

Metaphors of the Movement: The “woman” in Speeches and Addresses by Women’s Groups in the Philippines in the 1980s

JULIE B. JOLO

jbjolo@up.edu.ph

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH AND COMPARATIVE LITERATURE
UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES-DILIMAN

Abstract

The 1980s presents major shifts in the Philippine socio-political sphere that affected both the material and discursive conditions of human rights groups, the labor sector, and the women’s movement. In discussing one of the many facets of resistance at the time, this study gathered speeches and addresses given by select women’s groups and analyzed them according to the linguistic metaphors in each text. These metaphors are then situated under broader conceptual metaphors, as per Lakoff and Johnson’s Conceptual Metaphor Theory, and the non-textual elements that surround their dissemination and consumption. Fairclough’s model of Critical Discourse Analysis gives focus on the nationalistic and gender-specific motivations behind each conceptual metaphor, thereby highlighting the prominent identities of the woman at the time.

Keywords: metaphor, women, discourse

Introduction

The field of language studies has often explored the interplay between reality and the written word under the contexts of identity formation, power distribution, and other such forms of social participation. Studies show how practices, and the ideologies that facilitate them, affect the writing and understanding of specific communities. In characterizing this dynamic, Critical Discourse Analysis identifies the key elements and relationships that affect the flow of power in society and how these trends of influence manifest in the texts produced. This highlights the active nature of discourse—it exists in a dialectical relationship with the various entities that take part in it. This study draws inspiration from this field's uncovering of voices, identities, and power relations embedded in the 1980s, with speeches and addresses by women/women's groups serving as the body of text from which certain ideological trends may emerge.

This study aims to discover how the “woman” is manifested in writing produced and consumed by popular women's groups at the time through the mapping of conceptual metaphors onto the wider discourses that produced these texts. The woman question, as it is contemplated in this study, is understood to be the problem of women's subordinate position and how the forms and variations of this subordination are explained (Angeles 53). This is hinged upon the creation of identities for the woman as she is perceived by society, with a keen focus on her problematic position under patriarchal and authoritarian lenses. The woman, as shown in the metaphors discussed here, navigates through two worlds simultaneously—the personal and the political, the private and the public, the struggle inside the home and outside of it. Ultimately, this research illustrates that the contours of the discourse on the woman question are historically, socially, and culturally nuanced, with the evidence for this claim found in the prevalent metaphors in the speeches and addresses by select women's groups in the Philippines in the 1980s.

Popular Trends in the Women's Movement in the 1970s and 1980s | Theoretical Framework

In the 1970s, MAKIBAKA (Malayang Kilusan ng Bagong Kababaihan) was the first women's organization to "bring the issue of women's liberation in the context of national liberation and the liberation of all oppressed classes" (Cupino 80). Its formation was geared toward social liberation that includes the elimination of the feudal treatment of women, commercialization of their bodies, and other discriminatory and structural barriers to the fullest development of their potentials. In achieving this, MAKIBAKA aimed for three focal developments: (1) the participation of women in the militant mass movement fighting against male-conceived roles of the woman in society, (2) the challenging of the world view of conservative women's groups at the time, and (3) the liberation of women from traditional sex roles (Angeles 137). Hence, they treated women's oppression primarily as a symptom of a class-based society. MAKIBAKA's reluctance to simultaneously push for both women's and the nation's liberation stemmed from its aversion and resistance to feminism and feminist formulations, which it summarily dismissed as western and bourgeois (Lacsamana 42).

