

VICTIMS' DISCOURSES: FILIPINA DOMESTIC WORKERS IN GERMANY*

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Bato bato sa langit [Stone in the sky
ang tamaan ay huwag magagalit. whoever gets hit should not get upset.]

Introduction

This paper attempts to write the ethnography of the social realities of the Filipina domestic workers overseas through discourse. The majority of literature on Filipina domestic workers overseas concentrates on economic and demographic issues. These materials, written by researchers funded by government agencies, religious institutions (Catholic Institute for International Relations, 1987), international organizations (United Nations, Abella, 1989), human rights and women's rights advocates (Go, 1988), and newspaper articles published both in the Philippines and in the United States show "unusual" or biased reporting, too often bent on sensationalism.

The secondary role given to the informants in the literature reviewed also reveals the absence of what I consider most disturbing in terms of their sense of self-worth as human beings living this particular life. This human dimension, important both in sociology and in anthropology (Goffman 1976) should be made

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central in order to gain a better understanding of the self as articulated by Filipinas in particular.

The way to proceed is to concentrate on the women's discourses. These discourses are the interaction of a group of human beings caught in multiple layers of a complex world system where policies, ethnicity, class, gender, are working against them, with very few alternatives to action. In the present economic state of affairs in the Philippines, it was colonization that started those wheels turning towards the direction of poverty, the end result being Filipinas looking outside their shores for employment. With ethnicity, class, and gender working against them, they became victims with few options. Johnson-Odim (1991) wrote of Third World women as those from "underdeveloped" overexploited geopolitical entities, i.e., countries, oppressed nationalities from these areas who are presently residing in "developed" First World countries. These women are confronted with problems of racism, economic exploitation and imperialism.

This is also an attempt in the writing of ethnography, a plunge into the actual field with the full and sudden realization that one begins to be self-critical in dealing with questions and doubts about prying into private lives. Questioning one's motivations, questioning whether one should stand back and try not to get too "involved" if one can, is important in order to get a clear perspective of social realities that one is trying to capture and record.

Some of the problems raised in the ethnographic method include ethical issues on the confidentiality of the respondents and the interviewee. Writing a social analysis that will first and foremost concentrate on the humanity of the women being interviewed came next—focusing on human relations. Finally, there is the legitimate concern of Third World women viewed as a social category and marginalized in feminist discourse as they

struggle to define themselves, not through male or female interpreters who may have their own agenda, but by themselves. There is the urgency in the construction of feminist theory that will be relevant to Third World women as they live their lives. This theory should serve as a guideline in the understanding and clarification of their social realities with the end view of improving their position in a society in which they find themselves, and over which they have very little control. Thus, the subject of this paper is a group of Third World women who describe themselves as Filipino in identity, domestic workers overseas in occupation.

Background Information

Spanish Colonization: Effect on Filipina Women

Agoncillo and Guerrero (1982) in their historical account stated that by pre-Hispanic customary laws Filipino women were equal to men. They could own and inherit property, engage in trade, and succeed the chieftainship of a *barangay* (community) in the absence of a male heir. Courtship of a woman entailed patience and dedication by a man plus the observation of a complex system of rendering service including gift-giving by the suitor arranged through the man's parents to the girl's parents. Blumentritt (1980) recorded similar observations of the Tagalogs in 1882.

Western feminists first addressed the issue of women as subordinate to men (Ortner, 1974) in the development of feminist theory. While men view women as subordinate to men because of women's affinity to nature (childbirth), women argue that their subordination is not due to nature but is a product of

male cultural construct. If women are seen as subordinate to men, this did not apply to the pre-Spanish Filipina women.

Another issue is on modernization theory. It implies that Third World countries like the Philippines which are considered underdeveloped economically will attain economic prosperity given a process of development. Part of the result of this development is the improvement of the lot of Third World women. In the case of the Philippines, however, the impact of Westernization adversely effected the social standing of Filipina women. There were "female oriented" projects introduced by Mrs. Marcos in 1975, the International Year of Women, but women's political and economic participation was ignored (Blanc-Szanston, 1990).

