. Her most striking work referring to the atrocities during the Martial Law period is *Favali and Other Victims*. This painting depicts the Italian missionary Tulio Favali who was based in Northern Cotabato and killed by paramilitary forces. Favali's tragic story drew the anger of the public and caught the attention of the Vatican and the Italian government. In Anna Fer's painting, the life of slain individuals like Favali is given human dignity. At the same time, the work reveals her affinity with Davao as she is a Filipino-Italian woman who grew up in Davao, the same location where Favali was ordained.

One of Anna Fer's largest works is *The Earth Triptych* commissioned by the Cultural Center of the Philippines in 1991. Weaving the themes of women, ecology, and history, an impressive component of this triptych is *India at Ilustrada* (Native and Elite) (fig. 4). Here the artist presents two women in the face of colonization, one indigenous and the other Christianized, and the desecration of land which is a central theme in many of her works. Women and earth figure prominently in this painting. According to Anna Fer, "The earth is womb and tomb from which life issues and to which it returns" (qtd. in Kintanar and Ventura 107).

**Fig. 4.** Anna Fer. *India at Ilustrada*. 1993. Oil on canvas. 228.3 x 289.3 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Manila Collection. Image courtesy of Met Museum Manila.

Anna Fer's grassroots initiatives and collaborative projects have largely shaped her work as an artist. Her illustrations for books and other educational materials deserve to be reviewed as they offer insights on ecological issues, indigenous traditions, and politics. The paintings and illustrations she did in line with the book project *Kudaman: A Palawan Epic* (1983) authored by the French ethnolinguist Nicole Revel, recall the artist's role as ethnographer.

One of our leading Filipina visual artists is Julie Lluch who has worked consistently with clay as a medium. Best recognized for her life-size painted terracotta sculptures, her most striking works are portraits and tableaus produced in the 1980s that are autobiographical in content. She believes that "feminism is all about self-determination, self-definition and learning to be in control of one's life, one's body, and one's destiny. It is also about expanding one's capacity for self-expression, and even for pleasure, without so much guilt" (*Speech given to the Rotary Club at Iligan City*). Speaking as president of Kalayaan before an audience in her hometown Iligan City, she had this to say to anticipate the people's misgivings about feminism:

> . . . the idea that feminism is too American-oriented or too western or too alien to work in a third world country like the Philippines is not true. The fact is, feminism today is most alive and militant in the poor, developing countries such as in Latin America and parts of Asia and Africa where the fervor for social and political reforms and national liberation is afire among the people. (*Speech given to the Rotary Club at Iligan City*)

As one of the founding members of feminist organisations Kasibulan, Kalayaan, and Philippine Women Artist's Collective, her feminist politics shaped the content of her works from the 1980s to1990s. Lluch's early works include the iconic cacti and hearts series which she first exhibited in 1973. The erotic character of the hearts and cacti could be regarded as a playful and organic approach to form. While most erotic images in visual culture tend to objectify women, Lluch's hearts and cacti subvert such images through humor and attentiveness to the possibilities of abstraction.

Lluch's terracotta portraits (fig. 5) serve as a node from which other works stem from—outdoor public sculpture, tableaus featuring scenes of everyday life, and allegorical figures, where women are placed front and center. In her famous work *Picasso y Yo* (Picasso and Me), we find a fascinating kitchen scene with the artist caught in a shambled domestic life, having to balance her duties as a wife, mother and visual artist. While employing the fine art of sculpture and strategies of appropriation through references to Picasso, Lluch's medium is native clay,

the material of earthenware vessels reminiscent of ancient pottery like the manunggul jar. Alluding to the artificial divide between art and craft, Lluch explains:

> Clay has a charming quality, sometimes both naïve and sophisticated. Remarkably versatile and tractable, it can be witty, kitsch, or even erotic. It speaks a very personal language, from slang to classic. From its humble origins, the clay medium carries with it the natural grain of protest, evolving into a wonderful vehicle to pounce upon 'high-art' and its agents of repression. ("Notes on a Potter's Life" 11)

**Fig. 5.** An example of a terracotta portrait of an art patron by Julie Lluch. *Bust of Purita Kalaw-Ledesma*. 1995. Terracotta and acrylic. 70 x 65 x 40 cm. PKL Collection. Image courtesy of Kalaw-Ledesma Foundation, Inc.