In the midst of MAKIBAKA's nationalist orientation in addressing the woman question, the women's groups Pilipina and Kalayaan used a "feminist" framework in analyzing the status of women in Philippine society, especially amidst the fight against the Marcos regime. These two groups were part of the more cause-oriented organizations that appropriated the label of "feminist" and "imbuing it with their own nationalist content" (Lacsamana 44). Pilipina's involvement in social work, such as the economic justice and equity for women, women's right to be free from sexual harassment, focus on women's health etc., stressed the contradictions between their social vision and the traditional roles assigned to Filipinas (Angeles 181); these "traditional roles" refer to the woman's being a permanent fixture in the household, discouraged from

actively participating in wider socio-political discourse and meddling with gender politics in the country. Kalayaan, on the other hand, was more focused on research and education. Their first projects were to research and document the realities of Filipino women, looking into “the distinct and concrete forms of exploitation and oppression” (Angeles 182). It is apparent in the comparison of MAKIBAKA, on one hand, and Pilipina and Kalayaan, on the other, that the ideological tension has concrete repercussions on the paths that these women’s groups took toward gender equality and social justice.

In March of 1984, GABRIELA was launched at St. Scholastica College in Manila. It is a coalition that joined together and built a network out of various women’s organizations across social classes to fight for greater women’s participation in social issues, dismantle the dictatorship, and bring justice to all victims of political repression. Despite these efforts, however, the issue of class and the leftist origin of the movement still plagued the coalition at several points (Angeles 193). This shows how much influence, and not to mention pressure, is wielded by the events that surround the operation of these groups. The politics of the movement is greatly determined by “the larger political center or ideological tradition the groups are associated with” (Angeles 198). Given this dynamic, it is important to understand that the seemingly “clashing” ideologies previously discussed are a product of the unique milieu in which these groups were founded and not direct counterpoints to one another. They were ways of seeing and forwarding social, political, and economic inclusion and participation for women—split streams flowing to the same sea.

Conceptual Metaphor Theory

To highlight how identities of the woman are formed and practiced by these groups, the study read speeches and addresses under the lens of Conceptual Metaphor Theory. This suggests that the metaphor is the “main mechanism through which we comprehend abstract concepts and perform abstract reasoning; is fundamentally conceptual, not linguistic, in nature” (Lakoff and Johnson 34). In this vein, we are led to think of reality as a structure that is

built, rather than merely perceived, and the tools with which we construct our understanding of reality lie in these metaphors that are embedded in our daily language. As Lakoff states in his book *Metaphors We Live By*, “The concepts that govern our thought are not just matters of the intellect. They also govern our everyday functioning, down to the most mundane details” (3). Here is an example frequently cited when discussing the basic principles of Johnson and Lakoff’s Conceptual Metaphor Theory:

ARGUMENT IS WAR

Your claims are *indefensible*.

He *attacked* every weak point in my argument.

The statement associated with the conceptual metaphor “argument is war” entails elements from one domain, the concept of war, being conflated with another domain, the argument. The process that facilitates metaphors into TARGET DOMAIN is/as SOURCE DOMAIN is called *mapping*. Conceptual mappings are “sets of conceptual correspondences” (Lakoff and Johnson 72). The linguistic metaphor, the utterance itself, under the conceptual metaphor is understood due to a general principle that governs how our “patterns of inference” regarding the source domain are used to reason about the target domain (Lakoff and Johnson 74). This orientation, over-all, positions the metaphor as both a linguistic and conceptual phenomenon.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis examines the relationship between discourse and power; moreover, it is concerned with how discourse maintains and reproduces social relations (Price 582). The primary text that is used in the analysis is Norman Fairclough’s *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*.

The first level of Fairclough’s three-dimensional framework for conceiving of and analyzing discourse is discourse-as-text, or the “linguistic features and organization of concrete instances of discourse” (Blommaert 448). This

manifests in the study as the collection of speeches and addresses from which data, the conceptual and linguistic metaphors, are extracted. The texts in this collection are treated as bearers of socio-political significance in the way that they construct notions of the “woman” from the specific subject positions they embody.

The second dimension is discourse-as-discursive-practice, or “discourse as something that is produced, circulated, distributed consumed in society” (Blommaert 448). It particularly shows how resources outside of the producer and the interpreter influence the order of discourse (Fairclough 9). The study relies on this relationship in its attempt to account for the prevalence of certain conceptual metaphors within the period specified. By examining the non-textual elements at work, the study identified the prominent sources of influence at the time, along with how these translate in the texts in circulation.