With the Hispanization of the Philippines, both gender/socialization processes underwent changes. While the majority of the population retained their basic Malay/Filipino traits, those in contact with the Spaniards modified their behavior to suit Spanish taste. Filipinos, however, did not accept the imposition of colonial rule without resistance. There were numerous revolts, mostly in the island of Luzon. The Filipino intellectuals questioned the conditions of their subjugation. These intellectuals, known as *Ilustrados*, were not only members of elite families studying overseas, but were also found in the middle and lower strata of Philippine society. Filipina women were active in these revolts including carrying on fighting against the Spaniards. Gabriela Silang continued the Ilokos resistance when her husband, Diego, the leader of the revolt was treacherously killed by the Spaniards. Resistance was not confined only to the battlefield but also in the linguistic aspect of conversion in particular by Tagalogs towards Catholicism (Rafael, 1988).

The Spanish ideal of a woman was imposed on Filipina women. Thus, there was a gradual transformation of Filipina women who were brainwashed in Spanish *conventos* (convent

schools) and became Hispanized in outward manifestations like clothing, mannerisms, and the practices of Catholicism (Nakpil, 1977). Sometimes the transformation could not drastically be called Spanish nor native (Blanc-Szanston, 1990). One must not forget, however, that Filipinos have long been exposed to other traditions, as the Philippines was after all a trade route long before the Spaniards came. Thus, influences of Arab, Chinese, and Indian merchants were already in place along the coastal towns. In Christianized (Catholic) Luzon, Visayas, and parts of Mindanao, a new social class was formed with the Spaniards on top, followed by the mestizos, and at the bottom were the natives referred to as *Indios*.

*American Influence and the World Economy:
Effect on Filipina Women*

The impact of colonization on the Philippine economy proved devastating. For example, the propensity to prefer foreign goods led to the gradual death of local industries. Bello, McKinley, and Elinson (1982) researched the impact of developing strategies in the Philippines. According to them, the export-oriented economy failed with the two colonial governments as the major institutions holding the main responsibilities. The economic nightmare climaxed in a huge foreign debt—with the Filipino people holding the debt in their hands.

The social phenomena of Filipinas working overseas has its beginnings when the economy of the colonized country was controlled to a large degree by the colonizers (export-oriented economy, for example). The Catholic Institute for International Relations (1987) reported that from 1900 to 1966, Filipino contract workers worked mostly on the West Coast of the United States and in Hawaii. From 1946 to 1960 Filipinos of both sexes

were employed largely by the U.S. military facilities. In the 1970s, Filipino professionals as well as workers in the service sector were employed practically all over the world: in the oil fields of the Middle East, hospitals in the U.S., Africa and Europe, businesses, and households. The failure of the Philippine economy to provide jobs was the main reason for the exodus. In 1987, there were approximately half a million overseas Filipino workers, of which 40% were women, including those working as domestic workers (Vickers, 1990). The majority of these women had college educations, a reflection of the tremendous pressure to seek employment outside the country.

These are among the reasons why Filipinas go overseas to seek employment. Filipinas are accepting menial work not commensurate to their training and education. In their desire to find employment they go overseas, knowing that what has been promised to them may not materialize and, if they do find work, the remuneration may fall short.

As I concentrate on discourses representative of the aspects of work overseas, I gathered the accounts of these lived-experiences of Filipina domestic workers themselves. As a Filipina educator pursuing a degree in the social sciences, anthropology in particular, and interested in feminist theory, I view with mixed feelings the phenomenon of my countrywomen employed overseas as domestic workers. First, I empathize with their plight as human beings who find themselves at the bottom of the economic ladder with little political clout. Secondly, I find it ironic that these women who pride themselves as equal to their men now find themselves equally sharing the burden of being an overseas worker because of limited opportunities in participating in the Philippine labor economy. Thirdly, I see lived lives deprived of basic human needs and expectations of being part of a community, of sharing with others based on equal stand-

ing. Fourth, the experiences that were shared with me, I view as a type of existence which not only tests one's survival skills, but also as a testimony to the potentials of human behavior ranging from the understanding of another's perspective to that of complete rejection of another fellow human being.

Victims' Discourse

In May 1991, I contacted a German women's research group and expressed my interest in understanding the problems of Filipina domestic workers in Germany. A Filipina social worker gave me the necessary information and thus made it possible for me to interview and to record their responses, which I call *discourses*. Five discourses were done through separate interviews. The cases were domestic workers who are Tagalog speakers, ranging from ages 25 to 35. Two are single and two have families in the Philippines.