Foregrounding the perspective of women was not that apparent at the onset of Cajipe Endaya's practice. She admits that the search for Filipino identity, which emanates from her regard for *bayan* or nation, came first before her feminist consciousness. She was not alone in this endeavor, as Filipino artists in the 1970s who were coming from various sensibilities and politics were addressing questions on national identity. Her suite of prints *Ninuno* (Initially, Forefathers Series), posed questions on identity by reworking the imagery of pre-colonial Filipinos drawn from early published sources, such as the sixteenth century Boxer Codex. The 1970s marked her forays into printmaking, a medium which she

consistently produced and developed since the initial stages of her career. Her mastery of printmaking techniques enabled her to co-author books on the subject[6] as well as take the helm of the Philippine Association of Printmakers in the 1970s.

Much like the women peering from the windows of Cajipe Endaya's iconic *Bintana* (Windows) series, looking outward to her external milieu as much as looking towards one's internal world has been an enduring part of her practice. "I look at the important issues of the times and I react from there, as much as possible, from a personal point of view," states Cajipe Endaya in a recent interview. On the other hand, *Mother, Daughter, Freedom is Also Yours* (fig. 6) was made at the cusp of the 1986 People Power Revolution. The works of Cajipe Endaya in the 1980s included large, impressive works consisting of social commentaries, among them, *Lupa sa Aming Altar* (Land in our Altar), a layered painting which refers to agrarian reform issues. In this sweeping composition, the women peer through a field of woven fibres and intricate lacing, in prayerful stances conveying a collective yearning for the bounty of land. Developed from a woman's point of view, the work testifies to the theme of social justice present in Cajipe Endaya's work. This remains a crucial aspect of her practice, whether in printmaking, painting, and other media. In her writings, curatorial projects, organizational work, and other engagements which inform and enrich one another, Cajipe Endaya has consistently attempted to foreground the importance of nation and women. As a member of the Committee of Visual Arts of the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA), Cajipe Endaya established the *PANANAW: Philippine Journal of Visual Arts* in 1997 in response to the dearth of art writing in the regions.

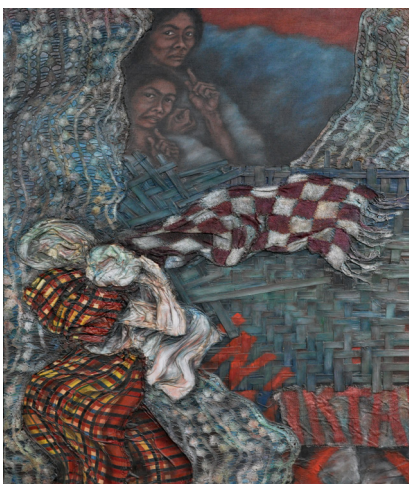

**Fig. 6.** Imelda Cajipe Endaya. *Inay, Ineng, Kalayaan ay inyo rin* (Mother, Daughter, Freedom is Also Yours). 1985. Oil, textile collage and sawali on canvas. 183 x 122.5 cm. Bulwagan ng Dangal University Heritage Museum Collection. Image courtesy of BnD.

The works and projects of Fajardo, Anna Fer, Lluch, and Cajipe Endaya demonstrate an alignment with feminist sensibilities in the 1980s, which prioritised the task of "theorizing the feminine" (Roces 1). Important to activist ideologies of the time were the unpacking and dismantling of conventional notions of femininity, which involves "defining the Filipina–what she was, what she is, and what she will become," to quote from Roces (1). The issues conveyed in their works converse with feminist discourses which critique the cultural constructions of women as well as the structural sources of their oppression. The feminization of labor migration was among the issues Anna Fer, Cajipe Endaya, Fajardo, and Lluch depicted in their works as individual artists and collectively, by way of Kasibulan. As part of a collective, their work exemplify shifts in art practice: the choice of subject matter which touched on social realities, specifically, women and the spaces they occupy, the inclusion of dialogue or conversation in the artistic process, and the mining of artistic resources and sites which may be considered peripheral to the traditional spaces of art. Kasibulan's work may be likened to other women's initiatives such as Womanifesto. As briefly discussed above, their projects appear improvised and experimental to some extent, as the women were responding to what they felt were deficient and urgent. Such responses called for a working style which drew energy from collaboration and exchange. Women's art initiatives also entailed multi-tasking, negotiating roles rather than following a linear and hierarchical mode.