The third dimension is discourse-as-social-practice, or the “ideological effects and hegemonic processes in society in which discourse is a feature” (Blommaert 449). In this section, Fairclough ties ideology to social relations of power and domination. Emphasis is placed on historicizing the data “on one hand to specify the particular historical conditions within which it was generated and what its properties and shape owe to these conditions, and on the other hand, to specify what part it plays in wider historical processes” (Fairclough 19). This is one of the primary goals of the researcher in undertaking her study on historical texts and the interplay of language, meaning and social context within them.

Methodology

This study aims to explore the notions of the “woman” as it is manifested in the metaphors found in the speeches and addresses on women published in the 1980s. This will be done through George Lakoff’s Conceptual Metaphor Theory which places premium on how the metaphors that govern language use are reflective of the conceptual make-up of a specific community. The “identities” will be characterized by the linguistic metaphors extracted from

each text. Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis will then be used to situate the discussion in the realities of the period.

The body of data listed in Appendix A spans the 1980s with references to the various events that shaped the woman question at the time. The researcher chose to situate the study in this decade given political and ideological transitions, from an authoritarian to a democratic government, that impacted the identities concerned. These texts come from more visible women's groups, owing to their being based in the universities and/or prominent socio-economic circles.

Results and Analysis

Woman is Home

Discourse-as-Text & Discourse-as-Discursive Practice

TARGET DOMAIN: woman

SOURCE DOMAIN: home

The woman as a symbol for the home has long been a popular trope in various forms of media, owing to traditional gender roles that confine her to work in the household. This mapping's high occurrence in the data may be attributed to this trope; however, as the metaphors show in Appendix B, the "mother" is immersed in the preoccupations of the time, building her as a nurturing figure for both the home and the revolution throughout the decade. She functions for and with a body, to which her existence and leadership is vital. The revolution itself is framed as a family—thereby uniting these previously separated domains.

Arlene Babst writes in her article "The Myth of Motherhood," "motherhood for motherhood's sake should stop being held up as the goal of the Filipino woman. It isn't." (5). The myths she lays down in the article, the mother being solely responsible for rearing children for instance, harken back to the idea of the "double burden" associated with being a woman of the home and of the

nation. These are, quite evidently, reinforced by the representation of women in the media at the time. Women as mothers abound in 57% of radio ads, followed closely by the wife in 21% of the ads, and the woman as domestic or house help in 16%. Television ads behaved in the same trend, showing more roles for the woman inside the domestic unit as mothers, wives, homemakers or the laundrywomen. Azarcon compared this to how men are portrayed to have more prominent roles outside the domestic sphere (128–130). Qualities such as being budget-conscious, economical, and smart regarding household chores are foisted upon women, thereby emphasizing their place and “power” within the household. These associations made and perpetuated by the media are subverted by the woman as “mother” of the movement in the way that the women’s groups instill in her the need for social participation and the nurturing of future activism. The mother in these texts is not alienated from the family but rather folded within its operations and integrated as a source of strength and leadership.

Apart from motherhood, these metaphors also touch on the concept of sisterhood which we may attribute to Western definitions of feminism. Much of our understanding of this issue has been influenced by Mary Wollstonecraft, Virginia Woolf, and Simone de Beauvoir, as they are cited in multiple women’s organizations at various times (Quindoza Santiago 176). However, this orientation of sisterhood was met with resistance from women’s writing at the time. What makes the “sisterhood” in the Philippines distinct? Wilhelmina Orozco, in her book *Feminist Objectives in the Third World and Other Writings*, traces the incongruous nature of Western Feminism in the Philippines to the American occupation—“The American colonizers did not diminish the prejudice against Filipino women. They reinforced the idea that the white culture is ideal among Filipino women—it became the ultimate aspiration” (7). In reaction to this, the women’s movement in the Philippines must present a strong unity of feminist and nationalist objectives within a Third World context despite the internal and external contradictions faced by its members. There are certain “parameters” in achieving a women’s movement truly representative of the Filipina: having women’s activities impact national