I have been here in Germany for only three months. My main duty is to take care of the two young children of my European employers. I also do some cleaning, some shopping for food and cooking for the whole family. I worked as a domestic worker for this family in another Southeast Asian country, before we came to Germany, where my male employer was offered a job. When I left the Philippines, I was only 24 years old. That was over six years ago. Here in Germany I feel very homesick, and when I feel that way I would lock my bedroom door and throw my pillow against the wall. Medyo ako nag-wawala.¹ When I do that my employer says that I am homesick again. My employers treat me well. I have nothing to say about that. However, something happened which really hurt me very badly. My employers were concerned about my social life. They invited another Filipina who has lived here for five years and is employed as a nurse. I looked forward to what she and I could do, like go to the movies or go shopping. When she arrived, she gave me a look I could never forget the rest of my life. Nanliit ako sa tingin niya, datapwa't utusan lang ako.² While we were having dinner she would give me that look. She did

not say anything bad to me personally, it was just that look she gave me. I decided I did not want to see her again.

—Ligaya³

Three years in Germany is a long time. I came here on a non-working visa but I found work as a domestic worker for a Korean woman and her German husband. I did not stay long with them because the woman was jealous of me. I am short, dark and have a flat nose, but she was still jealous of me. I tried not to make her jealous by my actions, clothing, and language. However, she still made it difficult for me. Several times she tried to pair me off. I finally decided to leave when once she invited a man to stay overnight. I made sure my bedroom door was locked. I could not sleep at all because I was thinking that the man might try to get into my bedroom. I have had too many bad experiences with other Filipinas. When they find out I do not have a legal working visa (I came on a tourist visa), they look down on me. Mababa ang tingin nila sa akin, para akong tae.⁴ I smile when I am introduced to other Filipinas. But those with legal working visas would usually acknowledge me by giving me that look. Napapahiya tuloy ako, gusto ko nang magtago sa kanilang tingin.⁵ In the Philippines, we have a high regard for other human beings, I noticed here that people are put down by others.

—Floring

My Filipina companion in travelling in Germany and I ran out of funds when we arrived. We slept on the cold concrete floor of a train station. I experienced here things that I have never experienced before. One time I took a train. A man tried to be seated very close to me. I moved to another seat and he followed me. A German woman noticed what was happening. She stood in front of me as if to protect me. When I was getting ready to leave, she asked me if this was my stop. I said yes and replied, "Good" When the man saw me talking to her, he looked away and stopped following me.

I first worked as a domestic worker. My first employer was a Filipina married to a German. I tried hard to please them by working even during my day off, which was once a week. However, I noticed later on that she took advantage of me by asking me to do the laundry, including ironing their clothes, every Sunday, which was my day off. Now I am working as a cleaning woman for German office buildings. My companion who arrived with me also started as a domestic worker,

but we found that we have some freedom in our new work. I do not socialize with other Filipinas because I have had too many bad experiences. The worst experience is when I see other Filipinas in the trains, stores, or markets and they give me that look. Masakit sa aking kalooban ang kanilang pagtingin.⁶ So, my companion and I just stick together and eat in inexpensive restaurants or go window shopping. Filipinas look down on us because we do not come up to their level.

—Pacing

I have worked as a domestic worker here for the last four years. I do not like what is happening to our women. Masama ang nangyayari sa mga Pilipina sapagkat nagkakaroon ng sama ng loob.⁷ I know this because I have experienced this feeling too often. I am talking about how Filipinas here regard each other. Minamata nila ang kapwang Pilipina.⁸ It is when I have time to think that I feel bad. I also worry about my family in the Philippines. When I start doing that, especially when I think of my situation, I sleep it off. This is my way of fighting back; I just totally forget everything.

—Zeny

I had a hard time adjusting here in Germany when I first arrived. Things were different from the Philippines. The first three months were the worst. I was so homesick. Para akong naloloka.⁹ When I finally found a job as a domestic worker, other Filipinas did not accept me as their own kind. As soon as they found out I was only a domestic worker, their whole attitude changed. I have a college degree from the Philippines and worked for the government, but it does not mean anything here. Ang napakasamang naranasan ko dito ay ang tingin ng kapwa Pilipino—para kang hindi tao, para kang baliwala.¹⁰

—Gloria

Analysis

Shared Inner-Self

The prevailing theme that I found in the process of analyzing these discourses centers on the Philippine concept of *loob*, shared inner-self, which when violated leaves a dehumanizing effect on the part of the recipient.