As individuals and as founding members of Kasibulan, the women artists asserted their presence and negotiated their position within a patriarchal art world. They have done so by engaging in multi-faceted activities related to art circulation, reception, and practices which may traditionally be excluded under the domain of the so-called Fine Arts or beyond the visible role of the artist-producer. This means initiating activities which may not yield an output (e.g., a painting), that is more traditionally acceptable as an art form. The four women artists and Kasibulan pioneers, having been affected and moved themselves by upheavals and social asymmetries, demonstrate the possibility of a movement—making transformations through "circles and clusters" and constant "emergence."

## NOTES

This paper was developed from the author's presentation at the Art Association of Australia and New Zealand annual conference 2022.

1. Another founding member of Kasibulan who is not discussed in this paper is the late Sr. Ida Bugayong. Her efforts in design, mobilization of craft as livelihood, contributions to Kasibulan and charity work deserve further research. Her efforts are less visible or not documented as art.

2. Works in Fajardo's *Tarot Card: Pilipina* series include *Migrant Workers*, *Entertainer in Japan, Domestic Helper in Hong Kong, Not Documented in Taiwan, In the Middle East*. Each was made using pen, ink, and tempera on cogon grass paper and are part of the Museum of Contemporary Art, Tokyo Collection.

3. Cajipe Endaya recalls outsiders commenting that despite Kasibulan's "mileage and popularity . . . no one remembers a singularly strong collective art piece." She explains the impact that Kasibulan has "is precisely in its being a non-exclusive organization open to all women in art across disciplines who are willing to work for its vision and goals" ("Kasibulan and the Parallels" 7).

4. Such efforts can also be seen in the exhibits *Tradisyon, Rebolusyon, Ebolusyon* (Tradition, Revolution, Evolution, 1998) at the NCCA Gallery; *Babae sa Kasaysayan at Rebolusyon* (Women in History and Revolution, 1996) at the UP Vargas Museum organized in partnership with the Center for Women's Studies; and *Babaylan* (1989), the first exhibit organized by Kasibulan at the now defunct UP Faculty Center.

5. For a comparative discussion on Kasibulan and Womanifesto based on the discourse of Southeast Asian contemporary art, please refer to the work of Krystina Lyon: artandmarket.net/analysis/2023/10/29/my-own-words-krystina-lyon.

6. These include *Filipino Engraving: 17th to 19th century* (1980) and *Limbag Kamay: 400 Years of Philippine Printmaking* (1993) which she co-authored with the late Fine Arts professor Santiago Albano Pilar.

## Appendix

Anna Fer. *Lupang Tigang* (Wasteland). 1991. Oil on canvas. 228.5 x 289.5 cm.

Imelda Cajipe Endaya. *The Wife is a DH*. 1995. Installation. 117.5 x 65.5 x 172 cm. (Fig. 1)

Imelda Cajipe Endaya. *Filipina DH Documentation*. 2022. Video. Artist's Collection. (Fig. 1)

Imelda Cajipe Endaya. *Filipina: DH (Blouse of Dignity)*. 1995. Found objects and plaster bonded textile. 80 x 86 x 7 cm. Artist's Collection. (Fig. 1)

Brenda V. Fajardo. *Ako ay Babae, Ako ay Pilipina* (I am a woman, I am Filipina). 1993. Pen and ink with gold leaf on handmade paper. 52.5 x 72 cm. Queensland Art Gallery Gallery of Modern Art Collection. (Fig. 3)

Anna Fer. *Favali at Iba Pang Biktima* (Favali and other Victims). 1987. Oil on canvas. 117 x 81.5 cm. Ateneo Art Gallery Collection.