issues; giving women leaders, in trade unions for instance, the opportunity to exercise the same power and visibility as their male counterparts; employing women from all sectors as leaders and active members; and making use of the perspective of women in discussing issues inside organizations (41–43). The “sisterhood” metaphor, in response, serves as the common ground for nationalist and women-centered agenda. The clash in feminist ideologies is echoed and resolved by an appeal to the communal nature of resistance, grounded in the specific realities of disadvantaged women in the country.

Woman is Fighter

Discourse-as-Text & Discourse-as-Discursive Practice

TARGET DOMAIN: woman

SOURCE DOMAIN: fighter

This mapping gave the second highest occurrence of linguistic metaphors in the data analyzed, with each text having at least one reference to the woman being in the field of battle (shown in Appendix C). The domains and mappings identified in this metaphor communicate a nationalistic stance, in the way that it involves the woman, and her concerns, within the struggle for national liberation. The active nature of some of these linguistic metaphors is in line with the revolution’s aggressive and militant character. This is seen in terms like “transcend,” “overcome,” and “subvert.” Another set of meanings drawn from the source domain is the tools used in a battle or revolution. The expressions “on guard,” “unsheathe the sword,” “quest for peace,” map onto the woman concepts of warfare and ammunition in her struggle for peace, liberation and equal rights. The idea of victory in a battle strengthens the mappings previously made, given that the women fighters or revolutionaries are pit against oppressive forces enacted by the dictatorship and the culture of violence it inherited.

This conceptual metaphor emphasizes the woman’s place inside the struggle, a tradition inherited from the Philippines’ colonial past and the resistance it met from both men and women. The origins of the women’s

movement in the Philippines confronts all facets of disenfranchisement—a Filipina is at once a woman and a citizen (Gomez 57). Much of the tension regarding the women’s movement at the time of civil unrest was the woman’s agenda in relation to the “larger” scheme of national liberation. It was a question of which concern would take precedence: the woman’s agenda before national liberation or the national liberation before the woman’s own liberation. This assertion of gender-specific concerns along with national liberation reflects the nuances of the women’s movement in the 1980s—simultaneously militant and mainstream in its address to the institutions and the women sector.

The non-textual elements involved in this conceptual metaphor are primarily the women sector, the government, and the “prevailing forces,” which may be taken as patriarchal ideology, labor practices, or traditional gender dynamics in the Philippines that serve to oppress women. The woman is fighting against these forces—portrayed to be the ones holding and managing the flows of power in the society she lives in. The MAKIBAKA, widely held to be the first women’s group to forward women-specific concerns amidst nationalist struggle in the 1970s, identified “three evils” that plague the exploited masses, and consequently, the women sector: capitalism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism (Maranan 47). PILIPINA, a women’s group established in the 1980s, saw the Marcos administration as a symbol the dominance of patriarchal ideology, as seen in their Statement on Mr. Marcos’s Sexist Campaign.

Discourse-as-Social Practice

The study recognizes that the perspective through which these speeches and addresses were viewed is from the women/women’s groups. They constitute a specific sector’s sentiments and motivations which may or may not be in line with how other communities comprehend their situation. This following discussion shows how conceptual metaphors discussed above, along with the texts from which they were drawn, may deviate from the larger scope of socio-political discourse.