The Tagalog word *loob* is a holistic concept which means a shared unity of self and other. In Mercado's (1990) five-part analysis of this concept, the specific realm found in the discourses belongs to the realm of feelings.

Filipinos of both genders consider feelings as unique, desirable, and a most vital trait which differentiates a human being from other objects, living and non-living. It is assumed that humans are supposedly in possession of a refined gradation of feelings. In short, a person who has the most refined feelings is very much ahead in his humanness in relation to others, regardless of class, ethnicity, gender, and age distinctions. To be perceived as a person without feeling for others, *walang pakiramdam*, connotes one's lack of humanness. Extremely other-oriented, Filipinos for example anticipate another's physical needs, and this is also evident in the language. In speech, the plural pronoun we, *tayo*, is preferred in usage instead of I, *ako* (singular), even if at times one means I, singular. For example, when Filipinos ask where a person is going, they say "*Saan ba ang lakad natin?*"¹¹ *Natin* connotes we.

One is also careful to show this unity of self with others when the reference is directed to human beings. *Kapwa tao*, which means fellow human beings, is the correct way of addressing others. This shared inner-self is inherent not only in the language and in action but also in the high expectation of others. In the first discourse, Ligaya anticipated a positive social relationship with the Filipina nurse who was going to be introduced to her. "I looked forward to what she and I could do, like go to the movies or go shopping." Another respondent, Pacing, tried very hard to please her employers by doing voluntary work even during her weekly day off. Florina regulated her language, action, and clothing when she noticed her female employer was jealous of her, in spite of her claim that she was physically plain-looking.

Zeny and Gloria expressed similar concerns accordingly in line with their being other-oriented.

Ka in Tagalog is used to address elders and even distant uncles and aunts. The exact translation for a domestic workers is helper, *katulong*. Helpers in Philippine context are considered extended members of the family. They are addressed by members of the family giving deference to their age and gender. They partake in family activities and recreational activities. They are also entrusted with the care for children (a most trusted job) and the preparation of food. Overall, helpers are valued not only for their work, but also on what they do as a co-worker in running a smooth household. While not all Filipinos treat their helpers in this manner, it is fairly safe to say that this is a general trend.

In this case, inclusion, not exclusion, is the principle that guides the conduct or practice of everyday life of Filipinos. Since this shared inner-self extends to one's lifestyle, the Western concept of privacy is an alien concept. The word for private, *privado*, is Spanish. A person who is alone, who lives alone is perceived to be in a pathetic situation. This particular person's social reality is aptly described as *nakakaawa*, pitiful.

It is therefore quite an awakening for the Filipina domestic worker overseas to find that in Germany, a domestic worker is viewed differently. She finds herself in a distinct social category, and operating in a limited space. Rollins (1985) described the African American domestic worker relationship to her white employers as oppressive, saying that domestic servants have always been an exploited group.

Filipinos have shared unity of self. This entails attaching a value to others which is the equivalent value one attaches to oneself. This implies that since Filipinos have a high regard of themselves as human beings, as seen in the care and sensitivity that they have for themselves and others, this phenomenon of

unity of self should reflect in the discourses. However, if they find their social environment different from what they are used to, this new social reality or unity of self should also be reflected in the discourses. This is true in Ligaya's responses. She spoke of being looked down upon because "I am only a domestic worker." Florina mentioned being regarded as lowly, which she attributes to her low employment status. Zeny feels her person has been devalued because of her work.

This unity of self and other must also be a true unity. If one wants to violate this shared unity, a Filipino has only to show to another that one is not sharing this concept of solidarity. Since action speaks louder than words, this is communicated non-verbally. The action or practice referred to in the discourses is a definite look, or gaze, which is interpreted as dehumanizing to the individual.

This violation of solidarity with the unity of self is articulated by the recipient, the dehumanized other, when the word *loob* is mentioned. "It is painful to my inner self" is how Pacing expressed her pain when given that look by other Filipinas. This happens when they do not want to include her in their group or acknowledge her presence. Zeny, who experienced this hurt of being excluded during her four-year stay overseas, considered this phenomena as a very negative social reality. She stated, "What is happening to Filipinas is unfortunate because they create bad feelings among themselves." Finally, the *coup de grace* was delivered by Gloria in her statement, "My worst experience here is the look that our own kind give us. It is as if you are not a human being, you are considered insignificant, you are nothing."