Anna Fer. *India at Ilustrada*. 1993. Oil on canvas. 228.3 x 289.3 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Manila Collection.

Julie Lluch. Hearts and Cacti.

(List of works under this category, not discussed individually)

*Drip Glazed Heart*. I982. Glazed terracotta. 40 x 26 x 38 cm. Artist's Collection.

*Teresa of Avila Heart*. 1981. Glazed terracotta. 57 x 35 x 20 cm. Artist's Collection.

*For Gilda*. 1999. Glazed terracotta. 28 x 20 x 25 cm. Gilda Cordero Fernando Collection.

*Grey Glazed Cactus*. 1982. Glazed terracotta. 46 x 46 x 30 cm. Artist's Collection.

*Bleeding Heart*. 1986. Terracotta and acrylic. 39 x 36 x 23 cm. Artist's Collection.

Julie Lluch. *Picasso y Yo* (Picasso and Me). Undated. Terracotta and acrylic. Variable sizes. Gilda Cordero Fernando Collection.

Julie Lluch. *Bust of Purita Kalaw-Ledesma*. 1995. Terracotta and acrylic. 70 x 65 x 40 cm. Purita Kalaw-Ledesma Collection. (Fig. 5)

Imelda Cajipe Endaya. Ninuno Series.

(List of sample works under this category, not discussed individually)

*Forefathers I*. 1976. Edition 90 of 200. Photo-serigraphy. 60.5 x 46.4 cm. CCP Collection.

*Forefathers II*. 1976. Edition 3 of 200. Photo-serigraphy. 62 x 46 cm. CCP Collection.

*Forefathers III*.1976. Edition 52 of 200. Photo-serigraphy. 60.6 x 45 cm. CCP Collection.

*Mga Ninuno V*. 1979. Edition 13 of 25. Photoengraving, etching and collagraphy. 37 x 36 cm. CCP Collection.

*Mga Ninuno VI*. 1979. Edition 10 of 25. Photoengraving, etching and collagraphy. 47.4 x 38.1 cm. CCP Collection.

*Mga Ninuno VIII*. 1979. Edition 8 of 25. Photoengraving, etching and collagraphy. 28 x 39 cm. Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas Collection.

*Si Manong (Ninunong Bisaya)*. 1979. Edition 18 of 25. Photoengraving, etching and collagraphy. 40.5 x 30 cm. Hiraya Gallery Collection.

*Si Inday (Ninunong Bisaya)*. 1979. Edition 3 of 25. Photoengraving, etching and collagraphy. 40.5 x 30.3 cm. Hiraya Gallery Collection.

*Ninunong Yakan*. 1979. Edition 11 of 25. Photoengraving, etching, embossment and collagraphy. 43.75 x 27.5 cm. CCP Collection.

*Mga Zambal*. 1979. Edition 6 of 25. Photoengraving, etching, embossment and collagraphy. 37.9 x 30 cm. Hiraya Art Gallery Collection.

Imelda Cajipe Endaya. *Bintana* (Window) Series.

(List of sample works under this category, not discussed individually)

*Ang Sulat* (The Letter). 1981. Oil and collage on canvas. 90 x 74.5 cm. Artist's Collection.

*The Emancipation of Gloriana*. 1982. Oil on canvas. 91 x 121.5 cm. Artist's Collection.

*Ina, Paano Bukas* (Mother, What About the Tomorrow?). 1981. Oil and collage on canvas. 75 x 90 cm. Juan Ynares Fuentes, Jr. Collection.

Imelda Cajipe Endaya. *Inay, Ineng, Kalayaan ay inyo rin* (Mother, Daughter, Freedom is Also Yours). 1985. Oil, textile collage and sawali on canvas. 183 x 122.5 cm. Bulwagan ng Dangal University Heritage Museum Collection. (Fig. 6)

Imelda Cajipe Endaya. *Lupa sa Aming Altar* (Land in our Altar). 1987-88. Sawali sheets, cloth doilies, oil paint. 122 x 122 cm. National Gallery Singapore Collection.

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