The “woman is home” conceptual metaphor characterized the woman in two ways: on one hand, there were the statements from women’s groups that described the woman as part of a disadvantaged sisterhood and a “mother” to future Filipinos and women activists; and on the other, there were clashing perspectives of Western and non-Western feminisms in terms of a global sisterhood that unites women by virtue of gender along with the media’s portrayal of the woman as a mother confined inside the household. The matter at the crux of this discussion is representation. The press and the media facilitate the images to which certain identities in society are tied, and as such are sites of power and manipulation. Wilhelmina Orozco comments on this by citing an instance in which the newspaper *Daily Express*, November of 1983, headlined an article as “Legalize Prostitution, Women Urge” after a copy-editor misread the second strategy about decriminalization (32). This event of a man confusing or meddling issues on women is a way in which the male-dominated society glosses over the concerns of women. This illustration suggests that the perspective forwarded by the women’s groups in the 1980s serves as representation in only select sectors in society. The permeating nature of media and the press, on the other hand, allow them to construct for the woman her identity, regardless of her say in the matter. This dynamic is also found in the “woman is object” metaphor in a few speeches where the forces that determine the reality of the woman—her gender, class, and citizenship, reduce her to an object that lacks voice and feeling. In reaction to this, the women’s groups used their state as a rallying cry for women to reverse the injustices suffered by the women sector.

The “woman is fighter” conceptual metaphor rallies for the coming together of women to forward a gender-specific cause: the betterment of the woman’s condition in society. This effort was also carried by the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women, a government agency aimed at the full integration of women, men and youth for economic, social, and cultural development through the coordination of the government and organized private efforts (NCRFW 4). This agency was created in observance of the International

Women's Year in 1975 and from then launched the *Balikatan sa Kaunlaran*, a program that identifies five major areas of concern: conservation, care for children, concern for environment, consumer protection, and commitment to justice. The BSK chapter leaders, as of 1985, were all women, with 35% of them being wives of local executives and the rest belonging to this new crop of civic leaders (NCRFW 11). This shows how the government at the time took part in the advancement of women's rights—though one might question how progressive this ultimately was given its confluence with unjust labor practices imposed under the Marcos dictatorship. The prominence of the “woman as fighter” metaphor stresses the need for continued vigilance, both discursive and material, in the face of institutional efforts to lift the condition of women. Flows of power are interrupted by such linguistic choices and reorients these in favor of communities that have been violated by the same power.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The study analyzed speeches and addresses by select women's groups in the 1980s using the Conceptual Metaphor Theory by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson and the Critical Discourse Analysis model of Norman Fairclough. Notions of the “woman” were extracted from texts that represented various perspectives within the women's movement at a time of political and ideological transitions.

The most prevalent of these metaphors is “woman is home,” having occurred 14 times in the 16 texts analyzed in this study. Its occurrence is equally distributed throughout the decade starting from 1980 to 1989. This metaphor conceptualized the woman as part of a “sisterhood” that forwards the advancement of discourse on women's issues, along with her being a “mother” to the future of the women's movement. This high frequency may be attributed to the already prevalent image of the woman as a sister and a mother in popular culture. These occurrences, however, serve to subvert their own traditional and patriarchal roots by framing the women's movement itself as a family. The second most occurring metaphor is the “woman is fighter,”

having surfaced 12 times from 1985 to 1989. Here, the woman is situated in the site of battle for equal rights, pitted against the dictatorship and the prevailing patriarchal order.

The link between these metaphors and the socio-political environment at the time is facilitated by the institutions that process and disseminate the speeches and addresses. The 1980s has been cited as a time in which a more democratic space opened for the expression of gender-specific concerns. The transition to a democratic government in 1986, however, did not visibly affect the occurrence of these two conceptual metaphors. This suggests that the oppressive structures that were erected and sustained during Marcos' authoritarian rule may have persisted under Aquino's administration—thereby continuing the need to address women in revolutionary terms.

This study recognizes that its conclusions are based on a defined demographic, groups that are active in the public sphere with most of their members coming from the educated middle-class. This research project would benefit from a wider breadth of data—including less visible women's groups to see how the circumstances of underground armed struggle interact with more popular notions. In line with this, other forms of writing such as poetry and fiction may also be analyzed to flesh out the correspondences between metaphors and identity formation.