Most importantly, the effect of giving a dehumanizing look works on both persons. However, it should be regarded that the conflict lies in the one giving the look and the other receiving the cold stare. Because they themselves feel ambiguous, *alanganin*

in Tagalog, to another experiencing a social reality that they themselves experienced earlier, they seem to be saying, "You are part of me, but you are that part of me I would rather forget or be oblivious to." Implied in this statement is the feeling of compassion or pity, *awa* in Tagalog. Those who were former domestic workers know exactly the lived experience of those who are currently living this existence. There is limited space in which they can move around, both in the household and in public spaces. There is the loss of freedom because their type of work is under constant surveillance by their employer. There is also the restricted socializing as a result of space and time constraints and, needless to say, the lack of funds for recreation.

These domestic workers have been valued within their Philippine culture in that most have high school education and some have college degrees. They find that in their new environment, they no longer enjoy the same status because domestic workers carry low status. They are extremely sensitive and conscious about their low social status when given the critical look by those already established. This so-called silent language of the eyes is an important art of communication within the Philippines context.

According to Enriquez (1986), Filipinos attach equal emphasis to non-verbal communications as well as the use of oral or written language. In essence, what the mind is thinking, the body in turn expresses, which is finally articulated in language. To a Filipino, meaning is attached first to action in Philippine context; then the body action as language is given importance. This is the reason why Filipinos are constantly watching out for body language cues. To a Filipino, body language is an honest language. While it is easy to lie with the use of oral language, it is a Filipino belief that the body does not lie. Body language is reflective of one's inner thoughts, especially those that one does

not express orally. While body language is universal, it is most evident among Filipinos.

What has just been explained above was observable in Ligaya's action and works in the discourses. When she feels very homesick, Ligaya throws her pillow against the wall. While this can be explained as a catharsis, it is also a form of communication with the body articulating what she is feeling and thinking. The act itself of throwing a pillow against a wall is not socially acceptable, but she justifies this behavior by saying that she was "sort of letting go." She used the Tagalog words *medyo nag-wawala*, which is an expression meaning that while the act itself is not socially sanctioned, it is excusable granting the person's state of mind and feeling at that very moment. There is this allowance for the expression of deep feelings being felt which can be rationalized.

Dimensions, Turnings, Adaptations

Mandelbaum (1973) suggests a scheme for the analysis of discourses of life experiences which involves the dimensions of a person's life, the turnings and the person's characteristic means of adaptation.

The social dimension that the domestic workers encountered had to do with their roles and their social relations with others. Within Philippine context, a human being is a highly sensitive, deeply feeling person, also highly conscious of the social status of others. The new role of the Filipina domestic workers overseas needs redefinition and therefore reorientation to the new social reality.

The term I use, *turnings*, is that moment when individuals acquire a new self-concept as a result of their new relations with a new set of people which influence their lives. It is evident in

the discourses that the domestic workers developed a low self-conception of themselves. They begin to think of themselves as belonging to a lower status as compared to a legal working nurse. Even with their college degrees and their former work experience in the Philippines they find that others consider these educational accomplishments insignificant. As a result, their self-esteem is crushed by the social environment they find themselves in.

Adaptations have to do with changes that affect their lives and their relations with others. When this group of domestic workers experiences others of their own kind changing their attitudes towards them because of their occupation as maids, their reactions varied. One of the respondent's ways of resisting was to sever the social relationship. Another way was to avoid the gaze, and still another said she forgets her social reality by sleeping it off, thus forgetting everything.

Conclusion

The lives of the Filipina domestic workers in Germany show that their current condition are the effect of a long process which started with the colonization of the Philippines by Spain during the 16th century, and culminating when the Philippines became part of the world economic system.

Discourse as used in this paper means a form of knowledge produced not by what is considered classic knowledge—which is traditionally viewed as history, a product of patriarchal Western thought—but by statements uttered by Third World women as they relate their lived lives or social realities. Traditionally considered living marginal lives, these women's discourses give a new insight into lived life.

These discourses were analyzed to elucidate what the concept of a human being is within the context of a Philippine domestic

worker overseas. This is a fundamental issue in gathering information about lived lives through interviews, which explains the concept of self or person when analyzing discourses.