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Appendix A

DATE AND SOURCE	SPEECH/ADDRESS
1980: Proceedings of the Nation's Women's Congress	"Opening Remarks" by Dr. Roqaiya Virgie R. Manlangit
1984: Women's Desk Concerned Artists of the Philippines	"Statement on Censorship and Pornography"
July 1985: UN Decade for Women	"Affirming Women's Culture and Perspectives Using Women's Forums and Vision in Film and Video as an Alternative Force"
January 1986: PILIPINA Cory's Crusaders	"A Statement on Mr. Marcos' Sexist Campaign"
February–March 1986: GABRIELA Women's International Solidarity Affair in the Philippines	"Opening Address" by Nelia Sancho "Opening Remarks" by Sr. Mary John Mananzan "Welcome Remarks" by Petite Peredo "Development of Women's Organization in the Philippines" by Maita Gomez "GABRIELA National Report 2" by Nelia Sancho
May 1986: Lakas ng Kababaihan	"Women Workers and the Unfinished struggle for an Eight-Hour Work Day" Labor Day Statement
August 1986: Individual Signatures	"Statement of Common Position and Concern"
October 1986: Women's Peace Committee	"Build Peace—Work for Justice"
March 1988: The Labor Movement: What's in it for Women	"Welcome Remarks by Virgina Yap" "Opening Remarks" by Josie de Roxa
September 1989: Let's Work Together for the Protection of Human Rights of Filipino Women GABRIELA	"The Human Rights Situation of Filipino Women and their Response Two Years after February 1986"
December 1989: Introduction to Women's Health Issues in the Philippines GABRIELA	"AIDS IS HERE! FIGHT AIDS!"

Appendix B

Date and Source	Speech or Address	Passage	Linguistic Metaphor	Relationship
<p>1980: Proceedings of the Nation's Women's Congress</p>	<p>"Opening Remarks" by Dr. Roqaiya Virgie R. Manlangit</p>	<p>My sisters, the meeting that we have just successfully held and concluded came at the crossroads of history</p>	<p>my sisters</p>	<p>The woman, as individual, is seen as being related by "blood" or circumstance, to other women. The event in which this utterance occurred dealt with issues specific to women, and thus saw them as being related to each other.</p>
		<p>Those of us therefore, who have been fortunate enough to partake of the blessing of education should now make their vigorous resolve to come to the aid of their disadvantaged sisters.</p>	<p>disadvantaged sisters</p>	<p>The woman is urged to reinforce the ties between the "family," as a concept, in her coming to the aid of her disadvantaged sisters.</p>
<p>February–March 1986: GABRIELA Women's International Solidarity Affair in the Philippines</p>	<p>"Welcome Remarks" by Petite Peredo</p>	<p>Let us unite in sisterhood for real emancipation and justice.</p>	<p>sisterhood</p>	<p>The sisterhood is referred to as the bond between women in the conference. This reinforces the idea of women are bound together by their experiences as women in the Philippines.</p>
	<p>"Opening Remarks" by Nelia Sancho</p>	<p>We therefore consider it vital to forge greater unity with sisters from other lands</p>	<p>with sisters from other lands</p>	<p>This mapping describes the woman in the context of the nation and the relationships or circumstances that bind women across national borders. The woman as a Filipina is seen as a part of a larger network of women that shares circumstances with one another.</p>