Throughout the discourses, what this group of women found most disturbing in their current social reality is what they considered their dehumanization by other Filipina women, expressed as a definite look or gaze. The women described this as "painful to the inner self" which violated a Filipino's shared unity with the other. It is a form of exclusion of the shared inner self. Reasons for this phenomena and its meaning were explored in the analysis. First, those giving the dehumanizing look felt ambivalent towards the domestic workers. Secondly, because they still feel those employed as domestic are still part of othemselves, they also have compassion for them. This is all within the concept of *loob*.

The universal techniques of avoidance of that which is unpleasant and forgetting one's despair by sleeping it off were part of the adaptations employed by the domestic workers as revealed in the discourse. A third method was acting out one's current frustration.

There is altogether, however, a sense of nobility in the lives of these women, a form of unselfishness on their part in sacrificing themselves. I see in them a defiance, an acceptance of a challenge—a belief that they will make their lives and their families better—which may or may not actually happen. Only they can answer the human terms at stake in their decision to work as domestic overseas worker.

Having been influenced by the debates within the anthropological community and within the formulation of Third World feminist theory, recommendations are relevant. I agree with Ong (1988) in recommending that "a beginning dialogue where other forms of gender- and culture-based subjectivities should be taken

into account by feminists, as we need to take into account the changing world community, and recognize the limits of our own traditions and explanations.” I also support Tyler’s (1986) perspective on modern ethnography: “That it must capture the mood of the postmodern world, not moving towards abstraction, away from life, but back to experience. It does not aim to foster the growth of knowledge but to restructure experience, not to understand objective reality, for that is already established by common sense, not to explain how we understand for that is impossible, but to reassimilate, to reintegrate the self in society and to restructure the conduct of everyday life.”

Guided by their statements, I propose that a third one may be added. This is the concept of understanding the human being in non-Western terms (the Philippines as a case in point). Although there are countries considered behind in technological development, it should not preclude anthropologists from constructing feminist theories on the basis of such concepts of being human as the Philippine *loob*, which was preserved withstanding the misfortunes of colonization.

ENDNOTES

¹“I sort of lose myself.” *Wala* translated into English means *lost*; it can also mean *nothing*. *Nag-wawala* translated literally is *losing oneself*. In Philippine cultural context, *nag-wawala* means acting in a manner that is not socially acceptable but excusable because of a person’s state of mind due to homesickness, despair, etc., at a given moment. The more exact translation is “I gave way to my feelings.”

²“I felt small because of the look she gave me.” *Liit* means *small* in English. In Philippine cultural context, it means *humiliation*. The more exact translation is “I was humiliated by the look she gave me because I am only a domestic worker.”

³The names given are fictitious in order to protect the identity of the respondents.

⁴“They give me a look as if I was just shit.” *Mababa* translated literally in English means *low*. In Philippine cultural context, the more exact translation is “They have a low regard of me, as if I was just shit.”

⁵"I am embarrassed by their look, I wanted to disappear from their view."

⁶"The look they give me is painful to my inner self." *Loob* literally means *inside*. It is a complex concept. According to Enriquez, a Filipino psychologist, loob is a shared inner self which springs from a unity of self and other. It specifically focuses on a Filipino's sense of solidarity. The individual is decentered. Expectations by others on oneself clarifies human relations. Mercado (1990), Filipino philosopher, divided the holistic concept of *loob* into five areas. They are 1) intellectual, 2) volitional, 3) emotional, 4) ethical dimensions, and 5) others. The intellectual has to do with the mind. The volitional: mood, allowing, and will. The emotional realm ranges from strong to weak feelings. The ethical dimension ranges from positive solidarity with others to a built-in attitude of responsibility to others. Thus, the colonial discourse, the interpretation of paying a debt, *utang na loob*, is very much open to a question of interpretation.

⁷"What is happening to Filipinas is unfortunate because they create bad feelings among themselves."

⁸"Filipinas look down on their own kind." *Mata* is translated in English as *eye*. In Philippine cultural context, the more exact meaning is *sizing up*. The more exact translation is "Filipinas devalue their own kind."

⁹"As if I were going insane."

¹⁰"My worst experience here is the look that our own kind gives us. As if you are not valued as a human being, you are considered insignificant."

¹¹"Where could we be going?"

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