Date and Source	Speech or Address	Passage	Linguistic Metaphor	Relationship
	"Development of Women's Organization in the Philippines" by Maita Gomez	Our social investigation must also give birth to new sections of women organizing.	give birth	Another aspect of the "family" is highlighted in this mapping: motherhood. The women's movement is described as capable of giving life and creating more opportunities for women to come together.
		Sisterhood binds us... this bond is real because we are women with a common history of oppression.	sisterhood binds us	This supports the idea that the woman's disadvantaged state unites her with others like her—they become "sisters," occupying the same level in the familial hierarchy, if there is one at all. This mapping also forwards the idea that women can be perceived as equal given their "common history of oppression."
May 1986: Lakas ng Kababaihan	"Women Workers and the Unfinished struggle for an Eight-Hour Work Day"	Women workers march today alongside their brothers	alongside their brothers	This particular metaphor is unique because it extends the concept of "family" into the opposite sex. The circumstances that plague the "sisterhood" is also mapped onto the male sector, thereby establishing them as the woman's "brothers" in her struggle inside the movement.
		For women workers who have not the escapes open to their upper and middle class sisters	upper and middle class sisters	The concept of sisterhood still remains prominent in this metaphor. However, there is a perceived difference among the "sisters" that presents a more nuanced interpretation of their struggles as women. Women of different social classes still identify together as women but they are not experiencing the same kinds of oppression.

Date and Source	Speech or Address	Passage	Linguistic Metaphor	Relationship
August 1986: Individual Signatures	Statement of Common Position and Concern	Since a woman is primarily responsible for home and children	for home and children	The woman, in this metaphor, is directly placed within the confines of the household, assigning her to be the primary figure that facilitates this space. The concept of motherhood is also tapped in this mapping in the way “children” are placed with the woman inside the “home.”
October 1986: Women’s Peace Committee	“Build Peace—Work For Justice”	Sisters let us build the future in hope, in peace, in justice	sisters	The woman is addressed in relation to the sisterhood’s efforts in achieving peace.
March 1988: The Labor Movement: What’s In It For Women	“Welcome Remarks” by Virginia Yap	It is now time to give birth to the new ideas	give birth to new ideas	The woman is described as a “mother” figure in the context of forwarding the women’s movement. The mapping does not tap her biological capability to bear children, instead it appeals to her disadvantaged socio-political identity. She is a mother of “ideas” that will serve the movement’s efforts.
December 1989: Introduction to Women’s Health Issues in the Philippines GABRIELA	“AIDS IS HERE! FIGHT AIDS!”	We women, wombs and rearers of future Filipinos ...	wombs and rearers	The woman’s being a mother is interpreted in the context of the nation. Compared to the other mappings, the mother will not only rear children or ideas, she will rear future Filipinos, which directly places the woman amidst national struggle.

Date and Source	Speech or Address	Passage	Linguistic Metaphor	Relationship
		They are the most oppressed of our sisters.	our sisters	The metaphor here alludes to the shared burden of women by virtue of their gender. Women are oppressed by forces that will be elaborated on in consequent mappings; however, there appears to be some who are more oppressed than others. This may be attributed to class difference within the sisterhood.
		It becomes particularly straining for the mother who must make a choice between the breast or the bottle.	breast or the bottle	The concerns of the woman are placed on her "mother" identity. The representation of motherhood in this metaphor shows strain when it comes to the woman's and the child's need for breastfeeding in the face of the woman's role as a laborer.

Appendix C

Date and Source	Speech or Address	Passage	Linguistic Metaphor	Relationship
July 1985: UN Decade for Women	"Affirming Women's Culture and Perspectives Using Women's Forums and Vision in Film and Video as an Alternative Force"	The number one characteristic of women that we must show is their resistance to the prevailing order.	resistance to the prevailing order	The idea of "resistance" is essential in conceptualizing the woman as a fighter. In this mapping, the woman is characterized against a "prevailing order."
		And so our biggest problems rest on how to transcend, overcome or subvert such traditional filmic practices	transcend, overcome or subvert such traditional filmic practices	The actions assigned to the woman in this metaphor are associated with the concept of fighting or attacking a certain opponent. The woman is a fighter against traditional practices and she becomes this by adopting these actions.
January 1986: PILIPINA Cory's Crusaders	"A statement on Mr. Marcos' Sexist Campaign"	We, the 10000 women of Cory's crusaders	crusaders	The women who support Cory Aquino describe themselves as crusaders and involve themselves in the struggle against Marcos specifically—in contrast to how the metaphors above addressed traditional practices and the "prevailing order" as the enemy.
		We assert that it is the obligation of every Filipino woman, worth the name woman, to involve herself in the struggle for her own and her country's freedom	involve herself in the struggle	This mapping directly addresses the struggle in which the woman, as a fighter, must involve herself. The concept of conflict is highlighted and the woman must become an active part of it.

Date and Source	Speech or Address	Passage	Linguistic Metaphor	Relationship
February–March 1986: GABRIELA Women's International Solidarity Affair in the Philippines	"Opening Address" by Nelia Sancho	We pay tribute to the Filipino women who have, in the thousands, spontaneously responded to the call to fight the dictatorship in the country	responded to the call to fight the dictatorship in the country	The woman, as a fighter, answers to the "call" or the need for action. This is directed toward the dictatorship, painted, in this metaphor, as the enemy.
		We, as women, face a long and arduous struggle for total emancipation	long and arduous struggle	The concept of "struggle" is prominent in describing the woman as a fighter. This metaphor includes in its conceptualization of the woman as a fighter the hardships she will face in her "struggle."
	"GABRIELA National Report 2" by Nelia Sancho	... a program was nevertheless held, confronting the dictatorship with the worsening condition of women and a call or women's militant action to dismantle the US-Marcos dictatorship	a call or women's militant action to dismantle	The "call" referred to here draws from the concept of war or battle, in that fighters are "called upon" to battle. Another concept here is the "dismantling" of the enemy. The concept of destruction is evoked in this metaphor in relation to how the woman's militant action or her being a fighter.

Date and Source	Speech or Address	Passage	Linguistic Metaphor	Relationship
	"Development of Women's Organization in the Philippines" by Maita Gomez	We will struggle to protect our gains and forward our cause	struggle to protect and forward our cause	The concept of "struggle" and hardship is once again used here. However in this metaphor, the struggle is aimed at "protecting" the woman's gains. As in battle, there is a need for the fighter to not only attack but also to guard herself and her assets. The other concept of battle employed is the "forwarding" of a "cause." The act of marching forward is prominent in the context of battle and as women fighters, this concept describes how she battles with certain oppressive forces. The "cause," on the other hand, points at the motivations behind the struggle. In this context, the woman is fighting for the welfare of women in organizations in the Philippines.
May 1986: Lakas ng Kababaihan	"Women Workers and the Unfinished struggle for an Eight-Hour Work Day" Labor Day Statement	But they cannot lay claim to the victory of the eight-hour work day	lay claim to the victory	The concept of victory is essential in conceptualizing the woman as a fighter. The earlier metaphors on attacking and protecting ultimately lead to the woman's "victory," where she attains equal rights and labor support from the government.

Date and Source	Speech or Address	Passage	Linguistic Metaphor	Relationship
		Under siege, we witness the maiming and death of loved ones	under siege	This metaphor employs the idea of being under attack in the field of battle. Women are portrayed as constantly victimized by the prevailing order and her being a fighter is a reaction to this oppression. However, as seen in the prominence of the “struggle” metaphor so far, the woman as a fighter is still plagued by these forces.
October 1986: Women’s Peace Committee	“Build Peace—Work For Justice”	To resist pressures to unsheathe the sword of war and to remain steadfast to the quest for peace	unsheathe the sword of war quest for peace	The “sword of war” metaphor conflates the image of artillery used in battle with the efforts of women to achieve social justice and lasting peace. The woman as a fighter wields this sword in the battle against oppressive forces. The “quest” for peace, on the other hand, relates a temporal element to the metaphor. It exposes the prolonged struggle that women face.
March 1988: The Labor Movement: What’s In It For Women	“Welcome Remarks” by Virginia Yap	We have to be always on guard	on guard	This metaphor is built upon the vulnerability shared by the woman in her struggle for equal rights and a fighter in battle. The idea of “guarding” oneself against the opponent echoes the need for protection showed in the metaphors above.